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THE ONLY ENGLISH PROCLAMATION OF HENRY III,
18 OCTOBER 1258,
AND ITS TREATMENT BY FORMER EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS, CONSIDERED AND ILLUSTRATED;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED EDITIONS OF THE CUCKOO SONG AND THE PRISONER'S PRAYER,
LYRICS OF THE XIII TH CENTURY;

BY

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

REPRINTED FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1863.

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GENERAL
CONTENTS.

I.—History of the Proclamation ........................................... 1
II.—Description of the Original Document ........................... 9
III.—The Present Edition of the Proclamation ....................... 16

Palaeotype described, p. 17.
Old French Version, pp. 18, 20, 22.
Old English Version, pp. 19, 21, 23.
Modern English Translation of Old English Version, pp. 18, 20, 22.
Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version, pp. 19, 21, 23.

IV.—The Former Editions and Translations of the Proclamation ... 24

Duplicate of the French Version, p. 25.

3. George Lord Lyttelton, p. 32. 11. Dr. Reinhold Pauli, p. 43.
T. Astle.—Facsimile of a Fragment of the Proclamation, p. 51.

V.—Interlinear Comparison of Eleven Editions of the Proclamation, with the Original ........................................ 55

VI.—Orthography and Pronunciation of the Old English Version ......................................................... 71

VII.—Dialect and Grammar of the Proclamation ....................... 75

VIII.—Present and Former Translations Considered, with Illustrative Remarks ........................................ 78

IX.—Contemporary Songs ....................................................... 97

Corrections in Prisoner's Prayer, p. 99.
The Cuckoo Song, p. 103.
The Prisoner's Prayer, p. 104.

X.—Glossarial Index ............................................................. 108

Postscript.

Photozincograpb Edition of the Proclamation ......................... 128
ON THE ONLY ENGLISH

PROCLAMATION OF HENRY III.

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

I. History of the Proclamation.

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

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

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

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


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

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


2 The life of this nobleman has been lately made the subject of an historical essay by Reinhold Pauli, under the title of "Simon von Montfort, Graf von Leicester, der Schöpfer des Hauses der Gemeinen," Tübingen, 1867, to which, as also to the same author's "Geschichte von England," vol. 3, Hamburg, 1853, I am much indebted.
In the Royal Letters\footnote{1} vol. 2, p. 127, there is the following letter which shows that the Four who had to choose the Fifteen were Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and his brother Hugo Bigod, the Earl of Warwick, and John Mansell; and in Ann. Mon. i. 449, against the first two names is written “Les duze de par le rei unt eslu les duze de par le commun,” and against the second two, “E la partie ver le commun ad eslu des duze ke sunt de par le rei,” and it is added:

“E ces quatre unt poer a eslire le cunseil le rei, et quant il unt eslu, il les mustrunt as vint et quatre; et la u la greimure partie de ces assente, seint tenu.”

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

“Rex Johanni Mansell, thesaurario Eboracensi, salutem.

“Cum nuper concesserimus proceribus et magnatibus regni nostri, juramento firmato in animam nostram, ut\footnote{2} per duodecim fideles de consilio nostro jam electos, de quibus vos estis unus, et per alios duodecim fideles nostros electos ex parte ipsorum procerum, fiat reformatio et ordinatio status regni nostri, ad honorem Dei, fidem nostram, et utilitatem regni nostri, secundum quod melius viderint expedire; et nihilominus promiserimus predictis proceribus et magnatibus nostris quod reformationem et ordinationem per predictos viginti et quatuor vel majorem partem eorum faciendam ratam habevimus et firmam, et ipsam faciemus teneri et inviolabriter observari; vobis mandamus, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tene-mini et sub debito juramenti nobis præstiti, quatenus ad reformationem et ordinationem predictas procedere non omittatis indilate cum alis, sicut volueritis nostram et nostrorum heredum indignationem vitare in perpetuum.

“Præterea cum vos una cum comite de Warrewico, Rogero le Bygod, comite Norfolchiae et marescallo nostro Angliae, et Hugoni le Bigod, fratre suo, electi sitis a predictis viginti quatuor ad nominandum illos qui de nostro esse debent consilio, et postmodum ad illos in quos vos quatuor vel tres vestrum concordaveritis alisii coordinoribus nostri presentandos, ut vos omnes simul vel major pars vestrum ipsos ad

\footnote{1} The full title of this work is—“Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., from the originals in the Public Record Office, selected and edited by the Rev. Walter Waddington Shirley, D.D., published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty’s Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.”

\footnote{2} “et,” MS.
Pauli, in his Geschichte von England, 1853, (3, 717,) gives as the names of the Fifteen the whole of those whose names are appended to the French version of the proclamation (infra p. 15), with the exception of the Earl of Albemarle; citing however only that very document, whence it is not clear why the Earl of Albemarle was omitted. The names of the Fifteen are given in Ann. Mon. 1, 449, as follows, and among them is found the name of the Earl of Albemarle. From the names appended to the French proclamation are omitted the names of the Earl of Winchester and Hugo Spenser, while the name of John Mansel is inserted.


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

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

"Quinze serrunt nomze par ces quatre, ... les queus serrunt de conseil le rei. E serrunt confermez par les avant dit xxiv. u par la greinure partie de els. E averunt poer del rei conseiler en bone fei del governe ment del reaume, et de totes choses ke al rei u al reaume pertenent.
E pur amender et adrescer totes les choses ke il verrunt ke facent a
adrescer et amender. E su le haute justice, et sur totes autres genz.
E si il ne poent tuz estre, ceeo ke la greinure partie fra, serra ferm et
estable.

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

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

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

1 Called, in the award of the king of France, 22 January, 1263 (Rymer's
Federa, 1816, vol. i., p. 434), "provisiones, ordinationes, statuta et obligationes
Oxonienses," and referred to afterwards simply as provisions, "ante tempus
provisionum ipsarum." In Rymer, i. 411, 7 December, 1261, they are termed
"ordeinemens purveances e establissemens fez a Oxinford."
lowing is the order for the assembling of the parliaments given in Ann. Mon. 1, 452.

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

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

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


It was apparently at the meeting of this so-called parliament at Westminster in October 1258, that the proclamation now under consideration was issued. The object of this proclamation was to bind every man in the kingdom to obey the council of Twenty-four. The people were not only to keep the ordinances of the majority of the council, but to swear to keep them, as the king and prince had already done. The king nominally, the committee of council actually, ordered every one in the country in virtue of his oath, to take part in supporting these ordinances, against all others, "doing and receiving justice." No one was to make use of any land or other possessions to the detriment of the ordinances, and those who opposed them were to be held mortal enemies of the people. This proclamation was issued in the form of letters patent, and sent into every county to be preserved among the archives, and also into Ireland.
The Council itself was first sworn, in the following terms, Ann. Mon. 1, 448.

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

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

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

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

---

\(^1\) I can find no mention of any but the English and French versions in the Kalendar of the Patent Rolls of 42 and 43 Henry; but in Ann. Mon. 1, 453, it is stated that the proclamation was also written in Latin, and that it had to be read by the sheriffs. The words are:—"Eodem tempore de communi domini regis et communitatis consilio factae sunt chartae domini regis subsequentes, et scriptae Latine, Gallice, et Anglice, et per totum regnum Anglie ad omnes comitatus transmissee, ut ibidem per vicecomites lecte, et intellecte firmiter ab omnibus in posterum observarentur illesae."

\(^2\) Mr. Maule, the clerk to the magistrates of Huntingdonshire, at my request, obligingly made a search to see if any record of this letter patent existed in the archives of the county, but he found none. It is most probable that other copies may still exist in some of the county archives, and any gentleman who could find them would be conferring a benefit upon our Early English Literature, as no
proclamation is therefore historically the first appeal to the people on record, the first in which the people were made to feel that they were worth addressing. Half of the council, whose ordinances are to be defended, is expressly stated to have been elected by the people of the country, "burg hast loandes folk." And the assistance of the people is invoked to protect the governing power of this council, which was thus supposed to be half of their own choice. There can be little doubt that this direct appeal to the people was made by the popular leader, Simon de Montfort, himself a foreigner, whose object was to enlist the sympathies of the people on his side against the other foreigners who were of the royal faction, and this object he sought especially to promote by issuing a proclamation in the language of the people themselves.

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

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

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

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

II. Description of the Original Document.

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

¹ In Rymer it commences on the preceding page, so that a person consulting the work for the English version might readily overlook it. This seems to have been the case with Craik, who took his version from Rymer. Pauli is the only editor who seems to have observed the French version.
² Any one may now go to the Search-room of the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, and examine the Rolls, gratuitously.
versions which have been given also deserve consideration, for they read us a very important lesson. They shew how when one word has been misunderstood in a sentence, even men who are looked upon as trustworthy teachers will deliberately pervert the meaning of perfectly clear and distinct words, neglect all grammatical relations, and all traditions as to the existence of words, to try and force a meaning out of the meaningless. When we consider how, in attempting to restore the lost meaning of a word—as in the modern attempts to read the Assyrian and the Egyptian—we give it a signification to suit what we suppose to be the context, let the versions of this simple English proclamation rise up in judgment against us, and shew how apt we are to alter the meaning of the known words to suit our preconceived notions of the unknown, so that the properly hard context becomes plastic in our hands, or else how the ignorance of the meaning of a single word leads us to misconceive that of all its neighbours. How much better is it to confess ignorance than by pretending knowledge to mislead disciples!

The two original versions of the proclamation are contained on rolls of parchment of the usual form. The Patent Roll of 43 Henry III., which contains the English version, consists of fifteen skins of parchment, of which the 15th is the first in order of date, loosely stitched together, with a thicker skin 12 inches long, cemented over three inches of the first skin, forming the outer cover. It is fourteen inches wide, and its whole length is 28 feet 11 inches. The lines, about twelve inches long, run across the roll, so that there is a margin of about two inches on the left hand, and none at all on the right hand. It is closely written on both sides, with a few occasional blanks; thus there are 3 inches blank in the 10th, and 10 inches in the 11th, and 9 inches in the first skin on front side. The strong cover only contains the title. The English proclamation begins 11 inches below the top of the 15th or last skin, on the 42nd line. About one inch above the commencement of the writing on the 15th skin is the following title: "Patentes de Anno regni reg' Henr' filii reg' Joh'ns Anno xliij."
In the margin of the English version there is the Latin title "Carta in Idiomate Anglico missa ad singulos Comitss Angl." There is no title to the French. In the Kalendar, or written index to the patent rolls in the Search Room of the Public Record Office, the English proclamation is referred to thus: "Vicecomitibus. Carta in Idiomate Anglico," without a date. But the French is referred to thus: "Omnibus. Quod omne quod per consilium sit ordinatum firmum sit, &c. London, Oct. xij." 1258. Here the day of the month is wrong, and neither title conveys the idea that the object of the proclamation was to make every one swear to obey the Council of Twenty-four.

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

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

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

French version. Line 5, v i e g n e n t, the italic e is interlined in the MS., and its place is marked by .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Line 7, a mange, the a is quite separated from the mange, but this may have been unintentional. ine hord, the e is at about equal distances from n and h, almost like in e hord, so that it may have been an error for in þe hord, but as the form ine is used, ine hord may have been meant.

Line 9, Hartford, the u is quite distinct, bearing no resemblance to an a. The pronunciation Hartford belongs to the xvith century, and hence Somner, who belonged to that period, was misled. The u was sounded as (i) or (ê) most probably, being an alteration of (y). The French has Hertford. Northfolk, the mark represented by the apostrophe (') has much the appearance of an unfinished e.

Line 10, Fort, the capital is like ff, as usual.

The original French version is contained in ten lines, of which the last is incomplete. The English version is also in ten lines, of which the last is incomplete, but the two do not correspond line for line, and there is an eleventh line appended to the English version, which forms no part of the proclamation, but is merely a note, stating that exact copies of this proclamation had been sent to every other English shire besides.
Huntingdon, and also into Ireland. There are sixteen names attached to the French, and only thirteen to the English version, the order being the same, with the exception of the omitted names. The following is the French list; the names in Italics are omitted in the English version, and those with a star (*) before them are omitted in the Burton copy of the French version in Ann. Mon. 1, 455, given below, p. 25:

Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Worcester, Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, *Northfolk, and *Hereford; Peter of Savoy; Earls of Albemarle, Warwick, and Winchester; Fitz-Geoffrey, Peter de Montfort, de Grey, de Mortimer, Audley, and Spenser.

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

1 See Diefenbach, Goth. Wört. ii. 3, 4. In Middle High German occurs the form mäc, pl. mägen for relations, and in the Straszb. Stat. a. 1429 (quoted in A. Zie- man’s Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch), the relations included under this term are defined as brothers and sisters and their children, uncles and aunts and their children, children of male and female cousins and all nearer relations; diz sint die māge: bruder, etc.
Who were the persons whose names are attached to the proclamation? They are all denominated sworn councillors, *isworene redesmen*, in the English version, but they have no designation in the French. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, the Earl of Albemarle, and James Audley, whose names are in the English version, and the Earl of Winchester, whose name is in the French version only, do not occur among the twenty-three names of the Twenty-four given in the Ann. Mon. The Earl of Winchester and Hugo Spenser, whose names occur in the French only, were not of the Fifteen. But they were among the Twelve appointed to assist the royal council of Fifteen as representatives of the commons in parliament, and all such persons were no doubt included under the general name of sworn councillors. The conclusion seems to be that this proclamation was approved by the whole parliament, consisting of the Fifteen and the Twelve, and that it was signed by some of each in the French, but that only thirteen members of the Fifteen signed the English version, the approval of the other two and of the Twelve being indicated by the final words: *and autforen opre moxe*.

III. The Present Edition of the Proclamation.

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

¹ These tracings were shewn to the Philological Society when this paper was read.
III. PRESENT EDITION OF THE PROCLAMATION.

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

In the following copy and in the Interlinear Comparison given p. 52, the ordinary court-hand letters will be represented by Roman characters, but \(b\), \(z\), \(æ\), \(i\), \(y\), \(f\), \(s\), will be all distinguished. In citing the passages hereafter, the \(i\), \(y\), \(s\) alone will be used in place of \(i\), \(i\), \(y\), \(f\), \(s\), but the letters \(b\), \(z\), \(æ\) will be preserved.

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

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


Modern English Translation of Old English Version.

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

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


Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.

[1] Hen’rai thurk þ God’es ful’tume k’q on Eq’lenelan’dë, lhav’erd on Irr’lande, Dyyk on Normandai, on Akitain’e and ee’rl on Andzhuu’; send igreét’që to al’e his’e hold’e ileer’dë and ilee’wede on Hun’tendooneshii’rë. [2] Dhet wii’ten je wel al’e, dhet we wil’en and un’en dhet, dhet uu’re reedes-men al’e odh’er dhe mmaw’re deel of heum, dhet beuth itshoo’zen thurk’us, und thurk’ dhet land’es folk on uu’re kin’eriiitshe, hab’eth idoon’ and shul’en [3] doon, in dhe worth’nese of God’e and on uu’re treuth’e, for dhe free’me of dhe land’e, thurk dhe besikh’te of than to foo’renisaide ree’desmen, beu stee’defest and ilter’inde in al’e thiq’e abuut’en en’dë. And we mmaw’ten [4] al’e uu’re treu’e in dhe treuth’e dhet heu us oogh’en, dhet heu stee’defestlitshe hee’ld’en and swee’riento hee’ld’en and to weer’ien dhe iset’neses dhet beun imaak’kede and beun to maak’ien thurk’ dhan to foo’ren isaid’e ree’desmen, [5] odh’er thurk’ dhe
Old French Version.—(Continued.)


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


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

maære dæl of heum aliswa alse hit is bifoaren isaid. And dhet eetsh oðher help'e dhet for to doon'e bai dhaan ðïþe ooth'e æwe'nes al'e men, rïkht for to doon'e and to faq'en. And naan ne nii'me of land'e ne of [6] ekht'e, wheðurk'h: dhis besïkht'e muugh'e beun ilæt oðher iwers'ed on oni'wiis'e. And jif on'ai oðher on'iæe kum'en heer onwe'nes, we wil'en and naær'ten dhet al'e uure tre'u heum heæl'd'en deed'lithe isfaq'un'. And for dhet [7] we wil'en dhet dhis beu steæ'deæst and lest'inde, we send'en æe dhis writ oop'en isain'ed with uu're seel, to hald'en amaques æu in'e hoord. Witnesse us selvéen et Lun'deene, dhaan'e ekht'etentei dæi, on dhe monoth'e [8] of Oktoober in dhe twoo and fouer'tïkht the see're of uu're krum'åke. And dhis wes idoon' etfooren uu're isowo'renere'desmen,Bon'efaase,Ar'tshebìch'op on Kan'terber'æi; Walt'er of Kan'teloou, bið'shop on Wi'retshester; [9] Sii'moon of Munt'fort, ee'r'l on Lœair'tshester; Rii'tshard of Klaa're, ee'r'l on Gloou'tshester and on Hertford; Rodzh'er
Old French Version.—(Continued.)


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

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

[11] And in exactly the same words it has been sent into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England and also in till Ireland.
Old English Version.—(Continued.)

Bigod eorl on Northfolk' and Marefcal on Engleneloand.' Perref of Sauueye. Wil' of Fort eorl on Aubem'.


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

Bii·god, ee'rl on North·folke and Maa·reskal on Eq'leneland'e. Per'es of Savai'e; Wil·helm of Fort, ee'rl on Au·bemarle;

[10] Dzhou of Ples'ai, ee'rl on Waa·rewiike; Dzhou Dzhef·rees suun'e; Per·es of Munt·fort; Rii·tsbard of Grai; Rodzh·er of Mort·temer; Dzhaam·ez of Al·dithel, and ætfoor·en odh·re moogh·e.

[11] And al on dho ð·tshe word·en is isend· in to ev·ritshe odh·re shii·re oover al dhe·re kin·eriitshe on Eq·lenelande, and eek in til Iir·lande.
IV. The Former Editions and Translations of the Proclamation.

The various editions of this proclamation are as follows, so far as I have been able to discover. They are not arranged in chronological order, but in the natural groups into which they fall. First comes the second copy of the French version given in the Annales de Burton, in which those words which are entirely different from the corresponding words in the patent roll are italicized. Then follows the edition of Somner, 1659, with his Latin and English translations. This seems to be the oldest printed edition, and has had many followers. Tyrrell intended to follow it exactly, though his copy abounds with errors. Lyttelton transcribed Tyrrell, and Henry only made a few changes. Latham transcribed Henry with a few variations, and Koch seems to have depended on Latham. Henry, Latham, and Koch do not name their authorities. This forms the first group. Hearne and Henshall are the sole representatives of the second and third groups, for they seem to have had no followers. The Record Commissioners' Edition of Rymer gave rise to Craik's copy, and also to Pauli's, who however corrected it by the French; Regel followed Pauli almost exactly, and Marsh transcribed Regel. The fifth group is due to my efforts to give the proclamation correctly, first in a privately printed edition, followed by Latham in his Dictionary, and lastly in the present paper, which must be considered as an independent edition because it has been corrected by the original documents. A fragment facsimiled by Astle closes the list. The only persons who have consulted the original are Somner, Hearne, Henshall, the Record Commissioners, Astle, and myself. The rest are all copies, continuing old errors and committing new, and none of the editions except the present reproduces the original with sufficient exactness. After the account of each edition, with the translations they contain, the texts of (1) Somner, (2) Tyrrell, (4) Henry, (5) Latham, (6) Koch; (7) Hearne; (8) Henshall; (9) Rymer, (10) Craik, (11) Pauli, (12) Regel, will be arranged interlinearly under a copy of the present
version, and in groups, so as to shew the relations of one to the other, and the cruel way in which this piece of English has been treated. (3) Lyttelton and (13) Marsh are such exact reproductions of (2) Tyrell and (12) Regel that they need not be reproduced. The differences of (14) my first edition and (15) Latham's copy of it, from the original are slight and will be sufficiently indicated below.

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

"Carta domini regis.

"Henri par la grace, etc., a tuz ses feus, clers et lais, saluz. Sachez ke nus volumz et otriumz ke co ke nostre conseil ou la greinore partie de eus, ke est eslu par nus ou par la commune de nostre reaume, a fet et fra al honor de Deu et de nostre fei et pur profit de nostre reaume, si come il le ordenera, seit ferm et estable en tutes choses a tuz jurs. E comandums et amonestums a tuz [feus] et leaus en la fei ke nus deivent, ke il fermement tengent, et jurgent a tenir et a maintenant, les establissemenz ke sunt fet ou sunt a fere pur le avant dit conseil ou par la greinure partie de eus, en la manere ke est dit de sus. E ke il se entremettent a co fere par memes cest serment encuntre totes genz dun1 fesant et pernant. E ke nul ne prenge de tere ne de moible, par quei ceste purveance pusse estre dest ou empeire en nule manere. E si nul ou nuls vengent encontre ceste chose, nus volums et comandums2 nos feus et leus kes tengent nostre enemi mortel. E pur co ke nus volums ke ceste chose seitt ferm et estable, nus enveims nos lettres overtas aselez de

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

2 The words ke tuz here occur in the other copy.
neste sel en chescun cunte a demorer la en tresor. Testmoigne *memes apud* Londonias, xviii. die Octobris, anno regni nostri xlii.

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

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

"Charter of the King.

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

1 The second title of the Earl of Gloucester, viz. Earl of Hertford is omitted, as also the signatures of the Earls of Northfolk and Hereford. The signatures and date are here latinized, but this is not likely to have been the case in the original proclamation.
sealed with our seal, in each county, to remain there in the treasury. Witness ourselves in London, Oct. 18th, the 42nd year of our reign. And this thing was done before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, etc.”


“Unnan. Dare, donare, concedere, indulgere, to give, to grant, to bestow, to give leave or license, to permit. Verbum est purum putum Anglo-Saxonicum; Anglo-Normannis autem eorem expugnatoribus, transmissum, et in horum monumentis post aliquot secula ævo scil. Henrici Regis Anglo-Normannici, istius nominis tertii, inter ejusmodi multa, repertum. Rotul. Paten. de anno 43, Hen. 3, membrana 15.—ḥær riten ȝe ȝe alle ȝ pe pillen ȝ unnen ḥær ḥær une ȝe ȝeðermen, etc. In eorum gratiam qui cum linguae tum historiae et politiæ gentis nostræ sunt studiosi, chartam integram, sive literas (quas ita vocant) patentes, publici juris facere, et Latinè interpretari, non pigebit.”

He then gives the version marked (1.) in the following interlinear comparison, the whole being printed in the Anglo-Saxon character,¹ which would convey the notion that the document was written in that character, but, as has been already pointed out, this was not the case. It will be seen that this edition contains some remarkable errors, which led Somner into extraordinary flights of translation. In line 3, we find “freine” for *freme*; in line 5, we have “ḥam” for *pan*; the insertion, after “alle men” of the words “paucula quædam hic deesse videntur hæc scilicet aut similia, in alle þinge þær,” the necessity for which arose from his reading “ọgp” for *Rigt*; and again “mine” for *nime*. In line 6, we find “egþephaer þurg” for *egte wcherburg*, and “deadhecher-ýtan” for *deadliche ipaan*. In line 8, the name “Cantelop” is printed for *Cantelow*, and this error is repeated in his Latin, but corrected in his English translation.

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

¹ The Roman letters C, G, e are regularly used instead of the corresponding Anglo-Saxon characters, and i is occasionally misprinted for ā.
et Normannis usurpatum, fortasse tamen originitus Latinum, et à verbo *annuo*, ni fallor, oriundum." This is an example of how etymological relations used to be assumed from a mere fortuitous resemblance of sound and sense. The word is strictly German; the Gothic form is *anszt*, modern high German *g-unst*, favour. See Dieff. Goth. Wört. i., 52, and the references there given. Bopp refers the word to the Sanscrit root *an*, to breathe.

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

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

1 The reference to Pott's list of roots should be 215* not 220*.
volumus ut hoc firmum sit et stabile, mittimus vobis hoc scriptum patens, sigillo nostro signatum, penes vos in archivo reponendum. Teste nobis ipsis Londini decimo octavo die mensis Octobris anno Coronationis nostræ (vel, regni nostri) quadragesimo secundo. Hoc autem gestum fuit coram juratis consiliariis nostris, Bonifacio, Archiepisco Cantuariensi, Waltero de Cantilupo, Episcopo Wigorniens, Simone de Monteforti, Comite Leicestrensi, Richardo de Clare, Comite Glocestrensi et Harfordiens, Rogero Bigod, Comite Norfolciensi et Angliae Marescallo, Petro de Sabaudia, Willielmo de Fort, Comite Albermarliae, Johannis Plessiz, Comite Warwicensi, Johanne filio Galfridi, Petro de Monteforti, Richardo de Grey, Rogero de Mortuomari, Jacobo de Al- dithel. et coram aliis pluribus. Et omnino eisdem (vel totidem) verbis missum est in unumquemque per universum regnum Angliae Comitatum, ac etiam usque in Hiberniam.”

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

“HENRY by God’s help, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, and of Aquitain, and Earl of Anjoy, Greeting to all his faithful Clerks and Laics of Huntingdonshire: This know ye all well, that we Will and Grant,¹ that which our Counsellors all, or the most part of them that be chosen by us, and the People² (or Commons) of our Land, have done, and shall do, for the Honour of God, and of their Allegiance to us, for the Benefit³ (or Amendment) of the Land, by the Advice or Consideration of our foresaid Counsellors, be stedfast and perform’d in every thing for ever. And we Command all our Liege People in the Fealty that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold, and swear to hold [or keep] and to defend [or maintain] the Statutes [or Provisions] which be made, and shall be made, by those aforesaid Counsellors, or by the more part of them, also as it is before-said; and that they each other assist the same to perform,
according to that same Oath, against all Men, both for to do, and cause to be done: And none neither of my Land, neither from elsewhere may for this be hindered, or damnedified in any wife: and if any Man or Woman oppose them againft, we Will and Command that all our Liege People them hold for deadly Enemies; and because we will, that this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this Writ open, signed with your\textsuperscript{1} Seal to be kept amongst you in Store;\textsuperscript{2} witness our self at London the 18th day of the Month of October, in the two and fortieth Year of our Coronation; and this was done before our sworn Counsellors, Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantelow Bishop of Worcester, Simon Montfort Earl of Leicesters, Richard of Clare Earl of Gloucesters and of Hartford, Roger Bigot Earl of Norfolk and Mareschal of England, Peter of Savoy, William of Fort Earl of Abemarle, John of Ptefeiz Earl of Warwick, John Gefferiffon, Peter of Montfort, Richard of Grey, Roger of Mortimer, James Aldithly, and before others moe.

"AND all in these fame words is sent into every other Shire over the Kingdom of England and also into Ireland."

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

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

\begin{itemize}
\item[1] An evident misprint for \textit{our}.
\item[2] "Hord."
\end{itemize}
and makes the same insertion, introduced by the same words, "paucula quædam hic deesse videntur, hæc scilicet aut similia: in alle thinge that." But this version is also full of other and most extraordinary errors, whether of the press or the transcriber it is impossible to say, which have been more or less carefully repeated by Lyttelton, Henry, Latham, and Koch. Subjoined to this is the English translation by Somner given in the preceding number, p. 29.

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


2 There is an important mistake in the translations of 34 Ed. 3, c. 1, pointed out in J. B. Sharpe, An Inquiry into the Origin of the Office and Title of the Justice of the Peace, 1841, p. 164, which is comparable to the above, because the translation also says exactly the reverse of the original, and the error has become part of the legal history of our country. The clause in the Royal Edition of the Statutes at large is, according to the work cited: "Et de prendre et arester tous ceux quils purront trover par enditement ou par suspicion et les mettre en prison, et de prendre de tous ceux qi sont de bone fame ou ils serront trovez suffissant secrete et meipris de leur bon port devers le Roi et son people, et les autres duement punir." The sense is here clear; all suspects are to be arrested, those having good characters are to give security, and the others are to be punished. But the translation orders "to take of all them that be NOT of good fame, sufficient surety, etc., and THE OTHER duty to punish," that is, those of bad fame are to give security, and those of good fame are to be punished! Leaving out the latter nonsense, the practice of taking surety from those "not of good fame" is said to be founded on this statute. Mr. Sharpe observes that "in the royal edition . . . the word not in the English version is printed within brackets, with a note upon it stating 'all translations read thus,'" and also says that Rastall inserts the ne in French, but Cay omits it.
that the same was sent into every Shire of England, and also into Ireland; which is a plain proof, that that part of it which was then under the English Government, was obliged by the Laws made by the King and his Parliament of England, without the Consent of the Parliament there. This Writ or Charter, as appears by the Date, was made by the King and his new Counsellors, to confirm and reinforce the late Provisions made at Oxford; and since it is therein express'd, that these Counsellors were chosen by the Folk or People of the Land, it seems, that the Commons (as we now call them) had also a hand in the making of them."

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

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

1 "Gale's edit. p. 71."
2 The reference should have been to the Appendix to the second volume, p. 25.
In a note on this passage, vol. 4, p. 130, he quotes the lines—

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

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

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


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

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

1 The marginal note says: "This was omitted in the Appendix to the Second Book, where it ought to have been placed as referring to p. 320 of that book," an error which made the discovery of the document rather difficult.
duces a few more, so that his version represents no state of the language which could have been spoken. Henry has adopted the Roman type throughout, using the g in all cases, but retaining ae. He does not give the signatures or the following remarks. The inserted words in alle that heo are slightly different from those in Tyrrel in alle thinge that, which were taken from Somner, and no notice of their not forming part of the original is appended. The translation, which is original, and does not follow Somner's English translation as given by Tyrrel, is in many places a remarkable instance of "forcing a construe," as they say at school. Reserving the consideration of its principal absurdities, the complete translation runs thus:

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

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

2 "Clergy and Laity."
IV. FORMER EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

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


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


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

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

¹ Vol. iv. of the 4to. edition. I have not seen any other edition. It is possible that there may be a more recent one, and that the variations of Latham’s text from Henry’s may be due to the misprints in that later edition.
Koch gives no explanations, but merely remarks that as there is no French element in the language of this proclamation, it is not properly English, but Anglo-Saxon with with degraded forms (mit abgeschwächten Formen).

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

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

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

¹ At least as regards old English or Anglo-Saxon, but in Appendix V. p. 387, Hearne has printed portions of a Latin MS., the original of which, he says, was "in a sort of Longobardic character" in the same way. In the body of the work, pp. 1 and 110, he prints Anglo-Saxon in the complete Anglo-Saxon alphabet.
mation of what the Parliament had done or should doe.” This endorsement is erroneous; the proclamation does not relate to the Parliament, but to the council of twenty-four nobles. The apostrophe used in the present transcription of Hearne’s edition represents his line over the preceding letter. No subsequent editor seems to have followed Hearne.

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

This curious book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Payne, of the Philological Society, has the following introductory remarks: “The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language has certainly engaged the attention of able Scholars and learned Divines. The ancient Records of this realm have been collected with laudable assiduity, many of them have been printed with a Version, and more liberally translated. To assert that no correct idea can be collected from the laborious exertions of a Hickes, a Gibson, or a Wilkins; to affirm that their Latin interpretations are of little authority, unintelligible, and delusory; argues certainly a daring Challenger, or a Champion conscious of the merits of his cause, and therefore not easily intimidated. The present investigator relies little on his own knowledge, but is confident in the errors of his opponents; he is better acquainted with antient Latin Records than Saxon Documents, but having been compelled, in the course of his investigations, to consult the Thesaurus of Hickes, the Leges Saxonice of Wilkins, &c. and finding it impossible to form any certain inference from their Latin jargon, he was necessitated to examine the Original, in its vernacular idiom. Of the result of this investigation let others judge; but before condemnation is passed, let the evidence be candidly weighed by the judgment of a
discerning jury. For this purpose we shall submit the Original in Saxon Characters, with the Version and Interpretation of the Editor's in one page; the Original, in Roman Characters, with the literal verbatim Rendering, in italics, on the other, that a just verdict 1 of their merits may be returned by an honest and impartial jurymen."

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

1 "Vere-dictum."
2 "In Bibliotheca Astleianæ uniformly ou not on." Henshall's book is dedicated to Thomas Astle, F.R.S., and this note apparently refers to a MS. in Mr. Astle's private collection, as I cannot find any notice of such a work as Bibliotheca Astleiana, although it is again quoted by Henshall on p. 30, for his extracts from King Alfred's Will, which was published as a separate work by Mr. Astle. But see Astle's Fragment, infra p. 51.
3 "A different division of letters is adopted."—Henshall. He does not notice that he has also written *th* for *d.*
4 This transcript is generally correct, even to Somner's erroneous *freime* for *freme,* whence perhaps Henshall's own *freime,* but exhibits *tlowed,* his *writ* for Somner's *ilawed,* *þis writ.*
Henry the third, which Somner considers a Saxon Record, Lord Lyttleton an Old-english Document. — Som. Dict. ad verbum unnan." The allusion to Lyttelton must be to his heading, after Tyrrel, "A Charter in the old English of that time," see above No. 2 and No. 3, pp. 31 and 32.

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

1 "Fultume, or Fulture, from Fultura, Support."
2 "Lif-erth—Life-earth—Source of Life, or of Bread, Loaf, hence Bread is the Stuff, or Staff, of Life."
3 "From theow Servants, hence modern thief, and the Provincialism, 'Do you thou me, i.e. call me a slave?'—in Lancashire Dialect still theow."
4 "Allowed, lawful—Pacem Regis habentes in the Law—neither Villains or Thiefs—hence Alloy, or Allay—lawful money with a proportion of lawful base Metal."
5 "The true Derivation of Words will so easily and naturally appear, from these Sources, that it will be frequently unnecessary to comment on them."
6 "Sommer gives this Charter in his Dictionarium Saxonico-latino-anglicum, under the Verb unnan, a word no where found but in this passage, according to his conception of the passage.—The Original is abbreviated thus, wunê, and from the common expression in Lancashire, 'I will and wull,' we have little doubt that our Interpretation is correct.—Lye is subject to this error." [Henshall prints uunê in his text and wunê in the note; the word is distinctly uunê in the original.]
7 "Men of Letters—Reading—Witens—or Wisemen."
8 "The Folk of that County—Knights of that County—Communitas— for similar Writs were directed to each Shire of England and Ireland—Tyrrel's Common People is ridiculous, for there never was a Knight from an Irish Election, a Representative to an English Parliament—but of this in our History." [This allusion to Tyrrel is evidently to the note to Somner's English translation on the words Loandes folke, supra p. 29, note 2. It was this allusion which led me to discover Tyrrel's edition.]
9 "Higt, to command—Skinner—hence English ordain—heaten, a thing ordained."
in the Truth that they us owe, that they stedfastlike holden, and swearen to holden, and to warden, the settinesses\(^{10}\) that bin maked and bin to make, thorough the heretofore said Read-men, or thorough the more deal of them, also as it is beforsaid. And that each other help that for to do by their ilk\(^{11}\) Oath, against all men right for to do, and to fang.\(^{12}\) And none nor of mine Land, not of oughtwhere,\(^{13}\) thorough his setting (besigte) may be lett, or worsed in any wise. And if ony\(^{14}\) or any come here against, we will and ordain that all our truemen them holden deadly.\(^{15}\) If then, and for that we will that this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this Writ open signed with our Seal to hold amongst you in Herd.\(^{16}\) Witness ourselves at London the eighteenth Day in the Month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning. And this was done afore our sworn Read-men Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantilupe Bishop of Worcester, Simon of Montfort Earl of Leicester.”


The French version, not quite correctly printed,\(^1\) and

\(^{10}\) “Setteness, things set at the Sitting, what was determined at the Sitting or Sessions, synonymous to Assize Assia.—Hence behest, be sit, or set—what ordained at the Session.”

\(^{11}\) “Ilk, Spencer the same.”

\(^{12}\) “Destruction fang Mankind—Shakespeare, Timon.—We still have Dogs-fangs, Teeth, the Holders, consequently hold.” [The passage in Shakspere, is Timon, Act 4, Sc. 3, v. 23; in the folio 1623, it is spelled “Destruction phang mankinde.”]

\(^{13}\) “Any where—a Lancashire provincialism.”

\(^{14}\) “Ony, Lancashire for any.—Here oni and onie are the masculine and feminine gender, Man or Woman.”

\(^{15}\) “In the language of that age, wolf-headed, gerentes caput-lupinum.”

\(^{16}\) “In Congregation—a Number assembled.”

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

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<td>6 ea us.</td>
<td>feaus.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
with the uniform substitution of \( v, j \), for the consonant, and \( u, i \) for the vowel, is contained in vol. 1, p. 377. The contractions are all extended.

Vol. i. p. 378, exhibits the Old English version. This copy contains the principal blunders of Somner, which had been avoided by Hearne, and is disgraceful in a work issued by Government, and professing to give a copy of a public record. The errors are not merely philological or orthographical, but seriously affect the signification of the document. This Old English version is printed in the Anglo-Saxon character throughout, with, therefore, no distinction between \( th \) \( ð \) and \( g \) \( ð \), and with the contraction \( j \) for \( and \). The signatures are appended, and are arranged in a column. No translation is given.

It is entitled: “Carta Regis in idiomate Anglico, ad singulos comitatus Angliae et Hibernie, super reformatione statús regni, per proceres ejusdem regni,” which is not quite a correct description. This is the version marked (9) below.


On p. 125 Prof. Craik gives this proclamation, professedly copied from the Record Commission edition of Rymer’s Fœdera, as in No. 9. Prof. Craik has, however, adopted the Roman character throughout, using th, ae for ð, æ, and sometimes g; sometimes gh, y for ð. He has corrected one error in Rymer, \( ð \)peop ope in line 6 for treowe alone. But he has been induced by the stupid mistake in Rymer of \( ogt \) for Rigt, to insert the words in alle thaet heo, inserted without comment by Henry as a correction of Somner, saying: “These words are not in the copy here followed, but seem to be required by the sense,” although the extraordinary false grammar heo \( ogt \) for heo \( ogen \), which they introduce, ought to have shewn a professor of English literature that the words could not have formed part of the original. He has not given the signatures or subsequent remarks, but he has added a translation
(chiefly from Henry, and indeed following him in one instance where his own text differed from Henry’s, viz., in having *bi tham ilche othe*, line 5, for Henry’s *bitham ilche other*), which may be taken as a warning to those who would translate the untranslateable. This is the following version (10).

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


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

In the French version the contractions are extended, the *u, i* consonants are printed *v, j*, the *v* vowel is printed *u*, and
the capitals are modernised. A few variations both from Rymer and the original, which the author had clearly never seen, occur. As compared with the original we may note the following, where the italics represent Dr. Pauli’s words (merely extended contractions are not noticed): estableness establissemenz; s’entreeident sentreeident; purveaunce purveaunce; Gueons eneons; checun chescun; en tresor entresor; Testmoin tesmoin; Wyrecestr’ Wyrecestr’; de Forz de Fort; Warrewyk de Warrewyka.

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

¹ The Bishop of Worcester’s name is generally Cantelupe. But in the English version it is very distinctly Cantelou, and in the French Cantelou. Somner and Rymer give Cantelop, with a distinct p, not the Anglo-Saxon p, but Somner has Cantelou in his English Version; the letters p p are easily confused, but in the original MS. w and not p is used. If the copy of the Burton version of the French in the Ann. Mon. (suprè p. 26) is to be trusted, that copyist gave the name as de Cantilupo.
Warewik'. This is certainly far superior to the other versions which had appeared, but it had not the authority of the original document, with which it had never been compared. The only serious errors are be for bo, whereburg for wherburg, or for ope, and Cantelop for Cantelow, and these would not alter the meaning. Pauli gives no translation.


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

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

The copy which Regel gives uses only Roman letters, employing th, g, ae, throughout, for þ, ȝ, æ. The v vowel is made u, and u consonant is written v. The capitals and punctuation are changed. Taking no notice of these, certainly important and arbitrary alterations, there will be found the following variations from the original MS., Regel's words
being in italics: *Irloand Yrloand*, *ilaewede ileawede, a buten abuten, the isetnesses þo isetnesses, amanges a manges, ine hord inehord, Cantelop Cantelow, Aubern' Aubem', Roger of Mortemer Rog' of Mortemer. These changes, after allowing for the ae, u, v, th, g, are with the exception of þe, Cantelop, Aubern' for þo, Cantelow, Aubem' utterly insignificant. The alterations ilaetvede, a buten, for ileawede, abuten, have been made on theoretical grounds. Regel's text is given as No. 12 in the Interlinear Comparison.

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

\(^1\) The article is printed in Roman type, and no capital letters are used for substantives. The ss and ss are both printed "fs," for which ss only is here used.
zeichnet, bei euch im schatze aufzubewahren. Dessen sind wir selbst zeuge zu London am 18n October im 42sten jahre unserer krönung. und dies wurde vollzogen in gegenwart unserer geschworenen reichsräthe Bonifacius, erzbischof von Canterbury u. s. w. und in gegenwart anderer edlen, und wird in ganz gleicher wortfassung in jede andere grafschaft überall im königreiche von England und auch bis nach Ireland geschickt.”

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

And tatt him shollde hiss kinedom
à lastenn butenn ende.

and says that the full phrase is to be found in Orm. 2090 àfre à butenn ende. The simple formula a buten aende corresponds to the Prayer Book translation, “We worship thy name ever world without end,” of the Latin “laudamus nomen tuum in saeculum et in saeculum sæculi,” in the Te Deum. But the proclamation writes abuten aende very distinctly, so that probably the habitual recurrence of a, ever, in connection with buten aende had entirely obliterated the consciousness of its being anything but the common a prefix.

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

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

1 Regel says: “Ich lasse nun zunächst den text dieser urkunde folgen, und zwar wie ihn Pauli (gesch. v. England bd 3 s. 910, 911. vergl. s. 725 anm. 3 und 909 anm. 1) nach dem originale (Rotul. 43. Pat. 16) mit mehrfachen wichtigen berichtigungen des abdruckes in den Foederibus mittheilt; die abweichungen dieses letzteren werde ich unter dem texte hinzufügen.” Regel however omits to

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

As regards *gif oni other onie,* as he reads, he says: "Regel supposes the *e* final in the latter example to be the sign of the plural; others have treated it as a feminine singular ending. The question cannot be determined by the syntax, for the plural [of the following verb *cumen* might] have been used after an alternative, but the distinction of the grammatical error of *ne mine of loande* for *ne nime of loande.* He points out Pauli's slip by which Will of Fort is made Earl of Warwick, and attributes it to an error of the press.

1 In point of fact, it will be seen hereafter that the dialect is very mixed showing marked peculiarities of the Southern, Midland, and Northern uses.
matical gender was now so little regarded\(^1\) that the \(e\) is, most probably, a plural sign. The original French of the proclamation, which, unfortunately, my authority does not give, would decide the question." He translates "if any [sing.] or any [plural] transgress here against." The French \textit{se nul v nuz vieignet} of course decides the matter.

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

The following is Mr. Marsh's translation:—

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

\(^1\) Yet just before in this very proclamation we have "iwersed on \textit{onie} wise," where \textit{onie} is feminine.

\(^2\) The following observations of Mr. Marsh will shew that he is not particularly well versed in phonetical considerations. He finds that "the combination \textit{hw}, \textit{wh}, is not only incapable of prolongation, but cannot be uttered at all without the aid of a third element namely, a vowel following," p. 172, note. Of course (\textit{wh}) can be readily prolonged indefinitely. He goes on to say, "There are, however, a few sounds which may be indefinitely prolonged, and yet seem to be composed of two still more elementary articulations. I refer to those into which the \textit{y} consonant appears to enter as a subordinate component. The English \textit{ch}, \textit{sh}, are very nearly \(t+y\), and \(s+y\), and in some orthographies, the Swedish, for example, in which \(j\) corresponds to our \(y\) consonant, they are expressed accordingly, as \textit{tjäder}, in English spelling, \textit{chader}, \textit{sjal}, \textit{shall}, etc. Here \(sh=\text{(sh)}\) is a simple sound, distinct though often derived from \(s+y=\text{(s)}\), and \(ch=\text{(tsh)}\) is a compound sound, distinct though often derived from \(t+y=\text{(t)}\), and when \(ch\) is prolonged the only sound heard is \(\text{(sh)}\), which, being simple, can be prolonged indefinitely."
and earl in (of) Anjou, sends greeting to all his lieges, clerk and lay, in Huntingdonshire. This know ye well all, that we will and grant that what our councillors, all or the major part of them, who are chosen by us and by the land's people in our kingdom, have done and shall do, to the honour of God and in allegiance to us, for the good of the land, by the ordinance of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and permanent in all things, time without end, and we command all our lieges by the faith that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold, and swear to hold and defend the regulations that are made and to be made by the aforesaid councillors, or by the major part of them, as is before said, and that each help others this to do, by the same oath, against all men, right to do and to receive, and that none take of land or goods, whereby this ordinance may be let or impaired in any wise, and if any [sing.] or any [plural] transgress here against, we will and command that all our lieges them hold as deadly foes, and because we will that this be stedfast and permanent, we send you these letters patent sealed with our seal, to keep among you in custody. Witness ourself at London the eighteenth day in the month of October in the two and fortieth year of our coronation. And this was done before our sworn councillors: [Signatures] and before other nobles [?] And all in the same words is sent into every other shire over all the kingdom in (of) England and also into Ireland.”

14. A. J. Ellis, March, 1861, the privately printed copy of the proclamation already named. This edition does not distinguish the extended contractions, interlineations or erasures, nor the differences ı, ı or ƒ, s, nor does it mark ɣ, or the commencement of the original lines. Though ȝ, g are usually distinguished, agenes, ongenes, Rigt are printed for aγenes, onγenes, Rigt. The errors halde, onien, for holde, onie also occur; their origin is explained on p. 12 and 13.

Both had been the result of an examination, but not of a sufficiently careful examination of the MS. It has not been considered necessary to give this or its transcript, No. 15, in the Interlinear Comparison. The same edition contains the
French Proclamation also with the errors enionions, Gueneons, seclees, scel, for enioinons, enueons, seelees, see l. The correct readings were not ascertained till after repeated careful examination of the original manuscript, and comparison of various words containing the same combinations of letters.

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

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

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

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

1 I had printed the two versions side by side, with the heading "French and English Proclamation of King Henry III., 18 Oct. A.D. 1258," the first four words happening to lie over the French Version which was placed on the left, and the last words over the English Version on the right, Dr. Latham has placed the English Version first (although the French stands first on the record,) and has headed it with the date "18 Oct. A.D. 1258," while over the French Version, which he has appended, without a word of explanation, remains the now incomprehensible heading "French and English Proclamation." There seems to have been a fate against any accurate publication of this unhappy proclamation.
simile of the first four lines of the proclamation, those in which fewest errors have been commonly made. In this facsimile, which Mr. Astle from his position had peculiar opportunities of making, and should have had peculiar aptitude, or at least an acquired habit, for accurately correcting, reading, and translating, I find the following errors: Line 1, halde very distinctly and unmistakably marked for hold e. Line 2, after kuneriche, the point (') instead of the period (.) ; and, strangely enough, i den for id on. Line 3, in for in, the flourish over the i is generally mistaken, either omitted, or made horizontal i, as if a contraction for in; rode s men. for red s men., binge for binge; haaten most distinctly for hoaten. Line 4, heilden very distinctly for healden, sweren for sweren, and weren for weren. We ought certainly to have expected better things in a facsimile. What trust can be reposed in any of Astle's engraved plates after such sins as the above?

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

"'Henr thurg Godes fultume King on Engleneloande Lhoaverd on Yrland Duk on Norm. on Aquitain 7 Eorl on Aniow. send igretinge to alle his holde ilærde 7 ilæwedl on Huntendon Schir—that witen ge wel alle that we willen and unnen that that ure rædesmen alle other the moare del of heom that beoth ichosen thurg us and thurg that loandes folk on ure kuneriche habbeth iden and schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode and on ure treowthe for the freine of the loande thurg the besigte of than to foren iseide rædesmen beo
stedefast and ilestenide in alle thinge abuten ænde. And we haaten alle ure treowe in the treowthe that heo us ogen thæt heo stedefastliche heilden and sweren to healden and to werien the isetnesses that beon i maked and beon to makien thurg than to-foren iseide rædesmen.”

Here Mr. Astle differs in many places from his own facsimile! Leaving out of consideration the th, g, v, s, i, for þ, ð, w, ð, we find, as compared with the facsimile, Yrland for Yrloand’, Norm. for Norm’, Aquitain for Aquitain’, 7 twice for a and, holde for halde, ileawedl for ileawede, Huntendon Schir for Huntendon’Schir,’ that several times but not always for þæt, del for dæl, kuneriche without any point after it, freine for freme (for it is to be observed that the writer would have put a flourish over the i if he had meant in, thus freíne, as in ífeíned, which Hearne prints ífemēd, and there is no such word as a freíne,) radesmen for rodefmen, stedefast for stedefæst, the for tho meaning þo, i maked for ímakede. Such a transliteration would certainly puzzle the reader of the facsimile. As regards the original, the alteration of halde into hołde restores the proper reading, the use of freíne for freme introduces a fresh error, and radesmen for rodefmen, which should have been redefmen, is another form of error. The blunders i-den, haaten, heilden, sweren, for idon, hoaten, healden, sweríen, are faithful reproductions of his facsimile, shewing that although he was actually the keeper of the original, he did not refer to it, but trusted to an ignorant facsimilist.

Astle’s translation is taken without acknowledgment from Somner’s (supra p. 29), with these differences:—the explanatory or second translations inclosed in ( ) or [ ] in Somner are omitted; Anjoy is corrected to Anjou, sendeth is inserted before greeting, owe to us is used for owe us, and the spelling, capitals, and punctuation have been slightly changed, so that the keeper of the Records did not venture to give his own translation of the ancient document he had so cruelly misrepresented.
This fragment (for a reference to which I am indebted to Mr. Payne) cannot be considered as an edition, and it will therefore not be necessary to take any further notice of it. But it is at any rate a warning.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[1] Henr'</th>
<th>þurq</th>
<th>godef</th>
<th>fultume</th>
<th>kung on</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>(1) Henr.</td>
<td>þurq</td>
<td>Godeg</td>
<td>fultume</td>
<td>King on</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) HENRY</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultome</td>
<td>King on</td>
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<td>(4) Henry,</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultome,</td>
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<tr>
<td>(5) Henry,</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultome,</td>
<td>King on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Henry</td>
<td>Þurg</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultume,</td>
<td>king on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Henr',</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>godef</td>
<td>fulcume</td>
<td>King on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Henr.</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultume,</td>
<td>King on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Henr',</td>
<td>þurq</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultume,</td>
<td>King on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultume,</td>
<td>King on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Henr',</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(12) Henr',</td>
<td>thrug</td>
<td>Godes</td>
<td>fultume</td>
<td>King on</td>
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</table>

Engeleneloande. Lhoauerd on Yrloand'.

| (1) Englene loande. | Lhoavepð | on Yplanð. |
| (2) Engeleneloande, | Lhoauerd | on Yrloand |
| (4) Engeleneloande, | Lhoauerd | on Yrloand, |
| (5) Engeleneloande, | lhoaurd | on Yrloand, |
| (6) Engeleneloande, | Lhouard | on Yrloand, |
| (7) Engeleneloande | Lhoauerd | on Yrloand, |
| (8) Engeleneloande, | Lhoaverd | ou Yrland, |
| (9) Engeleneloande, | Lhoavecð | on Yplōand, |
| (10) Engeleneloande, | Lhoaverd | on Yrloand, |
| (11) Engeleneloande, | lhoaverd | on Irlōand, |
| (12) Engeleneloande, | lhoaverd | on Irlōand, |
## V. INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF Duk on Norm' on Aquitain' and

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<tr>
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<td>Duk on Normand.</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>Acquitain</td>
<td>and</td>
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<td>Acquitain,</td>
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<tr>
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<td>duk on Norm',</td>
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<td>alle</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>and</td>
<td>ileawede on</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>j</td>
<td>ilæpe on</td>
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<tr>
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<td>and</td>
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<tr>
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<td>and</td>
<td>ileamede on</td>
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<td>and</td>
<td>ilewede, ou</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>j</td>
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<td>and</td>
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Huntendon'schir' [2] thät witen ze wel alle

(1) Huntindonn rchip. thät witen ze pe alle
(2) Huntindonn-schierie; thät witen ge wel, alle
(4) Huntindonn-schierie. thät witen ge wel alle,
(5) Huntingdon-schierie. thät witen ge wel alle,
(6) Huntingdonschierie. thät witen ge wel alle,
(7) Huntendon schir' thät witen ze well alle
(8) Huntendonn Schir, thät witen ge wel alle,
(9) Huntendon'schir'. thät witen ze pel alle
(10) Huntendon'schir'. Thaet witen ye wel alle
(11) Huntendon schir'. thät witen ge wel alle,
(12) Huntendon'schir'. Thaet witen ge wel alle,

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<th>thät we willen and vnnen thät. thät vre</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1) thät pe pillen j unnen thät thät upe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) thät we willen and unnen, thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) thät we willen and unnen, thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) thät we willen &amp; unnen thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) thät we wellen and unnen thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) thät we willen and uune' thät, thät vne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) thät we willen and uunē, thät thät our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) thät pe pillen j unnen thät thät upe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) thät we willen and unnen thät thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) thät we willen and unnen, thät thät ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) thät we willen and unnen, thät thät ure</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

raedesmen alle ofer pe moare dæl of heom

(1) raedesmen alle. open pe moape dæl of heom
(2) raedesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom,
(4) raedesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom,
(5) raedesmen alle other, the moare del of heom,
(6) raedesmen alle other, pe moare del of heom,
(7) raedesmen alle other the moape del of heom
(8) Raedesmen alle othe the moare Dael of heom,
(9) raedesmen alle open pe moape dæl of heom
(10) raedesmen, alle other the moare dæl of heom,
(11) raedesmen alle ope pe moare dæl of heom,
(12) raedesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom,
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<th>Interlinear Translation</th>
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<tr>
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<td><em>j-chullen bon in Je pothnerre of Gode</em></td>
<td>and schullen [3] don in pe worhnesse of gode</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>and schullen don in the worthnes of Gode,</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>and schullen don, in the worthnes of God,</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>and schullen don, in the worthnes of God,</td>
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<td>and schullen don, in the worthnes of God,</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>and schullen don, in the Worthnesse of Gode,</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>and schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>and schullen don, in the worhnesse of Gode</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>j-chullen bon in Je pothnerre of Gode</em></td>
<td>and schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>and schullen don, in the worthnesse of Gode</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>and schullen don in the worhnesse of Gode</td>
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<td>and schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode</td>
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*V. INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF*

<table>
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<td><em>j-chullen bon in Je pothnerre of Gode</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>and schullen don in the worthnesse of Gode</td>
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</table>
and on vre treowþe. for þe freme of þe

(1) þ on une þeopþe þon þe þene of þe
(2) and ure treowþe for the freme of the
(4) and ure treowþe, for the freme of the
(5) and ure throwþe, for the freme of the
(6) and ure treowþe, for þe freme of þe
(7) and vne þeowþe for þe þene of the
(8) and on ure Treowþe, for the Freime of the
(9) þ on une þeopþe þon þe þene of þe
(10) and on ure treowþe, for the freme of the
(11) and on ure treowþe for þe freme of þe
(12) and on ure treowþe for the freme of the

loande. þurg þe besigte of þan to forenifeide

(1) loande. þurg þe besigte of þan to þonen þænede
(2) Loande, thurg the besigte of than to foren ifeide
(4) loande, thurg the besigte of than to foren iseide
(5) loande, thurg the besigte of than to foren iseide
(6) loande, þurg þe besigte of þan toforen iseide
(7) loande, þurg þe besigte of than to þopem iseide
(8) Loande, thurg the besigte of thantsforen iseide
(9) loande. þurg þe besigte of þan to þopemiseide
(10) loande, thurg the besigte of than to foreniseide
(11) loande þurg þe besigte of þan toforeniseide
(12) loande thurg the besigte of than toforeniseide

redesmen: beo stedfaest and ilestinde in

(1) rædesmen beo þædþæft and ilestinde in
(2) rædesmen beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(4) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(5) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(6) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(7) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(8) Rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(9) rædesmen beo þædþæft and ilestinde in
(10) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(11) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
(12) rædesmen, beo stedfaest and ilestinde in
V. INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF

alle þinge abuten ænde. And we hoaten
(1) alle þinge abutan ænde. And pe heaten
(2) alle þinge abutan ænde, and the heaten
(4) alle þinge abutan ænde, and the heaten
(5) alle þinge abutan ænde, and we heaten
(6) alle þinge a butan ænde, and we heaten
(7) alle þinge abuten ende. And we hoaten
(8) alle þinge abutan ænde. And we heaten
(9) alle þinge abuten ænde. And pe hoaten
(10) alle þinge abuten ænde. And we heaten
(11) alle þinge abuten ænde, and we hoaten
(12) alle þinge a buten ænde, and we hoaten

(1) alle ure þeope in þe þeope þæt heo ur ogen.
(2) alle ure treowe in the treowthe thet heo us ogen,
(4) alla ure treowe, in the treowthe thet heo us ogen,
(5) alla ure treowe, in the treowthe thæt heo us ogen,
(6) alla ure treowe, in þe treowþe þæt heo us ogen,
(7) alla ure þeowe in the þeowþe the heo vfozen,
(8) alla ure treowe in the Treowthe thæt heo us ogen,
(9) alla ure þeope in þe þeope þæt heo ur ogen
(10) alla ure treowe, in the treowthe thæt heo us ogen,
(11) alla ure treowe in þe treowþe, þæt heo us ogen,
(12) alla ure treowe in the treowthe, thæt heo us ogen,

þæt heo stedefæstliche healden and swerien
(1) þ heo stede-fæstliche healden þ pepen
(2) thet heo stede-feßliche healden and weren
(4) thet heo stede-fæßliche healden and weren
(5) thet heo stede feßliche healden & waren
(6) þet heo stedefæßliche healden and swerien
(7) thæt heo stedefæßliche healden and swepen
(8) thæt heo stede-fæßlich healden, and swerien
(9) þæt heo stede-fæßßliche healden þ peßpen
(10) thæt heo stedefæßßliche healden and swerien
(11) þæt heo stedefæßßliche healden and swerien
(12) thæt heo stedefæßßliche healden and swerien
to healden and to werien þo ifetnesseþ þæt
(1) to healden þe to peñen þe ifetnesseþ þæt
(2) to healden and to swerien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(3) to healden & to swerien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(4) to healden and to swerien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(5) to healden and to swerien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(6) to healden and to swerien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(7) to hoilden and to wernien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(8) to healden, and to wernien, the ifetnesseþ þæt
(9) to healden ðæ to peñen þe ifetnesseþ þæt
(10) to healden and to wernien the ifetnesseþ þæt
(11) to healden and to wernien þe ifetnesseþ þæt
(12) to healden and to wernien the ifetnesseþ, þæt

beon imakede and beon to makien þurg þan
(1) beon makede ðæ beon to makien þurg þan
(2) beon makede and beon to makien þurg than
(3) beon makede and beon to makien, þurg than
(4) beon makede and beon to makien, þurg than
(5) beon makede and beon to makien, þurg þan
(6) beon makede and beon to makien, þurg þan
(7) beon imakede and beon to makien þurg þan
(8) beon maked and beon to makien, þurg than
(9) beon imakede þæ beon to makien þurg þan
(10) beon imakede and beon to makien, þurg than
(11) beon imakede and beon to makien þurg þan
(12) beon imakede and beon to makien þurg þan

to foren iseide rædesmen[5] oþer þurg þe moare
(1) to rœpen iseide rædesmen. oþen þurg þe moare
(2) to foren iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(3) to foren iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(4) to foren iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(5) toforen iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(6) toforen iseide rædesmen, oþer þurg þe moare
(7) to rœpen iseide rædesmen oþen þurg þe moare
(8) to foren iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(9) to rœpen iseide rædesmen. oþen þurg þe moare
(10) to foren iseide rædesmen, other þurg þe moare
(11) toforeniseide rædesmen oþer þurg þe moare
(12) toforeniseide rædesmen other þurg þe moare
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1      | dóeal orp | heom | al*pwo | alre | hit | iř | bifore|p
| 2      | dóeal of | heom | alswó, | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 3      | dóeal of | heom | alswó, | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 4      | dóeal of | heom | alswó, | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 5      | dóeal of | heom | alswó, | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 6      | dóeal of | heom | alswó, | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 7      | dóeal of | heom | alswó | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 8      | dóeal of | heom | alswó | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 9      | dóeal orp | heom | al*pwo | alre | hit | iř | bifore|p
| 10     | dóeal of | heom | alswó | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 11     | dóeal of | heom | alswó | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren
| 12     | dóeal of | heom | alswó | alswé | hit | is | bifo|ren

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<td>And</td>
<td>hæt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>And</td>
<td>thet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>And</td>
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<td>And</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>rėmō.</td>
<td>And</td>
<td>hæt</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>iseid.</td>
<td>And</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>ilche</td>
<td>oþe</td>
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<td>ilche</td>
<td>oþe</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>to done, bi them</td>
<td>ilche</td>
<td>oþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>to done bi þan</td>
<td>ilche</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>to done bi þan</td>
<td>ilche</td>
<td>oþe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ELEVEN EDITIONS WITH THE ORIGINAL.  63

(1) (in alle þinge þæt) oȝt  þon  to done and
(2) [in alle thinge that] oȝt for to done and
(4) in alle thet heo oȝt for to done, and
(5) in alle thet heo oȝt for to done, and
(6) in alle þat heo oȝt for to done, and
(7) Right for to done and
(8)
(9) oȝt þon to done and
(10) [in alle thaet heo] oȝht for to done and
(11) right for to done and
(12)

to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande
(1) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande
(2) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande
(4) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande
(5) to foangen.  And noan ne of mine loande,
(6) to foangen.  And none ne mine of loande,
(7) to foangen And noan ne mine of loande
(8) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande,
(9) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande,
(10) to foangen.  And noan ne mine of loande,
(11) to foangen, and noan ne mine of loande
(12) to foangen, and noan ne mine of loande

ne of [6]egte.  wherburg þif besigte muge
(1) ne of egtepehr þung þif besigte muge
(2) ne of egetewher thurg this besigte muge
(4) ne of egetewher, thurg this besigte, muge
(5) ne of egetewhere, thurg this besigte, muge
(6) ne of egete, wherburg þis besigte muge
(7) ne of egte whenthung this besigte muge
(8) nor of egtewheær, thurg his besigte muge
(9) ne of egtewhaeto þung þif besigte muge
(10) ne of egteoхаeо, thurg his besigte, muge
(11) ne of egte, whereburg þis besigte muge
(12) ne of egte, wherethurg this besigte muge
### V. INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>iwerfed</td>
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<td>wife.</td>
<td>And</td>
<td>beon</td>
<td>ilet</td>
<td>oðer</td>
<td>iwerfed</td>
<td>onie</td>
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<tr>
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<td>And</td>
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<td>iwerfed</td>
<td>onie</td>
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<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
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### gif oni oðer onie cumen her ongenes: we

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<td>oðer</td>
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<td>cumen</td>
<td>her</td>
<td>ongenes</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>gif</td>
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<td>we</td>
<td>gif</td>
<td>oni</td>
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<td>onie</td>
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<td>oni</td>
<td>oðer</td>
<td>onie</td>
<td>cumen</td>
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<td>ongenes,</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>gif</td>
<td>oni</td>
<td>oðer</td>
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### willen and hoaten þæt alle vre treowe heom

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<th>(10)</th>
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<th>(12)</th>
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<td>alle</td>
<td>vre</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
<td>willen</td>
<td>þæt</td>
<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>þeopes</td>
<td>heom</td>
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<tr>
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<td>þæt</td>
<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
<td>willen</td>
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<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
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<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
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<td>heom</td>
<td>willen</td>
<td>þæt</td>
<td>alle</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### pillow j heæten þæt alle ure þeopes heom

<table>
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<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
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<th>(11)</th>
<th>(12)</th>
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<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
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<td>ure</td>
<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
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<td>treowe</td>
<td>heom</td>
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</table>

ELEVEN EDITIONS WITH THE ORIGINAL.

healden deadliche ifoan. And for þæt
(1) healde deadlicheiþtan. And þon þæt
(2) healde deadlichiftan. And for þæt
(4) healde deadlichistan. And for þæt
(5) healde deadlichistan. And for þæt
(6) healde deadliche ifoan. And for þæt
(7) healde deadliche ifoan. And þon þæt
(8) healde deadliche. If than, and for þæt
(9) healde deadlicheiþtan. And þon þæt
(10) healde deadlicheiþtan. And for þæt
(11) healde deadliche ifoan, and for þæt
(12) healde deadliche ifoan, and for þæt

[7] we willen þæt þif beo stedefæst and lestinde:
(1) pe pillen þæt þif beo þæstæþæþ æþ lefandnde
(2) we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde,
(4) we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde,
(5) we willen þæt þis beo stædfæst and lestinde,
(6) we willen þæt þis beo stædfæst and lestinde,
(7) we willen þæt þis beo stædfæst and lestinde,
(8) we willen þæt þis beo stædfæst and lestinde,
(9) pe pillen þæt þif beo þæstæþæþ æþ lefandnde
(10) we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde,
(11) we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde,
(12) we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde,

we senden þew þif writ open iseined with
(1) pe senden þep þif þæþ æþ open iseined þib
(2) we senden þew þis Writ open iseined with
(4) we senden þew þis writ open, iseined with
(5) we senden þew þis writ open, iseined with
(6) we senden þew þis writ open, iseined with
(7) we senden þew þis writ open iseined with
(8) we senden þew þis writ open iseined with
(9) pe senden þep þif þæþ æþ open iseined þib
(10) we senden þew þis writ open, iseined with
(11) we senden þew þis writ open iseined with
(12) we senden þew þis writ open iseined with

5
V. INTERLINEAR COMPARISON OF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interlinear Comparison</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vre feel. to halden a manges</td>
<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uje reel to halden amanges</td>
<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ure Seel to halden amanges</td>
<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ure feel. to halden amanges</td>
<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
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<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uje reel to halden amanges</td>
<td>feel. to hold a manifes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Witnesse vel feluen æt Lunden'.

(1) me hond. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn.
(2) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lunden.
(3) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundænethane
(4) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundænethane
(5) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(6) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(7) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(8) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(9) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(10) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(11) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn
(12) ine hord. | Witnesse vel feluen æt Lundæn

thane Egtetenpe day. on he Monpe[8] of Octobr'

(1) ãane eggetenpe day on he monpe of Octobr
(2) eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(3) eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(4) eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(5) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(6) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(7) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(8) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(9) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(10) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(11) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
(12) ãane eggetenthe day on the Monthe of Octobr
In he Twoandfowertighe geare of vre

(1) in he τρό το ροπερτίγχε geane of ure
(2) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(3) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(4) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(5) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(6) in he two and fowertighe geare of ure
(7) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(8) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure
(9) in he τρό το ροπερτίγχε geane of ure
(10) in the two and fowertigthe yeare of ure
(11) in he two and fowertighe geare of ure
(12) in the two and fowertigthe geare of ure

(cruninge. And his wel idon ætforen
(1) crunninge. Άνδρι ρερ ɪον ætropen
(2) crunninge. And thir wes idon ætforen
(4) crunning. Άνδρι ρερ ɪον ætropen
(5) crunning. Άνδρι ρερ ɪον ætropen
(6) crunning.
(7) crunninge. And thif wes idon ætforen
(9) crunninge. And this wes idon ætforen
(10) crunninge. Άνδρι ρερ ɪον ætropen
(11) crunninge. And þis wes idon ætforen
(12) crunninge. And this wes idon ætforen

vre isworene redesmen. Bonefac Archebischop
(1) upe iɪpopen pædeymen Bonefac. archepiscop
(2) ure isworen redesmen, Bonebac. Archebiscop
(7) vpe iswopne pædesmen Bonefac' Archebischop
(8) ure isworen Rædesmen Bonefac Archebischop
(9) upe iɪpopen neðerymen, Bonefac' archepiscop
(11) ure isworene redesmen, Bonefac' archebishop
(12) ure isworene redesmen: Bonefac' archebischop
## V. Interlinear Comparison of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>On Kant'bur'</th>
<th>Walt' of Cantelow</th>
<th>Bishop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kantečbup.</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo</td>
<td>Bischop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kanterbur.</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo,</td>
<td>Bischop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kantečbup'</td>
<td>Walt' of Cantelow</td>
<td>Bischop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Canterbur,</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo</td>
<td>Bischop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kantečbup'</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo</td>
<td>Bischop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kanterbur'</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo</td>
<td>bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kanterbur'</td>
<td>Walter of Cantelo</td>
<td>bishop</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>On Wirechestr'</th>
<th>Sim' of Muntfort</th>
<th>Eorl on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dineche\textcyrillic</td>
<td>Sim. of Muntfort</td>
<td>Eorl on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wirechestr,</td>
<td>Sim. of Montfort</td>
<td>Eorl on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wirechestr'</td>
<td>Sim' of Muntfort</td>
<td>Eorl on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Wirechestr,</td>
<td>Sim. of Muntfort</td>
<td>Eorl on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dineche\textcyrillic</td>
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<td>Eorl on</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wirechestr'</td>
<td>Sim' of Muntfort</td>
<td>eorl on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wirechestr'</td>
<td>Sim' of Muntfort</td>
<td>eorl on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leirchestr'</th>
<th>Ric' of Clar'</th>
<th>eorl on</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Leinche\textcyrillic</td>
<td>Ric. of Clare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Leichestre,</td>
<td>Rich. of Clare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Leinche\textcyrillic</td>
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</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Leirchestr, &amp;c.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Leirchestr'</td>
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<td>Leirchestr'</td>
<td>Ric' of Clare</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glowchestr' and on Hartford'</th>
<th>Rog'</th>
<th>Bigod</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Glope\textcyrillic</td>
<td>on Hant\textcyrillic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Glochestre, and on Hartford;</td>
<td>Roger</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Glowche\textcyrillic</td>
<td>and on Hantford,</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Glope\textcyrillic</td>
<td>on Hant\textcyrillic</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Glowchestr'</td>
<td>and on Hartford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Glowchestr'</td>
<td>and on Hartford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELEVEN EDITIONS WITH THE ORIGINAL.</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>Eorl on Northfolk' and Marescal on</td>
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<td>(2) Eorl on Northfolk and Marescal on</td>
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<td>(7) Eorl on Northfolk and Marescal on</td>
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<td>(9) Eorl on Northfolk and Marescal on</td>
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<td>(11) Eorl on Northfolk and Marescal on</td>
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<tr>
<td>(12) Eorl on Northfolk and Marescal on</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engleneloand'. Perres of Sauuyeye. Will'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Engle loaned. Pepper of Sauuyeye. pill.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Engleneloand, Perres of Sauuyeye, Will.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(7) Engleneloand, Pepper of Sauuyeye, Will'</td>
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<tr>
<td>(9) Engleneloand. Pepper of Sauuyeye. pill'</td>
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<td>of Fort eorl on Aubem. [10]Ioh' of Pleseiz</td>
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<td>eorl on Warewik'. Ioh' Geffrees fune.</td>
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<td>Perres of Muntfort. Ric' of Grey. Rog' of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mortemer.</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>of</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) Tolkien.</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>or</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) Mortemer,</td>
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<td>of</td>
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<td>(7) Mortemer,</td>
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<td>of</td>
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<td>of</td>
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<tr>
<td>(12) Mortemer.</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|  | ofre     | moge.  | And | al on | þo   | ilche  |
| 1 | ofpe     | moge.  | AND | all on | tho | ilche  |
| 2 | othre    | moge.  | End | al on | tho | ilche  |
| 7 | othpe    | moge.  | And | al on | þo | ilche  |
| 9 | ofpe     | moge.  | And | al on | tho | ilche  |
| 11 | othre   | moge.  | And | al on | þo | ilche  |
| 12 | othre   | moge.  | And | al on | tho | ilche  |

|  | worden  | if  | isend | in to | æuricche | ofre | shiere |
| 1 | poepen | ir | ryend | into | aùrichtæ | ofpe | ryhpe |
| 2 | worden | is | isend | in to | æuricthe | othre | Schire |
| 7 | woedan | if | isend | into | euricthe | othpe | sheipe |
| 9 | poepen | ir | ryend | in to | æuriche | ofpe | ryheipe |
| 11 | worden | is | isend | in to | æuriche | ofre | sheire |
| 12 | worden | is | isend | in to | æuricthe | othre | sheire |

|  | ouer | al | þære | kuneiche | on | Engleneloande. |
| 1 | ouep | al | þape | kuneypiche | on | Englene loan. |
| 2 | ouer | al | thare | Kuneircie | on | Engleneloande |
| 7 | ouep | al | thepe | Kuneypiche | on | Engleneloande |
| 9 | ouep | al | þape | kuneypiche | on | Engleneloande |
| 11 | ouer | al | þære | kuneircie | on | Engleneloande |
| 12 | ouer | al | thære | kuneircie | on | Engleneloande |

|  | And | ek | in | tel | Irelonde. |
| 1 | ð | ek | in | tel | Ípelonde. |
| 2 | and | ek | intel | Irelonde. |
| 7 | and | And | ek | in | tel | Ípelconde. |
| 9 | ð | ek | in | tel | Ípelonde. |
| 11 | and | ek | in | tel | Irelonde. |
| 12 | and | ek | in | tel | Irelonde. |
VI. Orthography and Pronunciation of the Old English Version.

The Anglo-Saxon ƿ is generally employed for the modern th, but th is found in Northfolk' 91 and Aldiethel 10, both proper names.

The Anglo-Saxon ã is generally employed for the modern th, but th is found in Northfolk' 91 and Aldiethel 10, both proper names. The modern y is generally employed for the modern th, but th is found in Northfolk' 91 and Aldiethel 10, both proper names.

The g represented most probably (g), and æ when final or medial (kh, kh, gh, gh) and when initial (j).

The transcript of the proclamation either entirely into Roman or entirely into Anglo-Saxon characters, disguised this important difference.

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

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

1 The numbers after any word or phrase refer to the original lines of the proclamation, as explained on p. 12.
modern *ea* in *great*, *break*, (see p. 17, note), a use which became more common in later years. It may previously have been (*eea*) or (*ee’*), and perhaps the *l* in *healden* may have preserved the sound (*ee’*), thus (*hee’lden*). This divided vowel does not occur in the Cuckoo Song and seldom in Genesis and Exodus. It is not uncommon in Hali Meidenhad, which probably represents a Dorsetshire dialect. Thus *eare*, *leare’*, *heaued*, *leaded*, *read*, *fcheawest*, occur in the first page, against G. & E. *eares*, *lere’*, *heued*, *lede’*, *rede*, *shewede*. In these cases the spelling apparently indicates a different pronunciation.

*Eo* and *ew* had probably both the same sound (*eu*) or (*eeu*), as in *beo* 3, *beof* 2, *beon* 4, *treowe* 4, *treowbe* 4, *heo* 4, *heom* 6, *gew* 7. In *eort* it may have been (*ee’*). As late as 1621, Dr. Gill (*Logonomia*, p. 15) says: “*E raro preponitur a nisi fortè sequatur r*; dicimus enim an *Earl* comes, ita vt *a*, aliquantulum audiatur . . . . (p. 16) *earl* mobilis; apud alios enim diphthongus valet, *hic ërl’* = (*eerl*), “auditur, illic *erl’*” = (*erl*).

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

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

     *lhoauerd* = Southern *lñouerd*, Northern *lñerbd*.
     *moare* = " *mørè*, " *mørè*.
     *hoaten* = " *hññten*, " *hññten*.
     *noan* = " *nòn*, " *nòn*.”
The combination *ch* occurs in *ichosen* 2, *kuneriche* 2, *stedfæstliche* 4, *ilche* 5, *deadliche* 6, and the termination *chestr* 8, 9. There can be no doubt that it had its present sound (*tsh*). But it is spelled *he* in *æhe* 5, *æurrihce* 11, and as the termination of the second word is generally supposed to be a form of the first, it might be supposed that there was some reason for the transposition. That however it was mere accidental carelessness appears from comparing *Huntendon's schir* 1 with *sheirell* 11 as *sch* bears the same relation to *sc*, that *ch* does to *c*, that is, the added *h* shews that the palatisation of simple *c* had generated (*tsh*), and of that of *c* preceded by *s*, or *sc*, had produced (*sh*), as in many English, German, and Italian words. Generally *sch* is used as in *schullen* 2, *bishop* 8. In the Prisoner's Prayer v. 4 we have also *ihec*. Dr. Gill gives (*tsh*) as a South of England dialectic pronunciation of the pronoun *I*, in 1621, (ibid. p. 17.)

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

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

*a* long (ee), *rædesmen* 2; short *e*, *fæt* 2.

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

*ch* (*tsh*), *ichosen*, 2.

*d* (d) *holde*, 1.

*e* long (ee), *igretinge* 1, *rædesmen* 2; short (e), *ilet* 6; final, short (e), probably somewhat indistinctly pronounced, as in German *meine erste liebe*, *alle* 1.

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

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

*ew* (eu), *gew* 7.

*f* (f), *freme* 3.
74

VI. ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

\[ g \] (g), godes 1; not found before e, i; see \[ ng \].

\[ z \] (gh) between vowels when following an accented vowel \( \text{oen} \) 4; (kh) after liquids (?) and before mutes, \( \text{purz} \) 1, besige 3, 6; (r) beginning a syllable and followed by e, i, aenes 5, geare 8.

\[ h \] (h) holde 1.

\[ he \] the same as ch.

\[ i \] vowel; long (ii) witen 2, rare; occasionally (ai), Henri 1, oni 6 where a e or \( \text{z} \) has been absorbed; short (i)

\[ king \] 1; consonant (dzh), Ioh' 10.

\[ j \] not used.

\[ k \] (k) Duk 1, folk 2, rare.

\[ l \] (l) alle 1.

\[ lh \] (lh) lhoauerd 1.

\[ m \] (m) moare 2.

\[ n \] (n) vnnen 2; see \[ ng \].

\[ ng \] (q) king 1, foangen 5; distinct from \( n\text{z} = n + \text{z} \).

\[ o \] long (oo), don 3; short (o), holde 1, folk 2; written for

oa in Irelonde 11.

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

\[ p \] (p) bischop 8.

\[ q \] not used.

\[ r \] (r) vre treoewe 6.

\[ s \] (s) godes 1, the (z) sound of s does not seem to have

been developed.

\[ sch \] (sh) schullen 2.

\[ shc \] the same as sch.

\[ t \] (t) witen 2.

\[ th \] (th) Northfolk 9, Aldithel 10, rare.

\[ u \] vowel, long (uu), vre 2, rare; short (u) \( \text{purz} \) 1, and

also (y) or (i) kuneriche 2, or (e), Hurtford 9, as was

still usual in the xvth century. The Cuckoo Song

which in the word cucou unmistakably uses \( u \) for (uu, u), yet writes murie = (mir'ie) or (myr'ie). In

Hali Meidenhad we have constantly \( u \) for \( i \) or \( y \) as
OF THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION. 75

blêsêluker, lustmi, brudlæc, cluppinge, hwuch, þunkeþ, on the first page, and perhaps in euch. It is possible, however, that these may be dialectic forms. Consonant, (v) lhoawerd 1.

v considered as the same letter as u.

w (w) willen 2.

x not used.

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

z (z) Plesseiz 10.

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

VII. Dialect and Grammar of the Proclamation.

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

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

1 The words bishop 8, archbishop 8, ðleawedæ 1, iseined 7, vexel 7, crounage 8, had been so thoroughly Saxonised, that they are certainly not to be attributed to Norman influence, and are therefore not here considered. Duk 1, mareosal 9, are perhaps both of French origin as regards English, though the last is ultimately Germanic. Regel draws attention to the thoroughly Saxon Geffrees sune, 10, as opposed to the French le Fiz Geffrey.

2 Mr. Morris says: “The scribe who drew up the English document evidently spoke a mixed dialect, but whether this represented the ordinary dialect of Huntingdonshire is perhaps rather doubtful.” Still there is much to favour the
atfóren 8, in tel 11, are strictly Northern, or at most East and West Midland words. But though the plurals of verbs are mostly of the Midland form in -en, as we willen 2, pæt vre rædesmen schullen don 2, heo vs ogen 4, etc., yet habbæð 2 has the Southern plural in þ, and one word occurs in both forms as vre rædesmen pæt beþ ichosen 2, and þo isetnesses pæt beon imakede and beon to makien 4. The imperative witen þe 2, is remarkable. The Southern genitive plural in -ene occurs in the name of the country Englenneloande.2

The pronouns are nom. we 1, þe 2, heo 4, accusative and dative vs 7, þeo 7 (not cov), heom 6.

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

The relative is expressed by þæt 2, indeclinable, which serves also for the demonstrative adjective, and the conjunction. In “þæt₁ witen þe þæt₂ we willen þæt₂ þæt₃ vre rædesmen þæt₄ beþ ichosen þurþ us and þurþ þæt₅ loandes folk;” 2, þæt₁ is the demonstrative adjective, þæt₂ the con-

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

1 Mr. Morris says: “I have never found til in any pure specimen of the Southern dialect. It is common in the East and West Midland, and Northern dialects. It occurs too, I think, in that portion of the Chronicle (reign of Stephen) which is supposed to have been written in Northampton. On is the Northern form of the Southern an, compare on sleep and aslee. In the Southern dialects sigeteneþe would be written sigeteþe, A.S. eahþa-teþe. In the Northern dialect achetende, and in Midland sigetenthe, compare our double forms tithæ and tenth, A.S. teþe tenth.”

2 Mr. Morris says: “In later works we have Englæ and in Chaucer Englæand is a word of three syllables.” And with regard to another Southern form, he observes: “The A.S.-lice = -liche. In the Northern dialects it is -like, -lik, or -ly; Chaucer has -liche and -ly.” And with respect to the plural hís, he adds, “In the Southern and Northern dialects, hís has no plural when used adjectively.”
The adverb in -e is shown in the phrase stedefæstliche healden 4.

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

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

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

In the phrase wcherburg ʒis besiȝte muȝe beon ilet 6, muȝe seems to be a subjunctive form. 2

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

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

2 The following additional observations are due to Mr. Morris: "Ilære, ileawede 1; the final e as sign of plural is retained in the past participle of weak verbs as iseconds 3, etc. In strong verbs it is sometimes omitted as in iclesen 2." [In which case the word is used predicatively.] "It is retained in isworene 8," [where the word is used attributively, and in modern High German, the e would be used in the latter but not in the former case.] "Worþnesse 3 fem., in and on govern accusative and dative.—Of God-e 3, of governs dative, nom. God, compare of pe loande 3.—Freme 3, A.S. freme, feminine, for governs dative and accusative.—Of pe loande 3, loande is neuter; of governs dative and we naturally expect of þan (=of þam) loande, compare bi þan ilære ọpe 5, where bi governs dative, and e in ilære represents an older -en for -um; e in ọpe is the dative inflexion, nominative ọp, A.S. ap.—Ine hord 7. This form of the preposition is used in the Ayenbite of Inwy. —Vs seilen 7 the dative used reflexively.—Word is properly a neuter, and has word for the plural; worðen 11, is properly a dative plural (en=um). The article þo shews that worðen is the accusative plural."
VIII. Present and Former Translations considered, with Illustrative Remarks.

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

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

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

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1 These numbers refer to the line or lines of the MS. in which the passages occur, as shewn by the bracketed numbers on pp. 19, 21, 23.
ags. form to have been (khl). The three forms (khl, lh, l) are precisely similar to the North Welsh (khwip); the South Welsh (whip) for chwip, the same as the general English (whip); and the Southern or rather London (wip) for (whip). For the oa see supra p. 72. The use of u or v for ags. f in this, as in other words, seems to indicate that this f between vowels was pronounced as (v) at an early period. The use of -erd for -ord, perhaps points to an early indistinct utterance of the final syllables in ags.

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

1. Send igreetinge, sends greetings, Old French saluz, in the plural but without a verb; Somner (Latin) salutem mittit (i.e., dicit) in the third person singular; (English) Greeting, only, leaving send untranslated; Henry who following Tyrrel reads most extravagantly send I greting, translates, sends greeting, as does Craik. As the preamble proceeds to use the third person singular we should have expected sendep. It is possible that sendep contracted into sendp, assimilated p to t, as we know that p was assimilated in the Orrmulum, (compare “and forþedd te þin wille,” in the address to Walter,), and then on account of the difficulty of pronouncing sendt, altogether omitted, so that send represented the third person. Compare ilet for ileted line 6, and isend for isended in line 11, and the Anglo-Saxon form he sent. Marsh, Regel, Koch, all translate send as if it were the third person singular. It is only Henshall that ventures upon “send I greeting to
all his, &c.," (p. 40). Igretinge would appear from the French to be a plural form, and the initial i seems superfluous. At a later time -inge was the termination of the participle -inde, but the e was not properly added to the verbal noun in -ing.

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

2. pevit wet ʒe wel alle þæt ve willen and vnnen þæt. þæt vre rædæsæn alle opur þe moare dæl of heom þæt beþ ichosen þurȝ us and þurȝ þæt loandes folk on vre kunériche. habbeþ idon and schullen don. That know ye well all, that we will and grant, that that which our councillors, all or the greater part of them, that have been chosen by us and by the people of the country of our kingdom, have done and shall do. Old French, Sachez ke nus uolons et otrions ke ce ke nostre conseil v la greignure partie de eus ki est esluz par nus et par le co'mun de nostre Réaume a fet v fera. The Burton French version has "ke est eslu par nus ou par la commune," where the ou must be an error, as it would imply that the council had not been elected partly by the king and partly by the commons, but either by one or the other. Somner in his Latin version correctly translates vnnen þæt. þæt as "concedimus ut quod," but in his English he has "grant that which," and similarly, Henry, who omits the first þæt, has "grant, what." Regel has "verfügen, dass alles was," where the alles is superfluous; Marsh has more correctly, "grant that what." To leave out the that, is to make the king grant
what the council ordered, but the English will be really found defective in all those translations which omit that. As to the use of *pat* for *that which*, compare Matth. xx. 14, where the Anglo-Saxon version is, *nim pat pin ys*, and the authorized version has, *Take that thine is*, though the elder Wycliffite version has *Take that that is thine*, with the variation *Take thou the thinge that thine is*, while the late Wycliffite version has the variation *Take thou that thing that is thine*. The Douay, translating the vulgate, *tolle quod tuum est*, has *take what is thine*. The full form, *we willen . . . pat pat pat vere rades-men . . . habbep idon*, using the word *pat* three times in succession in three different senses, seems to have been too much even for such a document as this. *pat beop ichosen*, should be "that have been chosen," as Regel and Koch give "welche erwählt worden sind," although the *worden* might have been omitted, as in the Old English. The old French "Ki est esluz" quite implies this. Somner’s Latin *qui fuerint electi* is correct, but his English "that be chosen," which is the phrase used by Henry and Craik, and Marsh’s more distinct "which are chosen," are incorrect for modern English. *purz us, by us*, has been translated "through us" by Henry and Craik, and Regel and Koch also use *durch*; the French however has distinctly "par nus," and there seems no reason for falsifying the modern expression in order to imitate the ancient. *pat loandes folk*, the old French gives simply *le com’un*, but Somner in his Latin has *à gentis plebe*, in his English "the People (or Commons)," with an explanatory note that he means "the Common People." (Suprâ, p. 29, note 2.) Henry gives *land-folk*, Craik *land’s folk*, Marsh *land’s people*, which are not translations at all, and the ideas which such expressions convey to modern ears, are incorrect. Regel and Koch have *Landesgemeinde* and *Landesgemeine*, neither of which seem to be quite correct. It is clear that the *loandes folk* meant all except the king. The nation consisted of two parts, the king and all others. These others were not merely the "common people" or *gentis plebs* as Somner calls them, although they included these. "Le Commun" comprised the nobility and gentry as well as the
commonalty, and in fact consisted mainly of the nobility. In the letter of the Commons to the Pope, Rymer i., 373, partly quoted in p. 2, note 1, this “commun” is called: “Communi-
nitas comitum, procerum, magnatum, aliorumque regni,” and in the king’s letter to Mansell suprâ, p. 3, the second half of the Council is denominated “alios duodecim fideles nostros electos ex parte ipsorum procerum,” and in the proclamation of the 4 Aug. 1258, suprâ p. 5, Henry is said to have consented to the appointment of the Twenty-four “à la requeste de nos hauz hommes et prodes hommes e du comun de nostre reaume,” the last words giving the full translation of pæt loandes folk on vre kuncriche, and we know that the plebs had nothing to do with this “request,” as the stringent compul-
sion is mildly termed. Hence it seems best to translate the phrase by one which embraces the whole of the people in the country with the exception of the sovereign. Regel translates pürz pæt loandes folk by “durch diese landesgemeine,” making pæt demonstrative, but the French, par le co’mun, shows that it was simply the definite article.

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

1 In the copy in the Annales de Theokesberia (Ann. Mon. p. 170), we have communitatum for comitum, which must be an error.
nothing contrary to religion (to secure the clergy), nothing which interfered with his own feudal power, and nothing which was not intended for the good of the kingdom in general. Hence the Twenty-four had to swear that they would decree "al honur de Deu, e a la fei le rei, e al profit del reaume" (see the oath, suprâ p. 7). Hence also the king in his letter to Mansel (suprâ p. 3), states that he had granted that there should be a reformation of the kingdom "ad honorem Dei, fidem nostram, et utilitatem regni nostri," and the proclamation of 4 Aug. 1258 (suprâ p. 5), talks of "les establissemenz, les queus il [lavant dit conseil] ferunt al honur de Deu e nostre fei e au profist de nostre reaume." Again, in Henry's letter to his brother the king of the Romans, asking him to take the oath, 4 Nov., 1258, Royal Letters, p. 132, we have: "Verum quia tante necessitati necessario convenit subvenire, providimus ut ad honorem Dei, necnon ad fidem nostram et regni nostri utilitatem, corrigatur, melioretur et reformetur status regni nostri supradicti." By these passages the meaning of every word is established. worpnes, ags. weorðnes, was honour, not worthiness, so Chaucer's knight was "a worthy man," i.e. an honourable man, Cant. Tales, 43. treowpe was the faith, fei, i.e. fidelity of the subject to the prince, allegiance, "our allegiance," meaning the fidelity due to us. freme was profit, utility, advantage generally.

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

3. beo stedefæst and ilestinde in alle þinge abuten ænde, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. Old French, seit ferm et estable en tuttes choses a tuz iurz. The king had been often made to assert this eternity and invio-
lability of the decrees of the Council, which his object was to defeat, and from which the king of France and the Pope finally freed him. Thus in the letter to Mansel (suprâ p. 3), he says: "Promiserimus . . . quod reformationem et ordinationem . . . ratam habebimus et ipsam faciemus teneri et inviolabiliter observari." And in the proclamation of 4 Aug. (suprâ, p. 5), he says: "nos averum ferm e estable quanqe lavant dit conseil . . . fera, et commandum fermement qe touz nos feaus e nos hommes ausi laient e saient tenuz fermement garder touz les establissemenz." The words abutan cende are written a butan cende by Regel, who, as well as Koch, translates, "immer and ohne Ende," and Marsh has, "time without end." See the remarks, suprâ, p. 47. Somner gives abutan cende as sine fine in his dictionary. The MS. writes the word abuten without any separation.

3, 4. And we hoaten alle vre treowe in þe treowpe þæt heo vs ogen, and we call upon all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us. Old French, Et comandons et enionions1 a tuz noz feaus et leaus en la fei kil nus deiuent. Somner, (Latin) et precipimus omnibus fidelibus nostris, per fidem (vel, fidelitatem) quam nobis debent; (English,) and we command all our liege people in the fealty that they owe us. Henry, and we enjoin all our lieges, by the allegiance that they us owe. Craik, And we enjoin all our lieges, in the truth (allegiance) that they us owe. The per fident and by the allegiance (Marsh by the faith, Regel and Koch bei der Treue) seem to be erroneous; the king does not conjure them by their allegiance, but orders them, expecting them to obey, in consequence of their allegiance. In Henry's letter to the community of the Island of Oleron, (at the mouth of the Charente, in Aquitaine,) which is the first document in the patent roll of 43 Henry III. he uses the same phrase, in Latin, Vobis mandamus, in fide qua nobis tenemini firmiter injungentes. Compare the old French enionions, and in the

1 The Burton version reads "comandums e amonestums," command and admonish, instead of command and enjoin (suprâ p. 25), but the old English has only one word, hoaten, which may be translated, command or enjoin, at pleasure.
letter to Mansel (supra p. 3) *cibis præcipimus firmiter injun-
gentes in fide qua nobis tenemini.*

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

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

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

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

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

Pauli having conjecturally corrected his text by the French, Regel and after him Koch and Marsh translate correctly; thus, Regel, recht zu thun und sein recht zu empfangen, Koch, Recht zu üben und zu empfangen, Marsh, right to do and to receive. Even Henshall, who consulted the MS., reads “rght [sic] for to done and to foangen,” and translates “right for to do and to fang.” But Somner and the Record Commissioners having read “ogt” for Rigt were in great straits. The passage in Rymer, using Roman charac-
ters, is: “And þæt æhæ oþer helpe þæt for to done, bi þam
ilche ope agenes alle men ogt for to done and to foangen." If this passage can have any meaning ogt must be a noun and must therefore represent the Anglo-Saxon oht, aht, meaning aught, anything, or the A.S. oht, fear; and the passage might have been translated: "and that each help the other to do that, in virtue of that same oath, against all men, in order to do and to receive fear or anything!" But the translators seeing ogen in line 4 thought of ogt for aht, preterit of ogen, and considered it to be the same as the modern English ought.\(^1\) Somner then reading ogt\(^2\) could only think of helping himself out of the difficulty by supposing that some words were missing, and hence supplies in alle pinge pæt, so that, his passage runs, And pæt aht ope helpe pæt for to done bi pám ilche ope agenes alle men in alle pinge pæt ogt for to done and to foangen, which, although untranslatable, he ventures to translate thus: "Et quod unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio." Surely the writer of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary must have had great qualms of conscience before he could have ventured to translate, in alle

\(^1\) In Genesis and Exodus, line 1, we have
Man ogt to luuen ðat rimes ren,
ðe woldeð wel ðe logede men,
"one ought to love that verses sound, that teacheth well the lewed men." On which Mr. Morris says, "ogen, another form of agh, = ow = ought." And again 197
And for his sinne oc he to mungen,
ðat moste and leiste him ben benumen,
"and for his sins he ought to remember, that greatest and least things have been taken away from him." Also 15,
Christene men ogen ben so fagen
so fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.
"Christian men ought [to] be as glad, as birds are when they (he) see it dawn." In 924 Mr. Morris in his Glossary makes bi-agt ought, should, but the passage seems corrupt,

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

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

\(^2\) How it was possible to read Ogt for Risk has been already explained, p. 13.
ringe \textit{pæt ogt} for \textit{to done} and \textit{to foangen}, as “in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis,” that is to take \textit{pæt ogt} as the English \textit{that ought}, and \textit{for to done} as the English \textit{to be done}, instead of \textit{to do}. Somner’s English version is still more mysterious than his Latin, for he says: “and that they each other assist the same to perform, according to that same oath, against all men, \textit{both for to do, and cause to be done},” where \textit{ogt} now seems to be taken as \textit{both}, and \textit{foangen} as to cause, the words \textit{to be done}, being supplied “aus der Tiefe seines Bewusstseins,” and what they were to do or cause to be done being enveloped in a mystery certainly unusual in stringent proclamations.

\textit{Henry} is if anything rather worse, for, not being satisfied with Somner’s insertion, he reads, and \textit{thet whcother helpe thet for to done bitham ilche other, aganes alle men in alle thet heo ogt for to done, and to foangen}, having not only \textit{ogt} for \textit{Rigt}, but putting the plural \textit{heo} as the nominative to the singular \textit{ogt}, (which should have been \textit{ogeb}) notwithstanding a previous \textit{heo vs ogen}, and also through Tyrrell’s misprint transforming \textit{ope} into \textit{other}! No wonder that an unintelligible mess of English results, viz., ”And that each other help that for to do by \textit{them each other}, against all men, \textit{in all that they ought for to do and to promote}.” But Craik, who followed the Record Commission, is also bewildered with the \textit{ogt}, and inserts in brackets \textit{[in alle thet heo]} like Henry, saying: “These words are not in the copy here followed, \textit{but seem to be required by the sense},” certainly not by the \textit{grammar}, in which \textit{heo ogt} is simply barbarous. Craik, of course, has \textit{othe} and not \textit{other}; but he seems to have blindly followed Henry as a guide to the sense (?), and has produced the following translation: “And that each other help that for to do, by \textit{them (to) each other}\footnote{Since Craik reads \textit{othe} after Rymer, and not \textit{other} with Henry after Tyrrel, it it difficult to understand how he could translate the word by \textit{other}.} against all men (in all that they) ought for to do and to promote.” We have seen (p. 13) that there was no excuse for a careful reader to make the mistake of \textit{ogt} for \textit{Rigt}, which Hearne and even Henshall avoided, and the French \textit{dreit} should have at any rate pre-
vented the Record Commission, who printed the French, from making this egregious error, as that version enabled Pauli to correct it.

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

1 This was the translation which misled Tyrrel. See suprâ p. 31, l. 16, and n. 2.
Dr. Latham, as he boldly reads of mine loande, without, however, giving any notice of this transposition.—Henry, after Tyrrel, reads, And noan ne mine of loande ne of egetewher, thurg this besigte, muge beon ilet other inversed, on onie-wise, and translates: "And none either of my land, nor of elsewhere, through this business, may be impeded or damaged in any way," putting interlinearly, ne either, mine of of my, loande land, ne nor, of of, egetewher elsewhere. One is reminded of the theological student, who being required to translate word for word, and having only a knowledge of the authorized version, said, φήμη there went out, εἴησθε a fame of him (Luke iv. 14).—Craik, going to the Record Commission, read, And noan ne mine of loande, ne of eghteohaero, thurg his besigte, muge beon ilet other inversed on onie wise, and emulating Henry, translated: "And none, nor of my land nor elsewhere, through this business may be let (hindered) or damaged in any wise."—Of course when the i is undotted it is difficult to distinguish 'mine' and 'nime,' but all readers of MSS. are prepared for this, and will generally read correctly at a glance, and we have seen (supra p. 13, l. 25) that there was not even this excuse in the present instance, as the manuscript has nime, with a distinctive flourish over the i. Hearne has rightly 'nime,' but Hen-shall fall into mine. For the extraordinary forms egetewhraer, egetewhere thurg, egeteohaero purz, I am unable to account, as the MS. is perfectly clear and distinct, and the separation of the words is in this particular case indicated by a period. Possibly the minds of the editors were so warped by the mistake mine for nime that these frightful forms, meaning nothing in any language under the sun, were conjectural emendations (!) If so they should be a warning to all conjecturers. The French would have set all right, but only Pauli made use of it (see p. 9, note 1). It is strange that the translators should not have seen the utter absurdity of making the proclamation, which is, in reality, highly penal, declare that, first, no subject, and, secondly, that no foreigner, was to be damnified by it.

1 This translation shows that Craik's his besigte was a misprint for this besigte.
6. And *zif oni oper onie cumen her on�enes; we willen and hoaten pæt alle vre treowe heom healden deadliche ifoan. And if any person or persons oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all lieges hold them as mortal enemies. Old French, et se nul v nus viegmont encunt’ ceste chose nus uolons et comandons ke tuz nos feaus et leaus le teignent a enemi mortel. Or, as the oath says (suprà p. 7): E si nul fet encuntre ceo, nus le tendrums a enemi mortel. And again referring to this portion of the oath, the king of France in his award, cancelling the provisions of Oxford, says, 22nd January, 1863, (Rymer i. 434): “nec propter non observantiam prædictorum debeat aliquis alterius capitalis vel aliter inimicus haberi.” Misled, perhaps, by onie wise at the end of the last sentence, the English translators were possessed with the idea that onie must be the feminine singular, and not the plural of all genders, which had of course the same form then as it still has in modern high German. Hence they conceived that the words oni oper onie must relate to any one in the masculine, or any one in the feminine, that is, any man or woman. They did not pause to consider the absurdity of the mention of women as having the least political significance in a proclamation 600 years old! Having overcome the two preceding paragraphs, they were prepared to admit any nonsense under the hand and seal of a king, and approved by his governing council. Again the editors having calmly received the monstrosities egtewher, egetewhære, egteohwro into our language, did not find it very terrible to admit another, equally strange, and so were satisfied, Somner and the Record Commission with deadlicheyhtan, and Henry after Tyrrel with deadlichistan. They seem to have thought it a form of superlative; barbarous indeed, but what could you expect in our language 600 years ago, when Anglo-Saxon was broken up, and we had only a corrupt jargon spoken by the peasantry! We know better now, perhaps; but then Somner read: And gif oni oper onie cumen her on�enes we willen and hoaten pæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlîcheistan, translating, “Et si quis, sive vir sive fœmina, huic
(edicto) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos.” Or in his English version: “If any man or woman oppose them against, we will and command that all our liege people them hold for deadly enemies.” Henry, reading almost the same, translates: “And if any man or any woman cometh (= cumen!) them (= her!) against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes.” Craik has: “And if any man or any woman come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes.” It is curious that the last words of Henry and Craik did not suggest the right reading deadliche isfan, which is given by Hearne, and is, of course, correctly restored by Pauli from the French, so that Marsh, Regel and Koch have not made these extraordinary blunders. Henshall quietly puts a period at deadliche., and transforms isfan into If than, which he places at the beginning of the next sentence. On the origin of the misreading istan for isfan, see supra p. 14. In Somner’s, Henry’s, and Craik’s translations, observe that her ongenes encunt’ ceste chose, against this provision, besigt, is translated “against them.” This must clearly have referred in their minds to those who were not to be damned by this decree! Thus the sense, as they seem to have conceived it, was: Every one is to assist each other against all men, and no one, whether English or foreign, is to be injured by this ordinance, but all who oppose them, are to be considered deadly enemies! How astonished would be the bold and clever barons who concocted this proclamation, if they could only know that such utter nonsense had been seriously attributed to them!

6, 7. And for þæt we willen þæt þis beo stedefast and lestinde: we senden þew þis writ open iseined wip vre seel. to halden a manges þew inehord. And because we will that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in the treasury. Old French, et pur ce ke nus volons ke ceste chose seït ferme et estable: nos enueous nos lettres ou’tes scelee de n’re scel en chescun Cunte a demorer la entresor. Here the French introduces the fact, mentioned only in the note at the end
of the English, that the proclamation was sent into each county. The Record Commission, followed by Pauli, who corrected the English by the French but did not venture to correct the French by the English, here exhibits *nos Gieonea*, a false Saxonism, the origin of which is explained on p. 12, l. 14. Instead of *seelees* the Burton version has *aselez*, that is, both French versions read *sealed* instead of *signed*. Henry translates *sealed*, perhaps because he could only refer the word *sign* to *writing* a name, instead of merely making a distinctive mark. The ags. *senian, segnian*, was properly to mark with the *sign* of the cross, the common mark still used by those who cannot write; the Latin *signum (crucis)* having penetrated with the Christian religion through the whole Germanic languages. The *g* therefore was lost thus early in English, giving rise to *iseined* = (isain-ed). In Dutch *sein* also exists. In high German *Segen, segnen* = (*szech'en, szech'men*) to bless, retain the *g*. Somner in his Latin has: "*sigillo nostro signatum;" but in his English: "signed with *your* seal," an evident misprint. *Ine hord* seems to mean, in the muniment room or strong box, where the county archives or records were kept or were supposed to be kept; see p. 7, n. 2.

7, 8. Witness es seluen at Lunden'. *pane Ex*tententhe day. on *be Monpe of Octobr' In *be Twoandfowertitez be zeare of vre cruminge*. Witnesses ourselves at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign. *Coronation* is employed, because the regnal years were reckoned from the day of coronation 28 Oct. 1216, and not from the death of King John, 19 Oct. 1216. *Old French*, Tesmoin Meimeismes a Londres le Disutime Iur de Octobre lan de nostre regne Q'raunte Secund. The form *meismes* is not plural, as we see by *meismes tel s'rment* above; Burton version, *memes cest serment*, although a final *s* is not usual in this word, which Roquefort derives from *maxime* and Diez from a Latin *semetipsimus* for *semetipsissimus*, see Diez Rom. Gram. vol. ii. p. 421, 2nd ed. The common Latin form of attestation at the time was *testi meipso*. It is singular that the French version, written throughout in the
first person plural, should have here fallen suddenly to the first person singular, mei meisms. The old English, more consistent, gives the plural form, witnesse vs seluen, where witnesse seems to be meant as a plural, though isetnesses would have led us to expect witnesses. Witnesse is however also used as a singular, Stratman, p. 651. Henry, Witness ourself at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning. It is observable that Henry, giving an interlinear version, and following a misprint of Tyrrel’s, makes Lundænthane one word—a remarkable form of London, and that he has therefore had to supply the word the before eighteenth, without any original. Also he doubles the n in crunning, and omits the final e. When such little care was taken to reproduce the old spelling no wonder that its meaning was not appreciated, and that it should have been stigmatized as irregular and confused—terms, which applied in greater force to the printed than to the manuscript text.

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

11. And al on Æo ilche worden is isend into auirihe opre sheire ouer al þære kuneriche on Engleneloande, and ek in tel Irelonde. And in exactly the same words it has been sent
into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England, and also in till Ireland.—This addition, though evidently not a part of the proclamation, and introduced by a paragraph marked ¶, is in the same handwriting as the rest, and is placed in a line below the proclamation, not as a marginal note. See Tyrrel's remark upon it, supra, p. 31-2.

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

¹ See Rev. W. Skeat's remarks in the preface to his addition of "Lancelot of the Laik" upon the errors in Mr. Stevenson's edition. The following italics represent some of these errors, the roman letters giving the corrections:—fatil, fait; anarmyft, enarmyft; can here, cam nere; rendit, vondit; refuse, reprefe; felith, setith; ryt, rycht; eumynge, cunynge; ane desyne, medysyne; born, lorn; Hymene, hyme; such, furth; chichings, thithings; etc.

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

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

IX. Contemporary Songs.

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

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

1), the people had not comprehended, yet is best answered by producing decidedly popular verse of nearly the same date. It will therefore not be out of place to exhibit here the well-known Cuckoo Song from the Harleian MS. 978, to which Sir F. Madden assigns a date anterior to 1240, and the Prisoner’s Prayer (from the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, Record Room, Town Clerk’s Office, Guildhall,) which is probably earlier than 1274.¹ That the language of the Proclamation should be stiffer was to be expected, just as a royal proclamation now-a-days is stiffer than a pastoral song or a devotional lyric, but the language will be seen to be in all essential points the same. In the Cuckoo Song, we have one decidedly French word, u e r t, probably borrowed from the chace, the Norman’s delight, and the words c u c c u, s t e r t are not found in Anglo-saxon, but the first is onomatopoetic, and the latter is Teutonic. The Prisoner’s Prayer has p r i s u n, which however, belongs to Anglo-saxon times, and i p e l t, a word of uncertain origin, but thoroughly Saxonized. Otherwise the whole language of both is Saxon, with the same final e answering all purposes of a final vowel.

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

¹ These songs will be considered with especial reference to their date and pronunciation in my Essay on Early English Pronunciation, chap. v. The handwriting of the Prisoner’s Prayer is precisely similar to that of the Cuckoo Song. The Cuckoo Song has been correctly printed by Ritson (Ancient Songs, first edition, 1760, p. 3), and incorrectly printed and translated by Hawkins (History of Music, 1786, vol. ii. p. 93), and Burney (History of Music, 1782, vol. ii. pp. 405-412). The two latter give interpretations of the music, which is the oldest catch or canon known. Mr. William Chappell (to whom I am much indebted for information on this subject) has given a facsimile of the MS. as the frontispiece to his Popular Music of the Olden Time, together with Mr. G. A. Macfarren’s setting of the same, and has many interesting remarks upon it. The Prisoner’s Prayer has never been printed, and is not even mentioned by T. Stapleton in his transcript of the Liber de Antiquis Legibus for the Camden Society, 1846, nor by H. T. Riley in his translation of the same ( Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London, 1183 to 1274, London, 1863 ). The present edition is from a careful transcript made by myself, and the proof has been read with the original.
with the English, and has no words corresponding to the *Pes* or Burden. In the following copy the Early English is printed strictly from the original, but is broken up into lines as indicated by the rhymes, and the conjectured pronunciation¹ is given in an adjoining column. At the foot of the page are added a verbal translation, and the text of the Latin Hymn already named, in the old spelling, the lines being separated by dashes, with a verbal translation.

The Prisoner's Prayer was originally written in French, and the musical notes were adapted to the French only. The English words are written under the French, but often spread beyond them, blank spaces being left in the music. The writing seems to have been left uncorrected, as not only are the final French words, *et jor et doint ioye certeyne*, and the corresponding English, left without music, and in v. 39 of the French a word required for the metre has been erased, without any other being substituted for it, but several evident errors occur. Thus v. 4 *sholye*, which is no word at all, has been written for *tholye*, v. 6 of for of, and v. 31, 44 *blisfe* for *bliffe*. This last error makes one almost suppose that the scribe was a Norman; at any rate, the Norman French and Early English are in the same handwriting, and the other errors may arise from the scribe not being used to write English. Thus we have *habbett* v. 13, for *habbett*, which stands for *habbeβ*, and possibly the use of *th*, *gh*, or *yh* for *β*, *γ* is due to the same cause. The use of *ct* for *zt*, the omission of the *h* in *wol* v. 23, *wu* v. 42,² and its occasional insertion in *huf* v. 37, 38, 40, 41, are found in other MSS., as is also the use of *d* for *β* in v. 7 *lod*, v. 30 *ded* fell*ed*, v. 31 *had*, v. 34 *lasted*. In v. 13 the scribe wrote for *othre habbet misnome*, thinking, probably, that he

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

² *Vo for echo* occurs in R. Gloucester, p. 215, l. 20, and in the Seven Sages, ed. T. Wright, Percy Society, 1845, l. 1093, p. 38.
had reached the end of the line, and then detecting the omission of the word _ben_ which should have preceded, he subjoined it. That _habbeþ ben mifnume_ is the proper order appears from the metre and the rhyme to _sume_ v. 11; at the same time the writer evidently forgot an and at the beginning of v. 14, which is wanted for grammatical construction, metre, and music. It appears to me that v. 9, _thar ich in am_, is a similar transposition of _tharin ich am_, and probably also v. 30 should be _deþ felleþ him_, in place of _ded him felled_. In v. 34 _buten_ on _stunde_ contains a syllable too much for the music, and so probably _bute on_ should be used, the form _bute_ occurring in the _Ancren Riwle_. In v. 4 we have _ihc_ for the usual _ich_, a transposition also found in the Proclamation. V. 42, in _thof lume go wn fit. go.,_ is evidently erroneous, whether we read _wn_ or _wu_, which would be indistinguishable in the MS., and is difficult to correct. The first _go_ seems to be an error of the same kind as in v. 13, where the last word was written too soon and then the remainder of the line subjoined. This view is confirmed by the evidently erroneous period after _fit_, which shews that the writer thought he had reached the end of the line, and then discovering his mistake inserted the last word. But in _thof lume wu fit go_ is nonsense, because _fit_ is a substantive and requires the preposition _in_ before it, see the passages cited sub _syt_ in Mr. R. Morris's Glossary to the _Alliterative Poems_, published by the Early English Text Society. Hence I suppose _wn_ to stand for _wo in_, so that the line may have been in _those lume wo in fit go_, which has a superfluous syllable, unless we omit the final _e_ in _liue_, or read _wo 'n_. We might indeed suppose _fit_ to be an error for _fic_, and then _in_ would not be required, so that, in _thof liue wu fic go_ would fill all the required conditions. The use of _wo_ or _wu_ as the pure relative referring to _hus_ in the line before, is the earliest example of this use, being fully a century prior to the Wicliffite versions, which contained the earliest instance formerly known. The occurrence of _that_
in v. 43 as the apodosis to s w o in v. 41, would have rendered the intermediate use of th a t in v. 42 extremely awkward, and even embarrassing, and may have led to the employment of w u in the present case.

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

These verbal translations will supersede the necessity of any lengthened remarks on the language. In the Cuckoo Song, the only obsolete words are 10 uerteth apparently from French vert, feuille ou branche verte, Roquefort: “mettre des chevaux au vert,” is still used for “to turn out horses to grass;” and 14 ñwik ags. swican, to deceive, cease, offend. In the Prisoner’s Prayer the list is longer. 3 fy che ags. sican, to sigh. 4 tholye ags. ñolian, to suffer. 6 riche ags. rice, a kingdom. 11 ñeren pl. of ñere ags. fera, gefera, a companion. 11 ñume ags. samod, somod, together. 13 misnome, past part. of misnimen, ags. mis- and niman, to take, misnume is a more usual form. 16 bale ags. balew, beal, balo, evil, misery, modern baleful. 17 hale ags. hælu health. 17 bote ags. bot, remedy. 19 woning ags. wonung, waning, decrease, injury; wana, deficiency and deficient. 24 ipel t for ñpilt, ñpult, cast, thrust, see pp. 14, 74, on the interchange of i, e, u short. Mr. Morris thinks the original form of the word was ñput, thrust, cast, “the l being intrusive,” and says that the verb put is found in this sense in the Homilies before A.D. 1200, ñif þu me puttest in þet eþe = if thou thrustest me in the eye. Müller (Etm. Wb. d. Eng. Spr. sub put) also thinks that putte, pulle, are identical. Stratman (Dict. p. 444) gives examples of pulle, pilte, pelle. Gen. & Ex. 2214, ño breðere
seekes hauen he fil, And in euerile the siluer fil, they have filled the brothers' sacks and put the silver in each. The origin of put, pull is uncertain. Danish putte to put, pulte to break in two, which Molbech (Dansk Ordbog) refers to pull a clod. No corresponding words in Icelandic or Swedish. 26 hille ags. hell, hyll, hell, grave. Mr. Morris prefers considering hille to be the same as ille, evil, vile, with an erroneously prefixed h. As prisun is masculine, he observes, that if hille were the correct reading, we should require prisunes hille. He does not recollect the use of hille for grave in any early English author. 27 hope to have confidence in, ags. hopian to Gode, to trust in God. 28 bilieue ags. belifan, to remain. fithe ags. stigan, to ascend. 32 rather ags. rese, quickly. 33 mid ags. mid, with. 33i wisse ags. gewisse, certain, mid iwise is used adverbially as to wisse, the dat. being used after the proposition. 34 buten ags. butan, without, except. 37 rewsing ags. hreowsung, repentance, the repentance of God being mercy. 39 milse ags. mildse, mercy. 42 fit is apparently the Old Norse söt, dolor, mcestitia, morbus, according to Biörn Haldorsen, who refers it to sótt morbus, the verb is at syta=dolere, ang; sít occurs in Ormin 4852, see Stratman sub sít; it is of course difficult to distinguish from sic in most MSS. but in this, c, t are generally quite distinct; sik is used in the same sense in Genesis and Exodus, v. 1239. 43 ey and o, compare ever and o, Mapes, 340, ed. T. Wright. o is the same word as a, ever, so that ey and o means for ever and ever. See Stratmann's Dict. p. 14. 44 ech e ags. ece, eternal.

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

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

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**Early English Original.**

Symer if icumen in.  
Lhude sing cuccu.  
Groweth seed  
and blowe med  
and springh he wde nu.  
Sing cuccu  
Awe bletep after lamb.  
Ihoup after calue cu.  
Bulluc stertepe.  
Bucke uertep.  
Murre sing cuccu.  
Cuccu cuccu  
Wel singes’h cuccu  
ne fwik ’hu nauer nu.

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

Suu-mer is ikuu-men in.  
Lhuu-de siq, kuk-kuu’.  
Groou’eth seed,  
And bloou’eth meed,  
And spriqth dhe uud’e nuu.  
Siq, kuk-kuu’.  
Awe’ bleet’eth afer lomb,  
Lhooouth afer kal’ev e kuu.  
Bul’uuk stert’eth,  
Buk-e vert’eth,  
Mer-ie siq, kuk-kuu!  
Kuk-kuu’! kuk-kuu’.  
Wel siq’es dhuu, kuk-kuu’!  
Nee swik dhuu na’veer nuu.

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

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**Latin Hymn to the same notes.** —Perfice Xp’icola.—que dignaco.—coheus—agricola—pro utif vicie.—filho—non parentf exposuit—mortis exito—Qui captiuios—femfuluos—a supphco—vite donat—et secum coronat—in celu folio.

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

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


I.  Ar ne kuthe ich forghe non.
Eynf ne sos y ke pleynyte fu  nu ich mot manen min mon.
ore pleyn danguffe tresfu  3  karful welsore ich fyche.
trop an mal et contreynyre  Geltles ihe sholye muchele schame
Sanz decerte en prisun fui.  help god for thin swete name
  car maydez trespuf  ih/u.  kyng of heuene riche.
duz deuf et deboneyre.  6

II.  Jesu cri child gud gud man
Ihe/u crient veurf deu ueruf hom.  louerd thu rew vponme
  prenge vuf de mei pite.  of prisun thar ich in am
Jetez mei de la prisun  10  bring me vt and makye fre.
  v ie fui atort gete.  Ich and mine feren fume
tut pur autre mesprisun  god wot ich ne lygte no丁t
  fumes a hunte luere.  for othre habbet mif nome ben

III.  w thyl prisun ibroct.
Sire deuf  Al micti that
ky af mortels ef  wel lchth of bale
  de pardun ueine.  17  shale and bote.
fucurez  heuene king
  deluurez  of this woning
  nuuf de ceste peme.  20  vt vs bringe mote.

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

I.
Ar ne kuŋ' ich sorge non,  
Nu ich mot manen min mon.

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

Help, God, for ūn' swete name,

King of hevene riche.

II.
Jesu Crist, soŋ God, soŋ man,

Lhovərd, rew ū upon me!
Of prisun ūarin ich am,
Bring me ut and makie fre!  
Ich and mine feren sume,

[And] in ūs prisun ibrogt.

III.
Almiŋti, ūat
Wel liŋtli of bal'
Is hal' and bote,
Hev'ne king!
Of ūs woning
Ut us bringen mote.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

I.
Aar ne kuŋh itsh sor'ge noon,  
Nuu itsh moot maa'nen miin moon.

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

Help, God, for dhiin sweete naa'me,

Kiq of mee'vene riitsh'e.

II.
Dzhee'su Krist, sooth God, sooth man,

Lhov'erd, reu dhu upon' mee!
Of priisuen' dhaarin' itsh am,
Briq me uut and maa'kie free!
Itsh and mii'ne fee'ren suu'me,

For oo'dhr- -ab'eth been mis-nuu'me

[And] in dhis priisuen' ibrokht'.

III.
Almiŋt'í, dhat
Wel liŋkt'li of baal
Is raal and boot'e,
Heev'ne king!
Of dhis woo'níq'

Uut us briq'en moo'te.

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

Norman French.

Pardonez.
et a ssoyez.

icel’ gentil fire.
si te plest
par ki forfet

nuf suffrus tel martire. 26

IV.

Fous est ke se afte
en ceste morten uie.
ke tant nuf contralie.

Et v nad fors boýdie.
Ore est hoem en leefse
et ore est en tristesce
ore le garnt ore blese

fortune ke le guie. 34

V.

Virgine. et mere au fouerein.
ke nuf 1eta de la maýn
al maufe ki par euayn
nuf ont treffuz en fun heim

a grant dolur [et] penne. 39

Requerez icel seignur
ke il par sa grant dulcur
nuf get de ceste dolur.
v nuf sumus nuyt et Jor

et dont roye certeýne. 44

Early English.

Foryhef hem
the wýkke men
god ýhef it if thu wille
for wof gelt
we bed ipelt

in thoif prafun hille. IV.

Ne hope non to huf lúe
her ne mai he biluue
hegte thegh he stighe
ded him felled to grunde.

Nu had man wele and blusce
rathe he shal thar of miste.

worldes wele midýwishe
ne lasted buten on stunde.

V.

Maiden that bare the heuen king
bíech thnn fone that swete thng
that he habbe of hus rewíng

for his Muchele míísé.

He bring hus vt of this wo
and huf tache werchen fwo
in thoif lúe go wn ñit. go.

that we moten eý and o

habben the eche blusce.

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

Corrected Text.

Forget hem
Je wikke men,
God, gif it is þi wille,
For whos gilt
We beoth ipilt
In þis prisun ille.

IV.
Ne hop' non to his live!
Her ne mag he bilive.
Hedge þeg he stige,
Déþ felleþ him to grunde.
Nu hæþ man wel' and blisse,
Raþ' he schal þarof misse.
Worldes wele, mid iwisse,
Ne lastþ but' on stunde.

V.
Magden, þat bar' þe hev'ne king,
Bisech þin son', þat swete þing,
þat he habb' of us rewsing,
And bring' us of this woning,
For his muchele mildse.
He bring' us ut of this wo,
And us tache werchen swo,
In þis liv' who in sit' go,
Þat we moten, æg and o,
Habben þe eche blisse.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Forjeef· hæm
Dhe wik·e men,
God, jif it is dhai wil·e,
For whos gilt
We beeth ipilt·
In dhis pri·suun il·e.

IV.
Ne noop noon too his lii·ve!
Heer nee mai nee bilii·ve.
Hekh·e dheekh ne stii·ghe,
Deeth fel·eth nim to grund·e.
Nuu nath man weel and blis·e
Raath ee shal dhaar·of mis·e.
World·es weel·e, mid iwisse,
Ne last·eth buut oon stund·e.

V.
Maid·en dhat baar dhe heev·ne kiq
Biseetsh· dhiin soon dhat sweet·e thiq,
Dhat ne hab of us reusiq·
And briq us of dhis woo·niq·
For his mutsh·el·e mil·se.
Hee briq us uut of dhis woo
And us taatsh·e wertsh·en swoo,
In dhis liiv who in siit goo,
Dhat we moo·ten, ai and oo,
Hab·en dhe eetshe·e blis·e.

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS.

chr. Anglo-Saxon chronicles, orm.Ormulum.
Ingram’s edition. p. page of this essay.
Col. Coleridge’s Glossarial Index.
ge. Genesis and Exodus.

A

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

abuten, 3. = a buten, ags. orm. á ever, and ags. butan, orm. buttan, butenn without, Regel therefore writes a buten, and translates immer und ohne, ever and without, p. 47.
ofr. a tuz iurz. p. 13, 47, 84. Str. 14, sub á.
æ when used, p. 71.

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

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

æt, 7, at, ags. æt, ge. at. a northern dialectic form, p. 75. here constructed with the dative, æt Lundene. ofr. à Londres. Str. 33, sub at.
ætforen, 8, 10, prep. in the presence of, ofr. deuant, ags. ætforan coram; a northern form, p. 76. Str. 33, sub ætforen.

æurliche, 11 every, not in ags. nor orm. ; ge. euerile, euerilk. the orthography means the same as æurliche, p. 73.

the final e marks the acc. fem. agreeing with shcire.

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

al, 11a. adv. entirely, precisely, altogether, al on po ilche worden, precisely in the same words; ge. and wur's his weder sone al stille, and this weather became soon entirely still, 3059. 11b. adj. all, undeclined, used before the article and adjectives, over al þære kuneriche, over all the kingdom.

There is a similar construction in modern high German.

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

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

alse, 5, adv. as. See alswo.

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

amanxes, see manges.

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

Aniow, ofr. Angou, chr. Angeow, Angæw, Angou, modern Anjou. In the letter to Oleron, Rymer i. 374, comes Andegaviæ. The Andecavi or Andes were the original
inhabitants, and their capital, Jubiomagus, is the modern capital Angers. See pp. 12, 79.

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


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

B

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

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

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

besigte, 3, 6, provision; ofr. purueance—purz be besigte of fan to foreniscide rodesmen 3, acc., ofr. sicum il ordenera; wherpurz pis besigte mugz beon ilet 6, nom., ofr. par quei ceste purueance puisse estre desturbee. It is a substantive related to beseon, quasi to be-see, pourvoir, in the same way as gesiht is to seon, and must mean superintendence, provision, and hence ordinance. The Provisions of Oxford, p. 5, n. 1, were doubtless called besižten in the English of that time. Somner translates consilium in both cases in the Latin, and advice or consideration the first time, and simply this the second time, in his English translation; but he has entirely mistaken the second passage as shewn on p. 90. Henry translates it determination the first time, and business the second time, both clearly random shots, the latter smacking of an imagined relation to biseg, busy, which is quite out
of the question. Craik seems to have been similarly misled as he translates the word by *business* in both cases, explaining the first as *act*. Koch and Regel have *Verordnung* and Marsh *ordinance* in both cases. Mr. Morris considers the word to be feminine, like all other nouns in -t derived from verbs, but *pis besigte* seems to point it out as neuter, unless *pis* is feminine as it is occasionally in Lajamon, see Koch (*Gram. 1, 477*). Not in Col. or ge. Str. 61 only quotes this passage for its occurrence, p. 83.

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

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

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

Bishop, 8, bishop; ofr. *eueske*; ags. *bisccep*, p. 75, n. 1.

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

C

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

ch when used, p. 73.

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

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

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

D

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

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

deadliche, 6, deadly, mortal; ofr. *mortel*; ags. *deadlic*,
dea",lic; orm. dæp, death; ge. dead, death; acc. pl. agreeing with if/on, and in apposition with heom. pp. 14, 92.
deadlichestan, an error, pp. 14, 27, 92.
don 3, do, inf.; ags. don.
done, 5, a, b, do; gerund, dat. case after to, for to done, for the purpose of doing, pp. 77, 86, 89.
duk, 1, duke; ofr. duc, p. 75, n. 1.

e a when used, p. 71.
ek 11, eke, also; ags. eac; orm. ec; Str. 172.
egte 6, movable property, chattel, as distinguished from fixed or real property, land, in this passage, ofr. moeble, ags. æht. In ge. it occurs frequently in the forms agt, agte. Abram took lot with sarary Hise agte, and erue he ledde him bi. Abram took Lot with Sarah, His movables and cattle he led with him, 741. And gaf him lond, and agte, and fe And gave him land, and movables, and cattle, 783. Wifwes, and childre, and agte and srud, He ledden a-wei wið herte prud, wives and children and movables and clothes he let away with proud heart, 857. In all these cases agte means especially such property as can be carried away, and in this sense it seems to be intended in all the other passages of ge. in which it occurs. In ags. however, it appears to have meant property generally. It is of course connected with agan, to own Col. eigte, eyghtis = goods, property; Str. 17, sub. æhte.
egtetenpe 7, eighteenth; ofr. disutime, p. 11. acc. definite form, p. 76, n. 1.
egtgewær, an error, p. 27, especially p. 90.
Engleneloand' 9, contraction for Engleneloande; dat. case after on.
Engleneloande, 1, 11, England; ofr. Englet're; dat. case after on; literally, land of Angles; Englene, gen. plural of Engel, Southern form, p. 76, n. 2.
eo when used, p. 72.
eorl, 1, 9 a, b, c, d. 10. earl; ofr. cunte; ags. eorl, erl, p. 72.
iew when used, p. 72.
foangen, 5, receive, take, the modern derivatives being fangs, fingers. The ags. infinitive was fón, and the past part. gefongen, gefangen. The modern high German infinitive is fangen. See Dieff. Goth. W. i. 343, under fahan. orm. fangenn; Col. fanger = taker; Str. 186, sub fangen; in for to foanen, 5; ofr. p’nant, it is the inf. for gerund, pp. 77, 87, 89.

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

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

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

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

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

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

fultume 1 is pure Anglo-Saxon, where it assumes the forms fultum, fullom, fultume,1 fylst, gefylst according to

1 Mr. Morris says here: “Þurg properly governs the accusative, as ‘Þurg þat loandes folc’ (folk is neuter), and ‘Þurg þan (=þa) to foren iseide rædesmen,’ ‘Þurg þe (=þa) besigte’ (fem). In fultume it seems to govern a
Bosworth, who translates it *aid, assistance, favour*. The corresponding word in ofr. is *grace*. The word occurs in ge. God says *Of me sal fultum ben ße brogt*, *From me shall help be to thee brought*, 2824, on which passage Mr. Morris quotes *Lagamon* ii. 264—

Pa cristine lißen after
and heom on læiden,
& cleopeden Crist, godes sune,
beon heom a fultume.

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

G

*g* distinct from *ʒ*, p. 71.

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

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

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

Grey, 10; ofr. *Grey*.

ʒ

ʒ distinct from *g*, p. 71.

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

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

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

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

dative, the accusative being *fultume*. If Bosworth is right *fultume* is another form of the word, in which case it would be accusative, but in his more recent smaller dictionary he omits this form. It is difficult to imagine a dative case after *purʒ*. So that we may most probably assume that the final *e* in this case is a clerical error.
habbeþ, 2, have; ags. habbað, 3 p. pl. pres. ind. Southern form, from habben; ge. hauen. The same nom. here relates to habbeþ and schullen, a southern and a midland form. The -ep and -en forms of the plural are confused also in Wycliffe and Chaucer, more than a century later, p, 76.

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

he when used, p. 73.

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

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

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

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

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

her, 6, here; ags. her; ge. her. her onçenes 6, here against, contrary to this provision, his besigte, just named, p. 93. Str. 287.

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

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

hoaten, 3, 6, call upon command; ofr. comandons et
enionions; ags. haten; ge. het, promised, called; hatte, called, heten (pl.) promised. pres. ind. 1 p. pl., p. 12. p. 84, n. 1. Str. 278, sub hātan.

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

horð, see inhord.

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


I, J, Y.

James, 10, James; ofr. James; chr. Jacobus.
ich, I, used in xvi th century, p. 73.

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

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

ifoan, 6, foes; ags. sa, sah, gefah, not in ge. p. 14. Str. 315.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ine, 7, see inehord.

inehord, 7, in treasury; orf. entresor. Probably the words
were originally separate, and they may have been meant as two words, p. 14, or a pe may have been omitted, thus in pe hord, or inehord like entresor, may have been taken as a single word, meaning simply in safety, safely; or ine = ags. innan,inne; orm. ine,inne. In Ayenbite of Inwynt, p. 203, a century later, we have, none euell pogytes ne moxe bleue ine herte. Mr. Morris considers this the preferable explanation. p. 77, n. 2. hord, hoard; ags. hord, treasury, p. 34; Str. 298.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

isworene, 8, sworn, p. 16; ags. swerian, p.p. gesworen; ge. sworen; here declined, because used attributively, p. 77, n. 2. vre isworene redesmen 8, in dat. pl.
iwersed, 6, participle from wersien, the ags. wyrsian, which lives in the form to worsen, although the past participle is now worsened; ofr. emprisee, impaired; the phrase ilet oper iwersed seems to answer to the modern legal phrase let or hindered. Str. 664, sub pursien.

K

Kant'bur', 8, Canterbury; ofr. Cantreburi; chr. Cantwara-byrig, Cantwaraburh, Cantwareberi; probably Cantreburi would have been the full word.

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

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

L

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

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

1 Mr. Morris remarks, that "in the literature of the xiiith century -ende is the old form, and -inde the modern; hence the two forms in Lagamon. In the xivth century -inde is a good mark of a Southern dialect. -ande occurs in the Northumbrian Gospel (Saxon period), and in the Cotton MS. Titus D. 18 (first half of the xiiith century containing a version of the Ancren Riwle, Hali Meidenhad, &c.)"
loande, 3, 5, land, country; ofr. réaume 3, t're 5; ags. land, lond; ge. lond, londe. In both places dat. case after of, p. 77, n. 2. In 3, the country, the kingdom, as in Englene-loande 1. In 5, real property, possessions in land, as opposed to moveables, egte.

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

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


M

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

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

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

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

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

moare, 2, 5, more, greater; ofr. greignure i.e. grandior, Roquefort gives as other forms of the ofr. graindier, graindre, graingneur, gregneur, gréigner, gréigneur, gréigner, gréignour, greindre, gremnor, grénour, gréynour, gréynor, griener, grignéour, grignor, grinieur, grinour, groignor, groignet, sub graigneur; and in the Burton version we have greinure; ags. mara, ðæt mara the greater, þe moare dél 2, 5 the majority. The e marks the definite adj., p. 77.

moge, 10, cousins, kinsmen, nobles, p. 15, pl. of mog.¹

¹ Mr. Morris thinks that the original sense is an adult, root mah crescere. Graff 2, 629 queries the propriety of referring mög to this root.
Regel remarks that the ags. maga is used in addressing young nobles, as junger held young hero, as in Andr. (Kemble, v. 1249, s. 37) maga mode rof, and hence easily passed into the sense of heroes or nobles; ags. se maga, the powerful one. The word is not in Col., and seems to occur once only in ge. Lagamon, mage, ññge, and orm. meghe, as a female cousin only. Str. 381, l. 20. sub mûge.

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

monpe, 7, month; ags. monnœ, monœ, monæ; orm. monœpp, with long o; ge. moned, e marks the dat. case after in. Str. 402, sub monœð.

Mortemer, 10, in Latin de Mortuo Mari; fr. morte mer.
muçe, 6, may, subj.; ags. magan inf., mage subj.; orm. muçhe subj. 200, muçhenn 5502, “trotzdem ist es ohne zweifel eine ausartung,” Koch (Hist. Gram. 1, 355); ge. mogen, he ne mogen figten agen 3228, they might not, were not able to fight against them. Robert of Gloucester, mowe; Str. 381, l. 4. p. 77.

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

N

ne, 5 a, b, not, nor; orf. ne; ags. ne; ge, ne.
nime, 5, take, orf. preigne. A very common word in old writers; ags. nimau. The modern representatives of the word are nimble, and numb, i.e. taken, viz. with paralysis. Str. 420. See p. 13, and especially 91.

noan, 5, none; orf. nul; ags. nan; ge. non.
Norm', 1, Normandy; ofr. Normandie; chr. Normandig, Normandi, probably the last form is here meant by the contraction.


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

Octobr'. 8, October; ags. winterfylle's; since ge. uses rekeliille for April, possibly this use of October must be considered a Gallicism.

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

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

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

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

onãgenes, 6, against; ofr. encunt'; ags. ongean: see âgenes.

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

onie, 6, a, b, any, sing. fem. and masc. pl.; see oni. onie
wise, 6 a, any wise, p. 13, 49, 77. *gif oni oifer onie* 6 b, if any person or persons; *ofr. se nul v nuz,* pp. 13, 48, 77.

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

oje, 5, oath; *ofr. s'ment; ags. aë,* dat. after be. Str. 35, sub áp p. 77, n. 2. p. 89.

ofer, 2, 5 a, 6 a, b, or; *ags. oëfer, oëxe; orm. oëfd; ge.* oëfer. 5 b, other; *ags. oëfer; orm. oëfd; ge. oëfer. See opre.

opre, 10, 11, other; see ofer 5, 6. *æfören* pore moxe 10, dat. pl., *to æurihce* opre schire, 11, dat. sg. fem. Str. 428, sub oëfer.

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

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

Perres, 9, 10, Peter; *ofr. Piere; chr. Peter, Petrus.*
Plesseziz, 10, lat. de Placeito.

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

raedesmen, 3, 8, p. 13, same as *raedesmen,* which see.

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

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

Rog’, 9, 10, Roger; *chr. Roger,* which is therefore the complete word here.
Sauueye, 9, Savoy; lat. Sabaudia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

stedefæst, 3, 7, steadfast; ags. stedfast; Str. 537, sub stedfast.

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

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

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

T Þ

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

th, distinct from Þ, p. 71.

Þ distinct from th, p. 71.

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

Þære, 11, the, dat. fem. of def. art., after ouer; ags. þara, þara, fem. gen. only; Lagamon has gen. and dat. fem. þare,
pare, pere, pe; orm. pe only; ge. pe only, p. 76; Str. 593, sub pe.

\( \text{fan} \), 3, 4, 5, the; of fan to foreniseide redesmen, 3, dat. pl.; ags. \( \text{fan} \ \text{fan} \) ; purg\( \text{fan} \) to foren iseide redesmen, 4, acc. pl., the dative form being used after purg, which requires an accusative; probably an error; bi \( \text{fan} \ \text{ilche ope} \), 5, dat. sg.; ags. \( \text{fan} \), p. 27; Lagamon, \( \text{fan} \ \text{bon} \ \text{pane} \ \text{bone} \ \text{bonne} \ \text{beonne} \ \text{pan} \ \text{pe} \). p. 76. Str. 592, sub pe.

\( \text{pane} \), 7, the, acc. of the time; ags. \( \text{pane} \); Lagamon, \( \text{pene} \), pana \( \text{pene} \ \text{panne} \ \text{bonne} \ \text{pen} \ \text{pe} \); Str. 592, sub pe.

\( \text{pe} \), 2 a, b. 3 a, b, c, d. 4, 5, 7, 8, the, a form already used for all cases, genders, and numbers by Lagamon. p. 76. Str. 591.

\( \text{pis} \), 6, 7 a, b. 8, this; \( \text{pis besig} \) te, 6, nom. neut. or feminine (?), see besig\( \text{te} \); \( \text{pis} \), 7 a, 8 = this thing, this writ, nom. neut. absolute; ags. \( \text{pis} \). \( \text{pis} \ \text{writ open} \), 7 b, acc. mas.; ags. \( \text{pisne} \). p. 76. Str. 595, sub \( \text{pes} \).

\( \text{jinge} \), 3, things: ags. \( \text{ping} \); dat. pl. after in; Str. 597.

\( \text{po} \), 1, the, acc. pl.; ags. \( \text{pa} \); Lagamon \( \text{pa} \), po, peo. on \( \text{po ilche worden} \), 11, should be dat. pl., in which case Lagamon would have \( \text{pon} \), and we have the same use in ge. of so rekletes for wur\( \text{ing} \) Woren mad, and for muning Corunes at \( \text{xe} \) altar of bras, of the incensepots for honour were made, and for reminding, crowns at the altar of brass, 3787, but there is no occasion to assume that \( \text{worden} \) is acc.\(^1\) p. 77, n. 2, p. 76; Str. 593, sub pe.

\( \text{purg} \), 1, 2 a, b. 3, 4, 5, through, by, by means of; ags. purg. purg godes fultume, 1, by, owing to, God’s grace, acc. case, p. 78, see fultume and note. purg us und purg \( \text{had} \)

\(^1\) Mr. Morris observes: “Mr. Cockayne rightly affirms that in the second period of our language, the prepositions frequently govern an acc., instead of a dat., so that \( \text{po} \) may be acc., and as the Northumbrian gospels have nom. pl. worda, there may have been an acc. pl. worden. But as far as I have noted all A.S. neuters, having the pl. the same as the sing., conform to the masc. of the complex order, so that word in acc. pl. would be wordes. All neuters forming pl. in A.S. in -a, -o, -u, go into 1st e, 2nd -en, 3rd -es, as cyrnlu, cyanule, cyrnlen, cyanles. On the other hand m or n in the second period of our language, falls off from the dat. sing. and pl., so that \( \text{pan} \) becomes \( \text{pan} \) and \( \text{pa} \), (whence \( \text{po} \)). In p. 15 of my Old English Homilies I find for \( \text{pa} \ldots \text{dome} \), where \( \text{dome} \) is masc. and dat. sing.”
loandes folk, 2 a, b, by us and by the people of the country, p. 81. purg be besigete, 3, through, owing to, in consequence of the provision. po isetnesses inakede purg pan, 4. purg be moare dael, 5, by, by means of the action of. Str. 604, sub purh.

to, 1, 3, 4 a, b, c, d. 5 a, b, c. 7, 11 to ; ags. to ; Str. 575.
treowe, 4, 6, true, faithful people, liegemen, lieges; ags. treow; orm. trowwe; ge. trewe, pl. we hoaten alle vre treowe, 4, dat. case after hoaten, pat alle vre treowe heom healden 6, nom. pl.; Str. 582.
treowpe, 3, 4, truth, fidelity, fealty, allegiance; ofr. fei; ags. treowes; orm. trowupe; ge. trowe, 1269. p. 83. Str. 582.
twoandfowertigbe, 8, two-and-fortieth, three words considered as one; two; ags. twa; ge. two. and, which see; fowertigbe; ags. feowertigea, feowertigoa; ge. fowerti forti. The e is definite after þe.

U V

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

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

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

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

W

Walt’, 8, Walter; chr. Waldhere, Waltear, Walter, which last is the full writing.
Warewik', 10, Warwick; chr. Warwingawic, Warwingwic; ofr. Warrewyka, probably the complete form is Warewike.

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

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

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

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

wherfurs, 6, wherethrough, whereby; ags. hwcer, burg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

wip, 7, with, pointing out the instrument; ags. wip; orm. wipþ; Str. 651, sub wip.

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

wurþnesse, 3, honour, dignity; ags. worþnes, wurþnes; orm. wurþfull honourable; ge. worþed honoured, p. 77, n. 2, p. 83; Str. 665, sub wurþ, wurþschipe.

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

Photozincograph Edition of the Proclamation.

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

The following is the description given of Part I. No. xix. "Extract from Patent Roll, 42 Henry III.—The Patent Rolls extend in nearly unbroken succession from the 3rd year of King John's reign to the present time. The earlier of them contain documents of a most diversified nature, relating chiefly to prerogatives of the crown, to the revenue, and different branches of the judicature, to treaties, truces, negociations with foreign states, and many other matters, the whole of which are set out in Mr. Hardy's elaborate and learned "Introduction to the Patent Rolls." The present extract, which is the earliest specimen of English known on the Rolls, is styled in the margin "Carta in idiomate Anglico missa ad singulos comitatus Angliæ," and is the enrolment of a writ patent addressed to the men of Huntingdonshire, charging and exhorting them to keep and observe the statutes¹ made by the king's redesmen or councillors "in the worthnesse of Gode and ov ure treowthe for the freme of the loande." Dated at London 18th October 1258. This writ is also ordered to be sent into Ireland."

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

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

1 The following is the result of a careful examination. ñn, 3 a, flourish gone. ñn, 3 b, flourish resolved into a dot over i and a horizontal line over n. ñn, 4, flourish resolved into an indistinct succession of dots. sweríen, weríen, ñmakede, 4, flourishes quite gone, with the exception of the first, of which a small portion of the upper part remains. makeden, 4, looks like niakien. hit, biforen, nime, 5, flourishes gone, hence nime becomes ambiguous and might justify the error mine. bi, 5, flourish reduced to a dot. onie, 6 a, flourish gone. oni, 6, flourish reduced to a dot, giving oni. onfe, 6 b, flourish resolved into a dot over i and a horizontal line over e, thus onie, see p. 13, near bottom. wret, 1seined, ñnehord, Witnesse, 7, cruninge, 8, in sheire, 11, flourishes gone. The flourish is distinctly preserved in ñn, 11 b.

2 The punctuation is lost, or nearly so, in treowpe., 3, Muntfort., Aubem'. , 9, Pleffeiz. , 10.

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

4 To not cleaning away these dots, etc., we may attribute the following errors. After alle 2, b, there is a well-marked period, and a thick stroke over the o
by an actino-chemical process, and therefore accurate so far as the solar light will produce a facsimile and the chemical process will reproduce it, yet the necessary shortcomings of both processes render even this facsimile not so perfect as the copy printed above.

The facsimile is accompanied by a transcript and translation, for which apparently Mr. William Basevi Sanders, "one of the assistant keepers of Her Majesty's Records, who has also revised the proofs of every sheet of the facsimiles before they were printed," ¹ is responsible. These are as follows, and the reader is requested to observe that Mr. Sanders has endorsed Henshall's conception that on should be read ov in the titles, etc., adopted the modern use of u, v, i, j, s, and capitals, and employed th for þ in all cases, but has preserved the ã. The original connection of the words is not always preserved. Independently of these intentional differences, there are the following unintentional mistakes, where the figures refer to the lines in the original, and the spaced letters give the correct reading: 3 then þan, 7 stedfast stedefast (a, æ confused), 8 two and fowertithe Two- and fowertig þe (ã omitted), 9 of on twice, Northfolk Northfolk' (the contraction not being extended), 10 of on, Muntfort Muntfort, Aldithele Aldithel (there being no mark of contraction), 11 Engleneloande and Engleneloande. And. The use of ov for on in all cases but three (on oniewise 6, of Glovecheste, of Aubemarle 10,) and even in such plain phrases as, ov ure trouxthe 3, al ov tho ilche worden 11, is a serious linguistic error. It is curious that it did not occur to the transcriber that of is frequently used in the following word oþer. After a buten, 3, there is an apparent period. After right for, 5, there is a period. The a in halden, 7, has a marked dot over it, thus ã. After Will', 9, there is an apparent period.

¹ The observations in the preceding notes shew that the revision of the proof of this facsimile was not conducted with sufficient care, while the fact that the proofs of the facsimiles had to be revised at all, shews that the process does not possess that absolutely immaculate character which persons, unaware of its mechanical difficulties, might be disposed to attribute to it. The MS. in question was in every respect ill adapted for the purpose of photozincography, and instead of being surprised at the shortcomings of the plate, we should rather admire the way in which the difficulties have been overcome.
and that \textit{ov} would be an unheard of form of this preposition. Of course the modern pronunciation of the word \textit{of} misled both him and Henshall, but \textit{of} is pronounced with an \textit{f} by Smith 1568, and Bullokar 1580, and Gill, in 1621, says (\textit{Logonomia}, preface, last page) "licet frequentius dicamus \ldots ov \ldots tamen \ldots sequamur hic consuetudinem et aliquà ex parte derivationem in \ldots of \ldots, idque quod docti aliqui viri sic legunt et aliquando loquuntur," and he always indicates the pronunciation as (of). In the \textit{xiii}th century (ov) is an impossibility. The MS. form of the single instance in which the transcriber writes \textit{on} is the same as that in each of the other fourteen cases in which he writes \textit{ov}, and the three cases in which he writes \textit{of}.

\textit{Transcription.}

A Charter in the English counties of England\textsuperscript{1} [1] Henry thurʒ Godes fultume idiom sent to the several King ov Engleneloande, Lhoaverd ov Yrloande, Duk ov Normandie ov Aquitaine and Eorl ov Anjow send igretinge to alle hise holde ilærde and ileawede ov Huntendone schire [2] thæt witen ʒe wel alle thæt We willen and unnen thæt that ure rædesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom thæt beoth ichosen thurʒ Us and thurʒ thæt loandes folk ov ure kune-riche habbeth idon and schullen [3] don in the worthnesse of Gode and ov ure treowthe for the freme of the loande thurʒ the besïte of thæm to foreniseide rædesmen beo stede-fæst and ilestinde in alle thinge abuten ñænde. And we hoaten [4] alle ure treowe in the treowthe thæt heo Us ogen thæt heo stedefæstliche healden and swerien to healden and to werien the isetnisses thæt beon imakede and beon to makien thurʒ than to foren iseide rædesmen [5] other thurʒ the moare dæl of heom alswo also hit is biforen iseid. And thæt ʒæhc other helpe thæt for to done bi than ilche othe agenes alle men. Rigt for to done and to foangen. And noan ne nime of loande ne of [6] ęgte. Wherthurŋ this besïte

\textsuperscript{1} The commencement of the lines in the original is here added for convenience of reference.

Translation.

Henry, through God’s Grace, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greeting to all His subjects learned and unlearned1 of Huntingdonshire that know ye well all that we will and charge2 that that which Our counsellors, all or the majority of them that be chosen through3 Us and through the land folk3 of our kingdom, have done and shall do in the worthiness4 of God and of5 Our truth for the thrift6 of the land through the provision of the aforesaid counsellors, be steadfast and enduring in all things for ever. And We charge all Our liegemen, in the fealty that they owe Us, that they

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

2 Not a recognized meaning of unnen. The same word is here also used to translate hoaten.

3 See p. 81.

4 Honour, p. 83.

5 As if the words meant, “in the worthiness of our truth,” which is absurd.

6 Benefit p. 83, not thrift in any respect.
steadfastly hold and swear to hold and observe the statutes that are made and shall be made through the aforesaid counsellors or the majority of them, in like manner as it is aforesaid. And that each help the other to do that by the same oath against all men. To do and maintain\(^1\) right. And let no one take either of land or property whereby this provision may be hindered or abated in anywise. And if any other or others\(^2\) come here against it\(^3\) we will and charge that all our liegemen hold them deadly foes. And for that We will that this be steadfast and enduring We send you this writ open, signed with Our seal, to hold among you in keeping.\(^4\) Witness Ourself at London the 18th day of the month of October in the 42nd year of Our crowning. And this was done before Our sworn counsellors, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantelow, Bishop of Worcester, Simon of Muntfort, Earl of Leicester, Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, Piers of Savoy, William of Fort, Earl of Albemarle, John of Plesseiz, Earl of Warwick, John Geffreessune, Piers of Muntfort, Richard of Grey, Roger of Mortimer, James of Aldithele, and before many\(^5\) others.

And all of\(^6\) the same words are\(^7\) sent into every other shire over all the kingdom of England and also into Ireland.

---

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

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

3 The use of both here and it, shews that the passage has been entirely misap-prehended; one or the other must be omitted, see p. 93.

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

5 Somner's old mistake concerning moze reproduced, see pp. 15, 95, and moze in the Glossarial Index.

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

7 By putting are for is the translator shews that he misunderstood the words to mean that "all documents having the same words were sent" &c. It is not the meaning of the original, which merely says that something, unnamed, but evidently a "writ open," in precisely the same words, has been sent, etc. In this case all is an adverb, not an adjective plural.
Considering that correct translations had been published by Regel in 1856, and Marsh in 1862, the translator in 1865 might have easily avoided the errors pointed out in the preceding notes. For errors committed in the translation of the Burton copy of the old French version, see p. 87. The original French of this proclamation is not given in Sir H. James's work. But immediately following the facsimile of the English version is the facsimile of the enrollment in the Close Roll, 49 Henry III., of the summons issued by Simon of Montfort in the king's name, for the first real English representative parliament to meet on the Octaves of St. Hilary, 20 Jan 1265. It is in Latin, addressed to Robert bishop of Worcester, and dated 14 Dec 1264.¹

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

**Charter to the City of London.**

¹ A complete transcription of this document with the names of all the parties to whom copies were addressed may be seen in Rymer i, 449, in which the words "plena securitatis tranquillitatis et pacis" are wrongly transcribed "plena securitate et tranquillitate pacis." This document uses the phrase "ad honorem dei et utilitatem totius regni nostrorum" with the significant omission of "nostram fidem."  
² In the present transcription Roman characters are used, with the long ṭ which is employed in the original in place of the ags. ß. The connections of the words, punctuation, and capitals are preserved. Italics mark extended contractions.  
³ These periods are probably only photozincographic errors.  
Grant to Deorman.

[1] Will'm kyng gret will'm bisceop and swegn sceyr gerefan and ealle mine þegna onestaft feaxan freondlice. [2] and ic kyðe eow þat ic habbe ge unnen deormanne minan man¹ þa hide landef æt gyddesdune þe hi [3] of geryden wæf. andicenellegeþolian frencifcan ne engliscan þat him æt ænigan þingan mifþeode.²

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

In Sir H. James's work the dual forms get, gyt are not noticed, and the words beon eallra þara laga weorðe are translated, "be worthy all those laws," the meaning of which is not evident, but weorðe is used in a legal sense, as "folc-rihtes wyrðe, þagen-weres wyrðe," possessed of popular rights, liable to a thane's fine, see Bosworth sub voce. Observe gret greets, contracted form, like fend sends, in the proclamation.

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

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