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A Book of Precedence, &c.,

with Essays on

Italian and German Books of Courtesy.

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Queen Elizabeth's Acedemy

(BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT)

A Booke of Precedence
The Ordering of a Funerall, &c.

Varying Versions of

Maxims, Lydgate's Order of Fools,
A Poem on Heraldry, Occleve on Lords' Men, &c.

Edited by
F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

With Essays on
Early Italian and German Books of
Courtesy

by
W. M. ROSSETTI, ESQ., & E. OSWALD, ESQ.

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3. NOTE ON 'LE MENAGIER DE PARIS,' 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL ... 149
This volume is meant as a kind of small brother to our fat Babees Book of 1868. It has been produced mainly to let the reader see the very interesting account in Part II. of early Italian Courtesy books by Mr W. M. Rossetti, and the more elaborate essay on the earliest German one (by an Italian) by Mr E. Oswald. To these I have added a very short, bare sketch of the curious early French treatise on the spiritual, social, and household duties of a wife, about 1393 A.D., Ee Ménagier de Paris, a book to be read by all readers of 'The Knight de la Tour Landry.' Part II. I look on as the body of this second Babec; Part I. as its frock or coat. Still, I hope that the stuff and trimmings of the boy's garment will be found worthy of examination, as well as his eyes and legs.

The first tract in Part I., Queene Elizabethes Academy, is printed, because it is another scheme drawn up for the same end as Sir Nicholas Bacon's for the bringing up of the Queen's wards, mentioned on pages xxii, xxiii of the Forewords to the Babees Book; on the authority of Mr Payne Collier, and displays more fully than my cutting-down of Mr Collier's sketch, 'the course of study of well-bred youths

1 I hoped to have added an account from the pen of Mr F. W. Cosens, of an Early Spanish MS, in the Madrid Library, of a Mother's Instructions to her Daughter; but it will take too much time to get the MS copied, &c. Perhaps enough material for another volume on Manners and Courtesy will turn up by the time the Spanish poem is ready.

2 I ask readers to correct ('of') will, (religion'), l. 7 of text, to 'evil,' and cut out the comma after it.
in the early years of Elizabeth's reign; 2. because it is an admirable scheme of Educational Reform; and 3. because the Reformer is Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the ablest and gallantest men of the Elizabethan age. Some of my readers may know the account of him in Hakluyt; and others, that in Mr Froude's noble article in the Westminster on "England's Forgotten Worthies." At any rate, here is the latter, to give pleasure to all who read it:

Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbours in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into the river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found anywhere in England. Humfrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh, here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbours, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh. Of this party, for the present we confine ourselves to the host and owner, Humfrey Gilbert, knighted afterwards by Elizabeth. Led by the scenes of his childhood to the sea and to sea adventures, and afterwards, as his mind unfolded, to study his profession scientifically, we find him, as soon as he was old enough to think for himself or make others listen to him, 'amending the great errors of naval sea cards, whose common fault is to make the degree of longitude in every latitude of one common bigness; 'inventing instruments for taking observations, studying the form of the earth, and convincing himself that there was a north-west passage, and studying the necessities of his country, and

1 It has Lord Burghley's endorsement on it [S' Humf. Gilbert for an Academy of y' warder], but is without date. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. (Sir H. Ellis in Archaeologia, XXI., p. 506.)
discovering the remedies for them in colonisation and extended markets for home manufactures. Gilbert was examined before the Queen's Majesty and the Privy Council, and the record of his examination he has himself left to us in a paper which he afterwards drew up, and strange enough reading it is. The most admirable conclusions stand side by side with the wildest conjectures.

Homer and Aristotle are pressed into service to prove that the ocean runs round the three old continents, and that America therefore is necessarily an island. The Gulf Stream, which he had carefully observed, eked out by a theory of the primum mobile, is made to demonstrate a channel to the north, corresponding to Magellan's Straits in the south, Gilbert believing, in common with almost every one of his day, that these straits were the only opening into the Pacific, and the land to the South was unbroken to the Pole. He prophesies a market in the East for our manufactured linen and calicoes:—

"The Easterns greatly prizing the same, as appeareth in Hester, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure."

These, and other such arguments, were the best analysis which Sir Humphrey had to offer of the spirit which he felt to be working in him. We may think what we please of them; but we can have but one thought of the great grand words with which the memorial concludes, and they alone would explain the love which Elizabeth bore him:—

1 "Desiring you hereafter never to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for ever.

"And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countries seruice and his owne honour, seeing death is ineuitable and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno." 2

Two voyages which he undertook at his own cost, which shattered his fortune, and failed, as they naturally might, since inefficient help or mutiny of subordinates, or other disorders, are inevitable conditions under which more or less great men must be content to see their great thoughts mutilated by the feebleness of their instruments, did not dishearten him; and in June 1583 a last fleet of five ships

1 I quote the extracts from Hakluyt, instead of Mr Froude's modernized versions.

2 His [Raleigh's] half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having obtained a patent to colonize some parts of North America, he embarked in this adventure; but meeting with a Spanish fleet, after a smart engagement, they returned without success, in 1579.—Platt, v. 231.
sailed from the port of Dartmouth, with commission from the queen to discover and take possession from latitude 45° to 50° North—a voyage not a little noteworthy, there being planted in the course of it the first English colony west of the Atlantic. Elizabeth had a foreboding that she would never see him again. She sent him a jewel as a last token of her favour, and she desired Raleigh to have his picture taken before he went.

The history of the voyage was written by a Mr Edward Hayes, of Dartmouth, one of the principal actors in it, and as a composition it is more remarkable for fine writing than any very commendable thought in the author. But Sir Humfrey's nature shines through the infirmity of his chronicler; and in the end, indeed, Mr Hayes himself is subdued into a better mind. He had lost money by the voyage, and we will hope his higher nature was only under a temporary eclipse. The fleet consisted (it is well to observe the ships and the size of them) of the Delight, 120 tons; the barque Raleigh, 200 tons (this ship deserted off the Land's End); the Golden Hinde and the Swallow, 40 tons each; and the Squirrel, which was called the frigate, 10 tons. For the uninitiated in such matters, we may add, that if in a vessel the size of the last, a member of the Yacht Club would consider that he had earned a club-room immortality, if he had ventured a run in the depth of summer from Cowes to the Channel Islands.

"We were in number in all (says Mr Hayes) about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action; also, mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prooid of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horse[s], and May-like conceits to delight the Sauage people."

The expedition reached Newfoundland without accident. St John's was taken possession of, and a colony left there; and Sir Humfrey then set out exploring along the American coast to the south, he himself doing all the work in his little 10-ton cutter, the service being too dangerous for the larger vessels to venture on. One of these had remained at St John's. He was now accompanied only by the Delight and the Golden Hinde, and these two keeping as near the shore as they dared, he spent what remained of the summer examining every creek and bay, marking the soundings, taking the bearings of the possible harbours, and risking his life, as every hour he was obliged to risk it in such a service, in thus leading, as it were, the forlorn hope in the conquest of the New World. How dangerous it was we shall presently see. It was towards the end of August.

"The earning was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral or Delight continued in sounding of Trumpets with Drumes and Fifes;
also winding the Cornets and Haughtboyes, and in the end of their iollitie left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels."

Two days after came the storm; the Delight struck upon a bank, and went down in sight of the other vessels, which were unable to render her any help. Sir Humfrey's papers, among other things, were all lost in her; at the time considered by him an irreparable misfortune. But it was little matter, he was never to need them. The Golden Hinde and the Squirrel were now left alone of the five ships. The provisions were running short, and the summer season was closing. Both crews were on short allowance; and with much difficulty Sir Humfrey was prevailed upon to be satisfied for the present with what he had done, and to lay off for England.

"So vpon Saturday, in the afternoone, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euin in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forsooke, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooning of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight; neither yet diving vnder and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish; but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding. Notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eies; and, to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as dooth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doultlesse was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliver. But he took it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the deuill."

We have no doubt that he did think it was the devil; men in those days believing really that evil was more than a principle or a necessary accident, and that in all their labour for God and for right, they must make their account to have to fight with the devil in his proper person. But if we are to call it superstition, and if this were no devil in the form of a roaring lion, but a mere great seal or seal, it is a more innocent superstition to impersonate so real a power, and it requires a bolder heart to rise up against it and defy it in its living terror, than to sublimate it away into a philosophical principle, and to forget to battle with it in speculating on its origin and nature. But to follow the brave Sir Humfrey, whose work of fighting with the devil was now over, and who was passing to his reward. The 2nd of September the General came on board the Golden Hinde "to
make merry with us.' He greatly deplored the loss of his books and papers, but he was full of confidence from what he had seen, and talked with eagerness and warmth of the new expedition for the following spring. Apocryphal gold-mines still occupying the minds of Mr Hayes and others, they were persuaded that Sir Humfrey was keeping to himself some such discovery which he had secretly made, and they tried hard to extract it from him. They could make nothing, however, of his odd ironical answers, and their sorrow at the catastrophe which followed is sadly blended with disappointment that such a secret should have perished. Sir Humfrey doubtless saw America with other eyes than theirs, and gold-mines richer than California in its huge rivers and savannahs.

'Leaning the issue of this good hope [about the gold], (continues Mr Hayes), vnto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was God's ordinance vpon him, even so the vehement persuasion and intretie of his friends could nothing auable to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his frigat; . . . and when he was intreated by the capitaine, master, and others, his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answer—"I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils."

Two-thirds of the way home, they met foul weather and terrible seas, 'breaking short and pyramid wise.' Men who had all their lives 'occupied the sea' had never seen it more outrageous. 'We had also vpon our maine-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux.'

"Munday, the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that time recouered, and gining foorth signes of ioy, the Generall, sitting abafft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind so oft as we did approch within hearing, "We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soildier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was. The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hind, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight; and withall our watch cryed, the General was cast away, which was too true.

"Thus faithfully (concludes Mr Hayes, in some degree rising above himself) I have related this story, wherein may alwayes appeare though he be extinguished, some sparkes of the Knight's vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the service of God and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America. . . . Such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery cuill deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our
travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors which before we noted to bee in this gentleman, and made vsauiorie and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

"Then as he was refined and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God, so it pleased the diviue will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his and every other high and noble minde haue alwayes aspired."

Such was Sir Humfrey Gilbert; still in the prime of his years when the Atlantic swallowed him. Like the gleam of a landscape lit suddenly for a moment by the lightning, these few scenes flash down to us across the centuries: but what a life must that have been of which this was the conclusion! We have glimpses of him a few years earlier, when he won his spurs in Ireland—won them by deeds which to us seem terrible in their ruthlessness, but which won the applause of Sir Henry Sidney as too high for praise or even reward. Chequered like all of us with lines of light and darkness, he was, nevertheless, one of a race which has ceased to be. We look round for them, and we can hardly believe that the same blood is flowing in our veins. Brave we may still be, and strong perhaps as they, but the high moral grace which made bravery and strength so beautiful is departed from us for ever.—Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*; vol. ii. p. 136-45.

1 Hayes says further:—

These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heany success and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countries of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave vnto God, and judge charitably both of the cause (which was just in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as myselfe was an eye witnesse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so unfortunately incumbred with wants, and worse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit haply to succeed.―*Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 145.

2 Compare 'the intemperate humours' of which Hayes speaks above. I don't believe Mr Froude's conclusion a bit, though it was generous in him to write it. The Victorian gentleman mayn't have so much devil in him, or break out into such humours, as the Elizabethan: but in moral grace he is far ahead of him. Self-restraint and moral grace have grown in the latter days.
Some other details as to Sir Humphrey's early life are given in Platt's *Universal Biography,* and follow here:

“Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a brave officer and navigator, born about 1539, in Devonshire, of an ancient and honourable family. He inherited a considerable fortune from his father. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Being introduced at court by his aunt, Mrs Catharine Ashley, then in the Queen's service, he was divested from the study of the law, and commenced soldier. Having distinguished himself in several military expeditions, particularly that of Newhaven, in 1563, he was sent over to Ireland to assist in suppressing a rebellion, where, for his singular services, he was made commander-in-chief and governor of Munster, and knighted by the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, Jan. 1, 1570. He returned soon after to England, where he married a rich heiress. In 1572 he sailed with a squadron of nine ships to reinforce colonel Morgan, who meditated the recovery of Flushing. In 1576 he published his book on the north-west passage to the East Indies. In 1578 he obtained an ample patent, empowering him to possess in North America any lands then unsettled. He sailed to Newfoundland, but soon after returned to England without success; nevertheless, in 1583 he embarked a second time with five ships, the largest of which put back on account of a contagious distemper on board. He landed at Newfoundland on the 3rd of August, and on the 5th took possession of the harbour of St John's. By virtue of his patent he granted leases to several people; but though none of them remained there at that time, they settled afterwards in consequence of these leases; so that Sir Humphrey deserves to be remembered as the real founder of the vast American empire. On the 20th of August he put to sea again, on board a small sloop, which on the 29th foundered in a hard gale of wind. Thus perished Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of quick parts, a brave officer, a good mathematician, a skilful navigator, and of a very enterprising genius. He was also remarkable for his eloquence, being much admired for his patriotic speeches in the English and Irish Parliaments. His work entitled 'A Discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathaia and the East Indies,' is a masterly performance, and is preserved in Hakluyt's collection of voyages, vol. iii. p. 11. The style is superior to most, if not to all, the writers of that age, and shows the author to have been a man of considerable reading.”—Platt's *Universal Biography,* vol. v. p. 219.

The Poet Gascoigne, in his Epistle to the Reader, in *A Discourse for a new Passage to Cataia. Written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert,*

1 See also Camden's *Elizabeth,* p. 287; Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses,* by Bliss; Rose's *Biogr. Dict.*; *Pict. Hist. of England,* ii. 791.
Knight, imprinted, a.d. 1576,¹ says of the ‘right worshipful and my very friend,’ the author:

“In whose commendation I woulde fayne write as muche as hee deserueth, were I not aфrayde to bee condemned by him of flatterie, which blame (with my friendes) I vse not to deserue. But surely, over and besides that, hee is a gentleman wel and worshipfully borne and bredde, and well tryed to bee valiant in martiall assayres, wherby hee hath worthely beene constituted a coronell and generall in places requisite, and hath with sufficiencie discharged the same, both in this Realme, and in forreigne Nations: hee is also indued with sundrie great gyftes of the minde, and generally well giuen to th’ aduauncemente of knowledge and vertue. All whiche good partes I rather set downe constrained by the present occasion, then prompted by any vaine desire to currie faunoure with my friende. For his vertues are sufficient to praise themselves. And it shalbe a sufficient conclusion for my prayses, to wishe that our realme had store of suche Gentlemen.”²

The contents of Sir Humphrey’s scheme bear out fully all that was said in the Forewords to the Babees Book on the neglect of education by the English nobility and gentry. ‘Whereas now the most parte of them [the gentlemen within this realm] are good for nothinge’ (p. 12), Sir Humphrey’s aim is to make them ‘good for some what.’ ‘Whereas by wardedship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme haue bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educaisons’ (p. 10), they may now be brought up well, ‘wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in times past knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke’ (p. 11): the very words of Pace’s earlier fool of a so-called English Gentleman—the race is not like the Dodo yet—‘it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skilfully, and elegant-ly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to “the sons of rustics” (Babees Book; p. xiii); the words too of Skelton (Colyn Clout, Dyce’s ed. i. 334),

¹ Also in Hakluyt’s Voyages, iii. 11, ed. 1600.
² “Sir Humphrey was ready to try and make the passage himself; he had, says Gascoigne, prepared his owne bodie to abide the malice of the windes and waues, and was even ready to have performed the voyage in proper person, if he had not beene by her Maiestie otherwise commanded and imploied in martiall affaires, aswell in Ireland, as situence in other places.” Ibid.
But noble men borne,  
To lerne they haue scorne,  
But hunt and blowe an horne,  
Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,  
Set nothing by polytykes.

Again, the laziness and viciousness of those who did go to Universities, is complained of (p. 10), and the crying evil of the education of those only places of training pointed out,—an evil of which they are not yet free,—their narrowness: that 'schol learninges' only are taught at Oxford and Cambridge; no 'matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre.' This narrowness made men then, as in later days, 'utterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely.' Other protests by Sir Humphrey against this narrowness are seen in other parts of his plan, of which the first will come especially home to the hearts of our own Members, the study and use of English (as against Latin) on which he insists at p. 2, complaining of 'the scholasticall rawnesse of some newly commen from the universities.' "Besides, in what language soeuer learninge is attayned, the appliancie to vse is principally in the vulgare speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale." Again, Sir Humphrey would have lectures on 'Ciuill Pollicie.' By which means Children shall learne more at home of the cuiill pollicies of all forraine countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which have tranailed farthest abroade,' . . . and 'men shalbe taught more witt and policy than schoolelearninge can deliuer . . . ffor [as Chaucer says] the greatest Schole Clarks are not always the wisest men . . . ffor suche as govern Common Weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same' (p. 3, 4). Again, Sir Humphrey would have his boys 'muscular Christians,' would teach them riding (p. 4), shooting, and marching (p. 5), navigation and the parts of a ship (p. 5), simple doctoring (p. 5, 6), and Natural Philosophy—the teachers of the two latter practising together 'to search and try owt the seecrates of nature, as many waies as they possible may.'—"The Phisition should also teach surgery. By reason

1 See Babecs Book, p. lix.
that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in
a Barbers Shoppe' (p. 6). Law is to be taught because 'It is ne-
necessary that noble men and gentlemen, should lerne to be able to put
their owne case in law, and to have some judgment in the office of a
Justice of Peace, and Sheriffe.' Of languages, besides Greek, Latin,
and Hebrew (p. 2), French, Italian, and High Dutch or German (p. 7)
are to be taught. 'Also there shalbe one Master of Defence, who
shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and Dagger' &c., and who
was to 'have a dispensation against the Statute of Roages,' under
which he would have been liable to branding and imprisonment, &c.
(See Pref. to Audeley and Harman, p. xiii.) So also the Phisician
and Natural Philosopher were to be protected from the statute
against Alchemists (p. 6). Music was also to be taught; and the
mention of the Bandora here (p. 7) enables us to say that Sir Hum-
phrey's scheme was not written before 1562, when the Bandora was
first invented by John Rose, citizen of London (see Notes, p. 111).
Heraldry was to be taught too (p. 8), but not, we may be sure, with
the nonsense clinging round its origin, of which a sample is given in
pages 93-102 of the present volume. For other particulars the reader
is referred to the little tract itself; but let him notice that the
'scrooing poor men's sons out of the endowments only for the poor'
(Babees Book, p. xxxvi.) of which Harrison complained in 1577, and
another writer before, was going on in Sir Humphrey's time:

And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffize to releive
poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen,
taking vp their scholarshippes and fellowshippes, do disapoincte
the poore of their livinges and avancementes.

The plan of the Aachademy is in fact one for the establishment
of a great London University for the education of youths in the art
of political, social, and practical life,—a kind of prototype of the
London University so wisely pleaded for of late years by Professor
Seeley, which should gather into itself the whole range of modern
London teachers and studies. I venture to think that Sir Hum-
phrey's scheme will not detract from his fame for nobleness of spirit,
keenness of sight, and directness of aim. After the copy of the tract

1 See Forewords to the Babees Book, p. xxiii.
in this volume had been printed, Mr Wheatley informed me that Sir Henry Ellis had printed it before in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxi. p. 506, &c. But this fact only rendered the presence of the *Academy* more appropriate, as our Extra Series is for reprints. I only wish Sir Henry had added some of the notes and illustrations to the tract, which he was so much more competent to give than I am, so that I might have reprinted those too.

The second tract, 'a Booke of Precedence' (p. 13), is printed, not mainly because 'John Bull loves a Lord'—although sensible outsiders proved to him last session that his dear Peers were politically hereditary nuisances, the obstructers of all liberal legislation,—but because the question of Precedence was so important a one in old social arrangements, and the feeling of caste still so strongly pervades all English society. Moreover, it is curious to know that a lady of title, in the presence of her higher in rank, might not have her train borne by a woman, though she might by a man (p. 15), as that marked her lowness of station; while a poor baroness mightn't have her train borne by any one; but if she had a gown with a train, she was obliged to bear it herself (p. 25).

The third and fourth pieces in this volume describe, the third shortly (p. 29-31), and the fourth at greater length (p. 32-36), the manner of ordering the funerals of noble or knightly persons in late Popish times in England. One is bound to show how people's corpses were dressed and dealt with, as well as their bodies; and to some churchy and upholstry people the details in these parts will no doubt have a more special interest. The 'Liveryes for Noblemen att Intermemts;' at p. 36, represent, I suppose, the scarf, hatband, and gloves, given to commoners at funerals now.

The fifth piece is the 'Definition of the Esquier,' of which copies more or less different are found so often in MSS and books. Next, ought to have been added a short account of a curious, solemn procession of one of our Tudor queens, when she took to her chamber to lie in, and bear a child; but between Mr Childs and me the copy somehow disappeared. It shall, however, be printed in our third 'Babce,' if that ever sees the light.

The sixth piece is therefore a late and quite-changed version of
'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter,' Babees Book, p. 36, while the seventh piece is a less late and less changed version of the same poem, but still having enough differences, and noting enough fresh points of conduct, to render it worth printing.

As might have been expected concerning such teachings in early days, there is somewhat plainer speaking on the part of the mother, put down in the MS, than would appear in print now, as well as record of a ruder butcher-remark by the lookers-on, when a young woman happened to lift her petticoats rather high:

(IT) Do$tur, seyde pe good wyfe,
hyde thy legys whyte,
(IT) And schew not forth thy stret hossyn
to make men have de-lytt;
(IT) Thow hit plese hem for'a tym,
hit schaff be thy de-spytt,
(IT) And men wyll sey
“of pi body þou carst but lytt.”
(IT) Witt anf O and am L,
seyd Hit is fulf ryve,
(IT) “The bocher’ schewyth feyre his flesche,
for he wold sell hit fulf blythe.”

But that the thing was once done in Scotland, we have Sir David Lyndesay’s testimony:

Bot I lauch oest to se ane Nwn,
Gar beir hir tayl above hir bwn,
For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.

Sir D. Lyndesay’s Syde Tailis, l. 55-8.

Marketing was also one of the occasions of warning and danger to young women:

Go not as it war A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thrift; be wer of itte.

Later on, Stubs comments savagely on the purposes which merchants’ wives made carrying their baskets serve; another satirist has the following skit on the practice:

Item, I bequethe to euery yong woman maydenlyke, when she shall goe to the market, a poore woman to buye her meate, that she
in the mean time may go to a bawdy house for her recreacion, or elles to a dauncyng scoole to learne facions, &c. (The Wyll of the Dewyll, and last Testament, ab. 1550, A.D., p. 10 of Collier's reprint.)

The poet who wrote the version at p. 46, l. 73-5, below, and exhorted young damsels not to go to a wrestling, or a cock-fighting, or 'shooting,' like a strumpet or a gyglote (light hussy), would, I suppose, have been scandalized if he could have heard of Victorian ladies attending a pigeon-match, to say nothing of wrestling-matches, and athletic sports. Mauners change, and mutual charity is needed when one time sets itself to judge another. In one of Mr Lamby's forthcoming texts for the Society, there is an extremely interesting Scotch version of the Good Wife, called The Thewis of Gudwome, in 320 lines, p. 103-112, Ratis Raving, Book III.

The eighth and ninth pieces (pp. 52, 56) are altered versions of 'How the Good Man taught his Son,' and 'Stans puer ad Mensam,' Balees Book, pp. 48, 26; though the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate's short poem. The present copy dates itself, more or less nearly, by its telling the servants not to wear laced sleeves; for those sleeves were fashionable in Edward IV.'s reign, and the lacing was put across a full-padded sleeve. The nobility and gentry of the day conceived that this wearing of 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.,' was their special privilege; and accordingly, a statute of the 3rd year of Edward IV. A.D. 1463, forbids any yeoman or person under that degree to wear these bolsters, and therefore the laced sleeves; see p. 62, note. Of an earlier kind of sleeve, Oceleve complains below, p. 106, as we shall see. Who the Dr Paleere is, who is introduced into our 9th piece so often (p. 63-4), as a great authority, I do not know.

For our 10th and 11th pieces (p. 65, 66), we have altered versions of 'The A B C of Aristotle,' of which two copies were printed in the Balees Book, p. 9-12. The 10th piece, p. 65-6, is so different from its originals as to almost claim the character of a new piece.

In the 12th piece, 'Proverbs of Good Counsel,' of which I don't remember any other copy, there is a nice line, 'of all treasure, Knowledge is the flower:’
Son, yr you wiste what thyng lyt were,
Connynge to lerne, & with f to bere,
Thow wold not myspende ond howre;
for of all Tresure Connyn[n]g ys flowre.

Passing over the simple 13th piece, p. 71, we come to the 14th and 15th, 'Good Advice to a Gouernour,' and 'Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen;' and we are shown by the satire of the 16th piece, 'The Sage Fool's Testament' (p. 77),—though it is of an earlier date than the two bits that precede it—how much needed the Good Advice to the Governor and Nobleman really was; how power and place, with money and little restraint, worked in early social England. There's a good slice of English History in that Fool's Testament; and I commend it to the reader.

As an Appendix to it I have added our 17th piece, Lydgate's 'Order of Fools,' p. 79, a poor copy of a poor poem, but no doubt containing among its 63 caps, one that 'll fit each of us.

In the 18th piece (p. 85), are three interesting little bits, 'When England shall come to Grief,' 'All is phantom that we deal with'—eternity alone, reality,—and 'Ilis of our Time,' when a good sure friend is hard to find. Of this last, a fuller copy, with Latin originals, is given as our 20th piece at p. 88.

The intervening poem, No. 19, p. 86, is the only pathetic piece in the volume. In his Northern dialect the writer, deserted by unkind, false friends, asks 'Qwat sal I do?' Loving and true himself, he cannot understand why the world is thus false to him. He complains to God, desiring to die, and prays Him to quite those who have made his life so hard to lead. May his sad burden be new to all of us:

that I most trayste,
it is all waste!
sor may me rew!

The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd pieces are a change: 'The Order of the Ladies at the Coronation of Queen Catherine, Queen of Henry VII.' (p. 89); 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given by Sir John Cornwell to Henry V.:' and 'Courses of a Meal or Banquet.' The latter were printed by Mr Edward Levien of the British Museum, he sends me word, in a late number of the Journal of the Archaeological
Association, but as it is not on the shelf of the Museum Reading-room, where it ought to be, I cannot say what Mr Levien has made of these meals. For me, they are just continuations of Russell's in the Babees Book; and the cracking of one nut in them pleased me—samaka, p. 89.—What it could be I couldn't conceive; perhaps some preserve of salmon, if fish were potted in those days: but the Forme of Curys Sambocade, p. 77, which the excellent Pegge never put in his unalphabetical Glossary that worries everybody who refers to it, proved the needful pair of crackers; it was—'Sambocade; as made of the Sambuus or Elder' (Pegge): curds, sugar, white of eggs, flavoured with elder-flowers, put in a crust, baked up with 'curose'—whatever that may be: 'curiously!' says Pegge,—and messed forth.

The reader has seen that our gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert would have Heraldry taught in his Academy (pp. xi, 8). It is beyond question that our ancestors attributed much importance to the study of the art that recorded their descent and alliances; and, no doubt, one's namesakes with the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion thought much of their arms, if they had any, as their Caerlaverock follower had.

This interest of our old men in the subject, is my only excuse for printing the 24th piece in this volume, a Poem on Heraldry (p. 93-102), about gules, and pales, and tortells, and masklewis, &c. &c., which are all Hebrew to me. A wonderful and fearful language it is that Heralds talk; but I've bought a little Grammar of Heraldry by Mr Cussans (Longmans, 1866), and hope, by the help of the woodcuts, to understand it some day. Well, in turning over the Harleian Catalogue, I came on the title of this Poem (vol. iii. 332, col. 1), and Mr Bond, the Keeper of the MSS, decided that it was in the same hand as the second treatise in its volume, Harl. 6149, which is described in the Catalogue as "A treatise of the Signification of Armoury, ... and at the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald,' or something near it, with the date 1494."

Not much sense was to be made out of this; but a reference to the MS showed that the rubric printed in the Catalogue, though defaced in parts by dashes of black ink, was yet quite readable with
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

a little trouble; and the 'something near it' of the Catalogue, proved to be:

Explicit iste liber honorabilis armiger Wilelmo cummyn de Inureillochy 1 alias Marchemond heraldo per [sir] Wm Loutfut 2 Anno Domini M CCCC 3 nonagesimo quarto mensis vero Septembris. [Harleian MS 6149, leaf 41.]

Thus one of the many skews in the Harleian Catalogue was set straight. (Don't let any one abuse the first Cataloguer of a Collection for skews. For all Catalogues (as for all Indexes) one ought to be grateful: for those without mistakes, most grateful.)

The questions then were, 1. Who was Sir William Cummy? and, 2. was the Poem by him, or at least by a Scotchman, as from its language it seemed to be? The 2nd question was most kindly answered in the negative by a learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, whose name Mr David Laing mentioned to me, and who responded to the application of me, a stranger, by sending me the valuable notes printed on pages 102—104 below, and in them pointing out that certain marks of cadency mentioned in the poem were never used in Scotch Heraldry, though they were in English. The conclusion then forced on me was, that Adam Loutfut, Sir Wm. Cummy's scribe, had copied the poem from an English original, and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83—108 of his MS, A "Buk of thordre of Cheualry . . . . . . . translaitid out of Franche in to Ynglis . . . . . . by me Willam Caxtonne duelling in Westmystre:" which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton's own text, to see what the worthy Adam—who sometimes copied ' for s, e for t, and vice versâ, &c. &c.—has made of our rare old printer's southern speech.

What made the question of the authorship more important was, that the writer of the poem tells us he has written a Siege of Thebes (l. 30), A Troy-Book (l. 36-9), and a Brut (l. 52): perhaps three books: perhaps only one, taking in the three stories generally told separately. Here are the lines; the reader can judge for himself:

1 'Inureillochy,' say the Charters, p. xxii below.
2 or loutfut.
The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were, 32
wes at thebes, quliche at linth I did write,
Qhare palamonne and arsite, woundit there,
Be ther cotis of armes knawin partite,
Be heraldis war, sum sais, bot that I nyte,
flor in thai dais heraldis war not create,
Nor that armes set in propir estate.

Bot eftir that troy, qhar so mony kingis war 36
Seging without, and other within the toune,
So mony princis, knychtis, and peple there,
as this my buk the most sentence did somne,
all thocht spedful in o conclusionue,
That nobillis bere merkis, to mak be knawin,
ther douchtyes in dedis of armes schawin: . . .

Than troy distroyit, the werris endit, the lordis 52
I seir landis removit; and so brutus,
(his lif and dait my buk eftir recordis,) 56
Come in brutane with folkis populus,
And brocht with him this werly merkis thus,
quliche succeedis in armes to this date ;
Bot lang eftir troy, heraldis war nocht creat.

Now Lydgate wrote a Troy-Book and a Siege of Thebes. He 52
may also have written a Brut of some kind; but I do not believe
that he was the English author whom Loutfut scottified. The
writer of the poem must surely have been a Herald's clerk, or a
Herald of an inferior degree,—though as proud as a peacock of his
order and his art, and his fellows, the salt of the earth,—for he thus
speaks of the Heralds above him:

How thai 1 be born, in qhat kindis, and quhare, 196
also be quhom, and eftir in excellence,
That I refer to my lordis to dechair,
kingis of armes, and heraldis of prudens,
and persewantis, 2 and grant my negligens
that I suld not attempe thus to commounue,
Bot of ther grace, correctione, and pardounue, . . . 202

And I confess my simple insufficiens:
Ilitil haf I sene, and reportit weil less,
of this materis to haf experience.
Tharfor, qhar I al neidful not express, 248

1 That is, planets, signs of the air, herbs, birds, fishes, borne as arms.
2 They, the 3rd and lowest order of Heralds, are yet above the writer.
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.  XIX

In my waiknes, and not of wilfulnes,  
my seid lordis correk me diligent,  
To maid menis, or sey the remanent!

Wanted, then, the author of the present poem and the Siege of Thebes, the Troy Book, and Brut, above named.

It is possible that he may have been a Frenchman, if the heraldry suits the French rules—as my Scotch authority tells me it does not, for many reasons, and especially that the classification of roundles was quite unknown in France,—for another treatise once in this collection of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, but now cut out, was translated for him from the French, by his obedient son in the office of Arms, Kintyre, Pursevant:

[Harleian MS 6149, leaf 78.]

[H]eir eftyr folouis ane lytil trecty of the Instruccioun of the figuriis of armes and of the blasoning of the samyn, eftir the fraynche oppinyon,\(^1\) translatit owt of fraynche in Scottis at the command of ane wirschepfull man, Wilzem Cumyn of Innerellocchquy, alias Marchemond herald, be his obedient sone in the office of armes, kintyre, purseuant, and vndir his correccioun, as efter folowis be cheptours.

(The treatise itself is cut out from the MS.)

Having looked through the MS and dipped into likely-seeming parts, I think it quite certain that the writer of the poem does not refer to any of the short tracts in this MS volume of Sir Wm. Cummyn's, in none of which tracts could he have written "at linth," as he says, of the Theban War. Mr E. Brock, who has gone in like manner over the volume, is of the same opinion. In the 2nd tract in the volume, "the Signification of Armoury,"—the 1st is the frequent "Gaige of Battaill"—Julius Cesar is spoken of, as in the poem (lines 57, 204), as the originator of Arms.

[Harl. MS 6149, leaf 5.]

In the tyme that Iulius Cesar, emperour of romme, conquest Afferik, Sumtyme namyt the land lucyant in the partis of Orient, Rychtsua quhen pome of romme conquest Ewrop, other waiss callit the land of Ionnet, in the occident, than war maid the rial officis til

\(^1\) MS oppimyon.
wonderstand and govern al thingis pertainyng to the craft of armes, and tó to discent and júge the richtís that followis ther-appon. In the first wes constitut and ordanit be the said prínces the office of countable; Secoundly, the office of ammerall; The third, the office of marschall; The ferd war maid the capitanys the fift, to be at juge-
ment of armes the heraldís, and ilkane of thatím servand in his degre.

Passing over the 3rd tract in the volume, on the Habiliments of Knights, (leaf 44), and the 4th, on Funerals (leaf 48), we come to the 5th, Liber Armorum, of which Mr Brock says,

'There is no account of any wars in the Liber Armorum,1 so far as I can see; but there is a fabulous story which traces the gradual rise of Armis, &c.2 A similar story is given in 'The First Fynding of Armes' at leaf 140.3 It makes mention of Troy and certain Trojans.

Here is an extract :

[Harlécian MS 6149, leaf 141, back.]

And for to proced forthor in our materis, the quhilk kind of peple of the fósad lemares; within certane process of zervis come our lady that I spak of before, the quhilk lemares wes trogelius dochter, that maid troye beforsaid quhether for the britons cornyfye (I), and wald be lawe of petigre chalain kiwend of the vergin our lady, of the fader joachim, because thaj war troians, and come of troye be lynage of trogelius. To pas in our materis; Trogelius had thre sonnys in troy, The eldast wes callit arbadus, The second is callit Erewfilix, The third arbegraganus, [of whom] within v3 zere, be rycht lynne come Ectour of troye, through al the world anme of the ix worthièst. of the eldast sonne arbadus, after the distructione of troye xiiij zervis, be rycht lynne come brutus, of the quhilk rycht lynne of brutus within certane process of zervis come arthour, anme of the ix worthièst, through al the world be law of armes callit. Of the second sonne, Erewfilix saragei in sertagia, after the distructione of troe vij 3ere xlviiij ; come Iulius Cesar, and enterit in brettane that tyme apon case, mony wynter befor king arthour.

1 A book of heraldry, superscribed 'Incipit liber Armorun,' the first chapter of which is, 'How gentlemys shal be knowene from churles, and how thai first beggan, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his thre sonnes.' Harl, Catal.

2 The whole MS seems to be written by the same hand, except perhaps these two tracts: Art. 6, ff. 62, De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differencia. Art. 7, ff. 79, Heraldorum nomen et officium vide extorsum sit Epistola, &c.

3 "Here begynys the first fynding of armes callit the origynall. . . ."
I repeat again, then, 'Wanted, the author of our Peem and his three other Books!'

To hark back to our 2nd question, p. xvii above, 'Who was Sir William Cumnyn of Inverallochy?' The answer is given in the following extract from the Appendix to Mr George Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863, to which Mr David Laing was good enough to refer me, and which Appendix Mr Seton states to be greatly indebted to Mr Laing's researches:

'Sir William Cumnyn of Inverallochy, Co. Aberdeen—c. 1512. Second son of William Cumnyn of Culter and Inverallochy (?), by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Meldrum of Fyvie, and fourth in descent from Jardine, second son of William Cumnyn, Earl of Buchan, who got the lands of Inverallochy from his father in the year 1270. (Nisbet's Heraldry, ii. Appendix, p. 57.) Sir William appears to have held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1499 (Reg. Secreti Sigilli); and the lands of Innerlochy were granted to him and Margaret Hay, his spouse, by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 18th January, 1503-4. He was knighted in 1507, and in a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quyte (31st January, 1513), he is described as "circumspectus vir Will*ma* Cumnyn de Innerlochy, Rex Armorum suprerni domini nostri Regis." (General Hutton's Transcripts, Adv. Lib.) His character of "circumspectus" (canny) is thus referred to by Bishop Leslie, in connection with the year 1513:—

"Leo fecialis Angli Regis responsunm sapienter eludit." (History of Scotland, 1578, p. 361.) In a deed dated 17th July, 1514, he is styled, "Willelmus Cumnyn de Innerlochy miles, alias Leo Rex Armorum;" and again, in 1518, he is designed "Lioun King-of-Armes." The following curious account of Cumnyn's insult by Lord Drummond, in the year 1515, is from the Genealogie of the House of Drummond, compiled by the first Viscount Strathallan in 1681, and printed about thirty years ago:—"John Lord Drummond was a great promoter of the match betwixt his own grandchild, Archibald Earle of Angus, and the widdow Queen of King James the Fourth, Margaret Teudores; for he caused his own brother, Master Walter Drummond's son, Mr John Drummond, dean of Dumblane and person of Kinnowl, solemnize the matrimonial bond in the Kirk of Kinnowl, in the year 1514. But this marriage begot such jealousie in the rulers of the State, that the Earle of Angus was cited to appear before the Council, and Sir William Cumnyn of Innerlochy, Knight, Lyon King-at-Armes, appointed to deliver the charge: in doeing whereof, he seemed to the Lord Drummond to have approached the Earle with more boldness than discretion, for which he (Lord D.) gave the Lyon a box on the ear; whereof he complained to John Duke of Albany,'

1 See also the note, p. 102 below.
then newly made Governor to King James the Fifth, and the Governor, to give an example of his justice at his first entry to his new office, caused imprison the Lord Drummond's person in the Castle of Blackness, and forfault his estate to the Crown for his rashness. But the Duke considering, after information, what a fyne man the Lord was, and how strongly allied with most of the great families in the nation, wes well pleased that the Queen-mother and three Estates of Parliament, should interceed for him; so he was sooner restored to his libbertie and fortune."—Page 478 (Appendix, Notices of the Lyon Kings-of-Arms), Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, 1863.

Mr David Laing writes:—

"'Cumming' is the modern mode of spelling the name. In earlier times there are a great variety, such as Cumin, Cumine, Cuming, Cumyng, etc. The form in the Museum MS should be preferred.

The following is copied from the List of Charters under the Great Seal.

Cumming alias Merchmond Herald

| Carta Willielmo, et Margaretæ Hay ejusスポンセ, Terrarum de Innerlochy, 18 Janrij 1503 |

Cumyn alias Merchmond Herald

| Carta Willielmo, super Maritagijs Suorum haeredum 4 Apræ 1507 |

 Cumyng filio

| Carta Willielmo, filio et heredi Willielmi |

| Cumyng de Innerlochy, Militis, Terrarum de Innerlochy &c." 14 Julij 1513 |

The 25th piece in our volume was brought under my notice by the note k in Warton, ii. 480, on Lyndesay's *Syde Taillis* already quoted in these Forewords at p. xiii, and which the reader will perhaps have characterized, with Warton, as a poem having 'more humour than decency.' It is a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, and now in type for the Society's Part V. of Lyndesay's Works, under Mr J. A. H. Murray's editorship. The note in Warton says, 'Compare a manuscript poem of Ocleve: *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men, which is azens 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.' There are no doubt better MS copies of the poem than that printed here; but I had not time to hunt for them, and Mr George Parker copied this Laud one, and read it with
the MS, as he did the other pieces from the Bodleian in this volume. It may have been printed before, but is not in the Percy Society's Poems and Songs on Costume, or any other volume that I remember.

The 26th and last piece in Part I. is a short extract from the least uninteresting part of Sir Peter Idle's 'Instructions to his Son' in the Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 4, 37, for which I am indebted to a young friend of Mr H. Bradshaw's, who wisely learns MSS as well as Mathematics, at college. The treatise has been long on our list for printing, Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica having tempted me, with this description, p. 64, to put it there:

**Idle Peter**, of Kent, esquire, wrote 'Liber consolationis et consilii,' or Instructions to his son, extant in the Bodleian Library (Digby, 181), where his name is 'Peter Idlywerte,' in the publick library, Cambridge (MSS More 124, [now Ee. 4, 37]); in the British Museum (MSS Har. 172, leaf 21), and in Trinity College, Dublin, D. 2. 7: 'In the begynnyng of thys lytill werke.'

But on looking through the MS, I found it at first little more than an expansion of Stans Puer ad Mensam and like poems, while in the latter part it went off into biblical and saints'-lives stories, of little interest to modern ears. So, though we must print the poem some day, it may stand over for a time. Print it, I say, because, if our old people were dull, foolish, and dirty, as well as interesting, wise, noble, and pure, we want the dulness, folly, and dirt, as well as their interestingness, wisdom, nobleness, and purity. We don't want to deceive ourselves about them, or fancy them cherubs without sterns. Let's know their weakness as well as their strength, and not talk gammon about 'the good old times' without looking fairly into them; though, when we have done this, we may still be able to say to the rest of the world, 'Match our old men if you can!'

This volume, then, the reader will see, may be looked on, from one point of view, as a kind of Resurrection Pie like we used to have once a week at school, in which we declared old left bits reappeared. But I prefer another metaphor, and hold, that through all the book's

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1. Our extract should be compared with the Babes Book piece, pp. 345, 'Of the Manners to bring one to Honour and Welfare.'
different-looking limbs, one life of old England runs; and as irreverent friends in the Society have christened the first *Babees Book* my babee, I prefer to look on this present volume as my 2nd babee. Some may care to look at its eyes, some at its toes; some may perhaps penetrate to its navel, that continual marvel to the infantile mind; prigs, no doubt, will scorn it all as trash; but it may lead some back to knowledge of days nearer England's childhood than our time is; and if it does, I shall be content.

To Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who has kindly made the Indexes to Part I.; to Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, and the learned authority on Scotch Heraldry, who have helped in the very difficult Heraldry Poem; to our copiers and readers, Messrs E. Brock, G. Parker (of Oxford), and W. M. Wood; and lastly to Mr W. M. Rossetti and Mr Oswald for their valuable and interesting Essays in Part II., I tender hearty thanks.

Nov. 14, 1869.

1 I wonder whether Chaucerian and Tudor babies kept on asking their daddies 'What's this for?' as they put their little fingers in the hole, and when scolded as naughty boys, answered with 'Gog, gog!' and a grin.
PART I.

Early English Treatises and Poems

on

Education, Precedence, and Manners

in

Olden Time.

FROM MSS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, ETC.
Queene Elizabethes Aacademy,

(by sir humphrey gilbert).

Lansdowne MS. 98, art 1, leaf 2.

The erection of an Aacademy in London for educacion of her Maiestes Wardes, and others the youth of nobility and gentlemen.

fforasmuch as (moste excellent soveraigne) the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen that happen to be your Maiestes Wardes, the Custody of their bodies beinge of bownty grawncted to some, in rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable Confidence of their good educacion, yet, nevertheless, most commonly by such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Committees have sould them, being eyther of will, religion, or insufficient qualities, are, thorough the defaltes of their guardens, for the moste parte brought vp, to no small grief of their frendes, in Idlenes and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their prince and Cowntrey, obscurely drownct in educacion for sparing Charges, of purpose to abase their mindes, laste, being better qualified, they should disdaigne to stowpe to the mariage of such purchasers daughters; As, also, for that the greatest nomber of younge gentlemen within this Realme are most Conversant abowte London, where your Maiestes Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence; Yt were good (as I thincke, vnder Your Highnes most gratious Correction,) that, for

1 This Clarendon type is used for the words in larger letters in the MS.
their better educacions, there should be an Academy erected in sorte as followeth:

first, there shall be one Scholemaister, who shall teache Grammar, both grke and latine, and shall be yearly allowed for the same, 40th. 1

Also there shall be allowed to him four Vshers, every of them being yearly allowed for the same, 20th; which maketh in the whole by the yeare, ... ... ... ... 80th.

Also there shall be one who shall reade and teache the Hebrue tounge, and shall be yearly allowed for the same, ... 50th. 1

Also there shall be one who shall reade and teache bothe Logick and Rethorick, and shall be yearly allowed for the same, and shall be yearly allowed therefore, ... ... ... ... 40th.

[leaf 2, back]

Note.

When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do yt in Orations made in English, both politique and militare, taking occasions out of Discourses of histories, approving or reproving the matter, not onely by reason, but also with the examples and stratagemmes both antick and moderne. fior of what Comodity such vs of arte wilbe in our tounge may partely be scene by the scholasticall rawnnes of some newly Com- men from the vniversities: besides, in what language sooner learninge is attayned, the appliaunce to vs is principally in the vulgate speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Common Weale. I omitt to shew what ornament will thereby growe to our tounge, and how able yt will appeare for strengthe and plenty when, by such exercizes, learning shall haue brought vnto yt the Choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishmente of figures, and other beautyes of Oratorie,—Whereupon I haue heard that the famous knight Sir John Cheeke devised to haue declamaciones, and other such exercizes, sometimes in the vniversities performed in English.

My Reason.

This kinde of education is fittest for them, becausw they are wardes to the prince, by reason of knights service. And also, by this exercize, art shall be practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble exploytes that ever were or are to be done, togetheer with the occasions of their victories or overthowes, shall continually be kept in

1 over 66th. 13" 4" struck out.
fresh memory; Wherby wise counsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. for not without Caswe is Epaminondas com-
mended, who, riding or Iourneying in time of peace, vsed oftentymes sodenly to appose his Company vpon the opportunity of any place, saying, "What yt our enemies were here or there, what were best to doe?"

Also there shalbe one Reader of morall philosophie, who shall onely reade the politique parte thereof, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... ... ... 100£

Note.

This philosophor shall distinctly devide his Readinges by the day into two sortes,—The one concerning Ciuill pollicie, The other concerning Martiall pollicy.

Of Peace.

In the discourses towchyng Peace, he shall alleage particularly the estates of all monarchies and best known Common weales or principates that both haue bene and are, Togeather with the distinct manner of their governmentes towching Ciuill pollicie, And the principall Caswe concerning Justice, or their Revenues, wherby they [be] any way increased or diminished. And the same to be done, as neare as Conveniently may be, with speciall apliance of our owne histories, to the present estate and gouvernement of this Realme. By which means Children shall learne more at home of the ciuill pollicies of all foraine Countries, and our owne, then most old men doe which haue travailed farthest abroade.

Of Warres.

And towching warres, he shall also particularly declare what manner of forces they had and hane, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training and maintaining, of their soldiers in every particular kind of service.

My Reason.

By directing the Lectures to thendes afforesaid, men shalbe taught more witt and pollicy then Schole learninges can deliver. And therfore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly aperthaineth to haue the managing of matters of estate and pollicy. for the greatest Schole clarkes are not alwayes the wisest men.1 Where-

1 The greatest clerks beth not the wisest men,
As whilom to the wolf thus spak the mare.

CHAUCER. Cant. Tales, 1. 4051-2.
Upon Licurgus, among other laws, ordained that Scholes should be for children, and not for philosophie. For suche as governe Common weales, ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish Circumstances of the same.

Also there shalbe one Reader of naturall philosophie, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 40th.

Also there shalbe placed two Mathematicians, And the one of them shalbe one day reade Arithmetick, and the other day Geometry, which shalbe onely employed to Imbattelinges, fortificacions, and matters of warre, with the practizes of Artillery, and vse of all manner of Instrumentes belonging to the same. And shall once every moneth practize Canonrie (shewing the manner of vndermininges), and strayne his Auditorie to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of fortificacions, as well to prevent the mine and sappe, as the Canon, with all sorte of encampinges and Imbattelinges, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 100th.

[leaf 3, back] Also this Inginer shalbe yearely allowed for the powder and shotte which shalbe employed for the practize of Canonry and the vse of mines, ... ... ... ... 100th.

Also there shalbe vnder him one Vsher, who shall teach his schollers the principles of Arithmetick, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... ... ... 40th.

Also there shalbe one other Vsher, who shall teach his Schollers the principles of Geometrie, and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... ... ... 40th.

Also there shalbe entertained into the said Achademy one good horsman, to teache noble men and gentlemen to ride, make, and handle, a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at Ringe, Tilte, Towne, and course of the fielde, yf they shalbe armed. And also to skirmish on horsbacke with pistolles, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10s by the moneth, he finding them horses for that purpose, and shalbe bownd to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercize, beinge yearely allowed therefore, ... ... ... ... 333s 6s 8d.

This Rider shalbe have allowed vnto him at the first erecting of the Stable, to buy his horses, ... ... 266th 13s 4d.
This Rider, at his first Coming vnto the office, shall enter into bondes with sufficient sureties to leave vnto the Achademie, at his death or departure, the said horses, in as good estate as he receaveth, or others as good, or the full summe which he was allowed for the buying of them.

Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained Sowldiour, who shall teach them to handle the Harquebuz, and to practize in the said Achademie all kindes of Skirmishinges, Imbattelinges, and sondery kindes of marchinges, apointinge amoung them, some one tyme, and some another, to suply the roames of Capitaines and other officers, Which they may very well exercize without armes, and with light staves, in steade of Pikes and Holbeardes, beinge yearely allowed for the same, ... 66l. 13s. 4d.

The other Mathematician shall reade one day Cosmographie and Astronomy, and the other day textend the practizes thereof, onely to the arte of Nauigacion, with the knowledge of necessary starres, making use of Instrumentes apertaining to the same; and also shall haue in his Schole a shippe and gallye, made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache vnto his Awditory as well the knowledge and use by name of euery parte thereof, as also the perfect arte of a Shipwright, and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, and shalbe yearely allowed, ... 66l. 13s. 4d.

Also there shalbe one who shall teache to draw mappes, Sea chartes, &c., and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the groundes and rules of proportion and necessarie perspective and mensuration belonging to the same, and shalbe yearely allowed, ... ... ... 40l.

Also there shalbe entertained one Doctor of phisick, who shall one day reade phisick, and another daie Chirurgerie, in the English toung, towchinge all kindes of Wlcers, Sores, Phistiloes, woundes, &c. Together with all kindes of medicines for the same, as well Chimice as otherwise, and shalbe yearely allowed, ... 100l.

Note.

This Reader shall never allege any medicine, be yt of simples, salues, saltes, balmes, oyles, spirites, tinctures, or otherwise, But that he shall declare the reason philosophicall of euery particular
ingredient for such operation, and shew his hearers the mechanicall making and working thereof, with all manner of vessels, furnishes, and other Instrumentes and utensiles apertaining to the same.

Note.

This phisition shall continually prachize together with the naturall philosopher, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try out the secretes of nature, as many ways as they possible may. And shalbe sworn once euery yeare to deliver into the Treasurer his office, faire and plaine written in Parchment, without Equiuoca-
c[i]ons or Enigmatical phrases, under their handes, all those their proffes and triall made within the forepassed yeare, Together with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, To thend that their Successors may knowe both the way of their working, and the event thereof, the better to follow the good, and avoyd the evill, which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in Awcomistrie there be any such thinges hidden. For whose safeteyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of Henry the 4th touching multiplicacion to be dispensed at large.

My Reason.

The Phisition shall prachize to reade Chirurgerie, becawse, thorough wante of learning therein, we haue verie few good Chirurgery, yf any at all, By reason that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbors shoppe, And in that shoppe, most dawngereous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie trimming of men for Clenlynes must be done by those which hau to do with infected personnes.

Note.

This Philosophor and phisition shall have a garden apointed them which they shall furnish and maintaine with all kindes of simples; and shalbe yearely allowed, besides their Lectures, for their aforesaid extra ordinarie Charge and practizes, ... ... 100s.

Also there shalbe one Reader of the ciuill law, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... ... 100s.

Also there shalbe one Reader of diuinitie, who shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... ... 100s.

Also there shalbe one Lawier, who shalbe reade the groundes of the common lawes, and shall draw the same, as neare as may be, into Maximes, as is done in the booke of the ciuill lawes entituled de Regulis Iuris, for the more facile teachinge of his Awditorie.
And also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the office of a 
**Justice of peace and Sheriffe**, not medling with plees or cunning 
poinctes of the law; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, 100l-
[over 66l- 13s. 4d. struck out.]

My Reason.

It is necessary that noble men and gentlemen should learne to be 
able to put their owne Case in law, and to have some Judgment in 
the office of a **Justice of peace and Sheriffe**; for thorough the want 
thereof the beste are oftentymes subjecte to the direction of farre 
their **Inferiors**.

Note.

I would haue this **Lawier** to traine the younger sorte of his 
hearers to some exercize therein, whereby they may the better grow to 
be able to put their owne Cases, and to understand perfectly the 
offices aforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne 
of the law there. fior yf they desire more knowledg, the **Innes of 
cowrte** may suffize them.

(leaf 5) Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the french toung**, who 
shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... 26l.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wage of 10l.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Italian toung**, who shalbe 
yearly allowed for the same, ... ... 26l.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10l.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the Spanish toung**, who shalbe 
yearly allowed for the same, ... ... 26l.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of the highe duche toung**, who 
shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... ... 26l.

Also there shalbe one **Master of defence**, who shalbe principally 
expert in the **Rapier and dagger**, the **Sword and tergat**, the **gripe 
of the dagger**, the **battaile axe and the pike**, and shall theare pub-
liquely teach, who shall also haue a dispensation against the Statute 
of **Roages**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26l.

Also there shalbe one who shall keepe a **dawnceing and vawting 
schole**; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same, ... 26l.

Also there shalbe one **Teacher of Musick**, and to play one the 
**Lute, the Bandora, and Cytterne, &c.;** who shalbe yearely al-
lowed for the same, ... ... ... ... 26l.

Also he shalbe allowed one **Vsher**, at the yearely wages of 10l.
Also there shall be yearly allowed for a Steward, cooke, Butlers, and other necessary officers, ... ... ... 100d.

Also there shall be yearly allowed for a minister and clerk, 66d. 13s. 4d.

Also there shall be one perfect Harowlede of armes, who shall teach noble men and gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of Harowldrie; togethether with the keeping of a Register in the said Acharde of their discenues and pedigrues; and shall be yearly allowed for the same, ... ... ... ... 26sh.

Also there shall be one keeper of the Librarie of the Acharde, whose Charge shall to see the booke there saffely kepte, to Cawse them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set, And shall keepe a Register of all the booke in the said Librarie, that he may geve accompte of them when the Master of the Warde, or the Reector of the Acharde shall apointe; and shall be yearly allowed, ... ... ... ... 26sh.

Note.

This Keeper, after every marte, shall Cawse the bringers of booke into England to exhibit to him their Registers, before they vter any to any other person, that he may penvse the same, and take Choyse of such as the Achardie shall wante, and shall make the Master of the Warde, or the Reector of the Acharde, privy to his Choyse, vpon whose warrante the booke so provided shalbe payed for. And there shall be yearly allowed for the buying of booke for the said Librarie, and other necessary instrumentes, ... 40sh.

Note.

All Printers in England shall for ever be Charged to deliuer into the Librarie of the Acharde, at their owne Charges, one Copy, well bownde, of every booke, proclamation, or pamflette, that they shall printe.

Also there shall be one Treasurer of the Acharde, who shall be yearly allowed for the same, ... ... ... 100sh.

Also there shall be one Reector of the said Acharde, who shall make tryall of the nature and Inclination of the warde, to thend that they may, by his direction, be employed principally in suche profession whereto their nature doth most conforme, the Master of the warde being made privy therevnto; and shall be yearly allowed 100sh.
Also the Master of the cowrte of wardes, from tyme to tyme, shalbe the chiefest gouernor of this Achademy, becawse the over- sight of wardes doth Chiefly belonge vnto him; and shalbe yearely allowed for the same ... ... ... ... 200l. Also there shalbe geven in stocke for the furnishing of a Liberarie and Instrumentes apertaining to the same, Togeather with the buying of horses, as afforesaid, and all other necessary things for the first furnishing of this Achademy, ... ... 2000l.

The afforesaid whole yearely wages and Charges of this Achademy amownteth vnto ... ... ... ... 2507l. 6s. 8d. The whole yearely Charges for the Commons of the said Readers, officers, and seruantes in this Achademy amownteth vnto ... ... ... ... 459l. 6s. 8d. which maketh yearely in all ... ... ... ... 2966l. 13s. 4d.

Here wanteth levies for the building or buying of howses for this Achademy.

Certaine orders to be observed. [leaf 6]

All the afforesaid publique Readers of arte and the common lawes shall once within every six yeares set forth some new booke in printe, according to their severall professions.

Also every one of those which shall publiquely teache any of the languages as afforesaid, shall once every 3 yeares publish in printe some Translation into the English tounge of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those things which shalbe practized in the said Achademy.

All which bookees shall for ever be entituled as set forth by the gentlemen of Queene Elizabethes Achademy, wherby all the nations of the worlde shall, once every 6 yeares at the furthest, receaue greate benefitt, to your highnes immortall fame.

Also for ever, the 7th day of September and the 17th day of Noowember, there shalbe a Sermon in the Achademy, wherby the Awditory shalbe put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which means the tounge of man shall write for ever in the cares of the living, to the honour of the deade.

There are divers necessary things to be furder Considered of, all which I omitte vntill your Majesty be resolved what to do herein.
The Comodities which will ensue by erecting this Achiedemy.

At this present, the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine vp their children within this Realme but eyther in Oxford or Cambridge, whereof this ensueth:

ffirst, being theare, they utterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. ffor there is no other gentlemanlike qualitie to be attained.

Also, by the evill example of suche, those which would aply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and Idlenes; and, therefore, yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

And whereas in the vniuersities men study onely schole learninges, in this Achiedemy they shall study matters of action meet for present practize, both of peace and warre. And yf they will not dispose themselves to letters, yet they may learne languages, or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntrey. Yf neyther the one nor the other, Then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a gentleman. And also the other vniuersities shall then better suffice to receve poore schollers, where now the youth of nobility and gentlemen, taking vp their schollarshippes and fellowshippes, do disappointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes.

Also all those gentlemen of the Innes of cowrte which shall not apply them selves to the study of the lawes, may then exercize them selves in this Achiedemy in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other gentlemen abowte London, having good opportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte loose their times.

ffurther, whereas by wardeship the moste parte of noble men and gentlemen within this Realme have bene brought vp ignorantly and voide of good educac[ions], your Majesty may by order apoincte them to be brought vp during their minorities in this Achiedemy, from xij to his full age, if he [be] a gentleman by the father of five dissentes, and to have the prynses allowanse towards the same, whoseoeuer have the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shallbe fownde by office that he may yearcly dispandex 13th. 6s. 8d. Both Plato and Licurgus, withe other greate Philosophors, having bene of opinion that the

1 See Babees Book, p. xxxvii. 2 Interlined by another hand. 3 MS. ore ege.
education of children should not altogether be under the puissance of their fathers, but under the publicque power and authority, because the publicque have therein more Intereste then their parentes. Wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue, which in tymes past knew nothing but to hallow a hownde or lure a hawke, which thing will much asswage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure of wardship. for (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also (as yt were) killeth the sowle and darkeneth the eyes of reason with Ignorance. And when the best shall ordinarily be men of such rare vertue, Then the prince and Realme shall not se much from tyme to tyme be Charged, as they haue bene, in rewarding the well deservers. for honnour is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe. Whereas in tymes past the poorest sorte were best able to deserve at the princes handes, which, without great Charges to the prince, could not be maintained. So that when thes thinges shalbe performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price. And then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieue to excell; which will bring a blessed emulation to England. It being also no smalle Comodity that the nobility of England shalbe therby in their youthes brought vp in amity and acquaintance. And above all other, this chiefly is to be accompted of, that, by these meanes, all the best sorte shalbe trained vp in the knowledge of gods word (which is the onely foundac[ion] of true obedience to the prince), who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

[leaf 7] O noble prince, that god shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely, frozen, Island into such everlasting honnour that all the nations of the World shall knowe and say, when the face of an English gentleman appeareth, that he is eyther a Sowldiour, a philosophor, or a gallant Cowrtier; wherby in glory your Maiesty shall make your self second to no prince living. for, as Seneca sayeth, Cato, by banishing Vice in Rome, did deserve more honnour then Scipio did by conquering the Carthagians.

And whereas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is onely renewed by history,—which is knowne but to a few His-

1 See Babees Book, p. xiii.  
2 altered from 'bondage.'
toriographers,—your majesty shall not onely haue your share thereof, but also for evermore, once every .3. or 6. yeres at the most, fill the eyes of the world with new and change of matter, wherby all sortes of Studentes shalbe alwaies put in minde of Queene Elizabethes Achademy. And in the mean tyme, the pervsing of the old, and expectac[i]on for the new, shall occupy Continually ever mannes touuge with Queene Elizabethes fame. So that your majesty, being deade, shall make your sepulchre for ever in the mouthes of the livinge. Wherby, also, your highnes may saye of your predecessors as Zenobia that famous Queene did to Aurelius Emperor of Rome, which was to this effecte: "Thy Cowrte," sayeth she, "is replenished with Ignoraunce and many Vices, wheareas my Cowrte was full fraughted with vertue." Yea, and what further? By your highnes the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Achademy of Philosophie and Chualrie. . . Among the Lacedemonians learning bare such price, that the ffather which gane no learning to his Childe in his youth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his olde age. The Kings of this Realme (supplying over their wardes the roames of their deceased parentes) haue the use of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them vp in vertue, which for Conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

To conclude, by erecting this Achademie, there shalbe heareafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this Realme but good for some what, Whereas now the most parte of them are good for nothinge. And yet therby the Cowrte shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby your Maiesties and Successors cowrtes shalbe for ever, in stead of a Nurserie of Idlenes, become a most noble Achademy of Chiuallric pollicy and philosophie, to your greate fame. And better it is to haue Renowme among the good sorte, then to be lorde over the whole world. For so shall your Maiesty make your selfe to live among men for ever (wheareas all flesh hath but small continuance), and therwithall bringe youre selfe into goddes fauour, so farre as the benefittes of good workes may prevale.

1 'there being no such riches vnder heaven as to be well thought of,' struck out.
A Book of Precedence.

[Harl. MS 1440, leaf 11 (old numbering 8).]

The Copie of a Booke of Precedence of all estates and playcinge to ther degrees.

Cornellis van dalw.

A DUKE.

A Duke must goe after his creation, and not after his Dukedome; the Dutchesse his wife to goe according to the same; he to haue in his howse a Cloth of Estate, and in eury place Els out of the princes presence, so that the same Com not to the ground by halfe a yardle; and like-wyse a dutchesse may haue her Cloth of Estate, and a barones to beare vp hir trayne in her owne howse.

And there ought no Earle of Duty to washe with a Duke, but at the duke's pleasure.

Item, a Dukes Eldest sonn is Borne a Marquesse, and shall goe as a Marquisse, and weare as many poudringes\(^1\) as a Marquisse, and haue his Assayes,\(^2\) the Marquisse being present, sauing he shall goe beneath a Marquisse, and his

\(^1\) **Powderings**: Small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermine.—Halliwell. *Powderings, certain Devices us'd for the filling up of any void space in carved Works, Writings, Escutcheons, &c., which last are sometimes said To be powder'd with Ermins.*—Kersey's Phillips, 1706. (See p. 28.)

\(^2\) Tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it. See *Babees Book*, p. 196, 315.
wife beneath the marchionesse, And aboue all dukes daughters; but if so be that a duke haue a daughter which is his whole heyre, if she be the Eldest dukes daughter, Then she shall goe before and aboue the younger dukes Eldest sonns wyfe.

Item. a dukes daughter is borne a Marchionesse, and shall weare as many Poudringes as a Marchionesse, Sauing she shall goe beneth all marchionesse[s], and all dukes Eldest sonnes wyves. They shall haue none assayes in the marchionesses presens; and if they be maryed to a barron, they shall goe according to the decree of there husband. And yf they be maried to a knight, or to men vnder the decree of a knight, then they are to haue place according to theyre Birth.

Item. all Dukes younger sonns be borne as Earles, and shall weare as many poudringes as an Earle, sauing they shall goe beneath all Earles and Marquises eldest sonns, and above all viscounts; and there wyues shall go beneath all Countisses and marquises daughters, and above all viscountesses next to Marquises daughters.

Item. all Dukes daughters shall goe all-one with a nother, soe that always the Eldest Dukes Daughter go vpermost, vnlesse it be the Princes pleasure to the Contrary.

Item. [at] the creation of a duke, he must haue on him his surcoate and hoode, and he must be lead betweene 2 Dukes, if there be any present; if not, a Marquisse or 2; and for want of a Marquis, an Erle: some what before him on the right hand shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the Capp of Estate, with the Coromnett on it; and on the other syde against him shall goe an Earle, which shall beare the rod of goulde: and directly before the duke that is to be created must goe a Marquis of the greatest Estate, to beare the sowrd in the seabert by the poynt, with the girdle thereto belonging, the pommell

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1 MS is  
2 MS sonn  
3 MS Coromnett  
4 MS or
A book of precedence.

15

and before him an Earle to bare the Mantell or Robe of Estate, lyinge alonge vpon his armes. All these Lords that *doth seruise, must be in ther Robes of Estate. Item. His stile is proclaimed twise, the Largesse thrise.

A Marquesse, his wyfe, and children.

A Marquesse must goe after his Creation, and not after his marquisate, and the Marchioness his wife according to the same; he to haue a Cloth of Estate in his owne howse, so that it hange a Yarde aboue the ground; and ¹ he to haue it [in] every place savinge in a Dukes howse or in the Princes presence. And he to haue none Assayes in a dukes presence, but his cuppes couered; neyther may the mar-chioness haue her gowne born in a Dutchesses presens but with a gentile-man,—for it is accounted a higher degree borne with a woman then with a man; but in her owne howse she may haue her gowne borne vp with a knights wife; also, ther ought no viscount to wash with a Marquesse, but at the pleasure of a marquisse.

Item. a Marquesse Eldest sonn is borne an Earle, and shall goe as an Earle, and haue his assaye in an Earles presence, and were as mayny Powdrings as an Earle, saueing he shall goe beneath an Earle, and aboue all dukes younger sonns. And his wife shall goe beneath all Countesses, and aboue all Marquises daughters. But If the Marquesse daughter be his heire, If she be the Elder mar-quises daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Mar-quises Eldest sonnes wyues.

Item. a Marquises daughter is borne a Countisse, and shall weare as mayny powdringes as a Countes, Saueing she shall goe beneath all Countesses and marquises Eldest sonns wyues; but they shall haue no assayes in any Countisses presence. And If they be married to a Barron, or to any other aboue a barron, then they shall goe according to the

¹ MS an
A Marquis's children.

A Marquis's younger sons are Viscounts.

An Earle, his wife, and children.

An Earle shall goe after his Creation, and not after his Erldome, And the Countisse his wife shall goe according to the same, But he may haue none assayes in a Marquisses presence, but his Cuppe Covred; neither may any Countesse haue her gowne borne in a marchionesses presence with a gentle-woman, but with a gentile-man. Also an Earle may haue in his owne howse a Cloth of Estate, which shall be fringed rounde about, without any pendant. And a barron ought not to washe with any Earle, but at his pleasure.

Item. an Earles Eldest sonn is borne a viscount, and shall goe as a viscount, and shall weare as mayny poudrings as a viscount; but he shall goe beneath all viscounts, and his wife beneath all viscountesses, and above all Earles daughters. But If she be the Earles daughter and heire, and the Elder Earles daughter, then she shall goe aboue the younger Earle Eldest sonnes wyfe.

\[1\] MS she \[2\] for surcoat \[3\] ? cirlet, coronet.
Item. all Earles daughters be borne as viscountisses, and shall were as mayny poudrings as a viscountesse;¹ yet shall they goe beneath all viscountesses and Earles eldest sons wyues. And If they be married to a Barron, or to Any other aboue a Barron, than they shall go after the decree of there Housbonds; And If they be married to a knight, or under the decree of a knight, then they to goe and haue place according to ther birthe.

Item. all Earles youngest sonnes be borne as Barrons, and shall were as mayny powdrings as a Baron, sauing they shall goe beneth all Barrons and viscountesses Eldest sonnes, and aboue all barronetts; and there wyues shall goe beneth all Barronesses and viscountes Daughters, and aboue all Baneretts wyues.

Item, all Earles daughters to goe, on with a nother, the Elder Earles daughter to goe vpermost, vnlesse the plesure of the prince be to the Contrarye.

A VISCOUNT, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDEREN.

A viscount must goe after his creation, and not after his viscounts[y]; and the viscountesse² his wife must haue place according to the same; and he may haue in his owne howse the cupp of Assaye houlden vnder his Cupp when he drinketh, but none assaye taken;³ he may haue Carner and Sewer, with there Towells, when they sett there ser-nisse on the table, the viscount being sett at the table. And all viscountisses may haue there gownes borne with a man in the presence of the Countes. Also they may haue Trauers⁴ in there owne howses.

Item. viscounts eldest Sonnes be borne as Barrones, and shall weare as many Powdringes as a barron, sauing

¹ MS viscountesses
² MS viscountesses
³ See Russell’s Boke of Norture in Babes Book, p. 196, l. 1195-8: tasting and credence (or assaying) belong to no rank under that of an Earl.
⁴ ? Traverse, a moveable screen, a low curtain. Traverse, State Papers, i. 257. (Halliwell.)
he shall goe beneath all barrons, and aboue all Erles younger sonnis; And his wyfe shall goe beneath all Baronesses, and aboue all viscounts daughters.

Item. Viscounts daughters [be] borne as Baronesses, and shall weare as many powdrings as a Baronesse; saueng she shall goe beneth all Baronesses and viscounts eldest sons wyues. And yf they be maried to a Barron, they shall goe after the degree of there husband; and If they be maried to a knight, or to any vnder the degree of a knight, then they to go and haue place according to there birth.

Item. Viscountes younger sonns shall goe as Banneretts, and were as many powdrings as a banneret, sauing they shall goe beneath all barenets.

Item. viscounts daughters to goe one with a nother, so that the Elder viscounts daughters do goe vppermost, vnlesse the princes plesure be to the Contrary.

A BARRON, HIS WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

A Barron must go after his Creation, so that the Eldest barron goe vppermost; and the barronesse his wife must goe according to the same; and they may haue there gownes borne vpp with a man in the presence of a viscountesse. And a barron may haue the Couer of his cupp holden vnderneath when he drinketh.

Item. all Barrons Eldest sonns shall goe and haue place as a Bannerett, and shall haue the vper hand of [a] Bannerett, because his father is a peere of the Realme. And all Barrons younger sonns shall goe aboue all batcheler knights, because there father is a peere of the Realme.

Item. all Barones daughter[s] shall goe aboue all Bannerets wyues, and shall weare as much as a bannerets wyfe, and shall haue the vpper hand of all bannerets wyues. And If they marry husbands vnder the degree of a knight, then shall they goe and haue place vnder all knightes wyues.

1 MS she  2 MS Bannerets  3 MS bamerets
Item. all barrons daughters to goe one with a Nother, so that always the Eldest barrones daughter goe vppermost.

memorandum. a lord made by writ, and hauncing no new somones by writ, hath no place in the parliament howse, but shall retayne and keepe the name of Lord during his life, by Reason of the proclamation and publication of his name in Court Royall, whether the Children of shuch lords shall haue place as the Children of other barrons, or how they shall take there places.

Item. a knights wife may haue her kirtle borne in her owne howse, or in any other place, so it be not in her betters presence: and she may haue her sheete in her owne howse.

Be it remembered, that if any of all the degrees aboue written com or be desended of the blood Royall, thay ought to Sf[e]and and haue place aboue all those that be of the degrees whereof they be themselues: as a duke of the blood Royall aboue all dukes, and so the like in all other degrees, vnlesse the princes knowne pleasure be to the Contrary.

Item. there are 4 sortes of wayes to make barrons, ether by writ or Creation:—

1. The first and most vsiall, when they are called by writ to the parliament by there owne surname, as Lord Latymer of latymer.

2. when they be created by a Nother name in the right of there wif or mother, as pawlet Lord St. Iohn.

3. The 3d when they be created by the name of some Castle, howse, or manner, as Butlet baron of weme.

4. The 4d is, when they be created by some name of pleasure as the kinge shall best like, as Ratclif Lord Aegremont.

Although they be diversly Called, yet are they all of like calleing; and though in shew some of there dignities

1 MS Children 2 See Babees Book, p. 190, 285. 3 MS whom
be from the howse, yet is the right and digniye in the
personn of the noble man; for although he sell or ex-
change that cometh the name of his dignitie of, yet shall
he still for ever be called barron of the same place, and
haue his seate and voyce in the parliament by the same
name he was first called and Created; as, for example,—

The Lord Audleigh of Audlegh and helighe Castle
sould Bothe 2 thou & thorn 3, and yet is the Barron as he
was before.

The Lord Clifford of Clifford exc[h]aunged his castell
of Clifford, with other lands therefore, with king Edward
the first, for the honour of Craven and other lands there,
and yet is the Lord Clifford as before.

Arthur Lord Grey of wilton sould wilton, and bought
other lands, and yet is the barron of wilton notwith-
standing.

THE PROCEEDING TO THE HIGH COURT OF PERLIAMENT AT
WESTMINSTER, FROM HER HIGHNES ROYALL PALLACE OF
WHITEHALL.

first, mesingers of the Chamber
Gentlemen 2 and 2
Esquires 2 and 2
Esquires for the bodye
The 6 Clarkes of Chancery
Clarke of the signet
Clarke of the priue scale
Clarke of the Councell
The maysters of the Chancery
Batcheler knights
Knights Bannerets
The Trumpeters
Sergiants at the law

1 MS exchance 2 MS Bothe
2 Is it 'tower & thorn,' or 'the one & the other'?
The queenes Sergeant alone
The queenes Attorney and Soliciter togeather
Pursuants of Armes
The Barrons of the exchequer
Justices of the kings benches and of the Common place
The Lord Cheife Baron togeather
The Lord Cheife Justice of the Comon please
The Lord Cheife Justice of England and the master of
the Rowles togeather
Knights of the bathe
Knights of the priuate Counsell
Knights of the gar'cer

¶ He that Carieth the queenes Cloake an1 hat.

Barones younger sonns
Viscounts younger sonns
Barrons Eldest sonns
Earles younger sonns
Viscounts Eldest sonnes
Marquises younger sonnes
Earles Eldest sonns
Dukes younger sonns
Marquises eldest sonns
Dukes Eldest sonn
The Chefe Secratory, no barron
The Tresurer and Comptrouller
All the barrons in there Roabes, two and 2, the young-
est for-most
All Bishopps in there Robes, two and 2, the youngest
for-most
The Lord Admirall and the Lord Chamberlayne to-
geather, if they be Barrons and l[i]ke degree
¶ Heraldes of Armes on the syde
Viscounts in there Robes, the youngest formost
Earles in there Roabes, 2 and 2, youngest formost
Marquises in there Roabes
Dukes in there Roabes
The Lord President of the Councell
and the Lord Priuie Zeale
¶ Clarentius and Norrey kings of Armes
The Lord Chancelor and the Lord Tresurer of England
together
The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Arc[hbi]shop
of Yorke together
Sergeantes at Armes
Garter Principall King of Armes
The Capp of Estate borne by an Earle, and with him
on the left hand the Earle Marshall of England
with the gilte rodde
The Sworde borne by an Earle
Then the queenes Maiestye on horsbacke, or in chariott,
in her Robes of Estate, her trayne borne by a
Dutchesse or Countisse
The Lord Chamberlayne and vice Chamberlayn on
each side of the queenes Maiestie
Then the Pentioners with ther poleaxes on each side of
her Maiestie
And a little behinde her the Master of the horsse, leading
a Spare horse.
Then Laydyes and gentileweomen, according to there
Estates, 2 and 2
Then the Captayne of the Guard, with all the guard
following him, 2 and 2.

Be it noted, that in proceding to the parliament, these
5 bishoppes following keepe there playces ordinariley, who-
so is in them, viz.—

The Archbishop of Canterbury so placed by there
The Archbishop of Yorke, 2 } dignitie
The Bishop of London, 3
The Bishop of Durham, 5

The Bishop of Winchester, 4 (The prelate of Winchester heare

(The bishopps of London, Winchester, and Durham, so placed by act of parliament.)

All other bishopps take there places according to there creations.

THE PLACEING OF GREATE OFFICERS, ACCORDING TO AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT MADE IN ANNO XXX| HENRICUS OCTAVI [A.D. 1539]

These 4, viz.
The Lord vicegarent is to be placed on the bishops side, above all

1. The lord Chancelor
2. The Lord Tresurer
3. The Lord President of the Councell
4. The Lord Priuy seale

Being of the decree of A Baron or aboue, shall sit in the perlament and all Assembles of Councell, and aboue all Dukes not being of the blood Royall, viz.,
The kinges Brother, Vncle, or Nephew.

These Sixe, viz.,

1. The lord C[h]amberlayne of England
2. The lord Constable of England
3. The lord Marshall of England
4. The lord Admirall of England
5. The lord Greate Master or Lord Steward of the kings howse

6. The kings Chamberlayne

Are to be played in all assemblyes of Councell after the lord priuate seale, according to there degrees and estates; viz., if he be a barron, aboue all barrons; if he be an Earle, aboue all Earles.

The Kinges Secretary
being a barron of parliament, shall sitt aboue all barrons; and if he be of higher degree then a barron, he shall sit and be playced according to his degree.

If any of these xi officers aboue mentioned be not of the degre of a barron of Parliament, whereby he hath not power to assendt or dissent in the high Court of Parliament, Then he or they are to sitt upp on the upermost wolsack in the parliament Chamber, the one aboue the other, in like order as is aboue specified.

THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT FUNERALLS, ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE AND ESTATE OF THE DEFUNCT.

A King to haue mourners . . . . . . . . xv
A Queene or a prince . . . . . . . . xiiij
A Duke or a Marquisse . . . . . . . . xi
An Earle or a Viscount . . . . . . . . ix
A Barron . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . viij
A Knight . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . v
An Esquire or gentlemen . . . . . . . . 3

LLIUYERIES FOR NOBLE MEN AND GENTLEMEN AT THE PARLIAMENT, OF EURY MAN ACCORDING TO HIS ESTATE.

A Duke to haue for his gowne, sloppe, and mantell, a xvi yards, and liuery for 2 [?] xviiij servaunts.
A Marquesse for his gowne, slope, and mantell, xvj yards, and liuery for xvj servaunts.
An Archbishop, as a Duke.
An Earle for his gowne, sloope, and Mantell, xiiiij yards, and liuery for xij Servants.
A viscount for his Gowne and Mantle, xij yards, and liuery for x servaunts.
A barron or Barranett, being knight of the garter, for his gowne and hoode, viij yardes, and Liiuery for viij Servaunts.
A knight, vi yardes, and liuery for iiiij Servants.
An Esquire for the bodye, as a knight, and liuery for iiiij Servants.
All other Esquires and Gentilemen, v yardes, and liuery for 2 servants.

Be it Remembered, that none may weare a hood under the degree of an Esquire of the Kinges housshold, but only tippets of a quarter of a yarde broade; and in tyme of need they to weare hooedes.

Nether may any weare hooedes with a Rowle slyued ouer there heades, or other wayes being of that fashon, vnder the decree of a barron or an Erles sonn, an her bit only without Rowle.

[WHAT SERVANTS NOBLEMEN MAY KEEP.]
A Duke may haue a Tresuror, A Chamberlayne, 4 greate housers, A steward, A Comptrouller, A master of his howse.

An Erle may haue a secretary, A Comptrouller, A Steward, 2 great housers, A gentile-man for his howse.

A Baron may haue A Steward, A Clarke of his kitchin, A yeoman of his horse, A gentileman houser (but Couered, and not bare-Hedded when he goeth abrode), And a Yeamon Husher, A grome of his Chamber, A yemon houser of his hall, and his grome, (but no Marshall,) A Sewer Armed, A Caruer, (but vnmaried,) A foreman [?] his cup couered, t[h]oughe in the presence of his better, but no assay taken at any tyme; his foote Carpit single.

[A BARONESS'S RIGHTS.]
A Baronesse Lying in Childbed may haue single carpetts round about her bead, but no foot sheete, with degrees nor with-out.

1 ? a hair bit
LIVERIES FOR NOBLE WOMEN AT FEASTS.

A Baronesse may haue no trayne borne; but haueing a gouna with a trayne, she ought to beare it her selfe. Quere, whether she may haue any trayne borne to the greate chamber doore in Court, or noe.

Her gentleman husher goeing before her abroade, ought to goe vncouered.

LIUERYES FOR NOBLE WOMEN AT THE INTERTAYNEMENT OF ANY GREATE ESTATE.

A DUCHESSE.

for her selfe . . . . . . . . . xvi yards
for her trapper of her horse, of veluet . xvi yards
and of Cloth . . . . . . . . . v yards
for her 3 gentle weman,¹ 5 yardes a peece, fiftene yardes . . . . xv
for her 3 gentlemen . . . . . . xv yards
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, 4 kerchifes
And Liuery for 12 servants.

A COUNTISSE.

for her selfe . . . . . . . . . 12 yardes
for her traper . . . . . . . . . 5 yardes
for her 3 gentlewemen . . . . . 15 yardes
for her selfe, one mantlet, on barbe, one frontlet, 3 kerchifes
for her gentle weoman, of Lynen all points as before
a Liuery for 8 servants.

A BARRONESSE.

for her selfe . . . . . . . . . 12 yards
for her tray[er] . . . . . . . . . 5 yards
for her 2 gentleweomen . . . . . 10 yards
for her 2 gentlemen . . . . . . 10 yards
for her selfe, one mantlet, one barbe, one frontlet, and 2 kerchifes

¹ '?' & ' struck out here
for her 2 gentleweomen, 2 mantlets, 2 barbes, 2 frontletts, and one kerchief.
for her owne gentleweoman, 2 elles of fyne holland,
And liuery for 4 servants.

**LADYES AND GENTLE WEMEN.**

for her selfe . . . . . . . . 6 yards
for her trayer . . . . . . . . 4 yardes
for her gentle weomen . . . . . 3 yards
for her selfe, on Mantelet, one barbe, one frontlet, and 2 kerchifes
And liuery for 4 servants.

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**THE ORDER OF ALL ESTATES.**

A Dukes Eldest sonnes be Earles, and all the rest of his sonns are Lords, with the Addition of there Christen name, as Lord Thomas, Lord Henry.

Item, if the Dukes Eldest sonn, being an Earle, hane yssue male, his Eldest son shall be called lord of a place or barony, and all his other sonns no Lordes but in Curtisy; but all his daughters be Ladyes.

The Dukes Eldest sonn, being of the blood Royall, shall sit or goe aboue a marquesse.

All marquises Eldest sonnes are named no Earles, but lord of a place or barony, without any Adission of his Christen name; and all his other bretheren, Lordes, with the Addition of there Christoned name.

A Marquesse Eldest sonn of the blood Royall shall sit or goe aboue an Earle.

An Earles Eldest sonn is called a lord of a place or Baron[y], and all his other sonnes no lords, but all his daughters are Ladyes

Earles Eldest sonn, if he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe aboue a Viscount. If he be not, the[n] aboue a barron.
A viscounts Eldest sonn is no Lord, nor no other of his sons, nor none of his daughter[s] ladyes.

A viscounts eldest sonn, yf he be of the blood Royall, shall sit and goe a-boue A baron; yf not, then a-boue a barons sonn; and so of all other dignities.

A slope is a morning Cassock for Ladyes and gentile wemen, not open before.

A surcoate is a mor[n]ing garment mad lyke a Close or straight-bodied gowne, which is wore vnder the mantell; the same for a Countesse must haue a trayne before, A nother behind: for a baronesse no trayne.

The trayne before to be narrow, not exceeding the brea[d]th of 8 inches, and must be trussed vp before vnder the girdle, or borne vpon her left Arme.

p. 13, Poudringes; p. 15, Marchioness's train. Lord Lecon-field writes: "So far as I can learn from others, it is not usual to carry out at State Ceremonies now, the rules laid down in this Book of Precedence with regard to the bearing of the trains of a Marchioness and Duchess.

"The Powderings are, I am informed, bands of ermine, called also Minirer; but I cannot learn what number is allotted to each order of Peers. They are worn on the Cape of the Robe."

Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, writes: "the Powderings are surely the same as 'the guards of ermine' in Clark's Heraldry, edited by J. R. Planché (Bell and Dalby, 1866). p. 224, 'A Duke's mantle . . . . has only 4 guards of ermine with a gold lace above each, that of the Prince having 5.' 'The mantle which a duke wears at the Coronation . . . . is doubled with ermine below the elbow, and spotted with 4 rows of spots on each shoulder.'

"From the same book it appears that

a Marquess has $3\frac{1}{2}$ guards on the shoulder
an Earl " 3 " " " 
81 Viscount " 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " " " 
81 Baron " 2 " " " And that the Coronation robes

of a Marquess have $\{4$ rows of spots on the right shoulder
of an Earl " $3$ " " on the left " 
81 Viscount " $3$ " " on each " 
81 Baron " $2$ " " on each "
The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time.\(^1\)

[MS Cott. Julius B. xii. leaf 7, back—leaf 8.]

This is the ordynance And guyding that perteyneth vtto the worshypfull Beryyng of Any Astate, to be done in maner And fourrme ensuyng.

flurst, to be offerde A swerde, by the moost worshypfull of the kyñ of the saide Estate, And ony\(^2\) bee presente ; elles by the moost worshypfull Man that is present there, on his partie.

Item, In like wise his Shelde, his Coote of worship, his helme and creste.

Item, to be hadde A banere of the Trinitie, A baner of our Lady, A bannere of Seint george, A baner of the Seynt that was his aduoure, And A Baner of his Armes/ Item A penon of his Armes ; Item A Standarde, and his beste therein : Item A getoun\(^3\) of his de-vise with his worde.

\(^1\) This heading is in a late hand.

\(^2\) MS only

\(^3\) "Euery baronet, euery estat aboue hym shal have hys baner displayd in y\(^e\) feild, yf he be chyef capteyn ; euery knyght, his penoun ; euery squier or gentleman, his getoun or standard, &c. ... Item, Y\(^e\) meyst lawfully fle fro y\(^e\) standard & getoun, but not fro y\(^e\) baner ne penon. ... Nota, a stremer shal stand, in a top of a schyp, or in y\(^e\) forcastel: a stremer shal be slyt, & so shal a standard, as welle as a getoun: a getoun shal berr y\(^e\) length of ij yarde, a standard of iii or 4 yarde, & a stremer of xii, xx, xl, or lx, yarde, longe." MS. Harl. 838, quoted by Sir F. Madden in Archaeol. xxii. 396-7. He adds that Sir H. Nicolas, in the Retrospect, Rev. N.S. i. 511, quotes MS. Harl. 2258 and Lansd. leaf 431, the former of which states, "Euery standard & Gudhome [whence the etymology of the word is obvious (?) F,)] to have in the chief the crosse of St George, to be sitte at the ende, and to conteyne the creste or supporter, with the posey, worde, and devise of the owner .... a gudhome must be two yarde, and a halfe, or three yarde, longe." But in Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 327, is a bill, with "Item, a gyton for the shippe of viij yerdis long, pourid full of raggid staves; for the lymmyng and workmanship, ij s." Ret. Rev. i. 511, ib.
Item. A doubble valance Aboute the herce, both aboue And by-neath, with his worde And his devise written therine.

Item, xij Schon of his Armes to bee sett vpon the barves withoute And within the herse, And iij dosen penselles to stande abouen vpon the herse Amonge the lightes.

Item, to be ordeignede as many scochons as be pilgrers In the Chirche; And Scochons to bee sett In the iiiij quarters of the saide chiretie, as best is to be sette by discretion.

Item, as many Torchies as the saide Astate was of yeres of Age; And euery torche A scochon hanging; And the berers of the torches In blakk.

Item, it is to bee ordeynede standing. v. officers of Armes Aboute the saide herse, that Is to say, one before the saide herse, bering the cote of Armes worship, And he standing at the heede in the mydel-warde of the saide hers. The ijde standing on the right Side of the herse in the fore fronte, bering his Swerde. The iiijde standing on the lifte Side of the saide herse, bering his helmet and creste; The iiijth on the Right Side of the saide hers, in the Nethere parte of the hers, bering his baner of Armes; And the vth standing on the lifte side, In the nethere parte, he bering his penon, So standing till the offering. And the baners of the trinitie, oure lady, Seinct george, And the baner of his Adoure1 to bee sett Abone In parties of the saide Hers, And his standarde also.

Item, to bee ordeynede certeyne clothes of golde for the ladies of his kyn being within the saide hers; And they to offerer the saide clothes of golde.

Item, a certeyne of Innocentes clothed In white, euery Innocent bering A Taper in his hande.

Item, the hors of the saide estate, trappede with his Armes; And a man of armes, being of his kinne, vpon the same hors, or elles any other man of worship in his name, hauyng In his hande A Spere, Swhirde, or’ Axe, so to be presentede to the offering in the Chirche with ij worshipful men, oue going oue that oue Side of the hors,

1 Also a pensel to bere in his hande of his arowyge. Lansd. MS cited by Douce in Archaeologia, xvii. 296, and explained by him ‘Arowyge, cognizance, badge, distinction.’ See p. 33, below, l. 6.
And that other on that other Side of the hors, And a man leading the same hors.

Item, the heire of the said estate, after he hath offrede, shal Stande upon the lifte Side of the preste Receyving the Offering of the Swerde, helme, and Creste, Baner of Armes, Cote of worship, And pono.

Item, ij men of worship to stonde on the same Side of the preste, holding A bason, with therin for the offering.
A Funeral in Popish times.

[Ashmole MS 837, art. vi. leaf 133-9, written in the time of Charles I. or II.]

The manner of Ordering of every man at ye setting forth of the Corps, and how every man shall goe after ye estate and Degree that they bee of, in due order.

First, The Orders of Freres as they bee accustomed. Then the monkys and Chanons; after them the Clarkys; then the Priests; and then they of [the] Church where ye Body shall be buried must have the preeminence to goe nearest the Corse within their jurif]{s}diction. Then ye Prelats that bee in Pontificalebus; Then sertayne gentlemen in Dowle,¹ their hood vppon their sholders; Then the Chaplyn or Chaplynys of the defunct; next them the Overseers; Then the executours weryng their hoods² on their Heddes, going in good Order, ij and ij. Then a gentylman in a mourning habit, with a hood on his face, to bere ye Banner of his Armes, if hee bee not vnder ye degree of a Banaret; and if hee bee but a Bachelour Knight, hee to have but a Penon of his Armes, and a guidon with his Creste, And a paust (sic) writyng therein, and ye Cross of Saint George. *In ye first quarter the Banarette to [³ leaf 133, back] have his Standard made in likewyse, with his Crest, the Bannor or Pennon on ye right side before the Corps, and the Standard or guidon on the other side before the Corps, and ye Herald of Armes betweene them, a space before theme. Then the Corps and 4 Banners of

¹ mourning. Cf. 'mourning habit,' 6 lines down.
² MS has 'Heddes on their hoods.'
sanctes\(^1\) att the fower Corners, borne by 4 gentilmen in mourning habattes, with hoddys on their faces, Te one of the Trynity att ye Hede, on ye right side; the other, of our Lady, att the Hede on the other side; The third, of the Armes of Saint George, att ye Feet on the right side; The 4th, of his avowry, of the other syde: Then next after the Corps, the Chiefe mourner alone, and the other mournours to goe two and two, cearhtayne space one from another; and next theyme the greatest statys, and a space after theyme all other to follow as servantes, and theyme that will. and when ye Corps commyth, where ye shall remayne, att the West dore of the Church, A praelat shall sens the *Corps, which shall do the devyne service; then sixe of theyme of ye place, being prestys or religious, whither they bee, bere ye Corps, or else so many gentylmen; and att ye 4 Corners of the rych Cloth, fower of the greatest estates of the sayd Church must bee supporting of ye iiiij Corners, as if they bare him; and so had into the Quier, where must bee a goodly herse well garnished with Lightes, pencelles, and scochyns of his Armes; and if hee bee an Earle, hee must have a Cloth of Magesty, with a Vallance fryngyd; and if hee bee a Knight Banarett, hee may have a vallance fryngyd, and a Bachelour Knight none. The sayd herse must bee raylyd about, and hangyd with blake Cloth; and the Grownd within the Rayles must bee coveryd with blake Cloth; And the fourmes that the mourners do lene vppon within the Rayles; the Chiefe mornor att the Head, the other mornor att the sydes; and the Helme, Crest, wreth, and mantyll must bee att the Hede vppon the bere, the shild over the left syde, and ye sword on the right side; The *Cote of Armes [* leaf 134, back] on the bere, the banners to be holdyn without the rayles, in forme as they wente; The Herauld to stand

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1. See p. 30, note.
att the Hedde without the rayles, weryng the Kings Cote of Armes. The derge don, the prelates and pontiffsicelles to Fence the Corps within the rayles, and all the Covente standing about y*e Herse, without the rayles, singing diverse antems; and att every Kyrie lyson, one to say with an high voice for y*e sowle A Pater noster: the sayd morneres to bee gon their way before that the Serenomyes bee don: then the iiiij banneres to bee borne to the grave, but nothing else, then to bee sett agayne att y*e Herse till over the morow that y*e Masses bee sayd: The executoris must see y*e buryng of the Corps; the Helme, Crest, shilde, Coote of Armes, and swerde, must bee taking away, and sitt apon the high Awter, till over the morow att y*e massis; then to bee sette over y*e bere.

The manner att the Offering att the interrement of Noble-men.

First in y*e morning betymes, Masse of our Lady bee [said], the banners to bee holdyn, the helme, Childe, sword, the Cote of Armes, to bee layd vpon y*e bere in dew order, and the morners in there places: Att the offering tyme the cheife morner, accomanyd with all the other, to goo forth att y*e hede, att the left hede of the herse, and none to offer but y*e cheife mourner att that masse, and hee to offer iijs iiijd, and then to returne, on the other side, to his place that hee came fro; the harald weryng his Cote if the mourners bee not present att y*e sayd masse; The executores to goo in like manour to y*e offerying, and none to offer but one of theyme, and then to goo to their places that they came fro.

The second masse of the trynite att y*e offering likewise, as before fanyng. That hee shall offer 5s; and the third masse must bee of *Requiem), and that to bee song

1 Shield. 2 not 'sanyng'?
by ye noblest prelat Pontificalibus. The chief mourners, accompanyd as before, shall offer for the masse pene vijs viijd; then to their places as they came frower, att every tyme; the Heraulde or Heraulds there beyng, weryng their Masteres Cote of Armes, going before the mourners to and fro the offeryng, and so to bring theyme to their places agayne on the other side; and the sayd officers of Armes to stand without the rayles att the Hede.

Item, there must bee offeryd the Cote of Armes by two of the gretyst gentylmen.

Item, too other to offer his swerd, the pomell and the Crosse foreward.

Item, ij to offer his Helme and Crest, and if hec bee of ye degree of a Earle, then a Knight rydyng on a Corser trapyd with the Armes of ye defunct, the sayd Knight armyd att all peces savyng the hede, having in his hand a battle-axe, the poynyt downeward, led by twey too other Knightes from the west dore of the Church tyll hee came to the dext.¹ in the quire, the officer or offyceers att Armes going before hym; and there the sayd Knight to alight, and the sexton there to take ye Horse as is fee, and the Knight to bee ledd to the offeryng, and there to offer ye axe, and the poynyt downeward; then ye sayd Knight to bee convoyd into the revestre, and there to bee vnarmyld.

Then the rest of the mornyrs to goe, too and too, to the offeryng; and so to their placys.

Also, ye if it bee an Earle, there must bee too gentylmen to bryng too Clothes of bawdkyn from the one syde of the quire, and deliver them to the Herald, which shall deliver them to too of ye gretest estatys, which must offer theyme, the lowest estate first, and then the other, some men calleth this Clothys 'pawlles,' and sume 'Clothys of gold,' which shall remayne in ye

¹ desk:—the Litany or fald-stool.

The Chief Mourners offer 7s. 9d. for the mass-penny.
Lastly, all offer that will.

Churche; then all the othyr to offer that wyll, the gretyst estatys to *offyr first, next after the executores. The offering don, the sermon to begyn; and att y* last end of the masse, Att 'Verbum Caro,' the banner of Armes or pennon shall be offeryd, as y* state is of degree.

The Nombre of mourners, after y* degree of the defunct.

A King to have xv. A Earle to have ix.
A Duke to have xiij. A Baron to have vij.
A Marcus to have xj. A Knight to have v.

Sitting of Noblemen.

A Dukes sonn and heire, beyng of the blood royall, shall be sett above A Marquis; and if hee bee not of y* blood Royall, hee shall sitt above an Earle; And an Erles eldest sonn, if hee bee of blood ryall, shall sitt above a Vicount; and if hee bee not of blood riall, hee shall sitt above a Baron.

*And as for all Ladyses and gentylwomen: to bee sytt after the degree of their husbandes; and if any of the Ladyses or gentylwomen bee of the blood ryall, the King may command them att his plesure.

Liberyes for Noblemen att Interments, every man according to his castat.

A Duke, for his owne slope and mantyl, 16 yerdes att x s the yerde, and Livery for eighteen; And a Erle, for his gowne, slope, and mantylly, sixeene yerdes att vijs. the yerdl and Livery for 12 servantes.

A Baron or Banneret, beyng Knight of the Garter, for his gowne and hood, sixe yerdes; and Livery for viij servantes.

A Knight, 5 yards, six shillings eight pence y* yard, and liverye for lower servantes.

1 After yat, fast at hande
Comes to time of offrande:
Offer or leene, wherfer he lyst.

A Squyer for ye Body, as a Knight, and Livery for iiij servantes.

All other Esquires and gentylmen, att five shillings ye yard; and *livery for iiij servantes. And every gentylman servant iiij yards.

Non to were no hoodes vnder the degree of a Esquire of Household, but onely typpetes of a quarter of a yard brode; and in tyme of ned the[y] may wher hodds.

Also, non to wher no hoodes with a Roll slyvyd, on his hede, or otherwise beyng of that fasion, vnder ye degree of a Baron, or an Erles sonn and heire; bott onely hoddes without Rolles.

*See appertayning to ye Officers att Armys.

Item, att ye Buryall of on, being a Pere of ye Realme, of the bloode Ryall, or elles in any of theis Offices, as Constable, Mareshall, Chancelour, Hagh Tresor, Chamberlayn, Steward, Admirall, or Lord Privy Seale, there hath been accustomyd, all ye officers of Armys to wher their Cottes of ye Kings armys, and to have their gownes, and hoddes; and five Pounds to bee divided amongst them. *In likewys, yf any Lord of the parlement chance to dye durynge the tyme of ye parlement, they to have as affor is sed.

P. 29. Mr G. E. Adams, Rouge Dragon, says: "No doubt 'his beste' means his crest; and query if it is not a miswriting of the MS for crest instead of beast. For it would not follow that a man has a beast for his crest: mine is (a beast of) a Bird, and that of Lord Hill 'a Castle,' no beast at all. No doubt, however, beasts, or bits of them, are most common. In olden time (days of gold for us) the Heralds arranged all the state funerals. The Lord Chamberlain is an innovation, introduced to manage the private funerals of Royalty, as being more under the Sovereign's thumb than the 'Earl Marshal' (an hereditary office) and his Heralds. The Lord Chamberlain has even now only to do with private funerals, such as those of the Duchess of Kent, and of 'Albert the Good,' &c. &c. Those of the Dukes of York and Kent, of George III. and IV., William IV., Duke of Wellington, &c., devolved on us.'
The definition of an Esquire, and the several sorts of them according to the Custome and Usage of England.

[Ashmole MS 837, art. viii. fol. 162.]

An Esquire, called in latine Armiger, Scutifer, et homo ad arma, is he that in times past was Costrell to a Knight, the bearer of his sheild and helme, a faithfull companion and associate to him in the Warrs, serving on horsebacke; whereof every knight had two at the least [in] attendance upon him, in respect of the fee, For they held their land of the Knight by Cottage, as the Knight held his of the King by Knight service.

At this day, that Vocation is growne to be the first degree of gentry, taken out of the service in the warrs, from whence all the other degrees of nobility are borowed.

The first sort of them, and the most ancient, are the Eldest sonnes of Knightes, and the eldest sonnes of them successively in infinitum.

The second sort, are the eldest sonnes of the younger sonnes of Barons and noblemen of higher degree, which taketh end, and are determined, when the Cheife Males of such Elder sonnes doe fayle, and that the in-heritance goeth away with the heires female.

The third sort, are those that by the King are Created Esquires by the gift of a coller of SS, or such bearing armes are the principall and cheife of that Coate Armour, and of there wholle race; out of whose familys, although divers other houses doe spring and Issue, yet the Eldest of that Coate armure only is an Esquire, and the residue are but gentlemen.

The fourth and last sort of Esquires, are such, as bearing office in the Commonwealth or in the Kinges house, are therefore called and reputed to be Esquires, as the Sergeants at the law, the Escheators in Euerie Shire and in the Kings house, the heralds of armes, the Sergeants at Armes, and the Sergeants of Euerie office, who haue the Coller of SS given them, but hauing noe Armes, that degree dieth with them, and their Issue is not Ennobled thereby.
The good wyfe wold a pylgremage.

[Porlington MS, No. 10, leaf 135, back, ab. 1460—70 A.D.]

The good wyf wold a pylgremage
unto þe holly londe:
The good wife tells her daughter

† she sayd, “my dere doȝttar,
þou most vndor-stonde

† For to governe well this hous,
and saue thy selfe frow schond.

† For to do as I þe teche,
I charge the þou fonde.

† Wêt and O & a ny,
seyd hit ys fulf ȝore,¹

† That lothe chylde lore be-howytt,
and leue chyld moche more.

† Wên I am out of þe toune,
loke that [thou] be wyse,

† And ren þou not fro hous to house
lyke a nantyny gryce;

† For þe yonge men cheres the,
they wyll sey þou art nyce,

† And eueruy boy wyll wex bold
to stêre þe to lóvd² wyss.

† Wêt an O & a I,
my talle þou atende:

† Syldon mossyth the stone
þat oftyn ys tornyd & wende.

¹ This line, like many others in the poem, is written in the MS as part of the one above it.
² ? lewd.
Don't show off to attract men's notice.

On holy days, when you sing or dance, don't hang your girdle too low

Also, hide your white legs, and don't show your stockings (or drawers)

Like a butcher the flesh he wants to sell.
THE GOOD WYFE WOLD A PYLGREME.

Don't indulge in light laughter or looks.

Don't tap (?) with your hands or feet.

Don't sit alone with men:

fire and tow will kindle.

[leaf 137, back]

Don't talk too much:

a fool's bolt is soon shot.
Don't change friends too often.

1 Do not change thy frend all day
   for no feyre speche;
2 A trusty frende ys good I-fonde,
   who-so may hym reche;
3 If 3ehe a ny fortun falt amyssse,
   then mey he be thy leche;
4 If 3ehe he fynde p° in amy wyngge,
   then meyst p° ou wyne his wrecche.
5 Witt a O & a I,
   a flent wol make a slyde;
6 So gothe p° frendles porowe p° toun,
   no man bydyth hym a-byde.

Don't swear, or give pledges hastily.

7 Doʒtur, O pinge I p° for-bede;
   vse not for' to swere;
8 keppe thy hondis, & geyse no trevthe,
   for weddynggis bythe in were;
9 He is a foll pat wyll be bonde
   whyll he mey for'-bere.
A lowely lokynge & a porse
makys follys her and pere.
10 Witt a O & a I,
   a-say or' euer p°ow trust;
11 When dede is doun, hit ys to lat;
   be ware of hady-wyst.

Try before you trust.

12 Loke what woman p° wolt be,
   and there-on set thy thowʒt;
13 Tallis flatterynge nor' scandorynge,
   loke thowe loue hem nowʒt;
14 A stydfast wett ys meche I-prevyde
   there womens wytt ys sowʒt,
15 And per pat wette wanttythe longe,
   full dere hit ys I-bowʒt.
16 Witt a O & a I,
   men wyff sey so,
17 "3ehe p° ou penke to do no syne,
   do no þynge pat longythe there-to."

100
104
108
112
116
120
124
128
132
Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have,
but where thy maydon crowne,
Ren not a-bout in euerei plei,
nor' to tavern in tovn;
Syt sadly in þiu arey;
let mournynge be þi gounn;
Byd þi priers spessyally
witt good devossyon,
Witt a O & a I,
al day men mey see,
"The tre crokoth son
pat good cambril 1 wyll be."
Reyle þe well in met & drenke,
doʒtwer, it is nede;
lechery, sclanderynge, & gret dysesse,
commythe of dronken hede;
Fatt mosellis & swett, makyth
mony on to begge there brede;
He þat spendyth more þen he gettythe,
a beggerris lyfe he schaft lede.
Witt a O & a I,
seyd hit ys be southe,
Wynttur ettyþ þat somer gettyþ,
to olde men is vnkoth[e].
Far-well douʒtwer, far-well nowe!
I go vn-to my pylgremage;
kepe þe wel on my blessynge
tyl þou be more of a[ge],
let no merth ner' Iollyte
pis lesson frowe þe swage;
Then þou schalt have þe blys of heyvyn
to thy errytagy.
Witt a O & a I,
doʒtwer, pray for' me;
A schort prayer wynty the heyvyn,
the patter noster and an' ave...' Amen.

If you want to remain a maid,
don't gad about to taverns.
[leaf 138, back]
Don't drink too much or gorge.
Don't spend more than you earn.
Farewell,
keep to my precepts,
and you shall go to heaven.

1 From cam, crooked. Topsell uses cambril for the back of a horse (Halliwell).
"We allus gives 'em a little gamber, Sir," said a Cambridge boat-builder to me in 1841, when I complained that a funny he was making was not on a straight keel.
Hear how the Good Wife taught her Daughter:

If you want to marry,

serve God,

and don't let rain stop your going to church.

Pay your tithes,

and feed the poor.

In church,

pray, and don't chatter.

Lyst and lythe A lythe spare,
Y schaft you telle A praty cace,
How pe gode wyfe taught hyr douzter
To mend hyr lyfe, and make her better.1

Douzter, and you wylle be A wyfe,
Wysely to wyrche, in All lyfe:
Serna god, and kepe thy chyrche,
And myche better you sh[alt] wyrche.

To go to pe chyrch, lette for no reyne,
And pat schaft helpe pe in thy peyne.

Gladly loke you pay thy tythes,
Also thy offeringes loke you not mysse;
Of pore men be you not lothe,
bot gyff you them both mete and clothe;
And to pore folke be you not herde,
Bot be to them thyn owen stowarde;
For where pat A gode stowerde is,
Wantys seldome any ryches.

When you arte in pe chyrch, my chyld,
loke pat you be bothe meke and myld,
And bylde pe bedes. A-bouen alle thinge,
With sybbe ne fremde make no Iangelynyge.

1 The original is not divided into stanzas.
lauȝhe þou to scorne noþer olde ne þonge;
Be of gode berynge and of gode tonge;
Yn thi gode berynge be-gyynes þi worschype,
My dere douȝter, of þis take kepe.

Yf any man proser1 þe to wedde,
A curtas anser2 to hym be seyde,
And schew hym to thy frendes alle;
For' any thing þat may be-fawle,
Syt not by hym, ne stand þou nought
Yn sych place þer syne mey be wroȝht.

What man þat þee doth wedde with rynge,
loke þou hym loue A-bouen Alle thinge;
Yf þat it forteyne þus with the
That he be wroth, and angry be,
loke þou mekly anserþ hym,
And meue hym noþer lyth ne lyme;
And þat schaff sclake hym of hys mode;
Than schaff þou be hys derlynge gode:
Fayre wordes wretch do slake;
Fayre wordes wretch schaff never make;
Ne fayre wordes brake never bone,
Ne never schaff in no wone.

Be fayre of semblant, my dere douȝter,
Change not þþ countenans with grete lauȝter;
And wyse of maneres loke þou be gode,
Ne for' no tayle change þþ mode;

Ne fare not as þou A gyglot were,
Ne lauȝe þou not low, be þou þer-of sore.
Iuke þou also gape not to wyde,
For' Any thinge þat may be-tytde (sic).

Suete of speche, loke þat thow be;
Trow in worde and dede: lerne þus of me.
How the Goode Wyfe Taught Hyr Doughter.

Loke þou fe syne, vilony, and blame,1
And se þer be no man þat seys the Any schame.  

When þou goys in þe gate, go not to faste,
Ne hyderwerd ne thederward thi hede þou caste.
No grete othes loke þou suere;
By ware, my douȝter, of syche A maner! 60

Don't go to
Go not as it wer A gase
Fro house to house, to seke þe mase;
Ne go þou not to no merket
To sell thi thryst; be wer of itte.

Don't drink too much.
Wher-euer þou comme, at Ale other2 wyne,
Take not to myche, and leue be tyme;
For mesure þer-Inne, it is no herme,
And drounke to be, it is þ of schame.

Don't go to cock-fights,
Ne go þou not to no wrastlynge,
Ne þit to no coke3 schetyngye,
As it wer a str[en]mpet ofer A gyglote,
Or as A woman þat lyst to dote.

but stay at home.
Byde þou at home, my douȝter dere;
Thes poynettes at me I rede þou lere,
And wyrke þ werke at nede,
All þ better þou may spede:
Y suere þee, douȝter, be heuyn kynge,
Mery it is of Althyngye.

Don't make friends with every man you meet.
A-queynte þee not with euer[y] man
þat Inne þe strete þou metys than,

1 MS blane.
2 MS o'.
3 MS 'coke fyghtynge'; but 'fyghtynge' has four small dashes under it, as if it were intended to be erased.
Thofe he wold be Aqueynted with the;
Grete hym curtasly, and late hym be;
loke by hym not longe þou stond,
That thorow no vylny þ þeirt fonde:
Alle þeir men be not trew
That fare speche to þe can schew.

For’ no conety, no ðifyst þou take;
Bot þou wyte why, sone them for’sake;
For’ gode women, with gyftes
Me þer honoure fro þem lyftes,
Thofe þat þei wer Alþ trew
As Any stelc þat bereth hew;
For’ with þer’ gyftes men þem ouer gone,
Thof þei wer trew as ony stone;
Bounde þei be þat gyftys take,
Ther’for’ thes gyftes þou for’sake.

1 Yn ðoper mens houses make þou no maystry,
For’ drede no vylny to þe be spye.
loke þou chyd no wordes bolde,
To myseyse þoper zonge ne olde;
For’ and þou any chyder be,
Thy neýþbors wyll speke þe be vylny.

2 Be þou not to enyos,
For’ drede thi neýþbors wyll þe curse:
Enyos hert hym-selue fretys,
And of gode werkys[þ] hym-selue lettys.

3 houwysfel wyff þou gone
On werke deys in thine Awne wone.
Pryde, rest, and ydell-scy[þe],
Fro þes werkes þou the kepe;

1 See the first stanza (from the Trin. Coll. Camb. MS) in Babees Book, p. 42, note.
2 This stanza is not in the Babees-Book copy.
3 l. 153, Babees Book, p. 43.
4 a d at end partly blotted out.
and worship God on holy days.

Don't ape ladies with rich robes.

Be a good housewife, and gentle.

Get work wanted, done quickly.

When your husband's away, set your people to work.

If you've a heavy job, go at one end of it at once.

And kepe þou welle thy holy dey, 116
And thy god worshyпе whe[n] þou maу, 116
More for worshype than for pride; 116
And styfly in thy feyth þou byde.

1 loke þou were no ryche robys;
Ne counterfyte þou no ladys;
For' myche schame do them be-tyde
þat lese þer worshipe thorow þer pride.

2 Be þou, douȝter, A hous-wyfe gode,
And euer-more of mylde mode.
Wysely loke thi hous And men-ȝe; 124
The better to do þei schall be.
Women þat be of yueff name,
Be ȝe not to-gedere in-same; 128
loke what moste nede is to done,
And sette þi men[e] þer-to ryȝht sone:
That thinge þat is be-fore done dede,
Redy it is when þou ȝast nede.

And if thi lord be fro home,
lat not thi men-ȝe I-dell gone;
And loke þou wele who do hys dede,
Quyte hym þer-aft on his mede;
And þei þat wylle bot lytell do,
Ther-aft þou quite is mede also.

A grete dede if þou haue to done,
At þe tone ende þou be ryȝht sone;
And if þat þou fynd any fawte,
Amend it sone, and tarrye note:
Mych thynge be-houen them;
þat gode housold schall kepyн.

Amend thy hous or þou haue nede,
For' better after þou schaft spede;

1 See the first stanza of the note, p. 45 of Babees Book.
2 See l. 102, p. 41, Babees Book.
3 MS þou thow.
And if pat thy nede be grete,
And in p country courne be stryte,
Make An hous-wyfe on thy-selue,
Thy bred pou bake for hous-wyfys helthe.
Amonge p seruantes if pou stondye,
Thy werke it schall be senor done;
To helpe them sone pou sterte,
For many handes make ly3ht werke.

By-syde pee if thy neghbores thryue,
Ther-fore pou make no stryfe;
Bot thanke god of all thi gode
pat he sende pee to thy fode;
And pou thow schall lyue gode lyfe,
And so to be A gode hous-wyfe.
At es he lyues pat Awe[s] no dette;
Yt is no les, with-outen] lette.

Syte not to longe vppe At euene,
For drede with Ale pou be ouer-sene;
loke pou go to bede by tyme;
Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne.
And so pou schalle be, my dere chyld,
Be welle dysposed, both meke and myld,
For all per es may pei not haue,
pat wyf thryue, and per gode saue,

And if it pus the be-tyde,
Pou frendes falle pee fro on euery syde,
And god fro pee thi chyld take;
Thy wreke one god do pou not take,

When need is, work yourself, and bake your own bread.

Don't grudge your neighbour's success, but thank God for your own.

Go to bed betimes, and rise early:

you can't take your ease if you'll thrive.

If friends fall away, or your child dies, don't abuse God.
Marry your daughters early:
girls are uncertain things.

Don't borrow,
or spend other men's money.

Pay servants when their work is done.

This is what my mother taught me.

Forget it not!

— The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter —

For thy-selue it wyll vn-do,
And alle thes pat pee longes to:
Many one for per Awne foly
Spyllys them-selue vn-thryftly.

1 loke, douather, no thinge pou lese,
Ne pou housbond pou not desples.
And if pou haue A douather of age,
Pute here sone to maryage;
Fore meydens, pei be lonely,
And no thinge syker per-by

Borrow pou not, if pat thou mye,
For drede thi neybouyr wyll sey naye;
Ne take pou nought to fyreste,
Bot pou be Inne more bryste.²
Make pee not ryche of oyer mens thynges,
Be boldere to spende be one ferythynge;
Borowyd thinges muste neces go home,
Yf pat pou wyll to heuen gone.

³ When pou servantes haue do per worke,
To pay per hyre loke pou be smerte,
Wheper pei byde of pei do wende:
Thus schalt pou kepe pen euer pou frendes:
And bus thi frendes wyll be glade
pat thou dispos pe wyslye and saide.

Now I haue taugh pei, my dere douather,
The same techynge I hade of my modour:
Thinke per-on both nyght and dey;
For-gette them not if pat pou may;
For' A chylde vn-bornour wer better
Than be vn-taught, bus seys pe letter.

¹ See l. 193-201, p. 46 of Babees Book.
² Corrupt. See l. 181-2, p. 45 of Babees Book, and the last stanza in the note.
³ See l. 133, p. 43, Babees Book.
Ther'-for' almighty god Inne trone,
Spede vs Alle, bothe even and morne;
And bringe vs to thy hy3he blysse,
That neuer more fro vs schalffe mysse!

Amen, quod Kate.

God speed and save us all!

[With a drawing of a fish (?) and a flower underneath.
A fish is also drawn at bottom of leaf 7, back.]
This Song is to make young men true and stedfast.

How a Wyse Man taught hys Sone,

quod Kate.

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 6.]

Lordynges, and 3e wylle here
How A wyse man taught hys sone,
Take god heede to pis matere,
And fynd 1 to lerne it yff 3e canne.

pis sone for 3onge men was be-gone,
To make them trew and stedfast;
For 3erne pat is euylle spone,
Enyylle it comes out at p laste.

A wyse man had a son of 15,
Yt was A wyse man had A chylk;
Was fully xv wynter of Age,
Of maneris he was meke and mylk;
Gentyll of body and of vsage 2;
By-cause he was his faderes Ayere,
His fader pus on pis langage
Taught his sone wele and feyre,
Gentyll of kynd and of corage,
And seyd, "sone, haue pis word in herte,
And thynke per-on when I ame dede,

Euery dy ey fyrst werke,
loke it be done in euery stede,
Go se p god in forme of brede,
And thanke p god of his godnesse;
And after-ward, sone, be my rede
Go do p werldes besylynage;
Bot fyrist worscype god on þe dey,
   And þou wyll haue to þe mede;
Skyulfull, what þou wy‡ praye,
   He wylle þe send with-outen drede,
   And send þe all þat thow hast mede.
Als ferre as mesure wy‡ destreche,
   luke, mesyrlly thy lyfe þou lede,
And of þe remynant þer þe not reche.

And, son, þe tonge þou kepe Al-so,
   ¶ And tell not all thynges þat þou maye,
For þe tonge may be thy fo;
   þor-fo', my sone, thynke what I sey,
Where and when þat thow schall praye,
   And be whome þat thow seyst owht;
For þou may sey A word to-dey,
That vij þere after may be for-thought.

With loue and Awe þe wyfe þou chastys,
   And late feyre wordes be þe þerf;
For Awe, it is þe best gyse
   Forto make þe wyfe Aferf.
Sone, þe wyfe þou schall not chyde,
Ne caule he[r] by no vylons name;
   For þe seche þat schall ly by thy syde,
To calle hyr wykyd, it is thy schame.

When þou schalt thy wyfe defame,
   Wele may An opër man do so;
Bot, sofere-and¹, A man may tame
   hert and hynd, and þe wylyde ro.
Sone, be þou not gelos by no wey,
   For if þou falle in gelosye,
late not þe wyfe wyte be no weye;
   For þou mayst do no more folye:

¹ suffering
for if your wife sees it, she'll pay you out.

Pay your tithes, and give to the poor.

Stand stiff against the devil.

For if thy wife my3ht ons A-spye
   but thou to her wolde not tryste,
Yn spy[t]e of All P^i fantysye,
   To wreke hyr' werst, but is herre lyste.
Sone, vnto P^i1 god pay welle P^i tythe,
   And pore men of thy gode pou dele.
Ageynw be deucz[fl be stronge and styfe,
   And helpe P^i soule fro peyne of helle ;

Thys werld is bote fantasye fele,
   And dey by dey it wylle A-pare ;
per-fore be[ware] be werldes wele ;
   Yt farys as A chery feyre.
Many man here gederes gode
   A[ft] hys lyfe tyme for’ odour mene,
but he may not—be the rode—
   Not A^2 tyme to ete A hene.

When he is doluen in his den,
   An oper schall comme at P^i last ende,
And haue hys wyfe and catell thanw ;
   but he has sparyd, An oper wytt spende.
For a[ft] but euer A man[ w] doth here
   With bysenes and trauell bothe.
All pis is, with-outen were,
   Not bot for’ mete and drynke and clothe ;

Men can but get food and clothes,

be they poor or rich ;

therefore don't covet more than enough,

More getes he not, with-outen hothe :
   Kyng’ ne prince, wheper he be,
Be he lese o’ be he lothe,
   A pore man[ w] schall haue als mych as he.
per-for^i, sone, be my counsell[e,
   More pan 1-now3he pou neuer counete ;
Thou wotyste not when deth wylle pee A-saylle ;
   pis werld is bot deth and debate.
loke þou be not to hyȝe of state.
     By ryches here sette þou no price,
For þis werlde is full of deseyt;
    Ther'for' purchasse¹ para dyece;
For deth, my chyld, is, as Y trow,
    The most ryȝht serteyn [thing] it is;
No thing so vn-serteyne to vn-know
    As is þe tyme of deth I-wys;
And þer-for', soõne, thinke one thys,
    And all þat I haue seyd be-orne;
And Ihesu brynge vs to his blysse,
    The chyld þat w[as] in bedleme borne.

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a drawing of a fish underneath.]

¹ MS Ther purchasse for
Stans puér ad mensam,¹
quod Kate.

(According to Grostete and Doctor Palere, 1463-83 A.D.)

[Ashmole MS 61, leaf 17, back]

Christ, give us grace to teach children to flee vice!

_Ihesus cryste, pat dyed vpon A tree_  
To bye mans saule pat ons was forlorn,  
Helpe _pem_ wele in All _per_ degre  
That doth euers ryght be-hynd _and_ be-form!  4

And gyffe me grace _pat_ I may so teche  
That some man _per-for_ _p_ better maye be,  
And to be to chylder _A_ bodely leche,  
And euers-more Alle vyces _pe_ maye fere _and_ Fle!  8

To teche chylder _courtesy_ is myne entent;  
And _p_us forthi my proces _I_ purpos to be-gyne;  
The trinitye me sped, _and_ gode seynt clement,  
Yn what countrey _pat_ euers y be Inne!  12

The child _pat_ euers thinkes _pat_ he wold thryue of the,  
My counsell in _pis_ to hym _pat_ he take;  
And euers-more curtayse luke _pat_ he be,  
And euers all eevyle vyces to fle _and_ for-sake.  16

Courtesy is sure to pay.

The child _pat_ is curtas, be he pore or ryche,  
_Yt_ schall hym _A-vaylle, per-off_ haue no drede,  
And euers to hym-selne forto be A leche,  
When he is in _quarrel_ or Any _oper_ nede.  20

¹ There is no title in the MS.
And iff he be vicius, and no thing will lerne,  
A vicious child

[ ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ]

To fader and to modour be statly and sterne,  
23 never thrives;

He may neuer thryffe well, for no thing hat he canne.

Ne no man off hym reiosynge will haue,  
no one likes him; and he gets called knave;

Yn what lond of crysdome pat he commys Inne,  
therefore
Bot oft-tymes rebukyd, and be callyd knaue,  
attend to me.

Ne neuer is Abuff worshipp to wynne.  
28 therefore

Ther-for pis scryptour, my sone, iff thou rede,  
And thinke in þe selue þat thou wold be a man,

Vn-to syche poyntes I rede þou take hede  
neuer is Abuff
As þou schall here-after rede iff þou canne.  
32

And labour thi-selue while þou arte zonge,  
Work while you're young,

For þou schall be more perfyte, when þou arte of Age,  
and learn to help yourself.

To helpe þe selue þe better with Hond and with tonge  
Than he þat lernes no thing but to plye and rage:

The sothe treuly-thi-selue þou may see  
36

By experience, by many in þe werld.

þat Are vnthrifty, ne no tyme will þe,  
neuer act against reason and right.

How þei be trobyles, and oft-tymes ille horkle.  
Hearken to my teaching!

Ther-for pis doctrine to þee I rede þou take,  
44

To occupy and vse bothe by dey and nyght;
Neuer no maystrys I rede þat thou make,
þe which be contrary A-zen reson and ryght.

Now chyld, take gode hede what þat I wyli sey;
My doctryne to þee I purpos to be-gyne;

Herkyn well þer-to, and go not Awey  
47

Goddes grace be with vs now and euer-more. Amen!

My dere child, fyrst þe selue þou vn-Abulle
With all þe herte to vertuous disciplyne,—
Afore þe soueryn, standying at þe tabulle——

Dispos þe sounthe After my doctryne,  
Before your master,

1 MS þ, the same as for 'thy.'  2 MS þ, the same as for 'the.'
To All nurtour procure you enclene.

Fyrst, when you spekys, luke you be not rekles,

Be-hold to p face with they eyene,

Kepe fete and fyngers and hondes styff in pese.

Don't stare about, Be simpily of chere, caste not p luke off syde,

Gase not A-boute, turnynge thy hede over Alle;

Ageyn the post luke not p bake A-byde;

Make not p myrroure Also off p walle;

Pyke not p nose All-so in espeyalle,

Be ryght wele wer, and sette per-vn p thought,

Crache not p fleche for ought pat may be-falle,

Hede and hond, ne oper things pat is vpon pee wroght.

Don't look on the ground when a man speaks to you.

To the erth you luke not when Any man spekes to pee,

Bot be-hold vn-to his face ; take gode tente per-to.

Go pesally by p wey, wer-so-euer it be,

That no man vex pee in forney wer you schalle gone.

Change not p colour by no maner wyse,

les you be pronyd gylyt in All p mysede;

Moke not, ne scorne not, nofer man ne wyfe,

Ne no oper person; per-to you take gode hede.

Wash your hands before eating.

Ete you not mete with p vn-wasche hondes,

For dreed of mych hurte pat may come per-byde;

Ne syte not vn-byden wer-so-euer you stondes,

lesse p pepyff sey you canne no curtasye.

Take A-boffe pee thi better whe[n] you schall sytte,

Els folke wyff sey pat thou canne no gode.

Take you no mete (be welle wer off itte)

Vnto grace be seyd, and per-to veylle p hode.

Don't eat too hastily.

When you etys p mete, be not to hasty,

(Be well wer per-of) be it befe o' moton,

Or Any oper metys, oper pyre or pastye,

lest you be callyd els both cherle or gloton.)
When *pou* has done with A dysch, calle it not A-geyn,
  For *pat* is no curtassy; *per-offe* *pou* take gode hede.
What-so-euer *pou* be *seruyd, loke *pou* be feyn,
  For els *pou* may want it when *pou* hast ned." 88

Reuyle *pou* no metes, what-so-euer it be,
  Yff *pou* purpos After-ward of its forte ete;
Fro Alle sych vncurtaspnes I rede *pat* *pou* fle;
  And euer to be curtas, *p* hert *per-in* *pou* sette. 92
Kepe *p* spone cle[ne] from All maner of fylthe;
  longe In thi dysch late it not A-byde.
Be wer wele *per-of*, *pat* *pou* no thyng spylleth,
  That *pei* do not make *pee* *pat* standes be be-syde. 96

Luke *p* hondes be clene when *pou* etys *p* mete;
  Pare clene *p* nayles for ought *pat* may be,
Make *pem* chere curtasly *pat* by the do sette,
  And kewe wele *p* countenas, for *pat* is curtasy. 100
Dele not *p* mete A-wey, bot if *pou* hane lene,
  Yff *pou* sytte with Any man *pat* may be *p* better,
For els *pou* may *per-for* haue A grete repreue:
  *bus* seys grossum caput, in doctrine of letter. 104

When *pou* etys *p* mete, take gode hede of *pis*
  Yn *p* o syde of thi monthe ete *pou* thi mete,
That both *pin* chekys be not full at ons,
  For *pat* is no curtassy, and so *pou* schall fynde itte.

When mete is in thi mo[u]th, lau[he] *pou* ryght nought,
  Ne speke *pou* to no man in syche tyme,
For drede *pat* thy mete oute of *p* mouth be brought,
  And lepe Inne *p* dyssche with Ale o* with wyne. 112

kytte *pou* no mete—*per-offe* take *pou* gode tente—
  When mete is on *p* trenchere vn-eten some dele.
Ne moke *pou* no man *pat* at *p* bord is lente, 115
  For drede *pat* mysfortone sone After may *pee* spylle.
Yf *pat* *pou* wy[ft] off nourtyre, my sone, be-fore,
Sette *pou* no dysche newr one *p* trenchere.
Make no noise when you sup your broth.

Wipe your mouth when you drink.

When *pou* sowpys *p* potage—be wele *wer* off *pis—

Make no grete soun*de* in suppy*ng* of *p* dysche; 120

And wype wele *p* mowth when *pou* drynk*e* schalle take,

Ne no thyn*ge* hafe *per-Inne* *pat* may do *A-myss*; 124

For *iff* Any mete *p* mowth be with-Inne,

When *pou* schuld drynk*e* of coppe or off*ca*anne, 124

Sum wyff drink*e*, be it thyke or thymne,—

Than schaft *pou* be mokyd both off wyff* and man*.

Don't spit over the table; 128

[1? MS spy*te.*] or pick your teeth till you've done.

When *pou* sytt*es* at *p* tabull, *pis* is cur*tasy*,

Ouer *p* tabulle luke *pou* not spyt*te*,

les[t] it salle on mete *pat* stondes *pee* by,

For *pat* is *A cherles* dede, who so doth it.

Pyke not *p* tethe—*per-off* be *pou* were—

Tyff *pat* thow haue etyne All *pat* thow wyll*, 132

Ne noy not *p* felwe—*off* *pat* loke *pou* spere—

Drynk*e* salt ne potage, *per-off* none *pou* sp[i]lle.

Don't sleep or doze at meals.

Keep your nose clean, and don't forswe*ar* your-

self.

At meals, don't play with a dog or cat.

Pley *pou* not *with* *A dogge* ne *jit* with *A cate

Be-for* *p* better at *p* tabulle, ne be syde; 144

For *it* is no *curtasy*—be *pou* sure of *pat*—

In what place of crys*tendome* *pat* *pou* dwelle *o* byde.

When *pou* etys *p* mete,—of *pis* *pou* take hede—

Touche not *p* salte beyng* in *p* salt-saler, 148

Ne *with* flesch ne *fyssche* with *ope* mete ne brede,

For *pat* is no *curtasy*; so sayes doctour *paler*.

ley salt on *p* trenchere with knyfe *pat* be clene; 152

Not to myche, be *pou* were, for *pat* is not gode,
That all maner of curtassy of þee may be sene;
And euer to þþ better luke þou A-veylle þþ hode.
Yff þou wasche with A better mane than þþ selfe Arte,
Spytt not on thy hondes—per-of take gode hede—
And be þou not to crueH, at no tyme ouer perte;
The better þou schaH lyke when þou hast nede.

Preeys not to hye where þþ better is,
Bot loke þou be seruys-AbulH at euery mese
And Iangelle not to moch for' makynge off' A fabulle.
Take hede of one thing' þat I wyH þe seye,
For' it is gret curtasy, and schaH to þee A-veyle : 164
Out off' no mans mouth—for' here it if þou may—
To take Any comenynge o' þit Any tale.
Com not to counselH bot if' þou be callyd,
For' drede of reprewe, wer as euer þou gos ; 168
Ne neuer moke non old man, thofe he be old,
For' sych vn-curtasy may cause þee to haue foys. 2
When þou hast dy ned, be redy taryse
Some-what or þþ better, for' þat is curtasy ; 172
And els þþ souerand he wyH þee dys pies,
And think' þat þou arte prowH, and here þþ-selue to hy.
Crombys A-boute þþ trenched, luke þat þou leue none,
Bot clens þem A-wey with þþ knyfe þat be clene. 176
Obey sens þou make or' þou ferther' gone,
That alle þat sytes at þþ tabull þþ curtasy may sene.
Yff þou haue A fader þat be of' lyfe here,
Honour hym with wyrschype,—my counsell I þee
And also þþ modour þat is thi faderes fere. [gyffe,—
And euer-more after þþ better þou schaH fare ;
And iffe þou rebukes þem oper in word of' dede,
And to be presumptuos, and set þem not by, 184
þou schall neuer thryue when þat þou hast' nede,
Ne þit kepe þþ statutes off' þþ curtasye.
Don't put your elbows too far on the table,
Thy elbow and armys haue in thi thougt;
To fere on þi tabulle do them not ley.
To mych mete at ons in þi mouth be not brouxt,
For than þou art not curtas, þi better wylle seye.

or wear laced sleeves.
Kepe wele þi sleuys for touching of mete,
Ne no longe sleuys lasyd 1 luke þat þou haue.
Kepe wele þi k[n]yfe for castynge vnder fete;
The more lawde of peple I wote þou safft haue.
Euer on þi ryght hond take þou thy better',
Where þat euer þou go, be wey of by strete.
And iff þou se Any man be redyng of A letter,
Come not to ny3e hym, for d3re of rehete.

1 The mention of these laced sleeves fixes the date of this poem to Edward IV.'s reign, 1461-83. See drawings of the laced sleeves on the left-hand figure on p. 154, and the right-hand one on p. 159, of Fairholt's History of Costume in England. The former, of 'a dandy of the period,' 'is copied from a curious painting which formerly existed on the walls of the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, but which is now destroyed: it has been engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments."' His sleeves are large, and open at the sides, to display the shirt beneath, which is loose, and projects from between the lacinings of the opening. In some instances we find the sleeves slit immediately above and beneath the elbow, with a narrow piece of cloth to cover it, the whole being held together by wide lacing, leaving some inches' space between each portion of the sleeve, which is padded at the shoulders with wadding, to give a broad appearance to the chest: these sleeves [that is, 'bolsters or stuffing of wool, cotton, &c.'] were, by a law of the third year of Edward [the Fourth]'s reign [A.D. 1463] prohibited to be worn by any yeoman or person under that degree, under a penalty of six and eightpence, and 20s. fine for the tailor who manufactured them.'—Fairholt, p. 154-5. The Statute of Edw. IV. says: 'And also he [the King] hath ordained and stablished, That no Yeoman, nor none other Person under the same Degree, from the said Feast of Saint Peter called ad cinacula, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCClxx. shall use nor wear in Array for his Body, any Bolsters nor stuffing of Wool, Cotton, nor Cadas, nor any stuffing in his Doublet, but only Lining according to the same; upon Pain to forfeit to the King's Use for every such Default Six Shillings and Eight-Pence. Also our said Sovereign Lord the King, by the Advice and assent aforesaid, hath ordained and established, That no Knight under the Estate of a Lord, Esquire, Gentleman, nor none other person, shall use or wear from the Feast of All Saints, which shall be in the Year of our Lord M CCCClxx. any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, unless it be of such Length that the same may cover his privy Members and Buttocks; upon Pain to forfeit to the King for every default Twenty Shillings. Also by the Assent aforesaid it is ordained, That no Taylor after the said Feast shall make to any Person, any Gown, Jacket, or Coat, of less Length, or Doublet stuffed, contrary to the Premises, upon the same Pain for every Default.'—3 Edw. IV. cap. 5. A.D. 1463.
And iff you go with Any man In feldge of in towe,  
Be wall of by hege, by pales of by pale,  
To go with-oute hym luke you be bowne,  
And take hym by-twix you and pat same walle;  
And if you mete hym, luke you be sure  
pat thou go with-oute hym, and leue hym nexte pe  
walle.  
And iff ye schuld entere in at Any dore,  
Putte be-fere pe better, for ouste pat may be-falle.  

Stare not on A strange man to mych, be you ware,  
For pat is no courtassey, per-to you take gode hede;  
Ne speke not to mych,—bus seys doctour paler,—  
Bot iff it be in pe pater noster, pe Ave and pe crede.  
And you passe be-fere A man, wer-so-uer it be,  
At fyre of in ooper place, luke you aske leue;  
And eerie thinke on worschype and thy oneste,  
And kepe you euwer fro rebuke and All maner repreue  
And if pat it forten so by nyght of Any tyme  
That you schall lye with Any man, pat is better pe  
thou,  
Spyre hym what syde of pe bedd pe pat most best wyll  
ple hym,  
And lye you on pe tope syde, for pat is for pe  
prow;  
Ne go you not to bede before bot pe better cause pe,  
For pat is no courtassey, bus seys doctour paler.  
Hose and schone to powle off, loke you ready be,  
And ooper gøre pat to hym langes, for you may fare pe  
better.  

And when you arte in pe bed, pis is courtassey,  
Stryght downe pat you lye both with fote and hond.  
When ye haue talkyd what ye wyll, byd hym gode  
nyght in hye,  
For pat is gret courtassey, so schaff you understond.  

give the wall side to all you meet,  
and let your better enter first.  
[leaf 19, back]  
Don't stare too hard at strangers,  
or talk too much, says Dr Paler.  
Let your better choose which side of the bed he'll lie on;  
don't go to bed first, till he asks you to,  
(says Dr Paler,) and first pull off his hose, shoes, &c.  
When you're both in bed, lie straight,  
and say 'Good night' when you've done your chat.
Next morning, wish your fellow 'Good morrow' tho' he's asleep.

Yf thou ryse be-fore At morow, take gode hede of pis, Byd hym gode morow o' thou go, thof pat he be on slepe;

Ne do no thinge in pat hous pat schuld be A-myssse, Bot euer-more aII curtasy I rede to pee thou kepe.

Anopur thing at tabule, for' soth I wyff pee telle,
That is gret curtasy,—pis seys doctour paler,—
On pis tabulle kepe p' k[ny]f——luke thou befelle—
When thou putes mete in p' mouthe, for' pat is p' be-hauour.

And if thou be in Any place wer p' better is drynyng,
So pat pe coppe be at his hede, odour with Ale or wyne,
Doctour paler seys pee pis, and byddes pee sey no-thing;
For' brekyng of p' curtasy in syche A curtas tyme.

And if thou be in Any plas wer p' souerand schall wesseche,
luke thou be redy Ano with water in some vesseff, For-gete not pe towell, nofer for' hard ne nessche,
For' pat is grete curtasy, p' soth I do pee telle.
Off All maner of thinges, one I wylle pee schew:
Neuer with Any rebaudry do not fyle p' mouthe, For' pat is no curtasy; thou schall fynde it trew,
Wher' thou go, est or weste, ofer north or' southe.

And if pin souereyn drynyng be in p' tyme of nyght,
Yf thou be standing in p' hous, o' syting in Any syde,
Take A candell in p' hond Ano, and hold hym lyght;
To he haue drownkyn what he wyff, styff by hym thou byde.

Amen, quod Kate.

[With a sketch of a flower underneath, and a fish at the bottom of leaf 18, back.]
The Abce of Aristotill.

[Harl. MS 1304, leaf 103; ab. 1450 A.D.]

Wo-so wil be wise, And worship desireth,
Lett hym lerne ow letter, And loke ow A-noper
Of Abce of Aristotill: now Argument Ageynow pat:
And it is cowncell to clerkis & knyghtis a thousand;
Yutt it myte A man1 Amend ful ofte,
The lernynge of ow letter, And his lif safe.
Blame not Beerne pat the Abce made,
But the wikkid will And the werke After;
For it shaft greve A good man, pow gilty be mendi,
Now herkeneth And hereth how pat I begynne:

Attemperance in Alle thynge, AHe-myghty god loueth;
Better bowe pat breke; obey to pat bettere;
Care for Conscience, & kepe it ai clene;
Dred god, And do weff; pan nede pat not Dowte;
Ese pine enew cristew; ever thynke ow pat ne ende;
Fle falsnes And foli; And for thi feith fight;
Gete god pat governour, And grace shaft the grete;
Halow pat holi day, And henew I the hote,
Iw Ioye with owre Iustice, Ihesu so gentill.
Kynge, keyser, And knyght, are knytte for to ke[pe]
Lawes of owre lord god: bothe lewid And lerid,
Mangnifie his mageste pat most is of myglit.
Norshe nott pat nature to nyceli for no thynge;

1 MS men man.
The ABC of Aristotle.

On god Allonli ever haue in þe thought;
Preise prestis And prechours þat pray for the people; Quenche fals querelour; þe quene of heven þe will quite; Rewie wel þe Regali, as right is And Reson;
See to thi sogethis, and sei þem hure sothes;
Temper hure tongis fro tellynge of talis;
Voide vices; vertues shalH vaunce vs:
þus Rede we in bokys And Rollis A-bowte.

Thus god þat is begynne & former of alle thyng,
In nombre, weyght, & mesure, alle þis world wrought he;
And mesure he taughhte us in alle his wise werk/s,
Emple by the extemitees þat vicious Arn Euer.
A Coward, And Contacowre, manhood is þe mene;
A wrecche, And wastour, mesure is be-twene;
For to moche of on1 thynge was neuer holsome.

Be not to Amerows, to Auenturois, ne Angur not to ofte;
Be not to bolde, to besi, ne bowrde not to brode;
Be not to cursed, to crueH,2 And care not to sore;
Be not to DuHe, ne to DredfuH, & Drink not to moche;
Be not to elenge, to Excellent, ne to erneful noþer;
Be not to fers, to familary, but frendli of chere;
Be not to Glosynge, ne to gelous, gay, & gape not to wide;
Be not to hasti, to hardi, ne to heuy in harte,
Be not to Iettynge, to Iangelynge, ne Iape not to ofte;
Be not to kynde, to kepynge, & ware knanes taches;
Be not to lothe, to lovyng, ne to liberall of goody;
Be not to mellous, to meri, but as mene askith;
Be not to noywos, to nyce, ne to newfangle;
Be not to orped, to overthwarte, & opus4 þou hate;
Be not to pressing, ne to preuy with princes ne with Dukys;

1 MS on1 on?
2 ? MS couett,
3 These lines to the end are in a later hand, Peter Le Neve's. He has written in the margin: 'M4 this was on the other leave, but I took it out & writ it here. Peter Le Neve 1695.'
4 MS first written 'opus.'
Be not to queynte, to querellous; quemel will y* maystri; 
Be not to Riatous, to revelling, ne rage not to ofte; 
Be not to sadde, to sorry, ne sight not to deep; 
Be not to toyllous, to talewise, for temperance it hatyth; 
Be not to venomous, to vengeable, ne wast not to moche; 
for a mesurable mene is best for vs alle. Explicit.

1 MS ? querne.

The MS, Harl. 1304, up to leaf 99, contains Lydgate's Life of the Virgin Mary. Leaf 100 begins the "Questiones by-twene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke"; and leaf 103 contains the Abce above, and finishes the MS.
Proverbs of Good Counsel.

[Harl. MS 2252, leaf 3.]

Proverbus.

Be charitable to the needy;
At owr begynny[n]ge, god be owr spede
In grace & vertue to prosede!
Be petuus & eke merciabyl;
To nedy folke be Cheryltybyl.

A man[w]ith-owte mercy, of mercy shall mys;
& he shall have mercy þat mercyful ys.
By mercy & mekenes al thyng chevythe,
by soly & hate, Aþ wysdom? 1 Remevythe.
The beste wysdom? þat I Can,
yþ to doe wel, & drede no man.

Do well, and fear no man.
He þat ynw yowþ no vertue wyll vse,
In Age aþ honour wyþ hyþ Refuse.
Spend no manus good in vayne,
For borowurþ thyng wyll home Agayne.

gyve thow trewe weyglite, mete, & measure,
And thenþ shall grace with the Indure.
Be not to boldþ for to blame,
leste þou be foundþ in the same;
And yff onþ party wolþ fayne be Awrcke,
yet manþ of Ryghtþþ þere þþþ þoper party speke.
over þþ heþ loke thowe never hewe;
povertþ hathe but frendþþ fewe.

1 This þþ is generally used for the old mer; but here it is used for a curly-tailed m, and the mark of contraction has no value, I think.

Give true weight.

And thenþ shall grace with the Indure.

Hear both sides.

over þþ heþ loke thowe never hewe;
Whoo-so of welthe takythe no hede,  
he shall fynde fawte in tyme of nede.  
þis world ys mytablyH, so saythe sage,  
þerfor gader or thow fall in Age.

Kepe not þi tresure aye Closyd in mew;  
suche old tresure wyll þi shame ynowe.  
whate prophytiþ plente & grete tresure,  
& in povertæ A wrecche Alway to endure?

Man, sobyrly þi howse begin,  
& spende nomore then þou mayste wyn,  
for A nyse wyfe, & A backe dore,  
Makyth oftyn tymyns A ryche manð pore.

Wysdonñ stondyth not all by speche;  
A wylfull shrew can noman teche.

he hathe wysdonñ at hys wyll  
þat can with Angry harte be styyle.

1lett never þi wyH þi wytt over-lede;  
whate manð þou serve, Alway hyñ drede,  
and hys good as þi ne Awne spare;  
be lowly & servysablyH, & love hys welfare.

And yf þou wylte be owt of sorow & care,  
hyt ys to kepe & Refrayne þi Tonge,  
for þi surnerthy Chyldren when they be yonge.

[ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]  
2& ever in welth be ware of woo,

Son, yf þou wyste whate thynge hyt were,  
Connynge to lerne, & with þi to bere,  
Thow wold² not myspend ouþ howre;  
for of all Tresure, Conny[n]ge ys flowur.

yf þou wylte leve in peas & Reste,  
here, & see, & sey the beste.

where ever þou be, in bowur or haH,  
be mery, honeste, & lyberaH.

Beware, my son, ever of 'had-I-wyste';

---

1 This line is put two lower in the MS.  
2 This line is put one lower in the MS.
Don't be too anxious about anything.

Don't swear.

Pray to God every dawn.

Choose good companions:

"Like will to like."

Virtue and Knowledge are better than Riches.

Don't be moody.

Associate with the wise.

hard' ys to know whom ow may tryst[e];
A tr[u]sty frende ys hard' to fynde,
one ys more foo pen' ow vnkynd[e].
Care not to myche for ony thynge,
Thowglite wyll p' sone to erp' brynge.
serve god weH, & hane no drede,
he wyll p' helpe in tyme of nede;
drede owar lord' god bop' nyght & day,
for who so dothe,—scryperture sayth soo,—
plage from hys howse shal not go.
Erly in the dawnynge of p' day,
my son, to god loke pat pou praye;
& ever haeve in p' memory
for to seke hevynw moste besyly.
Acompanion with then' pat be oneste,
and they wyll reporte of p' p' beste,
As for pis proverbe dothe specify,
"lyke wyll to lyke in eche company."
grace & good maners makyb' A man;
woo may he be pat no good Can!
Better ys to have vertu & Connynge,
paw to be lewde with Ryches of A kyng.
hevy of p' herte loke pou not be;
let honeste Company Comfort the.
yf pou be trobylyd' with ynconvenyens,
arne p' alway with Inward' pacyens;
Invre p' with then' pat bynw wyse,
then) to Ryches thow shalt Aryse.
How to rule one's Self and one's House.

[Harl. MS 787,1 leaf 9.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temperance</th>
<th>Domus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Be humble in thyne owne sight.</td>
<td>Seek thy wife for nertue onely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Mistrust thyne owne judgment.</td>
<td>Seek noe Match aboue thy de-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Be in gesture &amp; behauior comely;</td>
<td>gree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 In Apparell, neyther curious nor costly.</td>
<td>Liue together in the feare of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Thinke nothing uncomly which is honest, for</td>
<td>Loue, &amp; liue with her in peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing is comely that is not honest.</td>
<td>Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Be temperate in dyett.</td>
<td>Teach them to knowe &amp; feare God;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Be moderate &amp; honest in Expences.</td>
<td>Keep them in due obedyence;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Be neuer idle, but euer well busied.</td>
<td>Nourish them not in delicacye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Remember how precious a thing tyme is, &amp; spend it thereafter.</td>
<td>Gouverne thy House in order, for in disorder noe House may stand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Liue within thy compass.</td>
<td>Prouide before hand, &amp; order thy Expences: so shall thy House continue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Exceed in nothinge.</td>
<td>Keep hospitality amonge thy Neighbours, but neuer above thy power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Be spare of wordes.</td>
<td>Spare in tyme, &amp; spend in tyme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 In serious things, thinke first, and speake after.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Speake well of all, euill of none.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Speak neuer uainly.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Speake neuer untruly.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The MS has a late title: "Severall papers found in Mr Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury." 1601 is the latest date I see in the volume.
Good Advice to a Governour.

[Harl. MS 787, leaf 123, back.]

1. Take not all that you can gett, nor doe all that you may. For there is noe greater danger to a Noble man, then to let slippe the Raines of his lust, & not to restraine them with the stronge Bitt of Reason.

2. Let noe Ambicion entangle your mynde, for her nature is to ouerthrow her self. Let all untruth be farre from you, that your thoughts be not able to accuse your Conscience. Soe use your Riches as they be receyued into your House, but not into your heart; for where Coutousness raigneth, there noe other uice is longe absent.

3. Beware that in all things which concerne your Honour, Person, & Substance, you put not fortune in trust. For he that is wise will never hazard that danger, wening to have remedy at her handes.

4. In strange affaires goe not too nigh the bottome; and in your owne, doe not streyne or enforce tymes. For, demeaning you se, you may remayne as you nowe be, or else you may happe to remember what you were.

5. The danger of Noblemen is, that they can not descend, but fall. To the defence whereof nature ordeyneth the best Freinds. Therfore perseuere in amity with such as will rather stay you from falling, then sett to their hands to helpe you up.

6. Be more carefull of Conscience then of Honour, & doe well till you can noe more; but never doe euill, though you may.

7. Let not crueltie, but mercy & pitty ouercome you. For the tears & Complaints of the wronged will come to Gods presence for your Correccion, & to the Princes cares for your discredit.
8. In the Offices that you bestowe, haue rather before your Eyes the worthy then your Freinds. For, amonge your Freinds, depart your Goods, but not your Conscience.

9. In that you counsell, be not affeccionate: in that you discounsell, be not passionate: in that you commande, be not absolute. In whatsoever you doe, be neyther hasty nor disaduised; for the faults be yours, but the Judgment is the worlds. And the greater the man is, the more is he noted.

10. If you will not swerue in your Counsell, nor stumble in your Actes, nor fall from that you haue, then fauour him that telleth you the truth, yea, though it be unpleasing; & abhorre him that telleth you any untruth, seem it never soe pleasant. For you ought rather to loue him that aduiseth you now, then those that will make semblance to pitty you hereafter.

Finis.
Warnings and Counsels for Noblemen,
A.D. 1577.

[Lansdowne MS 98, art. 2, leaf 8: follows Queene Elizabethes Achademy.]

Advertisementes and counsaillles verie necessarye for all noble men
and counsaillors gathered owt of Divers Aucthors, bothe Italian
and spanish. 1577.

1. Tell not all that yo" thinke, nor showe all that yo" have, nor
take all that yo" Desire, nor saie all that yo" knowe, or do all that
yo" can; for lightlie shall he lose the favour of his prince that
followeth the commaundement of his lustes and restrayneth not them
with the bitt of reason.

2. Beware yo" put not fortune in trust with those thinges that
apperteyneth to your person, honnour, substance, or conscience;
for the noble man which is wise will not Hasarde him self in hope to
have relief at her handes as often as he shall need.

3. Although all men promyse to helpe yo" yf yo" had neade, yet
neverthles, trust not too muche thereunto; manie of them which
nowe do offer to take Armour for your sake, yf occasion be offered,
will be the fyrst to stryke yo"", to gyve yo" the overthrowe.

4. In other me\n caus\s meddle not too much, nor in your owne
enforce not tyme; for governinge yo" so, yo" maie remaine in that
good estate yo" be, or els maie easilie happen yo" to remember what
yo" were.

5. The daunger of noble me\n is like to them that be in the toppe
of high and sharpe mountaines, whence they cannot descende, but
fall. Wherefore, procure vnto your self suche faithfull frendes as
will rather staie yo" from fallinge, then suche as wol\rfre\f vnto yo"
their handes to helpe yo" vp when yo" be Downe.
WARNINGS AND COUNSELS FOR NOBLEMEN.

6. Do good whiles yo\textsuperscript{w} have pour thereunto, and never do hurte thoughie yo\textsuperscript{w} maie; for the Teares of the offended, and the compleintes of the greved, maye one daie have place in the sight of god, to move him to chastise yo\textsuperscript{w}, and be also occasion to make the prince to hate yo\textsuperscript{w}.

7. Bestowe your benefites and offices rather vpon the good, then vpon your frendes; for amonges your frendes it is lawfull to departe your goodes, but not your conscience.

8. In that yo\textsuperscript{w} counsaill, be not affectionat: in that yo\textsuperscript{w} discoun-cell, be not passionate: what soever yo\textsuperscript{w} do, do advisedly; for although in the Courtes of princes every man beholdeth the worthines and nobilitie of the person, yet the more noble a man is, the more is he noted, marked, and hated of others.

9. Yf yo\textsuperscript{w} will not Erre in your counsailles, nor stomble in your actes, imbrace them that tell yo\textsuperscript{w} trueth, and hate them that flatter yo\textsuperscript{w}; for mucho more ought yo\textsuperscript{w} to love them that adviseth yo\textsuperscript{w} nowe, then those that will seame to pitie yo\textsuperscript{w} when yo\textsuperscript{w} are in Daunger.

10. Have alwaies in memory the benefites yo\textsuperscript{w} have receaved of others, and enforce your self to forgett suche iniuryes as others have Don vnto yo\textsuperscript{w}.

11. Esteeme mucho that litle of your owne, and regarde not thaboundance of other.

12. Indeavour your self to do good to all men, and never speke ever\textsuperscript{H} of them that be absente.

13. Leoparde not the losse of many thinges for the gaine of one thing, neither adventure the losse of one thinge certen for manie thinges DovtfulH.

14. Make mucho of your dearest frendes, and do not procure anie Enemies.

15. \textsuperscript{1} Exalte not the riche Tyraunte, neither abhore the poore which is righteouse.

16. Denye not iustice vnto the poore, because he is poore; neither pardo\textsuperscript{H} the riche because he is rych.

17. Do not good onelie for love, neither chastice onelie for hatred.

\textsuperscript{1} This paragraph has been marked through.
18. In Evident causes abyde not the counsailles of others, and in Dovtfull causess Determyne not of your self.

19. suffer not synne vnponished, nor well-doing without rewarde. [leaf 9]

20. Denie not Iustice to him that asketh, nor mereye to him that deserueth it.

21. Chastise not when thou arte Angrye ; neither promyse anie thinges in thy myrthie.

22. Do ever to no mañ for malice, neither commyt anie vice for covetousness.

23. Open not thy gate to flatterers, nor thy eares to backbyters.

24. Become not proude in thi prosperity, nor despe'reate in thyne aduersitie. study alwaies to be loved of good mañ, and seeke nat to be hated of the EveH.

25. Be favorable vnto the poore, which maie be litle, ye thou wylt be ayded of god against them that be mightie.

\[1\] MS Chastice  \[2\] MS this
The Sage Fool's Testament.

(A SATIRE ON THE ILL DOINGS OF LORDS AND THEIR SERVANTS.)

[Harl. MS 2252, leaf 85, ? ab. 1475 A.D.]

There was A grete lorde that had A Sage folle, the
whyche he lov'd Marvaylous well, Be Cawse of hys
pastyme. And the Fole in lyke wyse lov'd well hys
lorde A-Bove Aft hother. And at lente the lorde
desyved, for the whyche the folle was in grete sorow.
And the sonne of his lorde had All hys faders posses-
syons, & was lorde after hys fadyr, & he lov'd hys folle
in lyke wyse as hys fadyr dyde. And within A yer or ij' After, Thys sage folle Fyll Seke, & made hys Testa-
mente: And Bequeth'd hys sowle to the devyll, And
hys body to be Beryed in the Chyrche yerde; And hys
Folys hode he bequethed to hys lورد's Steward, & hys
Babyll to hys lورد's Anmer. And to hys lorde he
Bequete All hys money that he had gatelyd in Bothe
hys lord's seruyce. And when the lorde had knowlege
herof / [he] Marvaylyd therof, & whate that he mente
therbye. And the lorde wente to see the sayd folle.
And Askyd hym : 'whyce he gave hys Sowle to the devyll
And all hote[r] legacyes in hys wyll.' The Fole An-
swered the lorde & sayd: "I haue lov'd so well your
fadyr, that I Covett & Desyre to be in hys Company

1 MS hyr.
Above all thyngis, for he lovyd me so well./ And I know wele pat he ys in heH; wherfor I wolde be with hym./ And I gyve to my lady your wyfse my bedde, be Cawse pat she myghte lye ow hyt; for now she lyethe so softe, pat hyt ys All-moste none every day or pat she Ryse. And to your Steward, my hode; be Cawse hyt hathe iiiij erys. for where ye put All your truste in hym, to pay your Credytour & the pore pepyH, he may not here. And to your Amner, my BabyH: Be Cawse when he deluyerith your Almys A-monge the pore pepyH, they prese ow hym, & thene he betis them with hys Staffe, pat the Blode Ron Abowte there erys; & my babyll ys Softer. And, my lorde, to yow I geve All my money pat I haue gatheryd, bothe in your servyse & my lord your fadyrs, to geve in Almus. "Whye," seyd the lorde, "thowe knoweste pat I haue money more then thow." Then seyd the folke "All that money pat ye haue, & I to, wyll not Restore the wronge pat your fader hathe don, whyche ys in heH. And thedyr ye goe withowe Amendment; & therfor I geve yow AH my money."

[The next piece in the MS is the Le Morte Arthur, in a hand of ab. 1440 A.D., that I edited for Messrs Macmillan a few years ago. Mr Panton had previously edited it for the Roxburghe Club.]
Lydgate's Order of Fools:

IN NUMBER THREESCORE AND THREE.

A copy of this Poem, with three additional stanzas, but with a different concluding one from that of the present copy, was printed by Mr Halliwell in his Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate for the Percy Society. The scarcity of that volume, and the certainty that this print will reach many eyes that have not seen the Percy Society's volume, induce me to print the following poem, though most of its differences from the Harleian MS 2251 that Mr Halliwell followed, are for the worse. As fools have not died out of the world, it may be both interesting and useful to compare the notions of 1460 about them, with those of 1869.

[Cott. MS Nero A vi., leaf 193 back; ? ab. 1460-70 A.D.]

The ordre of folys ful [yore ago]¹ begonne,
   Nwly professyd, eneresithe² the counete;
Bacus and Juno hath set abroche a tonne,
   [And] Brouthe the[́r] braynys vn-to exigente, ⁴
   Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente;
Nonombre of thys frary, iiij score and iiij,
   Echone registred be grete avysement,
Endosyd theyre patente that they shale neuer the. ⁸

Chyffe of folis, men yn bokys redythe,
   Able yn hys foly to holde residence,
Ys he that nowther god louethe nor dredethe,³
   Nor to his chyrche hathe none aduerence,

¹ ? MS tuore. ² ḷ is printed he : cp. ‘lythe,' l. 39. ³ ? MS drodethe
Nor to his seyntes dothe none reverence,
And [hathe] dysdeyne to folke yn ponerte,
To fadyr and moder dothe none benynolence:
A-sele hys patent, for he shal neuer the.

The vj folke thys Frary to begynne,
More than a fole, braynles and wode,
Ys he that neuer wul forsake synne,
Nor he þat can nought, nor lerne wul no good,
Nor he þat hath the too faces yn on hode
May be enrollyd yn þys fraternyte,
Cherele of condicion, and borne of gentil blode,
May clayne of righte þat he shal neuer the.

The x folke may hoppe vp-on the ryngge,
Fote al afore, and lode ryghte the dawnce;
He þat al yewythe, and kepeth the hym selfe no thynge,
þe double herte, feyre feynyd countenawnce
A pretens face treble yn hys dalyanne,
Tonge spreynyte with suger, the galle kepte secrete,
A perilous mouthe ys wors þan sperre or launce,
Thought they be cheryssed, god lete hym neuer the.

A Face vnstabyl, gasyng est and sowthie,
With loude laughtrys entrithe langage,
Gapithe as a roke, abrode gothe Iowe and mowthe
Lyke a lay enfamynyd yn hys cage,
Malaparte of chere and of wysage,
Comethe to counsel or he callyd be,
Of echþyng medelythe; hysthryfte lythe yn mortgage;
Auant a knawe! for he shal neuer the.

In the boke of prudence cypryane,
Whyche callyd ys “a gardeyne of hys flowres,”

1 MS fraterwyne  
2 giveth  
3 H. prudent Cipionii

1 Harl. 2231 has another stanza before the next.
2 vtrithe. Harl.
6 H. prudent Cipionii.
He seythe a pulter pat sellythe a fatte swanne
For a gosselyng, pat graseth on bareyne clowyrs, 44
And he pat castythe hys cloke yn showrys
Oute of the tempest whan he may flee,
Or whan pat spado lowythe paramours,
[Is oon] of hem that shalle neuer the. 48

[And he also, that holt hymself so wise,]
Whyche yn workyn[g] hath non experiens,
Whos chaunce gothe nether yn synke or syse,
With ambes ase encrissithe hys dispence,
A Foltysshe face, rude of eloquence,
Bostys with borias, and [at] a brownte wul flee;
Betwene wolle and gossomer is a grete difference;
Stufi'e of a chappman that ys not like to the. 56

I rede also of othyr folis too,
Thynge to chalange to whyche he hathe no ryghte;
And he yn trowthe a more folle ys al so,
Whyche alle requirethe that commethe yn hys sighte;
And he ys a folle whyche [to] euery wyghte
Tellethe hys counsell and hys pryuyte:
Who sekythe werre, and hathe hym selfe no myghte,
Hit were meruelle pat euery he shuld the. 64

Anothyr folle with counterfete wesage
Ys he pat falslug wul fage 1 and feyne,
Whedyr that he be olde or yynge 2 of age,
Seythe he ys syke, and felythe no maner Payne;
And he pat dothe hys owne wyfe disseyne, 3
And holdythe anothyr, of what asstate he be,
With othyr folis enbrace hym yn the cheyne,
A warantyse for he shal neuer the. 72

Of thys frary mo folys to expresse,
He that ys to euery man contrary,

1 flater. Harl. 2 MS yynge 3 disseyne. Harl.
And he that bostyth of hys cursidnes,
And he also that dothe prolonge and tarie With faire [be]hostès, fro hys promys to warye;
Beseluy to telle I can no nofer see,
He ys like a fugetyf pat fleth to santuarie
For drede of hangyng, for he shal neuer the.

He ys a fole eke, as senek seythe,
That long delaythe hys purpose to spedc.

A gretter fole ys he pat brekythe hys feythe;
And he ys a fole pat no sh[ame dothe] dre[de],
And he that hotythe, and faylythe hys frynde at nede,
Whos promys braydythe on duplicite;
A hardy mouse that ys bolde to brede
In cattis erys; pat brode shal neuer the

And he ys a fole pat yenythe al-so credens
To nwe rumoris and every foltishe fable;

A dronglew fole pat sparythe for no dispence
To drynk a-taunte til he slepe at p° tabille;
Among al folis pat fole/ is most culpabulle
That ys cursyd, and hathethe therof deynte;
A pore be[ge]re, to be vengeable,
[Withc] purs penyles, may neuer the

And he pat holdythe a quarel a-yenst righte,
Hold[yng] hys purpose styburne a-geyn reson;

And he ys a fole pat ys ay gladde to fighte,
And to debate sekethe occasiona;
Abyde so long to he be betyn downe,
Dronkyn, lame, pat he may not flee;
And who so reioysethe to soiorne in prisoun,
Enrolle hym vppe, for he shal neuer the.

A lusty galant pat weddythe a olde wiche
For grete tresoure, he-cause hys purse ys bare;

1 MS Holde.
A hungre hunter \textit{pat} holdythe hym\textsuperscript{1} A biche

Nemyl of mouthe for to mordyr A hare;\textsuperscript{108}

Nyghte riotours\textsuperscript{2} \textit{pat} wil no waryn spare,

Wythe-outen licens or eny liberte,

Tyyl sodyn perel bryng hem yn \textit{p}\textsuperscript{r} snare,

A preperatif \textit{pat} \textit{pey} shal neuer the.\textsuperscript{112}

Who dothe amysse, or lawghethe hym selfe to skorne,

Or com to counsel or \textit{pat} he be callyd\textsuperscript{4},

Or lowde lawghys whan he dothe\textsuperscript{3} morne,

Amonge foles of ri3t he may be stallyd\textsuperscript{4};  \textsuperscript{116}

[That] purposithe hys wwayne whan hys hors ys gallyd\textsuperscript{4},

[And] pluckingethe \textit{of} hys shone toward\textsuperscript{4} hys iorney,

Forsakythe fresshe wyne, And drynkethe Ale Apallyd\textsuperscript{5};

Suche feltishe taste, god let hem neuer the.\textsuperscript{120}

And he \textit{pat} is a riatter al hys life,

\textit{And} [hathe] hys felow and hys neghbor yn dispite,

And wondythe hym selfe with hys owne knyfe,

Of j. candyl wenethe ij. were lighte,

Slepeth on the day and wacchis al \textit{p}\textsuperscript{r} nyghte;

Alle masse be done long or he redy be;

Suche I may clayme, be very titul of ri3te,

To be a brothyr of hem \textit{pat} shal neuer the.\textsuperscript{128}

Who holdythe hys tresoure \textit{pat} he wissethe,

And gaderithe hym gossomer to packe hyt for hys wolle,

And he ys a fole afore the nette \textit{pat} fysshesh,\textsuperscript{5}

And he ys a fole \textit{pat} dothe Federys pulle\textsuperscript{132}

Of fat caponys vp mwyd to the fulle,

Hath no thyng but bonys for hys fee;

\textit{N[u]llatensis a-sesythe}\textsuperscript{6} hath hys bulle

To alle suche, \textit{pat} neuer of hem shalle the,\textsuperscript{136}

When \textit{pat} gander grasythe on \textit{p}\textsuperscript{r} grene,

The sleyghty fox dothe hys brode beholde,
He takythe the fatte [and] cast a-way the lene,
And [sigrums] cheve wardyn of the folde,
Takythe to hys lard[er] at what pryse pey be solde,
Grettest lamber, on or to, to or iij;
In wynter nythys the frostis be so colde,
The shepard slepyth; god let thym neuer the!

A fo]ryn likenes whych shal no man displece,
[By] a strange vncothe comparisoun,
[Wh]en the belwedyr pasturythe at hys ese,
[T]how alle the flocke hawe but smal foysoun,
[S]lepeth at leyser, makythe noyse none nor soune,
[Ca]rethe for no more so he haue plente:
[A]l tho pe make suche a departysowne
[A]mong her suggettis, god lett hem neuer the!

With ful wombe pey preyched of Abstinence,
Ther betel Fyllyd' of freshe wyne or ale,
Loue rownyng, louyng and reuerence,
Nwe fals reporte with many glosyng tale;
The lay more cherychyd' pan the ny3tyngale,
Tabourers with her duplicite
Plesithe more ys days, when stuffyd' ys per male
Farsed with flateryng; god let hem neuer the!

[L]ete thys frary a confirmacion,
[And] soan worthy byshoppe nallatence,
[And] graunte hem a general pardoun
[And] a patent to be-gyn her dispence,
[Er]ly and late to walke with licence
[With] opyn walet frely en eche countre,
[He]r bul enselyd, concludyng in sentence
[Th]at none of al ys ordyr ys neuer like to the. Amen.

1 Harl. 2 A foreyn. Harl. 3 Pared off. Harl. 2251 has three different stanzas for this last one.
A Prophecy, &c.

[Additional MS 8151, leaf 200, back; at the end of William of Nassington's 'Mirror of Life,' and in the same hand as that.]

I De prophetia.

† Whene pryde is moste in prys,
Ande couetyse moste wys,
Ande luchnery moste in vse,
þefe maade reue,
þenne schauff englonde mys-chewe.

[What can man possess?]

†at .I. ete and þat .I. drynke, þat may .I. haue;
†at .I. lene fals mene, longer .I. may hyt craue;
†at .I. dele for my soule, þat may .I. fynde;
†at .I. lefe my sekatoures, þat is longer by-hynde.

All hyt is fantome þat we wiþe fare,
Ande for oþere mennes goode is all oure care;
Alle come we hyder nakude and lare,
Whenne we heþene passe, is þere no mare.

[ams of our time. See p. 88.]

Gyfte is domusmane,
Gyle is chapemane;
Lordes bene lawles,
Chyldere bene awles;
Wysemene are blynde,
Depe is oute of mynde,
Cosyns bene vnkynde,
A goode sykere fremede is yueþ to fynde;
Ande euere, in weele and in woo,
þenke one þe ioy þat lasteþe for oo.

When England shall come to grief.

Gifts to God came back.

Naked we came, naked we go.

Bribery is Judge,

Children awless,

Sure friends are scarce.
What shall I do?

(A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE UNKINDNESS AND BASENESS OF FALSE FRIENDS.)

[Egerton MS 1624, leaf 1, ?ab. 1470 a.d.]

als I me sat my self allon,
in my hart makand¹ my mon,
I said “allas, my gammys ar gon!
what sal I do?
that I most travyste,
it is all waste!
sor may me rew!

My hert was set ful stedfastly
on than that noxt was set on me;
thus am I sted ful heuely.
god lord, what sal worth of me?
what sall I do &c'  

I wold fayn lof w[ith]out verrance
than that my hert I haf gyflyn to:
it wyllyn be, for no kyn chauns,
that I can audur say or do.
what [t] supra

¹ This -and, with the what, sall, haf, lof, thai puttis, point to a Northern writer.
deer god! qwat may this mene?
qwy is this ward\(^1\) thus fals to me?
I am the creatur that il kan fene
any falsed or trechere:
qwat sall I do? &c'

with care my hert is vmbe-set;
qwat I sal do I cannot say;
tham for to lof I cannot let,

\textit{that} me has broght un-to this fray:
[qwat sal I do?] &c'

wold god \textit{that} I war broght in clay!
ful hard it is this lyf to lede!
I pray god qwytte tham ny\textit{t} and day,
\textit{that} me thus make to haue this nede!
[qwat sal I do, &c]

god wot, \textit{sit} was I neuer vnkynd
to tham, ne \textit{sit} to non of thayrs;
ther was neuer non so mykyl\(^2\) in my mynde,
qwo\(^3\) so I haue don to tham and thers.
[qwat sal I do, &c]

\textit{that} thai me puttis thus out of mynde,
qwat \textit{that} thai men I wold fayne wytte.
god wot I was neuer \textit{sit} vn-kynde,
of no thyng \textit{that} thai hafter\(^3\) me \textit{sit}.
[qwat sal I do?
that I most trayste,
it is all waste!
sor may Me rew!]

\(^1\) world.
\(^2\) MS mykyl.
\(^3\) This word is doubtful—q\(^1\), or q\(^2\) with a long curl to the \textit{n}, has been written under it, and the curl carried into the \textit{aft}. 
\textit{Hasked, for asked}, was no doubt meant.
Ills of our Time.

(A better copy than that on p. 85. The stops are those of the MS.)

[Harleian MS 2251 (l in Shirley's hand), leaf 153.]

\[MS \text{ fili}^1 \text{ Index. fraus est mercator in urbe}
Non lex est dominis, nec timor est puерis
\]

\[Yift \text{ is made, domesman}
Gyle is made, chapman
Lordes ben lawles
And children ben awles
\]

\[Ingen[i]am dolus est. amor omnis cera\text{ }^2 \text{ voluptas}
Ludus rusticitas. et gula festa dies
\]

\[Witte is tourned\text{ }^4 \text{ to trechery}
Love is tourned\text{ }^4 \text{ to lechery}
Pleye is tourned\text{ }^4 \text{ to vilany}
And haliday. to gloteny
\]

\[Etas rideetur. mulier pulsatur amore
Dives laudatur. pauper\text{ }^3 \text{ adheret hymo}
\]

\[Olde men. ben skorne\text{ }^6
Wymmen. ben wowed\text{ }^9
Riche men. bien pleasid\text{ }^9
And pore men. ben diseasid\text{ }^9
\]

\[Prudentes ceci. cognati degeneres sunt
Mortuus Ignatus. nullus amicus amat
\]

\[Wise men. bien blynde
And kynrede. is vnkynde
The dede is. out of mynde
Triew friende. can noman fynde.
\]

\[1 \text{ MS sit } \quad 2 ? \text{ for certa or mera. } \quad 3 \text{ MS paupere} \]
The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V.,

24 FEB., 1421.¹

[MS Addit. 18,752, leaf 162.]

The Coronacion off the Qwene.

The Qwenes Borde the Day off the Coronacion.

On the ryght hond of the qwene, the Erchebysshope off Canterbury // The Bysshope off Winchester // On the lyfte hond off the qwene / The kyng off Scottes yn A State // At the End of the qwene-ys borde / The duchesse of yorke, The Cowntez off huntyngton // Vnder the borde. / wayting on the Qwene / The Cowntez off kente, The cownt[ez] Marchaft // On the ryght syde of the qwene knelyd / The Erle of the marche holdyng the Ceptre. And on the lyfte syde knelyd / the Erle off Stafford holdyng the yarde //

The Second Borde of the ladys


The Seconde Day after the Coronacion

At the Qwene-ys Borde

The Duchesse off yorke // The Countesse off huntyngton //
At the Second borde.

The Cowntez off Stafford // The Cowntez off March, The Cowntez off kente // The cowntez off Arundell, The Cowntez Marchall /

And others ladys aftar the Cowrs of the day a-flore-Seyde //

² So in MS.
Courses of a Dinner and Supper given to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornewell.

[Additional MS 18,752, leaf 162, back.]

Hoc fierunt fecit dominus Johannes Cornewell Regi Anglie //

A

[The rest of the page is blank.]

Thetragramaton ³

In praudio

ffirumenty with veneson ⁴
Blawmanger ⁵
Belle and Moton
Signetys
Capons off hunte grece
vele
heronsaux
venysone y-bake
leche filoree

The 2. course

Nonbles ⁶
Gelee ⁷
fiesamte
pygg
primus
kydde
Pygeons
Partryches
venysou roste
Crustades ⁸ blanç bake
leche dalmayn
Semakə ⁹ fryeç

² The Additional MSS-Catalogue applies this heading to the piece before it, printed on p. 92 here, though the hand-writing and colour of the ink seem to connect the heading with what follows on the next leaf (163) of the MS. The whole of this piece on leaf 163 is in the same hand and ink as the Coronation, whilst the piece printed on p. 92 here is in paler ink and different writing,—earlier, as I think.
³ This is at the top of the page.
⁴ 'For to make Furmenty' in Forme of Cury, p. 91, "messe yt forthe wyth fat venyson and fresh moton." See also the Earl of Devon's Feast in Hart. Misc., No. 279. Pegge, in Forme of Cury, p. 157.
⁵ Recipe for 'Blonc Manger' in Liber Cure Coc., p. 9; 'Blomanger' in Forme of Cury, p. 93.
⁷ Recipe for 'mete Gele,' clear, in Forme of Cury, p. 103; 'Gele of Fyssh,' ib, p. 50; 'Gele of Flessh,' ib, p. 51. See H. Ord., p. 437.
⁸ Recipe for 'Crustade' in Household Ordinances, p. 412.
⁹ 'On Flessh-Day . . . At the seconde course . . . a leche, and samakade, and bake mete, H. Ord., p. 450. See the recipe for Sambocade—curd, eggs, &c., flavoured with elder flowers: Sambucus, the Elder,—in Forme of Cury, p. 77.
SIR JOHN CORNWELL’S DINNER AND SUPPER TO HEN. V. 91

The 3 course

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mameny¹ ryalt</th>
<th>Charre de pardon²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rabetys</td>
<td>Britere³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egretys</td>
<td>Popayler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quayles</td>
<td>Plones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small byrdiš⁵</td>
<td>larkes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payn puffe⁶</td>
<td>leche humbardet⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crispes fryn⁸</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Venyson on broche</th>
<th>Creme boyle⁹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pygg in Sauge¹⁰</td>
<td>Schuldres of Moton³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capons of haute greece</td>
<td>Heronseux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partrych</td>
<td>Chekyns y-bake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lete¹¹ lardes y-fryed⁶</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The last course

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colde Creme¹²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gele</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venyson roste</td>
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<td>kyde roste</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabetis</td>
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<td>Pegeons</td>
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<td>Egretys</td>
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<td>Quayles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small byrdiš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doucetis¹³ y-bake</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leche damasque</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nota bene the coronacion) ye the leffe neste before thus

¹ Recipes in Forme of Cury, p. 19, 88; H. Ord., p. 430.
² ? Apple marmalade.
³ Bitterns. See ‘Betowre’ in Babees Book index.
⁴ Popple, to move quickly up and down, as a cork dropped on water.
⁵ Webster.
⁶ See Liber Cure Cocorum, p. 36, l. 8.
⁷ Recipe in H. Ord., p. 450; Forme of Cury, p. 89.
⁸ Recipe in H. Ord., p. 438; Forme of Cury, p. 36; Babees Book, Pt II, p. 95.
⁹ Recipes for ‘Cryspes’ and ‘Cryspels’ in Forme of Cury, p. 73; for ‘Cryppys,’ ib. p. 99.
¹¹ ‘Pigge en Sage’ at the Earl of Devon’s Feast in Harl. Misc., No. 279.
¹³ On Flesh-Day . . . At the thridde cours, colde creme, and gele to potage ; and therwith fyllettes of venyson, rosted pejons, egretys, partoriches, rabettes and qwales . . . and cuspid and doucettes. H. Ord., p. 450.
¹⁴ Recipe in Babees Liv., p. 60; and see Index to B. B.
Courses of a Meal or Banquet.


Grene pese, with venesöñ.  
Graunte chare.  
Capon of hawte grece.  
Signet.  
Blawnche custarde, dyaburde with byrdys.  
leche maskelyñ.  

Roo in brothe.  
Rosey.  
Kydde.  
Heronsewe.  
Mownter in mantel.  
Chykyñ dyaburde.  
venesöñ y-bake.  
sfruter lumbarde.  
leche rubby.  

Datys in composte.  
Blawnche creme, with annys in confete.  
Lardys of venesöñ.  
Rabbettis.  
Qwayle.  
larkys.  
Suggarke  
Rysshewes.  
vyandys cowched with iwys.  
1 leche of his Armys.

1 In different ink and hand from the Coronation, page 89, above.  
2 A great joint. 'Cp. 'and therwith gret flëssh weel rosted, and chapon, and swan rosted.' Househ. Ord., p. 450.  
3 cygnet, swanling.  
4 See recipe in Househ. Ord., p. 428; and 'Roo in a Sewe,' Lib. C. Coc. p. 23.  
5 For to make Rosee,' Forme of Cury, p. 103, 108; 'Rosee,' ib. p. 31;  
6 Ryder of Fryt, in Forme of Cury, p. 82, No. 182. See too 'Rysshens' (of pork, eggs, &c.) in Lib. C. Coc. p. 39.
A Scotch copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

[Harleian MS 6149, leaves 151—155, from a book of Sir William Cummyrs of Inverallochy, Marchmond Herald, ab. 1500 A.D.]

This poem appears to have been composed late in the 15th century, by one of that unwise class of writers on Heraldry, who, not content with assigning to that science its proper place as a handmaid to History (which, by enabling the ownership and dates of various buildings, charters, monuments, &c., to be identified, the matrimonial alliances of noble families to be proved, &c. &c., it certainly is) by claiming for it a fabulous origin, and one so manifestly capable of disproof, brought the whole subject into such contempt and ridicule, that the study of it in later generations was almost entirely neglected. Such, in 1661 A.D., was Sylvanus Morgan, who ascribes arms to Adam, Eve, Joseph, &c.; and various others both in England and Scotland.—G. E. Adams. (The heraldic footnotes are Mr Adams's too.)

First as *the* erth increasith populus,
   So convalit variance and vicis,
Amang men materis maliciousse,
   So that few mycht laubour for discrepancis,
   qhill nobilnes in armes, lordly pusancis,
   and of heraldis the werschipful ordour,
Of quham I think to tret, set weyis sure.

In werris of thebes, athenis, *and* troyis tounis,
with otheris mo of gret antiquiteis,
Banneris, standeris, gittovnis, pensalis, penonis,
borne by princis, nobillis, *and* commyniteis,
In ferre of werre, pes, or ony degreis,
I find thai war most merkis, as merchandis
Beris toknis or signetis on ther handis.

1 th = y of MS.  
2 MS vicis & variance
3 Getoun, a banner, properly 2 yards in length.—Archaeol. xxii. 397. See note, p. 29, above.
A Scotch Copy of a Poem on Heraldry.

Afterwards, Qhill efter euer the langest leving men heris, speris, and lernis more felle and wit, 16
ingenious folk Divers folkis ingenyouse fyndene thene
inspired by God, In well degest myndis considerit,
set Arms in figures of Be celestial inspiring part tuk it,
beasts, birds, &c., To set armes in metallis and colouris,
some like Nature Sum sonne, sum monne, sum sternis, sum elementis,
and some not. Sum best, sum bird, sum fische, sum frut, sum flouris,
Sum alterit, als sum in ther awin nature;
Sum, not the hole, bot part in raschit figuris,
As my simplest consate sal suin mak clere, With correctiouñ, and now quha likis heir. 20
In the Thelon The eldest, gret, most populus, mortal were,
war (which I wroate of at lengte) Palamon and Arcite were known by their armes.

After the siege of Troy about the knights at which my Book tells1
nobles wore marks to record their doughtiness,

Bot efter that troy, quhar so mony kingis war 36
Seging without, and other within the toune,
So mony princis, knychtis, and peple there,
as this my buik the most sentence did sounce, all thoche speidful in o conclusioune, 40
That nobillis here merkis, to mak be knawin, their doughtynes in dedis of armes schawin:

1 Erased. See l. 168. 'In Heraldry, the Member of any Beast which seems torn from the Body, is called Erased':—

2 Deny. Chaucer is one of the 'sum' contradicted: see his Knightes Tale, A. 1016-17, Ellesmere MS,
But by here Cote Armaries / and by hir gere
The herandes / knewe hem best in special
The fader the hole, the eldest son desier[en]t, quich a labelle; a crescent the second; third a molet; the fourt a merl to tent; fift ane aglot; the vj a flour had fond, Clepit delice. than fader or we the suld grond Armes to mo, gif thai be with difference As plesit him: thus armes begun from thens.

Than troy distroiyt, the weyris endit, the lordis I seir landis removit; and so brutus (his lif and dait my buk efter recordis,)
Come in brutane with folkis populus, And brocht with him this weyry merkis thus, quich a succedis in armes to this date; Bot lang efter troy, heraldis war nocht creat.

Mony haldis that gret Iulius cesar fiand, and did mast be wit and discrecioun, how in metallis and colouris armes ar
Now propir set with lie perfection
In braid feldis to bere and to blasouñ.
On principal I traist wes his prudens, With otheris mo preceding him and sence.

Gold and siluer, ij precious metallis pure, flour colouris bene propir, and the[r]-with mixt.

1 These differences or distinctions of houses (which are only used in British heraldry) were invented about the time of Richard II. The eldest son (in the lifetime of his father) bears a label over the arms of his father; the second son, a crescent; the third, a mullet, i.e. spur-rowel; the fourth, a martlet, the heraldic name of the house-marten; the fifth an annulet (here called "aglot"); the sixth, a fleur-de-lis; the seventh, a rose; the eighth, a cross moline; the ninth, a double quarter-foil.

2 Aglot = annulet. Richardson says aglet or aiglet, diminutives of acus, a point; and quotes Spenser's Faerie Queene, b. 11, e. 3—who mentions a garment besprinkled "with golden aggulets." Query, If these were not annulets? Aglot in our text is certainly used for annulet. (But annulets were very rarely used as marks of cadency in Scottish heraldry, says a Scotch friend. See note, p. 103.)

3 de lys.
black, red, blue, green; but not purple.

Sable, goulis, asur, vert: *perpure* the[r]-*with*\(^1\) unwproper, as *proportis the text*;

In it apperis diversæ colouris befist,

*therfor* it is not o *propir colour,*

Bot sufferit so in armes of honour.

What precious stones represent the heraldic metals and colours.

To blasoune *therin vertuyys staniis,* gold Is more *precious than oucht that ma be set.*

In it bot stonze goldy, as thopasis;

Siluer is perl; sable, diamond\(^2\) of det;

Goulis, ruby; asur, *the saphir set*;

Vert, emeraut; pu[r]pour, *the amatheis.*

Tovny colour, sum haldis cassidone Is.

Silver and sable are said to be the richest armes.

Sum seis siluer and sable ar *the richest,*

flor in tho two most cristin and hethin kingis makis and brekis *ther* lawis As thai lust best;

and quhen thai tak honour othir or sic thingis, thai sit in sable and siluer that everi bringis;

and of brutane\(^3\) the duk, bering *the sammyyn,*

Richast armes is, as I leernit am.

---

\(^{1}\) I read it, "Gold and silver are two pure precious metals. There are four colours proper, and therewith mixed, viz. sable, gules, azure, and vert.—Purpure (to mix) therewith is improper, as says the text, &c."

Purple is very seldom used in English heraldry. It is nonsense, however, to say it is improper to use it, as it is quite good heraldry. A purple lion was borne by the De Lacy family, Earls of Lincoln, and is (accordingly) the arms of Lincoln's Inn.

'Proper' above means 'properly so called.' In blazoning the arms of nobles, the ancient heralds called "or," topaz; "argent," pearl; "sable," diamond; "gules," ruby; "azure," sapphire; "vert," emeral; and "purpure," amethyst. In all the books of English heraldry two other colours are allowed, viz. 'Tenne' or tawny, i.e. orange colour, and 'Sanguine,' i.e. blood colour. There is, however, no instance of their occurrence.

\(^{2}\) *Sable,* the Heralds Word for a black Colour in the Arms of Gentlemen; but in those of the Nobility they call it *Diamond,* and in the Coats of Sovereign Princes *Saturn.* 'Tis expressed in Engraving by strokes drawn perpendicularly across.—*Gloss. Angl. Nova.* 1719.

\(^{3}\) The arms of Brittany were "Ermine," i.e. white, with black ermine spots.
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

All writ in waid most be as siluer and sable;
quhite leiff, blak Ink, that al kingis, for most part,
Cristin and hethin, beris gold and siluer able
thing of riches riest lo aduert,
and most noble, for no colouris astert
So preciouse as gold to set in it,
ffor siluer [than] perll more riche to wit;

Goullis, ruby; asur, saphire excedis;
Vert, emerautis; and amatist, purpur;
thereof gold is moche rich in werely wedis.
ffowr thingis in armes breki is thaim in ther natur:
Bendis, sic, cheveroune, and barris sure;
Thaim blason first, gif therin the feld be;
quhat euer he bere, and be it quarterlie.

Than to begin at colour in the rycht sid:
and it is said, non armes may be cald
propirly set, bot therin be to-gid
Gold or siluer in the sammyn to behold.
And for repreve to blase, men wise be schuld.
ffowr thingis in armes bot onys suld namyt be,
Onis of, onis in, onys withe, and onys to see;

Quhiche, gif he may forbere, it is the bet.
and als in armis ar sortene rondis, as ball,

1? fess, the fece of l. 113, which is another ordinary.
2 Bends, chevrons, and bars are three of the somewhat numerous "ordinaries" so called from their frequent use. In "blazoning" (i.e., describing the coat in words) the ordinary is always mentioned before any other charge (such as bird, beast, &c.), that there may be in the arms. Query, What are the four things in the line above? only three are mentioned. Can "sic" be a mistake for "fess," which is another ordinary?
3 If the coat is quarterly, the colour (or metal) on the dexter side of the coat (i.e. that opposite one's left hand) is to be "blazoned" as the first.
4 Some say no arms are correct unless therein is either gold or silver.
5 In arms are certain Roundles, which, when gold, are called "bezants," when silver, "plates," when sable, "pellets," when gules, "tortenux," when azure, "hurts," when vert,
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

according to their colours.

Metallis, colouris forsaid figurit and set,
Gold, besentis; siluer, plateis to call;
Sable, poletis; goulis, tortes at al;
Asur, hurtis; verte, pomme; wyndows, purpur.

That is four thingis longis to armis in colour,

Of the Pale, Fess, Bend, Chevron, and Baton.

None but gentle should wear arms.

That is, pales, bendis, feces, cheveronis.

perpale, evin doun extendis through the myd feild;
perfess, ourthwert from sid to sid it gonee Is;
perbend, from rycht corner to left it held;
per cheveroune, part devid wnto iij the feild;
Onne bastone is contrary to a bend:
The tonne frome left, the tother frome rycht sid tend.

Non bot gentillis suld cotis of armes were,

Cummyu of stok noble, or maid be kingis;

"llo men of armis!" that is wntrew seynig,
bot al be gentil; therfor see suthfast thing,
"llo armit men!" zit to knaw needful is
xv maneris of lionys in armys,

Of the 15 kinds of Lions in Heraldry.

first, a lionne [statant]; on-vthir, lyone rampand;
Third, saliant; the fourt, passand I-wis;
the v. seand; vj mordan; vij euchand;
the viij dormand; the ix regardand is;
The x endorsit; xj copsray schawis;
The xij copy conter changit aduart;
xiij in nomer [morné]; xiiiij, lionñ cowert;

And the xv cambatand,3 als to see.

xv maner of crocis armis here:

"pommes," when purpure, "golpes,"—Query, in text called "windows." (Perhaps from the slanting parallel lines that represent purple in heraldry: compare the fourth meaning of "window" in Mahn's Webster, 'A figure formed of lines crossing each other [Hare] "Till he has windows on his bread and butter," King.—F.)

1? for 'wounds.' 2 fool, or folk. 3 combatand.
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

The first, hole croce; the tother, engreit be;
The third, awndi; the iiji, paty in feir;\(^1\)
the v. a crois; vij, crois flarit cleir;
vij botand; viij crosolat; ix batone;
x foivrmie; xj crois fichye;

xij sarsile fere; demolyn xij;
xiiiij regle; xv suclyye, sey.

quhat maner of best or bird goith rond to sene,
About the feld blase it heroune verray.\(^2\)
Twa things is in armis sal end in schewis a[1]wey;
Gif ther be mo off thaim than ij that schewis,
As lionne-sewys,\(^3\) to sey, and heronne-sewys;

Bot onne or\(^4\) ij call lioun or herouñ.
Armis vmdois, ij strakis myd feld dovid,
flet\(^5\) ar in armis, and ij thingis compone
lik to vther, barr and fete\(^5\) brode to-gid.
Als certane thingis plurar in armis go,
As flouris to blase, and pelletis with tho;

Not be to namyt, gif he beire mo than ij,
Bot thus flowris florate to blase rycht.

thre thingis in armes 3it be lik vtheris evin,
Tortes, tortell pelletis, pellett hecht,
Fussewis,\(^6\) masklewis, and losingis thus plicht.
Be ther mony fussewis,\(^7\) masklewis\(^8\) thaim call,
And losengiij 3it in armys with-all.

Ale maner of best to blase, sey 'be armit,'
and al birdis, sey 'membrit' saufly:
Girphinne,\(^9\) baith bird and best, we suld call it

\(^1\) ? for 'entier.'\(^2\) ? for 'inurne.'
\(^3\) Lioncel. 'Lioncelis, the Heralds Term for Lions, when
there is more than Two of them born in any Coat of Arms, and
no Ordinary between them; and 'tis all one with a small or
\(^4\) MS on.
\(^5\) ? fret or fess.
\(^6\) MS ' Suffewis.' 'The same things elsewhere in the MS
are called 'fusses' and 'fussel,'
\(^7\) ? MS 'fuffewis.'
\(^8\) mascle.
\(^9\) Griffons.
To blase, 'membrit and armyt' boith lustly.

3it in armes, picles and delphes espy.

Billetis, hewmatis, and ij indenturis be,

Perpale cheveronue, perpale giondes to se.

Thire be also raschit, as lege or heid,

wiche geiondly werry and belly told : [?]

In quhat metallis or colouris that thai sted,
quhat thingis thai be, ful attently behold :

ffigour, forme, flour, or quhat mater on mold,

In armes set, and so blase discretly ;

And quho siche beris, study well, and espy.

3hit sum haldis in armis ij certane thingis,

Nothir metallis nor colouris to blasoune,

Ermyne and werr, callit panis, bestly furring,

And haldin so without other discripicioune.

All attentik armys of hie renoune

Of al estatis, and general of al manis,

Bene set in this metallis, colouris, and panys.

Quhiche honorable in al armis forsaid,

war first fundyn eftir the preciouse stanyis,

In nombyr few, and so costly araid,

That al noblay may not gudly at anys

Actene therto : than law of armys disponys

ffor theme be sett and portrait with pictouris,

In feildis, the seid metallis and ther colouris ;

The quhiche stanyis come first frome paradice,

thatfor thai ar so precyus singlare.
quha will study his wittis, and conterpace

The hie planetis, and signis of the aire,

Symylitidős of thaim he may fynd there

flor to blasoun, and also in bestiall,

In erbis, foullis, and fischis therwithall ;

1 ? for 'pikes.' 2 humet. 3 gyronny.

4 furs, called less properly pann (or cloth).
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

How thai be born, in quhat kindis, and quhare, also be quhom, and eftir in excellence,

That I refer to my lordis to declar,

kingis of armes, and heraldis of prudens, and persewantis, and grant my negligens

that I suld not attempe thus to commoun,

Bot of ther grace, correctioun, and pardoune,

flor, as I red, princis of nobillest mynd,

And speci'aly this seid Iulius cesar,

ther attentik worthi ordour did fynd,

fful honorable in erth, and necesser,

To bere armes, blasonne, and to prefer

Vthir officiaris in honour, as I schall

Schaw causis quhy of this ordour regall,

Quhiche ascendis, create be greis thre:

first, persewant; syn, herald; and than king;

Ichone of this being gre abone gre,

Be land and see preuilegit in al thing,

In werre and peice, batell, province and ring,

Cete, castellis, parliamentis prerogative,

Amang princis trew reuerendaris to schrive.

Oure al the warld, and erast Amang the best, thir premambulis and discriptionis procedis, all thingis be takin treuly as thai attest, ay liscenciat and lovit with al ledis,

Noblis, vergynis, and wedois in ther nedis,

Of holy chirche the sure feith thai support, At ther poweris causing to al consort.

Withoutin quham, honerarle actis in armis wirschipfully is seldim donze, we se, for ded of lif, fauour, hatrent, or harms, Euer thai attest the verray verite, quhar na man may laubour for Inmyte, ther thai proced, euer schawing the best; withouttin quham, quha mycht materis degest.
A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This noble Order, movers of good, wells of knowledge, may God the Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin, save, to promote love among Christian kings! And my Insufficiency, do you, Heralds, my lords, correct and complete!

This hie overdour noble and necessary, prince of pete, and Iuge amang gentrice, most behuffull tretaris of trowith no vary, Mewaris of goud, and mesaris of malice, wellis of cummyng, and trowit in kingly wise, Mansuete maneryt so ther meritis requiris, Ther dewiteis al digniteis desiris.

Sen it is so, our souerane Lord most hie, The thre personis resting in o godheid, and one in thre, the hali trinite, the blissit virgin of quhom god tuk manheid, Saif this ordour, prudently to procedd Amang kingis, princis, liegis and lordis; Of cristin dome to cause luf and concordis!

And I confess my simple insufficiens: Illit haf I sene, and reportit weil less, of this materis to haf experience. Tharfor, quhar I al neidful not express, In my waiknes, and not of wilfulnes, my seid lordis correk me diligent, To maid menis, or sey the remanent!

NOTES TO A SCOTCH COPY OF A POEM ON HERALDRY.

This poem does not seem to have been originally written by a Scotchman: its English origin appears clearly from the phraseology, distinctions and conceits, e.g. the nomenclature of roundles, which was never adopted in Scotland, where the simpler phraseology employed in France was in use. The spelling (quhill, quham, &c.) is certainly often Scotch, but for that the Scotch transcriber, Loutfut, is doubtless answerable. Sir William Comyn (or Cumming), of Inverallochy, described in the heading of the poem Marchmont Herald, is best known as Lyon king of Arms from 1512 onwards, an office in which he seems to have immediately succeeded Sir David Lyndsay. It is no small indication of the weight attached to Lyon’s office, and the sacredness of his person, at that period, that in 1515 Lord Drummond, one of the most powerful of the Scotch nobles of his day, was declared guilty of treason, attainted, and sentenced to confinement in Blackness castle, for giving Comyn a blow with his fist, ‘dum eum de ineptis suis admoneret.’ The poem seems to belong to a period later than Nicolas Upton (1440) and the Book of St Albans (1486), but must be earlier than Gerard Legh (1562), John Boswell (1572), and Sir John Ferne (1586), the three principal heraldic writers of the Elizabethan age. No very
old Scotch systematic treatises on Heraldry exist in print, and apparently none in manuscript, though there are numerous books of blazonry and illuminated collections of arms in MS. of the 16th century. Mackenzie in the 17th, and the more elaborate Nisbet in the 18th century, are the great Scotch authorities. Loutfut the transcriber had probably not been very thoroughly instructed in the science of arms, as he has mistaken words, and made blunders of copyism to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to unravel the meaning of the text.

1. 46. 'Aglot,' a misreading for annulet, the usual difference for a fifth son. The 'eaglet,' or young eagle, for which the transcriber has taken the word, is a common bearing in English heraldry, though not one of the recognized marks of cadency.

1. 51-53. The mention of the settlement of Britain by Brutus is sufficient proof of the English origin of the poem. From the 14th century downwards, one of the principal points on which the hotly-contested question of Scottish independence was supposed to hinge, was whether the English story of the colonization of Britain by the sons of the Trojan hero Brutus was true or false. It was stoutly denied by the Scots, who traced the foundation of their nationality up to the Greek Cathelus and his wife Scotia, the daughter of Pharaoh who protected the infant Moses; and no Scotsman of the 15th or 16th century would have given his imprint to the Brutus story.

1. 64-70. Four colours are proper, being pure colours: purpure, being a mixed colour, is less proper though 'suffered' in arms: an assertion to be found in nearly similar words in various old French and Spanish as well as English works on arms. Numerical conceits were greatly in favour among the old heralds, and are a key to half the pedantries and anomalies that have crept into heraldic nomenclature and classification. Four and fifteen are numbers especially favoured by the author of this poem—and the impropriety of purpure is set forth in order to show four to be the proper number of colours. A great many of the old writers on arms, including particularly Dame Juliana Berners and Gerard Legh, favour nine above all other numbers. It was three times the number of the Trinity,—there were nine virtues, nine orders of angels, nine muses, nine beatitudes, nine male worthies, and nine female worthies. The Book of St Albans says: 'This lawe of armys was founded on the IX order of angellys in heven encrownyd with precious stony of colour and of vertues dyvers. Also of theym are fyguryed the colours in armys.' Dame Juliana Legh, and other writers, to obtain their nine tinctures (colours and metals), bring in not only purpure, which was rare, but sanguine and tenny, which were never in use. Sylvanus Morgau (1661), on the other hand, inclines to reject purpure altogether, while Spelman exalts it above every other tincture. One of the results of this determination to resolve everything to nine, was the addition by Legh to the six marks of cadency in actual use, of the rose, crossmoline, and double quarterfoil, which were never really used. They are again rejected in the latest edition of Legh's 'Accedens,' as also by Boswell: but are nevertheless retained in many of the modern elementary works on Heraldry.

1. 96. One would almost be inclined to think that the word printed 'sic' must have been originally 'pale' rather than fess, or else that 'barris' stands for 'pales;' it seems unlikely that both bar and fess would be enumerated and pale omitted among the four things that 'breks' arms; a more correct idea, by the way, of the common character of the 'Honourable Ordinaries' than is to be found in most of the old authorities.

1. 104-106. 'Thyse thre termes, Of, And, Wyth, shall not be hercyd in armis but onys ony of them.'—Book of St Albans.

'There are fower wordes, whereof you may not name any of them twise in the blazonne of one cote, & these be they: Of, On, And, With. These may
not be spoken any more than once in one cote: if they be, it is accomplished such a fault, as he that committed the same is not worthy to blaze a cote. — Gerard Legh.

1. 111. ‘wyndow,’ i.e. ‘wounds.’ Roundles purpure are so called by Bosswel, the derivation being obvious. Most heralds prefer the name ‘golpes.’

1. 127-134. Of the fifteen lions enumerated, the designations of the first and thirteenth are omitted. Doubtless by the transcriber’s oversight. As to the eleventh ‘copray,’ query if tricorporate?

1. 135-142. Of the fifteen crosses mentioned, the third is ‘undy.’ The fourth, ‘paty,’ is probably meant for ‘patonece,’ formée (identical with patée) being separately enumerated. The specific character of the fifth is omitted; the fourteenth is ‘raguly.’ Is ‘sueylye’ (the fifteenth) ‘resarcelée’? ‘Sarcelée’ had been already enumerated as the thirteenth cross.

1. 143-4. ‘Verray’ must surely stand for ‘enurny,’ the term used in French and sometimes in English heraldry for a bordure charged with any animal.

1. 152-155. These lines are unintelligible as they stand. It cannot be meant that fleurs-de-lis or pellets should not be named, or their number stated, if there are more than two. But if for ‘ij’ we read ‘vij’ the sense is at once apparent, as we come exactly to the dictum of the old heralds, and the word eight is an admissible rhyme to ‘rycht’ in the succeeding line.

1. 156, 157, are a little obscure. Tortell pellets, according to the nomenclature of some old heralds, would be identical with pellets or roundles sable. If so, but two things are named, not three. Menestrier uses the term “tortean = besant,” for a roundle parted per fess gules and or; and it is conceivable that the herald-poet may mean by torteaux-pellets, roundles parted per fess gules and sable: but in any view there seems little point in this passage.

1. 158-160 are also a little unsatisfactory. Fusils, masceles, and lozenges are of course things ‘like utheris even’—but why should fusils, when multiplied in number, be called masceles? If however for the words ‘fussewis,’ ‘masklewis,’ in 1. 159, and ‘losegis’ in 1. 160, we read fusilly, mascallly, lozeny, the sense is clear, viz. if there be many fusils, masceles or lozenges, blazon the field fusilly, mascallly or lozeny.

1. 165. ‘pictes,’ i.e. pikkes.

1. 166-169. This passage, though rather unintelligible as it stands, evidently refers to the division of the shield by partition lines, a subject which has been made the theme of much obscure pedantry by the early heralds, whose distinctions are by no means exactly observed by the poet. What ‘gloinds’ stands for, I cannot make out. Two modes of dividing the field called ‘pynions,’ are given in the Book of St Albans, of which the latter is ‘cheverounge, and that may be clawry, counterly, quarterly, gerely, and byally.’ ‘Gereri’ is ‘when thre cheverounge be togyder or moo,’ corresponding to our gyrmony of six or of eight. ‘Byally,’ the word which appears as ‘belly’ in 1. 169, is ‘when a barre is between two cheffrounce,’ another variety of the gyrmony of six of later heralds. 1. 168 seems to say that a partition line may (as well as a leg or head) be ‘raschit,’ or erased. A line ‘dancetté, or sometimes with indentations more like those of an erased head or leg, is called ‘rasit’ or erased by Upton, Dame Juliana, and Sir John Ferne. ‘Geronyd’ is, according to the Book of St Albans, ‘gereri’ (or gyrmony of nine) with a fess target (i.e. an esencheon of pretence) in the centre of the shield. ‘Verry,’ or vaire, is by the same authority enumerated, not as a fur only, but as a mode of parting the shield ‘when the field is made like gobolettys of dyvers colours.’ Along with checky and undy, it is enumerated as one of the ‘Coat armoures gryttty.’
Ocelowe,

[Laud MS 735 (formerly K. 78), Bodl. Libr.]

I Of pridd f of waste clothynge of lordis mene, which is A-jens her Astate.¹ [No. 12.]

I. I. wate welle, sone, of me þus wilt þou think:
   "This old doted greseH hold hym wyse;
   He wenyth make in my hert synke
   His lewde clappe, of which I sett no prys.
   He is A nobulH þrechour as [I] devyse!
   Greet noys hath þurgh his chymynge lyppes drye;
   This day owt past the dewle in his ye."

II. But thogh y hold and hore be now, sone myn,
   And pore be my clothing! And Aray,
   And not so wyde A gwnēe As is thynw,
   So smaH y-pynchyd, ne so fressh and gay;
   My rede, in hap, jett the profyte may;
   And likly, þat þow demyst for foly,
   Is g[r]etter wisdom þan þou canst Aspy.

III. Vndir An olde pore Abyte regneth ofte
   Grete vurtew, thogh it mostre poorely;
   And wher as grete Aray is yp-onl loft,
   Vice is but seldom hid; þat welle wote I.
   Butt not reporte, I. pray þo Inwardly,
   That fressH Aray y. generally deprave;
   þe²s worthi menw nowe fulH weel it have.

¹ See Fairholt's Costume in England, p. 139; and my ed. of Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, p. x, p. 62, l. 129-32.

My son, to this complaint of mine you 'll say, 'This old fool of a grizzle thinks himself very wise, but I don't mind his stupid clapper!'

However, though I am hoar and poor,

An old coat often covers virtue;

while a fine one hides vice.

But I don't run down new clothes;
only, it is an abuse for a man to wear a scarlet robe 12 yards wide, and sleeves hanging on the ground, with £29 worth of fur on them.

Such a man has an empty purse, and only what he stands upright in.

It stinks in my nostrils to see such a poor beggar imitate his lord!

In old time you could tell a Lord by his dress; but now you hardly can.

Another great waste is, to use a yard of broad cloth in a man’s tippet.

It incites to stealth, and Hempen Lane.

† Butt p’s me thynkith an’ Abusio[u], To sene one walke in A robe of scarlet
xij 3erdis wide, with pendaunt slevis down
On the ground, and p furur þer-in sette, Amountyng vnil-to xx.li. or bette; And 3ef he for it payd, hatli he no good Leffe hym wher-with to by hym-selff An’ hood.

† For thogh he gete forthi A-mong the prees, And ouere-looke euere poore wighte, His cofre and eke his purs I. trow be peneles; He hatli no more than he goth yn vp-righte; For lond, rent, or catel, he may go lyghte; The weighte of hem shal not so mych payse As doth his gown! is such Aray to prayse?

† Nay sothly, sone, it is aH mys, me thynkith! So poor’ A wight’ his lord to contrefett In’ his Aray! ym my conceyt it stynkith! Certes, to blame bene þe lordes grete, 3ef þat, I. durst sey, they her’ men lete Vsurpe such lordly Apparayle, It is not worthy, my child, with-out fayle.

† Some [tyme] A-farre men’ myghte lordes knaw By her’ Aray from’ opur folk, or now. A man’ shal stodye or musyn’ now A long’ throw Which is whichi. O lordes! it sittes to 3ow! Amend this! for it is for yor’ prow. 3ef by-twen3ow and yor’ men no defference Be [in] þyn’ Aray, lesse is yor’ reuerence.

† Also þer is another’ newe Iett, A fowle wast of cloth, and excessyf: Ther’ goth no lasse in A mannes typett’s Dan’ of brode cloth A 3erd, be my lyf! Me thynkith þis A verrey indultyf Vnil-to þelth. were hem’ of hempet’ lane! For stelth is medid with A chekeclew bane.
Let euere lorde his Awn men defende
Such grete Aray; And þau, ond my peryfl,
This lande within A while soon shal Amende.
Now, in goddes name, put it in exile!
Hit is synne outrageous And vyle!
Lady's! if 3e jour' Astate and honour'
Loven, flemynl this vicious error!

What is A lorde with-oute his men?
I. putt case, þat his foos hym) Asayle
Sodenly in þe strete: what helpp shal he
Whos sleevey encombrous so syde trayle,
Do to his lorde? he may hym not Aavayle!
In such A case he nys but A woman;
He may not stande hym in-stede of a man.

His Armes twoo have righte y-now to don,
And sumwhat more, his sleeves vp to hold.
The tayllours, y trowe, mote her' after some
Shape in þe feld; þef shal not shape and folde
On her' boord, þogh þei' neuer so fayn wolde;
The cloth þat shal be in A gowne wroghte,
Take an hole cloth is best, for lasse is noghte.

The skynner vn-to þe feld mote Also;
His hous in london is so streyt and scars
To don' his crafte. sum tyme it was not so.
O lorde! 3eve 3e vn-to 30ur' men' her' pars
That so don', and queynt hem' bett with mars,
God of bateH! he loveth now Aray
That hurtith manhod at þrefte or Assay.

Who now most may bere ond his bak at ons
Off cloth And furroir, hath a fressH renoun;
He is 'A lusty man' clepyd for the nones.
Butt drapers And eke skynners in þe town
For such folke han' A specialH orison'
That florisshid is with curses here and there,
And Av shal till þei' be payd of her' more.
While, small dress, 

Full households; 

Now, lean households, 

Outrageous array, 

But hungry bellies. 

Who that hath willere bere An' hungry maw 

To beed, pan lak of Aray outrage; 

He no price settith by mesures law, 

Ne takith of hym cloth, [ne] mete, ne wage; 

Mesure is owt of land on' pilgrimage; 

But I. suppose he shal restore as blyve, 

For verrey nedes wol vs yer-to dryve. 

As Lords set the fashion, 

Let Lords wear quiet gowns, as of old; 

Other folk would follow, and give up costly extravagance. 

The same get wold vs be take and vsyd, 

And aH p good costlew owtrage refusid. 


Off Lancastre duke John) whos savle in heven.] 

__Tippet__, 1.52, p. 106. "Tippet. The pendent streamer from the arm (p. 98), the extra cape or covering for the shoulders. The long pendant from the arm (See Liripe). 

"On holydays before her he wold go 

With his typet bound about his head."


'To the pendent streamers from the hood were now added others from the elbow. They first appear as narrow elongations from the sleeve of the upper-tunic or cote-hardie; they afterwards assume the form of long narrow strips of white cloth, and were called tippets, generally reaching from the elbow to the knee, or lower.'—ib. p. 98.
EXTRACT FROM

Sir Peter Idle's Directions to his Son,

(Camb. Univ. Lib. MS, Ee 4, 37.)

Lete thy tongue not clakke as a mille,  
Medle not of eche mannes matere;  
Kepe within thi breste that may be stille;  
In taurernes also, not clappe ne clater.  

Don't let your tongue clack like a mill,

4 or clatter in taverns.

Wade not so depe into the water  
But þat þou may com out at thyñ owne plesir,  
And not tabide thyñ enemys leisour.

8 Don't be censorious.

Therefore be not talewyse in no manere;  
In worde be ware, it is harde to triste;  
Telle neuer the more, though þou moche hire;  
Kepe in cloos, as tresour in cheste.

12 Be lowly and respectful.

And be þou lowely and honest  
To riche and pouere, in worde and dede,  
And then thy name to worslip shall sprede.

3 What man þou serve, Loke þou hym drede;  
His goode as thyñ, þou kepe and spare;  
Lete neuer thy will thy witte overlede;  
Be lowly in service, and love his welfare;  
And if þou wilt be out of drede and care,  
Restreyne and kepe well thy tonge:

16 Take care of your master's goods as your own.

Thus, childre, lerne while ye be yonge.

20 Restrain your tongue.

Be true in worde, werke, and dede,  
And flee doublenes in all wyse.

24 Flee doublenes.

Throghe all the worlde in lengthe and brede,  
Gretter vertues can no man devise,  
And sonnest to worship causeth man to rise.

1 What ought to be kept quiet.


3 Compare lines 5—7 of p. 34 of Babees Book.

4 See Babees Book, p. 19, l. 39.
SIR PETER IDLE'S DIRECTIONS TO HIS SON.

Don't invent stories.

Be not Autour also of tales newe,
For callyng to reheraisall, lest pou it rewe.

Also, sone, this lesson y the leere:
To whom pou speke, haue goode mynde,
And of whom, how, when, and where;
For now a frende, thus sone unkynde.

Therfore, wher euer pou Ride or wende,
'Speke cloos all thyng^, as thomhe in fiste,
And euer be ware of hadd-y-wyste.

Don't invent stories.

Mind what you say to people:

A friend now may be a foe to-morrow.

To whom you speke, haue goode mynde,
And of whom, how, when, and where;
For now a frende, thus sone unkynde.

Therfore, wher euer pou Ride or wende,
'Spoke cloos all thyng; as thombe in fiste,
And euer be ware of hadd-y-wyste.

Don't invent stories.

Joke with your equals only.

2 If thow shalt borde, Iape with thy peere,
And leye thy pleye when it is beste,
And suffre a grete worde, for manere;
For better is the tree pat bowe fan breste;
It is an uncline birde defouleth his neste;
Therfore, as a gentilman lerne curtesie and vertu;
All honour' and worship therof shall sune.

Put up with a hard word.

If thou shalt borde, Iape with thy peere,
And leye thy pleye when it is beste,
And suffre a grete worde, for manere;
For better is the tree pat bowe fan breste;
It is an uncline birde defouleth his neste;
Therfore, as a gentilman lerne curtesie and vertu;
All honour' and worship therof shall sune.

Don't invent stories.

Learn courtesy and virtue.

Joke with your equals only.

Looke, suche clothuyng as pou shalt weere,
Keepe hem as clenly as pou can;^3
And all the Rememant of thy geere;
For clothuyng ofte maketh man.4
Be as pure as flour takeñ fro the branñ
In all thy clothuyng and al þyn arraye;
But goo not to oucr nyce gay.

Don't invent stories.

Keep your clothes clean,
(for they oft make a man)
and as pure as flour bolted from the bran.

1 2 Cp. lines 13—16, p. 34 of Babees Book.
2 See Babees Book, 1. 161-8.
3 See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under fol), Babees Book, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.
4 See Cotgrave's "Graue clothes make dunces often seeme great clarkes" (under fol), Babees Book, Pt. II., p. 72, col. 2.
NOTES TO QUEENE ELIZABETHES ACADEMY.

p. 3. Sir John Cheke, and English.—And here I must add, that he laboured much in the restoration of our English language. Dr Wyson asserted, that he had better skill in our English speech, to judge of the phrases and properties of words, and to divide sentences, than any else had that he knew; and that he was thought, by some judicious men, greatly to have improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the Greek, to read it into English; whereby he did not only give a clearer understanding unto the author, but enabled his hearers the better to judge of the things, and to perfect their tongue and utterance, as was remembered before.”—Strype’s Life of Cheke, p. 162.

p. 6. Statute touching Multiplication.—The statute alluded to is 5 Hen. IV. cap. 5.—“It is ordained and stablished, That none from henceforth shall use to multiply Gold or Silver, nor use the Craft of Multiplication: And if any the same do, and be thereof attainted, that he incur the Pain of Felony in this Case,” ‘Multiplication of Gold or Silver, the Art of encreasing those Metals, which in the Time of K. Henry IV was presum’d possible to be effected by means of Elixirs, or other Chymical Compositions, and therefore forbidden to be put in Practice, under Pain of being liable to the Punishment of Felony, by a Statute made in the fifth Year of his Reign.’—Kersey’s Phillips, ed. 1706.

p. 7. Dispensation against the Statute of Rouges.—“Fencers” are mentioned in the list of persons who are to be deemed “Roges and Vacaboundes,” in 14 Eliz. cap. 5, sec. 5 (A. D. 1572): “and all Fencers, Bearewardes, Comon Players in Enterludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme, or towards any other honorable Personage of greater Degree.”

p. 7. Bandora. A large instrument of the lute kind, with six strings of wire, invented in 1562, says Hawkins, Hist. Mus., by John Rose, citizen of London, dwelling in Bridewell. Heywood, in his Fair Maid of the Exchange, compares a lady’s hair to “bandora vires.” The Bandora was much used in Elizabeth’s reign, especially with the Cittern, to which it formed the appropriate base.—Chappell’s Popular Music, i 224, note a; ii. 776. ‘The name of the instrument is from the πανδόνιον which the Greeks borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. That was also a long-necked instrument of the same kind, but with three gut strings. This is called “a Guitar” by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson in his Ancient Egyptians’ (Mr Chappell’s MS. Note). The Cittern was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the 18th century, but had only four double strings of wire, that is, two to each note. The Lute has been superseded by the guitar, though in tone it is decidedly superior to the guitar, being larger, and having a convex back nearly resembling the vertical section of a pear. It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was 11 or 12, five at least were doubled; the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string.—Chappell, i. 101-2.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

Note.—Where two numbers occur, as 96/76, the first refers to the page, the second to the numbered line on that page. The above reference will be p. 96, l. 76 of the Poem on Heraldry.

Abroche, 79/3, ‘To set abroche,’ to tap.
Abusion, 106/22, abuse.
Aduertence, 79/12, ‘Hathe none aduertence’ = gives no attention.
Aglot, 95/46, annulet.
Alleage, 3, Allege, refer to, quote.
Allonli, 66/24, only, alone.
Amathis, 96/76, amethyst.
Ambes ase, 81/52, the two aces, the lowest throw in the dice; bad luck.
‘Your bagges be not filld with ambes ase.’ Chaucer, 4544.
And, 29, if.
And, in Heraldry, 97/104-6, and note, p. 103.
Apallyd, 83/119. Ale appallyd = weak or thin Ale = small beer.
Appose, 3, to question, pose.
Armit, 99/161, armed of a different colour from the rest of the body;—said of animals generally.
A-sele, 80/16, to seal; to stamp.
‘All Brewsters and Gannokers [to] selle a gallon [of] ale, of the best,
be measure a-selyd, for 1d. ob.’ P. Parr., p. 186, note.
A-sesythe, 83/135. The Harl. MS. probably gives the correct reading—ensealed.
Assaye, 13, 17, ‘tasting of food to try whether there is poison in it.’
Asterte, 97/89?
Asur, 96/66, azure, one of the heraldic colours. ‘Asur, the saphir set’ 96/75
Attemperance, 65/11, moderation, temperance.
Audur, 86/16, either.
Awcomistrie, 6, alchemy.
Awles, 85/17; 88/6, aweless; without reverence.
Awndi, 99/137, undee, wavy; a kind of cross in heraldry. See note, p. 104.
Awne, 47/112, own.
Awreke, 68/19, avenged.
Bandora, 7. A kind of lute with six strings. See note, p. 111.
Barbe, 26, a hood, or muffler, which covered the lower part of the face.
Barris, 97/96, bars: a bar is an ordinary which crosses the shield horizontally: it occupies one-fifth of the field.
Barves, 30.
Bastone, 98/118, baton; a bar on an escutcheon, usually denoting bastardy.
Batone, 99/139. *Cross pateée*; i.e. a cross fleurie expanded. See note, p. 104.
Bawclkyn, 35, a precious kind of stuff.
Belly, 100/169, Byally is when a bar is between two chevrons. See note, p. 104.
Belwedyr, 84/147, bell-wether.
Bendis, 98/113, bends; a bend is an ordinary crossing the shield diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base.
Besentis, 98/109, a circle in or, i.e. gold, representing the coin a bezant.
Bests, 29, beast, i.e. crest. See note, p. 37.
Besty, 100/194, pertaining to animals. Not used in a bad sense.
Billettis, 100/166; a billet is a bearing of a rectangular oblong figure.
Blawmanger, 90, blancmange.
Blyve, 108/104, quickly.
Bookish, 4, bookish circumstances = rules found in books; theories.
Borias, 81/54, boreas, the north wind.
Borowurd, 68/14, borrowed.
Botand, 99/139, a kind of cross in heraldry.
Braydythe, 82/86. *Whos promys braydythe on duplicite* = whose promise is founded on duplicity.
Brownte, 81/54, burnt, brunt.
Bryste, 50/188, bright, showy.
Bwn, xiii, Bum. See *Jamieson.*

Bye, 62/184, *‘Set þem not bye.’* To honour. He that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes. *Psa. xv. 4, P. B. vers.*
Byteres, 91, bitterns.

Callot, 40/29, a scold or drab.
Cambatand, 98/134, a kind of lion in heraldry. Two rampant lions, face to face, are said to be *combatant.*
Cambrel, 43/144, gambrel, a crooked piece of wood used by butchers. See note, p. 43.
Canne, 60/124, can, a vessel.
Canne, 58/76, knowest.
Canonrie, 4, gunnery.
Cassidone, 96/77, chalcedony.
Certeyne, 30, a certeyne of innocentes = a certain number of children.
Chalain, xx, I claim.
Char de wardon, 91. *Apple marmalade.* See note 2, p. 91.
Chekelew, 106/56. The Digby MS, according to Halliwell, reads *chokelew*; choking, strangling.
Cheveroune, 97/96, chevron, an honourable ordinary in heraldry, representing two rafters of a house meeting at the top.
Childe, 34, shield.
Chimice, 5, chemical.
Chyflfe, 79/9, chief.
Clappe, 105/4, chatter.
Clowrys, 81/44, bareyn clowrys = barren fields.
Comodities, 10, advantages.
Connynge, 69/50, knowledge.
Contacowre, 66/36, a quarrelsome person.
Conterpace, 100/191, counterpoise; weigh, ponder over, consider.
Convalit, 93/2, to increase, grow strong.

Copy, 98/132, couped. When a portion of any animal is cut clean off, it is said to be couped. See next.

Copray, 98/131, one of the kinds of lions used in heraldry. Query coupé, Fr. See note, p. 104.

Cornyfyn ï xx.

Coronnell, ix (Span.), Colonel.

Costlew, 108/112, costly.

Costrel, 38. Costrel, bottle-holder, attendant; from Costrell, a bottle of earth or wood, having ears by which it was suspended at the side. "A youth, that, following with a costrel, bore
The means of goodly welcome, flesh and wine."—Tennyson.
Webster’s Dict. by Malm.

Cottage, 38, doing cottage’s work.

Couente, 79/2, convent, company.

Courne, 49/148, corn. See Stryte.

Conter changit, 98/132, counter-changed. Counter-changed, in heraldry, is when there is a mutual changing of the Colours of the Field and Charge in an Escutcheon, by reason of one or more Lines of Partition.—Gloss. Aang. Nov.

Creme boyle, 91, boiled cream.

Covern, 98/133, coward. One of the kinds of lions in heraldry; a lion with its tail between its legs.

Crache, 58/63, scratch.

Cressent, 95/44. A crescent in heraldry is the half-moon with the horns turned upward. A second son differences his arms with a crescent.

Crosolat, 99/139, crosslet, one of the kinds of crosses used in heraldry; it has each of its limbs crossed.

Crustades, 90, a dish in cookery.

Crysdomne, 57/26, Christendom.

Cryspes frye, 91, fried crisps or batter-cakes. The recipe in Forme of Cury, p. 99, is:

xxvi. For to make cryppys. Nyn flour and wytys of eyryn, sugur other hony, and sweyng to-gedere, and make a batour: nyn wyte grees, and do yt in a posnet, and cast the batur thereyn, and stury to thou have many [till it will run into lumps, I suppose, Pegge:
? till thou have mixture], and tak hem up, and messe hem wyth the frutours, and serve forthe. Cp. ‘crespes et vielz sucre,’ Le Ménagier de Paris, ii. 92; ‘pastes de chappons, et crespes,’ ib. p. 94; and the recipes for making ‘crespes’ and ‘Crespes à la guise de Tournay,’ ib. p. 226.

Cuchand, 98/129, couchant; lying down, but with the head erect.

Cyterne, 7, 111, a musical instrument something like a guitar.

Decree, 23, 25, degree, rank.

Deffrent, 95/43. A distinction. See note 1, p. 95.

Delice, 95/47, = de-lis, fleur-de-lis.

Delphes, 100/165; a delf in heraldry is a square borne in the middle of an escutcheon, supposed to represent a square rod or turf; an abatement of honour. See Bailey.

Demolyne, 99/141, a kind of cross used in heraldry: a cross moline has its extremities formed like a fer de moline or mill rind; i.e. each limb is divided at the end.

Departysown, 84/151, separation.

Deprave, 105/20, run down: speak lightly of.

Destrache, 53/30, ï constrain.

Det, 96/74, ï Of debt, duly, necessarily. P. Pare.

Devid, 98/117, divide.

Dewle, 105/7 ï Dewle or devylle, Diabolus. P. Pare.
Dext, 35, desk, the Litany or fald-stool.
Domesman, 88/3, doomsman; judge.
Domusmane, 85/14, doomsman; judge.
Dornand, 98/130, asleep, with its head resting between its legs; dormant.
Doucetis, 91, small custards or pasties.
Dowle, 32, dole, or mourning.
Drapers, 107/88.
Dyaburde, 92, diapered.
Egretys, 91, egret, a kind of heron. Halliwell.
Elenge, 66/5. This word is still heard in Kent, where the meaning is lonely, or solitary. In P. Plow. we meet with it as an adverb:—Alisaundre, that al van Elengliche ended. P. Plough. 7531. ed. Wright.
Emeraut, 96/76, emerald.
Endorsit, 98/131, endorsed in heraldry is when two lions are borne in an escutcheon rampant, and turning their backs to each other: ad-dorsed.
Endosyd, 79/8, endorsed.
Enfamynyd, 80/36, hungry.
Engreit, 99/136, engrailed; indented with curved lines.
Ernst, 101/217, chiefly, firstly.
Erneful, 66/5, yearning, anxious.
Exigente, 79/4, difficulty.
Exquisitely, 7, well; in a superior manner.
Fage, 81/66, to deceive by falsehood or flattery.
Faill, 12, a woman's upper garment.
Fanyng, 34, refers to the ban-ners being held.
Farsed, 84/160, filled, stuffed.
Fedeces, 98/113. Fesses are bands drawn horizontally across the centre of an escutcheon.
Felle, 91/16. Fell and wit, cleverness and intelligence.
Fene, 87/20, to feign or fancy.
Fess, for sic, 98/96. \(fess\): see note, p. 103, on l. 96.
Fjesaunte, 90, pheasant.
Ffet, 99/150, fess?
Ffrumenty with Vencson, 90, ep. 'Desserte: fromentée et venois-on. Le Ménagier de Paris, ii. 108. Again at the wedding of maistre Jehan de Hautecourt: 'Fromentée, venoison, poires et noix. Nota que pour la fromentée convendra trois cens œufs,' ib. p. 121. Also, p. 97, &c. (See the Index.)
Ffruter lumarde, 92, fritters à la Lombarde; an ancient dish. See the recipe for Leche Lombard in Babees Book Index, p. 95, col. 2, from Forme of Curie, p. 36; and see Nares under Lumber; also Frutour lumbert, at an Oxford dinner, 1452 a.d. Relig. Ant. i. 88.
Fichye, 99/140, crois fichye means a cross fichée, that is, having the lower limb pointed.
Flarait, 99/138, fleurie, a cross fleurie is a cross with fleurs-de-lis issuing from the limbs; but a cross fleuréetée may be intended. They are almost identical.
Florate, 99/155?
Fold, 98/122, folk.
Foltyshe, 81/53; foltishe, 82/90; 83/120, foolish.
Foreman, 25.
Forten, 63/215, fortune; happen.
Fourmes, 33, forms, seats.
Fourmies, 99/140, formée. A cross-formée is a cross small in the centre and widening towards the extremities.
Foys, 61/170, foes.
Foyssoun, 84/148, nourishment. 'The natural juice or moisture of the grass.'—Halliwell.
Fray, 79/6, friary.
Fremde, 44/22, a stranger.
Frontlet, 26, a forehead band.
Frow, 39/6, fro, from.
Furnishes, 6, furnaces.
Fussewys, 99/158, fusils. A fusil in heraldry is an elongated lozenge. See note, p. 104.
Gase, a gase, 46/61; to gaze, or agazing.
Gelee, 90, jelly.
Gentrice, 102/232, gentry.
Gerondy, 100/169.
Gyglot, 45/49, a giddy romping girl.
Goddys, 33, habits.
Hady-wist, 42/120, 110/35 = had I wist, that is, 'Had I known,' I wouldn't have done it; an expression of regret.
Hafter, 87/41. See note 3, p. 87.
Hallow, 11, to halloo.
Harowlde, 8, herald.
Harrowldrie, 8, heraldry.
Hatrent, 101/226, hatred.
Haute greece, 90, Capon of, high fat; very fat capon.
Hawe, 84/148, haue.
Hempen Lane, 106/55, the galleries.
Heronne-sevis, 99/147, herons.
Heroune, 99/144, heron.
Hejene, hence.
Hewe, 68/21, hew, chop (as chips will fly into your eye).
Hewmatis, 100/166. Humettee in heraldry is a term applied to a chevron: a cross humettee is one of which the limbs do not extend to the limits of the shield.
Hoddys, 33, hoods.
Holbeardes, 5, halberds.
Horlde, 57/40.
Hote, 65/18, promise.
Hothe, 54/81, oath.
Hurtis, 98/111, hurtes, in heraldry, are roundels azure.
Hye, 63/225. In hye, quickly.
I, 95/51, in.
langelynge, 44/22, 66/9, jangling.
Iett, 106/50, device, fashion.
Iettyng, 66/9, Jutting, strutting, proud.
Indenturis, 100/166, indentations.
In heraldry there are two sorts distinguished by the largeness of the teeth; the smaller are said to be indented; the larger dancettee.
Indulgence, 95/1; Indulgent, 106/54. Halliwell glosses this word 'Indulgence; luxury;' its meaning clearly is inducement, incitement, which follows naturally from the meaning, 'license.'
Inguiner, 4, engineer.
Invre, 70/84, inure, accustom, associate.
Iowe, 80/35, jaw.

Knawe, 80/40, knave.

Labelle, 95/44, label; in heraldry a fillet with pendants, or points, usually three. An eldest son differences his arms with a label.
Lamber, 84/142, lambs.
Leche, 42/102, a physician.
Leche dalmayn, 90; Leche damasque, 91; Leche floreay, 90; Leche lumbarde, 91; Leche maskeley, 92; Leche rubby, 92. The name of a dish. The term leche is applied to those dishes which were served up in slices. See Prompt. Parr. and Halliwell, s. v. leche.
Ledis, 101/220, people.
Leiff, 97/86, leaf (of a book).
Lene, 85/7, lend.
Lerid, 63/21, learned.

Glossarial Index.

Lethe lardes, 91. See note 11, p. 91.
Lewid, 65/21, lewd, ignorant.
Lifte, 31, left, in opposition to right.
Linth, 94/30, length.
Lionne-sewys, 99/147, lioncel; in heraldry a small lion, especially one of several borne in the same coat of arms, is called a lioncel. See note, p. 99.
Liscenciat, 101/220, licensed, permitted.
Losingsis, 99/158, lozenges: in heraldry a lozenge is a diamond-shaped figure. See note, p. 104.
Loutyng, 84/155, bowing, stooping.
Lucyant, xix, bright, shining.
Lure, 11, to call a hawk or other animal.
Lyth, 45/38. 'Lith or limb,' a phrase meaning joint or limb, that is, any part of the body.

Malaparte, 80/37, saucy, bold.
Male, 84/159, budget, bag, portmanteau.
Manenye ryall, 91, the name of a dish. See Babees Book, p. 53.
Mansucet, 102/236, gentle.
Marte, 8, a book fair.
Mase, 46/62 ? the maze = the greatest news, or wonder. See Halliwell, s. v. mase.
Masklewys, 99/158, mascases. A mascel is a lozenge voided, i.e. a hollow lozenge. See note, p. 104.
Medid, 106/56, rewarded.
Mellous, 65/12, to contrast with meri, as 'loth' with 'liberal' above it. Medlous, medelus, Babees Book, p. 9, 12; meddlesome, troublesome.
Membrit, 99/162, membered, having a different tint from that of the body,—said of the beak and
legs of a bird which is not a bird of prey.

Mene, 48/130, servants.
Men-cee, 48/125, servants.
Merkis, 93/13; 95/54, signs or marks.

Merl, 95/45, martlet, a bird without feet or beak. A fourth son differences his arms with a martlet.

Mesaris, 102/234, spoilers, messers (void of).
Mesures, 108/101, moderations.
Mewaris, 102/234, movers.
Militare, 2, military.

Mordand, 98/129, mordant.

Morne, 98/133, said of a lion without teeth, claws, or tail.
Mosellis, 43/149, morsels.

Mownter in mantefi-, 92, the name of an ancient dish.

Multiplication, 6. See note, p. 111.

Musyn, 106/45, Muse, pore over.
Mwyd, vp mwyd, 83/133, mewed up, confined.

Mys-chewe, 85/5, come to mis-fortune.

Myssey, 47/104, to revile, abuse (mis-say).
Al-swa baI sal ilkan other wery, And myssey andelaunbre God allenygnty.

Hampole, P. of C. 9424.

Nantyny, S. Anthony, 39/16.
Nemyl, 83/108, nimble, capable, Halliwell s. v. nemel.
Nessche, 64/241, soft.
Nomer, 98/133. See note, p. 103.
Nonbles, 90, nimbles; the entrails of a deer.

Nones, 107/87, nonce; the present time, or time being.
Nyce, 94/33, foolish.
Nyte, 94/33, deny.

In battle ne in tournament
He nylyde us never with naye.

Halliwell.

Odour, 64/236, 96/69, either.
Oneste, 63/213, honesty.
Oneste, 70/72, honest.
Orped, 66/14, bold.

Ouer-sene, 49/164, overcome, drunk. 'Almost drunk, somewhat oversene.' Cotgr. quoted by Halliwell.

Pale, 62/200. 'By pales or by pale.'? By palace or by fence; or, by palace or by pales, which often form the park fence.

Pales, 98/113. A pale is a broad, perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon, equally distant from the two edges and occupying one third of it.

Panis, Panys, 100/177, 181. Pann, cloth. See note, p. 100.
Pars, 107/81, parts, duties.

Passand, 98/128, passant; walking; a term applied to any animal on a shield which appears to walk leisurely.

Pasty, 58/83, pasty.

Puty, 99/137. A cross patée is a cross small at the centre and widening towards the extremes. See note, p. 104.

Paust, 32, a motto.

Pawiles, 35, palls, cloths of gold.
Peces, 35, "armyd att all pces" = fully armed.

Pedigrues, 8, pedigrees.


Penselles, 30, 33, small banners.
Perbend, 98/116, same as bend.
Per cheveroune, 98/117. See
Chevron, and note, p. 104.
Perfess, 98/116. See Fess.
Perl, 96/74, pearl.
Perpale, 98/114. See Pale.
Perpure, 96/66, purple.
Persewantis, 101/200, pursuivants.
Pliistiloes, 5, fistulas.
Pictes, 100/165, pikes, n., p. 104.
The MS may be read putes: if so, Mr H. H. Gibbs would correct it to
putes, points; for a point is one
kind of 'abatement' in arms, and a
delph is another.
Plateis, 98/109. Roundels argent
are called plates.
Plicht, 99/158, placed.
Poletis, 98/110, pellets; roundels
sable are called pellets.
Pomme, 98/111. A roundel vert is
called a pomme.
Popelers, 91, a kind of bird. See
Prompt, Parc.
Poudringes, 13, 17, bands of
ermine, called also miniver. See
notes, pp. 13, 28.
Pretens, 80/29, designing, pretending.
Principate, 3, principality.
Proper, 95/65, properly so called.
See note, p. 96, and p. 103.
Proportis, 96/67, explains, purports.
Prow, 106/47.
Prow, 63/218, honour, advantage.
Prudence, 80/41, prudent.
Prys, 85/1, 105/4, estimation, value.
Pulter, 81/43, poulterer.
Pusancis, 93/5, puissances.
Quarterlie, 97/98, quarterly. See
note 3, p. 97.
Queme, 67/16, pleasure.
Querellous, 67/16, querulous.
Quercelour, 66/26, complaint, querulousness.
Queynt, 107/82, acquaint.
Queynte, 67/16, quaint, cunning, artful.
Quhyte, xiii, white
Quiche, 95/44, which. "Quiche
a labelle" = who (bears) a label.
Rampand, 98/127, rampant; standing upright on his hind legs,
as if attacking a person. Said of
an animal.
Raschit, 94/26, 100/168, erased; torn off, leaving jagged and uneven edges.
Rawnesse, 2, ignorance, inexperience.
Reche, 42/100, reach, obtain.
Regalli, 66/27, for regality, royalty, a kingdom; that over which one
has the rule.
Regardand, 98/130, regardant; looking behind or backward.
Regle, 99/142. Ragulée: a cross
ragulée is a cross with jagged edges.
Reliete, 62/198, punishment, or blame.
Reue, 85/4, reeve.
Revestre, 35, vestry.
Ring, 101/214, kingdom.
Reages, 7, rogues. See note, p.
111.
Rondis, 97/107, roundels. See
note 5, p. 97.
Roo, 92, rue.
Rosey, 92, the name of a confec-
tion, composed chiefly of milk,
dates, spices, &c.—Halliwell. Cp.
'un rosé, lait fardé et croûtes de lait,' Le Mélangier de Paris, ii. 95;
'un rosé de lapereaux et d'oiselets,
boucrés à la sausse chaude,' ib. p.
97, &c. (See the Index to Le Méla.)
Rownyng, 84/155, whispering.
Rysshewes, 92. See note 6, p. 92. In Lib. Curia Coc., p. 39, we find *risshewes*.

Sable, 96/66, black. 'Sable, diamond of det,' p. 96/74.
Saliant, 98/128, salient, represented in a leaping position.
Salt-saler, 60/148, salt-cellar.
Sanctes, 33, saints.
Sarsile, 99/141 ?sacreed, i.e. cut through the middle. 'A cross cercelee is a cross which, opening at the end, turns round both ways, like a ram's horn.'—Bailey.
Sclake, 45/39, slake, cool.
Scrooging, xi, crowding, squeezing.
Seand, 98/129, sejant, or sitting; a term applied to a lion or other animal sitting like a cat.
Seely, 11, simple, humble.
Seir, 95/51, several.
Sekatoures, 85/9, executors.
Semaka, 90. See p. xvi and p. 90, note 9.
Semaka frye3, 90. See note 9, p. 90, also p. xvi.
Sens, 33, to cense.
Sewer, 17, 25, the officer of the house who set and removed dishes, tasted them, etc.
Sic, 97/96. Query, the same as *fess*. See note 1, p. 97, and note, p. 103.
Sight, 67/18, to sigh.
Signet, 92, cygnet.
Sigruns, 84/110, a wolf.
"Quod thon vox: 'Wo is now there? Ich wie hit his Sigrim that ich here.' 'That is soth, the wolf sede, Ac wat art thou, so God thon rede.'"
_Vox and Wolf; cd. Hazlitt._
Singlare, 100/100, singular, uncommon; 'precious singlare' = singularly precious.

Sireuley, 16. Qu. a coronet. 'Cercle in heraldry signifies within a circle, or diadem.'—Bailey.
Sittes, 106/46, it sits to you = it pertains to you.
Skynner, 107/78, a dealer in skins.
Sleyghty, 83/138, sly.
Slope, 24, 28, 36, 'a morning cassock for ladies or gentlemen, not open before,' p. 28.
Slyued, 25. 'The term (sliven) was often applied to dress. Carr has _slicing_, having the brim or edge turned down.'—Halliwell. Sliee, _disrumpere_.—Levius, 152.
Sogettis, 66/28, subjects.
Spado, 81/47, a castrated animal, an impotent person.
Speris, 94/16, sees, or inquires. To other londys wyle y sper, More of awnturs for to here. _Halliwell._
Spreynte, 80/30, sprinkled.
Spyre, 63/217, to inquire, ask.
Statant, 98/127. A lion _statant_ is a lion standing in profile and looking before him.
State, yn a state, 89; in state, or in royal state.
Sted, 86/10, placed. 'I am sted ful heavily' = I am painfully placed or situated.
Sted, 100/170, stand, consist.
Sternis, 94/22, stars.
Stryte, 49/148. Courne be stryte = ? Corn be _strait_, where _strait_ would mean _scarcie_.
Styburne, 82/98, stubborn.
Sucylye, 99/142. See note, p. 104.
Surcourt, 16. A surecoat.
Sylbe, 44/22, a relative.
Ta, 61/171, to.
Tacches, 66/10, dispositions, habits. Beware of knaves' habits.
Talowise, 67/19, 109/8, wise in tales.

Tayllours, 107/73, tailors.

Tent, 95/45, take notice, or observe.
- *Observe*, the fourth is a martlet.

Tente, 58/66, take heed.

Tergat, 7.

The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.

The, 56/13, thrive, prosper.

Thofe, 61/169, Though.

Thopasis, 96/73, topazes.

Throt, 64/250, 82/101, till.

Throg, 97/101, together.


Throw, 106/45, Time.

Tovny, 96/77, tawny, orange colour.

Toy lions, 67/19, laborious.

Trapper, 26, trappings.

Trauerse, 17. ? A moveable screen. See note 4, p. 17.

Trayer, 27. ? Dresser.

Valance, 30, 33.

Verrance, 86/13, variance, variation.


Vert, 96/66, one of the heraldic colours; green. ‘Vert emerant,’ 96/76, = green, emerald.

Vmbeset, 87/23, surrounded, overwhelmed.

Vmdois, 99/149. ? Um-do = do, or set round; support.

Vn-Abulle, 57/49, enable.

Vnkothe, 43/156, unknown.

Walet, 84/166, wallet.

Waryn, 83/109, warren.

Wate, 105/1, know.

Wer, 58/62, ware, careful, aware.

Were, 106/55, beware; let them beware.

Werely, 97/94. ‘Werely weidis’ = worldly garments.

Werly, 95/54, worldly.

Werr, 100/177. *Vair*, which is formed by a number of small bells, or shields, of one tincture, arranged in horizontal lines, in such a manner that those in the upper line are opposite to others, of another tincture, below.

Wesage, 81/65, visage.

Wnproper, 96/67, improper.

Women, satires on, 12.

Worth, 86/11, become, ‘worth of’ = happen to, befall, become of.

Wowed, 88/16, wooed.

Wreche, 42/104, wrath, anger.
‘Wyne his wreche’ = overcome his anger.
And covere me atte that dredful day
Til that thy wreche be y-pussed away.—*Halliwell*.

Wyage 83/117, voyage, journey.

Wyndows, 98/111, wounds. See note 5, p. 98, and note, p. 104.

Wysage, 80/37, visage.

Yard, 89. A wand.

Ydell-schype, 47/113, idleness.

Ye, 105/7, eye.

Yift, 88/3, gift, bribery.

Yewythe, 80/27, giveth.

Jerne, 52/7, yarn.
‘For yarn that is evil spun
Evil it comes out at the last.’
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PART II.

ACCOUNTS OF

Early Italian, German & French Books on

Courtesy, Manners, and Cookery.

I. MR W. M. ROSSETTI'S ESSAY ON EARLY ITALIAN COURTESY BOOKS.

II. MR E. OSWALD'S ESSAY ON THOMASIN VON ZIRCLARIA AND ANOTHER GERMAN WORK ON COURTESY.

III. NOTE ON LE MÉNAGIER DE PARIS, 1393-4 A.D. BY F. J. FURNIVALL.
ITALIAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

FRA BONVICINO DA RIVA'S

Fifty Courtesies for the Table

(ITALIAN AND ENGLISH)

WITH OTHER

TRANSLATIONS AND ELUCIDATIONS

BY

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.
TO THE ENGLISH PAINTER

WHO HAS MADE CIVILIZED MANKIND HIS DEBTOR

BY RECOVERING THE PORTRAIT OF

Dante by Giotto,

THE TWO DIJ MAJORES OF ITALIAN MEDIEVALISM,

TO THE

BARONE KIRKUP,

MY FATHER'S HONOURED FRIEND AND MY OWN,

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE

THIS SLIGHT ATTEMPT IN A BRANCH OF ITALIAN STUDY

LONG FAMILIAR TO HIMSELF.

W. M. R.

June 1869.
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In connection with the many samples of English and some French and Latin Courtesy-Books which the pains of other Editors have set before the members of the Early English Text-Society, I have been asked to do something to exhibit what Italian literature has to show for itself in the same line. The request is one which I gladly close with; only cautioning the reader at starting that he must not expect to find in my brief essay any deep or exhaustive knowledge of the subject, or anything beyond specimens of the works under consideration, picked out one here and one there. Italy, it is tolerably well known, was, together with Provence, in the forefront of civilization—or 'civility,' as it might here be more aptly phrased—in the middle ages; and I should not be surprised to learn that, in the refinements of life and niceties of method, the Italy of the thirteenth century, as traceable in her. Courtesy-Books, was quite on a par with the France or Germany of the fourteenth, or the England of the fifteenth, and so progressively on. This, however, is a matter which I must leave to be determined by more diligent and more learned researches than my own. The materials for the comparison are now, to some extent, fairly before the editing and reading members of our Society.

As regards date, at all events, Italy is greatly in advance. What is the date of the earliest French Courtesy-Book included in our

1 As mentioned below, the first German work including something by way of Courtesy-Book, ab. 1210 A.D., Der Wälsehe Gast, was written by an Italian, Tomasin von Zirclaria.
series? Not far, I presume, from the close of the fourteenth century. What of the earliest English one? About 1450. Against these we can set an Italian Courtesy-Book—or rather a Courtesy section of an Italian book—dating about 1265. Of a date prior to this (the birth-year of Dante), there is little of either prose or poetry in Italian.

The author of our specimen is a man illustrious in the literature of Italy, though comparatively little read for some centuries past—Brunetto Latini; remembered chiefly among miscellaneous readers as the preceptor of Dante, and as consigned by that affectionate but unaccommodating pupil to a very ugly circle of his Hell. There, if we may believe the 'Poet of Rectitude,' Ser Brunetto, with a 'baked aspect,' is at this moment unremittingly walking under an unremitting rain of fire: were he to pause, he would remain moveless for a century, and the torture of the flames would persecute him in aggravated proportion. On the same authority (which it is futile to fence with), I am compelled to say that Brunetto is the last person from whom one need wish to learn the practice, or as a consequence the theory, of modern or European morals.

However, Brunetto seems to have considered that he had a gift that way. Both his leading works may be termed moral-scientific treatises. The longer of the two, the Tesoro, was written in French prose, and is much of a compilation from classic authors in some sections. It had hitherto only been preserved to the public in an old Italian translation, but quite recently the French text has been printed. Sacred, profane, and natural history, geography, oratory, politics, and morals, are the main subject-matter of this encyclopaedic labour; than which probably no contemporary produced anything more widely learned, according to the standard of that age. The Tesoretto is a shorter performance, written in Italian verse; shorter, yet still of substantial length, numbering, even in its extant incomplete state, 22 sections or 'capitoli.' This is the work upon which I shall draw for our first specimen of an Italian Courtesy-Book. Something bearing upon the like questions might also be gleaned from the Tesoro, but, as that is properly a French book, I leave it aside.

The Tesoretto sets forth that its author, being at Roncesvalles on
his return from an embassy in Spain, received the bad news of the battle of Montaperti. Getting astray in a forest, he finds himself in the presence of no less a personage than Dame Nature, who proceeds to give him practical and theoretic demonstrations on all sorts of lofty subjects. She then tells him to explore the forest, where he would find Philosophy, the four Moral Virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice), Love, Fortune, and Over-reaching (Baratteria). He follows her instructions, searching out these personages from Philosophy on to Love: the four Virtues are attended by many ladies, among whom Brunetto specifies particularly Liberality, Courtesy, Good-faith, and Valour. After his interview with Love, he resolves to reconcile himself with God, and makes a full confession at Montpelier. Having received absolution, he does not return after Fortune and Over-reaching, but goes back to the forest, and thence reaches the summit of Mount Olympus. Here he sees Ptolemy, who is about to harangue him, when suddenly the Tesoretto comes to an end. Its best editor, the Abate Zannoni, supposes that the concluding portion of the poem was written, but has been lost to posterity.

A few words must be added as to the incidents of the author's life. He was born (probably) not much later than 1220 in the Florentine state, and died in 1294. After the great defeat of the Guelphs by the Ghibellines at Montaperti in 1260, Brunetto, with others of the Guelph party, which was almost uninterruptedly uppermost in Florence, found it expedient to emigrate from that capital. He went to Paris, and there wrote both the Tesoro and Tesoretto. Towards 1265 he was again re-established in his native country, exercising with great credit his profession of a notary, and also (by or before the year 1273) holding the post of secretary to the Commune of Florence. He became, as already mentioned, the preceptor of Dante. As the pupil has damned him to all time at any rate, if not in effect to all eternity, for one offence, let us at least preserve some memory of his countervailing merits, as set forth by Giovanni and Filippo Villani. The former affirms that Brunetto was the initiator and master in refining the Florentines, and cultivating their use of

1 Possibly this notion prompted Dante to represent himself, in the opening of the Commedia, as also lost in a forest.
language; and in regulating the justice and rule of our Republic according to policy.' And, according to Filippo, 'Brunetto Latini was by profession a philosopher, by occupation a notary, and of great name and celebrity. He showed forth how much of rhetoric he could add to the gifts of nature: a man, if it be permitted to say so, worthy of being reckoned along with those skilled and ancient orators. He was facetious, learned, and acute, and abounded in certain pleasantries of speech; yet not without gravity, and the reserve of modesty, which bespake a most cordial acceptance for his humour: of agreeable discourse, which often moved to laughter. He was obliging and decorous, and by nature serviceable, reserved, and grave; and most happy in the habit of all virtues, had he been wisely able to endure with a more steadfast mind the outrages of his infuriated country.'

The Tesoretto is of course a mine of curiosities of various kinds, tempting to the literary explorer. To call it distinctly a fine poem, or even the performance of a strictly poetic mind, might be the exaggeration of an enthusiast; but at all events it contains much sound matter well put, and by no means destitute of entertainment. The section that falls in best with our present purpose is the speech assigned to Lady Courtesy: I present it in its entirety.

'Be sure that Liberality is the head and greatness 1
Of my mystery; so that I am little worth,
And, if she aids me not, I should find scant acceptance.
She is my foundation; and I am her gilding,
And colour, and varnish. But, to say the very truth,
If we have two names, we are well-nigh one thing.

But to thee, gentle friend, I say first
That in thy speech thou be circumspect.
Be not too great a talker, and think aforehand
What thou wouldst be saying; for never

1 The line here translated as one forms two in the Italian, and the like with our sequel; Brunetto's metre being an ungracefully short one—thus:

'Sie certo che Larghezza
E'l capo e la grandezza,' &c.

Indeed the metre keeps up such a perpetual jingling as almost to reduce to doggerel what might, in a different rhythmical form, be accepted as very fair rhyme and reason indeed. I have thrown the several couplets into single lines, in the translation, simply with a view to saving space.
Doth the word that is spoken return,—like the arrow
Which goes and returns not. He who has a goodly tongue,
Little sense suffices him, if' by folly he spoils it not.
Be thy speech gentle; and see it be not harsh
In any position of command, for thou canst not
Give people any graver annoy. I advise that he should die
Who displeases by harshness, for he never conquers the habit:
And he who has no moderation, if' he acts well, he filches that.
Be not exasperating; neither be a tell-tale
Of what another person has spoken in thy presence;
Nor yet use contumely; nor tell any one a lie,
Nor slander of any,—for in sooth there is no one
Of whom one might not say something offensive offhand.
Neither be so self-sufficient as that even one hard word
Affecting another person should issue from thy mouth;
For too much self-sufficiency is contrary to good usage.
And let him who is on the highway beware of speaking folly.

But thou knowest that I command thee, and put it as a strict precept,
That thou honour to the utmost thy good friend
On foot and on horseback: and be sure that for a small fault
Thou bear no grudge—let not love fail on thy part.
And have it always in mind to associate with people of honour,
And from others hold aloof; so that (as with the crafts)
Thou mayst not acquire any vice, whereof, before thou couldst amend it,
Thou shalt have scathe and shame. Therefore at all hours
Hold fast to good usage; for that advances thee
In credit and honour, and makes thee better,
And gives fair seeming,—for a good nature
Becomes the clearer and more polished if' it follows good habits.
But see none the less that, if' thou shouldst appear tedious
To such or such a company, thou venture to frequent it no more,
But procure thyself some other to which thy ways are pleasing.
Friend, heed this well: with one richer than thyself
Seek not to associate,—for thou shalt be as their merry-maker,
Or else thou wilt spend as much as they; for, if thou didst not this,
Thou wouldst be mean,—and reflect always
That a costly beginning demands perseverance.
Therefore thou must provide, if thy means allow it,

1 The original runs
'Che, siccome dell' arti,
Qualche vizio non prendi.'
This phrase is not quite clear to me; but I suppose the word 'arti' is to be understood as meaning 'crafts, trades, or professions,' and that Brunetto had been sharp enough to see that people become 'shoppy' according to their respective shops. 'Vous êtes orfèvre, Monsieur Josse.'
That thou do this openly. If not, then mind
Not to make such expenditure as shall afterwards be reproved;
But adopt such a system as to be consistent with thyself.
And, if thou art a little better off [than thy comrades], do not get
away,
But spend on the same scale; 'take no advantage:—
And at all times take heed, if there is in thy company
A man, in thine opinion, of inferior means,
That, for God's sake, thou force him not into more than he can meet;
For, if, for thy convenience, he spends his money amiss,
And comes to poverty, thou wilt be blamed therefor.

And in sooth there are persons of high condition
Who call themselves "noble"; all others they hold cheap
Because of this nobility. And, in that conceit,
They will call a man "tradesman"1 who would sooner spend a bushel
Of florins than they of halfpence,2—
Although the means of both might be of like amount.
And he who holds himself noble, without doing any other good
Save of the name, fancies he is making the cross to himself,
But he does make the fig to himself.3 He who endures not toil
For honour's sake, let him not imagine that he comes
Among men of worth, because he is of lofty race;
For I hold him noble who shows that he follows the path
Of great valour and of gentle nurture,—
So that, besides his lineage, he does deeds of worth,
And lives honourably so as to make himself beloved.
I admit indeed that, if the one and other are equal in good deeds,

1 'Mercenario'—literally, mercenary or hireling.
2 'Picciolini.' These were, I gather, coins of a particular denomination,
but I have not been able to ascertain their precise value.
3 'Credesi far la croce,
Ma e' si fa la fica.'

I have translated literally; but that of course makes something very like nonsenseness in English. To 'make the fig' is a gesture of the thumb and fingers, understood as gross and insulting in the highest degree. The general sense of the passage is therefore—'He fancies he is thus testifying in his own honour, whereas it really does redound to his own extreme shame.' Readers of Dante, remembering the splendid canzone

'Le dolci rime d'amor ch' io sola,'
in which he refutes the false and defines the true bases of 'nobility' (gentilezza), will perceive that the illustrious pupil had been to a great extent anticipated by the teaching of his early instructor. Francesco da Barberino (Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne) adopts a middle course, discriminating 'gentilezza' thus: 'Nobility is twoform in quality and in origin. The first is a state of the human soul contented in virtue, hostile to vice, exulting in the good of others, and pitiful in their adversity. The second is mastery over men or riches, derived from of old, sensitive to shame when brought low.'
He who is the better born is esteemed the higher:
Not through any teaching of mine, but it seems to be the usage,
Which conquers and overthrows many of my ways,
So that I can no otherwise; for this world is so dense
That the right is even judged of according to a little talking,
For the great and the lesser live therein by rumour.

Therefore be heedful to keep among them so silent
That they may have nothing to laugh at. Adopt their modes,
For I rather advise thee to follow their wrongfulness.¹
For, though thou shouldst be in the right, yet, as soon as it pleases
not them,
It avails thee nothing to speak well, nor yet ill.
Therefore recount no tale, unless it appears good and fair
To all who hear it; for somebody will censure thee for it,
And add lies thereto when thou art gone,
Which must assuredly grieve thee. So thou must know,
In such company, to play the prudent part,
And be heedful to say what will please.
And as for the good, if thou knowest it, thou wilt tell it to others
Where thou art known and held dear;
For thou wilt find among people many fools
Who take greater pleasure in hearing something scurrilous
Than what is profitable. Pass on, and heed not,
And be circumspect.

If a man of great repute
Should at any time do something that is out of bounds
In street or church, follow not the example:
For he has no excuse who conforms to the wrong-doing of others.
And see that thou err not if thou art staying or going
With a lady or lord, or other superior,—
Also that, although he be but thine equal, thou observe to honour him,
Each according to his condition. Be so heedful of this,
Both of less and more, that thou lose not self-restraint.
To thine inferior, however, render not more honour
Than beseems him, nor such that he should hold thee cheap for it:
And so, if he is the inferior, always walk a step in advance.
And, if thou art on horseback, avoid every fault;
And, if thou goest through the city, I counsel thee to go
Very courteously. Ride decorously,
With head a little bowed, for to go in that loose-reined way

¹ Here, on the contrary, we come to a precept the reverse of Dantesque. Yet, on combining this passage with that which opens the ensuing paragraph, it would seem that Brunetto does not mean to recommend connivance with anything that is positively evil, but only with current habits and fashions, objectionable though they may be, in matters essentially indifferent—as of speech and deportment.
Looks most boorish; and stare not up at the height
Of every house thou comest to. Mind that thou move not about
Like a man from the country—wriggle not like an eel:
But go steadily along the road and among the people.

When thou art asked for a loan, delay not.
If thou art willing to lend, make not the man linger so long
That the favour shall be lost before it is rendered.

And, when thou art in company, always follow
Their modes and their liking; for thou must not want
To be just suiting thine own taste, nor to be at odds with them.

And always be heedful that thou give not any gross glances
At any woman living, in house or street;
For he who does thus, and calls himself a lover,
Is esteemed a blackguard.1 And I have seen before now
A man lose position by a single act of levity;2
For in this country such goings-on are not admired.
And take heed in every case that Love, with his arts,
Inflame not thy heart. With severest pain
Wouldst thou consume thy life; nor couldst thou be numbered
In my following, wert thou in his power.3

Now return in-doors, for it is the time;
And be liberal and courteous, so that in every country
All thy belongings be deemed pleasurable.'

We now pass from Florence to Lombardy—from Ser Brunetto Latini to Fra Bonvicino da Riva—from the lawyer and official to the friar and professor. The poem of Fra Bonvicino, *The Fifty Courtesies for the Table*, will be our principal pièce de résistance, and presented accordingly in its own garnishing of old Italian as well as in English. Not that it is by any means the best or most important piece of work that we have to bring forward; but its rarity, its dialectic interest for students of old Italian, and its precision and detail with regard to one of the essentials of courtesy—the art of dining—

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1 *Briccone*—the colloquial term still in daily use among Italians.
2 *Solo d'une canzone*; literally, 'merely for one song.' The Abate Zannoni understands this to mean *per aver una sola volta canzonato femmina.* He admits that this sense of the phrase is not discoverable in that fetish of the Italian pedant, the Dizionario della Crusca; but as I have no superior authority to oppose to that of Abate Zannoni, I have followed his interpretation.
3 This seems strange doctrine—that love of courtesy and love of women cannot co-exist in the same man—if we are to accept it in its plainest sense. Perhaps, however, we are to understand that the speaker is still confining his censures to miscellaneous and unsanctioned amours or flirtations, especially with married women.
give it exceptional value for our direct purpose. The poem is supposed to have been written about 1290.

Unpolished as he is in poetic development, Fra Bonvicino is not to be altogether slighted from a literary point of view. Tiraboschi (Storia della Letteratura Italiana) believes that Bonvicino and one other were the two sole verse-writers of the Lombard or Milanese State in this opening period of Italian poesy; and Signor Biondelli, whom we have to thank for the publication of Bonvicino's production after so many centuries of its hybernation in MS, can point to the choiceness of the old Friar's vocabulary. In one couplet that well-qualified editor is able to find five expressions 'which, for propriety and purity, would even at the present day beseem the most careful of writers;' and hence he pronounces Bonvicino 'the elegant writer of his time.' It should be understood, however, that the MS reproduced by Signor Biondelli, and now again in the present volume, gives but an inadequate idea of the primitiveness of Bonvicino's own actual idiom. Tiraboschi cites a harsher version of the first stanza from an earlier MS then existing in the Library of Santa Maria Incoronata in Milan, but which is now undiscoversable: the MS used by Signor Biondelli is of a much later date, the fifteenth century. It pertains to the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Bonvicino belonged to the third order of the Friars named Umiliati, and lived (as he himself informs us) in Legnano, a town of the Milanese district. Hence he went to Milan, and became a distinguished professor of grammar in the Palatine schools. The only other poem of his published in Signor Biondelli's volume\(^1\) is On the dignity of the Glorious Virgin Mary: but Tiraboschi specifies other productions in verse—Dialogues in praise of Almsgiving, between the Virgin and Satan, between the Virgin and the Sinner, between the Creator and the Soul, between the Soul and the Body, between the Violet and the Rose, between the Fly and the Ant; also the Legends of Job and of St Alexius; and various works in Latin, of which some have been published.

\(^1\) Poesie Lombarde Inedite del Secolo 13, publicate ed illustrate da B. Biondelli. Milano: Bernardoni. 1856. We are indebted to Signor Biondelli's courtesy for a copy of this curious and interesting work.
DE LE

ZINQUANTA CORTEXIE DA TAVOLA

DE FRA BONVEXINO DA RIVA

Fra bon Vexino da Riva, che stete in borgo Legniano
De le cortexie da descho ne dixe primano;
De le cortexie cinquanta che se den servare a descho
Fra bon Vexino da Riva ne parla mo' de frescho.

La primiera è questa: che quando tu è a mensa,
Del povero bexognoxo imprimamente inpensa;
Che quando tu pasci lo povero, tu pasci lo tó Segnore,
Che te passerà, poxe la toa morte, in lo eternal dolzore.

La cortexia segonda: se tu sporze aqua alle man,
Adornamente la sporze; guarda no sia vilan;
Asay ghe ne sporze, no tropo, quando el è tempo d'estae;
D' inverno per lo fregio in pizina quantitae.

La terza cortexia si è: no si tropo presto
De corre senza parola per asetare al descho;
Se alchun te invida a noxe, anze che tu sie asetato,
Per ti no prende quello axio, d'onde tu fuзи deschazato.

1 Bonvexino (pronounced Bonvesino) is, in modern Italian, Bonvicino—i.e., good neighbour.
2 ‘Afresh’ represents the Italian ‘de frescho.’ Signor Biondelli considers that the phrase means ‘afresh,’ indicating that Fra Bonvesino had written his Courtesies in Latin before turning them into Italian. Signor Biondelli, however, admits that ‘de frescho’ may also mean ‘now recently,’ ‘just now’;
Fra Bonvesino da Riva, who lived in the town of Legnano,
First treated of the Courtesies for the Table.
Of the Fifty Courtesies which should be observed at the board
Fra Bonvesino da Riva now speaks afresh. 4

The first is this: that, when thou art at table,
Thou think first of the poor and needy;
For, when thou feedest the poor, thou feedest thy Lord,
Who will feed thee, after thy death, in the eternal bliss. 8

The second Courtesy.  If thou offerest water for the hands,
Offer it neatly: see thou be not rude.
Offer enough water, not too much, when it is summer-time:
In winter, for the cold, in small quantity. 12

The third Courtesy is—Be not too quick
To run without a word to sit down at the board.
If any one invites thee to a wedding, before thou art seated,
Take not for thyself a place from which thou wouldst be turned out.

and, but for his contrary preference, I should attribute that meaning to the word in the present instance.

3 'Noxe.' I suppose this must represent the modern-Italian word 'nozze,' nuptials, though the incident of a wedding seems rather suddenly introduced at this point, and does not re-appear afterwards.
L'oltra è: Anze che tu prendi lo cibo aparegiao
Per ti, over per tò mayore, fa si ch' el sie segniao.
Tropo è gordo e vilan, e incontra Cristo malegna
Lo quale alli altri guarda, ni lo sò condugio no segna. 20

La cortexia zinquena: sta aconzamente al desclo,
Cortexe, adorno, alegro, e confortoxo e frescho;
No di' sta convitoroxo, ni gramo, ni travachao;
Ni con le gambe in croxe, ni torto, ni apodiao. 24

La cortexia sexena: da poy che l' omo se fiada,
Sia cortexe no apodiasse sovrà la mensa bandia;
Chi fa dra mensa podio, quello homo non è cortexe,
Quando el gh'apodia le gambe, over ghe ten le braze destexe. 28

La cortexia setena si è: in tutta zente
No tropo mangiare, ni pocho; ma temperadamente;
Quello homo en ch' el se sia, che mangia tropo, ni pocho,
No vego quentro pro ghe sia al'anima, ni al corpo. 32

La cortexia ogena si è: che Deo n'acerchea,
No tropo imple la bocha, ni tropo mangia inpressa;
Lo gordo che mangia inpressa, e che mangia a bocha piena,
Quando el fisse apellavo, no ve responde apena. 36

La cortexia novena si è: a pocho parlare,
Et a tenire pox quello che l' à tolegio a fare;
Che l' omo tan fin ch' el mangia, s' el usa tropo a dire,
Le ferguie fora dra bocha sovenzo pon insire. 40

La cortexia dexena si è: quando tu è sede,
Travonde inanze lo cibo, e furbe la bocha, e beve.
Lo gordo che beve inpressa, inanze ch' el voja la chana;
Al' altro fa fastidio che beve sego in compagnia. 44

1 Signor Biondelli understands this stanza in a somewhat different sense, as applying to the assigning of dishes, not the signing of the cross as a grace be-
The next is—Before thou takest the food prepared,
See that it be signed [with the cross] by thyself or thy better.
Too greedy and churlish is he, and he offends against Christ,
Who looks about at others, and signs not his dish.¹

The fifth Courtesy. Sit properly at the board,
Courteous, well-dressed, cheerful, and obliging and fresh.
Thou must not sit anxious, nor dismal, nor lolling,
Nor with thy legs crossed, nor awry, nor leaning forward.

The sixth Courtesy. When people are at a pause,
Be careful not to lean forward on the laid-out table.
He who uses the table as a prop, that man is not courteous,
When he tilts his legs upon it, or stretches out his arms along it.

The seventh Courtesy is—For all people
Not to eat too much nor little, but temperately.
That man, whoever he may be, who eats too much or little,
I see not what good it can be to his soul or his body.

The eighth Courtesy is—So may God favour us,
Fill not thy mouth too much, nor eat in too great a hurry.
The glutton who eats in a hurry, and who eats with his mouth stuffed,
If he were addressed, he scarcely answers you.

The ninth Courtesy is—To speak little,
And stick to that which one has set to at doing;
For a man, as long as he is eating, if he has the habit of talking too much,
Scrap may often spurt out of his mouth.

The tenth Courtesy is—When thou art thirsty,
First swallow down thy food, and wipe thy mouth, and drink.
The glutton who drinks in a hurry, before he has emptied his gullet,
Makes himself disagreeable to the other who is drinking in his company.

fore meat. The reference to Christ seems to me to create a strong presumption in favour of my interpretation.
E la undexena è questa: no sporze la copa al' oltro, 
Quando el ghe pò atenze, s' el no te fesse acorto; 
Zaschuno homo prenda la copa quando ghe plaxe; 
E quando el l' à beudo, l' à de mete zoxo in paxe.  

La dodexena è questa: quando tu di' prende la copa, 
Con dove mane la rezeve, e ben te furbe la bocha; 
Con l' una conzamente no se pò la ben receive; 
Azò ch' el vino no se spanda, con dove mane di' beve.  

La tredeexena è questa: se ben tu no voy beve, 
S' alchun te sporze la copa, sempre la di' rezeve; 
Quando tu l' à receuda, ben tosto la pò mete via; 
Over sporze a un' altro ch' è tegi in compagnia.  

L' oltra che segue è questa: quando tu è allì convivi, 
Onde si à bon vin in descho, guarda che tu no t' invrie; 
Che se invria matamente, in tre maynere offende; 
El noxe al corpo e al' anima, e perde lo vin ch' el spende.  

La quindexena è questa: seben verun ariva, 
No leva in pè dal descho, se grande cason no ghe sia; 
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, non di' moverse inlora, 
Per amore de fare careze a quilli che te veraveno sovra.  

La sedexena apresso con veritae: 
No sorbilar dra bocha quando tu mangi con cugial; 
Quello fa sicom bestia, chi con cugial sorbilia; 
Chi doncha à questa usanza, ben fa s' el se dispolia.  

La desetena apresso si è: quando tu stranude, 
Over ch' el te prende la tosse, guarda con tu lìavori 
In oltra parte te volze, ed è cortexia inpenza, 
Azò che dra sariva no zesse sor la mensa.  

1 It is clear from the general context that the victuals here spoken of as to be eaten with a spoon are solid edibles—not merely soups or the like: the spoon corresponding to the modern fork. The word translated 'suck' is 'sol-
And the eleventh is this: Do not offer the cup to another
When he can himself reach it, unless he asks thee for it.
Let every man take the cup when he pleases;
And, when he has drunk, he should set it down quietly.

The twelfth is this: When thou hast to take the cup,
Hold it with both hands, and wipe thy mouth well.
With one [hand] it cannot well be held properly:
In order that the wine be not spilled, thou must drink using both hands.

The thirteenth is this: If even thou dost not want to drink,
If anybody offers thee the cup, thou must always accept it.
When thou hast accepted it, thou mayst very soon set it down,
Or else offer it to another who is in company with thee.

The next that follows is this: When thou art at entertainments
Where there is good wine on the board, see that thou get not drunk.
He who gets mad-drunk offends in three ways:
He harms his body and his soul, and loses the wine which he consumes.

The fifteenth is this: If any one arrives,
Rise not up from the board unless there be great reason therefor.
As long as thou eatest at the board, thou shouldst not then move
For the sake of making much of those who may come in to thee.

The sixteenth next in good sooth.
Suck not with the mouth when thou eatest with a spoon.
He acts like a beast who sucks with a spoon:
Therefore whoever has this habit does well in ridding himself of it.

The seventeenth afterwards is this: When thou dost sneeze,
Or if a cough seizes thee, mind thy lips:
Turn aside, and reflect that that is courtesy,
So that no saliva may get on the table.

bilar: 'perhaps 'mumble' would convey the force of the precept more fully
though less literally.
La desogena è questa : quando l' omo seute ben sano, 
No faza onde el se sia del companadego pan ;
Quello ch' è lechardo de carne, over d' ove, over de formagio,
Anche n' abielo d'avanzo, perzò no de 'l fa stragio.

La dexnovena è questa : no blasma li condugi
Quando tu è allì convivi ; ma di, che l' in bon tugi.
In questa rea usanza multi homini è za trovao,
Digando : *questo è mal cogio, o questo è mal salao.*

E la XX.° è questa : ale toe menestre atende ;
Entre altru' no guarda, se no forse per imprende
Lo menistrante, s' el ghie manca ben de guardà per tuto ;
Mal s' el no menestresse clave e se lovo è bruto.

La XXI.° è questa : no mastrulare per tuto
Como avesse carne, over ove, over semiantre condugio ;
Chi volze, over chi mastrulia sur lo taliere zerehando,
È bruto, e fa fastidio al compagnon mangiando.

La XXII.° è questa : no te reze vilanamente ;
Se tu mangi con verun d' uno pan comunamente,
Talia lo pan per ordine, no va taliando per tuto ;
No va taliando da le parte, se tu no voy essere bruto.

La XXIII.° : no di' metere pan in vino,
Se tego d'un napo medesmo bevesse Fra Bon Vexino ;
Chi vole peschare entro vin, bevando d'un napo connemo,
Per meo grao, se eyo poesse, no bevereve consegio.

La XXIII.° è : no mete in parte per mezo lo compagnon
Ni grelin, ni squela, se no ghe fosse gran raxon ;
Over grelin, over squela se tu voy mete inparte,
Per mezo ti lo di' mete pur da la toa parte.

1 I feel some doubt as to the meaning of this passage.
2 This appears to be the general sense of the last two lines. In the final one
Signor Biondelli gives up two words as unintelligible : he infers that they must
be miscopied.
The eighteenth is this: When a man feels himself quite comfortable, let him not leave bread over after the victuals. He who has a taste for meat, or for eggs, or for cheese, even though he should have a residue, he should not on that account waste it.

The nineteenth is this: Blame not the dishes when thou art at entertainments, but say that they are all good. I have detected many men erewhile in this vile habit, saying 'This is ill cooked,' or 'this is ill salted.'

And the twentieth is this: Attend to thine own sops; peer not into those of others, unless perchance to apprise the attendant if anything is wanting. He must look well all round; things would go much amiss if he were not to attend.

The twenty-first is this: Do not poke about everywhere, when thou hast meat, or eggs, or some such dish. He who turns and pokes about on the platter, searching, is unpleasant, and annoys his companion at dinner.

The twenty-second is this: Do not behave rudely. If thou art eating from one loaf in common with any one, cut the loaf as it comes, do not go cutting all about; do not go cutting one part and then another, if thou wouldst not be uncouth.

The twenty-third. Thou must not dip bread into wine. If Fra Bonvesino has to drink out of the same bowl with thee, he who will fish in the wine, drinking in one bowl with me, I for my own liking, if so I could, would not drink with him.

The twenty-fourth is—set not down right before thy companion either pan or pot, unless there be great reason therefor. If thou wantest to introduce either pan or pot, thou must set it down at thine own side, before thyself.

3 This seems to contemplate the plan of the several guests helping themselves off the dish brought to table. At any rate, so Signor Biondelli understands it.
La XXV.ª è: chi fosse con femene sovra un talier mangiando,
La carne a se e a lor ghe debia esser taliata;
Lo homo de' plu esse intento, plu presto e honoreure,
Che no de' per raxon la femena agonzente.

La XXVI.ª è questa: de grande bontà inspensa,
Quando lo tò bon amigo mangia alla toa mensa;
Se tu taliè carne, over pesso, over oltre bone pitanze,
De la plu bella parte ghe debie cerne inanze.

La XXVII.ª è questa: no di' tropo agrezare
L'amigo a caxa tova de beve, ni de mangiare;
Ben di' tu receive l'amigo e farghe bella cera,
E darghe ben da spende e consolare voluntera.

La XXVIII.ª è questa: apresso grande homo mangiando,
Astaletè de mangiare tan fin che l'è bevando;
Mangiando apresso d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beve dra copa,
Usanza drita prende; no mastegare dra bocha.

La XXVIII.ª è questa: se grande homo è da provo.
No di' beve sego a una hora, anze ghe di' dà logo;
Chi fosse a provo d'un vescho, tan fin ch'el beverave,
No di' levà lo sò napo, over ch'el vargarave.

E la trentena è questa: che serve, abia neteza;
No faza in lo prexente ni spuda, ni bruteza;
Al' homo tan fin ch'el mangia, plu tosto fa fastidio;
No pò tropo esse neto chi serve a uno convivio.

Pox la XXX.ª è questa: zaschun cortese donzello
Che se vore mondà lo naxo, con li drapi se faza bello;
Chi mangia, over chi menestra, no de' sofià con le die;
Con li drapi da pey se monda vostra cortexia.

1 'Donzello.' This precept seems to be especially addressed to the servitors.
Uguccione Pisano, quoted by Muratori, says: 'Donicelli et Domicella dicuntur quando pulchri juvenes magnatum sunt sicut servientes.' Such Donzelli
The twenty-fifth is—One who may be eating from a platter with
women,
The meat has to be carved for himself and for them.
The man must be more attentive, more prompt in honouring,
Than the woman, in reason, has to reciprocate.

The twenty-sixth is this: Count it as a great kindness
When thy good friend eats at thy table.
If thou carvest meat, or fish, or other good viands,
Thou must choose of the best part for him.

The twenty-seventh is this: Thou must not overmuch press
Thy friend in thy house to drink or to eat.
Thou must receive thy friend well, and make him welcome,
And heartily give him plenty to eat and enjoy himself with.

The twenty-eighth is this: Dining with a great man,
Abstain from eating so long as he is drinking.
Dining with a Bishop, so long as he is drinking from the cup,
Right usage requires thou shouldst not be chewing with the mouth.

The twenty-ninth is this: If a great man is beside thee,
Thou must not drink at the same time with him, but give him pre-
cedence.
Who may be beside a Bishop, so long as he is drinking
Or pouring out, must not raise his bowl.

And the thirtieth is this: He who serves, let him be cleanly.
Let him not make in presence [of the guests] any spitting or nastiness:
To a man as long as he is eating, this is all the more offensive.
He who serves at an entertainment cannot be too nice.

Next after the thirtieth is this: Every courteous donzel¹
Who wants to wipe his nose, let him embellish himself with a cloth.
He who eats, or who is serving, must not blow through the fingers:
Be so obliging as to clean yourselves with the foot-cloths.²

were not allowed to sit at table with the knights; or, if allowed, had to sit
apart on a lower seat.

¹ 'Drapi da pey.' I confess to some uncertainty as to what sort of thing
L'oltra che ven è questa; le toe man siano nete;
Ni le die entro le oregie, ni le man sul cho di' mete;
No de' l'omo che mangia habere nudritura,
A bordugare con le die in parte, onde sia sozura.

La terza poxe la XXX.ᵃ: no brancorar con le man,
Tan fin tu mangi al descho, ni gate, ni can;
No è lecito allo cortexe a brancorare li bruti
Con le man, con le que al tocha li condugi.

L'oltra è: tan fin tu mangi con homini cognosenti,
No mete le die in bocha per descolzare li dingi.
Chi caza le die in bocha, anze che l'abia mangiao,
Sur lo talier connego no mangia per mè grao.

La quinta poxe la trenta: tu no di' lenze le die;
Le die chi le caza in bocha brutamente furbe;
Quello homo che se caza in bocha le die inpastruliate,
Le die no èn plu nete, anze son plu brute.

La sesta cortexia poxe la trenta:
S' el te fa mestere parlà, no parla a bocha plena;
Chi parla, e chi responde, se l' à plena la bocha,
Apena ch' el possa laniare negota.

Poxe questa ven quest' oltra: tan fin ch' el compagno
Avrà lo napo alla bocha, no ghe fa domando,
Se ben tu lo vo' apelare; de zò te fazo avezudo;
No l'impagìà, daghe logo tan fin che l'avrà beudo.

these 'foot-cloths' may have been. Signor Biondelli terms them 'the cloths wherewith the feet were wrapped round and dried.' He adds: 'This precept apprizes us that at that time the use of a pocket-handkerchief was not yet introduced, and perhaps not even the use of stockings.' One would fain hope that the summit of Lombardic good breeding in 1290 was not the wiping of noses on cloths actually and at the moment serving for the feet. Possibly drapi da pey is here a generic term; cloths or napkins at hand for use, and which might have served for foot-cloths. Thus the word 'duster' might be employed in a similar connection, without our being compelled to suppose that the individual duster had first been used on the spot for dusting the tables or
The next that comes is this: Let thy hands be clean. 
Thou must not put either thy fingers into thine ears, or thy hands on thy head. 
The man who is eating must not be cleaning 
By scraping with his fingers at any foul part. 

The third after the thirtieth. Stroke not with hands, 
As long as thou eatest at the board, eat or dog. 
A courteous man is not warranted in stroking brutes 
With the hands with which he touches the dishes. 

The next is—As long as thou art eating with men of breeding, 
Put not thy fingers into thy mouth to pick thy teeth. 
He who sticks his fingers in his mouth, before he has done eating, 
Eats not, with my good-will, on the platter with me. 

The fifth after the thirtieth. Thou must not lick thy fingers. 
He who thrusts his fingers into his mouth cleans them nastily. 
That man who thrusts into his mouth his besmeared fingers, 
His fingers are none the cleaner, but rather the nastier. 

The sixth Courtesy after the thirtieth. 
If thou hast occasion to speak, speak not with thy mouth full. 
He who speaks, and he who answers, if he has his mouth full, 
Scarcely can he chop out a word. 

After this comes this other: As long as thy companion 
Has the bowl to his mouth, ask him no questions 
If thou wouldst address him: of this I give thee notice. 
Disturb him not: pause until he has drunk. 

floors, and then for wiping the nose. Or indeed, we moderns, who wipe our noses on hand-kerchiefs, do not first use said kerchiefs for wiping our hands, nor yet for covering our heads ('couvre chef').—Reverting to Signor Biondelli's observation as to 'the use of stockings,' I may observe that Francesco da Barberino, in a passage of his Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne, speaks of 'the beautiful foot shod in silk'—'calzato in seta'—which may imply either a stocking or else a shoe. This poem, as we shall see further on, is but little later than Bonvicino's.—The reader may also observe, at p. 68, the horror with which a much later writer, Della Casa, contemplated the use of a dinner-napkin as a pocket-handkerchief.
La XXXVIII.ª è questa: no recuntare ree novelle,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no mangiano con recore;
Tan fin che li altri mangiano, no di nove angosoxe;
Ma taxe, over di parole che siano confortoxe.

L' oltra che segue è questa: se tu mangi con persone,
No fa remore, ni tapie, se ben gh' avise raxone;
S' alchun de li toy vagasse, passa oltra fin a tempo,
Azò che quilli ch' in tego, no abiano turbamento.

L' oltra è: se dolia te prende de qualche infirmitade,
Al più tu poy conprime la toa necesitate;
Se mal te senti al descho, no demostrà la pena;
Che tu no fazi recore a quilli che mangiano tego insema.

Pox quella ven' quest' oltra: se entro mangial vegisse
Qualche sghivosa cossa, ai altri no desisse;
Over moscha, over qual sozura entro mangial vezando,
Taxe, ch' eli no abiano sghivo al descho mangiando.

L' oltra è: se tu porte squelle al descho per servire,
Sur la riva dra squella le porexe di tenire:
Se tu apili le squelle cor porexe sur la riva,
Tu le poy mete zoxo in sò logo senza oltro che t' ayda.

La terza poxe la quaranta è: se tu sporzi la copa,
La sumità del napo col polexe may no tocha;
Apilia lo napo de soto, e sporze con una man;
Chi ten per altra via, pò fi digio, che sia vilan.

La quarta poxe la quaranta si è: chi vol odire:
Ni grelin, ni squelle, ni 'l napo no di' trop' inplire;
Mesura e modo de' esse in tute le cosse che sia;
Chi oltra zò vagasse, no ave fà cortexia.
The thirty-eighth is this: Tell no bad news,
In order that those who are with thee may not eat out of spirits.
As long as the others are eating, give no painful news;
But keep silence, or else speak in cheerful terms.

The next that follows is this: If thou art eating with others,
Make no uproar or disturbance, even though thou shouldst have reason therefor.
If any of thy companions should transgress, pass it by till the time comes,
So that those who are with thee may not be put out.

The next is—If the pain of any ill-health seizes thee,
Keep down thy distress as much as thou canst.
If thou feelest ill at the board, show not the pain,
That thou mayst not cause discomfort to those who are eating along with thee.

After that comes this other: Shouldst thou see in the viands any disagreeable thing, tell it not to the others.
Seeing in the viands either a fly or any uncleanness,
Keep silence, that they may not feel disgust, eating at the board.

The next is—If thou bringest dishes to the board in serving,
Thou must keep thy thumbs on the rim of the dish.
If thou takest hold with the thumb on the rim of the dishes,
Thou canst set them down in their place without any one else to help thee.

The third after the fortieth is—If thou offerest the cup,
Never touch with the thumb the upper edge of the bowl.
Hold the bowl at the under end, and present it with one hand:
He who holds it otherwise may be called boorish.

The fourth after the fortieth is—hear who will—
Neither frying-pan nor dishes nor bowl should be overfilled.
Measure and moderation should be in all things that are:
He who should transcend this will not have done courtesy.
L’altra che segue è questa: reten a ti lo cugialte,  
Se te fi tolegio la squella per azonzere de lo mangiale;  
Se l’è lo cugial entro la squella, lo ministrante inpilia;  
In tute le cortexie ben fa chi s’asetilia.  

L’altra è questa: se tu mangi con cugial,  
No debie infolcire tropo pan entro mangiare;  
Quello che fa impiastro entro mangia da fogo,  
El fa fastidio a quilli che ghe mangiano da provo.  

L’altra che segue è questa: s’el tò amigo è tegó,  
Tan fin ch’el mangia al descho, sempre bochona sego;  
Se forse t’astalasse, ni fosse sazio anchora,  
Forse anchora s’astalarave per vergonzia inlora.  

L’altra è: mangiando con altri a qualche inviamento,  
No mete entr’a guayna lo tò cortelo anze tempo;  
No guerna lo cortello anze ch’alo compagno;  
Forse altro ven in descho d’onde tu no fè raxon.  

La cortexia seguente è: quando tu è mangiao,  
Fa si che Jesu Xristo ne sia glorificao.  
Quel che rezeve servixio d’alchun obediente,  
S’elo no lo regratia, tropo è deschognosente.  

La cinquantena per la darera:  
Lavare le man, poy beve bon vino dra carera:  
Le man poxe lo convivio per pocho pòn si lavae,  
Da grassa e da sozura e l’in netecze.  

1 ‘Chi s’asetilia.’ Signor Biondelli cannot assign the exact sense of this verb. I should suppose it to be either a form of ‘Assettarsi,’ to settle oneself, to keep one’s place, or a corruption of ‘Assottigliarsi,’ to subtilize, to be punc- 
tilious, to ‘look sharp.’  
2 ‘D’alchun obediente.’ This phrase, if directly connected with the ‘Jesu Xristo’ of the previous line, seems peculiar. I am not quite clear whether
The next which follows is this: Keep thy spoon,
If thy plate is removed for the adding of some viands.
If the spoon is in the plate, it puts out the helper.
In all courtesies he does well who is heedful.\(^1\)

The next is this: If thou art eating with a spoon,
Thou must not stuff too much bread into the victuals.
He who lays it on thick upon the cooked meats
Is distasteful to those who are eating beside him.

The next that follows is this: If thy friend is with thee,
As long as he eats at the board, always keep up with him.
If thou perchance wert to leave off, and he were not yet satisfied,
Maybe he also would then leave off through bashfulness.

The next is—Dining with others by some invitation,
Put not back thy knife into the sheath before the time:
Deposit not thy knife ere thy companion.
Perhaps something else is coming to table which thou dost not reckon for.

The succeeding Courtesy is—When thou hast eaten,
So do as that Jesus Christ be glorified therein.
He who receives service from any that obeys,\(^2\)
If he thanks him not, is too ungrateful.

The fiftieth for the last.
Wash hands, then drink of the good and choice wine.\(^3\)
After the meal, the hands may be a little washed,
And cleansed from grease and impurity.

the whole stanza is to be understood as an injunction to render grace after meat, in thankfulness for what Christ has given one—or to thank the servants who have been waiting at table, and so to glorify Christ by an act of humility.

\(^3\) 'Dro bon vino dra carera.' The general sense is evidently near what the translation gives: but Signor Biondelli is unable to assign the precise sense. No wonder therefore that I am unable.
As far as I know (though I cannot affect to speak with authority) this poem by Fra Bonvicino, and those by Francesco da Barberino of which we shall next take cognisance, are considerably the oldest still extant Courtesy-Books (expressly to be so termed) of Christianized Europe; except one, partly coming under the same definition, which has been mentioned to me by a well-read friend, Dr Heimann (of University College), but of which I have no direct personal knowledge. This also, though written in the German language, is the production of an Italian. It is entitled Der Wülsche Gast (the Italian Guest), and dates about 1210. The author's name is given as Tomasin von Zirlaria, born in Friuli. The book supplies various rules of etiquette, in a very serious and well-intentioned tone, as I am informed.—Fra Bonvicino would, on the ground of his antiquity alone, be well deserving of study. His precepts moreover (with comparatively few exceptions) cannot even yet be called obsolete, though some of them are unsophisticated to the extent of being superfluous. In order that the reader may see in one coup d'œil the whole of this curious old monument I subjoin a classified abridgment of the injunctions:

1. Moral and Religious.

To think of the poor first of all.
To remember grace before meat.
To eat enough, and not too much.
Not to get drunk.
To pass over for the time any cause of quarrel.
To say grace after meat.

2. Practical Rules still fairly operative.

To offer water for washing the hands before dinner.
Not to plump into a seat at table at haphazard.
To sit at table decorously and in good humour.

1 Several others must nevertheless have been written before or about the same time; for Barberino himself, in the exordium to his Reggimento e Costumi delle Donne, says—

'There have been many who wrote books
Concerning the elegant manners of men, but not of women.'

2 A full account of it by Mr Eugene Oswald follows the present Essay.
Not to tilt oneself forward on the table.
Not to gorge or bolt one's food.
To subordinate talking to eating.
Not to drink with one's mouth full.
To remain seated at table, even though fresh guests should arrive.
Not to suck at solid food eaten with a spoon.
To use up one's bread.
To abstain from raising objections to the dinner.
Not to scrutinize one's neighbour's plate.
To cut bread as it comes, not in all sorts of ways.
To carve for the ladies.
To give the guests prime cuts.
To make the guests thoroughly welcome, without oppressive urgencies.
To abstain at dinner from stroking cats and dogs.
Not to speak with one's mouth full.
To abstain from imparting bad news at dinner.
To keep down any symptoms of pain or illness.
To avoid calling attention to anything disagreeable which may accidentally be in the dishes.
The attendants to hold the dishes by their rims.
Not to hand round the bowl by its upper edge.
Not to overload the dishes, goblets, &c.
Not to hurry through with one's eating, so that others, who are left behind, would feel uncomfortable.
To wash hands and drink the best wine after dinner.

3. 

RULES EQUALLY TRUE AND PRIMITIVE.

Not to tilt one's legs on the table between-whiles.
To turn aside if one sneezes or coughs.
Not to set down before the guests utensils fresh from the kitchen.
The attendants to be clean—not to spit, &c.
To blow one's nose on 'foot-cloths,' not through the fingers.
Not to scratch at one's head or elsewhere.
Not to pick one's teeth with the fingers.
Not to lick one's fingers clean.
4. *Rules which may be regarded as over-punctilious or obsolete.*

Not to sit at table with one's legs crossed.

To offer the cup to others only when they want it. (The rules as to drinking seem throughout to contemplate that two or more guests are using one cup or vessel.)

To use both hands in drinking.

Never to decline the cup when another offers it, but to drink no more than one wishes. (This rule still has its analogue at tables where the custom lingers of requesting 'the pleasure of taking wine with' some one else.)

Not to rummage about in the dish from which one is eating along with others.

Not to dip bread into the wine of which one is drinking along with others.

To suspend eating while a man of importance is drinking.

To postpone drinking till the man of importance has finished.

Not to speak to a man who is in the act of drinking. (This rule seems to contemplate 'potations pottle-deep,' such as engage all one's energies for some little while together: for a mere modern sip at a wine-glass such a rule would be superfluous.)

To retain one's spoon when one's plate is removed for another help. (*One* spoon, it may be inferred, is to last all through the meal, serving as a fork.)

Not to eat an excessive quantity of bread with the viands.

Not to re-place one's knife in its sheath prematurely. (It may be presumed that each guest brings his own knife.)

The reader who considers these rules in their several categories, and with due allowance for difference of times, manners, and 'properties,' will, I think, agree with me in seeing that the essentials of courtesy at table in Lombardy in the thirteenth century, and in England in the nineteenth, are, after all, closely related; and that, while some of our Friar's tutorings would now happily be supererogatory, and others are inapplicable to present dining conveniences, not one is ill-bred in any correct use of that word. The details of etiquette vary indefinitely: the sense of courtesy is substantially one
and the same. In Fra Bonvicino's manual, it appears constantly in its genuine aspect, and prompted by its truest spirit—not so much that of personal correctness, each man for his own credit, as of uniform consideration for others.

The same is eminently the case with some of the precepts given by our next author, Francesco da Barberino. Nothing, for instance, can go beyond the true rationale of courtesy conveyed in the following injunction¹ (which we must not here degrade from its grace of Tuscan speech and verse):

'Colli minor si taci,
E prendi il loco che ti danno ; e pensa
Che, per far qui difensa,
Faresti lor, per tuo vizio, villani.'

Or this:²

'E credo che fa male
Colui che taglia essendo a suo maggiore :
Chè non v' è servitore
S'el non dimanda prima la licenza.'

Indeed, I think that the tone prevalent throughout Barberino's maxims of courtesy on all sorts of points is fairly to be called exquisite. Our extract from him brings us (it may be well to remember) into the closest contact with the social usages which Dante in his youth must have been cognisant of and conforming to; for, in passing from Bonvicino to Barberino, we have passed from Lombardy to Tuscany—the latter poet being a native of the Val d'Elsa, in the same district as Boccaccio's birth-place, Certaldo. The date assigned to Barberino's work, the Documenti d'Amore, is just about the same as that of Bonvicino's, or from 1290 to 1296. Yet I apprehend we must receive this early date with some hesitation. In 1290 Barberino was but twenty-six years of age; whereas the Documenti d'Amore, a lengthy and systematic treatise on all kinds of moral and social duties and proprieties, seems to be rich with the hoarded experience of years. That so young a man should even have sketched out for himself a work of such axiomatic oracularity seems à priori unlikely, though one has to accept the fact on authority: that he

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¹ This injunction forms stanza 4 in our extract from Barberino beginning at p. 38.
² See at p. 40, the stanza beginning 'And I think that he does amiss.'
should towards that age have completed the poem as we now possess it appears to me barely compatible with possibility. His other long poem, still more singular on the like account, is referred to nearly the same date. I observe in it, however, one passage (Part 6) which must have been written after 1308, and probably after 1312. It refers to a story which had been narrated to Barberino 'one time that he was in Paris.' Now his journey on a mission to Provence and France began in 1309, and ended in 1313.

I shall here give place to my brother, and extract verbatim the notice of Barberino contained in his book of translations, The Early Italian Poets.¹

¹ Francesco da Barberino: born 1264, died 1348.
² With the exception of Brunetto Latini (whose poems are neither very poetical nor well adapted for extract), Francesco da Barberino shows by far the most sustained productiveness among the poets who preceded Dante, or were contemporaries of his youth. Though born only one year in advance of Dante, Barberino seems to have undertaken, if not completed, his two long poetic treatises some years before the commencement of the Commedia.

This poet was born at Barberino di Valdelsa, of a noble family, his father being Neri di Ranuccio da Barberino. Up to the year of his father's death, 1296, he pursued the study of law chiefly in Bologna and Padua; but afterwards removed to Florence for the same purpose, and became one of the many distinguished disciples of Brunetto Latini,² who probably had more influence than any other one man in forming the youth of his time to the great things they accomplished. After this he travelled in France and elsewhere; and on his return to Italy in 1313, was the first who, by special favour of Pope Clement V., received the grade of Doctor of Laws in Florence. Both as lawyer and as citizen, he held great trusts, and discharged

¹ The Early Italian Poets, from Ciallò d'Alcamo to Dante Alighieri (1100-1200-1300), in the Original Metres: together with Dante's Vita Nuova, Translated by D. G. Rossetti. Smith and Elder, 1862.
² There is evidently something erroneous in this statement: Brunetto died in 1294. The Editor of a collection of Italian Poets (Lirici del Secolo secondo, &c.—Venezia, Antonelli, 1841) says: 'Francesco went through his first studies under Brunetto Latini. Hence he passed to the Universities of Padua and of Bologna.' Barberino being a Tuscan, this seems the natural course for him to adopt, rather than to have gone to Padua and Bologna before Florence. My brother's remark, as to the death of Neri in 1296, and as to Francesco's subsequent sojourn in Florence, agrees, however, with the statement made by Tiraboschi: apparently we should understand that Francesco had been in Florence both before and after his stay in Padua and Bologna, and that his studies under Brunetto pertain to the earlier period.
them honourably. He was twice married, the name of his second wife being Barna di Tano, and had several children. At the age of eighty-four, he died in the great plague of Florence. Of the two works which Barberino has left, one bears the title of Documenti d’Amore, literally Documents of Love, but perhaps more properly rendered as Laws of Courtesy; while the other is called Del Regacimento e dei Costumi delle Donne,—of the Government and Conduct of Women. They may be described, in the main, as manuals of good breeding or social chivalry—the one for men, and the other for women. Mixed with vagueness, tediousness, and not seldom with artless absurdity, they contain much simple wisdom, much curious record of manners, and (as my specimens show) occasional poetic sweetness or power—though these last are far from being their most prominent merits. The first-named treatise, however, has much more of such qualities than the second, and contains moreover passages of homely humour which startle by their truth, as if written yesterday. At the same time, the second book is quite as well worth reading, for the sake of its authoritative minuteness in matters which ladies now-a-days would probably consider their own undisputed region, and also for the quaint gravity of certain surprising prose anecdotes of real life with which it is interspersed. Both these works remained long unprinted; the first edition of the Documenti d’Amore being that edited by Ubaldini in 1640, at which time he reports the Regimento &c. to be only possessed by his age “in name and in desire.” This treatise was afterwards brought to light, but never printed till 1815. I should not forget to state that Barberino attained some knowledge of drawing; and that Ubaldini had seen his original MS of the Documenti, containing, as he says, skilful miniatures by the author.

Barberino never appears to have taken a very active part in politics, but he inclined to the Imperial and Ghibelline party. This contributes with other things to render it rather singular that we find no poetical correspondence or apparent communication of any kind between him and his many great countrymen, contemporaries of his long life, and with whom he had more than one bond of sympathy. His career stretched from Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, and Cino da Pistoia, to Petrarca and Boccaccio: yet only in one respectful but not enthusiastic notice of him by the last-named writer (Genealogia degli Dei) do we ever meet with an allusion to him by any of the greatest men of his time. Nor in his own writings, as far as I remember, are they ever referred to. His epitaph is said to have been written by Boccaccio, but this is doubtful. On reviewing the present series, I am sorry, on the whole, not to have included more specimens of Barberino; whose writings, though not very easy to tackle in the mass, would afford an excellent field for selection and summary.

1 Teachings or Lessonings of Love might probably express the sense more exactly to an English ear.
Thus far my brother. I will only add to his biographical details that, at the very end of Francesco da Barberino's life, he and one of his sons were elected the Priori, or joint chief-magistrates of the Florentine Republic; and that the Barberini who came to the papal chair in 1623 as Urban VIII. was of the same family. His patronymic is enshrined to many loose memories in the epigram 'Quod non fecere Barberi fecere Barberini.' To all that my brother has said of the qualities, and especially the merits, of Francesco, I cordially subscribe. The Documenti d'Amore is really a most capital book,—I should suppose, unsurpassed of its kind, and also in its interest for students of the early mediæval manners, and modes of thought. Its diction is remarkably condensed—(Italian scholars say that it shows strong traces of the author's Provençal studies and predilections)—and it is proportionately stiff work to hasty readers. Those who will peruse it deliberately, and weigh its words, find many niceties of laconism, and much terse and sententious good sense as well—lengthy as is the entire book. This is indeed no slight matter—twelve sections, and something like 8500 lines. It is exactly the sort of work to elicit and to account for editorial enthusiasm.

I extract in full the stanzas bearing directly upon that which (following the impulsion of Fra Bonvicino) has become our more immediate subject—the Courtesies of the Table. The tone of society which we find here is visibly in advance of the Lombard Friar's, though the express precepts of the two writers have a good deal of general resemblance: the superiority in this respect is very much the same as in the language. Barberino's diction seems quite worthy of a Tuscan contemporary of Dante, and his works are still drawn upon as a 'testo di lingua.'

'T The third point of good manners
Which thou art to observe at table
Thou mayst receive thus;
Thinking out for thyself the other details from these few.

And, in entering to table,
If he who says to thee "Go in" is a man of distinction,
On account of his dignity
It behoves thee not to dispute the going.
With thine equals, it beseems to decline
For awhile, and then to conform to their wish:
With superiors, affect
Just the least demur, and then acquiesce.

With inferiors, keep silence,
And take the place which they give thee: and reflect
That, by resisting here,
Thou, by thy default, wouldst be making them rude.

In thine own house, remain
Behind, if they are thy superiors or equals:
And, if thine inferiors, thou shalt seem
No other than correct if thou dost the same.

Understand the like, if thou givest
To eat to any persons out of thine own home:
Also remain behind when it happens
That thou art entertaining women.

Next consider about placing
Each person in the post that befits him.
Between relatives it behoves
To place others midway sometimes.

And, in this, honour the more
Those who are strangers, and retain the others by thyself:
And keep cheerful
Thy face and demeanour, and forbear with all.

Now I speak for every one.
He who is helping, let him help in equal portions.
He who is helped, let him not manoeuvre
For the best, but take the less good.

They must not be pressed;
For this is their own affair, and choice is free,
And one forces the preference
Of him who was abstaining, perhaps purposely.

He makes a fool of himself who prematurely lays aside
His plate, while the others are still eating;
And he who untidily
Turns the table into a receptacle for scraps;

And he who sneers
At what he does not like; and he who hurries;
And he who picks and chooses
Out of the viands which are in common;

And those who seem more hungry
At the end than at the beginning;
And also he who sets to
At fortifying himself,¹ or exploring the bottom of the platter.
Nor do I think it looks quite well
To gnaw the bone with the teeth, and still worse
To drop it into the saucepan;²
Nor is salt well deposited on the dish.
And I think that he does amiss
Who carves, being at the table of his superior;
For none can perform service
If he does not first ask leave.
With thine equal, begin,
If the knife lies at thy right hand:
If not, leave it to him.
With fruit, thou canst not fitly help thy companion.
With women, I need not tell thee:
But thou must help them to everything,
If there is not some one who undertakes
Both the carving and other details.
But always look to it
That thou approach not too close to any of them.
And, if one of them is a relative of thine,
Thou wilt give more room to the other.
And, in short, thou wilt then
Do and render honour to thine utmost:
And here always mind
That thou soil not their dress.
Look them in the face but little,
Still less at their hands while eating,
For they are apt to be bashful:
And with respect to them, thou mayst well say "Do eat."
When sometimes there come
Dishes or fruits, I praise him who thinks of avoiding
To take of those
Which cannot with cleanliness be handled.
Ill does the hand which hurries
To take a larger help out of a dish in common;
And worse he who does not well avoid
To loll, or set leg upon leg.

¹ 'Chi vuol fare merli.' The phrase means literally 'he who wants to make battlements'—or possibly 'to make thrushes.' I can only guess at its bearing in the present passage, having searched for a distinct explanation in vain. It seems to be one of the myriad 'rezzi di lingua' of old Italian, and especially old Tuscan, idiom.
² 'Di mandar a laveggio.' I am far from certain as to the real meaning.
And be it observed
That here thou shouldst speak little and briefly:
Nor here must there be speech
Of aught save elegant and cheerful pleasantness.

I have shown thee above
Concerning the respect due to [thy lord], and saluting him.
I will now tell thee
More than I before said concerning service.

Take care that, in every operation
Or service that thou dost before him,
Thou must think steadily
Of what thou art about, for it goes ill if thou art absent-minded.

Thou shouldst keep thine eye,
When thou servest him, on that which he likes.
The silent tongue is aright,
Always without questioning, during service;

Also that thou keep thyself,
Thou who hast to serve, clean in dress and hands.
And I would have thee also serve strangers,
If they are at the meal with him.

Likewise have an eye to it
That thou keep things clean before him thou servest.
And thou dost well if thou keepest
The slice entire, if thou canst, in carving;

And amiss if neglectfully
Thou makest too great a lump of the carved viands;
And worse if thou art so long about it
That they have nothing to eat.

And, when there may be
Viands which make the hands uncleanly,
In some unobtrusive way
Get them washed by the time the next come on.

Thou shalt always be observant of the same
In bringing forward the fruits:
For to offer these about,
As I said before, befits not the guests.

Also I much complain
Of thee who wouldst then be correcting others:
For the present it must suffice thee,
In this case, to do right for thyself only.

He puts me out who has
So awkward a manner in cutting
That, in peeling a pear,
He takes up from three to nine o'clock;
And also he who keeps not good guard
Over his hand, and slips in cutting;
For he is prevented from serving,
And his lord sometimes has no one to serve him.

I dislike that he who serves
Should, in serving, speak of the doctor;
Unless maybe by way of obeying,
When he has it in command from him.

In giving water thou shalt be careful,
Considering the time and place:
Where there is little, little;
In the cold time, less cold—and, if very cold, warm.

When the sun is very hot,
Bring it abundantly, but mind the people's clothes.
Observe the station and the ages,
With regard to whom thou shalt begin with, if there is none to
tell thee.¹

At table it behoves
Not to give bad or offensive news;
Unless delay might produce
Danger—and then only to the person concerned.

Be thy mouth abstinent
From eating while the first table is set.
In drinking do likewise,
So far as gratification goes, but thirst excuses thee:

Which if thou feelest, accustom thyself
Not to drink underhand, nor of the best.
Neither is a servant liked
Who afterwards is long over his eating,

If he is where he can do this;
And still less he who sulks if he is called
When he has not yet done eating;
For he serves best who serves other than his gullet.'

¹ This precept, and especially a preceding one (p. 39) which enjoins the
host to place the guests in their appropriate seats, keeping by himself those
of less account, would seem to show that at this period the seats at the right
and left of the host (or hostess) were by no means understood to be posts
of honour. The absence of all mention, either in Bonvicino or in Barberino,
of the hostess or her especial duties, strikes one as a singularity. That the
hostess is nevertheless understood to be present may be fairly inferred from
the clearly expressed presence of other ladies.
Before parting from the *Documenti d'Amore*, I will summarize a few more of Barberino's dicta on points of courtesy and demeanour in general.

There are seven offences in speaking: 1. Prolixity; 2. Curtness; 3. Audacity; 4. Mauvaise Honte; 5. Stuttering; 6. Beating about the bush; 7. Restlessness of gesture, and this is the least supportable of all. Remedies against all these evils are assigned. For the 6th, as we are told, the (then) modern usage is to speak out what you have to say with little or no proem. As to the 7th, the moving about, as a child would do, the hands, feet, or head, or the using action in speech, shows deficient firmness. See that you stand firm. Yet all this is to be modified according to place, time, and the auditory. (It is amusing to find the dignified Tuscan of the thirteenth to fourteenth century reproving that luxuriance of gesture which is one of the first things to strike an English eye in Italy down to our own day—more especially in the southern parts of the country. To have striven to obey Barberino's precept, under pain of being pronounced bad company, must have proved hard lines to some of his contemporaries and catechumens.)

If you chance into uncongenial company, take the first opportune occasion for getting away, with some parting words that shall not bewray your antipathy.

To casual companions speak on their own respective subjects; as of God to the clergy, health to doctors, design to painters. 'With ladies of refinement and breeding, laud and uphold their honour and state by pleasant stories not oftentimes told already. And, if any one is contrary and froward, reply in excuse and defence; for it is derogatory to contend against those the overcoming of whom is loss.'

If you come into the company of a great lord, or of persons who are all your superiors, and if they invite you to speak, inquire what the topic shall be. If you find nothing to say, wait for some one else to start you; and at worst be silent. In such company, be there no gesturing (again!).

If you are walking with a great lord in any country, conform in a measure to the usages there prevalent.

Following your superior, be respectful; to your equal, com-
plaisant, and treat him as superior; and, even with your inferior, tend towards the same line of conduct. This, however, does not apply to your own servant. Better exceed than fall short in showing respect to unknown persons. If your superior, in walking with you, wants to have you by his side, go to his left as a general rule, so that he may have the full use of his sword hand. If it rains, and he has no cloak, offer him yours; and, even if he declines, you must still dispense with it yourself. The like with your hat. Pay similar attentions to your equal, or to one that is a little your inferior: and even to your positive inferiors you must rather overdo courtesy than fall short. Thus also with women: you must explore the way for them, and attend on them, and in danger defend them with your life.

In church, do not pray aloud, but silently.

Wait not to be saluted. Be first in saluting; but do not overdo this, and never reiterate a salutation. Your own lord you must not salute, unless he comes from afar. You should uncover to him: then, if he is covered, cover again. Do not exceed in saluting an intimate, but enter at once into conversation; and do not hug him, unless he and you are indeed one.\footnote{Prettily worded in the Italian: 'Nè abbracciar stringendo, Se non sei ben una cosa con quello.'} Bow to ladies without much speaking: and in towns ascertain the ordinary practice in such cases, and observe it. If you see a female relative in your own town, she being alone, or in company with only one person, and if she is handsome, accost her as though she were not your relative, unless your relationship is a fact known to the bystanders. (This is a master-touch: and here is another, of a nearly similar sort)—

In serving a man of distinction, if you meet his wife, affect not to observe her; and, if she gives you any commission to fulfil, don't show that it gratifies you.

The 16th 'Documento' sets forth 'the method of making presents so that the gift be acceptable.' It is so admirable in point of both sense and expression that I quote the original in a note, secure that that will be a gift acceptable to all such readers of these pages
as may be readers of Italian also.¹ What can be more perfect than the censure awarded to those who are in a chafe until, by reciprocating any service rendered to them, they shall have wiped it out?

'Be all aware
That it is no small flaw to dislike
Remaining under an obligation:
Nay, it then seems that one is liberal by compulsion.'

Barberino's second work, Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne, furnishes, strange to say, hardly any express rules for conduct at table; but some details may, for our general purpose, be picked out of an emporium whose abundance can be surmised from the following programme.

¹ Ancor c' è molta gente
Ch' han certi vizj in dono ed in servire,
Si che poco gradire
Vediamo in lor quando ne fanno altrui:
Chè non pensano a cui,
Nè che nè come, nè tanto nè quanto.
Altri fanno un procanto
Di sue bisogne, e poi pur fanno il dono.

Ed altri certi sono
Che danno indugio, e credon far maggiore.
E molti che colore
Pongon a scusa, e poi pur fanno e danno.

Ed altri che, com' hanno
Servigio ricevuto, affrettan troppo
Disobbligar lo groppo
Col qual eran legati alli serventi:

Onde sien tutti attenti
Che non è picciol vizio non volere
Obbligato manere;
Anzi par poi che sforzato sia largo.

Dicemi alcuno: 'Io spargo
Li don, per mia libertate tenere;
Non per altrui piacere.'
Questo è gran vizio: ed è virtù maggiore,

E più porta d'onore,
Saver donar la sua persona altrui,
Ricevendo da lui,
E star apparecchiato a meritare.

E non ti vo' lassare
Lo vizio di colui che colla faccia
Non vuol dar sì che piaccia,
Ma turba tutto, e sta gran pezza mutto.
I will divide this work into 20 parts:
And each part
Shall present certain distinct grades,
As the foregoing reading shows.
The 1st will relate how a girl
Should conduct herself
When she begins to appreciate right and wrong,
And to fear shame.
2nd, How, when
She comes to a marriageable age.
3rd, How, when she has passed
The period for marriage.
4th, if, after she has given up the hope of ever
Obtaining a husband, it happens
That yet she gets one, and remains
At home awhile before going to him.
The 5th, How, after she is married;
And how the first, and how
The second and third,
Up to fifteen days; and the first month,
And the second and third;
And how on to her end:
Both before having children, and afterwards, and if she
Has none: and how in old age.
The 6th, How, if she loses her husband:
And how if she is old;
And how if she is of middle age;
And how if she is left young;
And how if she has children;
And how if she is a grandmother;
And how if she still
Remains mistress of her husband's property;
And if she, being a widow, takes
The garb of religion.
The 7th sets forth
How she should comport herself
If she marries again;
And how if to a better [husband],
And how if to a worse
And less wealthy one;
And how if she yet goes to a third;
And how, after she has become a widow,
And has again taken a husband,
She remains awhile at home
Before going to him;
And how far re-marrying is praised or blamed.
8th, How, she
Who assumes the habit
Of a religious order at home;
And how this is praised or no.
9th, How, being shut up in a monastery
In perpetual reclusion;
And how the Abbess, Superior, and Priores.
And every other Portress or Nun.
10th, How she
Who secludes herself alone
Is named a Hermitess; and wherein this is to blame.
11th, How
The maid who is
In companionship with a lady;
And how if she is alone,
And how if one among others in the like office.
12th, How
Every serving-woman shall conduct herself,
Whether serving a lady alone, or a lady along
With the master; and also if any, by herself,
Serves a master; and how
This is to be praised, and how not.
13th, How,
A nurse in the house, and how apart.
14th, How,
The female serf or slave;¹

¹ The mention of a slave in a Florentine household of the late 13th or early 14th century may startle some readers. I translate the note which Signor Guglielmo Manzi, the editor of the Reggimento, supplies on this subject. Slavery, which abases mankind, and revolts humanity and reason, diminished greatly when the Christian religion was introduced into the Roman Empire—that religion being in manifest opposition to so barbarous a system. The more the one progressed in the world, the more did the other wane; and, as Bodino observes in his book De Repubblica, slavery had ceased in Europe, to a great extent, by 1200. I shall follow this author, who is the only one to afford us some degree of light amid so great obscurity. In the year 1212 there were still, according to him, slaves in Italy; as may be seen from the ordinances of William, King of Sicily, and of the Emperor Frederick II. for the kingdom of Naples, and from the decretals of the Popes Alexander III., Urban III., and Innocent III., concerning the marriages of slaves. The first of these Popes was elected in 1158, the second in 1185, and the third in 1198; so that the principle of liberty cannot be dated earlier than in or about 1250—Bartolo, who lived in the year 1300, writing (Hostes de Capticis, I.) that in his time there were no slaves, and that, according to the laws of Christendom, men were no longer put up to sale. This assertion, however, conflicts with the words of our author, who affirms that in his time—that is, at the commencement of the 14th century—the custom existed. But, in elucidation of Bartolo, it should be said that he implied that men were no longer sold, on the ground that this was prohibited by the laws of Christendom, and the edicts of sovereigns. In France it can be shown that in 1430 Charles VII. gave their
And how, being a serf,
She may afterwards, through her conduct, obtain her liberty.
15th, How
Every kind of woman
Of the common sort should behave,
And of a lower and poorer sort; and all
Save the bad ones of dissolute life
Who sell their honour for money,—
Whom I do not purpose
To put in writing,
Nor to make any mention of them,
For they are not worthy to be named.
16th treats
Of certain general precepts
To all women; and of their ornaments,
And their adventures.
17th, of their consolations.
18th, because sometimes
They must know how to speak and converse
And answer, and be in company,
Here will be treated upon questions of love
And courtesy and breeding.
19th treats
Of certain motetts and messages
Of ladies to knights,
And of other sorts
Of women and men.
The 20th treats
Of certain orisons.
And in this part is the conclusion
Of the book; and how I carry this book
To the Lady who is above-named,

liberty to some persons of servile condition; and even in the year 1548 King
Henri II. liberated, by letters patent, those of the Bourbonnais; and the like
was done throughout all his states by the Duke of Savoy in 1561. In the
Hundred Tales of Boccaccio we have also various instances showing that the
sale of free men was practised in Italy. These are in the 6th Tale of the 2nd
Day, the story of Madonna Beritola, whose sons remained in Genoa in serf-
dom; and in the 6th of the 5th Day, the story of Frederick, King of Sicily;
and in the 7th of the same Day, the story of Theodore and Violante. It is
therefore clear, from all this evidence, that, in the time of Messer Francesco,
so execrable a practice was still prevalent; and, summing up all we have said,
it must be concluded that servitude, in non-barbarian Europe, was not entirely
extinguished till the 16th century.'

1 2 Mottetti e parlari.' Only a few specimens of these are given, and they
are all sufficiently occult. Here is one. 'Grande a morte, o la morte. Di
molte se grava morte. [Responde Madonna] Dolc' amorme, quel camorme,
dunque amorme conveniarne.'

2 This Lady is an ideal or symbolic personage—presumably Wisdom.
And how she receives it;
And how the Virtues
Come before her.'

The promise here is rich indeed, and the performance also is rich; though it may fairly be said that various sections fall considerably below one's expectations, and some of them are jejune enough. But, after every deduction has been made, the work fills a niche of its own, and without competitor.

I add a few of the details most germane to our purpose.

A young girl should drink but little, and that diluted. She must not loll at table, nor prop her arms thereon. Here she should speak even less than at other times. The daughters of Knights (Cavalier da Scudo), Judges, Physicians, or others of similar condition, had better learn the art of cooking, though possibly circumstances will not call upon them to put it in practice.

A Princess approaching the marriageable age should not go out to church; as she ought, as far as possible, to avoid being seen about. (The marriageable age, be it understood, is very early by Barberino's reckoning, being twelve years.) A woman should never go out alone.

An unmarried young lady had better wear a topaz, which is proved by experience to be an antidote to carnal desire.

A Provençal gentleman, who was praising his wife for her extreme simplicity in attire, was asked, 'Why then does she comb her hair?' He replied: 'To show that she is a woman, whose very nature it is to be trim in person.'

A Lady's-maid should not tell tales to her mistress of any peccadilloes of the husband: still less should she report to the husband anything against his wife, unless it be a grave and open misdoing.

The section concerning Nurses (Part 13) contains much curious matter: especially as showing how much reliance was placed upon swaddling and other details of infant management, for the improvement of good looks, and correction of blemishes. Here we find also that the system against which Rousseau waged such earnest war, of mothers' not suckling their own children, was already in full vigour in Barberino's time. He enters no protest against it; but does recommend mothers to follow the more natural plan, if they can, and so please God, and earn the children's love.¹

A she-Barber must not ogle or flirt with her customers, but attend to her washes and razors. A Fruiteress must not put green leaves with old fruits, nor the best fruits uppermost, to take her customers in. A Landlady must not sell re-cooked victuals.

¹ Matteo Palmieri (see p. 58) indicates that the state of things was the same in his time, about 1430: he is more decided than Barberino in condemning it.
A shrew earns the stick sometimes; nor should that form of correction be spared to women who gad about after fortune-tellers.

Beware of a Doctor who scrutinizes your pretty face more than your symptoms. Also of a Tailor who wants to serve you gratis, or who is over-officious in trying on your clothes: and beware still more of a Tailor who is tremulous. If you go to any balls where men are present, let it be by day, or at any rate with abundance of light.

The use of thick unguents is uncleanly, especially in hot weather; it makes the teeth black, the lips green, and the skin prematurely old-looking. Baths of soft water, not in excess, keep the skin young and fresh: but those in which hot herbs are boiled scorched and blacken it. Dark hair becomes lighter by being kept uncovered, especially in moonlight.

'Courtesy is liberal magnificence, which suffers not violence, nor ingenuity, nor obligation, but pleases of itself alone.'

To these brief jottings I subjoin one extract of some length, descriptive of the marriage-festivity of a Queen. To abridge its details would be to strip it of its value: but I apprehend that some of these details require to be taken cum grano salis, Barberino having allowed himself a certain poetical license.

Now it behoves to dine.
The trumpets sound, and all the instruments,
Sweet songs and diversions around.
Boughs, with flowers, tapestries, and satins,
Strewn on the ground; and great lengths of silk
With fine fringes and broderings on the walls.
Silver and gold, and the tables set out,
Covered couches, and the joyous chambers,
Full kitchens and various dishes;
Donzels deft in serving,
And among them damsels still more so.
Tourneying in the cloisters and pathways;
Closed balconies and covered loggias;
Many cavaliers and people of worth,
Ladies and damsels of great beauty.
Old women hidden in prayer to God,
Be they served there where they stay.
Wines come in, and abundant comfits;
There are the fruits of various kinds.
The birds sing in cages, and on the roofs:
The stags leap, and fawns, and deer.
Open gardens, and their scent spreads.
There greyhounds and brachses run in the leash.
Pretty spaniel pets with the ladies:
Several parrots go about the tables.
Falcons, ger-falcons, hawks, and sparrow-hawks,
Carry various snakes all about.
The palfreys houseled at the doors;
The doors open, and the halls partitioned
As suits the people that have come.
Expert seneschals and other officers.
Bread of manna only, and the weather splendid.
Fountains rise up from new springs:
They sprinkle where they are wanted, and are beautiful.
The trumpet sounds, and the bridegroom with his following
Chooses his company as he likes.
Ladies amorous, joyous, and lovely,
Trained, and noble, and of like age,
Take the bride, and usher her as befits:
They give her place to sit at table.
Now damsels and donzels around,
The many ladies who have taken their seats,
All prattle of love and joy.
A gentle wind which keeps off the flies
Tempers the air, and refreshes hearts.
From the sun spring laughs in the fields:
Nowhere can the eye settle.
At your foot run delightful rills:
At times the fish leap from the water.
Jongleurs\(^1\) clad by gift:
Here vestments of fashion unprecedented,
There with pearls and precious stones
Upon their heads, and solemn garb:
Here are rings which emit a splendour
Like that of the sun outside.
Now all the men and all the ladies have washed,
And then the water is given to the bride:
And I resume speaking of her deportment.
Let her have washed her hands aforetime,
So that she may then not greatly bedim the water.
Let her not much set-to at washing in the basin,
Nor touch mouth or teeth in washing:

\(^1\) ‘Uomin di corte.’ This term was first applied to heralds, chamberlains, and the like court-officials: subsequently to the entertainers of a court, ‘giullari,’ jesters, and buffoons: and in process of time it came to include courtiers of whatever class. In the early writers—such as Barberino, Bo-ccaccio, &c.—it is not always easy for a translator to pitch upon the precise equivalent: the reader should understand a personage who might be as romantic as a Troubadour, or as quaint as a Touchstone—but tending rather towards the latter extreme.
For she can do this afterwards in her chamber, 
When it shall be needful and fitting. 
Of the savoury and nicest viands 
Let her accept, but little, and avoid eating many: 
And let her, several days before, have noted 
The other customs above written; 
Here let her observe those which becom the place. 
Let her not intervene to reprehend the servitors, 
Nor yet speak, unless occasion requires. 
Let it appear that she hardly minds any diversion, 
But that only timidity quenches her pleasure: 
But let her, in eating, so manage her hands 
That, in washing, the clear water may remain. 
The table being removed, let her stay with the ladies 
Somewhat more freely than at her arrival: 
Yet for this day let her, I pray, 
Abstain from laughing as far as she can, keeping 
Her countenance so as not to appear out of humour, 
But only timid, as has often been said. 
If the other ladies sleep that day, 
Let her also repose among them, 
And prepare herself the better for keeping awake. 
Let her drinking be small. I approve a light collation, 
Eating little: and in like wise at supper 
Let her avoid too many comfits or fruits: 
Let her make it rather slight than heavy.

Some ladies make ready to go, 
And some others to retire to their chambers. 
Those remain who are in charge of her: 
All approach to cheer her. 
She embraces her intimates: 
Let her make the kindest demonstrations to all—
'Adieu, adieu'— tearful at parting. 
They all cheer her up, and beg her to be 
Confident, and many vouch 
That her husband has gone to a distance: 
Her guardians say the same. 
They bring her inwards to a new chamber, 
Whose walls are so draped 
That nothing is seen save silk and gold; 
The coverlets starred, and with moons. 
The stones shine as it were the sun: 
At the corners four rubies lift up a flame 
So lovely that it touches the heart: 
Here a man kindles inside and out. 
Richest cambrics cover the floor.
Here baldaquins and the benches around
All covered with woven pearls;
Pillows all of smooth samite,
With the down of griffin-birds inside;
Many topazes, sapphires, and emeralds,
With various stones, as buttons to these.
Beds loaded on beds with no bedstead,
Draped all with foreign cloths;
Above the others the chiefest and soft,
With a new covering of byssus.
Of this the down is from the phoenix-bird:
It has one bolster and no more,
Not too large, but of fine form.
Over it sheets of worked silk,
Soft, yielding, delicate, and durable:
A superb quilt, and cuttings-out within;
And, traced with the needle and of various cutting,
Fishes and birds and all animals.
A vine goes round the whole,
The twigs of pearls, and the foliage of gems,
Among which are those of all virtues,
Written of or named as excellent.
In the midst of it turns a wheel
Which represents the figure of the world;
Wherein birds, in windows of glass,
Sing if you will, and if not they are all mute.
There puppies of various kinds,
Not troublesome, and they make no noise:
If you call them, they make much of you.
On the benches flowers heaped and strewn—
Great is the odour, but not excessive:
Much balsam in vessels of crystal.

1 'Uccelli grifoni.' This seems a daring suggestion: possibly, as a griffin
is a compound of eagle and lion, we are to understand that the eagle is the griffin-bird.
2 'Drappi ultramarin'—which may mean foreign (from beyond sea), or else of ultramarine colour: I rather suppose the former.
3 'Lana di pesce'—literally, fish's wool. The term is new to me, nor do I find it explained in dictionaries: I can only therefore surmise that it designates the silky filaments of certain sea-mollusks, such as the pinna of the Mediterranean. This byssus is still made use of in Italy for gloves and similar articles.
4 11
5 'Intagl;' and the next line gives the word 'Scolture. Giovanni
Villani notes that in 1330 a prohibition was issued against 'dresses cut-out or painted:' 'the fashion having run into the extravagance of dresses cut-out with different sorts of cloth, and made of stuffs trimmed variously with silks.'
A nurse says: 'All things are yours.
You will lie by yourself in that bed:
We will all be sleeping here.'
They show her the wardrobe at one side,
Wherein they say that they remain keeping watch.
They wash the Lady's face and hands
With rose-water mixed with violets,
For in that country such is the wont.
They dress her hair, wind up her tresses,
Stand round about her, help her to disrobe.
Who takes her shoes off, happy she!
Her shoes are by no means of leather.
They look her in the face whether she is timorous:
She prays them to stay.
They tell her that they will sleep outside the bed,
At her feet, on the cloths I have spoken of.
They make-believe to do so, and the Lady smiles.
They put her to bed: first they hold her,—
They turn the quilt over: and, her face being displayed,
All the shows of gems and draperies
Wane before that amorous beauty
Which issues from the eyes she turns around.
Her visage shines: the nurses disappear:
The Lady closes her eyes, and sleeps.

Then these nurses trick the Lady.
They leave by the door which they had not shown her:
They go to the bridegroom who is waiting outside.
Him they tell of the trick.
There come around the new knight,
Young lord, puissant crown,
Many donzels and knights who wait
Solely for his chamber-service.
They give him water, as to the Lady:
His blond head each adorns,
Bright his countenance. Every one
Has gladness and joy, glad in his happiness.
They leave him in his jerkin, they bring him within:
They take off his shoes at the draped entry.
They all without, and the nurses at one side,
Stay quiet. A réveillé begins,
And so far off that it gives no annoy.

The comely King crosses himself, and looks:
The Lady and the gems make a great splendour,
And it seems to him that this Queen is asleep.
He enters softly, and wholly undresses:
It appears that the Lady heaves a sigh.
The King is scared: he covers himself up in the bed. He signals to the birds to sing: They all begin, one by one, and low.\(^1\) The signal tells them to raise their note: Higher they rise in singing—and perchance This noise may wake the Lady up. Again he signals that they should all trill louder.

The Lady heaves a sigh, and asks, 'Who is there?'—Says the King: 'I am one Whom thy beauties have brought hither.' She is troubled, and calls the nurses. The King replies: 'I have turned them all out. She moves, wanting to get up: She finds no clothes, for they have carried them away. The King remains quiet, and waits to see In what way he may be able to please her, And says to her: 'I have only come hither To speak to thee a few words: Listen a little, and then I will go.'

An elaborate dialogue ensues, conducted on the most high-paced footing of enamoured courtesy. It contains the strangely beautiful passage translated in my brother's *Early Italian Poets*, and which I reproduce here; taking therewith my leave both of this singular specimen of how Kings and Queens might, would, could, or should confer on their bridal-night, and also of Francesco da Barberino himself. The Queen is the speaker.

'Do not conceive that I shall here recount All my own beauty: yet I promise you That you, by what I tell, shall understand All that befits and that is well to know. My bosom, which is very softly made, Of a white even colour without stain, Bears two fair apples, fragrant, sweetly savoured, Gathered together from the Tree of Life The which is in the midst of Paradise. And these no person ever yet has touched; For out of nurse's and of mother's hands I was when God in secret gave them me.

\(^1\) These seem to be very obedient birds: and their position, behind glass windows in a globe figuring the world, was rather an odd one to modern notions. The reader will keep me company in guessing whether or not we are to take the whole description *au pied de la lettre*.
These ere I yield I must know well to whom;  
And, for that I would not be robbed of them,  
I speak not all the virtue that they have:  
Yet thus far speaking—Blessed were the man  
Who once should touch them, were it but a little:  
See them I say not, for that might not be.  
My girdle, clipping pleasure round-about,  
Over my clear dress even unto my knees Hangs down with sweet precision tenderly;  
And under it Virginity abides.  
Faithful and simple and of plain belief  
She is, with her fair garland bright like gold,  
And very fearful if she overhears  
Speech of herself; the wherefore ye perceive  
That I speak soft lest she be made ashamed.  
Lo! this is she who hath for company  
The Son of God, and Mother of the Son.  
Lo! this is she who sits with many in heaven:  
Lo! 'this is she with whom are few on earth.'

Tiraboschi mentions a book which might perhaps be useful in further illustrating Italian manners at the end of the 13th century: but I have no direct knowledge of it,—a Treatise on the Governing of a Family, written by Sandro di Pippozzo in 1299. A treatise on Moral Virtues (Sopra le Virtù Morali) was composed by Graziolo de' Bombaglioli, a Bolognese, in Italian verse, with a comment in Latin, the date being about the middle of the 14th century; and was published in 1642, being at that time mistakenly attributed to King Robert of Naples. It is not a Courtesy-Book; but, referring back to what has been said (on p. 12) regarding the definitions of nobility given by Brunetto Latini, Dante, and Barberino, I may cite part of what Bombaglioli says on the same subject:

'Neither long-standing wealth nor blood confers nobility;  
But virtue makes a man noble (gentile);  
And it lifts from a vile place  
A man who makes himself lofty by his goodness.'

A third and older book, no doubt very much to our purpose, would be one which Ubaldini (in his edition of Barberino's Reggimento) refers to as having been laid under contribution by that poet in compiling his Documenti d'Amore—viz. a rhymed composition, in the Romagnole dialect, on Methods of Salutation, by Ugolino Brucola.
AGNOLO PANDOLFINI.

(Or Bruzola). This work, again, is unknown to me; and, as I can
trace no mention of it even in Tiraboschi, a writer of most omnivorous
digestion, I infer that it may not improbably have perished.

Skipping therefore about a century and a quarter, within which
Italian literature was made for ever illustrious by the Commedia of
Dante, and the writings of Petrarea and Boccaccio, not to speak of
others, we come to the early 15th century, still in Florence.

Agnolo Pandolfini wrote on the same subject as Sandro di
Pippozzo, the Governing of a Family (Del Governo della Famiglia).
He died in 1446, aged about 86; and the date of his treatise seems
to be towards 1425—30. This work must not be confounded with
one bearing the same title, frequently cited in the Dizionario della
Crusca, and which deals more particularly with morals and religion.
Pandolfini, both by birth and doings, was a very illustrious son of
Florence: in 1414, 1420, and 1431, he held the highest dignity of
the state, that of Gonfalonier of Justice. He opposed the banishment
of Cosmo de' Medici, and was treated with distinguished honour by
that great though dangerous citizen on his return. His treatise
takes the form of a dialogue, wherein Agnolo holds forth ore rotundo
to his sons and grandsons. The old gentleman is indeed fearfully
oracular, and possessed with a fathomless belief in himself. He
writes well, and with plenty of good sense. His book is not, in the
straitest acceptation of the term, a Courtesy-Book, but rather a cross
between the moral and the prudential—a dissertation of Economics.
Here are some samples of his lore.

To choose a house wherein one can settle comfortably for life is
a great consideration. A locality with good air and good wine
should be sought out: better to buy it than to rent it. The whole
family should have one roof, one entrance-door, one fire, and one
dining-table: this subserves the purposes both of affection and of
thrift.

The family and household should be well dressed. Even when
living a country life, they should keep on the town dress: good
cloth and cheerful colours, but without fancy-ornaments save for the
women.

The head of the family should commit to his wife the immediate
care of the household goods: men, however careful, should not be
poking and prying into every corner, and looking whether the
candles have too thick a wick. 'It is well for every lady to know
how to cook, and prepare all choice viands; to learn this from cooks when they come to the house for banquets; to see them at work, ask questions, learn, and bear in mind, so that, when guests come who ought to be received with welcome, the ladies may know and order all the best things—and so not have to send every time for cooks. This cannot be done at a moment's notice, and especially when one is in the country, where good cooks are not to be had, and strangers are more in the way of being asked. Not indeed that the lady is to cook; but she should order, teach, and show the less skilful servants to do everything in the best way, and make the best dishes suitable to the season and the guests.'

'I [the infallible Agnolo Pandolfini] always liked so to order the household that, at whatever hour of day or night, there should always be some one at home to look after all casualties that might happen to the inmates. And I always kept in the house a goose and a dog—wakeful animals, and, as we see, suspicious and attached; so that, one of them rousing the other, and calling up the household, the house might always be secure.'

Always buy of the best—food, clothes, &c., &c. 'Good things cost less than the not good.'

That Agnolo Pandolfini was regarded as a great authority not by himself alone is proved by the fact that Matteo Palmieri, the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (Della Vita Civile), makes him the principal speaker. And this was perhaps even during Agnolo's lifetime: the assumed date of the colloquy being 1430 (very much the same as that of Pandolfini's own book), and the actual date of composition being probably enough not many years later. Palmieri was born in Florence in 1405, and died in 1475, honoured for conspicuous integrity, and distinguished by many public employments. The Vita Civile is regarded as his most important literary work. The interlocutors, besides Pandolfini, are a Sacchetti and a Guicciardini. The subject-matter is more grave and weighty than that of a Courtesy-Book strictly so called, though we may dip into it for a detail or two. The following is Palmieri's own account of the work:

'The whole performance is divided into four books. In the 1st the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man; showing by what nurture and according to what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness; and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act, in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence, in the former of these, Temperance,
Fortitude, and Prudence, are treated of at large—also other virtues comprised in these. The next is 3rd in order, and is all devoted to Justice, which is the noblest part of men, and above all others necessary for maintaining every well-ordered commonwealth. Wherefore here is diffusely treated of Civil Justice; how people should conduct themselves in peace; and how wars are managed; how, within the city by those who hold the magistracies, and beyond the walls by the public officials, the general well-being is provided for. The last book alone is written concerning Utility, and provides for the plenty, ornament, property, and abundant riches, of the whole body politic. Then in the final portion, as last conclusion, is shown, not without true doctrine, what is the state of the souls which in the world, intent upon public good, have lived according to the precepts of life here set forth by us; in reward whereof they have been by God received into heaven, to be happy eternally in glory with his saints.

Palmieri would have boys eschew any sedentary pastimes. They may jump, run, and play at ball; and music is highly suitable for them. To beat them is a barbarism. This may indeed, sometimes and perhaps, be necessary with boys 'who are to follow mechanical and servile arts,' but not with those who are carefully brought up by father and preceptor. Begin with encouragements to the well-behaved, and admonitions to the naughty: and the severer punishments should be 'to shut him in; to withhold such food and other things as he best likes, to take away his clothing, and so on; to make him ponder long while over his misdoing.' (This is singularly gentle discipline for a.d. 1430: indeed Palmieri intimates that 'almost all people' advocated manual correction in his time. Had any other writer, of so early a date, discovered that 'spare the rod and spoil the child' is not the sum-total of management for minors?)

A dinner-party is considered well made up, in point of numbers, if the persons present are not less than three, nor more than nine. A larger number than the latter cannot all join together in united conversation.

'The expenses of a munificent man should be in things that bring honour and distinction; not private, but public—as in buildings, and ornaments of churches, theatres, loggias, public feasts, games, entertainments; and in such like magnificences he should not compute nor reckon how much he spends, but by what means the works may be to the utmost wonderful and beautiful.' (Nice
doctrine this for some of our conscript fathers in England, whose perennial diligence is, as Carlyle says, 'preserving their game.' But the Florentine Republic was in that outcast condition that the noblemen were not only not hereditary legislators, but were _ipso facto_ excluded from all public employment, unless they enrolled themselves in the commonalty by belonging to one of the legislating guilds.)

Both Pandolfi and Palmieri are authors of good repute in Italian literature: but by no means equal to the writer next on our list, Baldassar Castiglione, with his book named _The Courtier (Il Cortigiano)._ This is a remarkably choice example of Italian prose; which is the more satisfactory because Castiglione was not a Tuscan, but a Mantuan, and a proclaimed enemy of that narrow literary creed, the palladium of pedants and ever-recurring bane of strong individualism among Italian writers, that, save in the Florentine-Tuscan language (or dialect) of the 'buon secolo,' the days of Petrarca and Boccaccio, there is no orthodoxy of diction. Some noticeable details on this point are to be found in the _Cortigiano:_ showing that the ultra-purists of that time insisted upon the use by writers, whether Tuscan or belonging to other parts of Italy, of words occurring in Petrarca and Boccaccio already quite obsolete and hardly intelligible even in Tuscany—and also upon the use of corrupt forms of words framed from the Latin, because these pertained to the Tuscan idiom, even although correct forms of the same words were in current use in other Italian regions. In all such regards Castiglione claims for himself unfettered latitude of choice: the verbal precisian, scared at his theoretic license, is surprised and relieved to find that after all the book is not only endurable in style, even to his own punctilious ears, but particularly elegant.

Baldassar Castiglione was born on the 6th of December 1478 at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory. Noble and handsome, he grew up almost universally accomplished and learned; a distinguished connoisseur; and valued by all the most eminent men of his time. His full-length portrait appears in one of the frescoes of

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1 Tiraboschi says 1468; but that, as far as I can trace, is a mistake.
Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican. He went on many embassies
among others, to England. Henry VIII., of whose youthful promise
he speaks in the most rapturous terms, knighted him: the Emperor
Charles V. said that by Castiglione’s death chivalry lost its brightest
luminary. His career closed at Toledo on the 2nd of February 1529.
Among his writings are poems in Latin and Italian, but his chief work
is the Cortigiano. This was composed between the years 1508 and
1518; and published in 1528, in a state which its author regarded as
somewhat hurried and incomplete. It is written in the narrative form,
but consisting principally of dialogue, or indeed of successive mono-
logues; and purports to relate certain conversazioni (rightly to be so
called) which were held in 1506 in the court of Urbino, for the de-
lection of the Duchess Elisabetta della Rovere (by birth a Gonzaga)
and her ladies. The topic proposed for treatment is—what should a
perfectly qualified Courtier be like? The principal speakers on the
general subject are the Conte Lodovico da Canossa, Federico Fregoso,
and Ottavian Fregoso; Bernardo Bibiena takes up the special question
of facetiae, and Giuliano de’ Medici speaks of the Court Lady, and
generally in honour of women.

The term Courtier has not a very exalted sound to a modern or
English ear: but Castiglione’s ideal Courtier is a truly noble and
gallant gentleman, furnished with all sorts of solid no less than
splendid qualities. His ultimate raison d’être is that he should
always, through good and evil report, tell his sovereign the strict
truth of all things which it behoves him to know—certainly a suffi-
ciently honourable and handsomely unfulfilled duty. The tone
throughout is lofty, and of more than conventional or courtly recti-
tude: indeed, the book as a whole is hardly what one associates
mentally with the era of Pagan Popes,—of a Cæsar Borgia just cleared
off from Romagna, and an Alessandro de’ Medici impending over
Florence.

1 It may be fair to state that the work, as first published, was put in the
Roman index of prohibited books; and that the reissues (including no doubt
the edition known to me) have omitted the inculpated passages. Whether
these were objected to on moral or rather on ecclesiastical grounds I cannot
affirm: the book as now printed is not only quite free from immoralities, but
is decidedly moral, whereas there remains at least one passage of a tone such
as churchmen resent ex officio.
Almost the only illustration which Castiglione supplies of the art of dining is the following anecdote:

'The Marquis Federico of Mantua, father of our Lady Duchess, being at table with many gentlemen, one of them, after he had eaten a whole stew, said, "My Lord Marquis, pardon me;" and, so saying, he began to suck up the broth that was left. Forthwith then said the Marquis: "You should ask pardon of the pigs, for to me there is no harm done at all!'"

Some other points I take as they come.

'Having many a time reflected wherefrom Grace arises (not to speak of those who derive it from the stars), I find one most universal rule, which seems to me to hold good, in this regard, in all human things done and said, more than aught else; and this is—to avoid affectation as much as one can, and as a most bristling and perilous rock, and (to use perhaps a new-coined word) to do everything with a certain slightingness *sprezzatura*, which shall conceal art, and show that what is done and said comes to one without trouble and almost without thinking.' Yet there may be as much affectation in slightingness itself as in punctilio. Instances adduced of the latter, as regards the care of the person, are the setting a scrap of looking-glass in a recess of one's cap, and a comb in one's sleeve, and keeping a page to follow one perpetually about with a sponge and a clothes-brush. Female affectations were 'the plucking out the hair of eyebrows and forehead, and undergoing all those inconveniences which you ladies fancy to be altogether occult from men, and which nevertheless are all known.'

The perfect Courtier ought to know music—sing at sight, and play on various instruments; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the viol, and most especially thus singing in recitative *per recitare*, 'which adds to the words so much grace and force that great marvel it is.' All stringed instruments are well suited for the Courtier; not so wind-instruments, 'which Minerva interdicted to Alcibiades, because they have an unseemly air.' The Court Lady also ought to have knowledge of letters, music, and painting, as well as of dancing, and how to bear her part in entertainments *festeleggiare*.

'Old men blame in us many things which, of themselves, are neither good nor bad, but only because *they* used not to do them: and they say that it is unbecoming for young men to go through the city riding, especially on mules; to wear in the winter fur linings and long robes; to wear a cap *berretta*, at any rate until the man has reached eighteen years of age,—and other the like things. Wherein in sooth they mistake: for these customs, besides being convenient and serviceable, are introduced by fashion, and universally accepted,—as aforesaid to dress in the open tunic *giornec*, with open
hose and polished shoes, and for gallantry to carry all day a hawk on the fist for no reason, and to dance without touching the lady's hand, and to adopt many other modes which, as they would now be most awkward, so then were they highly prized.'

Federico Fregoso, the chief speaker of the second evening, is of opinion that a man of rank ought not to honour with his presence a village feast, where the spectators and company would be coarse people. To this Gaspar Pallavicino demurs; saying that, in his native Lombardy, many young noblemen will dance all day under the sun with country people, and play with them at wrestling, running, leaping, and so on—exercises of strength and dexterity in which the countrymen are often the winners. Fregoso rejoins that this, if done at all, should be not by way of emulation but of complaisance, and when the nobleman feels tolerably sure of conquering; and generally, in all sorts of exercises save feats of arms, he should stop short of anything like professional zeal or excellence. [A concluding hint worth consideration in these days of 'Athletic Clubs.]

The discourse of Bernardo Bibiena on facetiae is a magazine of good things, both anecdotic, epigrammatic, and critical. The speaker is particularly severe on 'funny men' and 'jolly dogs'; concerning whom I venture to introduce one consecutive extract of some little length.

'The Courtier should be very heedful of his beginnings, so as to leave a pleasing impression, and should consider how baneful and fatal it is to fall into the contrary. And this danger do they more than others run who make it their business to be amusing, and assume with these their quips a certain liberty authorizing and licensing them to do and say whatever strikes them, without any consideration. Thus these people start off on matters whence, not knowing their way out again, they try to help themselves off by raising a laugh: and this also they do so securively that it fails; so that they occasion the severest tedium to those who see and hear them, and they themselves remain most crestfallen. Sometimes, thinking thus to be witty and lively, in the presence of ladies of honour, and often even in speaking to them, they set-to at uttering most nasty and indecent words: and, the more they see them blush, so much the more do they account themselves good courtiers: and ever and anon they laugh and plume themselves at so bright a gift which they think their own. But for no purpose do they commit so many imbecilities as in order to be thought "boon companions." This is that only name which appears to them worthy of praise, and which they vaunt more than any other; and, to acquire it, they bandy the most blundering and vile blackguardisms in the world. Often will they shove one another down-stairs; knock ribs with bludgeons and bricks; throw handfuls of dust into the eyes; and bring down people's horses upon them in ditches, or on the slope of a hill. Then, at
table, soups, sauces, jellies, all do they flop in one another's face: and then they laugh! And he who can do the most of these things accounts himself the best and most gallant courtier, and fancies he has gained great glory. And, if sometimes they invite a gentleman to these their pleasantry, and he abjures from such horse-play, forthwith they say that he makes himself too sage and grand, and is not a "boon companion." But worse remains to tell. There are some who die and wager which of them can eat and drink the most nauseous and fetid things; and these they hunt up so abhorrent to human senses that it is impossible to mention them without the utmost disgust.—"And what may these be?" said Signor Lodovico Pio.—Messer Federico replied: "Let the Marquis Febus [da Ceva] tell you, as he has often seen them in France; and perhaps the thing has happened to himself."—The Marquis Febus replied: "I have seen nothing of the sort done in France that is not also done in Italy. But, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in Italian habits of dress, festivities, banqueting, fighting, and whatever else becomes a courtier, is all derived from the French."—"I deny not," answered Messer Federico, "that there are among the French also most noble and unassuming cavaliers: and I for my part have known many truly worthy of all praise. Yet some are to be found by no means well-bred: and, speaking generally, it appears to me that the Spaniards get on better in manner with the Italians than the French do; since that calm gravity peculiar to the Spaniards seems to me much more conformable to us than the rapid liveliness which is to be recognized almost in every movement of the French race—which in them is not derogatory, and even has grace, because to themselves it is so natural and appropriate that it indicates no sort of affectation in them. There are indeed many Italians who would fain force themselves to imitate that manner; and they can manage nothing else than jogging the head in speaking, and bowing sideways with a bad grace, and, when they are walking about, going so fast that the grooms cannot keep up with them. And with these modes they fancy they are good French people, and partake of their offhand ways: a thing indeed which seldom succeeds save with those who have been brought up in France, and have got into these habits from childhood upwards."

The reader will probably agree with me in thinking that Castiglione's own opinion is expressed here rather in the speech of Federico Fregoso than of the Marquis Febus; and that the all-accomplished Italian patrician of the opening sixteenth century by no means regarded the French as the courteous nation par excellence. Elsewhere it is remarked that the French recognize nobility in arms only, and utterly despise letters and literary men; and that presumption is a leading trait in the national character.
Castiglione does not seem to have entertained the same objection to gesturing that Francesco da Barberino did. In amusing narration or story-telling, at any rate, he approves of this accompaniment; speaking of people who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.'

The banefulness of a wicked Courtier is set forth in strong terms. 'No punishment has yet been invented horrid and tremendous enough for chastising those wicked Courtiers who direct to a bad end their elegant and pleasant manners and good breeding, and by these means creep into the good graces of their sovereigns, to corrupt them, and divert them from the path of virtue, and lead them into vice: for such people may be said to infect with mortal poison, not a vessel of which one only person has to drink, but the public fountain which the whole population uses.'

The last two authors on our list, Giovanni Battista Possevini and Giovanni della Casa, will bring us to about the middle of the sixteenth century; beyond which I do not propose to pursue the subject of Italian Courtesy-Books. We are now fairly out of the middle ages, and in the full career of transition from the old to the new. Indeed, were it not that Della Casa's work, Il Galateo, is so peculiarly apposite to our purpose. I might have been disposed to leave both these writers aside as a trifle too modern in date: but, coming closer as that does to the exact definition of a Courtesy-Book than any other of the compositions which we have been considering, it must perforce find admission here,—and a few words may at the same time be spared to Possevini, who introduces us to a special department of manners. And first of Possevini.

This writer (like Castiglione) a Mantuan, and died young—perhaps barely aged thirty. A famous man of letters, Paolo Giovio, found him to be 'a son of melancholy, and so learned, according to the title of Christ on the cross, as to make one marvel: he is a good poet.' The book we have to deal with is of considerable size, a

1 A noticeable proverbial phrase. It is new to me; but I suppose it means either 'learned in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin' (the three languages in which the inscription over the cross was written), or else perhaps 'learned in languages generally.'
Dialogue concerning Honour (Dialogo dell' Onore): it was published in 1553, after the author's death, which seems to have occurred towards 1550. Possevini is charged with having borrowed freely from another writer, who devoted himself to the denunciation of duelling, Antonio Bernardi; although indeed the publication of Bernardi's book did not take place till some years after the posthumous work of Possevini was in print. The special subject of the latter, as we have said, is honour—the quality and laws of honour, with a leading though not exclusive reference to the duelling system. Many other Italian writers of this period discussed that latter question, some upholding and some reproaching the institution. Possevini is certainly not one of its adversaries, but debates many of the ancillary points with the particularity of a casuist. The few items which I shall extract are cited more as curiosities than as fairly representing the substance of the book.

A man of letters affronted by a military man is not—so Possevini lays it down—bound to call him out, for the duel is not his vocation. If he is deplored in his literary character, it is in writing that he should respond: if he is otherwise damned, let him appeal to the magistrate. But this latter course is not permitted to a soldier: fighting is his business, and he must have recourse to the sword. The maxim that, in duel, one is bound either to slay one's adversary, or take him prisoner, is barbarous: it should suffice to make him recant or apologize, or to wound him, or to reduce him to surrender and humiliation.

A man who marries a professional courtesan lowers himself; yet not so far as that he can properly be refused as a duellist, or as a magistrate, or in other matters pertaining to honour. A husband who connives at his own dishonour, either by positive intention or by stupidity exceeding a certain limit, should be refused as above; not so a betrayed husband who has taken any ordinary precautions. The husband who detects his wife in adultery, without resenting it, is a dishonoured man: yet to kill her is beyond the mark,—to divorce her, contrary to canon law. He should obtain a legal abrogation of the wife's dowry, or else, as a milder course, send her back to her own people, and have no sort of knowledge of her thenceforth.

Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, created Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, was born of noble Florentine parentage on the 28th of June 1503, and died on the 14th of November 1556. He ranks as one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his century; but some of
his poems are noted for licentiousness, and are even reputed to have damaged his ecclesiastical career, and lost him a Cardinal's hat. The works thus impugned appear all to belong to his youth. He had already obtained some church-preferment, and was settled in Rome, by the year 1538. On the election of Pope Julius III., in 1550, Della Casa lived privately in the city or territory of Venice, in great state, and distinguished for courteous and charitable munificence. Paul IV., who succeeded to the papacy in 1555, recalled him to Rome, and created him Secretary of State.

The Galateo (written, I presume, somewhere about 1550) has always been a very famous book in Italy; and of that sort of fame which includes great general as well as literary acceptance. It is a model of strong sententious Tuscan; approaching the pedantic, yet racyly idiomatic at the same time. The title in full runs Galateo, or concerning Manners; wherein, in the Character of an Elderly Man [Vecchio Idiota] instructing a Youth, are set forth the things which ought to be observed and avoided in ordinary intercourse. The paragraphs are numbered, and amount to 180.1 The name Galateo is

1 That most capital and characteristic book, the Autobiography of the tragedian Alfieri, contains a reference to the Galateo, which, longish as it is, I am tempted to extract. 'My worthy Paciandi was wont to advise me not to neglect, amid my laborious readings, works in prose, which he learnedly termed the nurse of poetry. As regards this, I remember that one day he brought me the Galateo of Della Casa; recommending me to ponder it well with respect to the turn of speech, which assuredly is pure Tuscan, and the reverse of all Frenchifying. I, who in boyhood had (as we all have) read it loosely, understood it little, and relished it not at all, felt almost offended at this schoolboyish and pedantic advice. Full of venom against the said Galateo, I opened it. And, at the sight of that first Conciossiocosache, to which is trailed-on that long sentence so pompous and so wanting in pith, such an impulse of rage seized me that, hurling the book out of window, I cried like a maniac: "Surely a hard and disgusting necessity, that, in order to write tragedies at the age of twenty-seven, I must swallow down again this childish chatter, and relax my brain with such pedantries!" He smiled at my uneducated poetic furor; and prophesied that I would yet read the Galateo, and that more than once. And so it turned out; but several years afterwards, when I had thoroughly hardened my neck and shoulders to bear the grammatical yoke. And I read not only the Galateo, but almost all our prose writers of the fourteenth century, and annotated them too: with what profit I cannot say. But true it is that, were any one to give them a good reading as regards their turn of phrase, and to manage availing himself with judgment and skill of their array, rejecting the cast clothes of their ideas, he might perhaps afterwards, in his writings as well philosophic as poetic or historic, or of any other class, give a richness, brevity, propriety, and force of
given to the book in consequence of a little anecdote which it introduces, apparently from real life. There was once a Bishop of Verona named Giovanni Matteo Giberti, noted for liberality. He entertained at his house a certain Count Ricciardo—a highly accomplished nobleman, but addicted (proh pudor!) to eating his victuals with a uncouth action of lips and mouth, masticating at table with a novel noise very unpleasing to hear. The Bishop therefore deemed it the kindest thing he could do to have the Count escorted on his homeward way by a remarkably discreet, well-bred, and experienced gentleman of the episcopal household, named Galateo, who wound up a handsome compliment at parting with a plain exposition of the guest's peccadillo. His own misdoing was news to the Count: but he took the information altogether in good part, and seriously promised amendment.

Let us now dip into the Galateo for a few axioms; first on dining, and afterwards on other points of manners.

You must not smell at the wine-cup or the platter of any one, not even at your own; nor hand the wine which you have tasted to another, unless your very intimate friend; still less offer him any fruit at which you have bitten. Some monsters thrust their snouts, like pigs, into their broth, and never raise their eyes or hands from the victuals, and gorge rather than eat with swollen cheeks, as if they were blowing at a trumpet or a fire; and, soiling their arms almost to the elbows, make a fearful mess of their napkins. And these same napkins they will use to wipe off perspiration, and even to blow their noses. You must not so soil your fingers as to make the napkin nasty in wiping them; neither clean them upon the bread which you are to eat: [we should hope not]. In company, and most especially at table, you should not bully nor beat any servants;

colour, to his style, which I have not as yet seen fully gracing any Italian writer. A word or two may be spared to the formidable-looking vocable Conciosiacoasaché which so excited Alfieri's bile. It might be translated literally as 'Herewith-be-something-that;,' and corresponds in practice to the English 'Forasmuch as'—or more briefly 'since,' or 'as.' The Italian word poiché serves all the same uses, save that of longwindedness. But Conciosiacoasaché itself is not lengthy enough for some Italian lips: and I believe that even the phrase into which it has sometimes been prolonged—'Con ciò sia cosa fosse massimamente che'—has been used for other than burlesquing purposes.

1 The comparison whereby our Archbishop illustrates the condition of the napkins must perfume our page only in its native Italian—'Che le pezze degli agiamenti sono più nette.'
nor must you express anger, whatever may occur to excite it; nor
talk of any distressful matters—wounds, illnesses, deaths, or pesti-
ence. If any one falls into this mistake, the conversation should be
dexterously changed: ‘although, as I once heard said by a worthy
man our neighbour, people often would be as much eased by crying
as by laughing. And he affirmed that with this motive had the
mournful fictions termed tragedies been first invented: so that, being
set forth in theatres, as was then the practice, they might bring tears
to the eyes of those who had need of this, and thus they, weeping,
might be cured of their discomfort. But, be this as it may, for us it
is not befitting to sadden the minds of those with whom we converse,
especially on occasions when people have met for refreshment and
recreation, and not to cry: and, if any one languishes with a longing
to weep, right easy will it be to relieve him with strong mustard, or
to set him somewhere over the smoke.’ You should not scratch
yourself at table, nor spit; or, if spit you must, do it in a seemly
way. Some nations have been so self-controlling as not to spit at
all.1 ‘We must also beware of eating so greedily that hence comes
hiccups or other disagreeable act; as he does who hurry's so that
he has to puff and blow, to the annoyance of the whole company.’
Rub not your teeth with the napkin—still less with your fingers:
nor rinse out your mouth, nor spit forth wine. ‘Nor, on rising from
table, is it a nice habit to carry your toothpick2 in your mouth, like
a bird which is in nest-building,—or behind the ear, like a barber.’
You must not hang the toothpick round your neck: it shows that
you are ‘overmuch prepared and provided for the service of the
gullet,’ and you might as well hang your spoon in the same way.
Neither must you loll on the table; nor by gesture or sound
symbolize your great relish of viands or wine—a habit fit only for
tavern-keepers and topers. Also you should not put people out of
countenance by pressing them to eat or drink.

‘To present to another something from the plate before oneself
does not seem to me well, unless he who presents is of much the

1 This is affirmed by Xenophon of the Persians: he says in the Cyropédia
that, both of old and in his own time, they did without either spitting or blow-
ing the nose—a proof of temperance, and of energetic exercise which carried
off the moisture of the body.

2 Stecco. ‘Toothpick’ is the only appropriate technical sense for stecco
given in the dictionaries; and I suppose it is correct here, although Della
Casa’s very next sentence, denouncing the carrying of this implement round the
neck, designates it by the word stuzzicadenti, and it seems odd that the two
terms should be thus juxta-posed or opposed. If stecco does not in this passage
really mean ‘toothpick,’ I should infer that it indicates some skewer-like
object, used possibly as a fork—I.e. to secure the viands on the plate, while
they are severed with a spoon, and by that conveyed to the mouth (see pp. 21
and 34 as to the use of spoon instead of fork in Bonvicino’s time). This would
in fact be a sort of chop-stick. Such an inference is quite compatible with the
general sense of the word stecco—any stake or splint of wood.
higher grade, so that the recipient is thereby honoured. For, among equals in condition, it looks as if he who offers the gift were setting himself up somehow as the superior; and sometimes that which a man gives is not to the taste of him it is given to. Besides, it implies that the dinner has no abundance of dishes, or is not well distributed, when one has too much, and another too little: and the master of the house might take it as an affront. However, in this one should do as others do, and not as it might be best to do in the abstract: and in such fashions it is better to err along with others than to be alone in well-doing. But, whatever may be the best course in this, you must not refuse what is offered you; for it would seem as if you slighted or reproved the donor.

For one man to pledge another in the wine-cup is not an Italian usage, nor yet rightly nationalized, and should be avoided. Decline such an invitation; or confess yourself the worse drinker, and give but one sip to your wine. 'Thank God, among the many pests which have come to us from beyond the mountains, this vilest one has not yet reached us, of regarding drunkenness as not merely a laughing-matter, but even a merit.' The only time when you should wash hands in company is before going to table: you should do it then even though your hands be quite clean, 'so that he who dips with you into the same platter may know that for certain.'

Well-bred servitors, serving at table, must on no account scratch their heads or any other part of the body, nor thrust their hands anywhere under their clothes out of sight, but keep them 'visible and beyond all suspicion,' and scrupulously clean. Those who hand about plates or cups must abstain from spitting or coughing, and most especially from sneezing. If a pear or bread has been set to toast, the attendant must not blow off any ash-dust, but jog or otherwise nick it off. He must not offer his pocket-handkerchief to any one, though it be clean from the wash; for the person to whom it is offered has no assurance of that fact, and may find it distasteful. The usher must not take it upon himself to invite strangers, or to retain them to dine with his lord: if he does so, no one who knows his place will act on the invitation.

Scraping the teeth together, whistling, screaming, grinding stones, and rubbing iron, are grievous noises: and a man who has a bad voice should eschew singing, especially a solo. Coughing and sneezing must not be done loud. 'And there is also to be found such a person as, in yawning, will howl and bray like an ass; and another who, with his mouth still agape, will go on with his talk, and emits that voice, or rather that noise, which a mute produces when he tries to speak.' Indeed, much yawning should be altogether avoided: it shows that your company does not amuse you, and that you are in a vacant mood. 'And thus, when a man yawns among others who are idle and unoccupied, all they, as you may often have observed, yawn forthwith in response; as if the man had recalled to
their memory the thing which they would have done before, if only they had recollected it.' Other acts discourteous to the company you are in are—to fall asleep; to pace about the room, while others are seated in conversation; to take a letter out of your pouch, and read it; to set about paring your nails; or to hum between your teeth, play the devil's tattoo, or swing your legs. Also you must not nudge a man with your elbow in talking to him. Let us have no showing of tongue, nor overmuch stroking of beard, nor rubbing-together of hands, nor heaving of long-drawn sighs, nor shaking oneself up with a start, nor stretching, and singing-out of 'Dear me!'

Having used your pocket-handkerchief, don't open it out to inspect it.

'They are in the wrong whose mouths are always full of their babies, and their wife, and their nurse. "My little boy yesterday made me laugh so—only hear." "You never saw a sweeter child than my Momus." "My wife is so-and-so." "Said Cecchina! and could you ever believe it of such a scatterbrain!" There is no man so unoccupied that he can either reply or attend to such nonsense: and the speaker becomes a nuisance to everybody.'

In walking, you should not indulge in too much action, as by sawing with your arms; nor should you stare other passers-by in the face, as if there were some marvel there.

'Now what shall I say of those who issue from the desk into company with a pen behind the ear? or those who hold a handkerchief in the mouth? or who lay one leg along the table? or who spit on their fingers?'

Some people offend by affected humility, which is indeed a practical lying. 'With these the company has a bad bargain whenever they come to a door; for they will for no consideration in the world pass on first, but they step across, and return back,—and so fence and resist with hands and arms that at every third step it becomes necessary to battle with them, and this destroys all peace and comfort, and sometimes the business which is in hand.'

This last caveat leads on the author to a passage of importance regarding ceremoniousness in general; from which we learn that that extreme of etiquette was still almost an innovation in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, and contrary to the national bias. This may surprise some readers; for certainly the courteous Italian of the later period, for all his characteristic 'naturalness,' has not been wanting in ceremony, and the elaboration of politeness of phrase in his writing is something observable—at least to Englishmen, the

1 Cecchina is a double diminutive of Francesca; corresponding to 'Fannikin' or 'Fan.'
least ceremonious nation, I suppose, under heaven (and that is by no means a term of disparagement). I subjoin the passage from Della Casa, not a little condensed; followed by another, still more abridged, concerning the essence and right of elegant manners.

'And therefore ceremonies (which we name, as you hear, by a foreign word, as not having one of our own—which shows that our ancestors knew them not, so that they could not give them any name)—ceremonies, I say, differ little, to my thinking, from lies and dreams, on account of their emptiness. As a worthy man has more than once shown me, those solemnities which the clergy use in relation to altars and the divine offices, and towards God and sacred things, are properly called "ceremonies." But, as soon as men began to reverence one the other with artificial fashions beyond what is fitting, and to call each other "master" and "lord," bowing and cringing and bending in sign of reverence, and uncovering, and naming one another by far-sought titles, and kissing hands, as if theirs were sacred like those of priests,—somebody, as this new and silly usage had as yet no name, termed it "ceremoniousness": I think, by way of ridicule. Which usage, beyond a doubt, is not native to us but foreign and barbarous, and imported, whencesoever it be, only of late into Italy,—which, unhappy, abused, and spiritless in her doings and influence, has grown and gloried only in vain words and superfluous titles. Ceremonies, then,—if we refer to the intention of those who practise them—are a vain indication of honour and reverence towards the person to whom they are addressed, set forth in words and shows, and concerned with titles and proffers. I say "vain" in so far as we honour in seeming those whom we hold in no reverence, and do sometimes despise. And yet, that we may not depart from the customs of others, we term them "Iliustrissimo Signor" so-and-so, and "Eccellentissimo Signor" such-a-one: and in like wise we sometimes profess ourselves "most devoted servants" to some one whom we would rather disserve than serve. This usage, however, it is not for us individually to change—nay, we are compelled (as it is not our own fault, but that of the time) to second it; but this has to be done with discretion. Wherefore it is to be considered that ceremonies are practised either for profit, or for vanity, or by obligation. And every lie which is uttered for our own profit is a fraud and sin and a dishonest thing (as indeed one cannot in any sort of case lie with honour): and this sin do flatterers commit. And, if ceremonies are, as we said, lies and false flatteries, whenever we practise them with a view to gain we act like false and bad men: wherefore, with that view, no ceremony ought to be practised. Those which are practised by obligation must in no wise be omitted; for he who omits them is not only disliked but injurious. And thus he who addresses a single person as "Voni" (if it is not a person of the very lowest condition)
does him no favour: nay, were he to say "Thou," he would derogate from his due, and act insultingly and injuriously, naming him by the word which is usually reserved for poltroons and clodhoppers. And these I call "ceremonies of obligation": since they do not proceed from our own will, nor freely of our own choice, but are imposed upon us by the law—that is, by common usage. And he who is wont to be termed "Signore" by others, and himself in like manner to address others as "Signore," assumes that you contemn him or speak affrontingly when you call him simply by his name, or speak to him as "Messere," or blunt out a "You." However, in these ceremonies of obligation, certain points should be observed, so that one may not seem either vain or haughty. And first, one should have regard to the country one lives in; for every usage is not apposite in every country. And perhaps that which is adopted by the Neapolitans, whose city abounds in men of great lineage, and in barons of lofty station, would not suit the Lucchese or Florentines, who for the most part are merchants and simply gentlemen, having among them neither princes nor marquises nor any baron. Besides this, regard must be paid to the occasion, to the age and condition of the person towards whom we practise ceremony; and to our own; and, with busy people, one should cut them off altogether, or at any rate shorten them as much as one can, and rather imply than express them: which the courtiers in Rome are very expert in. Neither are men of great virtue and excellence in the habit of practising many; nor do they like or seek that many be practised towards them, not being minded to waste much thought over futilities. Nor yet should artisans and persons of low condition care to practise very elaborate ceremonies towards great men and lords: for these rather than otherwise dislike such demonstrations at their hands—for their way is to seek and expect obedience more than civilities. And thus the servant who proffers his service to his master makes a mistake: for the master takes it amiss, and esteems that the servant wants to call in question his mastership,—as if his right were not to dictate and command. If you show a little suitable abundance of politeness to those who are your inferiors, you will be called courteous. And, if you do the same to your superiors, you will be termed well-bred and agreeable. But he who should in this matter be excessive and profuse would be blamed as vain and frivolous; and perhaps even worse would befall him, for he might be held evil and sycophantical. And this is the third kind of ceremonies, which does indeed proceed from our will, and not from usage. Let us then recollect that ceremonies (as I said from the first) were naturally not necessary,—on the contrary, people

1 The English reader may fancy that this passage conflicts with that which immediately precedes; but such is not the case. In the earlier passage, the use of Thou was recommended as more civil than Thou; in the later passage, the use of Vossignoria (or other the like impersonal term, where appropriate) as more respectful than Thou.
got on perfectly well without them: as our own nation, not long ago, did almost wholly. But the illmesses of others have infected us also with this and many other infirmities. For which reasons, when we have submitted to usage, all the residue in this matter that is superfluous is a kind of licit lying: or rather, from that point onwards, not licit but forbidden—and therefore a displeasing and tedious thing to noble souls, which will not live on baubles and appearances. Vain and elaborate and superabundant ceremonies are flatteries but little covert, and indeed open and recognized by all. But there is another sort of ceremonious persons who make an art and trade of this, and keep book and document of it. To such a class of persons, a giggle; and to such another, a smile. And the more noble shall sit upon the chair, and the less noble upon the settle. Which ceremonies I think were imported from Spain into Italy. But our country has given them a poor reception, and they have taken little root here; for this so punctilious distinction of nobility is a vexation to us: and therefore no one ought to set himself up as judge, to decide who is more noble, and who less so.—To speak generally, ceremoniousness annoys most men; because by it people are prevented from living in their own way—that is, prevented from liberty, which every man desires before all things else.'

'Agreeable manners are those which afford delight, or at least do not produce any vexation, to the feelings, appetite, or imagination, of those with whom we have to do. A man should not be content with doing that which is right, but should also study to do it with grace. And grace [leggialtria] is as it were a light which shines from the fittingness of things that are well composed and well assorted the one with the other, and all of them together; without which measure even the good is not beautiful, and beauty is not pleasurable. Therefore well-bred persons should have regard to this measure, both in walking, standing, and sitting, in gesture, demeanour, and clothing, in words and in silence, and in rest and in action.'

Besides the Galateo, Monsignor della Casa has left another and shorter Tractate on Amicable Intercourse between Superiors and Inferiors (Trattato degli Uffici Comuni tra gli Amici Superiori e Inferiori). This deals not so much with the relation between those who are rich and those who are poor in the gifts of fortune, taken simply on that footing, as with the connection between

1 This is, I think, still a national trait among Italians, and a most creditable one: the endless grades and sub-grades, shades and demi-shades, of good society, as maintained in England (with an instinct comparable to the marvellous power of a bat to wing its dark way amid any number of impediments, and to be impeded by none of them), are unintelligible to ordinary Italians— or, where intelligible, detestable. Long may they remain so!
master and servant, patron and client, magnate and dependent. The
tone is grave and humane, with an adequate share of worldly wisdom
interspersed. The opening is interesting and suggestive; and shows
that the great 'Servant Controversy,' of which the pages of English
daily newspapers are now almost annually conscious in the dull season,
was by no means unknown to Italy in the sixteenth century:

'I apprehend that the ancients were free from a great and con-
tinual trouble; having their households composed, not of free men,
as is our usage, but of slaves, of whose labour they availed them-
selves, both for the comforts of life, and to maintain their re-
pute, and for the other demands of society. For, as the nature of
man is noble, copious, and erect, and far more apt to commanding
than obeying, a hard and odious task do those undertake who
assume to exercise masterdom over it, while still bold and of undi-
iminished strength, as is done now-a-days. To the ancients, in my
judgment, it was no difficult or troublesome thing to command those
who were already quelled and almost domesticated—people whom
either chains, or long fatigues, or a soul servile from very childhood,
had bereaved of pride and force. We on the contrary have to do
with souls robust, spirited, and almost unbending; which, through
the vigour of their nature, refuse and hate to be in subjection, and,
knowing themselves free, resist their masters, or at least seek and
demand (often with reason, but sometimes also without) that in com-
manding them some measure be observed. Whence it arises that
every house is full of complaints, wranglings, and questionings. And
certainly this is the fact; because we are unjust judges in our own
cause,—and, as it is true that everybody unfairly prizes his own
affairs higher than those of others, albeit of equal value, and con-
sequently always persuades himself that he has given more than he
has received, the thing cannot go on pari passu. Hence comes the
wearisome complaint of the one, "I have worn myself out in your
house," and the rebuke of the other, "I have maintained and fed
you, and treated you well."

I can afford only one more extract from this treatise; which indeed
handles its general subject-matter more on the ground of fairness,
good-feeling, and expedient compromise of conflicting claims, than
as a question of courtesy—though neither is that left out of view.

'In giving orders and assigning duties which have to be ful-
filled, let regard be paid to the condition of the individuals; so that,
if anything uncleanly is to be done, that be allotted to the lowest,
and it come not to pass (as some perverse-natured people will have
it) that noblemen\(^1\) should sweep the house, and carry slops out of the chambers. Let not things of much labour be committed to the weak, nor the degrading to the well-mannered, nor the frivolous and sportful to the aged. Moreover let the masters be heedful not to impose upon any one anything of uncommon difficulty or labour or painstaking, unless of necessity or for some great cause; for the laws of humanity command us not to make a call upon a man's diligence and solicitude beyond what is reasonable, or as if in levity—especially if it exceeds the ordinary bounds.'

With this I shut up Della Casa's volume, and take final leave of my reader—trusting that, after perusing, skimming, or skipping, so much matter concerning Courtesy, he will part from me on the terms of (at lowest) a 'courteous reader,' in more than the merely conventional sense.

\(^1\) Nobili. I presume this is to be understood literally; the household in which noblemen could be thus employed being of course one of exalted position.
EARLY

GERMAN COURTESY-BOOKS.

AN ACCOUNT OF

The Italian Guest by Thomasin von Zirclaria,

of

'How the Knight of Winsbeke taught his son,
and the Lady of Winsbeke her daughter,'

The German Cato,

and

Tammhauser's Courtly Breeding,

by

EUGENE OSWALD.
In the German literature of the 13th century, Thomasin of Zerklaere, or, in the Italian form of his name, Tommasino di Circelaria, occupies a distinguished position. This position is due not only to the fact that his writing, addressed in purest German and in a loving spirit by an Italian poet to a German public, forms a refreshing link between two nations otherwise much and long divided (though this fact in itself is remarkable enough), but also for the intrinsic value of that one of his works which we still possess. This work, by the peculiar tone of his mind, introduces a striking element of variety into a rich but (without him and Walther von der Vogelweide) somewhat one-sided period of literature. He exercised by his own work and that of his successors, a healthy influence which, though not generally acknowledged, continued down towards the age of Reform. Finally, his principal and well-preserved poem affords us a full revelation of an individuality clearly marked, thoroughly sound, wise, and enlightened, gentle in strength, whose words we can hardly read without loving him who uttered them.

Thomasin wrote two works, at least; for to the present writer there seem to be indications of his having written others beside the two which are mentioned by literary historians and critics.

The first of these was a Treatise on Courtesy. Unfortunately it is lost, but we have direct evidence of its production and contents by the mention the author makes of it in his larger work, in which he reproduces, in translation, one portion of his earlier writing, and summarizes others. We say in translation, for that lost work was not written in German. It is not so certain what the language was in which it was produced. The author himself says it was written
in welhische (the modern German wilsch). This exceedingly elastic word, for which we see no equivalent in English, and which designates equally people and things, of Romance speech or Celtic origin, from the mountains of the principality to the plains of the lower Danube, from the Ardennes to the Alps, and from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, may indeed be translated by Italian, and this, apparently, recommends itself by the fact of the author being introduced to us, by Mr Rossetti, and others, as an Italian. Thus Professor Max Müller has also translated the name of Thomasin's greater work, der welhische Gast, by 'The Italian Guest,' a translation we do not wish to disturb. But on the other hand, the Editor of Thomasin, Heinrich Rückert, translates in this connection, the word welhische without hesitation by North-French. Striking as this difference may appear at first sight, and Professor Rückert states no reasons for his rendering, there seems to us, on second consideration, good ground for it. For the langue d'oyl had towards the second half of the 12th century become a fashionable tongue, and by it had been chiefly promulgated those romances of King Arthur and the Round Table which then filled the imagination of the poets of Christendom, and with which Thomasin was well acquainted; King Richard Cœur de Lion was familiar with it and had perhaps written in it, as well as in the langue d'oc, and Thomasin, at one time, was at the court of Richard's cousin and companion in arms, Otto of Brunswick; moreover he tells us that he knew welhisch, which, if the word here meant Italian, was hardly necessary or likely to be mentioned, it being a matter of course (unless indeed he should have meant to imply, which seems to us possible, but not probable, that, beside his local dialect, he knew another and purer one: with respect to which supposition we must not forget that the Tuscan

1 als ich hän hie vor geseit
   an mün buoch von der hüfisheit
   daz ich welhschen hän gemacht.—V. 1173-75.

and:

   er mac haren manie lêrè
   die ich wider die valsheit
   in welhscher zunge hän geseit.—V. 1552-54.

2 V. above, pt. 2, pp. 5, 30.

3 In the catalogue of the Vatican library, which for a long time possessed the best M⁸, the book was entered as Hospes Italicus, seu Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis. Adelung, Nachrichten, p. 22.
dialect had not then arrived at that dignity and lustre which was afterwards conferred on it). Again, Thomasin himself in one instance at least, V. 94, uses the word welhische with reference to North-French writings. Finally, if not the langue d'oyl, at any rate the langue d'oc¹ had been frequently employed by Italian writers; and it was only in Thomasin's days, and chiefly at the Court of Frederic II. at Naples, that the Italian tongue was employed for literary composition, mostly, we are told (for the present writer has no direct knowledge of this part of the question) in love-poetry imitating the manner of the Provençal troubadours,² and rarely in sacred poetry. If then Thomasin's last work were written in Italian, it would be one of the earliest works in that language, and it is perhaps not probable that a subject like the one under consideration would be produced in first attempts to use the vernacular for literary purposes, whilst in the langue d'oyl, which already had a literature of comparatively long standing, such a work would easily fall in with the current of literary production. Thus the probability seems to us that the work was written not in Italian, but in the langue d'oyl.³

¹ We may just mention that Eschenburg, Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtung, while rejecting Italian as the language meant by welhisch, inclines to the belief that the langue d'oc was meant. Yet he does so, not by eliminating the probabilities for the langue d'oyl, but by never entertaining or stating the possibility, or let us say by ignoring, for the moment, the existence of that language. More recent writers have not followed him.

² V. 94 seems to us nearly conclusive in favour of the langue d'oyl, in this case, as against the langue d'oc. The author speaks there of adaptations, gladly received in Germany, of books taken from the welhsche: this seems plainly to refer to the imitations from Chrétien de Troyes, and other romantic poets. Werisch often stands where French is evidently meant. So Füterich, stanza 102.

³ Sam hat auch Lancelot von Säbenhoven
Aus Welisch Vlrich gedichtet.

4 Comp. on the beginnings of an Italian literature, Reth, Geschichte der italienischen Poesie. Leipzig, 1844; Th. i. p. 176—217. And Hallam, Middle Ages, chap. ix. part ii. Yet the early date of Thomasin need not militate against his having written in Italian. Frederic II., his sons Enzie and Manfred, his chancellor Pier delle Vigne, wrote in the first third of the century. Giulo of Alcamo, the oldest Sicilian singer, seems to have belonged to that time (before 1198; as he speaks of Saladin as living), Folenschiero, the oldest Florentine poet to have flourished about 1200, Mico di Siena a few years afterwards, Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, about 1220. Still these writers belong to great centres very different from Frunzi, and their productions seem very far from being on so large a plan as Thomasin's.

5 After writing this we applied to Professor Rückert at Breslau, the editor
The second work of Thomasin is the wülsche Gust, already mentioned. It is a long didactic poem, or at any rate a metrical performance of nearly fifteen thousand lines, quite finished by the author, which is note-worthy in a period abounding in unfinished productions, in works of vast plan, for which the authors had not breath enough; it possesses a certain unity which equally distinguishes it from many of the productions of his contemporaries, who began somewhere, not knowing whither they were going, and rambled on till they came to an end, though not to a conclusion; and it is in an almost complete state of preservation, having been handed down to us in many MSS., though edited for the first time but recently. It is a treatise, of a strongly exhortatory character, on the intellectual and moral life of man; the physical part of his nature being neglected, which in a similar work in our days would have justly demanded a great space both as to the preservation and development of our faculties. Of this book it has become our task "to give an account, and to translate the courtesy part of it." But first as to the individuality of the author, of his life and character, for which, however, in the absence of any biography, we are almost reduced to the scanty hints the poem gives and to such combinations as they allow us.

Thomasin van Zerclaere,\(^1\) was born about the year 1185, in the Friuli. The place he himself gives us;\(^2\) the date we obtain in this manner. Speaking of that taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens which occasioned the third crusade, that of Richard Cœur de Lion, he says it is about thirty years since we lost it:

of Thomasin, in order to arrive, if possible, at more complete clearness on this point. His courteous answer, in letter d.d. Gnadenfrei, Silesia, Sept. 10, confirms his view, strengthening it chiefly by the consent of others, and by the then ordinary use of the word wathisch, which is to be taken as meaning simply one of Romance language, and is only specified, if necessary, by the addition of the particular home of the individual, viz. wathisch from Lombardy, &c. But this would not seem to prove that the 'wathisch' could not have been used here to mean the then existing Italian; Müller and Zarncke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian; Müller and Zarncke give one instance, at least, in their dictionary, where the word, without specializing additions, means plainly Italian, vol. iii. p. 467; and all things well considered, we prefer to leave the passage as it stands, inclined as we are to accept Professor Rückert's view, but expressing it in that more guarded manner which seems fitting where no direct and irrefragable evidence is forthcoming.

\(^1\) Ich heiβ Thomasin von Zerclaere, v. 75.

\(^2\) Ich bin von Friüle geborn, v. 71.
They and Duo and that of mentions explaining so nature and appear. not in see. Aquileja, documents, not back other outside p. particular. And pclesiaj s. Rubeis, 211-42, age. The little, ' Ich thbe second page daughters concerning S. Rubeis, S. 518. Whilst Bernard, men of German origin in these border-lands. Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil, Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.

cz sint wol zweir min drizec\(^1\) jár dez wirs verlurn.\(^2\) that is, it is 30 years less \(2 = 28\) years; and in another passage he mentions that, at the time of writing his poem, he was about 30 years of age,\(^3\) and the whole poem was rapidly written, the first eight cantos in as many months. Thus, 1187 being known for the taking of Jerusalem, we obtain 1215 as the date of the poem, and reckoning back again, 1185 as the year of the author's birth.

As to the name, it seems to point to a family of noble birth, though not of very exalted standing. And here we get the only glimmer from outside the book itself. The author himself, though communicative enough, is silent on his family relations, and perhaps, it seems to us, not unintentionally. Who were his father and mother does not appear. But the family name has been found four times\(^4\) in documents, nearly contemporary with the poem, and a Bernardus de Circlaria, who appears as a witness to a contract, in the years 1186 and 1188, was perhaps the father, or an uncle, of our author. The nature of the documents\(^5\) seems to show that he, as well as the two other witnesses mentioned, owed feudal service to the Patriarch of Aquileja, and were perhaps his employés in the secular affairs of the see.\(^6\) But, scarcely have we had time to rejoice at so much, or even so little, tangible information, when we are met by the difficulty of explaining the family-name. "Of Zerclaere" is plainly a patronymic

\(^{1}\) Duo de triginta.  
\(^{2}\) V. 11717-18; \(30 - 2 = 28\).  
\(^{3}\) Ich bin niht alt drizec jár, v. 2445.  

The present Editor has not been able to verify these quotations, the particular work of Ughelli not being in the British Museum, whilst of that of Rubeis, only a few and, to us, irrelevant chapters are accessible, contained in S. Chromatii Script. Utin. 1816.

\(^{5}\) They are called de Glemona and Perchtenstein, and distinctly designated, Rubeis, s. 598 A., as employés of the Patriarch. The German name of the second gives some slight support to our theory, as showing the employment of Germans or men of German origin in these border-lands.

\(^{6}\) Whilst this passes through the press, we receive a genealogical statement concerning Bernard, the knight of Circlaria. He appears to have had two daughters only. MSS. Nicoletti. Vita del Patr. Aquil, Bertoldo. Vide note, page 89.
of local origin; but there is no place called Circlaria to be found in that Friuli where Thomasin was born, and where Bernard lived. The suggestion has been made, and immediately rejected, to connect the name with Zirklach, a place in Carniola (Krain). Now we are inclined to take up again this supposition, and believe it to be pregnant with the explanation of much in the poem which requires explanation and has not received it. Our theory is that Circlaria or Zerclaere, which latter is Thomasin's version, the former that of the latinizing notary, is a corruption of the German Zirklach, and that the author, though born in Friuli, was descended, in the first or second degree, from a German family from Krain or Carniola, who had immigrated into the Friul.

He says indeed that he is a thorough Italian, or at least Welhisch, and apologizes for his shortcomings in German. But the former may be quite an ordinary and legitimate expression for one born of an Italian mother in Italy, though her husband were a German, or for the grandson of Italianized Germans; and the shortcomings are indeed so small that the author's great familiarity and sympathy with German much more require an explanation than his rare insufficiencies, while his speech has at the same time not unfrequently a provincial character which points quite unmistakably to the Duchy of Austria and to Carinthia or Styria. Yet his knowledge evidently flows healthily and about equally from two sources—literary study and conversational opportunity. And the latter must have been more than that which frequency of talk with strangers or acquaintances affords: such intimate knowledge as his is not acquired unless the heart undertake a part of the teaching. At first we were inclined

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1 Thus the German writers, especially Karajan at Vienna; the maps confirm them. But our Italian friends furnish us with the information, that in the 14th century, an estate called Cerclaria existed near Cividale.—Prope Civitatem Austriam erant bona in loco appellato Cerclaria, ut in documento anni 1335, 6 Nov., ut in actis Stephani Condelarii, notarii de Civitate,' Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.

2 The name appears in the MSS, in the following variations: Zerclaere, — Zirkler, — Tirkler, — Tirkler, — Tirkler, — Verrere (Ferrara), the last of these in a quite recent copy, which was only made in the 18th century, and to which no authority attaches. Haupt, ut supra, p. 242.—To this add: Thomasin von Clair, in Püterich von Reicherhaus, 15th century, quoted further on.

3 69. Wan ich vil gar ein wilisch bin.
to suppose him to have been married to a German lady, and to have
written this poem in the retirement of an early widowerhood.†
To such a bereavement the gravity and mellowness of his thoughts
and feelings may point, together with the fact that the retirement in
which he wrote it‡ was not an habitual mood of life with him, that on
its conclusion he reckoned upon returning to the gaieties of the world
which he had formerly shared,§ that it occupied about a year,¶
a period on which he strongly insists as the right period of mourning
after the loss of husband or wife, and which he might well wish to
fill up with this consoling and absorbing business of his ten lay-
sermons, for so they may be called. Nor need this hypothesis be
necessarily abandoned in favour of that of his distant German
descent: the grandson of a German family, born in Italy, he may
have returned to the home of his fathers, there to wed a German
wife.

In all this inquiry it is right to bear in mind that we have not to
do with countries far distant from each other, that Krain and Friuli are
border-lands, where Italian, German, and Slav elements are greatly
mingled, partly in juxtaposition, and that part of Friuli only
is Italian, while another part, still Austrian, has belonged to
the Empire not only, but to Germany, from Otho I., at least, to the
disruption of Germany by the war of 1866.

Those shortcomings in language just alluded to, and which in a
general way he declares himself conscious of, are, we may say this in

† Leaving him, perhaps, with a son; v. 12660-63. But the passage is not
conclusive.—That, at the time of writing the 'Italian Guest,' he was not mar-
rried, is certain from v. 4097: "ob ich ein wip haben solde."
‡ Dô du mit riter und mit vrouwen
Plaëge buhurt und tanz schouwen,
Dô was ich harte gern bi dir:
Wan dô, geloubestu ouch mir,
Do du woldest ze hove sîn
Unter den liuten, dô was min
Geloube daz ich were baz
Bi dir dan inder, wizze daz.—V. 12241-48.
§ Mich luste harte wol ze schouwen
Beidin riter unde vrouwen,
Doch dunket mich daz baz getân
Daz ich mich ir ein wile ân.—V. 12319-22.
¶ V. 12278-82.
passing, to us moderns by no means considerable.\(^1\) Many of them an unguided modern ear would not even detect. They are so incon-
siderable, that one of the first modern writers who occupied himself with Thomasin inclined to the belief that the writer was purely a German who, for reasons of his own, assumed the characters of a foreigner, as a *nom de plume* may be assumed.\(^2\) They consist, for the greater part, in deficiencies of ear as to rhyming, and in occasion-
ally doubtful accents as to rhythm. Thomasin’s contemporaries had arrived at a surprising, perhaps at a pedantic, exactness as to their rhymes, which is far from having descended to Schiller and Goethe, who can hardly lay claim to greater purity than Thomasin. Besides this, by us very pardonable, want of delicacy in hearing, a few instances occur where our author uses a word drawn from the Italian, which, however, may very well have already belonged to that SouthGerman dialect that surrounded him, and need not have been intro-
duced by him, who starts with the intention not to “streak with foreign words his German speech,”\(^3\) an intention he very laudably carries out, and wherein the immense majority of later German writers have not followed him.

In one or two instances a technical or political term occurs to him more readily in Italian than in German;\(^4\) and in one instance he naively confesses that he does not know the German for a shrub of which he has got something to say.\(^5\)

These two latter details seem to us to support the theory that his education and early impressions belong to Italy, and that when he wrote his great work, he was in Germany—a fact otherwise patent, and far from those who might have furnished him with the necessary translation.

He evidently had the best education which his age could afford. He was not an ecclesiastic when he wrote the Italian Guest, though,

\(^1\) V. 55-70. Wise people, he thinks, will not mind them; and again: v. 1681-86.
\(^2\) Eschenburg, Denkmäler, p. 114-44.
\(^3\) V. 35-42.
\(^4\) V. 845.—*Potestât* = mayorality = podestaria. Vide also *temperin*, for *to cut*, as applied to the penknife, the Italian *temperium*; v. 12232.
\(^5\) Ez ist ein krut des enkan ich niht genennen tusche, v. 14086, *et seq.* He means the Oleander (*Nerium Oleander, L.*).
from what we know of his reading, it is not impossible that he entered on the career of one, and, for reasons unknown to us, left it. Ecclesiastical influences had surrounded him at some time in his life, as was natural enough if that Bernardus de Circlaria whom we have mentioned as connected with the Patriarch of Aquileja, was really his father or uncle. His later education may have lain more in the direction of the Law Schools. He had for his time a respectable knowledge of physics and astronomy. Whether his university was Bologna or Padua will remain undecided, but it was probably one of the two. In riper years he was conscious, as many an other man has been since, that he might have worked harder when at college. But his reading was extensive and varied. The philosophers Seneca and Boethius are the ancient authors who have left the strongest traces on his mind. With Horace, too, he was familiar, but to him Thomasin’s graver mind reverts less frequently. Among the fathers, Tertullian and St Augustine were read by him; among the Latin authors of the Middle Ages, Gregory the Great—the only one whom he cites directly,—John of Salisbury, Petrus Alphonsus, Isidore of Sevilla, and especially Hildebert of Tours (1037—1134) made the greatest impression on him. His reading was not empty book-learning, it entered the flesh and blood of his mind, and when he quotes, it is not by taking a volume from the shelf of a library, as we must, but from the stores of his memory, which served him as a commonplace book,—a memory which must have been excellent, and played him no evil trick, though his quotations are not textual. It is worth while to say that they have been verified, with very great pains, by his German editor, H. Rückert.

With the romantic literature of his time he was well acquainted, and in a passage, hereafter to be referred to again, he seems to allude to the titles of several romances which to us are lost. He not un-

1 V. 2285-420.  
2 Rückert, Vorwort, p. xi.  
3 Says the pen to the author:  
Dō du dā ze schuelen waren  
Dō nuotestu mich niht só bar. v. 12256-57.  
4 Petrus Alphonsus, a Jew, baptized in 1106, 44 years of age, wrote Dialogi XII. contra Judaeos, Disciplina clericorum.  
5 Isidor of Sevilla (Sententiarum libri tres), p. 636.
frequently uses the names of the chief characters of them in illustrations; he would be certain in this to tread on ground familiar to his readers—for such he expects to find, not hearers only, like some of his contemporaries who looked to the recital or singing of their pieces rather than to their being companions of solitude. But while in his youth, when he wrote the Courtesy book to please a lady,¹ he probably enjoyed those adventurous tales with a naïve pleasure; at the time when his graver mind produced the Italian Guest, they appeared to him insufficient and somewhat empty, plays of the fancy chiefly, not always without a deeper hidden meaning, yet on the whole like in a book the pictures which might amuse the younger or more untutored mind, while the reading of the text was reserved for the riper and chastened intellect. And thus he finds himself in opposition, nowhere sharply expressed, yet not the less decided, to those knightly romances; and though the form of his book be in no way similar to Don Quixote, yet its tendency and its action on contemporary literature is somewhat like that of Cervantes. True, the production of poems of knightly adventure went on, and several of the principal of those books, proceeding from and destined for a limited circle in the nation, were written after Thomasin uttered his appeal from Romance to Real life, from the Ideal of a Class to the Ideal of Man; but still he is at the head of that movement of reaction in which he was immediately followed by the author of Frédane,² and which finally overcame the knightly romance, and continued till towards the Reformation the way for which it distantly prepared. And thus, whatever may justly be urged against directly didactic poetry, the value of Thomasin's services in the cause of a clearer perception of Human Life must be estimated very highly.

As to the lyrical poets of the age, he is once polemical against Walther von der Vogelweide, who, though favourable to a new crusade, objected to the collections for the papal treasury made on that occasion, whilst Thomasin admitted of no critical restrictions in his zeal for the struggle to regain the Holy Land,—a struggle which, to

¹ Ich ton ez einer woman ze ēre,
Diu bat mich der selben ūre.—V. 4555-56.
² Vide Max Müller, German Classics, p. xvii. and 119-21.
his mind, presented itself as indissolubly connected with the papal authority, and with respect to which a mere maker of love-songs was at least to be suspected of lukewarmness, and of being little qualified to give counsel. "For the poet," he says,—

"For the poet again it is not seemly
To be a liar,
Since both he and the preacher
Are to support Truth.
A certain man might (now)
With one word do more good to Christendom
Than he can do it ever after.
Methinks that all his singing
Both in short measure and in long,
Cannot have pleased God so much
As that one thing must displease him,
Since he hath befooled thousands
So that they have paid no heed
To God's and the Pope's command."

Walther is not mentioned; but the passage evidently relates to him whose partial opposition might easily lead men further away than he intended from the undertaking which he himself seems to have had at heart perhaps as much as Thomasin. Somewhat later he even set out personally on a Crusade, though he did not reach the Holy Land. But he clung to the Imperial authority as opposed to the Papal. And Thomasin was a Guelph. The two poets probably met personally, when Walther visited the court of the Patriarch of Aquileja. But then, as now, it was difficult for men of opposite camps, especially if difference of temper and tastes were added, to understand each other, and find out what common ground might be possessed by both.

This, however, is the only passage in which some bitterness mixes.

1 "Nel secolo stesso (XIII) frequentò la corte del Patriarca d'Aquileja Volftero di Leubrechtkirchen (1204-1218) il minnesinger tedesco Walter von der Vogelweide." From notes, the result of researches, made by Doctor Vincento Joppi and Signor Antonio Joppi, in the archives of Udine, Vicenza, Aquileja, and Venice, for the special purpose of this essay, and communicated to the present writer by the courtesy of Professor Quinto Maddalozzo at Vicenza, with whom he was brought in connection by his kind friend Dr Francesco Genala at Soresina. To all these gentlemen best thanks are due, and tendered.
in Thomasin's criticisms; and it resulted from his idea of the high office belonging to the Poet, an office which he, however, devoted to Mother Church, was not willing to rank beneath that of the Preacher. Indeed this one idea pervades his book: Mind is King. Frequent are his utterances in this sense. Thus he says that Solomon is known to us more by his writings than by his having been a great ruler.¹ And he complains that learning in his days was not more general, and that, when found, it was not more honoured.

LEARNING AND WISDOM NO LONGER HONOURED.

Wā ist nu Aristōteles,
Zēnō und Parmenides,
Platō und Pytagoras?
wā ist och Anaxāgoras?
nu wizzet daz mich dunket des,
und lebt hiut Aristōteles,
im entet dehein ander
kūnic daz im Alexander
ze ēren tet dī wil er lebt.

Where are now Aristotle,
Zeno and Parmenides,
Plato and Pythagoras?
Again where is Anaxagoras?
Now know ye that it seems to me
That if Aristotle lived now-a-days
No other
King would do by him what Alexander
Did in his honour while he lived.²

Yet, with all his respect for learning, it is not the mere accumulation of facts, the diffusion of useful knowledge which he aims at; and the real wisdom of life stands in his eyes higher than erudition:

WISDOM PREFERABLE TO LEARNING.

Der kan Grammaticā wol
der rehte lebet als er sol.
ob er niht rehte sprechen kan,
so ist er doch ein wise man.

He knows grammar well
Who lives justly, as he ought.
Though he cannot speak correctly
Yet he is a wise man.³

With respect to that said accumulation of knowledge, he gives a rule of study, and utters a warning which has its value even in these days of competitive and other examinations when some one has said as a thing to be rejoiced at, and many have repeated it, "He who runs may read:"

¹ Salomōn der ist mère, v. 9217.
Erkant der werlde durch sin lère
Danne durch sin kūnicriche,
Daz geloubet sicherliche.
² V. 5083-93.
³ V. 8999-9002.
READ NOT HASTILY NOR TOO MUCH.

Der pfaffe der vil buoche hät
si stato an ein von minem rât,
wann wil ers eins tags überschen
gar, so mac daz niht geschehen
daz er vernem ir aller sin.

man siht niht wol durch eine tür,
ob man ze snell wil loufen vür.

And again:

Ein buoche sol lange wern.
A book shall last a long time.2

Thomasin’s knowledge of contemporary history is very great, and
he seems to have watched carefully the political transactions of his
time; witness his allusions to the history of King John of England,3
to the revolutions of the Greek empire,4 and so on.

No Italian patriotism is to be found in Thomasin." The time for
such national and oppositional feeling had not yet come. When he
speaks of Unity,5 in connection with Rome, it seems to us that his
meaning must be twisted to be made to refer to the modern idea of
Italian unity which had not then dawned: it is rather the Unity of
Christendom which occupied him; and in bewailing its divisions, it is
natural for him to regret the loss of the great power of ancient Rome,
the capital of the old Empire, and, to him, in uninterrupted line, of
the Christian world. Rome once commanded the universe, he says;
now her voice is mocked even at Viterbo.6 The name of Italy does
not occur. With Italian affairs, especially those of Lombardy and
Tuscany, he shows himself especially acquainted, and in his survey of

1 V. 1905-9.
2 V. 14626. Eschenburg; 'Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst' reads
this line: 'MEIN buoche sol lange wern,' which would recall Horace’s 'Exegi
monumentum are perennius,' and is not incompatible with the considerable
consciousness of his own value which Thomasin elsewhere shows.
3 V. 3423-26.
4 V. 10607 et seqq.; and again, v. 11003-22. Vide also his Survey of
Europe, v. 2421-96.
5 V. 2423-39.
6 Man vürht si ze Biterbe niht, v. 2438. Of a period but slightly anterior,
that of Thomas à Beckett, Machiavelli says: mentre che il Papa aveva tanta
autorità nei principi longinqui, non poteva farsi ubbidire dai Romani; dai
quali non potette impetrare di potere stare in Roma, ancorchè promettese
d’altro che dell ecclesiastico non si trattaglìare: tanto le cose che paiono sono
più discosto che d’appresso temute. Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.
the state of the Christian world\(^1\) the different parts of Italy occupy more space than, geographically, would be their due. Yet, the names of Italian cities are Germanized,\(^2\) and in complaining of the real or apparent decay of the Lombard towns, which he witnessed as a recent event and ascribed to their own faults,\(^3\) he nowhere thinks of recommending, as a remedy, what would now be called a national policy, and what must have appeared to him as a revolt against the universality of the Christian empire, as represented by Pope and Caesar.

In his twenty-third year we find our author at the court of the Emperor Otho IV., that is, among the Guelphs. We obtain his age at that period by comparing our former calculation with the ascertained date of Otho's presence in Lombardy, 1209, and his subsequent coronation in Rome, Sept. 27. Perhaps business connected with the see of Aquileja may have led Thomasin to go to court, but his sympathies were then with the Emperor's cause, which, for the moment, was the Pope's. Not without misgiving he saw the over-confidence of that ruler, whose decline though not his death he was to witness before the *welhische Gast* was finished. But whilst he felt compelled to pass over to the other side, he is far from insulting his ancient chief.

Previous to giving a passage very characteristic both of our author's heart and of his way of rising, in the expounding of matters of courtesy, to considerations of weightier import, it may not be unwelcome to briefly summarize the principal events of that period as far as Italy and Germany, Pope and Emperor, are concerned.

Henry VI.—the VI. as king of Germany, though the V. only as Emperor, the first German Henry, Otho I.'s father, never having borne the Imperial Crown\(^4\)—had died after having united the two Sicilies to the other possessions of the Hohenstaufen family, leaving an only son, Frederic II., in tender years (1197). This grand-child of Frederic Barbarossa was under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. His mother, Constantia, by sacrificing to the Pope important rights of the

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\(^1\) V. 2421-96.
\(^2\) Riterbo, Berne, Presse = Viterbo, Verona, Brescia.
\(^3\) V. 2433-51.
\(^4\) German writers are apt to confound the two dignities: Machiavelli's (who is more exact) Henry I. is their Henry II., and so on.
crown, had procured his coronation as king of the Sicilies. But no similar influence could restrain the princes of Germany from falling away from their promised allegiance to a child three years of age. His uncle, duke Philip of Suabia, seized upon the crown on one hand, whilst the Guelph party elected an anti-king in Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and of Mathilda, Henry II.'s of England daughter. Otho had distinguished himself among the fighting men of his uncle Richard Cœur de Lion, and now waged, with changing fortunes, a ten years' war of North against South, of Guelph against Ghibellin. After Philip of Suabia had been murdered, a victim to the private revenge of Otho of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of the Bavarian kings, the kingly and imperial dignities accrued for a space of four years (1208—1212) wholly to Otho of Brunswick. He was crowned by Pope Innocent in 1209, who, however, in the midst of Otho's victorious march through Italy, pronounced excommunication against him for having resumed the sovereignty of Ancona and Spoleto, and thus curtailed the papal states, and opposed to him his apparently half-forgotten ward, Frederic II., "our child" as Thomasin affectionately calls him. Abandoned by many of his friends, surrounded by enemies, and in luckless alliance with King John Lackland, he was beaten at Bouvines in 1214 by Philip Augustus of France, but continued fighting for his position, and died in 1218. At the date of our poem he was evidently hard beset. It is of this man our author speaks with reference to Moderation in Blazonry.

When Sir Otho was in Lombardy,
With whom things have now gone hard,
And had also come to Rome,
As you probably have heard,
I came there at that time,
And was in his court, that is true,

1 Nu nemet onch bilde då bi,
wie unser kint gestigen si.
dò man gewis sin wolde
daz er fullen vliessen solde,
dò gab im got tiuschiu laut, &c.

. . . diventò Ottone nemico del Pontifice, occupò la Romagna, e ordinava di assalire il regno; per la qual cosa il Papa lo scomunicò, in modo ch'è de ciascheduno abbandonato, e gli Elettori elessero per imperadore Federigo re di Napoli.—Machiavelli, Istorie Fiorentine, lib. i.
About eight weeks and more:
Then this displeased me exceedingly
That there appeared in his shield
No less than three lions and half an eagle.
That was doing it immoderately
In two directions, surely.
Three lions were too much.
He who wishes to bear (in his shield) one lion,
If he can direct his course of action by such a model,
Him I think an upright man.
Likewise you shall know
That half an Eagle is not sound:
I will in this to you not lie:
Half an Eagle cannot fly.
That was in Little and in Much
Immoderation, if you will understand it.
I have an inkling that it was to signify
What was to come afterwards.
One lion shows highmindedness,
Three lions shows arrogance.
He who has the heart of three lions,
Follows the counsel of arrogance;
If one has the spirit of one lion
Methinks that he does enough.
The eagle flies very high,
His high flight betokens honour,
And so truly betokens
Half an eagle the parting of honour.
Now every one will see
That Sir Otho has
Parted with the Empire by arrogance.
He who wishes to ascend
With the hearts of three lions beyond the spirit of man,
He must shortly descend in the course of victory:
However high half an eagle might be,
He could not but fall, that is true.
I do not say this in order
To reproach him in any way
With being arrogant.
Were I to do so, it would not seem to me good.
For however he has fared
I will yet guard myself
Not to speak evil of him,
Since I should weaken myself
By doing so; it shall not happen
If I can help it.
But what I have said,
I have said,
That people may get sense,
Otherwise I should not have said it,
Yet I may well say it
That every one may mark it,
And take an example thereby
That things have happened thus with him.

Innocent III. had died in 1216, two years before the luckless Emperor. His death is not mentioned by Thomasin, and had it occurred at the time of the writing of *der wethische Gart*, it would in all probability not have been passed over by the poet, who is sufficiently in the habit of moralizing on contemporary events, and who moreover was evidently a strong adherent of Innocent, and much under the influence of that pope, Thomasin's fervent exhortation to a new Crusade being, as H. Rückert has well shown, chiefly a paraphrase of the Bull of Innocent. This observation, if we desire further confirmation of the date we have assigned to the poem, singularly narrows the calculation. The poem cannot have been written before 1215, and not after 1216, and we know that the first eight cantos were written in as many months.

Whether when Frederic II. in his time came into collision with the Pope, Thomasin was capable of retaining his affectionate allegiance for "our child," may fairly be doubted. His old Guelph reminiscences, his unflagging adherence to the spiritual power and to orthodoxy, his very veneration for mind as distinguished from outward authority, his associations with clerical learning, the small store he set on princes and the nobility, unless they were officering to the welfare of the community of their fellow-men; all this must have drawn him towards, if not into, the ranks of those who hunted to death that brilliant ruler. But we are allowed, from Thomasin's bearing towards the falling Otho, to conclude that if his allegiance would be withdrawn from Frederic, somewhat of his affection would remain, and his withdrawal would be marked, not by the fiery spirit of the zealous renegade, but by the sad thoughts of one who in grievous disappointment cuts himself off from old ties, respecting the fallen because he respects himself, of whom the lost one was a part. But this is speculation: with the death of Innocent, the image of Thomasin, while yet a young man,
recedes from our view. Whatever fights he fought, whatever books he wrote, have vanished into the gray abyss. Whatever his contemporaries may have learnt from him, whether or not they felt the debt which the world owes, for the example he sets, to a man of great mind and stout heart, they do not speak of him. One single exception to this exists: his death is mentioned, again, in the shadowy manner which surrounds him, and which we have tried somewhat to clear up: no date is affixed, in the registers of the cathedral of Aquileja, to the bare record of his demise. Yet we learn by it that he did enter, or re-enter, the priesthood, and attained the dignity of a Canon.\(^1\) We have the 'Italian Guest;' the rest is silence. And it remains to us but very briefly to sum up the man's character, and that of his book.

A man who has seen life and tasted its sweets, who has acquired the best knowledge his time could give him, and has found something higher; thinking knowledge of small account when not improving wisdom; going in all things to the root of the matter; sufficiently penetrated with the then current modes of viewing human life to enable him to understand his time, yet himself penetrating through the elegant skins and savoury flesh of the fruit to the very kernel; ascending from courtesy to goodness, from nobility of rank to nobleness of heart; seeing in all station and dignity but an office and an obligation, exchanging for a real respect for women, as one half of God's creation of noble human beings, that unhealthy tone of gallantry\(^2\) which his age had carried to its utmost excess, and which has so constantly become the flimsy cover of real wrong; loudly proclaiming, in accents that remind us of Robert Burns, and of Schiller, the indestructible privileges of man in even the humblest condition; modest, yet self-conscious; convinced that he has to say things worth hearing, yet unwilling to speak to the utterly corrupt, while indefatigable in

\(^1\) (Sine anno)... Obitus Tomasini de Cerclara Canonici Aquilejensis. Ex necrologio ecclesie Aquilejensis. Found by Signori Joppi, and communicated by Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza to the present writer, who is happy to call to this newly-discovered fact the attention of the German historians of literature.

\(^2\) "Lyrical poetry... degenerated into an unworthy idolatry of ladies," Max Müller. The German Classics, xvii.
drawing forth the germs of good in those who are fit and inclined to hear his teaching; wholly indifferent to the mockeries of the mob, though ready to value the good opinion of the honourable and the distinguished; most delicate in his appreciation of things and persons, drawing a teaching from apparently empty forms, finding "sermons in stones and good in everything;" always firm of purpose, surprising us sometimes by the refinement of feeling which accompanies the justness of his thought; almost always grave, rarely stern, grave with the gravity of one mellowed by misfortune and meditation, full of sympathy in contact, of illustration in speech; incessantly warring, above all, against all unsteadiness and all frivolity, sometimes with a touch of fun and real humour; ever generous to the fallen; gentle and mild to all men, barring heretics—thus appears to us Thomasin, as unconsciously painted by himself.

A few extracts will justify the apparent extravagance of our praise, the reader being pleased to remember what was that age of almost universal oppression—so, at least, it appears to us—wherein our author wrote.

And first as to heretics. Their existence in Lombardy and elsewhere having been observed by him, and treated as an unmitigated evil, seeing that, in his eyes, the heretic is a man

To whom anything seems good
That he happens to like doing,

he is betrayed into this grim joke:

ON HERETICS.
Lombardy would be exceedingly well off
Had she . . . the Lord of Austria

1 Besser linte spot ist mir unmire.
Hän ich Gâweis hulde wol,
Von reht min Key spotten sol. v. 76-78.

Most of our readers are familiar with the personages of the King Arthur cycle of legends. To others, we could perhaps not bring home in a more compendious form the force of the allusions to Gâwein (= Owain) and Key (= Kai) than by this passage from the Lady of the Fountain: "In very truth, said Gwenhyvar, it were better thou wert hanged, Kai, than to use such uncourteous speech towards a man like Owain." Lady Guest's Mabinogian, Lady of the Fountain, Welsh text, vol. i. p. 1—38, Engl. transl. 39—84.

2 In Provence, where they have expelled Steadiness, v. 2471-72; in Milan, v. 2489.
Who knows how to see the heretics.
He would find there a fine opportunity for doing justice;
He does not wish the devil
Should break his teeth at once
When he eats them, therefore he has them
Well boiled and roasted.

This Lord of Austria, let it be said in passing, is Leopold VI.¹ (1198—1230), surnamed *pater clericorum*, the successor of that Leopold with whom Richard Cœur de Lion had a mutually unpleasant acquaintance, and otherwise, it appears, a man not without good parts; at any rate, a patron of the arts. Other testimony, contemporary and later, may be adduced, that the heretic-hunt did not do all the good that was expected. The almost complete eradication of Protestantism from Austria was reserved for later princes and another dynasty.

Whilst, however, inclined to excuse, to a great extent, by the prevalent views of the age, the savageness of feeling expressed by a man otherwise so gentle, we must yet observe that outside the ranks of the heretics themselves, there must then have been some people pleading, in the spirit of our own age, for that toleration which most of the heretics themselves, if we are to judge them by their mental descendant, Calvin, would be so little inclined to give. For Thomasin himself introduces such a one in conversation, in order to conquer what would appear to him but specious arguments. After having expatiated on the insufficiency of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and claimed the arm of the secular power, he continues:

Here says perhaps a man,
Who cannot rightly understand the matter:
One ought not to force any one
Into right and sound belief.
"We even leave the Jews unhurt,
Though they do not wish to be Christians."
I will give him answer:
If my child would not live
According to my wish, as his duty is to do,
I should beat him and censure him well.
But if your child would not live
Accordingly, and as by rights he ought,

¹ Not Leopold VII., as Rücker has it in his notes, p. 603, by a misprint probably.
I should not trouble myself about beating him; you had better do that. Thus shall act the Church; she shall well coerce her own children and shall leave strange children subject to their own fathers. Why should she coerce the Jews in any way? They do not belong to her. As to heretics, it is her part to coerce them, since they truly were her children. If a man is baptized, he is her child from that time; if he afterwards wishes to depart from her, oh, believe me, one ought to coerce him into acting rightly and well. And let there be secular judgment if the ecclesiastical will not avail.

Poor as this reasoning may appear to us, there is perhaps cause for congratulation in it: if generally accepted, it protected at least one class of human beings—for we can hardly say of the community—against bigotry, and may have paved the way, by the mere fact of some unbelievers remaining unpersecuted, to broader views. Things might have been worse. Thomasin helped to prepare the fifth Crusade; not only the first, but also the third, only a quarter of a century before he wrote, were almost, as a matter of course, ushered in by a grand massacre of Jews.¹

Yet one very important observation must be made in excuse of Thomasin and his contemporaries: to us, at least to many, let us hope to most of us, heresy is a matter of dogma, and we are capable of distinguishing between the holding of theological opinions and the

¹ Michaud, Croisades, Livre ii.—Richard of Devizes, Lest. 3.—: About that solemn hour, in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion dispatched their blood-suckers with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly, spared its vermin.—Bohn's Edition.—Similar testimony abounds.
doing of moral acts. Not so with Thomasin; the heretic is so, in his eyes, because he is a bad and immoral man. He is a being

To whom anything seems good
That he happens to like doing,

and this he thinks he can safely assert from having known a thousand of them (v. 11300). And therefore it is useless to argue with heretics: they are without doctrine and without sense (v. 11303). And Thomasin, while wishing to encourage, enlighten, and strengthen those whose dispositions are on the whole good, yet thinks it useless to occupy himself with those who are already thoroughly bad. Thus, in his Introduction, he wishes his book to fall into the hands of no unsteady man, and towards the conclusion of his book, he is very emphatic on this point. Addressing his work, as he sends it out into the world, he says:

Now be exhorted, Italian Guest,
When you have hold of a noble branch,
Let not yourself be drawn from it
By a bad thorn. Though
One may say to the wolf
The Lord’s prayer all day long,
He yet will never speak anything
Like a lamb. Thus it happens
With the bad man, whatever one say to him,
It goes, as far as truth is concerned,
In by the one ear and out by the other.
How could there be any lasting impression
Where a person does not think over (what has been said)?
Know ye that a worthless person
Does not like to force his thoughts
Away from frivolous things to good.
Know ye that one cannot fill
A sack with holes in it.

Therefore, my book, shalt thou remain
With him who is willing to write you
Into his heart and spirit.

1 Thus, even half a century later, Saint Louis, fiercer than Thomasin, advises his court: “So I say to you, said the King, that no one, if he is not a very learned clerk, ought to dispute with them; but a layman when he hears the Christian law gainsaid, should not defend it except with the sword, which he should drive into the gainsayer's body as far as he can make it go.” Joinville, ed. Michel et Didot. 1858.—Bohn’s ed. p. 362. (Chronicles of the Crusades.)
And again:

No man shall show to his lady-love,
Either through carelessness, or through lovingness,
Nor to his lord, nor to his lady,
Nor to his friend,
This my speech,
Unless virtue appear in them.

It may be difficult for Thomasin to conciliate with his orthodox Christianity, this repelling of those who are not already virtuous; but perhaps he only exaggerates the truth, that no fruit can be expected where there is no germ, a truth which in the following form recommends itself to, and will be approved by, educators:

To him who is virtuous or becoming so
To him I give in friendship
My book, that with it
He may steer his beautiful manners.¹
Let him also with good action
Improve what he has
Read in my book;
Let him be exhorted thereto.
But he who has no good breeding and does not know how to act handsomely²
Let him have nothing to do with it.
No teaching has power
To make him virtuous
In whom virtue is not inherent.
You may strike the water all day long
And yet it will not give fire;³
Since to have fire is not in its nature.
However cold a stone be
Yet with cunning one wins
Fire out of it, since that is in it.
If there be sense in a man
However slow he may be to good works
Yet one may with teaching bring him
To virtue and piety.
Know ye this as a truth;
Tinder brings out the fire well,

¹ We have intentionally preferred this literal translation to one which, though more elegant, would wash out the original colouring of the thought.
² Swer nien hat zuht und schoene sīte. The translator has tried to come as nearly as seemed possible to him, to a convenient word expressing somewhat the καλοκαιρίων of the ancients. "Handsome is that handsome does."
³ Strike the water—the old way, which some of our generation still recollect, of striking sparks with a steel out of flint, and catch them up with tinder.
Yet no one must suppose
That it could make the fire.
Thus teaching rouses into waking
The sense, and yet cannot make it.

The following extracts hardly require comment.

OVER-ARDENT LOVE.

Swer einem wib ze holt ist,
dem ist wé zaller vrist.
swenners niht gesehen mac,
só tobet er naht unde tac.
hey waz er gedenkend ist
unnützer diuge zaller vrist !
und sehe man waz er tuot
mit gedanke in sinem muot,
er müeste sich sin schamen sère.

If one is overfond of a woman,
His heart aches at all times.
When he may not see her,
He rages night and day.
Hey, what useless things
He is thinking of always!
And were one to see what he does
With his thoughts in his mind
He would have justly to be ashamed of himself.¹

LOVE.

Ein leglichr hát wol die sinne
daz er weiz, möht man koufen minne,
daz diu minn wéer unde gar :
sus ist diu minne vrí, deist wár.
swer wænet koufen minn umb guot,
der erkennet weder minn noch muot,
wan bédii muot und minne
suhn uns bejagen unser sinne
und unser zuht niht unser guot.

Everyone may have the sense
To know that if one could buy Love,
Love were a slave:
Now love is freeborn, that is true.
He who fancies he can buy love for riches
He knows not the nature either of
Love or of the Soul:
Since both the Soul and Love
Ought to conquer our senses
And our manners, not our goods.²

NO MAN WHOLLY A SLAVE.

Ein man ist niht eigen gar,
daz sol man wizen wol wür wár.
swer sin went, hät niht vernomen
daz daz beste teil ist üz genomen :
wan die sële und den gedane
nie dehein man bedwane.

A man is not wholly another’s,
That shall you truly know.
He who fancies so, has not learnt
That the best part (of man) is excepted :
Since the Soul and the Thoughts
No man ever forced.³

IT IS BETTER TO SUFFER OPPRESSION THAN TO INFlict IT.

Ob dich din herre schendet sère,
daz ist dir niht só gróz unére
sò, daz du zaller vrist
mit dem dinge unnüezec bist
daz du dir einu vrien man
wil machen undértán,
asó er ein vihe ware :
swerz tuot, der ist got ummare.

If thy lord should dishonourably oppress thee,
That is not as great dishonour to thee,
As that thou at all times
Art busy about the thing
That thou shouldst wish to make a freeman
Subject to thee,
As if he were a beast :
He who does that, is unpleasing to God.⁴

¹ V. 4125-33. ² V. 1243-51. Vide also p. 122. ³ V. 7875-80. ⁴ V. 7857-64.
RECOGNIZE MAN’S NATURE IN A SERVANT.

Ja sol man sinen eigenkneht
lāzen leben nach mannes reht.

man sol an im got ērn,
man sol von im des dienstes gern,
daz man an die menscheit

gedene, diu höhe ist beleit.
wil du vertreten mit dem vuoż
den der liht höher sitzen muoz
denne du in UNSERS herren riche,
daz enstèt niht riterliche.

Nay, as to your own servant
One shall let him live according to
Man’s Rights.

One shall in him honour God,
One shall of him ask service
In such a manner as to be mindful of
humanity.

The
Wilt thou trample underfoot
Him who perchance may sit higher
Than thou in the kingdom of our Lord?
That is ill-befitting a knight.¹

TRUE NOBILITY, AND NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

Nobility also may
Make us dream. If a man
Is nobler (by birth) than another
And thinks himself always of more account
He deceives himself in that:
No one is noble but the man
Who has set his heart and mind
Towards that which is really good.
If a man be well-born
And have lost the nobility of his disposition,
I may truly tell you
He quite shames his birth:
If a man be well-born
His birth demands at all times
That he act well and justly.²
If he do not control himself thus to act,
Then his vice is all the greater:
His birth diminishes his honour.
If ye have understood me well,
You know that it is a mistake to think
That he is courtly (gentle, liüfsch) at all times,
Who is noble in the world:
For as I have said even before this,
To do well, that is Courtliness.
If one has a courteous disposition,
He does justly whatever he does.
He who acts well at all times,

¹ V. 7865-74.
² Ainsi plus votre rang vous élève en ce monde,
Plus il faut que chez vous le vrai mérite abonde ;
C’est lui seul qu’on estime, et vous devez savoir
Combien sur les humains l’exemple a de pouvoir.

Frédéric de Prusse à son frère.
Political Views.

Know ye that he is noble:
Again, know ye that they are noble
Who are wholly the children of God.

Yet Thomasin is hardly a democrat, certainly not a revolutionist; see his book iii. sect. vi. Each one is to keep his place, and it is foolish for a peasant to want to be a lord. As to the latter:

The people are to be as dear to him
As his own life is to him.

So that we arrive very nearly at the axiom: everything for the people, nothing through the people. Yet even thus to sum up, with the formula of enlightened despotism, his political views—the democratic tendency of which seems to us to have been exaggerated by Gervinus—would appear to be a mistake: formulas for constitutional government, whatever be their value to us, were very far from Thomasin's mind. He was not a constitution-monger. He accepted the state of the world as he found it, and instead of devising new machinery for guiding it, he rather sought to penetrate with a living spirit of justice and kindness the forms existing. Mr Mathew Arnold ought to rejoice in his acquaintance. Modern French socialists would be shocked by his incapacity for recognizing an equality where none exists; he by no means overlooks the difference between the courtly knight or learned clerk and the boorish peasant; when he wants to point out a particularly mean way of conduct, he is very apt to say that such a one acts like a tradesman, and he is, above all, a gentleman writing for gentlemen, no doubt with the view of making them conceive that word in its highest sense. His views on the position and duties of gentlemen seem to us greatly to coincide with that fine chapter in Pascal where the author forcibly shows to the young nobleman the unrealities and the unjustifiableness of his position unless filled for the public good. 1

Leaving politics alone, we may show our author's refinement and justness of feeling in some passages on Presents and Liberality.

Presents, he says, may be given out of wealth unjustly acquired, or with a view to a future advantage, or again from luxuriousness

1 Pensées, art. xii. Sur les conditions des Grands.
(14125-50), but the giver cannot lay claim to liberality or gentleness:

Him who wishes to give to me anything in such a manner,
I will never thank much;
For, truly, his present
Has been made to Luxuriousness.
I like the upright gentle man,
But she through whom he has done it,
Let her thank him if she like:
I will never thank him much.
But him who gives through gentleness
Him I shall thank alway.

And again:

Let every one see
That his present be appropriate.
One must always see
Who is the man to whom one gives,
That one may give at all times
According as the man is.
Yea, one ought to give to a rich man
Rare things, surely,
And to a poor one at all times
That which is good and useful to him.
He who will not make a distinction in people,
Makes his presents in an indiscreet manner.
Where there is no discretion,
There is never any gentleness,
For such un-virtue lies
Far from virtue always.
He who wants to give with discretion
Let him give neither too little nor too much.
He has measured according to his means
Who gives justly,
He robs himself, truly,
Who scatters his own.

The man who wishes to give more,
Must unjustly take much;
He must swear and lie
And rob and cheat.
He who has taken it unjustly,
Has departed from gentleness;
Whilst virtue does no harm,
Harm is done by un-virtue.
One is to give presents to any one in suchwise
That no one derive displeasure by the gift
From whom it may have been taken.
He who wants to give justly,
Let him not delay too much.
He who lets himself be begged much,
Know ye that he has sold
What he gives away.

\[\ldots\] Such is not the action of the gentle-man
Who can give justly,
For he seeks out to whom to give
And what he'd better give.

\[\ldots\] He who sets an angry countenance
When he gives: know ye
He had better give nothing.
He who gives, fearing the giving,
And holds back at all times,
He is full of cowardice,
And is equal to him who refuses.
One ought, by one's eyes and mouth,
To show at the time
Of giving, that one's disposition
Of willingly giving is perceived.
Know ye that he gives properly
Who so gives always,
That with the present, he bestows
Both his will and heart.
He is but a poor fellow\(^1\)
Who thinks of the money
When he is to give anything:

\[\ldots\] He is quite a tradesman
Who gives for gain, that is true.

We have, in the foregoing, while speaking of the author, anticipated much that might be said of the book. On the whole, it may be observed, it justifies the remark of Hallam\(^2\) that "in the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to

\(^1\) Boesewiht,—but that word had not then, or at least plainly not always, the meaning of its modern form.

\(^2\) Middle Ages. Chap. ix. Part II. Chivalry connected with religion, and with gallantry.
spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind." And Thomasin's conception of courtesy may again well be summed up in Hallam's observation\(^1\) that "this word expressed the most highly refined good-breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from the heart." Yet it ought to be observed that Thomasin consciously took a wider range, and fathomed more deeply human life than similar writers did, or than he had done himself in this first book from which the second distinctly is a progressive step. Hence the more he proceeds in *The Italian Guest*, the more do externals disappear, whilst in the first canto, the partial reproduction of the Courtesy book, they still hold their place. As one who had heard much of virtue in those books which glorified chivalry, and related to the search for the Graal and to similar subjects, he proposed to himself to inquire what then was really virtue, and what the conditions of arriving at it, an inquiry by which he necessarily was led to condemn much of that very spirit which pervaded those novels and was exhibited as a model. For it appeared to him that virtue could not be acquired or kept, unless by Steadiness, a word which would, in his sense and in our vocabulary, comprise Firmness, Consistency, Fortitude, and perhaps a few more cardinal virtues. To this Steadiness, alllying itself to Sense, is opposed Unsteadiness, as alllying itself with Nonsense, or Frivolity and Un-wisdom, and whose children are Anger and Lies, while her sister is Immoderation.\(^2\) And against that Unsteadiness, whereof the hero Percival had his good share, Thomasin's shafts are for ever levelled in many passages, whereof the following is a fair sample:

**Unsteadiness.**

What is Unsteadiness? A shame to the Lords,
A going-astray in all lands.
Unsteadiness is steadiness in bad things:
No one can constrain her

---

\(^1\) Ibid., Courtesy.

\(^2\) V. 9885.
To lean to good things.
Unsteadiness is not free.
Unsteadiness is quite a serf.
To Un-virtue at all times.
Unsteadiness follows Un-virtue.
Both in old age and in youth.
Every Un-virtue has
Both her service and her council.
Unsteadiness is quite un-leisurely.
In all things, at all times.
What Unsteadiness does to-day
That appears no longer good to her to-morrow.
She builds up that which
Her unsteady advice has broken.\(^1\)
Unsteadiness changes quickly.
The square into a curve.
The curve she leaves not alone,
As it had better stand on four corners.
That is always her favourite game,
To strive for that which she (really) has no wish for.
Change does not fright her:
The little she makes into something great,
The great, however, she makes little.
Now she runs, now she walks softly,
Now she mounts, now she falls down,
Now she goes away, to-morrow comes back,
Now to the mountains, now to the sea,
Now she is by herself (self-sufficient), to-morrow in a crowd,
Now away to the wood, now in town:
Here and there is she,
Since she carries that in her heart
Which chases her every whither.
From place to place she likes to go,
But never from the desires of her own heart.
If to the tail of a young dog
One ties a bell, he runs and turns
Himself hither and thither, and knows not
That he carries that from which he flees.
Thus it is with the unsteady man.

As to the style of the book, our readers can form a correct idea by
the fragments, both original and translated, which we give. On the
whole, it cannot be said to be free from that prolixity which
belongs to an age when time was plentiful; yet here and there pas-

\(^1\) Comp. Horace, Epist. I. lib. I. v. 100 et seq.
sages of great terseness occur, frequently in connection with an unexpected turn of thought.

Thomasin, like Lord Lytton, in our days, has dedicated his book to Germany, whose guest, very likely a welcome one, he felt himself.¹

We have said that The Italian Guest is preserved in many MSS. The oldest of these dates from 1248, and is preserved at Erbach; it is written with great neatness, and adorned with many illuminations, which Rückert believes may be reproductions of such as Thomasin himself made or indicated. The best, perhaps belonging to the end of the 13th century, is now again at Heidelberg; whence in the Thirty Years' War it had, with the rest of the library, been carried to the Vatican. It forms the basis of the text before us. Others are found at Gotha, Stuttgart, Dresden, Munich, Wolfenbüttel; and all the more valuable ones have been collated by our editor, while the Gotha MS. has served for some fragments published independently. To our Italian friends, mentioned above, we owe the information that the Abbey of Moggio in Friuli possesses, or possessed, a copy of Thomasin, the date of which reaches almost to the Erbach one.²

These MSS., not counting several made in the last century, descend to the year 1457, showing therefore a continued appreciation of the book during about two centuries and a half. A writer, belonging to the middle of the 15th century, a Bavarian Knight, briefly mentions our book in his Ehrenbrief, which includes a kind of metrical catalogue raisonné of the literary works he was acquainted with.³

Still it had not the honour of being multiplied by the new art of printing; and however much it may have contributed to the spirit which produced Erasmus and the Reformers, it was not brought out again from partial oblivion by these, as was the case with Piers Ploughman, because it did not offer such polemical material

¹ V. 86-136.
² Da inventario di bene dell'Abazia di Moggio in Friuli si ha: Anno 1250 ... liber teutonicus dictus Valisergast. Dal' archivio Capitolare di Udine.—No trace of this in Rückert or the other German writers.
as that book. For the first time, since the Reformation, Thomasin is mentioned by an obscure writer, named Turgel, in a short notice of MSS. in the Gotha Library, published in 1691.1 After that, we find the book alluded to three or four times during the 18th century,2 but merely as a literary fossil, and in a manner which leaves us very doubtful whether the notice which some literary antiquarians took of the MSS., led them to really read the book, and, to any extent, become aware of its spirit. The younger Adelung,3 when inquiring into the literary treasures of the Rome of his time, was one of the first to call more serious attention to The Italian Guest, at the end of the last century.4 Between his two publications on the Vatican Manuscripts, Eschenburg, the man who first gave to Germany a complete translation of Shakespere, published a few extracts from the Wolfenbüttel copy,5 and shortly after gave a chapter to our author in his 'Monuments of Old German Poetry.'6 It is, however, fairly allowable to believe that none of the writers mentioned had read Thomasin at all completely. This was reserved for our century, to the Grimms and their school. W. Grimm, in his Reynard the Fox, published from it a charmingly told fable; Wackernagel, in his Reading book, another extract on Etiquette or Courtesy rules. These two fragments have now been, for several years, before the English public, Max

1 Monatl. Unterredungen, 1691, p. 926.
5 Habent sua fata libelli! Adelung, in the first of these works just quoted, says (p. 39), "Perhaps this notice will serve to call greater attention to the treasures of the Vatican, which, alas, are probably forever lost to our country." General Tilly, 1622, had carried away those treasures from Heidelberg; his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, presented them to the Pope. The rise of Napoleon was required to bring them from the Vatican to Paris, his fail to bring back to Heidelberg what had remained of them in spite of Tilly's soldiers and other pillerers.
6 Eschenburg, Deukmäler. Vide above,
Müller having included them, with translations into Modern Grammar, in his German classics. Gervinus read the book in manuscript, and has the merit of communicating to his readers his high appreciation of our author; but according to his wont, speaks ex cathedra only, not taking the reader into his confidence, not adducing a single passage. The book, and the public, had still to wait till 1852, when Dr Heinrich Rückert, now Professor at the University of Breslau, and a son of the poet Friedrich Rückert, gave us the first and only edition of Thomasin,—a work of great learning and labour, but little comfort to the reader. It would certainly fall under the ire of Mr Thomas Carlyle against index-less books. And it is not an index only we miss, but also a glossary of difficult words, and those simple but useful contrivances yelept headlines, or at least indication of book and chapter at the top of the page, marginal notes, references, footnotes. All the notes, together with the collations, are thrown to the end; and the greater part of them consists of disquisitions on details of metre and rhyme. On the whole, the typographical arrangement is uncomfortable; and the whole book seems characterized by a desire to be useful to one already deeply engaged in the study of Early German, but forbidding to the general reader, who must, it seems, by no means be attracted, by this book at any rate, to the study of the subject. In all these respects, the publications of the Early English Text Society seem to the present writer greatly preferable. They appear not to wish to warn off the premises of learning the innocent wanderer in the realms of letters who may curiously

1 The German Classics. Longman, 1864, pp. 201, 212, and notice of Thomasin, p. xvii.
3 Dr Grion, an Italian writer, the author of an essay on Chiullo di Alcamo [Padua, 1858, Brit. Mus.], seems to have published a notice of Tommasino, previous to 1845. Dr Genala at Soresina, and Professor Maddalozzo at Vicenza, to whom we owe this information, have, so far, not succeeded in procuring us the opusculum.
5 Life of Frederic the Great.
6 Biographically and with reference to the age in which our author lived, hardly anything is said. Even our calculations as to dates, p. 83 and 92, we had to make for ourselves, and for ourselves had to find the elements of them.
wish to stray into the paths of old national literature; they appear rather to invite him by a little freshness in the very hedgerows which surround their paradise, and to take him kindly by the hand, and help on his step, though it be a little faltering at first, instead of scaring him with thorns and brambles of grim learning, and striking awe into him for approaching the sanctum of the initiated. Will the editor, whom we have to thank, not only with all his readers, for the immense labour he has bestowed on the book, but also personally for a courteous communication in reply to an inquiry of ours, and will other German scholars who may read this, pardon us for this friendly expression of a doubt whether by writing too much as professional and professorial Gelehrte for a class, nay almost a caste, of Gelehrte, and enwrapped in their dignity, utterly scorning the dilettante, they do not, almost wilfully, restrict too much the number of their readers, fail in their mission of interesting a large section of the educated public, and drive them into the insipidities of what is called in Germany popular literature?

We now proceed to summarize at some length the first, and for this 'Book of Courtesy' most important, canto, proposing to give a much slighter sketch of the following ones. And for the first portion of this, we use an old summary, which is found in the Gotha-manuscript, written by the same hand as the whole poem, and repeated, with small variations, in most of the other MSS. Though not by Thomasin himself, it is undoubtedly very old,—much older than that Gotha MS. itself, whose date is 1340; it is made, on the whole, fairly enough, and for its naïve quaintness may merit partial reproduction.

SUMMARY.

BOOK THE FIRST.—V. 1—1706.

"He who wants to know the matter whereof this book speaks, will find (here) the matters all marked down one after the other. This book is divided into ten parts, and each part has its chapters; some parts have ten chapters, some more, some less, and each chapter has some sub-sections, some many, some few.

V. 1—140. Before I begin the book, I say in my preface that
every man is to apply himself that he may by his works fulfil that which he has read of good things; and I tell how the bad man turns good counsel (speech) into bad; and then I announce that I wish to speak of the Virtues, and what piety (frumkeit) is, and what Discipline or Good Breeding (zucht) is; and I explain that I am not quite master of the language, and ask (those of) the German tongue to favourably receive my outlandish (welsch) book, and not to let any unsteady (unsteten) man see it, and then I begin my book thus.

I. v. 141—296. I first of all speak of Idleness, and what one is to do at all times, and that Laziness is a blot upon (schendet) a man, and how difficult it is to get free of such a habit; and what teaching one is to be ashamed of, and how wicked he is who has (in him) Vain-gloriousness, Lies and Mockery, and that one is not to boast, and that Boasting is (wirser) worse still in women than in men.

II. v. 297—526. I also say how young gentlemen behave noisily (schallent) when they come from court to the tavern, and how badly that sits upon them, and that they ought to observe those things which they have seen at court, and that they ought to treat their followers well; and I say how and wherefore one ought to honour strangers."

Let us here interrupt the summary by introducing a set of courtesy rules: they are those which Mr Max Müller has given, as mentioned above; and for the convenience of such of our readers as may possess his 'German Classics,' we depart, in this instance only, from Rückert's text, and adopt the forms, chiefly dialectically and not essentially differing, of the Gotha MS., which Mr Müller, with Wackernagel, has followed. For we may observe in passing that the copyists of that time, in translating a book, were inclined to adapt its language to the dialect of their part of the country.

ich wil daz eincn den andern ère, 
wellet si volgen zühte ère.

ir deheiner sol zeinerr für 
den andern allen dringen für.
Beldiu frowen unde hërren 
sulen fröme luûte èren:
Ist sin ein frönder man niht wert, 
si habent sich selben geërt.

I wish that one should honour the other, 
If they wish to follow the teaching of Good Breeding.

None of them shall at a door 
Press before all the others.
Both ladies as well as gentlemen 
Shall honour strangers:
If any stranger be not worthy of it, 
Yet they have done honour to them-selves.
BOOK I. VARIOUS RULES OF COURTESY.

ist sin aber wert der,
só habent si sin beide ěr.
man enweiz niht wer der frōmde ist,
dâ von ěr man in zaller frist.

sweven ze hove chumt ein fremder gast,
diu chint suln im dienen vast
sam er wære ir aller hërre,
daz ist der zūhte wille und lère.
si sulen haben chiuschiu wort,
wau daz ist der zūhte hort.

Ein frowe sol sich seben lân,
chumt zir ein vremeneder man.
swelhliu si niht sehen lāt,
diu sol ûz ir chemenât
siñ allenthalben unerchant ;
büeze alsô, si ungenant.
ein frowe sol niht vrevelich
schimphen, daz stôc wipliclich.

ich wilouch des verlehen,
ein frowe sol niht vaste an sehen
ein fremden man : daz stet wol,
ein edel junchêre sol
beidīn ritter unde vrownen
gezegulliche gerne schowen,
ein juncfrowe sol senfticlich
und niht lūt sprechen sicherlich.
ein junchêrr sol sin só gereit

daz er vernem swaz man im seit,
só daz ez undurft si,
daz man im aber sage wi.

zuht wert den vrownen alln gemein
sitzen mit bein über bein,
ein junchêrr sol ūf ein bane,
si si churz oder lâc,
deheine wise stēn niht,
ob er ein ritter dā sitzen siht.
ein vrowe sol ze deheiner zit
treten weder vast noch wît,
wizzet daz ez ouch übel stet,
rît ein ritter dā ein vrowe gēt.

But if he be worthy of it,
Then both parties are honoured.
One does not know who a stranger
may be :
Therefore let him be honoured at all
times.
When a strange guest comes to the Hall,
The young people shall do him great
service,
The same as if he were the lord of all
of them :
Such is the will and teaching of Good
Breeding :
Let them speak choice words,
Seeing such is the treasure of Good
Breeding.
A lady shall allow herself to be seen,
When a stranger-man comes to her :
She who does not allow herself to be
seen,
She shall, out of her own withdrawing
room,
Be unrecognized everywhere ;
Let her thus suffer for it, let her not
be mentioned.
Let not a lady jest boldly :
That looks as if she were a common
woman.
This too I will maintain :
A woman shall not look much at
A stranger-man: that is befitting.
A noble young lord shall
Like to look modestly
Both upon knights and ladies.
A young lady shall assuredly speak
softly
And not loud.
A young lord (younger) shall be so
ready
That he understands what one says to
him,
So that there may be no need
That one should for a second time say
to him, how (to do it).
Good Breeding forbids all ladies
To sit with one leg over the other.
A young lord shall not step upon a bench
Be it short or long,
In any wise,
If he sees a knight sitting there.
A lady shall at no time
Step out fast nor wide.
Know again that it is ill befitting
If a knight rides where a lady goes,
Ein vrouwe sol sich, daz geloubet, 
chêren gegen des pherdes houbet
swenn si ritet; man sol wizzen,
si sol niht gar dwerhes szizzen.
Ein ritter sol niht vrâvelich
zuo frowen riten sicherlich,
ein vrouwe erschraht hät dick getân
den spruch der bezer war verlàin,
swer sinem rosse des verhenget
daz ez eine vrowen besprengt,
ich wane wol daz sin wib
ouch âne meisterschaft helib.
zuht wert den rittern allu gemein
daz si niht dicke schouwen ir bèin,
swenn si ritent; ich wane wol
daz man uf sehen sol.
ein vrouwe sol recken niht ir hant,
swenn si ritet fûr ir gewant;
si sol ir ougen und ir houbet
stille haben, daz geloubet.
ein juncheir unde ein ritter sol
hie an sich och behünten wol,
daz er stille habe die hant
sô im ze sprechen si gewant;
er sol swingen niht sin hende
widor eines frumen mannes zende.
swer der zühte wol geloubet,
der sol setzen uf niemens houbet
sin hant der tûrer si denn er,
noch uf sin ashel: daz ist ôr.

Wil sich ein vrouwe mit zuht bewarn,
sô sol si niht ân hüelle varn;
si sol ir hüll ze samme hân,
ist si der garnaesch ân:
lât si amme libe iht sehen bar,
daz ist wider zühte gar.
ein ritter sol niht vor vrowen gên
barschincher, als ichz chan vertên.
ein vrouwe sol niht hinder sich
dicke sehen, douchet mich.
si gê vuir sich gerîhte
unde sehe umb ze nihte;
gedench an ir zuht über al
ob si gehœr deheinen schal:
ein juncfrowave sol selten iht

A lady shall, believe ye,
Turn herself towards the head of the
horse
When she rides; one must know
She is not to sit quite crossoways.
A knight shall not boldly
Ride up to ladies:
A woman, frightened, has often (done)
uttered
The speech that were better not made.
He who allows his horse
To bespatter a lady,
I quite suppose that his wife
Is without a good master likewise.
Good Breeding forbids all knights
To look much at their legs
When they ride: I am much of opinion
That one is to look upwards.
A lady shall not stretch her hand
Out of her garment, when she rides;
She shall keep quiet her eyes and her
head,
Believe ye that.
A younger and a knight shall
Be careful in this too,
That he keeps his hand quiet
If he has to speak:
He shall not swing his hands
Against a good man’s teeth.
He who well believes in Good Breeding,
Let him place on no one’s head
His hand, who is of greater account
than himself,
Nor upon his shoulder: that is honourable.
If a lady wants to keep herself within
good breeding,
Let her not go out without mantle:
She shall gather her mantle together
If she is without her long upper gown:
If she let any part of her body be seen
bare
That is quite against Good Breeding.
A knight shall not go before ladies
With bare legs; as far as I can understand things.
A lady shall not much
Look behind her, so it appears to me:
Let her go forth straightways
And not look about her,
Everywhere mindful of her good
breeding.
Even though she hear a noise.
A young lady shall rarely
sprechen, ob mans vraget niht, ein vrowe sol och niht sprechen vil, ob si mir gelouben will; und beamen swenne si izzet, so sol si sprechen niht, daz wizzet.
Man sol zem tische sich bewarn, der mit zulde wele varn,

(ge da horet groziu zuht zuo) : ein eieglich biderwirt der tuo war, ob si haben alle gnoc,
der gast der si so gevuo, daz er tuo dem geliche gar, sam er da nihtes neme war.

swelch man sich rehte versinnet, swenne er ezzen beginnet, son rier niht wan sin ezzen an mit der hant: dar ist wol getan.

man sol daz brot ezzen niht é man bring d' érst en riht, ein man sol sich behüeten wol daz er niht legen sol beidenthalben in den munt, er sol sich hüeten ze der stunt daz er trinch und spreche niht daz er hat in dem munde iht, die mit dem becher ze den gesellen.
sich chären als si in geben wellen, é si in tuon von den munden, der win hüt si dar zuo gebunden. swer trinchende iz dem becher siht, daz zimpt hüfischen mannem niht.

ein man vor dem gesellen sin niht neme, daz ist diu lère min, daz im dâ gevalle wol, wan er vor im ezzen sol.

man sol ezzen zaller frist mit der hant diu engegen ist:
sitzt der gesell zer rehten hant, so iz mit der linchen hant.
man sol och daz gerne wenden, daz man iht ezzi mit beiden henden.
man sol och dâ so gählen niht, Speak anything, unless one ask her.
Nor shall a lady at all speak much,
If she will believe me;
And especially when she eats,
Then she shall not speak, that know.
One must be watchful over oneself
If one will bear oneself with Good Breeding
(For it is a matter of much breeding):
Let every honest host be
Careful whether they (his guests) have all of them enough;
Let the guest be so well disposed,
That he act similarly
As if he were aware of nothing (posing anything to have gone awry).
A man who is well balanced in his mind,
When he begins to eat,
He touches nothing but his food
With the hand: that is doing things well.
One must not eat the bread
Before the first dishes are brought.
A man shall be very careful
Not to put (food)
On both sides in his mouth.¹
He shall at that time be on his guard
Lest he drink or speak
Whilst he has something in his mouth.
Those who turn with the beaker to their companions
As if they were about to give it,
Before they take it from their lips,
Them the wine has bound thereto,
Who, drinking, looks over the beaker (does that which) is not fitting for courteous men.
Let a man not take before his companions
Anything, that is my teaching,
Which may please him there;
For he (the companion or guest) shall eat before him.
One shall eat at any time
With that hand which is over against
(the guest):
If the companion sit at your right hand,
Then eat with your left hand.
One shall also willingly avoid
To eat anything with both one’s hands.
One shall also not be so greedy

¹ Babees Book, Pt. II. p. 29, l. 36, &c.
daz man mit dem gemazzen¹ iht
grife in die schüizzel mit der hant:
wan dâ von wirt unzuht bechaut.
der wirt sol och der spise eunern
der sine geste niht engern
und diu in ist ungenaue,
wan daz niht wol zeme;
und geb och niht ungemeine.
der wol izzet gerne eine:
der obent izzet eine niht
ob er des wilds iht bi im siht.
dem volgt der wirt mit èren baz
dann dem wolve, wizzet daz,
der wirt nach dem ezen sol
daz wazzer geben: daz stët wol.
dâ sol im dechein chneht
denne dwahen: daz ist reht;
wil dwahen im ein junuchëre,
der gë hin dan vil verre.

We return to the summary, but give up from here the quotation of the old résumé, still, however, availing ourselves of it, extending or restricting it, as may seem best, and varying it by the introduction of passages.

III. v. 527—580. That one ought not to laugh too much, nor secretly spy out one's companion's doings; and that one ought to beware of him who likes thus to play the spy; and that one shall faithfully keep secret what one's companion tells one, and why one ought to do so, and that one is to be careful of whom, to whom, what, how, and when one speaks; and of what the children of lords are to beware.

IV. v. 581—686. That one is to speak little, and to listen much. Children are to be taught reverence. Thus made to feel reverence,

¹ *gemazzen?* Thus the Gotha MS., in M. Müller's book. Dr Rückert, following the Heidelberg MS., has *gesellen*, which is plain.
² *Olbente, olbende*, or, more rarely *olpente*, seems, etymologically, clearly *elephant*, *ixiphos, avroq*, with which compare Goth. *alhendas*, O.H.G. *olpenta*, but is not used to designate this animal, but the camel.—Grierson, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache. 42. Yet, we find in Müller & Zarncke's Mittelhochdeutsch. Wörterbuch (whereof the leaves in the Brit. Mus. copy were first cut by the present writer), p. 437, two or three passages which seem plainly to point to the elephant.
they will be able to control themselves. Every child shall bear in
his mind some pious (upright, reverential, and gentle, frumen) man,
and shall think of him, so as to fancy that this pattern sees whatever
the child may do;—and who are to be obeyed, and that one is to have
(good) habits at home, so as to bear oneself well at court;—and that
one is to preserve modesty;—and that one is not to follow (the
guidance) of envy and anger.

V. v. 687—777. That one is to beware of gambling; and that he
is thought a fool that speaks too much, and also he that is too silent;
and that no one is to do or to say all that comes to his mind, and
that one is to speak and to act with sense; and how foolish he is
that in his childhood fancies he may know without teaching; for

Der sin bescheidet einen man Sense distinguishes a man
von dem vihe daz niht kan. From the beasts that know nothing.

and that one ought willingly to hear good teaching, and to let the
bad go.

VI. v. 773—880. How one cannot find a good pattern in Helen
(“der schoenen Küneginne diu wil en da ze Kriechen was”); and that
a woman is not to be glad if another woman acts badly.

On the contrary:

da von ein biderbe wip sol A good woman ought
türis sin, tuot niht wol To be sad, if badly acts
ein ander wip. Another woman.

and she had better look out for herself, that she may not get into the
same way:

wan si sol ir vürhten hart
daz si niht kome in ir vart.

Let women rather take warning (lit. some sense) from the mishap of
the woman who was called Helena.

In Greece over all the lands
She was a powerful queen,
She had much beauty and little sense,
Her beauty gained her great shame:
Beauty without sense is a weak security. 824-28

And what kind of sense a woman shall have, and what sense is enough
for a woman; a detail on which in these days of women’s rights,
colleges, examinations and so on, old Thomasin may be heard with
some little additional interest, rather on the conservative side:
BOOK 1. ON SENSE AND NONSENSE IN WOMEN.  119

v. 837. A woman has enough sense
In that she be courteous and pliable,
And also have good gestures
With beautiful speech and a chaste mind.
If she then have more sense,
Let her have Good Breeding and Teaching,
Let her not make a show of what she has in her mind;
One does not require her for a Mayor. 1
A man must have many arts:
In a noble woman Good Breeding requires
That she have not much artfulness,
If she is honest and noble.
Simplicity sits well upon women,
Yet it is right that a woman
Have that teaching and that sense
That she may beware of un-love.
One often calls Love the thing
That one had better call Un-love.

That beauty, friends, birth, riches, love (or loveliness?) are worthless without sense; and that Beauty may do harm to honour; and that Beauty and lightheadedness (lit. nonsense, unsinn) are two girdles on a woman’s body (i) 2 which draw her the wrong way.

The beauty causes her to be solicited,
And the nonsense greatly helps there-
To advise the woman [with
To do what she ought not to do. 3

VII. v. 881-994. That one is not to give away honour for beauty; or with a view to be made beautiful for ever:

Durch boesen Kouf ze Markte gät
He makes a bad bargain
Swer umbe schoen sin ère lát,
Who gives his honour for beauty;
and that beauty is dishonoured without discipline.

Every kind of malice has its gestures (or outward appearance).
(Yet) one is deceived by appearances; seeing deceives vastly, in both women and men [am sehen tringet man sich dicke, 939].

beidiu man und oneh wip
Both man, and also woman.
erzeigent oft daz in ir lip
Often show that which in their bodies
und in ir herzen niender ist:
And in their hearts is nowhere:
daz machet gar ir bèser list.
That is caused by their wicked cunning.

1 ze potestât. The author thinks of the Italian podestà, as chief municipal magistrate or mayor; one of the few passages by which he betrays his origin.
2 Gebende: ornaments, head-dresses, according to Wackernagel, Edelsteine: neither gives a satisfactory sense. The word Gebend-e points to the verb bind.
3 v. 877-86.
A wicked woman's beauty is not to be considered as beauty, is only skin-beauty; she is but like gilt copper, a baser metal.

Some virtues sit better upon women than upon Knights, and some sit well upon Knights, and some vices ("un-virtues") sit worse upon women, and some worse upon Knights.

In the detail of this there seems some arbitrariness:

One gets poisoned in honey even
When the sweetness is meant to betray us.
The tongue of false women is honey,
Their will is venom, know that, Christian.
Falseness befits no one well:
A woman (however) shall guard
Against Falseness more than a man;
Falseness sits worse upon women.
Thus mildness is befitting for all people
Every woman shall be mild;
Yet mildness befits Knights better
Than ladies, know ye that.
Humility befits both well:
A Knight and a lady shall
Be humble-minded; yet befits humbleness
The ladies better, and their goodness
Shall be ornamented with that virtue
Both in old age and in youth.
The Knight, piety (vürümkeit) befits well;
The ladies, faithfulness and truth.
The Knight, if timid, is dishonoured;
So is a false woman equally fallen (desecrated away from her station, annihilated)
The crafty Knight is quite without honour,
The stupid woman is without good teaching.
Archness befits not the Knight:
A lady shall be on her guard against unsteadiness
And against unfaithfulness,
And against haughtiness, that is good.
If she have not these virtues in her,
Her beauty is quite desecrated.

VIII. v. 995—1162. Of the snares of the fools; and who is a
BOOK I. HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

121

good wife; and what young gentlewomen and younkers like to be told; and whom they are to follow; and what those are to hear and to read who have come out of childhood,—romantic poems 1—adven-
tures—are good for the young and the little-cultivated, as are pic-
tures. But those whose minds are more developed, or literally who have come to their senses, they are to be taught (lit. mastered) differ-
ently from children; and that an eloquent (lit. well-speaking) man shall not depart from truth.

IX. v. 1163—1337. I have travelled away from my aim, and have said things that I should not have said but for the young people. I should yet have liked to speak of Knights and ladies, as I have done formerly in a book on Courtesy which I wrote in Italian.”

Of what nature is love.

Der minn natre ist sô getân: This is the nature of love:
si machet wiser wisen man, It makes a wise man wiser,
und git dem törm mêr närrischeit, And gives the fool more foolishness,
daz ist der minne gewonheit. That is love’s custom. 2

How one is to guard a wife; and one is neither to gain her by magic, nor force her, nor buy her; 3

HOW TO GUARD A WIFE.

I taught (in the lost Italian book) that one
Ought to conquer one’s wife with (good things) kind acts;
That she should be steadfast (staete) to one.
He who locks her up alone
He dispenses quite with her service.
Now tell me, of what good is it,
That I lock up her body,
If then her will is not as it should be?
No lock will keep the mind:
The Body without the heart is a feeble possession:
Locks create great hatred:

1 Here, v. 1029-78 is introduced a list of legendary names, the subjects either of well-known French and German poems, or mentioned in some of these; and in some cases perhaps the titles of books that are lost. The list, beginning with Andromache, who is not known to have given the title to any substantive poem, finishes with a paean in honour of Perceval. Some passages in this are difficult and obscure. H. Rückert, 528—32.

2 V. 1179-82.

3 Vide W. Humboldt, Sphere and Duties of Government, p. 31, seq., on Matrimony and Love.
Kind actions act as a better safeguard.
Love, gained by magic and by force,
And bought love, are no love.
He who has had recourse to magic,
Know ye that he has violated
Her whom he has loved by such means;
He has the (manners) ways of an uncourteous man.
He has quite an uncourteous mind
Who does violence to women.

that bought love is not love;—

swer mit hüfscheit niht werven kan,  He who cannot woo with courtesy,
der wirt billich ein koufman.        Let him properly become a tradesman.
gekouft minn hät niht minne kraft :  Bought love has not the power of love.

that love would be a serf (eigen) if one were to buy it; and that it is
to be free. And what one is to give through love:

One shall give heart for heart,
One shall with faith give faith,
With love (liebe, not minne) one shall gain love.
One shall with steadiness confirm
Steadiness and truth.¹

and that the gift does not mend what is evil.

That a man gives to her who makes a fool of him;—that a man
gives (will give) to her who herself has enough, and not give to her
who has nothing.

A fool sees what ornaments a woman has outside on her body,
the wise man sees what are the ornaments of her soul;—the follow-
ing goes again into the direction of woman’s right, and this time on
the side of our reformers. That a man shall not deny a woman her
possessions (guot). On this subject our author expresses himself
briefly but pithily:

Ich lërt daz dehein biderbe man
niht enkër sim muot dar an
daz er abe spricht eim wibe ir guot.
wanswelch wip daz getuot,
ez stät ir vil bæsliche :
doch stät es wirser ungeliches
einem man, daz sult ir glouben.
wizzt daz ich gerner wolde rouben.

I taught (again in the lost Italian book)
that no upright man
Should turn his mind to
Denying a woman her goods.
If any woman does such a thing
It befits her very ill :
But incomparably more ill does it befit
A man: that you shall believe.
Know ye that I sooner would rob on
the highways.²

¹ v. 1251-56. ² v. 1330-37.
BOOK 1. ON PRESENTS TO LADIES. 123

What a woman may take from her friend:

Ich lërt waz einer vrouwen zeme
daz si von ir vriunde neme:
hantschwoch, spiegel, vingerlin, vürspangel, schapel, blüemelin.
ein vrouwe sol sin wol behuot
daz si niht neme grezer guot,
ezn wær daz sis bedorfe wol:
so erloube ich ir dan daz si sol
nemen mère und niht sô vil,
sin erzeige wol daz si wil
daz ir der vriunt si vür daz guot,
wan anders hiet si valschen muot,
ob ir ze nemen iht geschilt
mër, bedarf sis danne niht,
ir ist der vriunt niht liep gar,
daz sol man wizzen wol vür wär.

That wives shall be steady to their husbands;—likewise a husband shall not care for another’s wife; (the motive adduced is, however, not very lofty:)

ja ensol er sich niht kéré an
ander wip; swer eine hât,
der mac der andern haben rât.

Nay, he shall not care for
Another wife; he who has one
May do without another.

“What I, however, most like in women, is that they be truth-
ful:”

Mir was ie liep der vrouwen ère;
kund ich iht daz in nütze ware,
ich kërt ez gerne an ir dienest.
mir ist an einer vrouwen ez liebest
daz si vor valsche si behuot.

To me the honour of the ladies was
ever dear;
If I knew aught that would be of use
to them,
I should willingly apply it in their
service.
What I like best in a woman is
That she guard herself against false-
ness.
Falseness turns love into un-love, and
good

1 Be it not forgotten that this trait of manners is found in the 13th century; can, in the face of this, the common tradition be upheld, that the intro-
duction of looking-glasses into England took place in the reign of Eliz-
beth only? And how about the looking-glass Richard II. makes use of in Shakspeare’s play? of course, the incident may be introduced by the poet, and
without historical foundation. Compare also a remark of Mr Rossetti’s, on
page 5 of his Essay, on the advance of refinement in Italy, as compared with
other countries.

2 v. 1838-52.
ze übelen dingen, und daz wise
ze swarzem mit al sinem vilze.
ze bitter gall kört valsch die süeze

und ze ungnàdn ir schone grüeze,
lüge ir geheiz, ir seufst ist zorn,
ir lachen weinn, ir linde dorn.

Into evil things, and the white
Into black, with all diligence.
Into bitter gall turns falseness the sweet,
And into disfavour her fine greetings.
Into lie her orders, her gentleness into anger,
Her laughing into weeping, her softness into thorns.¹

An upright wife shall not allow her body to be touched; and
no man shall do it;—nor shall a man who understands courtesy
invite an upright wife; nor solicit her (concerning which matter our
author is rather prolix, showing among others the evil effect which
such solicitations have in making women vain). But she is mistaken
in fancying herself so very excellent: lying in her bed she thinks,
such a one has done so much for my sake, another has woo'd me still
more; I know as a truth that I am beautiful and a dear creature,
since these gentlemen, of so much standing, turn their love to me,
with all their hearts and their minds. This is a mistake:

dar umbe sagich iu vür wär
daz diu vrouwe ist betrogen gar
diuz vür ëre haben wil
daz man si bite des diuges vil.
ich hänz iu nu genuoc gesëet,
man tuotz niht durch ir werdekeit,
av dà von daz si hêt den muot
daz man weiz daz siz gerne tuot.

Therefore I truly tell you:
That woman is wholly deceived
Who fancies it an honour
If she be much solicited.
I have now sufficiently told you,
Men do not do it from her worth,
But because she has such a spirit
That one knows she willingly does it.²

The King's treasure, which thieves know to be well guarded, is
not attacked; the poorer house, unguarded, invites the ill-doer. So
does an inviting woman; and a man having conquered the undefended
beauty, goes to others.

XI. v. 1513—1706. How one can know what an old woman's
disposition was in her youth (a section which forms a good counter-
part to Béranger's wicked song of the Grandmamma). How one
is to act by a lady whom one cannot gain. One is in kindness to
leave her; scolding will not win her, and is shameful to a man,
who by so doing turns her spirit against him. "Of falseness I have
said a deal (ein teil), more about it may be found in my Italian
book; I wrote it in honour of a lady who asked me for it. There

¹ V. 1371-84.
² V. 1135-45.
BOOK I. WHOM TO MARRY. 125

I have taught how a lady,
Who would guard against mischief,
Should know false lovers.
I taught many a pretty art
How one can the better keep one's
honour
Against the false and faithless ones."

Against rash marriages. That a woman shall know to whom she entrusts (lit. recommends) her heart and body; and that this is more important than to whom she entrusts her worldly goods:

Man sol den man erkennen wol
dem man sin herze enphelhen sol.
já sol wizzen ein biderbe wip
wem si enphelhen welle ir lip;
wan si ouch liht wizzen wolde
wem si ir guot enphelhen solde.

One shall know well the man
To whom one is to entrust one's heart.
Well shall an upright woman know
To whom she wishes to entrust her body,—
Even though she should know but little
To whom she were to entrust her goods.1

So shall likewise a man guard himself against an undesirable woman (unvertigen = whose ways are not the best; in modern German the word (unfertig) would mean, if used in this connection, incomplete, so that we seem enjoined to marry paragons only).

unvertigiwip und diebe
die sint mir geliche liebe.
ein biderbe man sol hàn den muot,
bewar vor dieben sin guot,
und vor dem unvertigen wip
bewar noch harter siden lip.

Loose women and thieves
Are to me of equal worth.
Let an upright man have the courage
To guard his goods against thieves;
And to guard still more his body
Against a loose woman.

A lady may love him whom she has known to be good. One of her own station is preferable; but should he not be so, let her make sure that he is upright and good; then she may do it (love him). Contrariwise, noble birth and riches must not weigh with her if he is not good. Let her not make the mistake of preferring a seemingly easy-going but foolish person to a wise man:

Ein wip gedenket lihte daz
mir wirt mit einem tör en baz
dan mit einem wisen man
der allez daz merken kan
daz ich tuon ode sprich.
mit den gedanken trügt si sich.

A woman easily thinks thus:
'I shall be better off with a fool
Than with a wise man
Who may (observe) mark everything
I do or say.'
With such thoughts she deceives her-
self:
A wise man overlooks much
That a fool will not overlook

1 v. 1579-84.
Summary.

BOOK II.

und nicht übersehen kan. And cannot overlook.
wisszt daz der unwise man Know that the unwise man
der verkéret aller slahh, Turns everything into evil,
so hât der wis die meisterschaft Whilst the wise man possesses the
mastery
daz erz allez kërt ze guot. Of turning everything into good.¹

Let not a woman leave the path of duty in hopes that nothing will be said about it, or that if said, it will not be believed. Let no man try to further his suit to a lady, by dispraising another whom she may favour, or by praising himself: the former is un courteous; fools can do the latter. Besides, dispraising another suitor is blaming her who has seen a friend in him.

"I have taught what virtue was to be cultivated by women, and how a noble Knight was to act to make himself pleasant, and what was fitting for women, and what they should occupy themselves with, how to bear themselves, how to speak to old ones as well as to young;—(all) this I said in Welsh (Italian?), and were I to say it in German, I might not say it so (well) easily.

I will now return to my matter in hand, and speak of gentlemen, and how they are to tend their virtues, for he who does not do so, his virtue is as good as lost. And so

Ich hán verent daz érste teil: I have ended the first part:
got gebe uns zuo dem andern heil! God give us grace for the second!

BOOK II.

treats of Steadiness, then of Unsteadiness, shows the harmony existing in things above man,—the steadiness of the heavenly bodies,—the action of the elements,—and the unsteadiness of nations and kings. The end of the world is coming.

BOOK III.

continues the picture of the unsteadiness of man, and treats of Riches and Poverty, of Glory, Dominion, Power, Nobility, and Name.

1. Whence we are so unsteady, and why God does not prevent us from being so.

2. Everything in nature is steady, only man’s heart is not so. Each one strives after the position of the other, instead of filling his

¹ v. 1606-19.
own. How strange if the dog would draw the cart, and the ox hunt the hare. But they are not so foolish: men are.

3. That our lots are well portioned out, and the poor are not worse off than the rich; and what both are in want of, is Truth, and what they fancy their wants to be; and of the great trouble men take to get what is not for their good; and how they must leave it all behind in the end.

4. That the good things of this world do not make a man good; and that riches do us more harm than good, and a good many kindred considerations.

5. How the poor man worries himself with the thought of how he might become rich, and what he would do then, and how this is apt to make him mean and of low cunning, and what castles in the air he builds;—and that riches are a trouble both to get and to keep.

6. That the people are better off than the lords, and that it is foolish for every one to wish to be a lord. And how the lord is encumbered with care.

7. Of the foolish ideas and plans people make themselves as to what they would do if they were lords; and how, not having the realities, they plague themselves with their fancies. Their imaginary hunting and hawking parties, and how they awake disenchanted.

8. That the powerful are not better than the powerless, and that the powerful are worse off; and how they for ever scheme how to bring others into subjection, and that they never succeed to their heart's desire. And that all power is most unsteady, as many examples from ancient history and contemporaneous events prove. And the power of the powerful depends really on the powerless. Thus Riches, Lordship, and Sovereign power cannot give satisfaction to men.

9. Of the foolish and criminal thoughts of him who dreams of gathering a great army and slaying his enemies.

10. Of the frivolity of glory, of a desire to spread one's name, and of gathering praises; and of people who praise you to your face, and slander you behind your back. And that good things are not done by desire of glory, and how greed of fame encumbers a man; and of his foolish dreams.
11. Of nobility, and its obligations; and what real nobility is; and that we are all God's children by birth, and those who remain so are really noble.

12. On various desires, which various men have: Play, the pleasures of the Table, Hawking, Lying in one's Inn, Hunting, Women; and how all these give us much trouble both whilst we are engaged with them; and, when not possessing them, whilst we dream of them.

BOOK IV.

1. On Riches, Dominion, Power, Name, Nobility and Desire, as connected with Unsteadiness. These need not trouble us if we do not wish to serve Un-virtue.

2 & 3. On Steadiness; definition. A few virtuous acts do not make a virtuous man. Various subdivisions of this matter. The good man turns whatever befalls him into good, the bad man to evil. Thus the bad man, if he becomes rich, is uncharitable.

4. Why God permits a bad man to do harm to a good one; and how it can be right that the devil is powerful.

5. Why evil sometimes befalls the good man, whilst it goes well with the bad one.

6. No one can penetrate God's decrees, and what he does is done well.

7. Let the good man fear nothing, and not care how long, but how, he lives.

8. On the death of friends, which is to be regretted, but with moderation. On the death of married people, and on second marriage, not too hastily to be entered into; and on chastity during widowhood. On secret transgressions.

9. Whether one shall recognize one's friends in the world to come.

BOOK V.

1. Division of things into good, evil, and neutral.

2. The Summum Bonum, and the way to it.

1 V. 4345-62.  
2 V. 1391-1400.
3. What attracts us to the highest good, and how the devil tries to drag us down the ladder again, using six hooks, called Riches, Power, Nobility, Name, Desire, Dominion.

4. No one comes to God but by virtue. No one possesses virtue entirely but God. A picture of such as have gone to hell through vice. On the error of redeeming sin through almsgiving; and that it is not possible for the rich to gain more in the eyes of God than the poor. Of the emperors Constantine and Julian who burn in hell.

5. On unjust lords. That an unjust ruler is an illegitimate one. Of the good old times, and that it is the fault of the lords that the times have become worse. Good knights are concealed, let the rulers find them.

6. The priests, too, were better in olden times. And the good among them now are not honoured as they used to be. Wise people are to be beloved, and the lords are to help those who wish to learn, and so are the bishops; and why they do not do so, and how great genius is allowed to run to waste through poverty.

7. Why art and knowledge are not acceptable: with something more on the neglect of learning. We are too much taken up by the desire of gain, and by the idea that the richer is the better man. And this again is the fault of the lords. Idleness leads to vice; and those lords that are responsible for the neglect of learning will fare worse even than we. And some more about hell. On pitch and sulphur abounding there; also of the chains and baths which they use in that place. And how, in defence, a chain of virtues may be prepared, and a bath hot with goodness.

BOOK VI.

1. To be steadfast in virtue, which, notwithstanding many drawbacks, ultimately gains the day. Examples of men who, by their virtue, brought great honour on God, even in their lifetimes, such as Bias, Job, Joseph, Moses, and David.

2. We ought to praise a good man, but the praise of the unwise

1 V. 6253-80.
is worthless. Of heartless rich men and usurers. On bringing one's children up to being merciful.

3. Of gentleness, and of anger, arrogance, envy, and unchastity, as sources of sorrow. Of robbers and thieves.

4. Mild men are more rarely injured than heartless ones. Malice comes from cowardice. Of the necessity of a pious knight waging war against the vices; and details of this warring, in which the Devil and the World and Desire help the Vices. Four troops of Vices and their order of battle.

5. Exhortation to knights and to priests. Of the duty of lords to those who are submitted to them, and how we ask our inferiors often to do both good and evil, whilst God asks us to do good only. Of our duties towards our friends.

6. Against wicked counsellors, the devil's whetstone and net. Dangers of greediness. Good cheer in poverty. On the necessity of faith in God's judgments. And some more about hell, whither hasten both priests and laymen.

BOOK VII.

1. Of the soul, and of its relations with the body, and its superiority to it.

2. Of the mind being tuned either to good or bad things; and some more of the misdoings of priests and knights, and also of greedy judges. Of the four powers: Imagination, Memory, Reasoning power, and Intellect.

3. Of the Arts. None is so little that one could know it wholly. Of the seven arts, and who were the best masters in each.

4. Of Theology and Medicine.

5. Of the decrease of learning. Exhortation to parents.

6. Of the five doors of the soul. The five senses as the servants of the four powers (vid. above, 2).

7. The soul in the body, as a king in his land.

8. Resuming the remarks on the powers of the body and soul, and their application.

BOOK VIII.

1. Un-Steadiness has a sister: Immoderation, who is also the mes-
senger of Foolishness, and playfellow of Drunkenness. Definition and illustrations.

2. By Immoderation Virtue becomes Un-virtue.¹

3. How by Moderation, Un-virtue may be changed into Virtue.

4. No good thing is immoderate. On Moderation in prayer, in church-going, and in fasting.

5. Moderation in speech, laughing, sleeping, waking, weapons, and dress. Examples of men who were wanting in moderation, and came to grief accordingly.

6. Farther examples of contemporaries who have come to grief by arrogance and immoderation, King John of England among them, and of others that have risen through humility.

7. Continues examples, taking them from olden times.

8. Of the fall of arrogant people. Of Disobedience to rulers, and of bad government. Examples of unruliness. Of the authority of the Pope (whom we scold at all times, though he is given to us a master by God).² Exhortation to continue the Crusade, and censure of those poets who mislead people from this aim, by other songs; on the high mission of poets.³ On heretics.⁴

9. Appeal to the German Knighthood to enter on a new Crusade.

10. The same to the German princes and to King Frederic (Emperor Frederic II.); much of this a paraphrase of Innocent III.'s Bull on the subject.

11. Return from this digression. Some more on arrogance, and the various ways by which it brings men to fall. Against malice, envy, and perjury.

BOOK IX.

"Here I make a little preface, and say how my pen complains against writing too much, and what answer I make, and then I begin my book." This little preface or episode we shall presently quote in full. The rest of this book is devoted to the consideration of Justice and the duties of judges, and

¹ On a les défauts de ses qualités.
² V. 11090-145.
³ V. 11201-25; vide above, page 80.
⁴ Vide p. 97-100.
treats of Mildness, Liberality, and Kindness; and winds up the subject, the author taking leave of his readers, and addressing his book as he sends it into the world.

Before we ourselves take leave of gentle and good Thomasin, we append a few further detached extracts from the last nine books, with which we did not wish to break the summary, and which we have thus reserved as a bonne bouche:

**IS LEARNING CONDUCIVE TO MORALITY?**

I. He who injures the mind of his child,
   By (false) economy and by (desire of) gain,
   In not sending him to school
   Nor to court, know ye that he turns
   His profit into a great loss.
   If one leaves to his child not sense,
   And leaves him riches, he knows not well
   What he is to do with them.
   Maybe that an unwise man
   Who knows nothing at all or but little,
   Nor, in consequence of his laziness, wishes to learn,
   Offers speech like the following:
   He answers me that
   The un-learned act better
   Than he who is a good scholar,
   And does not do as he ought.
   The priest who has got good learning
   Is hankering, just like unlearned people,
   After wicked things and sin,
   And making gains at all times.
   "Why then should we learn anything,
   Since we see that such things happen?"
   I will give him an answer
   To his speech, with one word:
   Doest thou fancy, that he who can read decently
   Is therefore a learned man?
   Truly there is a goodly number of priests,
   I really mean to assure you of that,
   Who read that they may see what is written,
   And yet may never succeed
   In understanding the writing.
   Thus it happens to a peasant
   Who goes to church
And stands in front of the pictures:
Although he sees the painting,
Yet what it means he knows not;
He does not know what the picture signifies:
Understanding is not such a common thing.
How then wilt thou, that he
Should know better than another
What he is to do, if he can understand
Nothing at all of what is the meaning of the writing?  
Now let us assume that he is really learned,
Cannot you take a like case
In the well-instructed physician,
Who greatly craves after unwholesome food
And yet knows that it will injure him,
But follows his greediness:
Thus perchance acts a man
Who can well understand the writings,
And whom yet his lechery draws
Into that whereby he gains trouble and sorrow.
(Yet) the art is to be held dear by us:
The physician can with his physic
Restore his health
If at any hour he fall sick.
If a man falls into a ditch, know ye
That he comes out of it better
If he has sight than if he has none.
Just so it fares with him
Who is really learned: if he do sin,
He thinks of it at another hour
That he may again do good,
And comes back again to the Commandments.

Rarely an unlearned man doeth that.

PROPER MOURNING FOR A FRIEND.

Ich wil iu sagen daz ich wil
I will tell you that I wish
daz man sin vriunt niht klage vil,
A man not to bewail much the loss of
doch sol man niht ân klage lân
Yet one shall not let
sine vriunt von hinne gân.
One's friend go hence without mourn-

Swie ich daz gesprochen hân,
As I have said
daz man schier läz sin vr unde gân,
That one is to leave one’s friends to
man solz alsô verstên nihit,
You must not understand
Those modern Austrian dialects, may be amused...
Truly I will tell you
What one sees in a man's exterior
Is not without significance,
Since it points at all times
To that which is within.

By one's weapons and by one's dress
One's heart is greatly known.
I will tell you, if a man
Can with uprightness and gentleness bring it about
That one cares more for him
Than for his weapons and arms, that is good.
As to what he has in his shield,
If he is upright in the field,
I care for it the more,
You may believe me in that.
Yet shall one have measure in these things:
It would seem to me not well done,
If a man were to have the sea-dogs (?) ¹
And would therefore paint
On his weapons the monsters of the sea,
And the fishes below.
If one bears a boar
On his shield, let him guard
Against having a swine-herd,
For that would look ill, that is true.
He who wants to bear a dog,
Let him not embellish the matter
So as to bring in the very hunt:
Let not his work be such.
If one were to bear a wolf,
How would it look if he wished
To have in his field
The she-wolf and the whelps?
One cannot praise it
In him to whom such a thing happens.

OF A JUDGE WHO DOES NOT ENJOY SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY.

Should there be a lord who has not
That power in his judgment seat
Which he justly ought to have
If people were (properly) submissive to him,

in finding here a very characteristic expletive, difficult of translation in all cases, and which we hardly would have expected to meet with in grave Thomasin:

sin waere halt gar ze vil.

¹ The passage is doubtful: the MSS. vary. The word may refer to something like those waving lines which, on Sicilian coins, indicate the sea.
Let him do like the eagle,
That ye may truly believe.
When the eagle has come to be aged
He flies then so high
That the sun sets on fire
His wings, that is true;
Then he leaves the sun,
And lets himself fall down into a well,
And thus renews himself,
That he becomes new, whole and gladsome.
Thus a lord ought to act:
If he cannot well control
His people and lands,
Let him raise himself at once
Towards God with humility,
With prayer, and with kindness,
That He may help him to judge well,
And so do that which he is to do.
When he has done so,
Then he is to let himself down
To his work, and at once
Justly judge his land.
Let him not be out of spirits
For what people may say or do to him,
For all that will be well disposed of,
If he has that piety and gentleness
That he desires
To accomplish his duty.

If this extract gives a curious instance of free handling of the ancient mythological tradition of the phoenix, the following may show in what manner our author treats a bit of the historical legends of antiquity:

OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO.

Ein stat gevangen wart
von ir vinden, dō vluhen hart
die man in der stat vant:
si truogen phenninge unde gewant.
dō was ein man under in,
der het den wistuom unde den sin
daz er niht wolde tragen:
die andern vuoren gar geladen,
einer vreite in zwiu er tāte daz.
dō antwurte er im baz
danner vragte: er sprach ‘min muot
treit min phenninge und min guot,’
er meinte sine tugent dermite,

A town was captured
By her enemies, then fled hastily
Those that were found in the town:
They bore money and dresses.
There was a man among them
Who had the wisdom and the sense
Not to wish to bear (away) anything:
The others were heavily laden.
Some one asked him why he did so.
Then he answered him well
His question: he said, ‘My spirit
Is my money and my goods.’
He meant thereby his virtue,
We must forbear the temptation to quote a fable of the Ass and the Wolf, very prettily told at some length and with great amplitude of moralities annexed: our readers will perhaps, by this time, care sufficiently for their Thomasin, to look it out in Max Müller's 'German Classics,' page 207-11, where a translation into modern German is given. And we conclude with this characteristic Dialogue, mentioned above, between the Author and his Pen.

**DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND HIS PEN.**

"Let me rest, since it is time,"
Speaks my pen; "he who never gives
To his own servant
Rest, he greatly wrongs him.
So have I—this is true—
Served you this whole winter,
That you never allowed me to remain (still):
I had to write day and night.
You have quite slit my mouth,
Since for more than ten hours
A day you used to mend 2 and cut me.
How could I suffer that so long?
You cut me now large now small,
And have made me common
By writing about masters and servants.
You do me great wrong,
When you used to keep up good manners

1 V. 6817-40.
2 Tempern. It temperino = the penknife.—Müller and Zarncke, T. iii. p. 29, certainly give the word in several other passages from other writers, and other words derived from the same root, but in all of them it has the meaning of properly mixing, and the like; none remind us, as our passage does, of the tempering of steel. Here we have one of the few instances in which the expression betrays our author's Italian origin.
I very much liked to be with you.  
When you with knights and ladies 
Used to attend tournaments and dances, 
Then I liked exceedingly to be near you: 
When you—believe me that—
Would be at court 
Amongst the people, then was my 
Belief that I was better 
By you than elsewhere; but you know 
Now you have discontinued (all) that, 
And have given up that (sort of) thing, 
And thrown yourself quite backwards. 
I have gained nothing by that, 
Since I must write all day long: 
Know that I won't stand it, 
You have become a hermit. 
Whilst you were at College, 
You did not give me so much trouble. 
Your door is (now) barred all day: 
Say on, what has happened to you? 
You have no wish to see ladies or knights. 
I am troubled beyond measure by your light, 
Which you burn all night long. 
If you mean in one year 
To write and eke put into verse 
What you have in you to write, 
I have no wish to remain with you. 
He who gives himself up to poetry 
Must become quite undone, 
Seeing he altogether loses himself 
With thoughts, that is true."

To which remonstrance the Pen receives this answer:

"Leave your complaint, complain not so much, 
And hear what I will tell you. 
If I had taken to poetry 
From a desire to kill time, I should not have got 
In four years to where I am, 
Unless I am much mistaken 
You know well that I speak truth. 
In eight months have I quite 
Finished the eight parts 
(Not without much night-watching on your side also), 
And I am to make two more of them: 
So you must do still two months' watching. 
With that, observe that my poetizing

1 This line is obscure in the original.
Is no amusement to me at all.
I might get out of it something like five years
Of amusement, that is true,
If I had taken to it for amusement.
As it is, I have taken it up
From necessity, as I see well
That people never do as they ought.
Therefore have I put aside
What I otherwise should have done,
As I must absolutely speak out
What to be silent about troubled me much,
You say that he becomes undone
Who gives himself to poetry:
If people had not in olden times
Been thus undone, there
Would not have been so many good men
As we read of in books.
And we should now be quite undone
If we did not find written that
Wherein a man may take a model and meaning,
I have become aware of one thing,
That one gets quite lost in thought
Whilst one poetizes, that is true,
So that one can hardly bear oneself properly
Whilst one is thinking much of it.
But when it has all come out
And one has in good time returned to oneself,
One may yet bear oneself better
Than one did before, know you that.
If my door is barred for a while,
That must not disturb (yon) too much,
Since in a (secluded) corner one must
Make a foot for a poem,
That in aftertimes it may run
In the wide, wide world.
I am exceedingly desirous of seeing
Both knights and ladies,
Yet methinks it is well done
That I should miss their company for a while,
In the words that I speak
(And) that are to be for the good of both.
He has not good counsel
Who, having served much and well,
Would for the sake of one small service,
Lose what he has served for well.
Thus I speak for your sake:
You have with your service gained me;
But if now you will leave me,
Then what you have done is lost.
I have of Unsteadiness,
With your help, said much,
(Also) of Steadiness and Measure;
Wild-conduct (lit. Unmeasure) I do not overlook,
Since of it I have also said
That she is the sister of Unsteadiness.
Steadiness and Measure are sisters,
They are children of one virtue.
Right is the brother of the twain,
And of him I am now
To say willingly and to write well
What I have to say of him.—
And thou Right, write in my heart about right,
That in my utterance of it it become not wrong.
Thou indeed writest not with ink:
But everything will be worthless
That I may write with ink,
Unless it be that Thou seest to it all the day long.”

In looking out for other books of about the same period, and
treating of kindred subjects, we find the Advice of a Father to his
Son by (the knight of) Winsbeke, to which is added the answer of the
son. The date is not ascertainable, further than that the language
assigns it to the 13th century, and that an allusion to Wolfram’s
Percival, which was written between 1205 and 1215, shows it to be
later than this poem, and consequently later than our Thomasin.
Like that greater author, Winsbeke deals little in the externals of
ceremony, much less than the writers of similar English performances
in this volume and in the Babees Book. Another hand has added
Advise of the Lady of Winsbeke (die Winsbekin) to her Daughter.

Both books, of much smaller extent than Thomasin, were edited
by Haupt, in 1845.¹ They are divided into stanzas, and the metre
is rather more lively than Thomasin’s.

We quote a few passages from the

ADVICE OF THE FATHER.

Sun, swer bi dir ein møre sage, Son, if anyone in your house tell a tale,
mit worten imz niht widersprich : Do not contradict him in terms :

¹ Moritz Haupt. Der Winsbeke and die Winsbekin. Mit Anmer-
kungen, Leipzig. Weidmann, 1845 (Br. Mus.).
und swer dir sineh kumber klage
in schame, des erbarme dich :
der milte got erharmet sich
über alle die erbärmi sint,
den wiben allen schöne sprich :

ist undr in einiu selbst vri,
dâ wider sint tümset oder mô
den tugent und eür wonet bi,1

Sun, du solt kiuscher worte sén

und staetes muotes; tuost du daz
sô habe ez üf die triuwe mín,
du lebst in èren deste baz,
trac níemen nit nach langen haz,
wes gên den vinden wol genuot,
den friunden nîht mit dienste laz,
da bi in zühten wol gezogen,
und grüeze den du grüezen solt,
sô has dich selde niht betrogen.

And if some one makes plaint to you
of his grief
With a feeling of shame, have pity on
him.
Gentle God has pity
On all those who are pitying.
To all the ladies speak courteously
(beautifully):
If there is among them one too free,
There are, as a set off, a thousand and
more
In whom dwell virtue and honour.
Son, thou shalt use choice (chaste)
words
And be of steady spirit: if thou dost so
Thou may'st believe on my faith
Thou shalt live in honour all the more.
Do not long bear hatred against any-
one,
Be of good spirit towards thy enemies,
Do not grow tired of serving thy friends,
Be at the same time like one well
brought up in Good-Breeding,
And salute him whom it is right for
thee to salute,
Then thou wilt be rarely disappointed.2

That late Latin author who justly, or by a mistake, has been
called Dionysius Cato, and who, according to one who has specially
inquired into the matter, may have lived in the fourth century after
Christ, left to our ancestors a favourite reading book, in his Sententiae,
or collection of maxims on life. A very early prose translation was
made of them by Notker in the 10th century (d. 1022). Many
translations, extensions, adaptations followed, each writer altering or
adding to the ground-work as, in his desire for the moralization of the
world, appeared fit to him. Of such a "German Cato," which seems
not to be later then the middle of the 13th century, we throw together
a few extracts, bearing, to some extent, on the subject of courtesy.3

121 Wis ob dinem tische vrô:
an vrömder stat tuo niht alsô.
121 Be joyful at your own table :
At that of a stranger it is not
equally fitting.4

1 Stanza 10.
2 Stanza 39.
3 Fr. Zarncke, Der deutsche Cato. Geschichte der deutschen Ueber-
setzungen der im Mittelalter unter dem Namen Cato bekannten Distichen bis
zur Verdrängung derselben durch die Uebersetzung Seb. Brant's am Ende
des 15 Jahrhunderts.—Leipzig, G. Wigand, 1852. (In the Brit. Mus.)
4 Compare the injunction in the Babees Book, II. 26/29, 'to talk morosely'
When taking the bread of a stranger host,
Guard your speech,

Mark what the host does,
And be you silent about it at all times.
If the host ask you anything,
Answer him and speak.
To be silent is a great virtue,
Both in old age and in youth.

Flee from slander,
Be no tale-bearer:
To be silent, harms not any day,
Yelping may indeed do harm.

Inquire what thy wife says,
If she complains about the servants:
Wives greatly hate a man
To whom the master of the house
is favourable.

If you exhort your friend too much
So that he is not inclined to follow you,
(Yet) if he be dear to you, whatever he do,
Still exhort him, it may be good.

By services of all kind
You shall retain your friend,

Never think at any time
Of the anger which has been forgotten.

You shall spare the servants
Who serve you for wages;
Think that each of them is
A human being, as you are yourself.

These editions and amplifications of Dionysius Cato, into which later authors freely introduced passages from Thomasin and from the Fridanc, lead us to a metrical performance by a writer calling himself the Tannhäuser, and whom Gervinus considers the originator of such rules of table-discipline as have been inserted into the Cato. This opinion loses somewhat of its probability if we compare the Tannhäuser's work with the similar ones in English, French, and especially in Latin, with which the Babees Book has made us ac-

always, except at table when you are told to be jocose; here then doctors of courtesy differ.
quainted, and with Mr Rossetti's Italian text in the present volume. The text of Tannhäuser was published by Haupt from a MS. preserved at Vienna,¹ of the year 1395. It does not seem possible to assign an exact date to the poem; the language is, however, slightly more modern than that of Thomasin,² and the passage v. 217-20—see it below, with the original in the note—offers so striking a coincidence with one occurring in a poem by Trimberg (1260-1309), that we may fairly consider it to be written in reference to it, and to place our Tannhäuser at about the end of the 13th century.³

We are here in contact with a man of much slighter calibre than Thomasin, and are rather surprised on finding the line (257),

'Who never suffered, never did enjoy.'

On the whole, beyond the usual pious exordium and peroration, and some care for one's health, we find the author entirely concerned with externals, in which a touch, here and there, differs from the parallel productions just mentioned. We let our author speak:

COURTLY BREEDING BY TANNHAUSER.

He appears to me to be a well-bred man, Who can appreciate all courtliness, Who never fell into habits of ill-breeding, And whose manners never departed from him, There are many rules of Good Breeding, And they are useful for many things; Know ye now that he who will follow them, He will very rarely do amiss. These are maxims of great courtesy Which a noble man shall keep, And they treat of many a bad habit Which may be known thereby. Courtesy surely is good for people, And he who gives Good Breeding its due Has preserved himself from acting badly; Him God makes right high-minded. Therefore I advise my friends that They hate the essence of Ill Breeding. He who never forgot his rules of courtesy, How rarely had he ever to blush! At meals you shall speak as soon As ye have sat down:¹

'May Jesus Christ bless us.' Think ye of God at all times. When you eat, be exhorted Not to forget the poor;² So shall you be well known by God,

² This, after all, proves little, seeing how readily, in the middle ages, the copyists adapted the words of an original to the dialectic forms to which they were accustomed.  
³ About the middle of the 13th century there lived a poet, of the name of Tanhaeuser, who appears as a contemporary of Pope Urban IV. (1264-68). He may be identical with our author.  
¹ Mark, not standing, as we moderns should think it more right.  
² See above, in Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 15.
If good is done by you.
Be mindful of the great need
Of orphans, wherein they are:
Give them, through God, your bread,
So you shall free yourself from hell.
No two noble men shall use the same spoon in eating their broth:2
That is well befitting for courteous people,
For very unknighthly things happen.
To drink out of the dish befits no one,
Though many a one praise such bad manners,
Who takes it very wrongfully,
And pours down (the broth) like an enraged man;
And him who leans over the dish
Whilst he eats, like a pig, 42
And, in a very uncleanly manner, snorts
And smacks with his mouth.
Some people bite off pieces of bread
And thrust it (the remainder) back into the dish, 46
According to boorish manners:
Such ill-breeding courteous people give up.
Some people are inclined,
When they have gnawed a bone, 50
To put it back again into the dish:
That you have to consider as acting greatly amiss.
Those who like to eat mustard and sauces,
Let them be very careful
To forbear being dirty,
And not to push their fingers into them.
He who belches when he is to eat
And blows his nose into the table-cloth,
Both these things are not befitting;3
As far as I can understand. 60
He who grunts (snouts), like a waterbadger,4
Whilst he eats, as some are accustomed to do,

And smacks like a Bavarian,
How much does he renounce Good Breeding. 64
He who wishes both to speak and eat,
To do the two kinds of work at the same time,
And to speak in his sleep,
He can but very rarely rest well. 68
During meal, leave disputing alone
Whilst you eat, as some do:
Think on that, oh my friends,
That never were there such ill-befitting manners. 72
The man who puts the loaf against his body,

And cuts as a sick woman may do 75

And if a little dish is brought in
With sauce when you go to dine,
You must not put into it
Your bare hand, that befits ill. 80
It appears to me a very bad action,
In whomsoever I see this piece of ill-breeding,
If a man has got in his mouth something to eat,
And the while drinks like a beast, 84
Some people blow into their drink;
Many a one likes to do so as a regular thing:
It is very uncertain whether you will be thanked for doing so;
Such ill-breeding one ought to be without.5
Some people look over their beakers
Whilst they drink; that does not befit well:
Have not such people as cavaliers
Where you are to have the best. 92
Before you drink, wipe your mouth,
Lest you dirty the drink with fatty matter:
Courtly manner befits well at all moments,
And is a courtly of thinking. 96

1 An additional touch, not contained in the Italian parallel poem.
2 Same remark.
3 Vide Mr Rossetti's Essay, p. 23, and note.
4 The compound word not to be found: about the parts there is no doubt, but I know not what animal is meant. An otter? or beaver?
Between the courses a man may
Well drink, if need impels him,
(And) if he can have the drink;
Not all people like it. 100
He who puts his finger on the knife
Whilst he cuts, as a skinner \(^1\) does,
How rarely does such a man stir
When one conquers over heathens!
And those who loll on the table
Whilst they eat,—which does not best
He is an odd fish, and not sound to the
back-bone.\(^2\)
He who blows his nose at table
And rubs it with his hand, 130
He is a disgraceful fellow, if I under-
stand it well;
He is not aware of better breeding.
If it happen that one must
Place some little dish between (several
guests).
Ye would be wanting in all good
breeding
If ye were to put your hands in all at the
same time. 136
He who means to eat with bread
(steepling it into the broth)
Whilst another eats with him,
Let him well guard against that,
If he has got the least virtue.\(^3\) 140
I hear it said of some
(If it is true, it is ill-befitting)
That they eat without having washed
themselves:
May their joints grow lame! 144
Some are so over-joyous,
They eat, as it appears to me,
Without being aware of the where-
abouts of their mouths
And bite their own fingers, 118
And their tongue, so I hear it said.\(^4\)
To whom will he complain of the
damage.

And as still happens here and there:
He who does so, it is not good. 120
He who likes to eat with spoons,
And cannot manage to lift the food
with them,
Let him forbear from the dirty way
Of shoving it on them with his fingers.
He who whilst at table, takes it into
his head 125
To let out his girdle,
He may for a long while wait for me,

1 The "skinner" makes his appearance here somewhat unexpectedly; but very likely he may be thought of as connected with the knacker, and the latter's business was ordinarily combined with the functions of the executioner,—of whom courtesy and fighting the heathen could certainly not be expected.

2 Er ist niht visch unz an den grit,—bis auf die Grüten, nicht ganz war er sein soll—not a fish to the backbone.

3 Perhaps this translation is rather forced. The original is obscure, and some line or lines may be lost.

4 hore ich, which is repeated below, is, at present, a frequent expletive among the Germans of Bohemia; this observation, were it strengthened by others, might allow a guess at the home of the author.
To clean one's ears is not seemly
Whilst he eats, these three things are not good. 160
It is rarely, (nay) never good,
If one means to eat in company,
To wrong Moderation
With overeating; it is not befitting.
Towards night no one ought to eat much 165
Who has eaten well in the morning;
He who will greatly over-feed himself,
His boiled meat will rarely do him good.
Of overeating comes gout
And other disease, I hear it affirmed:
By gluttony many sins are done,
By drinking much wickedness has been done. 172
Hunger is truly better
Than to eat too much meat:
It is preferable that a man should hunger
Unless he wants to become an invalid.
Of overeating comes much trouble
For Carnival-time and at Easter-tide:
Many thousands have died of eating
Which has ruined their stomachs.
He therefore who spoils his bread
with sauces,¹
That he may change his dress into drink,
And consequently gets into great trouble,
He must be called a fool. 184
He who, without being thirsty, will drink a great deal,
He draws near to death;
And (he who), without being hungry, will eat a great deal,
He won't live long, methinks. 188
On the other hand, if one shoves little into his mouth,
When great hunger oppresses him,
He becomes very rarely quite well;
In the long run he fares like the other.
Many people have died of hunger,
And such things still happen. 194
Of thirst many suffer,
Who yet do not die of thirst.
God bless our drink:
He who never had beginning 198
And never can come to an end,
May cause the drink to be salutary to us.
Hereof speak Sir Fridane,
(Saying) good wine is the best drink:
His view follows Tannheuser:
Yet a good many heathens won't believe it. 204
Hot dishes
You ought to avoid, if ye be wise,
However great hunger you may have:
Such food injures many a one.
The household is quite desecrated
Where food is not properly attended to;
It cannot be called a household.
If there is neither bread nor drink.²

¹ Persicos, odi, puer apparatus.—Hor.
² I give the original of a few lines here, as a specimen of Tannhäuser's language:
swer machet eine höchzit,
swie manige traht man git,
dā mac kein wirtschaft sin,
da ensi guot brōt unde win,
swā man des schächzabels gert
und swa manz von hunger mert,*
da mac kurzwile gevalen niht
und ist diu wirtschaft gar enwilt. 220
diu lazheit reizet manegen man
daz er guotes niht cukan:
daz wirt ein ewiger tōt
und bringet manenge sōle in nōt,
nu lāt in die zuht behagen 225

è daz si komen zuo ir tagen
den kinden sol manz niht versagen.
swer alle zuht behalten kan
und lāt die unzuht unter wegen, 230
der wirt vor gute ein lieber man,
mae ers an sinen tōt gephilgen.
swer alle zuht kan bewarn
und volget nāch der zūhte wol,
des sōle maen vil wol gelawm, 235
sō der lip sterben sol.
vorn wirt kein wol gezogen man,
kein ungezogen man der kan
ze himeleliche nimmer konen,
also hān ich vernomen. 240

* Obsene line of which we attempt no translation. Even the learned German editor gives it up, declaring: 'diese Zeile ist mir nicht deutlich.'
CONCLUSION.

No gross feeder ever becomes quite wise; 213
That you may see by many a glutton.
No good sense has the wine-bibber
Who pays heed to nothing but his belly.

Overmuch food and drunkenness,

He regrets it in his old age
And it makes many people stupid,
If one in his youth becomes a wine-bibber,

And amidst gluttony comes to his old age,
He gets by it a big belly,
But how little that does good to the soul!

A man ought to bear good and evil,
And amidst all it live courteously,
And ought not to lose heart
If things do not at every moment do according to his wish.

Who never suffered, never did enjoy; 1

A pious man ought to bear everything,
Whatever fortune befall him,
Both the sweet and the bitter,

If a man gives a feast,
However many courses be given,
There can be no household
If there be no good bread and wine.

Where one plays with scanty bits of bread, like chessmen 2

There can take place no enjoyment
And the household is quite desecrated.

Laziness attracts many a man
That he may not do good:

That becomes an everlasting death
And gets many a soul into trouble.

Now let Good-breeding please you.

Before they come to years
One shall not refuse it to the children.

He who can keep all Good-breeding
And leaves alone Ill-breeding,

He becomes dear in the eyes of God,
If he practises it (Good-breeding) to his death.

He who can guard all Good-breeding
And well follows the rules of Courtesy,
His soul may fare exceedingly well,
Though the body is to die.

No well-educated man is lost.

No badly-brung-up man can
Ever come to Heaven,
So have I understood.
Tannhäuser has made
This discourse with some trouble.
It warns well against evil actions
Him who is not (yet) thoroughly as he ought to be.

Here this good teaching cometh to an end;

God from Ill-Breeding us forfend.

Amen. 3

1 Wer nie sein Brod mit Thraenen ass,
   Wer nie die kummervollen Naechte,
   Auf seinem Bette weinend ass,
   Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Maechte, &c.—Goethe.

2 This passage is explained by one in the Renner of Hugo of Trimberg:

   God, let me never sit there
   Where they play chess with little bits of bread on the table.
   If I should chance to get a King
   Or a Castle, I might do well:
   With pawns I could hardly satisfy my hunger.

Wackernagel refers this to the over careful arrangement of pieces of bread on the table of a miser. Wackernagel über d. Schachspiel in Mittelalter in Krug und Weissenbach Beitr. zur Gesch. und Lit. Is. 28 flg. Aarau, 1846.

3 der Tannhüsaere gemachet hât
die rede mit sümlicher rât,
ez l ret wol für missetât

der niht ist vizeh biz an den grât.
Dise gut ler hat ain ende
Got an vns alle vnzjuht wend. Amen.
NOTE ON

Le Ménagier de Paris,
1393-4 A.D.

BY F. J. FURNIVAL.

The French Contenances de la Table, &c., printed in Part II of the Babees Book, are, perhaps, enough of an Early English Text to have devoted to early French Manners and Cookery; but the importance of the Ménagier, which I had seen, but not worked at all, when I edited the Babees Book, may excuse a page or two being given to it, after the elaborate treatment of Thomasin von Zirclaria which we have made room for. The following paragraph by me on the work was inserted in The Athenceum of July 24th, 1859, p. 118, col. 1, 2.

'Le Ménagier de Paris' [is] a treatise on morals and domestic economy, composed about the year 1393, by a wealthy Parisian, for the instruction of his young wife, and edited in 1847 by M. Pichon, for the Société des Bibliophiles Français. The book, though scarce, is still procurable, and is certainly no less valuable in its way, while it is even more curious, than its better-known fellow, 'The Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry,' wherein he wrote, in 1372, 'the Good Manners of Good Dames, and their Good Deeds,' to the end that his daughters might take example thereby. The 'Ménagier' begins with the love of God and the salvation of the young wife's soul,—she is only fifteen,—ends with recipes for cooking sardines and young herrings, and embraces between these extremes the Whole Duty of Woman, as well the propriety of keeping her eyes on the ground as she walks about the town, as of ordering her servants to put their bed-candles out with their fingers or their mouths, and not with their shirts¹. Part of the wife's personal duty to the husband in winter, and in summer too, we must quote in the original²: —"Gardez en yver qu'il ait bon feu sans fumée; et entre vos mamelles [soit] bien conchié, bien couvert; et ille l'ensorcellez³ Et en

¹ ii. 71. ² i. 171. ³ Charme, inchaunt, bewitch, eye-bite. Cotgrave.
esté, gardez que en vostre chambre, ne en vostre lit, n’ait nulles puces; ce que vous pouvez faire en six manières, si comme j’ay oy dire.”

And then follow the six methods for getting rid of these pestilent parasites. The book, to our surprise, notices the custom of servants using the word “sanglant” in their oaths: “de males sanglantes fièvres... de male sanglante journée.”¹ We know no such early use of “bloody” in English, but may notice that some costermongers have lately substituted the participle “bleeding” for the adjective. “My bleeding barrow” is the latest phrase in vogue. The ‘Ménagier’ contains a treatise on Hawking, a great many bills-of-fare for dinners, weddings, &c., and numerous recipes for dishes,—among which may be noticed one for Chaucer’s blancmanger (our ‘Forme of Curry’ has two); another for an English dish, “soubtil brouet d’Angleterre”²—chestnuts, eggs, pig’s liver, and spices, boiled and strained; and another containing four ways of making the gaufres, since popular at penny-ice shops. The ginger “columbine,” that puzzled Mr Furnivall in his ‘Russell’s Book of Nurture,’ is explained to be an inferior kind of ginger, cheaper and worse than the darker-skinned whiter-insided “gingembre mesche,” worth 20 sols a pound, while columbine costs only 11₃.

But this sketch is a very incomplete one, as the reader will see from the title of the book, which is as follows:


The book well deserves translation into English, the moral parts being written in a loving, tender spirit, which speak well for the character of the old husband of near sixty, though he had married a

¹ ii. 59. ² ii. 166. ³ ii. 230.
young orphan-girl of 15; "seldom will you see ever so old a man who will not willingly marry a young woman" (i. 158). And though, as the reader will have seen, the old man has some regard for his creature and sexual comforts, yet he looks even more to his young wife's second husband than himself, and more to her being as thoroughly mistress of her household for her own sake than for his. A sweet and loving wife, a sensible religious woman, and a finished housewife, would the good old bourgeois husband—a gentleman in spirit and station too—make of the young untrained girl whose life he had linked to his own.

The work is divided into three Distinctions or Parts, each with its articles or sections.

I. How to gain the love of God and the salvation of your soul.
   1. Pray to God and the Virgin when you wake in the morning. (p. 9-15)
   2. On choosing good companions, going to church, confession, &c. 15-16
   3. Always love God and the Virgin; with an abstract of a treatise on Repentance, Confession, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Virtues. 16-62
   4. Live chastely, like Susanna, Lucretia, &c. 62-76
   5. Love your husband (whether me or another) like Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel. 76-96
   6. Be humble and obedient to your husband, like Grisild, &c. In the illustrative story, p. 158-165, a cure for a saucy wife is given: bleed her till she faints. 96-168
   7. Be 'curieuse' and careful of his person (From this is the extract above, p. 149, 150. An interesting chapter) 168-177
   8. Keep your husband's secrets, and conceal his faults; don't talk scandal, exaggerate, asotherwomendo, &c. 177-185
   9. If your husband's going to make a fool of himself like Melibeus, quietly stop him, as Prudence did. 185-240

Part II. begins the second volume, and is of Managing the Household, gaining Friends, guarding against Mishaps and Old Age.
§ 1. Take care of, and pleasure in, your house (including the Poem of ‘The Way of Poverty and Riches,’ by Jean Bruyant, 1342 A.D., p. 4-42) 1-42

§ 2. Of the flower- and kitchen-garden, &c. 43-53

§ 3. How to choose men-servants, women-servants, &c., and tradesmen; to teach servants to clean dresses, &c., to look after sheep, horses, &c., and to take care of and cure wines. (A good chapter) 53-79

§ 4. Of the Butchers and the consumption of Paris; cartes of divers dinners and suppers, and one wedding-breakfast of Maistre Jean de Hautecourt (p. 118-123) 1 80-124

§ 5. Recipes for all kinds of soups, sauces, joints, &c., for invalids as well as healthy people; with an Appendix of Recipes, by M. Pichon (p. 273-7) 125-277

Part III. Of this, unluckily, only the second section, the Book of Hawking, vol. ii, p. 279-326, exists in the MSS, says M. Pichon. The 1st section should have been on games of chance, dice, and (?) chess (par roes et par roys). The 3rd section should have been of games by questions, which wanted reckoning and numbers to answer them, and were difficult to find out.

As a sample of the Recipes, Part II., § 5, here are two for cooking un-English French dishes, special to Johnny Crapaud:

Frogs. To take them, have a line and a little fish-hook with a bait of flesh or of red cloth; and, having caught your frogs, cut them across through the body, near the thighs, and empty what you'll find in the arse; and take the two thighs of the said frogs; cut off the feet; skin the said thighs all raw; then have cold water, and wash them; and if the thighs stop a night in cold water, they'll be so much the better and tenderer. And thus soaked, let them be washed in warm water, and then put in a towel, and wiped. The said thighs, thus washed and wiped, let them be besmeared with

1 Compare ‘A Feste for a Bryde,’ Babees Book, p. 357. 2 ii, 222-3.
3 Col.: m. An arse, bunitne, tayle, neckandroc, fundament. Cotgrave.
flour, that is, bemeeled or floured¹ (en farine touillées, id est, en-
furinées), and afterwards fried in oil, lard,² or other liquor, and be
put in a dish, and powder [spice, &c.] on it.

Snails, which are called escargols (snails), should be caught in
the morning. Take the young small snails, those that have black
shells, from the vines or elder-trees; then wash them in so much
water that they throw up no more scum; then wash them once in
salt and vinegar, and set them to stew (cuiré) in water. Then you
must pick these snails out of the shell at the point of a pin or
needle; and then you must take off their tail, which is black, for
that is their turd; and then wash them, and put them to stew and
boil in water; and then take them out, and put them in a plate or
dish to be eaten with bread. And also some say that they are
better fried in oil and onion, or other liquor, after they have been
cooked as above said; and they are eaten with powder [spice, &c.]
and are for rich people.

On this, M. Pichon comments: We find at the end of The Shep-
herds' Calendar (Paris, 1493, folio, fol. N vj), a very curious piece on
the Snail, in which the writer says to it: ‘Never does a Lombard
eat thee in such sauce as we make for thee. We put thee in a big
plate, with black pepper and onions.’³

Besides recipes for dishes, Le Ménagier contains others for
making glue (ii. 250), marking-ink (ii. 263); for curing toothache
(ii. 257), &c., &c., and one for curing the bite of a mad dog or other
beast (ii. 259); an odd bit of gibberish:—“Take a crust of bread,
and write what follows: † Bestera † bestie † nay † brigonay † dictera
† sragran † es † domina † fiat † fiat † fiat †.”

This bare sketch does, of course, no kind of justice to the book,
which is full of interest of all kinds to the Englishman as well as the
Frenchman. Those members who can afford it, should buy it; and

¹ Ensarinté . Bemealed; whitened or strewed ouer with meale. Cotgrave.
² Sain : m. Seame; the tallow, fat, or grease of a Hog, or of a raenuous
wild beast. ib.
³ Oncques Lombard ne te mangeat,
   A telle saauce que [nous] ferons;
Si te mettrons en vug grant plat,
   Au poivre noir et aux egnons.
any one who wishes to pursue the subject farther should read Le Grand d'Aussy's *Histoire de la Vie Privée des Français, depuis l'origine de la Nation jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols. Paris, 1782; *Le Livre fort excellente de Cuisine*, Lyons, 1542, or its reprint, the *Grand Cuisinier de toutes Cuisines* (Paris, between 1566 and 1574) —the new edition of it by M. de la Villegille, preparing in 1846, has not been published;—the *Fleur de toute Cuisine. . . revue et corrigée par Pierre Pidoue*, Paris, 1543; and M. Pichon's article on 'Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent . . . écuyer de cuisine de Charles VI en 1386 . . . dans le Bulletin du bibliophile de Techener, no. de juin 1843.'¹ M. Bachelin-Deflorenne says that 'of the many books of *Cuisinières Bourgeoises*, there is only one to be recommended, that by M. Hanffe, *Le Livre de Cuisine*, with 25 plates in chromolithography, and 161 vignettes engraved on wood, 1847, large 8vo, price about 50 francs.'

¹ *Le Ménagier*, p. xxxv-vi.
Awdelay's
Fraternity of Vacabondes,
Harman's Caveat,
Haben's Sermon, &c.

Early English Text Society.
Extra Series. No. IX.
1869.
DUBLIN: WILLIAM McGEE, 18, NASSAU STREET.
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The Fraternity of Vagabondes
BY JOHN AWDELEY
(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565)
FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A Caueat or Warenning for Common Cursetors
vulgarely called Vagabones
BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIERE,
FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.
COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, AND WITH THE REPRINT OF THE
4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery
BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE,

THOSE PARTS OF
The Groundworke of Conny-catching (ed. 1592)
THAT DIFFER FROM HARMAN'S CAUEAT.

EDITED BY
EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

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PREFACE.

If the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the Liber Vagatorum\(^1\) in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's Description of Britain, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that book.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's Fraternity of Vagabondes, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's Caveat. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

There was a fewe yeaeres since a small brefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

\(^1\) Liber Vagatorum: Der Betler Orden: First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds;' the 2nd, sundry notabilia relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rotwelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the Wiemarisches Jahrbuch, vol. 10; 1856. Hotten's Slang Dictionary: Bibliography.
This description of the 'small breve,' and the 'lytle shewe' of the 'names and vsage,' exactly suits Awdeley's tract; and the 'fewe yeares since' also suits the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the Fraternitye, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdeley; now and then it stands in the Register 'Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier, and ought to have been included by Ritson in his Bibliographica Poetica. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small breve' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':

"1560.1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett called the description of vakaBoundes . . . . iiiij."

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabones, as well of ruffling va- bones as of beggerly, as well of women as of men, and as well of gyrls as of boyes, with their proper names and qualityes. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quarten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the British Bibliographer, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six-line stanzas. If this work came out originally in 1561, according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, Registers, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1563 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

1 See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.
2 as well and and as well not in the title of the 1575 edition.
p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confess as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' that,—'at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "For as much as these two names, a Larkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old briefe of vacabondes, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall understande that a Larkeman hath his name of a Larke, which is a scale in their Language, as one should make writings and set scales for lyences and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vacabondes, and there see, at page 5, below:

\[=\] A LACK MAN.

A Lackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Scales, in their language called Larkes. (See also 'A Whiapiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a Patrico, p. 60, with that in 'the old Briefe of Vacabondes,' Awdeley, p. 6:

Awdeley.  
\[=\] A Patriarke Co.  
A Patriarke Co doth make marriages, & that is vntill death depart the maried folke.

Harman.  
there is a Patrico . . .
A Patriarke Co doth make marriages, & that is vntill death depart the maried folke.

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).  
\[=\] A PALLIARD.  
A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and his Doxy clokes, and haue their Morts with goeth in like apparell.

Harman (p. 44).  
\[=\] A Pallyard.  
A Palliard is he that goeth in a These Palliardes . . . go with patched patched cloke, and his Doxy clokes, and haue their Morts with them.

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his Fraternitye in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as compared with Harman's Caueat, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'
‘A Cheautor or Fingerer,’ and ‘A Ring-Faller’ (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley’s ‘small breefe’ or ‘old breife of vacabonds,’ and wrote his own “bolde Beggars booke” (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman’s Caveat is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is the standard work on its subject,—‘these rowsey, ragged, rabblemell of rachellettes’ (p. 19)—and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that’s ‘Harman to the Reader,’ p. 28, below, he says ‘well good reader, I meane not to be tedious vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.’ He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, ‘I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was first a printynge;’ and also at p. 51, below, ‘Apon Alhol enday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression.’ All Hallows’ or All Saints’ Day is November 1.

The edition called the second, also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is ‘Augmented and enlarged by the fyrst author here of,’ and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of ‘The Names of

1 Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, ‘the last sommer, Anno Domini, 1566,’
2 ‘now at this seconde Impression,’ p. 27; ‘Whyle this second Impression was in printinge,’ p. 87.
the Vright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns:

\[ \text{¶ Vright Men.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Myllar.</td>
<td>Gryffen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wylliam Chamborne.</td>
<td>Thomas Cutter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan Medcalfe.</td>
<td>Dowlabell skylfull in fence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{¶ Roges.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harry Walles with the little mouth.</th>
<th>Lytle Robyn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Waren.</td>
<td>Lytle Dycke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Paske.</td>
<td>Lambart Rose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Delbarby.</td>
<td>Harry Mason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humfrey Warde.</td>
<td>Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{¶ Pallyards.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned lycence.</th>
<th>Edward Heyward, hath his Morte following hym Whiche fayneth y° crank.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bashorde.</td>
<td>Preston.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robart Lackley.</td>
<td>Preston.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wylliam Thomas.</td>
<td>Robart Canloke.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A.D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A.D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below: 'Whyle this second Im-
pression was in printinge, it fortunated that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567, and commytted vnto a offeser, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter;' and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn's Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its exten-
tion of the story of the 'dysesembling Cranke,' Nycholas Genings, and 'the Printar of this booke' Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace's reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier's Registers of the Stationers' Company, i. 155-6, 166.

"1566-7 Rd. of William Greffeth, for his lycense for printinge of a boke intituled a Caviat for common Corsetors, vulgarly called Vagabons, by Thomas Harman . . . . . . iiiij."

"[No edition of Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,' of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton's im-
pression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledg-
ment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers' Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman's work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding 'the boke of Rogges,' or Rogues.]

"1566-7. For Takynge of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry
Bynneman, for his fyne for undermy[n]dinge and procurunge, as moche as in hym ded lye, a Copye from wylliam greffeth, called the boke of Rogges . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . iij₃.

"[This was certaily Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors'; and here we see Bynneman fined for endeavouuring to under-mine Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynneman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register."

"Also, there doth remayne in the handes of Mr Tottle and Mr Gonneld, then wardens, the somme of iij₃. vij₄. viij₄., wherto was Recevyd of garrad dewes for pryntinge of the boke of Rogges in a° 1567 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . iij₃. vij₄. viij₄.

"[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]"

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as 'Jack Sheppard' has done in later days. The very wood-cutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, prigged two of his praucer's props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury's parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); 'he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister' (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (ib.); 'he knew London well' (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent 'beinge placed as a poore gentleman,' he had in 1567, 'kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,' and where, being kept at home 'through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemen, as boyes and gyrles,' whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

"Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diners tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,
wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the
same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his
hunting out the Cranke, Nycholes Genings, and his securing the
vagabond's 13s. and 4d. for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6;
his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and
securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beg-
gars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was
acquaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Holycon' (p. 27-8),
yet he could write verses—though awfully bad ones: see them at
pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26 ; he knew Latin—
see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his una voce, p.
43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his omnia venalia Rome, p.
60; his homo, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24;
&c.; he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked pro-
verbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as
he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a
Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Har-
rison (see p. xii. below); 'a Justice of Peace in Kent,' in Queene
Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands; he bore arms (of heraldry),
and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had
at least one old 'tennant who customably a greate tyme went
wise in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heath) eyther wyth
fruitc or with pescodde' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to
dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture, the best gelding of
which the Pryggers of Prunecers prigged (p. 44); he had an un-
chaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is
not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

1 Mr J. P. Collier (Bibliographical Catalogue, i. 365) has little doubt that
the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's Caveat were part of
"a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at
Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the Caveat.
2 Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in
which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of shires, points to a liver in
a non -shire.
3 In Martin Marck-all, Beadle of Bridewell, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.
4 Compare his 'ride to Dartford to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.
his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 31-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked Parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they have succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecent, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable . . . reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stampt on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—? not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown," and

1 "John Harman, Esquyer, one of the gentlemen ushers of the Chambre of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothye Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii, of Lysons's Environs of London.)
who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.\(^1\) On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.\(^2\) On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 \& 3 Edw. VI.\(^3\) He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.\(^4\) His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esqr."—*History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham "passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight’s service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir: Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI."—Hasted’s *History of Kent*, vi. p. 47.

"It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgaveling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI."—Hasted’s *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. cxliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson’s *Gavelkind*—twelfth from the bottom stands that of Thomas Harman.

Of Thomas Harman’s aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find: "John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edwurd VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . ."—Hasted’s *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

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1 Phillipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.
2 Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.
3 See Robinson’s *Gavelkind*, p. 300.
4 She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. *Stemm. Chich.* No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters: Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binneman. *Ibid.*
The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of provision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.1 And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggers through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of col. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means 2 are in the beginning 1 instlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore 2 afore mentioned 1; but, degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doe what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest excercise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertrie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such 3 is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiuers, and applieng the same to the more fleshe parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like unto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull 4 and odious sores, and moue 2 the harts of 2 the goers by such places where they lie, to 5 yerne at 5 their miserie, and therevpon 2 bestow large almesse vpon them. 6 How artificialllye they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehementie, whereby they doe in maner coniure or adjure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe over to remember, as judging the name of God and Christ to be more conversant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the henelic maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companye. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheefflie to have a regard to himselfe and his poore members."

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more stardlie than the rest, which, havin sound and perfect lims, doe yet, notwithstanding

1 In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's Description.
2 Not in ed. 1577.
3 thorow in ed. 1577.
4 pitious in ed. 1577.
5 lament in ed. 1577.
6 The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.
sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diverse times in their apparell also they will be like serving men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they never lost. But, in fine, they are all theees and caterpillars in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doe but licke the sweat from the true laborers' browes, and bereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to maintaine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed upon them, after a most wicked and detestable maner.

"It is not yet full three score yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to judge; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto above 10,000 persons, as I haue iheard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue denied a language among themselves, which they name Canting (but other pedders French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to vnderstand. The first deniser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a just reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratings rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth three and twenty sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, whereby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

"The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds:

1. Rufflers.  10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip-lashers.
4. Roges. 13. Swaddlers, or Pedlers.
5. Wild Roges. 14. Tarkemen, or Patricoes.
6. Priggers of Prancers.  
7. Palliards.  
   Of Women kinde—
1. Demanders for glimmear, or fire.  6. Doxes.
2. Baudie Baskets.  7. Delles.
5. Walking mortes.

1 Not in ed. 1577.  2 Compare Harman, p. 48.
3 The 1577 ed. inserts horrible.
4 The 1577 ed. reads ffy.
5–5 The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.
6–6 For these words the 1577 ed. reads gather.
7 The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in Harman's Caveat.
"The punishment that is ordained for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be martaill law, to be exercised vpon them as vpon theenees, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the commonwealth and welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong\(^1\) children,\(^2\) burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,\(^2\) I need not to rehearse; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordaineth this maner of correction. The roges being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaele deliniey or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greenouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment received for the same. And this judgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person woorth fuen pounds in the queene's books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to have forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellow (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers,\(^3\) minstrels, jugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed\(^4\) schollers, shippmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From\(^5\) among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and just cause: for I haue read that they have either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their savage beasts, beene occasion of the death and deoration of manie children in sundrie countrie by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is and haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.\(^5\) Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene's maestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it

1 Not in the 1577 ed.
2-2 These words are substituted for *which they disfigure to begg withal* in the 1577 ed.
3 The 1577 ed. inserts *bearwards.*
4 Not in 1577 ed.
5-5 These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.
shall please the justices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twenty shillings, as I have beene informed. And thus much of the poore, and such provision as is appointed for them within the realm of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of *The groundworke of Conny-catching, 1592*, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leave you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead.—Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office?—Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the *Caveat*, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the *Groundworke of Conny-catching* as are not reprinted from Harman. The *Groundworke* has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hurtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth,' 1592.1 Hearne's copy of the *Groundworke* is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his *Belman of London*, 1603, of which three editions were published in the same year (Hazlitt). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the Belman, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book:

*The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Households, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfull for all Men to Read.*

Lege, Perlege, Rellege.

*The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640*  

1 Hazlitt's *Hand Book*, p. 241.
On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following ‘secret villanies’ are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law
Vincent’s Law.
Curbing Law.
Lifting Law.
Sacking Law.
Bernard’s Lawe.
The black Art.
Frigging Law.
High Law.
Frigging Law.
Five Jumpes at Leape-frog."

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by ‘an old nimble-tong’d beldam, who seemed to haue the command of the place,’ to an upper loft, ‘where, vnscene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.’

‘The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongst the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged every man to answer to his name, to see if the Iury were full:—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Ing of ale (that had the spirit of Aquavitae in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry Vous avez as they were call, and all that were in the roome hauing single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as ever they heard their names. This Ceremony beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had never before servd in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Instic-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.’

This yonger brother is afterwards ‘stalled to the rogue;’ and the ‘Rector Chory’ instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, ‘one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,’ began, as was the custom of their meeting, ‘to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,’ which done, all the company departed, leaving the ‘old beldam’ and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

‘The spirit of her owne madit walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which shee had gotten by her Marchant:

1 Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.
Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discover to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their severall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his Lanthorne and Candle-light, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Usurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for a Beadle of Bridewell.' That this 'Usurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in Martin Mark-all, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an usurper; for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the errour in his [Dekker's] words, and true englissing of the same:'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answer to the Belman of London, Discovering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they have succeeded one the other successively unto the nine and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropes, and (as they term it) the Legend of Lossels. By S[amuel] R[owlands].
Orderun peccare boni virtutis amore,  
Orderunt puccare mali formidine pœnae.  

London  
Printed for John Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610.

"Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. There hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discovering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time: hereupon much ado was made in setting forth their lines, order of living, method of speech, and vsnall meetings, with divers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and papers, now spread hereerie where, so that hereerie Iacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them; and hauing gathered together a Conncocation of Canting Caterpillars, as well in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,¹ as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had resolued from that faithles fellowship. Herupon every one gave his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, having ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remoarse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all: others thought it might be some spie-knawe that, having little to doe, tooke vpvm him the habite and forme of an Hermite; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowledge of this ignoble profession: and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subiect; thus, Tot homines, tot sententie, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Caco-demicall Academick with his frize bonnet, and gines them al to know, that this invectiue was set forth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caneat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed, and termed, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Justice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

¹ They (the vagabonds) have a language among themselves, composed of omnium gatherum; a glimering whereof, one of late daies hath endouered to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

¹ Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once eniere three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be scene and espied; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.
telligencer. The substance whereof he leaueth for those that will dilate thereof; enough for him to haue the praise, other the paines, notwithstanding Harman’s ghost continually clogging his conscience with Sic Vos non Vobis.’—Sign. C. 3 back.¹

¹ Because the Bel-man entreateth any that is more rich in canting, to lend him better or more with variety, he will repay his loue double, I haue thought good, not only to shew his error in some places in settting downe olde wordes vsed fortie yeeres agoe, before he was borne, for wordes that are vsed in these dayes (although he is bold to call me an vsurper (for so he doth in his last round), and not able to maintayne the title, but haue enlarged his Dictionary (or Master Harman’s) with such wordes as I thinke hee neuer heard of (and yet in vse too); but not out of vaine glorie, as his ambition is, but indeede, as an experienced souldier that hath deeuely paid for it: and therefore it shall be honour good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Reare (I doe but shoote your owne arrow back againe), and not to haue the leading of the Van as he meanes to doe, although small erudite in the end will redound to eyther. You shall know the wordes not set in eyther his Dictionaries by this marke §: and for shewing the error in his words, and true englishing of the same and other, this marke ¶ shall serue

§ Abram, madde
§ He maundes Abram, he begs as a madde man
¶ Bunge, is now vsed for a pocket, heretofore for a purse
§ Budge a beake, runne away
§ A Bite, secretum mulierum
§ Crackmans, the hedge
§ To Castell, to see or looke
§ A Roome Cuttle, a sword
§ A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse
§ Chepemans, Cheape-side market
¶ Chates, the Gallowes: here he mistakes both the simple word, because he so found it printed, not knowing the true original thereof, and also in the compound; as for Chates, it should be Cheates, which word is vsed generally for thynge, as Tip me that Cheate, Give me that thing: so that if you will make a word for the Gallows, you must put thereto this word treynyng, which signifies

¹ Of the above passages, Dekker speaks in the following manner:—“There is an Vsurper, that of late hath taken vpon him the name of the Belman; but being not able to maintaine that title, hee doth now call himselfe the Bel-mans brother; his ambition is (rather out of vaine-glory then the true courage of an experienced Souldier) to haue the leading of the Van; but it shall be honor good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Rere. You shall know him by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) he will be taken for a Beadle of Bridewell. It is thought he is rather a Newter then a friend to the cause: and therefore the Bel-man doth here openly protest that hee comes into the field as no fellow in armes with him.”—O per se O (1612 edit.), sign. A. 2.
hanging; and so treyning cheate is as much to say, hanging things, or the Gallous, and not Chates.

§ A flicke, a Theefe
§ Famlers, a paire of Gloues
§ Greenemans, the fields
§ Gilkes for the gigger, false keyes for the doore or picklockes
§ Gracemans, Gratious streete market
§ Iockam, a man's yard
§ Ian, a purse
§ Iere, a turd
§ Lugges, eares
§ Loges, a passe or warrant
§ Numans, Newgate Market
§ Nigling, company keeping with a woman: this word is not vsed now, but wapping, and thereof comes the name wapping morts, whoores.
§ To plant, to hide
§ Smellar, a garden; not smelling cheate, for that 's a Nosegay
§ Spreadar, butter
§ Whittington, Newgate.

"And thus haue I runne ouer the Canter's Dictionary; to speake more at large would aske more time then I haue allotted me; yet in this short time that I haue, I meane to sing song for song with the Belman, ere I wholly leave him." [Here follow three Canting Songs.] Sign. E 1, back—E 4.

"And thus hath the Belman, through his pitifull ambition, caused me to write that I would not: And whereas he disclaims the name of Brotherhood, I here ytterly renounce him & his fellowship, as not desirous to be resolued of anything he professeth on this subiect, knowing my selfe to be as fully instructed herin as euer he was."—Sign. F.

In the second Part of his Belman of London, namely, his Lanthorne and Candle-light, 1609, Dekker printed a Dictionary of Canting, which is only a reprint of Harman's (p. 82-4, below). A few extracts from this Lanthorne are subjoined:

Canting.

"This word canting seemes to bee deriued from the latine verbe canto, which signifies in English, to sing, or to make a sound with words,—that is to say, to speake. And very aptly may canting take his derination, a cantando, from singing, because, amongst these beggerly consorts that can play vpn no better instruments, the language of canting is a kind of musicke; and he that in such assemblies can cant
best, is counted the best Musitian."—Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light, B. 4. back.

Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
His wach shall feng a Pronces Nab-chete,
Cyram, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. 1. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in Lanthorne and Candle-light, is the same as that of Harman.

"A Canting Song.
The Ruflin cly the nab of the Harman beck,
If we mawn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck,
Or poplars of yarum : he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans,
Or els he sweares by the light-mans,
To put our stamps in the Harmans,
The ruflian cly the ghost of the Harman beck
If we heaue a booth we cly the Ierke,
If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken
Or nip a boung that has but a win
Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken,
To the quier eulling we bing,
And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring,
And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans
The Bube and Ruflian cly the Harman beck and harmans.

Thus Englished.
The Dinell take the Constable's head,
If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
Or sweares (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
The Devill haunt the Constable's ghoast
If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast,
If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
To the Justice straight we goe,
And then to the Iayle to be shakled: And so
To be hang'd on the gallowes i' th' day time: the pox
And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his *English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant*, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. "The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language" has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled *Practice of Robbers*,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman:

1. *The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London. London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane. 1659.*

- Ken = miller, house-breaker
- lowre, or mint = wealth or money
- Gigers jacked = locked doors
- Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters
- Joseph, a cloak
- Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

2. *A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gliter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Snudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Thief. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate. Printed for T. Newton, 1676.*

Glasiers, thieves who ente r houses, thro' windows, first remouing a pane of glass (p. 4).

We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is "Hanging not Punishment enough," etc., London, 1701.
The following is a Budg and Snudg song:

"The Budge it is a delicate trade,
And a delicate trade of fame;
For when that we have bit the bloe,
We carry away the game:
But if the cully nap us,
And the lurres from us take,
O then they rub us to the whitt,
And it is hardly worth a make.
But when that we come to the whitt
Our Darbies to behold,
And for to take our penitency,
And boose the water cold.
But when that we come out agen,
As we walk along the street,
We bite the Culley of his cole,
But we are rubbed unto the whitt.
And when that we come to the whitt,
For garnish they do cry,
Mary, faugh, you son of a wh——
Ye shall have it by and by.
But when that we come to Tyburn,
For going upon the budge,
There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w——
That owes us all a grudge
And when that he hath noosed us
And our friends tips him no cole
O then he throws us in the cart
And tumbles us into the hole."—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised:

"In the next Part you shall have a fuller description."


Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them:

| Abram, Naked | Chive, a Knife |
| Betty, a Picklock | Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born |
| Bubble-Buff, Bailiff | Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the money |
| Bube, Pox | |
Cull, a silly fellow
Dads, an old man
Darbies, Iron
Diddle, Geneva
Earnest, share
Elf, little
Fencer, receiver of stolen goods
Fib, to beat
Fog, smoke
Gage, Exciseman
Gilt, a Picklock
Grub, Provender
Hic, booby
Hog, a shilling
Hum, strong
Jem, Ring
Jet, Lawyer
Kick, Sixpence
Kin, a thief
Kit, Dancing-master
Lap, Spoon-meat
Latch, let in
Leake, Welshman
Leap, all safe
Maurks, a whore
Mill, to beat
Mish, a smock
Mundungus, sad stuff
Nan, a maid of the house
Nap, an arrest
Nimning, stealing
Oss Chives, Bone-handed knives
Otter, a sailor
Peter, Portmantua
Plant the Whids, take care what you say
Poppins, Pistols
Rubbs, hard shifts
Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers
Rum Mort, fine Woman
Smable, taken
Smeer, a painter
Snaflers, Highwaymen
Snic, to cut
Tattle, watch
Tie, trust
Tip, give
Tit, a horse
Tom Pat, a parson
Tout, take heed
Tripe, the belly
Web, cloth
Wobble, to boil
Yam, to eat
Yelp, a crier
Yest, a day ago
Zad, crooked
Znees, Frost
Zonch, an ungenteel man
&c., a Bookseller

"The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes." (p. 60.)

"A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers." (p. 70.)


This pamphlet is "design'd as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos'd Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices." It is by "Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London."

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.
XXIV PARSON HABEN'S SERMON ON THIEVES.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suit-ing the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;’ but one needn’t mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, The Groundworke of Conny-catchring, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman’s own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the Groundworke, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which
Dr Ingleby complains,1 and like his notorious Alleyn letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractions,—and assure us that the two pieces above-named, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's Registers of the Stationers' Company, or Bibliographical Catalogue, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

1 To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintance of him as a player, requested me to be his baile,"

which is evidently intended to mean, as I had some knowledge and acquaintance of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile. But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and haveinge of me some knowledge and acquaintance requested me to be his bayle,"

meaning, of course, Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintance requested me, requested me to be his baile.

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing wheare and theare for "where" and "there;" elecre, yeeld, and meerly for "cleere," "yealde," and "merely;" erie, anie, laie, waie, paiie, yssue, and pryelie, for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privylie;" sondrie, begon, and doen for "sundrie," "begun," and "done;" and thintent, thaction, and theacceptyme for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptance"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's 'Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth.' Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2s. 6d.
That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

29 Nov., 1869.

F. J. Furnivall.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburgh Collection, 1. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, 'The cunning Northern Beggar':
1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

Correction.

p, 44, line 12 from foot; for counterfeate read counterfeate.
bury, Knight of the Garter,¹ who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII.,² by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knbt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567,³ lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's History of Kent, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambard, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Sandys's book on Gavelkind, &c., Consuetudines Cantiac. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

"Bibliotheca Cantiana: A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent." By John Russell Smith.

p. 1, 12. The xxv. Orders of Knaves.—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxijth ballades at iiijd a peece—vij" iiijd, and xiiij. more at ijd a peece ij" iiijd . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ix" viij." And No. 23 is "The xxviil orders of knaves."—Stat. Reg. ii. 207.

p. 22. The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded.—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murnyng of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, Stat. Reg. i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—Percy Folioi Ballads, ii. 253.

¹ This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knbt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40l. per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. MSS. Dering.

² Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 382.

³ Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.
p. 23. *Egyptians.* The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is *An Acte concerning Egyptians.* After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandysshe people callynge themselves Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de meditiate lingue." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.

p. 48, l. 5. *The Lord Sturton's man; and when he was executed.* Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—*The Peerage of England,* vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).

p. 77. *Saint Quinten's.* Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.

p. 77. *The Three Cranes in the Vintry.* "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—*Stow's Survey of London,* ed. by Thom, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularity of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

' A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your Three Cranes, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!'—*Bartholomew Fair,* act i, sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January, 1663 1/2 Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;
and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them."

—Hotten's History of Signboards, p. 204.

p. 77. Saynt Julians in Thystellworth parish. 'Thistleworth, see Isleworth,' says Walker's Gazetteer, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julian's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen, &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:

'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France 'bon herbet.' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therfore yet to this day, thei that over load wende,
They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende;
And Seint Julianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also
For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring thereto.'

And in 'Le dit des Heureux,' an old French fabliau:—

'Tu as dit la patenotre
Saint Julian à cest matin,
Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin;
Or tu seras bien ostillé.'

In mediæval French, L'hotel Saint Julien was synonymous with good cheer.

'—— Sommes tuit vostre.
Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of 'Boicin de Provins;'

and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatchi,

'Blessyd theyr shppe when they had done,
And dranke about a Saint Julyan's tonne,'

Hotten's History of Signboards," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

1 Of pilgrims, and of whommongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the Hist. des Troubadours, tom. i. p. 11,) in Brand's Antiquities, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Frankelun, in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, "Seynt Julian he was in his centre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the Ancien Rime, ab. 1220 a.d., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'
and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 79.


p. 77. *The Kynges Barne*, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (*Environs of London*, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the *Archaeologia*, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."

p. 77. Kibroke. Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the modern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.

"Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 40.

p. 100. Stourbridge Fair. Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in cheese, woollen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—Walker's *Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's *Antiquities*. 
THE
Fraternitye of Vacabondes.
As wel of ruflyling Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of
women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,
with
their proper names and qualities.
With a description of the crafty company of
Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adjoinned
the .xx. Orders of Knaues,
otherwyse called
a Quartern of Knaues.
Confirmed for ever by Cocke Lorell.

( * )

¶ The Vprightman speakest.
¶ Our Brotherhood\(^1\) of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell :
In granes end Barge which syldome standes:
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

¶ Cocke Lorell aunswereth.
¶ Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde:
For no where shall ye walke I trow,
But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little
Britayne streete without Aldersgate.
1575.

\(^1\) Orig. Brothethood.
The Printer to the Reader.

This brotherhood of Vacabondes,
To shew that there be such in deed:
Both Justices and men of Landes,
Wyll testifye it if it neede.

For at a Sessions as they sat,
By chance a Vacabond was got.

Who promysde if they would him spare,
And keepe his name from knowledge then:
He would as strange a thing declare,
As ever they knew since they were men.

But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)
That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

They graunting him this his request,
He dyd declare as here is read,
Both names and states of most and least,
Of this their Vacabondes brotherhood.

Which at the request of a worshipful man
I haue set it forth as well as I can.

FINIS.
The

Fraternitye of Vagabondes

both ruffling and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrls,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adiouned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

AN ABRAHAM MAN.

An Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a pake of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke service, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman: or els flicht Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther styt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they haue so fylched.
A Whypiacke is one, that by coulor of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the scales they call Iarekes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chiefest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heauing of the Bowth.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon poor women as they go and come to the Markets.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke seruice. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terme a Priggar of Paulfreys.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filtchman. This man is of so much author-ity, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they haue gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doe them wrong, they haue no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serue his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assemblies, & is not of any to be controled.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like liuery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.
An Irishe Toyle.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poynetes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[ildren or servants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

A Lackeman is he that can write and reade, and somtime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Scales, in their language called Iarkes.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or armes to beg. These men ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not complayn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & somtime with rats bane.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terme their Bowsing In, and in the meane season goeth abrode a begging.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abrode to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrl, she is brought at her full age to the Vpyght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntill she come to ye honor of an Altham.
Note especially all which go abroade working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill death depart the maried folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart euery one of them a seuerall way

A Curtesy man.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clenly appareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him seuerely, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familier acquaintaunce will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that fauoureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which haue come lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerne one peny. And further, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also haue beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggers, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to the hart, to thinke of such a mischief, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a
daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffise our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our liues for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenaunce sheweth to haue some pity vpon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershyp, & in the behalfe of my poor afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberalitie in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .i.i.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall understand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a greate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruitors as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receive your gentle offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentle-man as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberalitie. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [leaf b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly thei pay them with stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell carely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discerne, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentelmen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at
Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & somtime at ye Royal exchaung. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with every man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they haue learned by diligent enquiring where they re-sort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony\(^1\) to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by their familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselves wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, yea and such a one as to shew a simplicity, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knowne of these Cheatours, but as vuvares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place serueth. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumblyng on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers wil finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry : & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wyl thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may haue some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it strainge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfyl your request. And so falleth to play, somtime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfeit simplicity

\(^1\) Orig. mony
in the play somtimes ouer counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leesing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat hauing good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legendarmane, & counterfaeting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the care to play with hym also, that ech one might haue a fling at him. This yong man for company falleth againe to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fingerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth them as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handles so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the care, willeteh him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leesing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conucyth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leaung the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternitie there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spying them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched words, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene them both getteth money out of the others purse.
A Ryng faller is he that getteth fayre copper rings, some made like signets, & some after other fashions, very faire gylded, & walketh vp and down the streetes, til he spyeth some man of the country, or some other simple body whom he thinketh he may deceaue, and so goeth a lyttle before him or them, and leteth fall one of these ringes, which when the party that commeth after spieth and taketh it vp, he hauing an eye backward, crieth halfe part, the party that taketh it vp, thinking it to be of great value, profereth him some money for his part, which he not fully denieth, but willeth him to come into some alehouse or tauerne, and there they will common vp on the matter. Which when they come in, and are set in some solitary place (as commonly they call for such a place) there he desir- eth the party that found the ring to shew it him. When he seeth it, he falleth a entreating the party that found it, and desireth him to take money for his part, and telleth him that if euer he may do him any friendship hereafter he shall commaund him, for he maketh as though he were very desirous to hauie it. The symple man seeing him so importune vp on it, thinketh the ring to bee of great value, and so is the more lother to part from it. At last this ring faller asketh him what he will geue him for his part, for, saith he, seeing you wyl not let me hauie the ring, alowe me my part, and take you the ring. The other asketh what he counteth the ring to be worth, he answereth, v. or vi. pound. No, saith he, it is not so much worth. [leaf 60.] Well (saith this Ringfaller) let me hauie it, and I wyll alow you .xl. s. for your part. The other party standyng in a doubt, and looking on the ryng, asketh if he wyll geue the money out of hand. The other answereth, he hath not so much ready mony about him, but he wil go fetch so much for him, if he wil go with him. The other that found the ring, thinking he meaneth truly, beginneth to profer him .xx. s. for his part, sometymes more, or les, which he verye scornfullye refuseth at the first, and styl entreateth that he might haue the ring, which maketh the other more fonder of it, and desireth him to take the money for his part, & so profereth him money. This ring faller seing ye mony, maketh it very straunge, and first questioneth with him wher he dwelletli, and asketh him
what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and threfore he wil do somewhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for x. s. more he should haue the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinking he hath gotten a very great lewell. These kynde of deceyuing Vacabondes haue other practises with their rings, as sometimes to come to buy wares of mens Preutesies, and somtimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of [leaf 7] these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceiue the contrary, tyl it be brought to y" touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how much it is worth. The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also to haue hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoncker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and hauing the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometimes wares, and thus vily be deceived.
THE

XXV. Orders of Knaues,

otherwise called

a quarterne of Knaues,

confirmed for ever by Cocke Lorell.

1 TROLL AND TROLL BY.

Troll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he that no man shall know the seruaunt from ye Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [leaf 27b.] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spiccakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo cate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.
4 Troll hazard of tritrace.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyll he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasying about lyke a foole at every toy, and then seeketh in every house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister needeth him, he is to seeke.

5 Chafe litter.

Chafe Litter is he that wyll plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncaled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places incomuenient, and maketh cleane hys shoos with the couerlet or curtaines.

6 Obloquium.

Obloquium is hee that wyll take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

7 Rince pytcher.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

8 Jeffrey gods fo.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf 8] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued.

9 Nichol hartles.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Trewand knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

10 Simon soone agon.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.
11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shooes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leaner go lyke a begger then cleanly.

12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Commitous of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister [leaf 8 b.] beleue that the Cowe is woode.

15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maysters meate is ouyll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausye knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mouncil present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leaue the worst for his Mayster.
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17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

18 CORY FAEUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyl buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse cate pies and rybs of beece, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [leaf 9] secretes of a mans house. These misleding knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll gene hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

22 VTTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (sic) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy: and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he that by his own will, will heare no maner of servyce, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue
wil sit at the alehouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at service tyme.

24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might haue done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue will go about his owne errand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant geue him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, that he considreth not his frend from his fo, & wil requite euil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceuie his maister.

FINIS.
A Caution on Warengeing,

FOR COMMEN CVRSE- 
TORS VVULGARELY CALLED

Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman, 
Esquire, for the utilite and profyt of his naturall 
Contrey. Augmented and enlarged by the first author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

Vewed, examined, and allowed, according unto the 
Queenes Maiestyes Injunctions.

Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the 
Falcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be sold at his shoppe in 
Sagnt Dunstones Churche pyrde, in the West. 
Anno Domini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warengeing' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented ... here of', line 6.]
To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfite felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

As of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, conforte, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same; So is there (ryghte honorable and myne especyall good Lady) most holsom estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publisshed, for the extreme punishement of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly: and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,—not onelye hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygent, and feable parishnores; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happily doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same; As also abundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckyly gates,—

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behaunor of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamites
whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the ytter deludinge of the good geuers, deceauinge and impouerishing of all such poore house- holders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and conforte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue keppe a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habyltytie maye and doth extende : I haue of late yeares gathered a great suspition that all should not be well, and, as the proverbe saythe, "sume things lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare;" for I, hauinge more occation, throughge sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I haue bene acustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke ¹ and confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrls, by whom I haue [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealyng, beinge maruelous suttle and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discover, eyther declare there sceleorous secretes : yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I haue attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vpward,² and not without faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discover their names or any thinge they shewed me ; for they would all saye, ye the vpright men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be onely greuouslye beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpright men. There was a fewe yeares since a small breefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not suffi- cient to perswade of their penishe peltinge and pickinge ³ practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse tranell then good wyll, I haue repayred and ryagged the Shyp of knowledge, and haue hoyssed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

¹ leaf 2 b. Bodley edition (B).
² The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.
³ The 1573 edition reads pynding
she may safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wyshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsy demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascales that raunge about al the costes of the same, So that their vndecenet, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Justiciers and Shirénes may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders, settinge asyde all feare, slouth, and pytie, may be more circomspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Justiciers. Then wyll no more this rascal rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to the poudery of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnen clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not haue our clothes and lynnen hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not haue our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbors had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnen. Then shall we safely kepe our piggis and poultrey from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by the hygh waies leading to markets and fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpicked and spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuning, or hastely hang for their demerites. Then shall it incourrage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their nighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amende-ment of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much the more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plages, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth and better florysh, to the inestymable ioye and comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiestye, whom god of his

1 So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads householders; but Bosholders is doubtless meant.

2 leaf 3. B.
infinyte goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felicitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable joye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subjectes. Now, me thinketh, I se how these penysh, peruerse, and pestilent people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion and end draweth one a pase. Where as in dede, if it be well waied, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and commoditie, for the sure safeguard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought with his most precious bloud: so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could haue devised for them selues. For behold, their lyfe being so manyest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honora\-ble wyl abhore, The worshipfull wyl reiecte them, The yemen wyll sharply tawnte them, The Husband men vttterly defye them, The laboryng men bluntly chyde them, The wemen with a loud exclamation wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliners, merued when they toke their oryginall and beginning; how long they haue exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it mëete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt and memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worship in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded: at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling there abouts, that vnneth they mighte lyce or stande aboute the House: then was there [leaf 8, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat ox sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread and drinke abundantly to furnish out the premisses; and euerie person had two pence, for such was the

1 Printed "bfore"
2 reclamation. B.
dole. When Night approched, the pore houeholders repaired home to their houses: the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in the barne; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them hauing his woman, except it were two wemen that lay alone to gether for some espekyall cause. Thus hauing their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing and belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme and pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may aperce this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag—which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres, lytle above; and that the first inuenter therof was hanged, all saue the head; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases: but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest; and that as short and as spedy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for the wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egyptians, depely dissembling and long hyding and couering their depe, decetfull practises,—feeding the rude common people, wholy addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrie to such as would know their fortunes: And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wyntnes, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bee to god), throughge wholsome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished, and the memory of them cleane extynguished; that when they bee once named here after, our Chyldren wyll muche meruell what kynd of people they were: and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

1 The 1573 edition reads and
2 The 1573 edition here inserts the word or
3 ranished. B.
For what thinge doth chiefly cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for the same, for they sell good penyworthes. The byers haue the greatest gayne; yea, ye they haue nether money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I haue taken a note of a good many of them, and wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Justicers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fictinge Fellowshyp, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I haue placed in the end therof their lead language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntyemelye tryfelinge time, lead lyfe, and pernitious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymorous, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the geuer neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, even so shall there not be eny good dede vnrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Saviour vnto vs in his gospel ("geue ye, and it shalbe geuen you againe"): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, paraumenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. Se, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, "breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;" he sayth not geue him a hole lofe, for paraaduenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a pece. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not
be excused: now how much more then the riche? Thus you see, good madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where need and lacke is, it shall be heaped vp abundantly for you in heauen, where neither rust or moth shall corrupt or destroy the same. Unto which triumphant place, after many good, happy, and fortunat yeres prosperouslye here dispended, you maye for euer and euer there most joyfully remayne. A men.

¶¶ FINIS.
Three things to be noted
A staff, a besom, and
all in their kynde
wyth, that wyll wynde

¶ A besome of byrche, for babes very feete,¹
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to sweepe

[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]
¹ fyft. B.
THE EPISODE TO THE READER.

Al though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truely—concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is nowe, and hereafter wylbe, cyrous heds to finde fauttys: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt the with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countruy, derived of this Laten word (Curro): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a dublye oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other signification: is there no deuersite betwen a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce and maintenance, Stretyes and stretes? those that haue vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyffer-ence: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he think it bothe odyous and reprochefull? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, with bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingonym: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vs makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four C. yeres sithens, and let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or no. I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the commen names of these led leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, and valyant beggares. Yf I should haue vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward the fyrstes tymc, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nedle to haue an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall haue his tymc on the

1 The 1573 ed. reads not.
2 This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.
other syde. Eloquence have I none; I never was acquainted with the muses; I never tasted of Helycon. But according to my plain order, I have set forth this work, simplye and truelye, with such usual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So that as the proverbe saythe, "all though truth be blamed, it shall never be shamed." well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but have added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them were donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse; and as I truste I have deserued no rebuke for my good wyll, euyn so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and trauell. But faithfullye for the profytt and benyfyt of my countrey I have don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their leud lyfe and pernicious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amend that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis
THE Rufflar, because he is first in degree of this odious order: And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vaebonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory: Hée shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnruley rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders abonte the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte, 
demaundeth where he thinketh hee maye be bolde, and circomspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rafullly and lamentably, that it would make a flyntyhart to relent, and pytie his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres; and, parauenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bee without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatly fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruing men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferior beggeres that they meeete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Doxes. Yea, if they meeete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that hée well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vnlesse they be prevented by twind hempe.

1 The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed. 
2 The 1573 ed. here inserts the word he 
3 1573 reads if 
4 1573 has or
I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who customably a greate tyme went twise in the weeke to London, eyther wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme servued therefore. And as he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayting on the other, as one had ben the maister, and the other the man or servaunt, carryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because that day he had made a good market; for hée had seuen shyllinges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had thought had not bene in his purse, for hée wyyled his wyfe ouer night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don, whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters. Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaut talke, vntyll they weare one the toppe of the hyl, where these rufflars might well beholde the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man, and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the wode, and demaunndeth of him what and how much money he had in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are a merry gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye thinge from me, but rather to gene me some if I shoulde aske it of you." By and by, this servaunt thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or vew them, with sharpe words to delyuer quicly that he had, and to confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all abashed, yielded, and confessed that he had but seuen shyllinges in his purse; and the trouth is he knew of no more. This old angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse. Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde, thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration, this gentleman thiefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lorde, what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hée) "a man beleue
or truste in the same? se you not." (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neiboures well considered in the end.

A VRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

A Vright man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all pane, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

{As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxford shyre, Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprison-ment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is for gotten. And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme threé tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylynge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occasion serueth, somtyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hee wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath servued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe service, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, althoughhe he meaneth nothinge lesse.

1 Printed "vpreght." vpreght in Bodlev ed.

2 1573, be
Yf he be offered any meate or drinke, he utterlye refuseth ecorenfully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their tymplyng houses, as well knownen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, “as the begger knowes his dishe.” For you must understand, euery Tymplyng ale house wyll neyther receuie them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honester men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not commen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Doxes,—not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, and filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyck- ednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, penish places and vnmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talking tounges talke at large. They bowle and bowse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not ronge ynome in the house, they haue cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioynynge, where they couch comly to gether, and 1 it were dogge and byche; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good manner; some wyll take there owne that they haue made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, “out of minde.” Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpryght men vse commonly to lye and lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some pretty way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they2 wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtsey, the deuotion and charity of the people. They

1 1573, as
2 the. B.
haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout
yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or
foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they
often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices
house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely
manned ; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, syltle sorte, as
with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte
about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner be-
wrapped halting down right. Not vnprovided of good codgs[el]ls,
which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to keepe
gogges1 from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses.
Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfringe clothes of
hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the
owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupyed
aboute their business,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the
hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes,
great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinghe thre or
foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by
theyre Mortes, and Doxes ; and whyle they thus lye hydden in
couert, in the night they be not idle,—neither, as the common saying
is, “well occupyed;” for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his
den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnen and any
thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. As som-
tyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they
haue a greatter booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their
stawling kandes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a
thre dayes in some thicke couert, and [leaf s] in the night time carye
the same, lyke good water Spaniles, to their foresayd houses. To
whom they wyll discover where or in what places they had the same,
where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, and connayd craftely
fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money
them selues. 2 If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at
these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to
twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright
men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with fellony or petye

1 dogges. B. 2 1573 inserts and
brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examinied by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the[y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into service, through their lamentable words, with any welethy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellows. And some of them vseth this polocy, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, especialluye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel known, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly and paynfully; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary. These vrypt men wil sildom or neuer want; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hée doth commaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturlye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name that stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge; and laith their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges: this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vrypt man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words:—"I. G. P. do stalle thée W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant"—that is, to aske or begge—"for thy lining in al places." Here you se that the vrypt man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfring and stealinge. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backeside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, hauinge in the same halfe a doson
of pewter dyeshes, well marked, and stamped with the connizance of my armes, whiche being well noted when they were taken out, were set a side, the water powred out, and my caudren taken awaye, being of such bygnes that one man, vnlesse he were of great strength, was not able far to cary the same. Not withstandinge, the same was one night within this two yeares convayd more then half a myle from my house, into a commen or heth, And ther bestowed in a great firbushe. I then immediatly the next day sent one of my men to London, and there gaue warning in Sothwarke, kent strete, and Barmesey streete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling,—That if any such Caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar therof should be stayed, and promised twenty shylings for a reward. I gaue also intelligence to the water men that kept the ferres, that no such vessel should be ether convayd to London or into essex, promysing the lyke reward, to haue understanding therof. This my doing was well understand in many places about, and that the feare of espyinge so troubled the conscience of the stealer, that my coudren laye vntouched in the thicke firbushe more then halfe a yeare after, which, by a great chaunce, was found by hunteres for conneys; for one chaunced to runne into the same bushe where my coudren was, and being perceaued, one thrust his staffe into the same bushe, and hyt my coudren a great blowe, the sound whereof dyd cause the man to thinke and hope that there was some great treasure hidden, whereby he thought to be the better whyle he lyued. And in farther searching he found my coudren; so had I the same agayne vnloked for:

H ARM AN. A HOKER, OR ANGGLEAR. Cap. 3.

These hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or procede forth from the vpright men; they commonly go in frese ierkynes and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfringe, it is all by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigilantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, casting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they
be sure to have the next night following; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ync of the tope thereof, ys a lytle hole bored through, [leaf a] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vn to them quickly any thing that they may recche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couerly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete: such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther stanes, not then understanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behaubour, great lykelyhode of euyll suspition in them: they wyl ether leane vpon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynnen, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to ther staulyng kens, but hides the same a iiij. daies in some secret corner, and after conuayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys gaueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credibly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shertes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfelow (accordinge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

¶ A roge. Cap. 4.

A roge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fayntly and looke piteously when they see, either meete any person, hauing a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they node not, requiring almes of such as they
mote, or to what house they shal com. But you may easily perceiue by their colour that thei cary both health and hypocrisye about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about the countrey, and faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of the shire;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 9, back] the partye he speakeyth of, because you shall not thinke him to rumme idlely about the countrey;—either hauethey this shiyfte, they wyll cary a certificate or pasport about them from som Justicer of the peace, with his hand and scale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleasethe them; for they hauethe of their affinitye that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothinge to them inferior in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll chaunce their apparell, as occasion servethe. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pockes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, and would neuer seperat them selues, vules it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, and were both of one age, and much like of favour: these two, trauelinge into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,¹ being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende: the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied; and to be short, they sat

¹ 1573 omits.
out at the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rosy roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they sayninge that they had an vncele a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquayntance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inqueri of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from the place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without discoit, because they so farre enquyred of their kinseman, was but of a good zelous naturall intent, shewed them cherefully that hee [ed 10] was an honest man and welbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, and had ben there resident xv. yeares at the least; "but," saith she, "are you both brothers?" "yea, surely," sayd they, "we haue bene both in one belly, and were twinnes." "Mercy, god!" quoth this foolish woman; "it may wel be, for ye be not much vnlike,"—and wente vnto her hall windowe, callinge these yong men vnto her, and loking out thرات, pointed with her fingar and shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; "that," sayd she, "is your vncele house." "Nay," saith one of them, "he is not onely my vncele, but also my godfather." "It may well be," quoth she, "nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you." "Well," quoth they, "we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vncele to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll see him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vncele occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house." "Alas!" saith she, "but one old woman and a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushere," quoth this good wyfe, "you be mad men! go to him this night, for hee hath better lodging for you then I haue, and yet I speake foolishly against my own profit, for by your taring4 here I should gaine the more by you." "Now, by my troth," quoth one of them, "we thanke

1 1573 omits. 2 saith. B. 3 1573, myne 4 taryng. B.
you, good hostes, for your holsome councell, and we meane to do as
you wyll vs: we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost
night; and I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,"—so, manerly paying
for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge
leau of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towards this
parsones house, viewed the same well rounde about, and passed by
two bowshotes of into a younge wodle, where they laye consultinge
what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of
sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, "thou seest
that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake
in, in any parte thereof; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke
of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene: wherefore we must
of necessytie vse some policye when strength wil not serue. I hawe
a horse locke here about me," saith he; "and this I hope shall serue
oure turne." So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came
to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe: the dog of the
house barked a good, that with they1 noise, this priest waketh out
of his sleepe, and began to cough and hem: then one of these roges
stepes forth nerer the window and maketh a rufel and pityful noise,
requiring for Christ sake2 some reliefe, that was both hungry and
thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue
for colde, vnto he were releued by him with some small pece of
saieth this roge, "I hawe smal feast, dwelling, and hawe com out
of my way; and I shoulde now," saieth he, "go to any towne nowe at
this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe
me." "Well," quoth this pitifull parson, "away from my house,
either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde,
here is a couple of pence for thee." "A god rewarde you," quoth
this roge; "and in heauen may you finde it." The parson openeth
his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this
Roge that came whining to receuie it, and quickly taketh holde of his
hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with
the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme,
that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

1 So printed. Bodley ed. has the
2 sakes. B.
life he could not plucke in his arme againe, and made him beleue, vnles he would at the least gene them .iii. li., they would smite of his arme from the body. So that this poore parson, in feare to lose his hand, called vp his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wylled her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house, for he had lent vi. li. to one of his neighbours not iiiij daies before. "Wel," quoth they, "master parson, if you haue no more, vpon this condition we wil take of the Locke, that you will drinke .xij. pence for our sakes to-morow at the alehouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the Locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that the parson coulde neuer haue any understanding more of them. Now this parson, sorrowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; he vsed contencacion for his remedy, not forgetting in the morning to perfome his promise, but went betims to his neighbour that kept tiplinge, and asked angrily where the same two men were that dranke with her yester daye. "Which two men?" quoth this good wife. "The straungers that came in when I was at your house wyth my neighbours yesterday." "What! your neuewes?" quoth she. "My neuewes?" quoth this parson; "I trowe thou art mad." "Nay, by god!" quoth this goodwife, "as sober as you; for they tolde me faithfully that you were their uncle: but, in fayth, are you not so in dede? for, by my trouth, they are strauf[n]gers to me. I neuer saw them before." "O, out vpon them!" quoth the parson; "they be false theues, and this night thei compellid me to gene them al the money in my house." "Benedicite!" quoth this good wife, "and hawe they so in dede? as I shal. auns were before god, one of them told me besides that you were godfather to him, and that he trusted to hawe your blessinge before he departed." "What! did he?" quoth this parson; "a halter blesse him for [leaf 11] me!" "Me thinketh, by the masse, by your countenance you loked so wildly when you came in," quoth this good wife, "that somthing was amis." "I vse not to gest,"

1 Omitted in 1573.
quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fill a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, and gene me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warrant you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason\(^1\) shewed her all the hole circums-\(\text{-}\)tance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they\(^2\) made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." \(^3\)"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the denyll goe with it," —and their an end.\(^3\)

\(\footnote{1\text{ so printed.}}\)

\(\footnote{2-3 \text{ Why . . . . . . . . . . end. B. omits.}}\)

\(\footnote{3\text{ 1573 reads }m^2.}}\)

\section*{A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.}

Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more genen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infancye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeares doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongst them no sin. For this is their custome, that when they mete in barne at night, euer one getteth a make\(^4\) to lye wythall, \(\text{and}\) their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his eares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skyppeth oute of hys coucho and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye
after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithe, a wild roge chaunce d to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty and good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this roge demanded a penye for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pitie, and looked in his pursse to finde out a penye; and in looking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to inde a single penye; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wylde roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couetous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer all that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a penye would now quench his thirst, seing so much as he dyd: thus, swallowinge his spittell greedly downe, spoled this poore man of all the money that he had, and kep ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by inherittance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

A Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge signifieth in their language to steale, and a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is playne. These go commonly in lerkins of leatherr, or of white frese, and carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if thei chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they haue loste their waye, and de-

1 omitted in 1573.
2-2 seing . . . . . . dyd. B. omits. 3 1573, was
syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their servisue. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vppon a Gentleman. These hane also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they see abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a weeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they conuay the same at the least thre score miles of or more.

There was a Gentleman, a verie friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, haninge with in thre myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye vyllage, where dunerous houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, because hee would speake with a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde vllage, lytle aboue a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vp on him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Prygger there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stonde styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This paltyng Priggar, proude of his praye, walke the his horse⁴ vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could se nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligentlye enquired of thrre or foure town dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,² age, apparell, with so many linamentes of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, "vna voce," all sayde that no such man dwelt in their strete, neither in the parish, that they knewe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

¹ *horses*. B.  
² *Printed statute*
geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a
stranger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he
had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre
from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he
sent suche wayes as he suspected or thought meete to searche for
this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydinges agayne of
his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I
had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

These Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with
patched clokes, and have their Morts with them, which they
call wines; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his
wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chese,
malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get
more and if they went together. Although they be thus demaunded
in the daie, yet they mete ionpe at night. Yf they chaunce to come
to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be
damaunted whether they be man and wyfe, and if he perceiaue that
any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the minis-
ters name, and others of the same parishe (naminge a parishe in some
shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This
writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe
about with counterfeate licenses; and if they perceiue you wil strauntly
examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

¶ Further, understand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of
all this beastly generation are scarce comparable to these prating
Pallyardes. All for the most parte of these wil either lay to their
legs an herb called Sperewort, eyther Arsnick, which is called
Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister
in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be
taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnick
will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will euer after be
incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of
these that walke about be Walchmen.

1 Printed this
Some of these Fraters will carry blacke boxes at their gyrdel, where in they have a briefe of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, genen to suche poor spittlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche briefe is a coppie of the letters patentes, and utterly fained, if it be in paper or in parchment without the great scale. Also, if the same brief be in printe, it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil see and wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldom travel abroad them selues, but hane their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, and die for want of cherishing; whereas they and their wives are wel crammed and clothed, and will hane of the best. And the founders of enery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better see vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come aboundantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealthe, repayred to my house to common wyth me aboute certeyne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these parties were hee dwelte. "Thanks be to God, syr," (saith he); "all is well and good now." "Now!" (quothe I) "this same nowe" [leaf 15] declareth that some things of late hath not bene wel. "Yes, syr," (quothe he) "the matter is not great. I had thought I should have bene wel beaten within this seuenth night." "How so?" (quothe I). "Mary, syr," sayd he, "I am Countable for fault of a better, and was commanded by the Justicer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

1 B. inserts a  
2 B. omits in 
3 Probably the reason why "in print" came to be considered synonymous with "correct." See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175. 
4 those. B.  
5 B. omits the
Where he harde swearinge, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged upon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltrye, and there fell to pitching of the barre, being three to three. The Moone dyd shine bright, the Countable with his neighbour might see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they could not agree upon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Countable with his fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Countable woulde haue had them to the stockes. The wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they could not agree upon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Countable runnes vnto them, to parte them and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Countable woulde haue had them to the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her Goodman to intreat the Countable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or three of the nexte neighboures, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche brede and drinke also as stoode vpon the table. When the Goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Countable, shewinge vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they taryd there but to breake theyr fast, and woulde ryde awaye immediately after, for they had farre to goe, and therefore mente to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drinke all gone, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Countable returning and hearinge the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hee laughed in his sleue, and commanded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. For hee thought it better bestowed vpon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

1 Castyng of axtre & eke of ston,
Sofere hem þere to vse non ;
Bal, and barres, and suche play,
Out of chychezorde put a-way.—
Myre, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868)

2 Printed hts

3 to to. B.
boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornyng betymes the [leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakefast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trouth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladde when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coulde the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hee) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongst others, I beleue they woulde haue carried awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bee tryed." "Yea," quoth this offycer, "they bee wycked men. I haue sene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltyng wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

‖ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

These Abrahom men be those that fayne themselves to have beene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelhem or in some other pryson a good tyme, and not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extremely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll gene theym largely to be ryd of theym.

[If they maye conuenyently come by any cheate, they wyl (picke and steale, as the v[r]ight man or Roge, poultrey or lynnenn. And all wemen that wander bee at their commande-mente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one naminge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dysassemblygest Knaue.
Hée is able wyth hys touunge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporcion of his body, with every member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensienes of mynde, he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeare after and more; and that with the very greefe and feare, he was taken wyth a marcelous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, "v^dth anye and that a pase or fast, Awhere by he is much pytied, and getteth greatly. And if I had not demaunted of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his deep dis-simylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPIACKE. Cap. 10.

These Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfeit great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfeit lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pryates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonsbyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is abowe sayd, with the names and scales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fine, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where theyayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxford-shyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so to London, and downe by the ryuer to séke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfeit the scale of the Admiraltie. I haue divers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. And they wyll not

¹ Omitted in 1573.
beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth muche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them two shillinges; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuall, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

1 him (sic). B.
These two pictures, lyuely set out,
One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.
This mounstrons desembelar, a Cranke all about.
Vneonly conetinge, of eche to embrace,
Money or wares, as he made his race.
And sometyme a marynar, and a sarninge man,
Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.
Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well tryed,
A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.
Conding punishment, for his dissimulation,
He sewerly receaued with much declina[ion]²

¹ This page is not in Bodley ed.
² 1573 reads exclamation
These that do counterfeit the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that deeply dissemble the falling sickness. For the Cranke in their language is the falling euyll. I haue seen some of these with fayre writinges testimoniall, with the names and scales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I haue well knowne, and haue taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writinges, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, they immediately sell the same, for weare it they wyll not, because they would bee the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and nener go without a pece of whyte sope about them, which, if they see cause or present gaine, they wyll prively conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, and maruelously for a tyme torment them selues; and thus deceuie they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollenday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came carely in the morning a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgyng at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes layetwo or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lybertries of London, where by he hoped for the greatter gayne; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releued, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and rufull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that hée was a depe desemblar; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countinance, it made me in a maruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouth,—for after this manner went he: he was naked from the wast vpward, sanyaing he had a old lerken of leather patched, and that was lose about hym, that all his bodey laye out bare; a fylthy foule cloth he ware on his head,
being cut for the purpose, hauing a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his nekke; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receane the charitye and denotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym; hauing hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 18, back] as though he had new falen, and byn tormentede wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as though he hadde wallowed in the myre: sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terrible. I called hym vnto me, and demaundede of hym what he ayled. "A, good maister," quoth he, "I haue the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falynge syckenes." "Why," quoth I, "howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also?" "A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde; and there I laye all most all night, and haue bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye." It raynde that morninge very fast; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre lynnen cloth, and byd hym wype his face therewith; and there beinge a tobbe standinge full of rayne wylde, offered to gene hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane: hée refuseth the same. "Why dost thou so?" quoth I. "A, syr," saythe he, "yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bleedinge a freshe againe, and then I shoulde not stop my selfe:" these wordees made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dysease, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. "Syr," saythe he, "I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Genings, and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeares, and I can get no remedy for the same; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friends before me; and I haue byne these two yeares here about London, and a yeare and a halfe in bethelen." "Why, wast thou out of thy wytttes?" quoth I. "Ye, syr, that I was."

1 refused. B.
2 Gennings. B.
"What is the Kepars name of the house?" "Hys name is," quothhee, "Iohn Smith." "Then," quoth I, "hee must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well." "Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde," quoth this Cranke; "for I came thens but within this fortnight." I had stonde so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my servant to repayre to bethelme, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my servant, returninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye suche man there, nether yet anye keper of anye suche name; but hee that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, afferning that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be set a wyne by [leat ou] hys frendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citye. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethelme to vnderstand the trouth, and what aunsweare I receaued agayne, requiringe hym that I might haue some servant of his to watche him faithfully that daye, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde reparaie at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to see their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hee gladly granted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelandly accomplisht the charge genen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hee begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Feldes; there hee renewed his face againe wyth freshe bloud, which hee caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

And so came backe agayn vnto the Temple, and sometyme to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gane grotes, some syxe pens, some gane more;
for hee looked so ougleic and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that bechelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched; and when it began to bee some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller,¹ and was sette over the Water into Sainete Georges feldes, contrarye to my expectation; for I had thought he woulde have gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the feldes; but these boyes, with Argues and Lynces eyes, set sewre watche vpon him, and the one tolke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so folowed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celerite, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase: now hadde they stylly a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed over the felddes towards Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke: the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he ² how farre the Cranke woulde goe, because hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse; he there stayed hym, and called for the Countable, whyche came forthe dylygentelye to inquyre what the matter was: thys zelous Pryntar charged thys officer [leaf 16, back] wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde—the Countable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. "Naye," saythe this pitifull Prynter, "I praye you haue him into your house; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked: you kepe a vytellinge house; let him be well cherished this night, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there serche hym. The Countable agreed there vnto: they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe: that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, "So God helpe me, I haue but xii. pence," and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. "Why, haue you no more?" quoth they. "No," sayth this Cranke, "as God shall saue my soule at the day of judgement." "We must se more," quoth they,

¹ 1573 reads skoller
² Omitted in 1573 edit.
and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, 
wherin was xl. pens. "Tousche," sayth\textsuperscript{1} thyse Prynter, "I must see 
more." Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bee dampaned both body\textsuperscript{2} 
and soule yf I haue anye more." "No," sayth thyse Prynter, "thou 
false knaue, here is my boye that dyd watche thee all this daye, and 
sawe when such men gane the pences of sixe pens, grotes, and other 
money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money."\textsuperscript{3} 
When thyse Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, 
he relented, and plucked out another pursse, where in was eyght 
shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole\textsuperscript{4} that he had 
beegen that day xiiij. shillinge iii. \textsuperscript{5}pens halfepenye\textsuperscript{5}. Then they 
stryped him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer 
sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard\textsuperscript{6}, and mayre 
skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the 
house fet her goodmans\textsuperscript{7} olde clocke,\textsuperscript{8} and caused the same to be 
cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast 
maydens, neather loth her squaymysh sight. 

{Thus he set\textsuperscript{9} downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a 
potte of Beeere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and 
called for another, and so the thyrde, that one had bene sufficient 
for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge.\textsuperscript{7} I my selfe, 
the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader igeue what 
and howe much he would haue dronke and he had bene out of 
feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in 
spyling him of his euyl gotten goods, his passing pens, and flet 
ing trashe, The printer with this officer were in gealy gealowsit,\textsuperscript{9} 
and deuised to search a barne for some roges and vpright men, a 
quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, 
and wente out aboute their busines, leaunng this cranke alone with 
his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cranke, espying al gon, requested 
the good wife that [leaf m] hee might goe out on the backesyde to 
make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the 
lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkinge or mistrusting he

\textsuperscript{1} sayth (sic). B. \textsuperscript{2} printed dowdy \textsuperscript{3} d. ob. B. \textsuperscript{3} bede. B. 
\textsuperscript{4} mans. B. \textsuperscript{6} 1573 inserts him ; sette hym. B. \textsuperscript{7} 1573 inserts that 
\textsuperscript{5} pence. B. \textsuperscript{8} The 1573 edition reads lyly lyylitie ; geloresy. B.
would have gone away naked; but, to conclude, when he was out, he cast away the cloak, and, as naked as ever he was borne, he ran away, that he could not never be hard of again. Now the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to understand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was; and at my comming thereto, I had the hole circumstance, as I abode hauing wrythen; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xiiij. shillings and iiiij. pens halfe-penny might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the pouertie of the same parish, and so it was done.

1 The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus:—“over the fields to his own house, as hee afterwards said.”

2 woulde B. 2—3 again til nov. B. 4—1 d. ob. B.

5 The 1573 edition continues thus:—“wherof this craftye Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parish, as after you shall heare. But this lewe lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, hauing got once the tast of this lewed lisylye, for at this fare adornment, but desist other suddel sleights to maintaine his ydell living, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions: they hauing both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of the people, fayneing they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gaine much, This craftye Cranke, feareinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and apparelling himselfe very well with a fayre black frese cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fynre felt hat on his head, a shert of flanders worke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings; and vpon newe yeares daye came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg: the printer, hauing occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chansse met with him, who asked his charite for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceiued him vpon Alholen daye at night, demaunded of whence he was and what was his name, Forsoth,” saith he, “my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Leicester to seeke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I could ge money to paye for my lodgeing this night, I would seek work to morowe amongst the hatters. The printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to giue him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the streete, where he charged the constable with him, affirminge him to be the counterfet Cranke that rane away vpon Alholen daye last. The constable being very loth to meddle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depe discete, desyred he mought he brought before the debat of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debaty, he demaunded of him of whence he was and what was his name; he answered as before he did vnto the printer: the debaty asked the printer what he would laye vnto his charge; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceiuer of the people, and the counterfet Cranke that ran away vpon Alhollen day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward: the debaty thinking him to be deceiued, but
¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

These Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll never speake, vnlesse they hauue extreme punishment, but wyll gape, and with a marvelous force wyll hold downe their toungs doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes ful pitiously, so that with their deepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, and but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his toung in dede. Hauing on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserves very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayringe to his house, I fonde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his lyceence, vnder the scales and hands of certayne worshipfull men, had thought the same to be good and effectuall. I takeing the same writing, and neuerthelesse laid his commaundement vpon him, so that the printer should bare his charges if he could not susteine it: he agreed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his heele and ran downe the hill as fast as he could drywe, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coulde: but the printer of the twayn being lighter of fote, overtoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In the morow the printer sent his boy that striped him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Cranke confessed unto the deputie, that he had hosted the night before in Kent strete in Southwarke, at the signe of the Cock, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring, at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, hauinge a pretye house, well stuffed, with a fayre ioyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with penter, hauing an olde auncient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false fayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgiveness: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relent, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter thre dayes, was removed to Brydwell, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attire put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillory in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attire. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whyppe at a cartes tayle through Londoun, and his displayed banner caried before him vnto his owne doore, and so backe to Brydwell again, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condition he would prove an honest man, and labour truly to get his living. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment."

—See also, post, p. 89.

1 of his. B.

2 which priest had. B.
reading it over, and noting the scales, founde one of the scales like vnto a scale that I had aboue me, which scale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubte it was none of those Gentlemen's scales that had sub[\textit{s}]cribed. And hauing understanding before of their puish practises, made me to coneeane that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wyst that he would and must of force passe through the parysh where I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge home-ware, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called\textsuperscript{1} Chayne, and a servaunt of my Lord K\textit{ee}pers, cald Wostestowce, which was (leaf 17, back) the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien,\textsuperscript{2} and cunning in his science, had see the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was done\textsuperscript{3}. It was my chaunce to come at the begynnning of the matter. "Syr," (quothe this Surgien) "I am bold here to vttre some part of my cunning. I trust" (quothe he) "you shall se a myracle wroght anon. For I once" (quothe he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quothe I, "you are wel met, and somewhat you haue prevented me; for I had thought to haue done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe disemblers." The Surgien made hym gape,\textsuperscript{4} and we could see but halfe a toung. I required the Surgien to put hys fyngers in his mouth,\textsuperscript{4} and to pull out his toung, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a pretie whyle; at the length he pluckt out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his toung, hee would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quothe I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hee speaketh by and by." "Syr," quothe this Surgien, "I praye you let me practise and\textsuperscript{5} other waye." I was well contented to see the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed hym vp ouer a beame, and

\textsuperscript{1} cal. (sic). B.  
\textsuperscript{2} dumme. B.  
\textsuperscript{3} So printed. an. B.
there dyd let him hang a good while: at the length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulde in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could find in his pursse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfe-peny, being all that we coulde finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruaunt to the next Justicer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whyppe, and none dyd bewayle them.

¶ A DRONKEN TINCKAR. Cap. 13.

These dronken Tinckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, and these yong knaues be the wurst. These neuer go with out their Doxes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or lynnen, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bowse at their bowsing ken. And full some wyll they bee wearey of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Doxes lynger alofe, and tary for them in some corner; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth [best is] he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besides money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. For yf she haue thre or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old ketle, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hee quicklye snappeth the same vp, and in to the boogit it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

¶¶ I was credibl3e informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers with his dogge robbed by the high way iiiij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them aboue foure pound in ready money, and hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vtaken. Thus with picking and steaing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.
A SWADDER, OR PEDLER. Cap. 14.

These Swadders and Pedlers bee not all euyll, but of an indifferent behaviour. These stand in great awe of the vpright men, for they haue often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they secke gayne unlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and undoubtedly I haue hadde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bryberinge and stealinge. And nowe of late it is a greate practes of the vpright man, when he hath gotten a botye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyue with out suspition.

A LARKE MAN, AND A PATRICO. Cap. 15.

FOR as much as these two names, a Larkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old briefe of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Larkeman hathe his name of a larke, which is a scale in their Language, as one should make 'writinges and set scales for lycences and pasporte'. And for trouth there is none that goeth aboute the countrie of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I haue sene and handeled a number of them: but haue the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the proverbe sayth ("Omnia venalia Rome"), and manye hath confessed the same to me. [Leaf 15, back] Now, also, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho, whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they haue none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doubt that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are maried, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowshyp and good lyking lone: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that lie not.

1 pasportes. B. 2 Patriarch. B.
These Demanders for glymmar be for the most part women; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned\(^1\) lycences and counterfayted wrytings, haung the hands and scales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selues to hauue bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable\(^2\) demaunde your charitie, and wyll quickly shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll neuer begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a sheéte to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of women, and one of them helps an other.

A Demauner for glynmarr came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, haung a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, done in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the devotion of suche as hadde no money to gene her; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and cheese; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauелde: thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer bee séeone in her company in any good towne, vnesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, eyther trauelinge to gether by the hygh wayes; but the troth is, by report, she woulde wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in the sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth; but she had an vnthyutyne sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house: this amerous man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys\(^3\) glimmeringe glauncer, was presentelye pyteouslye persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bee clothed vnder her lyuerye; and bestowinge [leafio] a

\(^1\) faynyn, B.  \(^2\) lamentally, B.  \(^3\) beholding this, B.
fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode strayte that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bée welcome where money wanted, hée went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offers the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she would mete hym on the backesyde of the towne and curteously kys him with out con-straynt, she shoulde bée mystres thereof; and it weare much better. “Well,” sayth she, “you are a wanton;” and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then ranyshyt wyth his person, and agred to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:—to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gane hym that she had not, and he receiued that he could not; and taking leue of eche other with a curteous kysse, she plesantly passed forth one her iornaye, and this vntoward lycorous chamber-layne repayred home warde. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none could be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to sus-pecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aanswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whom she had better asyance in for his trouth,—and yet not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left thare honesty, (As I hcre a great sorte saye)—to come vnto-her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. “Goe, seke out,” saythe she, “my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me.” “I sawe him go out,” saythe he, “halfe an houre

1 but. B.
This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen and suspected her sonne; and he had not gone farre but that he espied him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19, back] “Where haue I bene?” quoth he, and began to smyle. “Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some bandye banquet.” “Thou hast even tolde trouth,” quoth thys chamberlayne. “Sewerly,” quoth this hosteler, “thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for the harnes she had by fyre: where is she?” quoth he. “She is almost a myle by this tyme,” quoth this chamberlayne. “Where is my mystres whystell?” quoth this hosteler; “for I am well assured that thou haddest it, and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot.” “Why! is it myssed?” quoth this chamberlayne. “Yea,” quoth this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstauce, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. “Well, I wyl tell the,” quoth this Chamberlayne. “I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so muche payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euer thyne assured freende.” “Why, then, go with me,” quoth this hostler. “Nay, in saythe,” quoth this Chamberlayne; “what is frear then gift? and I hadde pretie pastime for the same.” “Hadest thou so?” quoth this hosteler; “nowe, by the masse, and I wyll haue some to, or I wyll lye in the duste or I come agayne.” Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from the place where he departed he ouertoke her, hauing an vpright man in her company, a stronge and a sturlye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familarly in her company, for he had well hopped to haue had some delycate dalyance, as his fellowe hadde; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of
good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demaunder ferselye the whistell that she had euyn nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaughter your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes drywe with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe 1 a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to hane taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his cares, and whyle hee laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hee hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hee fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hee was come in, and laye him downe on his beade, repayred straight unto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistle,"—speaking the same pyteously thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystresses, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly waye it; it was worth but three shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "And you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyll shewe you, or els I wyll neuer doe it." Shée made hym presently faithfull promisse that shée woulde. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your sonne home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to," sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burninge of her house, a whystell, and you haue geuen her v. shyllinges in money,

1 Omitted in 1573.
and I haue geuen her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstaunce that you haue harde before, and howe hye pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouth," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neyther the losse of my money, as doth my euell and wreched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," sayth this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I haue bene well beaten, and haue had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrye and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great counsell; and then shall I bemocked and loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I haue bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughs oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

Hose Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pymes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye conneykskins, and steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden seruants, when their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or ch'ese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyiies in lewed lothesome lechery. Amongst them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good proofe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diners.

1 Rabbitskins
There came to my gate the last summer, Anno Domini 1566, a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be relieved, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of chertytie, I caused him to haue meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demanded of him whether he was neuer spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I haue," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I haue gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so euyll handeled, as I was within these iiiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hée, "I chancuned to miéte with one of these bawdy bas-kets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauoured, windsshaken knaue?' "Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue' oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that he had of me, halfe a yere a go, I think it well." Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your dets.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this aduyseyd I neuer sawe her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and shoulders, and would haue meate me worsse and I had not geuen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue hym xiiij. pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou owest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bee payde the next tyme I miéte with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thyssyde of Rochester. I haue dyuers tymes bene attempted, but

1 B. inserts sayth she.

2 Omitted in 1573.

3 1573 reads I am
I never loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came stil company by a fore this vuyhappy time." “Well,” quoth I, “thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyne countrey.”

A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

These Autem Mortes be maried wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Churche; so she is a wyfe maried at the Churche, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I hae, that goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth not. These walke most tymes from their husbands companye a moneth and more togethre, being asociate with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yt tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go with wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backes. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yerers old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her euery night, and she lyeth in the middes: she sayth that they be her chil- dren, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

These walkinge Mortes bee not maryed: these for their vn-happye yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhauen, Ireland, or in some seruice of the Prince. These make laces vpon staines, and purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyldren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the ypright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Wherefore, this pollicye they vse, they leaue their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they
truell: this haue I knowne, that iiiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllings, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeare, or some tyme not in halfe a yeare; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their peuyshe [leaf 21, back] polleyc; for when they bye them lynnen or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geneu them, or none at all.

¶ The last Sommer, Anno domini 1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose as I desired. I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly behavor, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyninge and wretched conversation. "God helpe," quoth she, "how should I lyne? none wyll take me into seruice; but I labour in haruest time honestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," quoth I. "Shall I tell you," quoth she, "the best of vs all may be amended; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good deede within this twelue monthes." "Wherein?" quoth I. Sayth she, "I woulde not haue it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be mete and necessary," quod I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" quoth she. "I meane," quod I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," quoth she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and sweare by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde neuer more tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," quoth she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traued into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels², and gathered many, and in the place where I found them, I opened them and cate them stylly: at the last, in seking more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stycking, I required for gods sake his helpe; and whether it was with strayninge and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his comminge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and loked red and well

¹ Omitted in 1573. ² mussels. B.
HARMAN. A WALKING MORT.

Nowe, by my trueth, I knowe not," quoth shee; "you brynge me out of my matter so, you do." "Well, saye on," quoth I. "Then I departed straught to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I shewed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better heede to her husbande, and to her selfe: so shee gane me great thankes, and made me good cheere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and house we had apoynte; 'for I knowe well,' quoth this good wyfe, 'my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne thee, that thou

1 he, ed. 1573.  2 I, ed. 1573.  3 warrant. B.
geue me a watche worde a loud when hee goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall bée "fye, for shame, fye," and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the keepe thyss secret vntyll all bée fynesed ; and holde, saythe thyss good wyfe, 'here is one of my peticotes I geue thee.' 'I thank you, good dame,' quoth I, 'and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.' So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke ; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shee wente straignt and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by ; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbande shee hadde, and howe that shee could not haue hys companye for harlotes, and that shee was in feare to take some fylthy dysease of hym, he was so commen a man, hauinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all ; 'and,' quoth she, 'nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that hee woulde haue hadde to doe withall ; wherefore, good neyghbours and louinge gossypes, as you love me, and as you woulde haue helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, that I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hee may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.' After shee hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes—As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behauour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parylsh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faihtelesse husbande doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spedy redresse for your case and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my counsell and you wyll bée aduertysed by me ; for I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is cheefely touched in this matter, I haue the neste cause ; for lée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hee hath bene tempering with me, and yet haue I sharply sayde hym

1 should. B. 2 1573 reads case 3 Omitted in 1573. 4 1573 reads tempting
naye: therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hath the apuynted to méete thys gyllot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begun to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye euyn nowe that you hadd a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, being fine of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbande, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll cary eche of vs¹ good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be mufled for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter; for we must hae her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas!' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'Fear you not,' quoth these stout wemen, 'let her not gene the watch word vntyl his hosen be about his legges. And I trowe we all wylbe with him to bring before he shall haue leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag[r]ed to the matter, that the way she had devised was the best: so this good wife repaired home; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuelye come in on the backsid, and where to tary their good our: so by the time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new denyse abone sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde denysed: within a quarter of an our after, in commeth the good man, who said that he was about his cattell. "Why, what hauwe we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? and yf she haue eate and dronke, send her into the barne to her lodging for this night, for she troubeleth the house." "Euen as you wyll husbande," sayth his wyfe; "you knowe she commeth once in two yeres into these [leaf 23] quarters. Awaye," saythe this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can:" thus, by loking one² on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche: the good man of the house shrode hym for Ioye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for his supper, set

¹ B. inserts a  
² nor. B.
him downe, and was very pleasant, and dranke to his wyfe, and fell to his mannerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the bancquet that was a preparing for him after supper, and according to the proverbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawe : thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there profytes, sayinge some of his cattell were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neygbours cattell out that were in his pastures, and mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her promisse. Thus feeding her with frendly fantasceyes, consumed two houres and more. Then sayinge he would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired courtly into the barne, where as his freelye foes lyrked pruently, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. "What, are you come?" quoth she; "by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house." "No, I warrant the," sayth this good man, "they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylle at mine anon." And laye downe by her, and strawght would haue had to do with her. "Nay, fye," sayth she, "I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you and put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best." "Sayest thou so?" quoth he, "now, by my trouth agred." And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the unsatiable fort. "Why," quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, "And are you not ashamed?" "neuer a whyte," sayth he, "lye downe quickely." "Now, fye, for shame, fye," sayth she a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fuye furious, sturdy, muffled gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, some pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his feete;

1 B. omits that
2 B. inserts that
3 1573 reads his
4 B. reads unsatiable, or unsatiable
5 1573 reads some
then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not see; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd hym one vntyll they weare windles. "Be good," sayth this Morte, "vnto my maister, for the passion of God," and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll seased not to crye vpon them to beé mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plentifullye oute in most places, they let hym lye styll bounde. With this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his manners. Thus lenyng hynm blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hée neither might or coulde be renenged of them, they vanysched awaye, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely connayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to set some haye for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuouslye beaten with rode, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to haue called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; "and make no wordes," quoth he, "of this. I wylbe renenged well inoughe;" yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vnhonest, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping dogge. "And, by my trouth," quoth this walkinge Morte, "I come nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, which is some what more then a yeare. And I here a very good reporte of hynm now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?" "It was pretely handeled," quoth I, "and is here all?" "Yea," quoth she, "here is the ende."

¶ A Doxe. Cap. 20.

These Doxes be broken and spoyle of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indiffernt for any that wyll vse her, as homo is a commen name to all men. Such
as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye always for the vpright men, and are chieflye mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backesyde aboute backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curtceous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they use to carrye in their great hosen; so that these beastlye brybinge\(^1\) brecches serve manye tynies for bawdye purpoues. I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that she hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke Avell; that done, I made her faythfull promisse to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to b'e wraye her, neither to disclose her name. "And you shoulde," sayth she, "I were vnдон:" "feare not that," quoth I; "but, I praye the," quoth I, "say nothing but trouth." "I wyll not," sayth she. "Then, fyrste tell me," quoth I, "how many vpright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn concoursaunt with, and what their names be?" She paused a whyle, and sayd, "why do you aske me, or wherefore?" "For nothinge els," as I sayde, "but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate." "Nowe, by my trouth" (quoth she) "then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acquayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade." "Dead!" quoth I, "howe dyed they, for wante of cherisheinge, or of paynefull diseases?" Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. "What, all?" quoth I, "and so manye walke abroade, as I daylye see?" "By my trouth," quoth she, "I

\(^1\) bryberinge. B.
knowe not paste six or seuen by their names,” and named the same
to me. “When were they hanged?” quoth I. “Some seuen yeares
a gone, some thrée yeares, and some wil/vin this fortnight,” and
declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to
bee true, by the report of others. “Why” (quothe I) “dyd not this
sorrowfull and fearefull sight much greue the, and for thy tyme lone
and euyll spent?” “I was sory,” quoth shee, “by the Masse; for
some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they
had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and diners of them I
neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs.” “O, mercyfull
God!” quoth I, and began to blesse me. “Why blesse ye?” quoth
she. “Alas! good gentleman, euery one muste haue a lyuinge.”
Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe
the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these
Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer for-
sake their trade, to dye therefore. I haue hadde good profe thereof.
There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse
Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murthered two
children at the least.

Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet
knowen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade
yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to
looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they
serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne
one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge;
when they haue b‘ene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they
be Doxes, and no Dels. These wylde dels, beinge traded vp with
their monstrous mothers, must of necessytie be as euill, or worse,
then their parentes, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars,
neither fygs from Thystels. But such buds, such blosoms, such
euyll sede sowen, wel worse beinge growen.
A Kynchin Morte. Cap. 22.

Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrl: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely¹, tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

A Kynchen Co. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co. is a yong boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you haue harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

Their vsage in the night. Cap. 24.

Ow I thinke it not vnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what manner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selves with that thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of the wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or haye into some pretye carner of the barne where she maye conuenientlye lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or scrype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and over the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blancket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she haue no sheete, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags ouer the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye downe. Many wyll pluckle of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper sheete, and all her other pelte and

¹ B. reads safely
trashe upon her also; and many lyeth in their smockes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or haye to performe the matter. The other sorte, that haue not slates, but tumble downe and couche a hogshead in their clothes, these bee styll lousy, and shall none be with out vermyne, vnlesse they put of theire clothes, and lye as is a bone sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe: the Roare hath his leanings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrie Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, the Crose Keyes in Cranford parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyt in Northhall parish. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometime shall come in some Roare, some pyckinge knaue, a nyumble Prygge; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easelye cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great seleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters and Togemans. Where in steede of blessinge is cursing; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes and terrible threatenings. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places aboue sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London: the one is betwene Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standing alone, that they haunt commonly; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blakke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyl they boldlye drawe the latche of the doore, and

1 1573 reads Craigford.
go in when the good man with hys famyly be at supper, and syt
downe without leaue, and eate and drinke with them, and either ly
in the hall by the fyre all night, or in the barne, if there be no rome
in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it
be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same
open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyme do lye xl.
upright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must
the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and
all that he hath.

THE NAMES OF THE UPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND
PALLYARDS.

Here followeth the vnruyle rablement of rascals, and the moste
notoryous and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this
present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by.
And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader,
understand that all the others aboue named are deriued and come
out from the upright men and Roges. Concerning the number of
Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well
haue don it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a
large volume.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UPRIGHT MEN.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Antony Heymer.</td>
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<td>Antony Jackeson.</td>
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<td>B.</td>
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<td>Burfet.</td>
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<td>Bryan medcalfe.</td>
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<td>C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Core the Cuckold.</td>
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<td>Chrystoner Cooke.</td>
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<td>D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dowzabell skylfull in fence.</td>
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<td>Dauid Coke.</td>
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<td>Dycke Glouer.</td>
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<td>Dycke Abrystowe.</td>
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<td>Dauid Edwardes.</td>
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<td>Dauid Holand.</td>
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<td>Dauid Jones.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmund Dun, a singing man.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Browne.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Follentine Hylles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fardinando angell.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fraunces Dawghton.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 The arrangement in Bedley ed. is not alphabetical.
HAUMAX.

NAMES OF VPIUGHT MEN.  79

G.

Gryffin.

Great John Graye.

George Marrinar.

George Hutchinson.

H.

Harry Hylles, alias Harry godepar.

Harry Smyth, he drinweloth when he speaketh.

Harry Ionson.

I.

James Barnard.

John Myllar.

John Walchman.

John Jones.

John Teddar.

John Braye.

John Cutter.

John Bell.

John Stephens.

John Graye.

John Whyte.

John Rewe.

John Mores.

John a Farnando.

John Newman.

John Wyn, alias Wylliams.

John a Pycons.

John Tomas.

John Arter.

John Palmer, alias Tod.

John Geoffrey.

John Goddard.

John Graye the lytle.

John Graye the great.

John Wylliams the Longer.

John Horwood, a maker of wels; he will take halfe his bargayne in hand, and when he hath wrought ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with his earnest.

John Peter.

John Porter.

John Appowes.

John Arter.

John Bates.

John Comes.

John Chyles, alias great Chyles.

John Leuet; hemaketh tappes and fanseets.

John Loutedall, a maister of fence.

John Loutedale.

John Mekes.

John Appowell.

John Chappell.

John Gryffen.

John Mason.

John Humfrey, with the lame hand.

John Straddling, with the shaking head.

John Franke.

John Baker.

John Basefeld.
Rychard Constance. Thomas Graye, his toes be gone.
Rychard Thomas. Tom Bodel.
Rychard Cadman. Thomas Wast.
Rychard Scategood. Thomas Dawson alias Thomas Lacklin.
Rychard Apryce. Thomas Basset.
Rychard Walker. Thomas Marchant.

S.

Steuen Neuet.

T.

Thomas Bulloke. [leaf 24, back]

V.

W.

Welerayd Richard.

A.

Arche Dowglas, a Scot.

G.

George Belberby.

B.

Goodman.

Blacke Dycke.

Gerard Gybbin, a counterfet Cranke.

C.

H.

D.

Hary Walles, with the lytle mouth.

Dycke Durram.

Humfrey ward.

Dauid Dew neuet, a counterfet Cranke.

Harry Mason.

E.

I.

Edward Ellys.

Iohn Warren.

Edward Anseley.

Iohn Donne, with one legge.

F.

Iohn Elson.

Iohn Raynoles, Irysh man.

Iohn Jerarys.

Iohn Harrys.

Iames Monkaster, a counterfet Cranke.

Iohn Dewe.

Iohn Browne, with one arme.

Iohn Browne, great stamerar.

L.

Lytle Dycke.

Lytle Robyn.

Lambart Rose.

1 Omitted in 1573 edit.
HARMAN. NAMES OF PALLYARDS.

M.

More, burnt in the hand.¹

N.

Nicholas Adames, a great stamerar.²

Nycholas Crispy.

Nycholas Blunt alias

Nycholas Gennings, a counterfet Cranke.

Nycholas Lynch.

Rychard Brewton.

Rychard Horwood, well nere lxxx. yeares olde; he will byte a vi. peny nayle a sonder with his Thomas Smith, with teeth, and a bawdy dronkard.

Richard Crane; he carieth a Kynchne

Rychard Iones.

Raff Ketley.

Robert Harrison.

S.

Simon Kyng.

T.

Thomas Paske.

Thomas Shawneam, Irish man.

W.

Wylliam Carew.

Wylliam wastfield.

Wylo.

Wylliam Gynkes, with a whyte bearde, a lusty and stronge man; he runneth about the country to seeke worke, with a byg boy, his soone carrying his toles as a dawber or plays-terer, but lytle worke serueth him.

⁴ The 1573 ed. reads Persk

Edward Lewes, a dum-nerer.

Hugh Iones.

John Perse,⁴ a counterfet Cranke.

John dauids.

John Carew.

James Lane, with one eye, Irish.

I. John Fysher.

John Dewe.

John Gylford, Irish, with a counterfet licence.

Laurence with the great legge.

Nycholas Newton, carieth a fained licence.

Nicholas Decase.

¹ Omitted in 1573 ed.

² Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.

³ The 1573 ed. arranges these names in the following order:—

Thomas Béere.

Irish man.

Thomas Smith with the skalde skin.

Thomas Shawneam.

⁴ The 1573 ed. reads Persk
Here followyth their pelting speache.¹

Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousy language of these lewtering Luskes and lazy Lorrels, where with they bye and sell the common people as they pas through the countrey. Whych language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a unkonwnen toung onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggers, and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe, when it is famyliarlye talked, and fyreste placinge thinges by their proper names as an Introduction to this peyyshe speeche.

¹ R. omits.
a commission,  
a shierte. 

drawers,  
hosen. 

stampers,  
shoes. 

a mofling chete,  
a napyn. 

a belly chete,  
an apern. 

dudes,  
clothes. 

a lag of dudes,  
a bucke of clothes. 

a slate or slates,  
a sheete or sheetes. 

lybbege,  
a bed. 

bunge,  
a pursse. 

lowre,  
monye. 

mynt,  
golde. 

a bord,  
a shilling. 

halfe a borde,  
sixe pense. 

flagg,  
a groate. 

a wyn,  
a penny. 

a make,  
a halfepeny. 

bowse,  
drynke. 

bene,  
good. 

benschyp,  
very good. 

quiern,  
nought. 

a gage,  
a quarte pot. 

a skew,  
a cuppe. 

pannam,\(^1\)  
bread. 

cassan,  
cheese. 

yaram,\(^2\)  
mylke. 

lap,  
butter milke or whey. 

[leaf 281] pek,  
meate. 

poppelars,  
pottage. 

ruff pek,  
baken. 

a grunting chete or a  
patricos kynchen,  
a pyg. 

a cakling chete,  
a cocke or capon. 

a margery prater,  
a hen. 

a Roger or tyb of the  
buttery,  
a Goose. 

a quakinge chete or a  
red shanke,  
a drake or ducke. 

grannam,  
corne. 

a lowhinge chete,  
a Cowe. 

a bletinge chete,  
a calfe or shepe. 

a prauncer,  
a horse. 

autem,  
a church. 

Salomon,  
a alter or masse. 

patrico,  
a priest. 

nosegent,  
a Nunne. 

a gybe,  
a wrintinge. 

a Iarke,  
a seale. 

a ken,  
a house. 

a staulinge ken,  
a house that wyll re- 
ceue stolen ware. 

a housinge ken,  
a ale house. 

a Lypken,  
a house to lye in. 

a Lybbege,  
a bedde. 

glymmar,  
fyre. 

Rome housse,  
wyne. 

lage,  
water. 

a skypper,  
a barne. 

strommell,  
strawe. 

a gentry cofes ken,  
A noble or gentlemen's  
house. 

a gygger,  
a doore. 

\(^1\) The 1573 ed. reads *Yannam*. 

\(^2\) B. reads *yrum*. The 1573 ed. reads *Param*.
bufe,  
a dogge.
the lightmans,  
the daye.
the darkemans,  
the nyght.
Rome vyle,  
London.
dewse a vyle,  
the countrey.
Rome mort,  
the Quene.
a gentry cofe,  
a noble or gentlemaw.
a gentry morte,  
a noble or gentle woman.
the quyer cuyn,  
the lusticer of peace.
the harman beck,  
the Counstable.
the harmans,  
the stockes.
Quyerkyn,  
a pryson house.
Quier crampinges,  
boltes or fetters.
tryninge,  
hanginge.
chattes,  
the gallowes.
the hygh pad,  
the hygh waye.
the ruffmans,  
the wodes or bushes.
a smellinge chete,  
a garden or orchard.
crassinge chetes,  
apels, peares, or anye other frute.
to fyle, to beate, to 
stryke, to robbe,  
to myll a ken,  
to robbe a house.
to nypp a bough,  
to cut a pursse.

To skower the cramp-
rings, [leaf 28, back]  
to weare boltes or fetters.
to hene a bough,  
to robbe or rifle a boewe-
eth.
to cly the gerke,  
to be whypped.
to cutte benle,  
to speake gently.
to cutte bene whydds,  
to speake or geue good wordes.
to cutte quyre whyddes,  
to geue euell wordes or euell language.
to cutte,  
to saye.
to touwe,  
to sée.
to bowse,  
to dryne,  
to maunde,  
to aske or requyre.
to stall,  
to make or ordaine.
to cante,  
to speake.
to prygge,  
to ryde.
to dup the gyger,  
to open the doore.
to couch a hogshead,  
to lye downe and sleepe.
to nygle,  
to haue to do with a 
woman carnally.
stow you,  
holde your peace.
bynge a waste,  
go you hence,  
to the ruffian,  
to the deuell.
the ruffian cly the,  
the deuill take thee.

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.  

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

VPRIGHTMAN.

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou
lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strumnell?

1 custyn. B.  
2 For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads,  
To fylche  
to robbe
3 benie. B.  
4 Roger. B.  
5 man. B.
HARMAN. THE VRIGHT COFE CANTETH TO THE ROGE.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night, whether in a bed, or in the strawe?

ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans.
I layd me downe to sleepe in a barne this night.

VRIGHT MAN.²

I towe the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet and Togman.
I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benehouse;
then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse, I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke;
[leaf 29] then saye to me what thou wylt.

MAN. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to house?
Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke?

ROGE. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make.
But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.

MAN. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse?
where is the house that hath good drinke?

ROGE. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.
A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.

MAN. I cutt it is quyer bouse, I bousd a flagge the laste dark mans.
I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there the last night.

ROGE. But bouse there a bord, and thou shalt haue beneship.
But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt haue very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is bene shyp.
Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

¹ laye. B. ² B. omits vright. ³ nabches. B.
⁴ masst. B. ⁵ This leaf is supplied in MS. in Mr Huth’s edition.
MAN. This house is as benshyy as rome house.
This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase nabels.
Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.
Aske of this wyfe what good meate she hath in her house.

ROGE. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Pecke,
cassan, and popplarr of yarum.
She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

MAN. That is beneshyp to our watche.
That is very good for vs.

Now we haue well bousd, let vs strike some chete.
Nowe we haue well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyer e cussen, it were beneship to myll hym.
Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne to robbe him.

ROGE. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes
is by.
Naye, let vs go hence to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

MAN. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and cly the Iarke,
or to the quyerken and skoyer quyer e crampring, and so to tryning
on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stockes, eyther be whyppe,
eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and
then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian clye thee.
A torde in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

MAN. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whydds, and
byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong; so shall we haue lowre for the
bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseanuyel, we wyll
fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of
dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go
we to London, to cut a purse; then shal we haue money for the ale house, and

1 good in the 1573 ed.
when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some lynnyn
clothes of one hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

If by this lyttle ye maye holy and fully vnderstond their vntowarde
talk and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they
hane begonne of late to deuyse some new termes for certien things,
so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuyse as euyll or worsse. This
language nowe beinge knownen and spred abroade, yet one thinge
more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I
learned the same of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche
I set it forth onely.

There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam
in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge
to praunce, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the
Cofe, with out any fylch man.

Hyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortuned
that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan
Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this
booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day
last past, Anno domini 1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who
caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym
vnto the counter; and as the countstable and a nother would haue
caried hym thether, This counterfet Cranke ran awaye, but one
lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, and so leading him
to the counter, where he remayned three days, and from thence to
Brydewell, where before the maister he had his dysgysed apparell
put vpon hym, which was monstrous to beholde. And after stode in
Chepesyde with the same apparil on a scaffold.

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detayne,
Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend,
Impudent persons, thus punished with payne,
Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

1 The 1573 ed. has some
2 Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads that
3 maisters. B.
4 This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, ante, p. 56.
Fetters or shackles serve to make fast,
Male malefactours, that on mischief do muse,
Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.
A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, Of backe and of body, beaten right well.
Of all the other it doth the most good,
Experience techeth, and they can well tell.

O dolefull daye! nowe death draweth nere,
Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.
I take my leave of all that be here,
Nowe piteously playing this tragical parte.
Neither stripes nor teachinges in tyme could connect,
wherefore an ensample let me to you be,
And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.

14 This counterfeit Cranke, nowe vew and beholde,
Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se:
This was he, as you haue hard the tale tolde,
before recorded with great suytyle,
Ibused manye with his iunpiete,
his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,
was through London carried with dysplayd banner.  

1 B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut.
This is the fygure of the counterfeit Cranke, that is spoken of in this boke of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is in the xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth showe vnto all that reades it, woundrous suytell and crafty deset done of and by him.

2 This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573; also the wood-cut preceding it.
Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

FINIS.

1 Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.

B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be 1568.)
A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery.

[ Lansdowne MS. 98, leaf 210. ]

A sermon made by Parson Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row,¹ at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that euerye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthye of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertve, and is vsed of all men, of all sortes and in all countreys, and soe commaunded and allowed of god himselfe; which thinge, because I cannot soe sapiently shewe vnto you a² soe shorte a tyme and in soe shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good parte this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of your good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. first, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Iudge theves vertuoues, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute fear. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall :—whoe stealeth not? for not only you that haue besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, and Children, Riche and poore, are dailye of that facultye, As the hange

¹ MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

² in
A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery.

[MS. Cott. Vesp. A xxv. leaf 53.]

A sermon of parson Hyberlyne which he made att the commande-mente of certen theves, after thay had Robbed hym, besydes hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the feldes, ther standinge vpou a hyff where as a wynde myll had bene, in the presens of the theves that robbed hym, as followithe.

the sermon as followethe

I greatly mervell that any man wyff presume to dysprase theverie, and thynke the dooeres therof to be woorthy of death, consideringe itt is a thynge that cumithe nere vtte vertue, beinge vsed of many in aft contries, And commendid and allowed of god hym selfe; the which thinge, by-causse I cannot compendiously shew vnto yow at soo shorte a warnynge and in soo sharpe a wether, I shaft desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good parte thys thenges that at thys tyne cumythe to my mynde, not mysdowtynge but that yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add much more vnto ytt then this which I shaft nowe vtte vnto yow. ffyrst, fortitude, and stowtnes of corage, and also bowldnes of minde, is commendyd of sume men to be a vertue; which, beinge grawnted, who is yt then that wyff not iudge theves to be vertused? for thay be of aft men moste stowte and hardy, and moste withowte feare; for thevery is a thynge moste vsuall emonge aft men, for not only yow that be here presente, but many other in dyuerse places, bothe men and wemen and chyldren, rytehe and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,
man of Tiborne can testifie. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is evidently in many stories of the Scriptures. And if you list to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theves have bin belov'd of god. For Iacobe, when he Came out of Meso-potomia, did steale his uncles lambs; the same Iacobe stole his brother Esawes blessinge; and that god saide, "I have chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came out of Egypt, didd steale the Egippsians Jewels and rings, and god commaunded the[m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Ahemel[ech] the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shew bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himselfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my nowne sone, in whom I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theves. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise your lives, when that you are in all points almost like vnto Christe; for Christ hade no dwellinge place,—noe more haue you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercy, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the sone and the holye goste, be all honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vijs more for his sermon.
as the hangman of tyboorne can testifye: and that yt is allowed of
god hym selve, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptures;
for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde
that theves hane bene belonred of gode; for Iacobe, when he came
owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vnclwe labanes kyddes; the same
Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessynges; and yett god
sayde, “I haue chosen Iacobe and refused Esau.” The chylldren of
ysraeft, whan they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egyptians
iewelles of syluer and gowlde, as god commawnded them soo to doo.
Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did cu??ie into
the temple and dyd steale the hallowed breede; and yet god saide,
“Dauid is a man euyn after myne owne harte.” Chryste hym selfe,
whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse and a cowlte that was
none of hys; and yow knowe that god said of hym, “this is my
beloued soone, in whome I delighte.” thus yow may see that god
delightithe in theves. but moste of att I marvett that men
can dispyse yow theves, where as in all poyntes almoste yow be lyke vnto
chryste hym selve: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more
haue yow. chryste wente frome towne to towne; and soo doo yow.
chrishte was hated of att men, sauynge of his freendes; and soo are
yow. chrishte was laid waite vpon in many places; and soo are yow.
chrishte at the lengthe was cawght; and soo shal yow bee. he was
brought before the iudges; and soo shal yow bee. he was accused;
and soo shal yow bee. he was condemnpd; and soo shal yow
bee. he was hanged; and soo shal yow bee. he wente downe into
heft; and soo shal yow dooe. mary ! in this one thynge yow dyffer
frome hym, for he rose agayne and ascendid into heauen; and soo
shal yow neuer dooe, withowte godes greate mercy, which gode
grawnte yow! to whome with the father, and the soone, and the
hooly ghoste, bee att honore and glorye, for euer and euer. Amen!

Thus his sermon beinge endyd, they gaue hym his money agayne
that thay tooke frome hym, and ij* to drynke for hys sermon.

finis.
[The parts added to HARMAN'S CAUEAT to make]

THE

Groundworke of Conny-catching;
the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the means
to understand the same, with the cunning slights
of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the Visiter,
the Fetches
of the Shifter and Rufflar, the deceits of their Doxes, the devises
of Priggers, the names of the base loytrenge Tosels, and
the meanes of every Blacke-Art-mans shifts, with
the reprose of all their diuellish
practises.

Done by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who hath
had the examining of divers of them.

[large woodcut]

Printed at London by John Danter for William Barley, and are to
be sold at his shop at the bypper end of Gratious streete,
over against Penden-hall, 1592.
To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene diuers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftie coossening sleights of these both men and women that have tearmed themselves Conny-catchers; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading over of this booke, wherein thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their severall degrees,

First, The Visiter. 12. A Dommerar.
5. The wild Rogue. 16. A demander for glimmar.
6. A prigger of Prauncers. 17. The baady Basket.
10. A fresewater Marriner, or 21. A Dell.
     Whipiach. 22. Kinchin Mort.

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which never yet were disclosed in anie booke of Conny-catching.
A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by some of this Cony-catching cru, in Innes or vitualling houses, but especially in Faires or Markets, which came to my hands since the imprinting of the rest.

Whereas of late divers coosening deuises and devilish deceites have beene discovered, whereby great inconueniences have beene eschewed, which otherwise might haue beene the vther ouerthrowe of diuers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest, not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be armed, both to see the deceit, and shun the daunger. These shifters will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentleman or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the hauing, then one of this cru takesthe marks of the thing, or at least the token the partie giueth them: anone, after he is gone, he likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tells them the markes and tokens: hauing thus done, hee blames their forgetfulness, and giues them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes, bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time, wherewith they are pleasd, and he possest of his pray. Thus one gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places (as a reclaimed fellow of that cru confessed) they make an ordinary practise of the same.

[The Pedler's French follows, taken word for word from Harman's book, p. 82-7 above.]

An honest youth, not many yeares since, servant in this City, had leave of his master at whitsontide to see his friends, who dwelt some fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well
known in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needs (sith his journey lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, having received his mother's blessing, with other his friends gifts, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this Hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to reconnre by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carowing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slily, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make—out of his bed-fellow's sleevee this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediately the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to hame them both first searcht, his seruants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter calls the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:—"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tells this youth how unwillig hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—"vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither." This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, "heard ye nothing cry?" "Cry!" said the yong man, "yes; [leaf 5, back] you cride so as, for twise ten pound, I would not heare ye
again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leave of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carrier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their severall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentleman-like attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the upper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, and then moued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare and excess of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: and iestingly askt if she would
make him her deputie to gather the reckoning; she granted, and he did so: and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he took his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leaving the guestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, and the musicians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered: the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to liue. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leave you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discovered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29.] The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present Groundworke of Conny-catching. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]
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