The Lay of

Havelok the Dane.

Early English Text Society.
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The Lay of

Havelok the Dane:

COMPOSED IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD I, ABOUT A.D. 1280.

FORMERLY EDITED BY SIR F. MADDEN FOR THE ROXBURGHE CLUB,

AND NOW RE-EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE MS. LAUD MISC. 108,
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD;

BY THE

REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "A MæsO-GOTHIC GLOSSARY," EDITOR OF "PIERS PLOWMAN,"
"WILLIAM OF PALERNE," &c.

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Titlepage. The engraving represents the seal of Great Grimsby, described in § 19 of the Preface, p. xxi.


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§ 1. The English version of the Lay of Havelok, now here reprinted, is one of the few poems that have happily been recovered, after having long been given up as lost. Tyrwhitt, in his Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, has a footnote (No. 51) deploring the loss of the Rime concerning Gryme the Fisher, the founder of Grymesby, Hanelok [read Havelok] the Dane, and his wife Goldborough; and Ritson, in his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy—(vol. i. p. lxxxviii. of his Metrical Romancees)—makes remarks to the same effect. It was at length, however, discovered by accident in a manuscript belonging to the Bodleian library, which had been described in the old Catalogue merely as Vitæ Sanctorum, a large portion of it being occupied by metrical legends of the Saints. In 1828, it was edited for the Roxburghe Club by Sir F. Madden, the title-page of the edition being as follows:—"The Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane, accompanied by the French Text: with an introduction, notes, and a glossary, by Frederick Madden, Esq., F.A.S. F.R.S.L., Sub-Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, London. W. Nicol, Shakspeare Press, mdcxxxviii." This volume contains a very complete Introduction, pp. i—lvi; the English version of Havelok, pp. 1—104; the French text of the Romance of Havelok, from a MS. in the Heralds' College, pp. 105—146; the French Romance of Havelok, as abridged and altered by Geoffrei Gaimar, pp. 147—180; notes to the English text, pp. 181—207; notes to the French
text, pp. 208—210; and a glossary, &c., pp. 211—263. But
there are sometimes bound up with it two pamphlets, viz. "Re-
marks on the Glossary to Havelok," by S. W. Singer, and an
"Examination of the Remarks, &c.," by the Editor of Havelok.
In explanation of this, it may suffice to say, that the former
contains some criticisms by Mr Singer (executed in a manner
suggestive of an officious wish to display superior critical acumen),
of which a few are correct, but others are ludicrously false;
whilst the latter is a vindication of the general correctness of the
explanations given, and contains, incidentally, some valuable con-
tributions to our general etymological knowledge, and various
remarks which have proved of service in rendering the glossary
in the present edition more exactly accurate.1

§ 2. Owing to the scarcity of copies of this former edition,
the committee of the Early English Text Society, having first
obtained the approval of Sir Frederic Madden, resolved upon
issuing a reprint of it; and Sir Frederic having expressed a wish
that the duty of seeing it through the press should be entrusted
to myself, I gladly undertook that responsibility. He has kindly
looked over the revises of the whole work,2 but as it has under-
gone several modifications, it will be the best plan to state in detail
what these are.

§ 3. With respect to the text, the greatest care has been
taken to render it, as nearly as can be represented in print, an
exact copy of the MS. The text of the former edition is
exceedingly correct, and the alterations here made are few and of
slight importance. Sir F. Madden furnished me with some, the
results of a re-comparison, made by himself, of his printed copy
with the original; besides this, I have myself carefully read the
proof sheets with the MS. twice, and it may therefore be assumed
that the complete correctness of the text is established. It seems
to me that this is altogether the most important part of the work

1 In particular, we find there a complete proof, supported by some fifty ex-
amples, that, as can be traced, through the forms asc, als, also, also, to the A.S.
cell-sea; a proof, that in the difficult phrase loud and lithe, the word lithe
[also spelt lede, luide] is equivalent to the French tenement, rente, or fè; and,
thirdly, a complete refutation of Mr Singer's extraordinary notion that the
adverb niethe means a sword!

2 In the same way, William of Palerne was prepared by me for the press,
subject to his advice; see William of Palerne, Introduction, p. ii.
of a Text Society, in order that the student may never be perplexed by the appearance of words having no real existence. For a like reason the letters p and P (the latter of which I have represented by an italic w) have now been inserted wherever they occur, and the expansions of abbreviations are now denoted by italics. For further remarks upon the text, see the description of the MS. below, § 26. Sidenotes and headlines have been added, but the numbering of the lines has not been altered. The French text of the romance, the title of which is Le Lai de Aveloc, and the abridgment of the story by Geoffrei Gaimar, have not been here reprinted; the fact being, that the French and English versions differ very widely, and that the passages of the French which really correspond to the English are few and short. All of these will be found in the Notes, in their proper places, and it was also deemed the less necessary to print the French text, because it is tolerably accessible; for it may be found either in vol. i. of Monumenta Historica Britannica, ed. Petrie, 1848, in the reprint by M. Michel (1833) entitled “Le Lai d’Havelok,” or in the edition by Mr T. Wright for the Caxton Society, 1850. An abstract of it is given at p. xxiii. The Notes are abridged from Sir F. Madden’s, with but a very few additions by myself, which are distinguished by being placed within square brackets. The Glossarial Index is, for the most part, reprinted from Sir F. Madden’s Glossary, but contains a large number of slight alterations, re-arrangements, and additions. The references have nearly all been verified,¹ and the few words formerly left unexplained are now either wholly or partially solved. I have now only to add that a large portion of the remainder of this preface, especially that which concerns the historical and traditional evidences of the story (§ 4 to § 18), is abridged or copied from Sir F. Madden’s long Introduction, which fairly exhausts the subject.² All extracts included between marks of quotation are taken from it without alteration. But I must be considered responsible for the re-

¹ I say nearly, because I have not been able to verify every reference to every poem quoted. I have verified and critically examined all the citations from the poem itself, from Ritson’s Romances, Weber’s Romances, Laqamon, Beowulf, Chancer, Langland, and Sir Walter Scott’s edition of Sir Tristrem (3rd edition, 1811).

² To this, the reader is referred for fuller information.
IV

PREFACE.

arrangement of the materials, and I have added a few remarks from other sources.

§ 4. Notices of the Story of Havelok by Early Writers. There can be little doubt that the tradition must have existed from Anglo-Saxon times, but the earliest mention of it is presented to us in the full account furnished by the French version of the Romance. Of this there are two copies, one of which belongs to Sir T. Phillipps; the other is known as the Arundel or Norfolk MS., and is preserved in the Heralds' College, where it is marked E. D. N. No. 14; the various editions of the latter have been already enumerated in § 3. This version was certainly composed within the first half of the twelfth century. From the fact that it is entitled a *Lai*, and from the assertion of the poet—"*Qe vn lai en firent li Breton*"—"whereof the Britons made a lay"—we easily conclude that it was drawn from a British source. From the evident connection of the story with the Chronicle called the *Brut*, we may further conclude that by *Breton* is not meant Armorican, but belonging to *Britain*. The story is in no way connected with France; the tradition is British or Welsh, and the French version was doubtless written in England by a subject of an English king. That the language is French is due merely to the accident that the Norman conquerors of England had acquired that language during their temporary sojourn in France. From every point of view, whether we regard the British tradition, the Anglo-Norman version, or the version printed in the present volume, the story is wholly English. It is not to be connected too closely with the Armorican lays of *Marie de France*.

§ 5. We next come to the abridgment of the same as made by Geffrei Gaimar, who wrote between the years 1141 and 1151. In one place, Geffrei quotes Gildas as his authority, but no conclusion can easily be drawn from this indefinite reference. In another place, he mentions a feast given by Havelok after his defeat of Hodulf—"*si cum nus dit la verai estoire*"—"as the true

1 "The word Breton, which some critics refer to Armorica, is here applied to a story of mere English birth." Hallam; Lit. of Europe, 6th ed. 1860; vol. i. p. 36. See the whole passage
history tells us." As this feast is not mentioned in the fuller French version, and yet reappears in the English text, we perceive that he had some additional source of information; and this is confirmed by the fact that he mentions several additional details, also not found in the completer version. That the lay of Havelok, as found in Gaimar, is really his, and not an interpolation by a later hand, may fairly be inferred from his repeated allusions to the story in the body of his work. There are three MS. copies containing Gaimar's abridgment, of which the best is the Royal MS. (Bibl. Reg. 13 A xxi.) in the British Museum; the two others belong respectively to the Dean and Chapter of Durham (its mark being C. iv. 27) and to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln (its mark being H. 18). It is curious that the Norfolk MS. contains not only the fuller French version of the story, but also the Brut of Wace, and the continuation of it by Gaimar. Gaimar's abridgment, as printed in Sir F. Madden's edition, is taken from the Royal MS., supplemented by the Durham and Lincoln MSS. See also Monumenta Historica Britannica, vol. i. p. 764. It is important to mention that Gaimar speaks of the Danes as having been in Norfolk since the time that Havelok was King, after he has been relating the combats between the Britons and the Saxons under the command of Cerdic and Cynric. Another allusion makes Havelok to have lived long before the year 800, according to every system of chronology.

§ 6. The next mention of Havelok is in the French Chronicle of Peter de Langtöft, of Langtoft in Yorkshire, who died early in the reign of Edward II., and whose Chronicle closes with the death of Edward I. Here the only trace of the story is in the mention of "Gountere le pere Hauelok, de Danays Ray clamez"—Gunter, father of Havelok, called King of the Danes. The allusion is almost valueless from its evident absurdity; for he confounds Gunter with the Danish invader defeated by Alfred, and who is variously called Godrum, Gudrum, Guthrum, or Gurmound. He must have been thinking, at the moment, of a very different Gurmund, viz. the King of the Africans, as he is curiously called, whose terrible devastations are described very fully in Lajamon, vol. iii. pp. 156—177, and who may fairly be supposed to have lived much nearer to the time of Havelok; and he must further
have confounded this Gurmund with Gunter. For the account of Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft's Chronicle, see below, § 10.

§ 7. But soon after this, we come to a most curious account. In MS. Harl. 902 is a late copy, on paper, of a Chronicle called *Le Bruit Dengleterre*, or otherwise *Le Petit Bruit*, compiled a.d. 1310, by Meistre Rauf de Boun, at the request of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. It is a most worthless compilation, put together in defiance of all chronology, but with respect to our present inquiry it is full of interest, as it soon becomes obvious that one of his sources of information is the very English version here printed, which he cites by the name of *l'estorie de Grimesby*, and which is thus proved to have been written before the year 1310. "The Chronicler," says Sir F. Madden, "commences, as usual, with Brute, b.c. 2000, and after taking us through the succeeding reigns to the time of Cassibelin, who fought with Julius Caesar, informs us, that after Cassibelin's death came Gurmound out of Denmark, who claimed the throne as the son of the eldest daughter of Belin, married to Thorand, King of Denmark. He occupies the kingdom 57 years, and is at length slain at Hunteton, called afterwards from him Gurmoundcestre. He is succeeded by his son Frederick, who hated the English, and filled his court with Danish nobles, but who is at last driven out of the country, after having held it for the short space of 71 years. And then, adds this miserable History-monger: 'Et si entendrez vous, que par cel primer venue de auaunt dit Roy Gormound, et puis par cele hountoux exil de son fitz Frederik, si fu le rancour de Daneis vers nous enpendaunt, et le regne par cel primere accion vers nous enchalangount plus de sept C ans apre, iekis a la venue Haneloke, fitz le Roy Birkenebayne de Dannemarche, q le regne par mariage entra de sa femme.'—f. 2 b.

"After a variety of equally credible stories, we come to Adelstan II.¹ son of Edward [the Elder], who corresponds with

¹ "The Chronicler writes of him, f. 6. 'Il feu le plus beau bachelier qe vaques regna en Engleterre, cco dit le Bruit, par quoy ly lays ly appellerunt King Adelstane with gilden kroket, pour ce q'il feu si beans.' We have here notice of another of those curious historical poems, the loss of which can never
the real king of that name, A. D. 925—941. He is succeeded by his son [brother] Edmund, who reigned four years [A. D. 941—946], and is said to have been poisoned at Canterbury; after whom we have Adelwold, whose identity with the Athelwold of the English Romance, will leave no doubt as to the source whence the writer drew great part of his materials in the following passage:

Apres cee vient Adelwold son fitz q reigna xvi et demie, si engendroit ij feiz et iij filis, dount trestoutz murrrent frechement fors q sa pune file, le out a nom Goldburgh, del age de vii annz kaunt son pere Adelwold morust. Cely Roy Adelwold quant il doit morir, comndaunda sa file a garder a vn Count de Cornewayle, al houre kaunt il quidouzie (sic) hountousment auoir deparage, quaunt fit Haueloke, fitz le Roy Byrkenbayne de Denmarche, esposer le, encountre sa volunté, q' primis fuit Roy Dengleterre et de Denmarch tout a vn foitz, par quelle aliaunce leis Daneisz queillerunt g'ndr (sic) mestrie en Engleterre, et long temps puisse le tindrunt, si cum vous nouncie l'estorie de Grimesby, come Grime primez nurist Haueloke en Engleterre, depuis cel houre q'il feut chasé de Denmarche &c. deqis al houre q'il vint au chastelle de Nichole, q' cely auauanddit traitre Goudriche out en garde, en quel chastel il auauanddit Haueloke espousa l'auauanddit Goldeburgh, q' fuit heir Dengleterre. Et par cel resons tynt cely Haueloke la terre de Denmarche auxi comme son heritage, et Engleterre auxi par mariage de sa femme; et si entendrez vous, q' par la resons q' ly auauanddit Gryme ariua primez, kaunt il amena l'enfaunt Haueloke hors de Denmarche, par meyme la resoz reseut cele vile son nom, de Grime, quel noun ly tient vnquore Grimisy.

'Apres cee regna meyme cely Haueloke, q' mult fuit prodhomme, et droiturelle, et bien demenoit son people en resoz et ley. Cel Roy Haueloke regna xlij. annz, si engendroit ix fitz et vij filis, dount trestoutz murrerount ainz q' furunt d'age, fors soulement iij de ses feitz, dont l'un out a noun Gurmound, cely q' entendy auoir son heire en Engleterre; le second out a noun Knout, quen fitz seffoit son pere en le regne de Denmarche, quant il estoit del age de xvij annz, et ly mesme se tynt a la coroune Dengleterre, quel terre il entendy al oeps son ainez fitz Gurmound

be sufficiently deployed. The term crochet (derived by Skinner from the Fr. crochet, uncinulus) points out the period of the poem's composition, since the fashion alluded to of wearing those large rolls of hair so called, only arose at the latter end of Hen. III. reign, and continued through the reign of Edw. I. and part of his successor's.
auoir gardé. Mes il debusa son col auxi comme il feu monté vn cheval testous q' poindre volleyt, en l'an de son regne xxiiij entrant. Le tiers fitz ont a noun Godard, q' son pere feffoit de la Senneschacie Defulterre, q' n'auoüt (sic) taunt come ore fait ly quart. Et le puisnez fitz de toutz out a noun Thorand, q' espousa la Countesse de Hertouwe en Norwey. Et par la reson q' cely Thorand feut enherité en la terre de Norwey, ly et ses successours sont enheritez iekis en sa p'ee (sic) toutdis, puis y auoit affinité de alliaunce entre ceulx de Denmarche et ceulx de Norwey, a checun venue q' vnkes firent en ceste terre pur chalenge ou clayme mettre, iekis a taunt q' lour accion feut enseyne destrut par vn noble chevallere Guy de Warwiike, &c. Et tout en sy feffoit Haueloke sez quatre fitz: si gist a priorie de Greschereche en Loundrez.'—f. 6 b.

"The Estorie de Grimesby therefore, referred to above, is the identical English Romance before us, and it is no less worthy of remark, that the whole of the passage just quoted, with one single variation of import, has been literally translated by Henry de Knyghton, and inserted in his Chronicle.¹ Of the sources whence the information respecting Havelok's sons is derived, we are unable to offer any account, as no trace of it occurs either in the French or English texts of the story."

§ 8. "About the same time at which Rauf de Boun composed his Chronicle, was written a brief Genealogy of the British and Saxon Kings, from Brutus to Edward II., preserved in the same MS. in the Heralds' College which contains the French text of the Romance. The following curious rubric is prefixed: —Laignée des Bretons et des Engleis, queus il furent, et de queus nons, et coment Brut vint premerement en Engleterre, et combien de tens puis, et dont il vint. Brut et Cornelius furent chevalers chacez de la bataille de Troie, m. CCCXVII. anz devant qe dieus nasquit, et vindrent en Engleterre, en Corpswaille, et riens ne fut trouee en la terre fors qe geauz, Geomagog, Hstripoldiues, Rusealbundy, et plusieurs autres Geauz. In this Genealogy no mention of Havelok occurs under the reign of Constantine, but after the names of the Saxon Kings Edbright and Edelwin, we read: 'Athelwold auoit vne fille Goldeburgh, et il regna vi. anz. Haueiloc espousa meisme

¹ See below, § 16.
cele Goldeburgh, et regna iij. anz. **Alfred** le frere le Roi Athelwold enchaca **Haueloc** par Hunehere, et il fut le primer Roi corone de l’apostolfe, et il regna xxx. anz.’—fol. 148 b. By this account Athelwold is clearly identified with Ethelbald, King of Wessex, who reigned from 855 to 860, whilst Havelok is substituted in the place of Ethelbert and Ethered.”

§ 9. “Not long after the same period was written a Metrical *Chronicle of England*, printed by Ritson, Metr. Rom. V. ii. p. 270. Two copies are known to exist, the first concluding with the death of Piers Gavestone, in 1313 (MS. Reg. 12. C. xii.), and the other continued to the time of Edw. III. (Auchinleck MS.). The period of Havelok’s descent into England is there ascribed to the reign of King Ethelred (978—1016), which will very nearly coincide with the period assigned by Rauf de Boun, viz. A. D. 963—1004.”

> ‘**Haueloc** com tho to this lond,<br>With greth host & eke strong,<br>Ant sloh the Kyng Achelred,<br>At Westmustre he was ded,<br>Ah he heuede reigned her<br>Seuene an tuenti fulle 3er.<br>**MS. Reg. 12. C. xii.’**

“This date differs from most of the others, and appears founded on the general notion of the Danish invasions during that period.”

§ 10. Before proceeding to consider the *prose* Chronicle of the Brute, it is better to speak first of the translation of Peter de Langtoft’s *Chronicle* by Robert of Brunne, a translation which was completed A. D. 1338. At p. 25 of Hearne’s edition is the following passage:

> ‘*Havelok* 2 fader he was, *Gunter* was his name.<br>He brent citees & tounes, ouer alle did he schame.<br>Saynt Cutbertes clerkes tho Danes thei dred.<br>The toke the holy bones, about thei tham led.

1 The poems in MSS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Ff. 5. 48 and Dd. 14. 2 resemble this Chronicle, but do not mention Havelok’s name.
2 *Haneloh* in Hearne, throughout, but undoubtedly *contra fidel* MSS.
Seuen thre thorg the land wer thei born aboute,
It conforted the kyng mykelle, whan he was in doute

Whan Alfrid & Gunter had werred long in ille,
Thorg the grace of God, Gunter turned his wille.
Cristend wild he be, the kyng of fonte him lift,
& thritty of his knyghtes turnes, thorg Godes gift.
Thei that first were foos, and com of paien lay,
Of Cristen men haf los, & so thei wend away.'

"This is the whole that appears in the original, but after the
above lines immediately follows, in the language of Robert of
Brunne himself (as noted also by Hearne, Pref. p. lxvii.), the
following curious, and to our inquiry, very important passage:

'Bot I haf grete ferly, that I fynd no man,
That has written in story, how Hauelok this lond wan.
Noither Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntynton,
No William of Mahnesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton,
Writes not in ther bokes of no kyng Athelwold,
Ne Goldeburgh his douhtere, ne Hauelok not of told,
Whilk tyme theiere kynges, long or now late,
Thei mak no menyng whan, no in what date.
Bot that thise loved men upon Inglish tellis,
Right story can me not ken, the certeynte what spellis.
Men sais in Lyneoln castelle liggges zit a stone,
That Hauelok kast wele forbi euer ilkone
& zit the chapelle standes, ther he weddid his wife,
Goldeburgh the kynges douhter, that saw is zit rife.
& of Gryme a fisshere, men redes zit in ryme,
That he bigged Grymesby Gryme that ilk tyme.
Of alle stories of honoure, that I haf thorogh souht,
I fynd that no compiloure of him tellis outh.
Sen I fynd non redy, that tellis of Hauelok kynde
Turne we to that story, that we writen fynde.'

"There cannot exist the smallest doubt, that by the 'Ryme'
here mentioned 'that loved men upon Inglish tellis,' the identical
English Romance, now before the reader, is referred to. It must
therefore certainly have been composed prior to the period at
which Robert of Brunne wrote, in whose time the traditions
respecting Havelok at Lincoln were so strongly preserved, as to

1 This proof is rendered unnecessaiy by the citations from it by Rauf de
Boun in 1310, and by the age of our MS. itself.
point out various localities to which the story had affixed a name, and similar traditions connected with the legend, as we shall find hereafter, existed also at Grimsby. The doubts expressed by the Chronicler, as to their authenticity, or the authority of the ‘Ryme,’ are curious, but only of value so far as they prove he was ignorant of the existence of a French Romance on the subject, or of its reception in Gaimar’s historical poem.”

§ 11. “But on consulting the Lambeth copy of Rob. of Brunne, in order to verify the passage as printed by Hearne from the Inner Temple MS. we were not a little surprised to ascertain a fact hitherto overlooked, and indeed unknown, viz. that the Lambeth MS. (which is a folio, written on paper, and imperfect both at the beginning and close)¹ does not correspond with the Edition, but has evidently been revised by a later hand, which has abridged the Prologues, omitted some passages, and inserted others. The strongest proof of this exists in the passage before us, in which the Lambeth MS. entirely omits the lines of Rob. of Brunne respecting the authenticity of the story of Havelok, and in their place substitutes an abridged outline of the story itself, copied apparently from the French Chronicle of Gaimar. The interpolation is so curious, and so connected with our inquiry, as to be a sufficient apology for introducing it here.”

¹ The writing in the earlier portion (concerning Havelok) is hardly later than A.D. 1400.
He hure knew & highte hure wel, to helpe hure with his might,
To bryng hure saif out of the lond, wythinne th\textsuperscript{t} ilke night.
When they come in myd se, a gret meschef gan falle,
They metten wyth a gret schip, lade wyth outlawes alle.
Anon they fullen hem apon, & dide hem Mikel peyne,
So th\textsuperscript{t} wyth strengthe of their assaut, ded was quene Eleyne.
But 3yt ascape\textsuperscript{d}e from hem Grym, wyth Hauelok & other fyne,
& atte the hauene of Grymesby, ther they gon aryue.
Ther was brought forth child Hauelok, wyth Grym & his fere,
Right als hit hadde be ther own, for other wyuste men nere.
Til he was mykel & mighti, & man of mykel cost,
Th\textsuperscript{t} for his gret sustinatione, nedly serue he most.
He tok leue of Grym & Sebure, as of his sire & dame,
And askede ther blessinge curteysly, ther was he nought to blame.
Thenne drow he forth northward, to kynges court Edelsie,
Th\textsuperscript{t} held fro Humber to Rotland, the kynge of Lyndesye.
Thys Edelsy of Breton kynde, had Orewayn his sister bright
Maried to a noble kynge of Northfolk Egelbright.
Holly for his kynge dam, he held in his hand,
Al the lond fro Colchestre, right in til Holand.
Thys Egelbright th\textsuperscript{t} was a Dane, & Orewayn the quene,
Hadden gete on Argill, a daughter hem bytwene.
Sone then deyde Egelbright, & his wyf Orewayn,
& therfore was kynge Edelsye, bothe joyful & fayn.
Anon their daughter & here Eyr, his nece dame Argill,
& al the kynge dam he tok in hande, al at his owene will.
Ther serued Hauelok as quistron, & was y-cald Coraunt,
He was ful mykel & hardy, & strong as a Geaunt.
He was bold Curteys & fre, & fair & god of manere.
So th\textsuperscript{t} alle folk hym louede, th\textsuperscript{t} aneuest hym were.
But for couetise of desheraison, of damysele Argill,
& for a chere th\textsuperscript{t} the kynge sey, schoo made Coraunt till,
He dide hem arraye ful symplely, & wedde togydere bothe,
For he ne rewarded desparagyng, were manion ful wrothe.
A while they dwelt after in court, in ful pore degr\textsuperscript{e},
The schame & sorewe th\textsuperscript{t} Argill hadde, hit was a deol to se.
Then seyde schoo til hure maister, of whenne sire be se?
Haue se no kyn ne frendes at hom, in 3oure contre?
Leuer were me lyn in pore lyf, wythoute schame & tene,
Than in schame & sorewe, lede the astat of quene.
Thenne wente they forth to Grymesby, al by his wyues red,
& founde th\textsuperscript{t} Grym & his wyf, weren bothe ded.
But he fonde ther on Aunger, Grymes cosyn hende,
To wham th\textsuperscript{t} Grym & his wyf, had teld word & ende.
How th' hit stod wyth Hauelök, in all manere degre, & they hit hym telde & conseilled, to drawe til his contre, Tasaye what grace he mighte fynde, among his frendes there, & they wolde ordeyne fortheir schipynge, andalth'hem mede were. When Aunger hadde y-schiped hem, they seilled forth ful swythe, Ful-bbut in til Denemarke, wyth weder fair & lithe. Ther fond he on sire Sykar, a man of gret poussé, Th'hey styward somtyme was, of al his fader fe. Ful fayn was he of his comyng, & god help him behight, To recouere his heritage, of Edulf kyng & knyght. Some assembled they gret folk, of his sibmen & frendes, Kyng Edulf gadered his power, & ageyn them wendes. Desconfyt was ther kyng Edulf, & al his gret bataill, & so conquered Hauelok, his heritage saunz faille. Some after he schop him gret power, in toward Ingelond, His wyues heritage to wynne, ne wolde he nought wonde. Th' herde the kyng of Lyndeseye, he was come on th' cost, & schop to fighte wyth hym sone, & gadered hym gret host. But atte day of bataill, Edelsy was desconfit, & after by tretys gaf Argentill, hure heritage al quit. & for scheo was next of his blod, Hauelokes wyf so feyr, He gaf hure Lyndesey after his day, & made hure his Eyr. & atte last so byfel, th' vnder Hauelokes schelde, Al Northfolk & Lyndeseye, holy of hym they helde.'

MS. Lamb. 131. leaf 76.

§ 12. We now come to the prose Chronicle called The Brute, which became exceedingly popular, and was the foundation of "Caxton's Chronicle," first printed by Caxton A.D. 1480, but of which Caxton was not the author, though he may have added some of the last chapters. The original is in French, and was probably compiled a few years before Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft was made, as it concludes with the year 1331, or, in some copies, with 1332. The author of it is not known, but it was probably only regarded as a compilation from the Chronicles of the earlier Historians. "In this Chronicle, in all its various shapes, is contained the Story of Havelock, engrafted on the British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in its detail, following precisely the French text of the Romance. The only variation of consequence is the substitution of the name of Birkabeyn (as in the English text) for that of Gunter, and in some copies, both of the French and English MSS. of the Chronicle, the name of
Goldeburgh is inserted instead of Argentille; which variations are the more curious, as they prove the absolute identity of the story. For the sake of a more complete illustration of what has been advanced, we are induced to copy the passage at length, as it appears in the French Chronicle, taken from a well-written MS. of the 14th century, MS. Reg. 20 A 3, fol. 165 b.”¹

¹ Sir F. Madden adds—“collated with another of the same age, MS. Cott. Dom. A. x, and a third, of the 15th century, MS. Harl. 200.” I omit the collations; the words within square brackets are supplied from these other copies.
cest Curan fust [le Roi] Hauelok, filz le Roi Kirkebain de Denemarche, & il conquist la terre sa femme [en Bretaigne], & occist le Roi Edelf, vnce sa femme, & conquist tote la terre, si com aillours est trouee plus pleinement [en l'estorie], & il ne regna que tres aunz. Car Saxsouns & Danoys le occirent, & cee fust grant damage a tote la grant Brutaigne. Et les Brutouns le porterent a Stonhenge, & illoeqes ly enterrenerent a grant honour.'

§ 13. "With the above may be compared the English version, as extant in MS. Harl. 2279, which agrees with the Ed. of Caxton, except in the occasional substitution of one word for another." ¹

'MS. Harl. 2279, f. 47. Of the kinges Albright & of Edelf.
Ca o IIIxx. xi o.

After kyng Constantinus deth, ther were ij. kynges in Britaigne, that one men callede Adelbright, that was a Danoys, and helde the cuinray of Northfolk and Southfolk, that other hight Edelf; and was a Britoun & helde Nichole, Linseseye, and alle the lande vnto Humber. Thes ij. kynges reste werred togeders, but afterward thei were accorded, and lounde togedere as thei had ben borne of o bodie. The kyng Edelf had a suster that men callede Orewenne, and he yaf here thurghe grete frenshipe to kyng Adelbright to wif, and he begate on here a daughte that men callede Argentille, and in the iij. yuer after him come vppon a strong sekenesse that nedes he muste die, and he sent to kyng Edelf, his brother in lawe, that he shulde come and speke with him, and he come to him with good wille. Tho prayed he the kyng and coniurede also in the name of God, that after whan he were dede, he shulde take Argentil his daughte, and the lande, and that he kepte hir wel, and noreshed in his chambre; and whan she were of age he shulde done here be mariede to the strongest and worthies man that he myzfynde, and then he shulde yele vp her lande ayen. Edelf hit grauntid, and bi othe hit confermede his prayer. And whan Adelbright was dede and Enterede, Edelfe toke the damesel Argentil, and noreshid her in his chambre, and she become the fayrest creature the myzlf, or euy man finde.

How kyng Edelf mariede the damysel Argentil to a knaue of his kichyn. Ca o IIIxx. xii.

This kyng Edelf, that was vnche to the damesel Argentil, bithought how that he myzte falsliche haue the lande from his nece

¹ I omit the collations with MSS. Harl. 24 and 753. Sir F. Madden proves that this English version was made A.D. 1435, by John Maundevile, rector of Burnham Thorp in Norfolk.
for euermore, and falsy ayens his othe thouȝte to desceuyue the
damysel, and marie here to a knave of his kichon, that men callede
Curan, and he become the worthiest and strengeist man of bodie
that eny man wist in eny lande that tho leuede. And to him he
thouȝt here shendfully hane mariede, for to hane had here lande
afterward; but he was clene desceuyuede. For this Curan that
was Hauelokis son that was kyng of Kirkelane in Denmarke, and
this Curan Conquerede his wifes landes, and slow kyng Edelf, that
was his wifes vncl, and had alle here lande, as in a-nother stede
hit [MS. but] telleth more oponly, and he ne regnde but iij.
veer, for Saxones and Danoyes him quede, and that was grete
harme to al Britaigne, and Britouns bere him to Stonehenge, and
ther thei him interede with mochel honoure and solempnite.'

"It must not be concealed, that in some copies, viz. in MSS.
Harl. 1337, 6251, Digby 185, Hatton 50, Ashmole 791 and 793,
the story is altogether omitted, and Conan made to succeed to
Arthur. In those copies also of the English Polychronicon, the
latter part of which resembles the above Chronicle, the passage is
not found." "Among the Harl. MSS. (No. 63) is a copy of the
same Chronicle in an abridged form, in which the name of
Goldesburgh is substituted for that of Argentille." Sir F. Madden
now adds—that "the story occurs also in some interpolated copies
of Higden (the Latin text, viz. MSS. Harl. 655, Cott. Jul. E. 5,
Reg. 13. E. 1). In an earlier form it is found in a Latin Chronicle
of the 13th century, MS. Cott. Dom. A. 2, fol. 130."

§ 14. "It was, in all probability, to this Chronicle also, in its
original form, that Thomas Gray, the author of the Scala Cronica
(or Scale Cronicon), a Chronicle in French prose, composed between
the years 1355 and 1362, is indebted for his knowledge of the
tale." The original MS. is No. 132 in the library of Corpus
Christi College, Cambridge, and was edited by Stevenson for the
Maitland Club in 1836. The passage relative to Hauelok is
translated by Leland, Collectanea, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 511. This account
resembles the others, and involves no new point of interest.

§ 15. I may here introduce the remark, that the story is also
to be found in the Eulogium Historiarum, ed. Haydon, 1860, vol.
ii. p. 378. I here quote the passage at length, as it is not referred
to in Sir F. Madden's edition. The date of the Chronicle is
about 1366. For various readings, see Haydon's edition.
Non enim est pretermittendum de quodam Dano generoso ætate juvenili florente, qui tempore regis Edelfridi casualiter Angliam adiit, qui a propria patria expulsus per quendam ducem falsissimum, cui pater ejus illum commiserat ipso moriente et ducem rogavit ut puerum nutraret usque dum posset Denemarchiae regnum viriliter gubernare. Dux vero malitiam machinans juvenem hæredem rectum, Hauelok nomine, voluit occidisse. Puer vero comperiens a fugit per latibula usque dum quidam Anglieus et mercator in illis partibus adventaret; nomen autem mercatoris Grym vocitabatur. Hauelok autem, Grym rogans ut ipsum in Angliam transvectaret, ipse autem annuens, puerum secum condxit et cum eo per aliquot tempus apud Grymesby morabatur. Tandem ipsum ad curiam regis Edelfridi condxit et ibi in coquina regis moratus est.

Rex autem Edelfridus quamdam habuit sororem nomine Orwen et illum maritavit regi Athelberto, quod conjugium inter duos reges vinculum amoris catenavit. Rex autem Athelbert terram citra Trentam eum regio diademate occupavit, eum terra de Northfolk' et de Southfolk' et eis adjacentibus. Rex vero Edelfrid comitatum Lincolnie et Lyndcseye et eis spectantibus. Ante matrimonium puevae Orwen illi duo reges semper debellabant, post matrimonium factum nulla fuit divisio, nec in familia inter eos nec in dominio.

Rex vero Ethelbert de uxore sua quamdam filiam genuit, nomine Argentile, pulcherrimam valde. Athelberto obiente, vel ante mortem ejus, regem rogavit Edelfridum ut filiam sui homini fortissimo ac validiori totius sui regni in conjugium copularet, nihil doli vel mali machinans.

Rex autem Adelfrid omnem malitiam ingeminans de conjugio puellæ malitiosa disponens, cogitans se habere unum lìxam in coquina sua qui omnes homines regni sui in vigore et fortitudine superabat, et juxta votum patris puellæ ad illum hominem fortissimum illum generosam juvenculam toro maritale copulavit, ob cupiditatem regni puellæ ipsum ita enormiter maritabat. Hauelok in patria Danemarchie et Argentile in Britannia aequali sorte ad custodiendum deputati sunt, totum tamen nutu Divino cedebat eis in honorem. Nam Hauelok post paucos annos regnum Britanniae adoptus est, et a Saxonibus tandem occisus et apud le Stonhenge est sepultus. Pater ejus Kirkeban vocabatur.

This agrees closely with the accounts given above (§ 12 and § 13). The chief point to be noticed is that this account identifies Edelfrid with the Æthelfrith son of Æthelric who was king of the Northumbrians from a.d. 593 to 617, according to the
computation of the A. S. Chronicle, and who was succeeded by Eadwine son of Ælle, who drove out the æthelings or sons of Æthelfrith. It may be remarked further, that the same Æthelfrith is called Æluric by Laȝamon, who gives him a very bad character; see Laȝamon, ed. Madden, vol. iii. p. 195.

§ 16. The story is also mentioned by Henry de Knyghton, a canon of Leicester abbey, whose history concludes with the year 1395. But his is no fresh evidence, as it is evidently borrowed from the French Chronicle of Rauf de Boun; see § 7. It is also alluded to in a blundering manner in a short historical compilation extending from the time of Brutus to the reign of Henry VI., and preserved in MS. Cotton Calig. A. 2. At fol. 107 b is the passage—"Ethelwolde, qui generavit filiam de (sic) Haueloke de Denmarke, per quem Danes per cccc. annos postea fecerant clambeum Anglie." Some omission after the word de has turned the passage into nonsense; but it is noteworthy as expressing the claim of the Danes to the English crown by right of descent from Havelok; a claim which is more clearly expressed in MS. Harl. 63, in which the King of Denmark is represented as sending a herald to Æthelstan (A.D. 927)—"to witte wheder he wold fynde a man to fight with Colbrande for the righ[t]e of the kyngdom Northumbre, that the Danes had claymed byfore by the title of kyng Haueloke, that wedded Goldesburghe the kyngis daughter of Northumbre"—fol. 19. Four hundred years before this date would intimate some year early in the sixth century. Finally, the story is found at a later period in Caxton's Chronicle (A.D. 1480) as above intimated in § 12; whence it was adopted by Warner, and inserted into his poem entitled Albion's England; book iv. chap. 20, published in 1586. Warner called it the tale of "Argentile and Curan;" and in this ballad-shape it was reprinted in Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry (vol. ii. p. 261; ed. 1812) with the same title. Not long after, in 1617, another author, William Webster, published a larger poem in six-line stanzas; but this is a mere paraphrase of Warner. The title is—"The most


2 Quoted in a note in Sir F. Madden's preface, p. xxiii.
pleasant and delightful historie of Curan, a prince of Danske, and the fayre princesse Argentile," &c. John Fabian, in his Concordance of Historyes, first printed in 1516, alludes to the two kings Adelbryght and Edill, only to dismiss the "longe processe" concerning them, as not supported by sufficient authority. See p. 82 of the reprint by Ellis, 4to, 1811.

§ 17. The only other two sources whence any further light can be thrown upon our subject are the traditions of Denmark and Grimsby. A letter addressed by Sir F. Madden to Professor Rask elicited a reply which was equivalent to saying that next to nothing is known about it in Denmark. This seems to be the right place to mention a small book of 80 pages, published at Copenhagen in the present year (1868), and entitled "Sagnet om Havelok Danske; fortalt af Kristian Köster." It contains (1) a version, in Danish prose, of the English poem; (2) a version of the same story, following the French texts of the Arundel and Royal MSS.; and (3) some elucidations of the legend. The author proposes a theory that Havelok is really the Danish king Amlet, i.e. Hamlet; but I have not space here to state all his arguments. As far as I follow them, some of the chief ones are these: that Havelok ought to be found in the list of Danish kings;¹ that Hamlet's simulation of folly or madness is paralleled by Havelok's behaviour, as expressed in ll. 945—954 of our poem; and that both Hamlet and Havelok succeeded in fulfilling the revenge which they had long cherished secretly. But I am not much persuaded by these considerations, for, even granting some resemblance in the names,² the resemblance in the stories is very slight. But I must refer the reader to the book itself.

§ 18. Turning however to local traditions, we find that Camden briefly alludes to the story in a contemptuous manner

¹ So then ought Hamlet; but the editor of Saxo Grammaticus says, "in antiquioribus regum Danie genealogis Amlethus non occurrit." See Saxo Gram. ed. Müller, Havniae, 1839; end of lib. iii. and beginning of lib. iv.; also the note on p. 132 of the Note Uberiores. The idea that Havelock is Amlet is to be found in Grundtvig, North. Myth. 1832, p. 565.

² Havelok [or Hanelock, as it is sometimes read] is quite as like Anlaf, whence the blunder noticed in note i, p. xviii. In the form Habilok, it is not unlike Bleeca, who was a great man in Lindesey soon after the days of Ethelberht of Kent; see Saxon Chronicle, An. DCXXVII.
(p. 353; ed. 8vo, Lond. 1587); but Gervase Holles is far from being disposed to regard it as fabulous. "In his MSS. collections for Lincolnshire, preserved in MS. Harl. 6829, he thus speaks of the story we are examining."

"And it will not be amisse, to say something concerning ye Common tradition of her first founder Grime, as ye inhabitants (with a Catholique faith) name him. The tradition is thus. Grime (say they) a poore Fisherman (as he was launching into ye River for fish in his little boate vpon Humber) espyed not far from him another little boate, empty (as he might conceane) which by ye fauour of ye wynde & tyde still approached nearer & nearer vnto him. He betakes him to his oares, & meetes itt, wherein he founde onely a Childe wrapt in swathing clothes, purposely exposed (as it should seeme) to ye pittylesse [rage] of ye wilde & wide Ocean. He mowed with pitty, takes itt home, & like a good foster-father carefully nourisht itt, & endeavoured to nourishe it in his owne occupation: but ye child contrarily was wholy denoted to exercises of actunity, & when he began to write man, to martaill sports, & at length by his signall valour obteyned such renowne, ye he married ye King of England's daughter, & last of all founde who was his true Father, & that he was Sonne to ye King of Denmarke; & for ye comieke close of all; that Hauelocke (for such was his name) exceedingly advanced & enriched his foster-father Grime, who thus enriched, builded a fayre Towne neare the place where Hauelocke was founde, & named it Grimesby. Thus say some: others differ a little in ye circumstances, as namely, that Grime was not a Fisherman, but a Merchant, & that Hauelocke should be preferred to ye King's kitchin, & there line a longe tyme as a Scullion: but however ye circumstances differ, they all agree in ye consequence, as concerning ye Towne's foundation, to which (sayth ye story) Hauelocke ye Danish prince, afterward graunted many immunityes. This is ye famous Tradition concerning Grimsby whch learned Mr. Cambden gives so little creditt to, that he thinkes it onely illis dignissima, qui anilibus fabulis noctem solent protrudere."

And again, after shewing that by is the Danish for town, and quoting a passage about Havelock's father being named Gunter, which may be found in Weever (Ancient Funeral Monuments, fol. Lond. 1631, p. 749), he proceeds: that Hauelocke did sometymes reside in Grimsby, may be gathered from a great blew

¹ His account has been printed in the Topographer, V. i. p. 241. sq. 8vo, 1789. We follow, as usual, the MS. itself, p. 1.
Boundry-stone, lying at ye East ende of Briggowgate, which retaines ye name of Havelock's-Stone to this day. Agayne ye great priviledges & immunities, that this Towne hath in Denmarke above any other in England (as freedome from Toll, & ye rest) may fairely induce a Beleife, that some preceeding favour, or good turne called on this remuneration. But lastly (which proofe I take to be instar omnium) the Common Seale of ye Towne, & that a most auncient one," &c. [Here follows a description of the Seale.]

"The singular fact," adds Sir F. Madden, "alluded to by Holles, of the Burgesses of Grimsby being free from toll at the Port of Elsinour, in Denmark, is confirmed by the Rev. G. Oliver, in his Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby, 8vo, Hull, 1825, who is inclined from that, and other circumstances, to believe the story is not so totally without foundation." There is also an absurd local story that the church at Grimsby, which has now but one turret, formerly had four, three of which were kicked down by Grim in his anxiety to destroy some hostile vessels. The first fell among the enemy's fleet; the second dropped in Wellowgate, and is now Havelock's stone; the third fell within the church-yard, but the fourth his strength failed to move. Perhaps amongst the most interesting notices of the story are the following words by Sir Henry Havelock, whose family seems to have originally resided in Durham. His own account, however, is this. "My father, William Havelock, descended from a family which formerly resided at Grimsby in Lincolnshire, and was himself born at Guisborough in Yorkshire."¹ And it may at least be said with perfect truth, that if the name of Havelock was not famous formerly, it is famous now.

§ 19. The last evidence for the legend is the still-existing seal of the corporation of Great Grimsby. The engraving of this seal, as it appears in the present edition, was made from a copy kindly furnished to the E. E. T. S. by the Mayor of Grimsby, and I here subjoin a description of it, communicated to me by J. Hopkin, Esq., Jun., of Grimsby, which was first printed, in a slightly different form, in Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, vol. xi. p. 41; see also p. 216.

¹ Quoted in Brock's Biography of Sir H. Havelock, 1858; p. 9.
"The ancient Town Seal of Great Grimsby is engraven on a circular piece of brass not very thick; and on the back, which is rather arched, is a small projecting piece of brass, placed as a substitute for a handle, in order when taking an impression the more easily to detach the matrix from the wax. This seal is in an excellent state of preservation, and is inscribed in Saxon characters 'Sigillvm Comunitatis Grimebye' and represents thereon Gryme ('Gryem') who by tradition is reported to have been a native of Souldburg in Denmark, where he gained a precarious livelihood by fishing and piracy; but having, as is supposed, during the reign of Ethelbert,¹ been accidentally driven into the Humber by a furious storm, he landed on the Lincolnshire Coast near Grimsby, he being at this time miserably poor and almost destitute of the common necessaries of life; for Leland represents this 'poor fisschar' as being so very needy that he was not 'able to kepe his sunne Cuaran for poverty.' Gryme, finding a capacious haven adapted to his pursuits, built himself a house and commenced and soon succeeded in establishing a very lucrative trade with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Other Merchants having in process of time settled near him, attracted by the commercial advantages offered by this excellent Harbour, they jointly constructed convenient appendages for extensive Trade, and the colony soon rose into considerable importance, and became known at an early period by the name of Grimsby. For not only was Grimsby constituted a borough so early as the seventh century, but Peter of Langtoft speaks of it as a frontier Town and the boundary of a Kingdom erected by the conquests of Egbert in the year 827, which he states included all that portion of the Island which lay between 'the maritime Towns of Grymsby and Dover.' So that even at that period, Grimsby must have been a place of peculiar strength and importance. Gryme is represented on the seal as a man of gigantic stature with comparatively short hair, a shaven chin, and a moustache, holding in his right hand a drawn sword and bearing on his left arm a circular shield with an ornate boss and rim. The sleeveless tunic above his under vest is most probably the panzar or panzara of the Danes. Between his feet is a Conic object, possibly intended for a helmet, as it resembles the chapelle-de-fer worn by William Rufus on his Great Seal, and which in the laws of Gula is distinguished as the Steel hufe. On the right hand of Gryme stands his protégé Haveloc ('Habloc'), whom, during one of his mercantile excursions soon after his arrival in Lincolnshire, Gryme had the good fortune to save

¹ Ethelberht of Kent reigned from A.D. 560—616 (56 years).
from imminent danger of Shipwreck, and who proved to be the Son of Gunter, King of Denmark, and who was therefore conveyed to the British Court, where he subsequently received in marriage Goldburgh, the Daughter of the British Sovereign. Above Gryme is represented a hand, being emblematical of the hand of providence by which Haveloc was preserved, and near the hand is the star which marks the point where the inscription begins and ends. Haveloc made such a favourable representation of his preserver at the British and Danish Courts, that he procured for him many honours and privileges. From the British Monarch Gryme, who had already realised an abundance of wealth, received a charter, and was made the chief governor of Grimsby; and the Danish Sovereign granted to the Town an immunity (which is still possessed by the Burgesses of Grimsby) from all Tolls at the Port of Elsieur. Gryme afterwards lived in Grimsby like a petty prince in his Hereditary Dominions. Above Haveloc is represented a crown and in his right hand is a battle axe, the favourite weapon of the Northmen, and in his right hand is a ring which he is presenting to the British Princess Goldburgh ('Goldebyrg'), who stands on the left side of Gryme and whose right hand is held towards the Ring. Over her head is a Regal Diadem, and in her left hand is a Sceptre. Sir F. Madden states that it is certain that this seal is at least as old as the time of Edward I. (and therefore contemporaneous with the MS.) as the legend is written in a character which after the year 1300 fell into disuse, and was succeeded by the black letter, or Gothic."

§ 20. Sketch of the Story of "Le Lai d'Aueloc." ¹

It is my intention to offer some remarks on the probable sources of the legend, and to fix a conjectural date for the existence of Havelok. But it is obviously convenient that a sketch of the story should first be given. It appears, however, that the resemblance between the French and English versions is by no means very close, and it will be necessary to give separate abstracts of them. I begin with the French version, in which I follow the Norfolk MS. rather than the abridgment by Gaimar. I have already said that the former is printed in Sir F. Madden's edition, and that it was reprinted by M. Michel with the title "Lai d'Havelok le Danois," Paris, 1833, and by Mr Wright for the Caxton Society in 1850.

¹ For this latter portion of the Preface I am entirely responsible.
The Britons made a lay concerning King Havelok, who is surnamed Cuaran. His father was Gunter, King of the Danes. Arthur crossed the sea, and invaded Denmark. Gunter perished by the treason of Hodulf, who gained the kingdom, and held it of Arthur. Gunter had a fine castle, where his wife and son were guarded, being committed to the protection of Grim. The child was but seven years old; but ever as he slept, an odorous flame issued from his mouth. Hodulf sought to kill him, but Grim prepared a ship, and furnished it with provisions, wherein he placed the queen and the child, and set sail from Denmark. On their voyage they encountered pirates ("outlajhes"), who killed them all after a hard fight, excepting Grim, who was an acquaintance of theirs, and Grim's wife and children. Havelok also was saved. They at last arrived at the haven, afterwards named "Grimesbi" from Grim. Grim there resumed his old trade, a fisherman's, and a town grew up round his hut, which was called Grimsby. The child grew up, and waxed strong. One day Grim said to him, "Son, you will never thrive as a fisherman; take your brothers with you, and seek service amongst the King's servants." He was soon well appareled, and repaired with his two foster-brothers to Nicole [Lincoln].

Now at that time there was a king named Alsi, who ruled over all Nicole and Lindesie; but the country southward was governed by another king, named Ekenbright, who had married Alsi's sister Orewen. These two had one only daughter, named Argentille. Ekenbright, falling ill, committed Argentille to the care of Alsi, till she should be of age to be married to the strongest man that can be found. At Ekenbright's death, Alsi reigned over both countries, holding his court at Nicole. Havelok, on his arrival there, was employed to carry water and cut wood, and to perform all menial offices requiring great strength. He was named Cuaran, which means—in the British language—a scullion. Argentille soon arrived at marriageable age, and Alsi determined to marry her to Cuaran, which would sufficiently fulfil her father's wish—Cuaran being confessedly the strongest man in those parts. To this marriage he compelled her to consent, hoping thereby to disgrace her for ever. Havelok was unwilling that his wife should perceive the marvellous flame, but soon forgot this, and ere long fell asleep. Then had Argentille a strange vision—that a savage bear and some foxes attacked Cuaran, but dogs and boars defended him. A boar having killed the bear, the foxes cried for quarter from Cuaran,

1 Nicole is a French inversion of Lincoln. It is not uncommon.
2 The northern part of Lincolnshire is called Lindsey.
who commanded them to be bound. Then he would have put to sea, but the sea rose so high that he was terrified. Next she beheld two lions, at seeing which she was frightened, and she and Cuaran climbed a tree to avoid them; but the lions submitted themselves to him, and called him their lord. Then a great cry was raised, whereat she awoke, and beheld the miraculous flame. “Sir,” she exclaimed, “you burn!” But he reassured her, and, having heard her dream, said that it would soon come true. The next day, however, she again told her dream to a chamberlain, her friend, who said that he well knew a holy hermit who could explain it. The hermit explained to Argentille that Cuaran must be of royal lineage. “He will be king,” he said, “and you a queen. Ask him concerning his parentage. Remember also to repair to his native place.” On being questioned, Cuaran replied that he was born at Grimsby; that Grim was his father, and Sabure his mother. “Then let us go to Grimsby,” she replied. Accompanied by his two foster-brothers, they came to Grimsby; but Grim and Sabure were both dead. They found there, however, a daughter of Grim’s, named Kelloc, who had married a tradesman of that town. Up to this time Havelok had not known his true parentage, but Kelloc thought it was now time to tell him, and said: “Your father was Gunter, the King of the Danes, whom Hodulf slew. Hodulf obtained the kingdom as a grant from Arthur. Grim fled with you, and saved your life; but your mother perished at sea. Your name is Havelok. My husband will convey you to Denmark, where you must inquire for a lord named ‘Sigar I’estal;’ and take with you my two brothers.” So Kelloc’s husband conveyed them to Denmark, and advised Havelok to go to Sigar and show himself and his wife, as then he would be asked who his wife is. They went to the city of the seneschal, the before-named Sigar, where they craved a night’s lodging, and were courteously entertained. But as they retired to a lodging for the night, six men attacked them, who had been smitten with the beauty of Argentille. Havelok defended himself with an axe which he found, and slew five, whereupon the sixth fled. Havelok and his party fled away for refuge to a monastery, which was soon attacked by the townsmen who had heard of the combat. Havelok mounted the tower, and defended himself bravely, casting down a huge stone on his enemies.1 The news soon reached the ears of Sigar, who hastened to see what the uproar was about. Behold-

1 Hence the obvious origin of the legend of “Havelok’s stone,” and the local tradition about Grim’s casting down stones from the tower of Grimsby church.
ing Havelok fixedly, he called to mind the form and appearance of Gunter, and asked Havelok of his parentage. Havelok replied that Grim had told him he was by birth a Dane, and that his mother perished at sea; and ended by briefly relating his subsequent adventures. Then Sigar asked him his name. "My name is Havelok," he said, "and my other name is Cuaran." Then the seneschal took him home, and determined to watch for the miraculous flame, which he soon perceived, and was assured that Havelok was the true heir. Therefore he gathered a great host of his friends, and sent for the horn which none but the true heir could sound, promising a ring to any one who could blow it. When all had failed, it was given to Havelok, who blew it loud and long, and was joyfully recognized and acknowledged to be the true King. Then with a great army he attacked Hodulf the usurper, whom he slew with his own hand. Thus was Havelok made King of Denmark.

But after he had reigned four years, his wife incited him to return to England. With a great number of ships he sailed there, and arrived at Carleflure;¹ and sent messengers to Alsi, demanding the inheritance of Argentille. Alsi was indeed astonished at such a demand as coming from a scullion, and offered him battle. The hosts met at Theford,² and the battle endured till nightfall without a decisive result. But Argentille craftily advised her lord to support his dead men by stakes, to increase the apparent number of his army; and the next day Alsi, deceived by this device, treated for peace, and yielded up to his former ward all the land, from Holland ³ to Gloucester. Alsi had been so sorely wounded that he lived but fifteen days longer. Thus was Havelok king over Lincoln and Lindsey, and reigned over them for twenty years. Such is the lay of Cuaran.

§ 21. The chief points to be noticed in Gaimar's abridgment are the few additional particulars to be gleaned from it. We there find that Havelok's mother was Alvive, a daughter of King Gaifer; that the King of Nicole and Lindescie was a Briton, and was named Edelsie; that his sister, named Orwain, was married to Adelbrit, a Dane, who ruled over Norfolk; and that Edelsie and Adelbrit lived in the days of Costentin (Constantine), who

¹ Possibly Saltfleet, suggests Mr Haigh. Such, at least, is the position required by the circumstances.
² In the Durham MS. it is Tiedfort, i.e. Tetford, not far from Horncastle, in Lincolnshire.
³ A name given to the S.E. part of Lincolnshire
succeeded Arthur. It is also said that the usurper Hodulf was brother to Aschis, who is the Achilles of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Another statement, that Havelok’s kingdom extended from Holland to Colchester, seems to be an improvement upon “from Holland to Gloucester.”

The words of Mr Petrie, in his remarks upon the lay in Monumenta Historica Britannica, vol. i., may be quoted here. “Although both [French versions] have the same story in substance, and often contain lines exactly alike, yet, besides the different order in which the incidents are narrated, each has occasionally circumstances wanting in the other, and such too, it should seem, as would leave the story incomplete unless supplied from the other copy. Thus, the visit to the hermit, which is omitted in Gaimar, was probably in the original romance; for without it Argentille’s dream tells for nothing; and in the Arundel copy there is a particular account of Haveloc’s defence of a tower by hurling stones on his assailants, which in Gaimar is so obscurely alluded to as to be hardly intelligible. On the other hand, instead of the description of the extraordinary virtues of Sygar’s ring in Gaimar, it is merely said in the Arundel copy that Sygar would give his anel d’or to whoever could sound the horn; and, to omit other instances, a festival is described in Gaimar on the authority of l’Estoric, of which no notice whatever occurs in the Arundel MS.”


The “Lay of Havelok” has been admirably paraphrased by Professor Morley, in his “English Writers,” vol. i. pp. 459—467, a book which should be in every reader’s hands, and which should by all means be consulted. I only intend here to give a briefer outline, for the sake of comparing the main features of our poem with those of the French Lai.

Hear the tale of Havelok! There was once a good king in England, named Athelwold, renowned and beloved for his justice. He had but one child, a daughter named Goldborough. Knowing that his end was approaching, he sent for all his lords to assemble at Winchester, and there committed Goldborough to the care of Godrich, the earl of Cornwall; directing him to see her married
to the strongest and fairest man whom he could find. But Godrich imprisoned her at Dover, and resolved to seize her inheritance for his own son. At that time there was also a King of Denmark, named Birkabeyn, who had one son, Havelok, and two daughters, Swanborough and Helfled. At the approach of death, he committed these to the care of Earl Godard. But Godard killed the two girls, and only spared Havelok because he did not like to kill him with his own hand. He therefore hired a fisherman, named Grim, to drown Havelok at sea. But Grim perceived, as Havelok slept, a miraculous light shining round the lad, whereby he knew that the child was the true heir, and would one day be king. In order to avoid Godard, Grim fitted up a ship, and provisioned it, and with his wife Leve, his three sons, his two daughters, and Havelok, put out to sea. They landed in Lindesey at the mouth of the Humber, at a place afterwards named Grimsby after Grim. Grim worked at his old trade, a fisherman's, and Havelok carried about the fish for sale. Then arose a great dearth in the land, and Havelok went out to seek his own livelihood, walking to Lincoln barefoot. He was hired as a porter by the earl of Cornwall's cook, and drew water and cut wood for the earl's kitchen. One day some men met to contend in games and to "put the stone." At the cook's command, Havelok also put the stone, hurling it further than any of the rest. Godrich, hearing the praises of Havelok's strength, at once resolved to perform his oath by causing him to marry Goldborough; and carried his design into execution. As soon as the pair were married, Havelok suddenly quitted Lincoln with his wife, and returned to Grimsby, where he found that Grim was dead, but that his five children are yet alive. At night, Goldborough perceived a light shining round about Havelok, and observed a cross upon his shoulder. At the same time she heard an angel's voice, telling her of good fortune to come. Then he awoke, and told her a dream; how he had dreamt that all Denmark and England became his own. She encouraged him, and urged him to set sail for Denmark at once. He accordingly called to him Grim's three sons, and narrated to them his own history, and Godard's treachery, asking them to accompany him to Denmark. To this they assented, and sailed with him and Goldborough to Denmark. There he sought out a former friend of his father's, Earl Ubbe, who invited him and his friends to a sumptuous feast. After the feast, Havelok and Goldborough and Grim's sons went to the house of one Bernard Brown, whose house was that night attacked by sixty thieves. By dint of

1 Here again is an allusion to "Havelok's stone."
great prowess, the friends at length slew all their sixty assailants, and Ubbe was so amazed at Havelok’s valour that he resolved to dub him a knight, and invited him to sleep in his own castle. At night, he peeped into Havelok’s chamber, and beheld the marvellous light, and saw a bright cross on his neck. Rejoiced at heart, he did homage to Havelok, and commanded all his friends and dependents to do the same. He also dubbed him knight, and proclaimed him King. With six thousand men he set out to attack Godard, whom he defeated and made prisoner, and afterwards caused to be flayed, drawn, and hung. Then Havelok swore that he would establish at Grimsby a priory of black monks, to pray for Grim’s soul; and Godrich, having heard that Havelok has invaded England, raised a great army against him. An indecisive combat took place between Ubbe and Godrich, but a more decisive one between Godrich and Havelok; for Havelok cut off his foe’s hand and made him prisoner. Then the English submitted to Goldborough, and acknowledged her as queen; but Godrich was condemned and burnt. Havelok rewarded both his own friends and the English nobles; for he caused Earl Reyner of Chester to marry Gunild, Grim’s daughter, and Bertram, formerly Godrich’s cook, to marry Levive, another of Grim’s daughters; bestowing upon Bertram the earldom of Cornwall. Then were Havelok and Goldborough crowned at London, and a feast was given that lasted forty days. The kingdom of Denmark was bestowed upon Ubbe, who held it of King Havelok. Havelok and Goldborough lived to the age of a hundred years, and their reign lasted for sixty years in England. They had fifteen children, who were all kings and queens. Such is the geste of Havelok and Goldborough.

§ 23. Possible date of Havelok’s reign.

The various allusions to the story of Havelok already cited naturally lead us to consider the question as to what date we should refer such circumstances of the story as may have some foundation in truth, or such circumstances as may have originated the story. I do not look upon this as altogether a hopeless or profitless inquiry, for it seems to me that a theory may be constructed which will readily and easily fit in with most of the statements of our authorities. In the first place, to place Havelok’s father in the time of Alfred, as is done by Peter de Langtoft and his translators, is absurd, and evidently due to the confusion between the names of Gunter and Godrum or Guthrum. We
may even adduce Langtoft's evidence against himself, as he alludes to Grimsby as being the boundary of Egbert's kingdom; and indeed, the mere fact of its being a British lay points to a time before the establishment of the Heptarchy. As already suggested in § 16, some of the authorities point to the sixth century. But the evidence of the French poem and of Gaimar points still more steadily to a similar early date. There we find Gunter appearing as the enemy, not of Alfred, but of Arthur. The French prose chronicle of the Brute places Adelbright and Edelfi after the death of Constantine, and it is clear that there is some close connection between the British lay of Havelok and the British Chronicle. The Godrich of the English version is the Alsi of the French poem, the Edelsi of Gaimar, the Adelsfrid 1 or Edelfrid of the Eulogium Historiarum, the Elfroi of Wace, the ÆElurie of Lažamón, the ÆEthelfrith who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria A. D. 593, according to the Saxon Chronicle. The Athelwold of the English version is the Adelbrict of Gaimar, the Ekenbright of the French poem, the Athelbert of the Eulogium Historiarum, the Aldebar of Wace, and the ÆEthelbert of Lažamón, i. e. no other than the celebrated Æthelberht of Kent, who was baptized by St Augustine A. D. 596, according to the Saxon Chronicle. This is the right clue to the names, from which, when once obtained, the rest follows easily. The variations between the English and French versions are very great, and it is clear that each poet proceeded much as poets are accustomed to do. Taking a legend as the general guide or thread of a narrative, it is the simplest and easiest plan to dress it up after one's own fashion, and to draw upon the materials that are supplied by the general surroundings of the story. I feel confident that the narrators of the Lay of Havelok must have used materials not much unlike those used by Lažamón, and a mere comparison of the French and English lays with Lažamón will amply suffice to elucidate this. ÆElurie is first mentioned at p. 195 of vol. iii. of Lažamón, as edited by Sir F. Madden; if we allow ourselves a margin on both sides of this, we may find many things akin to the lay of Havelok

1 Hence, by confusion, the placing of Havelok's father in the time of Ælfréd.
between pages 150 and 282 of that volume, as I will now shew. The character of the good king Athelwold is taken from that of Æthelberht of Kent, and his love of justice may remind us of the ancient collection of laws which are still extant as having been made by that king. His extensive rule, such as is also attributed to Godrich and Havelok, may point to the title of Bretwalda, which Æthelberht so long coveted, and at last obtained. Our poet, in describing Birkabeyn, repeats this character so exactly, and makes the circumstances of the deaths of Athelwold and Birkabeyn so similar, that they are almost indistinguishable; a fault which he doubles by repeating the character of Godrich in describing that of Godard. Both of these answer to Laȝamon's Æluric, who was "the wickedest of all kings" (Laȝ. iii. 195). So far, perhaps, the connection of the various stories is not very evident, but I will now mention an obvious coincidence. The quarrel and reconciliation between Athelbert and Edelfrid, as told in the Eulogium Historiarum, &c., exactly answers to the quarrel and reconciliation between Cadwan and Æluric as told in Laȝamon (vol. iii. p. 205); where Cadwan has come forward in place of Æthelberht, who has by this time dropped out of Laȝamon's narrative. Again, the Gunter or Gurmond who was Havelok's father reminds us of the Gurmund of Laȝamon (p. 156), who is curiously described as king of Africa; but the name is Danish. The character of Grim is fairly paralleled by that of Brian, who makes sea-voyages, and goes about as a merchant (Laȝamon, iii. 232). In several respects Havelok may have been drawn from Cadwalan, whose gallant attempts to gain the king of Northumberland are recorded in Laȝamon (iii. 216—254); his opponent being Edwin, who has replaced Ethelfrid as Laȝamon's narrative proceeds. At last he overthrows him and slays him in the great battle of Heathfield or Hatfield, which took place, according to the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 633. This great battle resembles the decisive one between Havelok and Godrich. As Cadwalan was well supported by his liegeman Penda (Laȝamon, iii. 251), so was Havelok by Ubbe. Again, Cadwalan marries Helen, whom he found at

—Þan castle of Deoure
on þere sæ œure; (Laȝamon, iii. 250),
which reminds us of Havelok’s wife Goldborough, who was imprisoned at

—doure

\[ \text{pat standeth on pe seisoure} \]; (l. 320).

The very name Helen, though not the name of Havelok’s wife, was that of his mother, who was killed by the pirates. For the connection between Laʒamon’s Helen and pirates, see Sir F. Madden’s note, vol. iii. p. 428. There is a most curious contradiction in the English lay about Havelok’s religion; in l. 2520 he is a devout Christian, but in l. 2580 Godrich speaks of him as being a cruel pagan. Now it was just about this very time that Paulinus preached in Lindsey, “where the first that believed was a powerful man called Blecca, with all his followers” (A.S. Chron. ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 21; a. d. 627). Havelok, according to some, was buried at Stonehenge; but so was Constantine (Laʒamon, iii. 151). A dearth is mentioned in the English lay (l. 824); cf. Laʒamon, iii. 279. And I may here add another coincidence, of an interesting but certainly of a very circuitous nature. A close examination of the Lay of King Horn shews that there is no real connection between the story therein contained and that of Havelok. Yet there is a connection after a sort. Though by different authors, and in different metre, both lays are found in English in the same MS.; both versions belong to the same date; both are from French versions, written by Englishmen from British sources; and now, if we compare King Horn with the very part of Laʒamon now under consideration, there is at once seen to be a most exact resemblance in one point. The story of the ring given by Horn to Rymenhild (K. Horn, ed. Lumby, ll. 1026—1210) is remarkably like that of the ring whereby Brian is recognized by his sister (Laʒamon, iii. 234—238). But it is hardly worth while to pursue the subject further. It may suffice to suppose that the period of the existence of Havelok and Grim may be referred to the times of Æthelberht of Kent and Æthelfrith and Eadwine of Northumbria.\(^1\) It is exceedingly probable that Havelok was never more than a chief or a petty prince, and

\(^1\) Or, as I should prefer to say, earlier than those times. The two kings spoken of in the Lay may have had names somewhat similar to these, which may have been replaced by the more familiar names here mentioned.
whether he was a Danish or only a British enemy of the Angles is not of very great importance. If, however, more exact dates be required, they may be found in "The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons," by Daniel P. Haigh, London, 1861, pp. 363–367; where the following dates are suggested. Havelok's father slain, A.D. 487; his expedition to Denmark, A.D. 507; his reign in England, A.D. 511–531, or a little later. These dates follow a system which is here about 16 years earlier than the dates in the A.S. Chronicle. His results are obtained from totally different considerations. On the whole, let us place Havelok in the sixth century, at some period of his life.

§ 24. It is, perhaps, worthy of a passing remark that some of the circumstances in the Lay may have been suggested by the romantic story of Eadwine of Northumbria, who was also born at the close of the sixth century. For he it was who really married the daughter of Æthelberht, and it was the archbishop of York, Paulinus, who performed the ceremony. The relation of how Eadwine was persecuted by Æthelfrith, how he fled and was protected by Rædwald, king of the East Angles, how he saw a vision of an angel who promised his restoration to the throne and that his rule should exceed that of his predecessors, how, with the assistance of Rædwald, he overthrew and slew Æthelfrith in a terrible battle beside the river Idle, may be found in Beda's Ecclesiastical History, bk. II. ch. 9–16. In the last of these chapters there is again mention of Bleccia, the governor of the city of Lincoln. Sir F. Madden, in his note to l. 45, speaks of the extraordinary proofs of the peaceable state of the country in the reign of Ælfric; but Beda uses similar language in speaking of the reign of Eadwine; and the earlier instance is even more remarkable. "It is reported that there was then such perfect peace in Britain, wheresoever the dominion of King Edwin extended, that, as is still proverbially said, a woman with her new-born babe might walk throughout the island, from sea to sea, without receiving any harm. That king took such care for the good of his nation, that in several places where he had seen clear springs near the highways, he caused stakes to be fixed, with brass dishes hanging

at them, for the conveniency of travellers; nor durst any man touch them for any other purpose than that for which they were designed, either through the dread they had of the king, or for the affection which they bore him, &c."¹ Readers who are acquainted with the pleasing poem of "Edwin of Deira," by the late Alexander Smith, will remember his adventures; and it may be noted, as an instance of the manner in which poets alter names at pleasure, that Mr Smith gives to Æthelfrith the name of Ethelbert, to Eadwine's wife Æthelburh, that of Bertha, and to his father Ælle, that of Egbert. My theory of the Lay of Havelok is then simply this, that I look upon it as the general result of various narratives connected with the history of Northumbria and Lindsey at the close, or possibly the beginning, of the sixth century, gathered round some favourite local (i.e. Lincolnshire) tradition as a nucleus. A similar theory may be true of the Lay of Horn.

§ 25. On the names "Curan" and "Havelok."

The French version tells us that Coaran, Cuaran, or Cuheran is the British word for a scullion. This etymology has not hitherto been traced, but it may easily have been perfectly true. A glance at Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary shews us that the Gaelic cearn (which answers very well to the Old English hirne, a corner) has the meaning of a corner, and, secondly, of a kitchen; and that cearnach is an adjective meaning of or belonging to a kitchen. But we may come even nearer than this; for by adding the diminutive ending -an to the Gaelic cocaire, a cook, we see that Cuheran may really have conveyed the idea of scullion to a British ear, and this probably further gave rise to the story of Havelok's degradation. It is a common custom—one which true etymologists must always deplore—to invent a story to account for a derivation; and such a practice is invariably carried out with greater boldness and to a greater extent if the said derivation chances to be false. For it is possible that Curan may be simply the Gaelic curan, a brave man, and the Irish curanta, brave. The derivation of Havelok is certainly puzzling.

¹ See the same statement in Fabian's Chronicles, p. 112; ed. Ellis, 1811.
Professor Rask declared it to have no meaning in Danish. It bears, however, a remarkable resemblance to the Old English gavelok, which occurs in Weber's Kyng Alisaunder, l. 1620, and which is the A.S. gafeluc, Icel. gaflok, Welsh gaflach, a spear, dart, or javelin. This is an appropriate name for a warrior, and possibly reappears in the instance of Hugh Kevelock, earl of Chester (Bp. Percy's Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, i. 128). It is remarkable that the Gaelic and Irish corran has the same sense, that of a spear, whilst curan, as above-mentioned, means a brave man. It is best, perhaps, to stop here; for etymology, when pursued too far, is wont to beguile the pursuer into every possible quagmire of absurdity.

§ 26. Description of the MS., &c.

The MS. from which the present poem is printed is in the Laudian collection in the Bodleian Library, where its old mark is K 60, and its present one Misc. 108. Being described in the old printed catalogue merely as Vitæ Sanctorum, the romance was in consequence for a long time overlooked. The Lives of the Saints occupy a large portion of the volume, and are probably to be ascribed to the authorship of Robert of Gloucester. "These Lives or Festivals," says Sir F. Madden, "are [here] 61 in number, written in long Alexandrine verse. Then succeed the Sayings of St Bernard and the Visions of St Paul, both in six-line stanzas; the Disputatio inter Corpus et Animam, the English Romance of Havelok, the Romance of Kyng Horn, and some additions in a hand of the 15th century, including the lives of St Blaise, St Cecilia, and St Alexius, and an alliterative poem intitled Somer Soneday, making in all the Contents of the Volume to amount to 70 pieces." The lays of Havelok and Horn are written out in the same handwriting, of an early date; certainly not later than the end of the thirteenth century. The Havelok begins on fol. 204, and is written in double columns, each column containing 45 lines. A folio is lost between fol. 211 and 212, but no notice of this has been taken in numbering the folios; hence the catchword which should have been found at the bottom of fol. 215 b, appears at the bottom of fol. 214 b (see l. 2164). The poem terminates at the
27th line on fol. 219 b, and is immediately followed by Kyng Horn in the same column. The character of the handwriting is bold and square, but the words are very close together. The initial letter of every line is written a little way apart from the rest, as in William of Palerne, and other MSS. Both the long and short s (f and ș) are used. The long s is in general well distinguished from f, and on this account I have taken the liberty of printing both esses alike, as my experience in printing the Romans of Partenay proved that the difficulty of avoiding misprints is greater than the gain of representing the difference between them. The chief point of interest is that, as in early MSS., the long s is sometimes found at the end of a word, as in “uf” in l. 22, and “if” in l. 23. The following are all the examples of the use of this letter in the first 26 lines; fo (4), wicetfte (9), ftede (10), crift, fchilde (16), Krišt, fo (17), fo (19), fchal (21), Kriſt, uf (22), if (23), ftalworpi (24), ṭalworpefte (25), ftede (26). With this exception, the present reprint is a faithful representation of the original; for, as the exact fidelity of a text is of the first importance, I have been careful to compare the proof-sheets with the MS. twice throughout; besides which, the original edition is itself exceedingly correct, and had been re-read by Sir F. Madden with the MS. His list of errata (nearly all of them of minor importance) agreed almost exactly with my own. A great difficulty is caused by the use of the Saxon letter w (ƿ). This letter, the thorn-letter (þ), and y, are all three made very nearly alike. In general, the y is dotted, but the dot is occasionally omitted. Wherever the letter really appears to be a w, I have denoted it by printing the w as an italic letter. The following are, I believe, the only examples of it. Wit-drow = withdrew, l. 502; we, 1058; was, 1129 (cf. “him was ful wa,” Sir Tristr. f. iii. st. 43); berwen, 1426 (written “berwen” in l. 697); wat = said (t), 1674; we, miswritten for wo = who, 1914; to which perhaps we may add wit, 997. This evidence is interesting as shewing that this letter was then fast going out of use, and I think that we may safely date the final disappearance of this letter from MSS. at about the year 1300. As regards the th, we may remark that at the end of a word both þ and th are used, as in “norþ and suth,”
l. 434; sometimes th occurs in the middle of a word, as "sithen," l. 1238, which is commonly written "sípen," as in l. 399. The words ðæ, ðæt, ðær, &c., are hardly ever written otherwise. But the reader will remark many instances in which th final seems to have the hard sound of t, as in brouth, 57, nouith, 58, līth, 534, pouth, 1190, &c.; cf. § 27. The letter t is sometimes shortened so as nearly to resemble c, and c is sometimes lengthened into t. The letters n and ñ are occasionally alike, but the difference between them is commonly well marked. The i has a long stroke over it when written next to m or n. On the whole, the writing is very clear and distinct, after a slight acquaintance with it. The poem is marked out into paragraphs by the use of large letters. I have introduced a slight space at the end of each paragraph, to shew this more clearly.

§ 27. On the grammatical forms occurring in the poem.

The following peculiarities of spelling may be first noted. We frequently find ð prefixed to words which it is usual to spell without one. Examples are: holde for old, hete for ete (eat), het for et (ate), heuere for euere, Henglishe for Englishe, &c.; see the Glossary, under the letter H. This enables us to explain some words which at first appear puzzling; thus her = er, ere; hayse = ayse, ease; helde = elde, old age; hore = ore, grace; hende = ende, which in one passage means end, but in another a duck. The forms hof, hus, hure, for of, us, ure are such as we should hardly have expected to find. On the other hand, ð is omitted in the words auelok, aueden, oset, and in is for his (l. 2254). These instances, and other examples such as follow, may readily be found by help of the Glossarial Index. Again, d final after l or ñ was so slightly sounded as to be omitted even in writing. Examples are: lon for loud, hel for held, bihel for biheld, skel for sheld, gol for gold. But a more extraordinary omission is that of r final in the, neythe, othe, douthe, which does not seem to be satisfactorily explained even by the supposition that the scribe may have omitted the small upward curl which does duty for er so frequently in MSS. For we further find the omission of l final, as in mike for mikel, we for wel, and of t final, as in bes for best; from which
instances we should rather infer some peculiarity of pronunciation rendering final letters indistinct, of which there are numerous examples, as *fie* for *field*, in modern provincial English. Cf. *il* for *ilk*, in ll. 818, 1740; and *twel* for *twelf*. “From the same license,” says Sir F. Madden, “arises the frequent repetition of such rhythm as *riden* and *side*, where the final *n* seems to have been suppressed in pronunciation. Cf. ll. 29, 254, 957, 1105, 1183, 2098, &c., and hence we perceive how readily the infinitive verbal Saxon termination glided into its subsequent form. The broad pronunciation of the dialect in which the poem was written is also frequently discernible, as in *slawen*, l. 2676, and *knaue*, l. 949, which rhyme to *Rauen* and *plawe*.¹ So likewise, *bothe* or *bethe* is, in sound, equivalent to *rede*, ll. 360, 694, 1680.” Other peculiarities will be noticed in discussing the Metre. Observe also the Anglo-Saxon *hw* for the modern *wh*, exemplified by *hwo*, 368, *hwan*, 474, *hwer*, 294, *hwere*, 549, *hwil*, 301; compare also *qual*, *qui*, *quan*, meaning *whale*, *why*, *when*.² The letter *w* (initial) is the modern provincial ’oo’, as in *wif*, *wluine*, *wman*; cf. *hw*, *w*, both forms of *how*; and *lowerd* for *louerd*. In particular, we should notice the hard sound of *t* denoted by *th* in the words *with*, *rithe*, *brought*, *mouth*, *richth*, *knieth*, meaning *white*, *right*, *brought*, *naught*, *right*, *knight*; so too *douther*, *daughter*, *neth*, *a net*, *uth*, *out*, *wot*, *leth*, *let*, *lauth* (*laught*), *caught*, *nither-tale* (*nigher-tale*), night-time.³ On the other hand, *t* stands for *th* in *hauet*, 564, *seyt*, 647, *hernket*, 1, *wit*, 100. When *th* answers to the modern sound, it seems equivalent to A.S. & rather than to A.S. *þ*; examples are *mouth*, 433, *oth*, 260, *loth*, 261. *Y* and *g* are interchangeable, as in *yaf*, *yaf*, *youno*, *gouen*; *g* even occurs for *k*, as in *rang*, 2561. In MSS., *e* is not uncommonly written by

¹ “Cf. K. Horn, 1005, where *hane* rhymes with *plawe.*”—M. Mr A. J. Ellis would consider *slawen*, *knaue*, &c., as assonances—“Do not think of the pronunciation of modern *drawen*. Read *sla-wen*, *kna-ue*, an assonance. *Befe* does not rhyme to *reden*; it is only an assonance.”—Ellis. On the other hand, we find the spellings *rathe*, *rotte* instead of *rede* in ll. 1335 and 2817.

² “*Qual* = *quhat*, the aspirate being omitted; and *quhat* = *what*.”—Ellis.

mistake for o; this may perhaps account for hele, 2472, moste, 233, her, 1924, which should rather be holde, 30, moste, and hor, 235; there is a like confusion of weren and wore; and perhaps grotinde should be gretinde.¹ The vowel u is replaced by the modern ou in the words prud, 302, suth, 434, but, 1040, hus, 740, spusen, 1123; cf. hws in l. 1141. Mr Ellis shews, in his Early English Pronunciation, chap. v, that in pure specimens of the thirteenth century, there is no ou in such words, and in the fourteenth century, no simple u. This furnishes a ready explanation of the otherwise difficult sure, in l. 2005; it is merely the adverb of sour, sourly being used in the sense of bitterly; to bye it bitterly, or bye it bittre, is a common phrase in Piers Plowman. Other spellings worth notice occur in ouerga, 314, stra, 315 (spelt stric in l. 998), have, 1188, plawe, 950, sal, 628 (commonly spelt shal). Note also arum for arm, harum for harm, boren for born, 1878, and koren for corn, 1879. There are several instances of words joined together, as haui, 2002, biddi, 484; shaltu, 2186, wiltu, 905, wenestu, 1787; wilte, 528, theunkeste, 578, shaltou, 1800; thouthe, 790, hauedet, youenet, haunet; sauwe, 338; latus, 1772; where the personal pronouns i, pu, he, it, we, us are added to the verb. Hence, in l. 745, it is very likely that calleth is written for callet, i. e. call it; and on the same principle we can explain dones; see Es in the Glossary. In like manner goddot is contracted from God wot; and perl from pe erl.

Nouns. As regards the nouns employed, I may remark that the final e is perhaps always sounded in the oblique cases, and especially in the dative case; as in nedè, stedè, &c. (see ll. 86—105), willè, 85, gyue, 357, blissè, 2187, eriè, 2450; cf. the adjectives longè, 2299, wisè, 1713; also the nominatives rosè, 2919, newè, 2974. Fremd is a pl. form; cf. hend, which is both a plural (2444) and a dat. sing. (505). In the plural, the final e is fully pronounced in the adjectives allè, 2, hardè, 143, starkè, 1015, fremdè, 2277, bleike, 470, and in many others; cf. the full form bofen, 2223. Not only does the phrase none kines, of no kind, occur in ll. 861, 1140, but we find the unusual phrase neuere kines, of

¹ "Is e for o a mistake, or may it be compared with prene for prove, &c.?"—Ellis. I would observe that gveting is the spelling of the substantive in l. 166.
never a kind, in l. 2691. Among the numerals, we find not only \( \text{pre} \), but \( \text{prinne} \).

**Pronouns.** The first personal pronoun occurs in many forms in the nominative, as \( i, y, hi, ich, ic, hie \), and even \( ihe \); the oblique cases take the form \( me \). For the second person, we have \( \text{you} \), \( \text{you} \), in the nominative, and also \( tu \), when preceded by \( \text{pat} \), as in l. 2903. We may notice also \( \text{hijs} \) for \( \text{his} \), l. 47; \( \text{he} \) for \( \text{they} \); \( \text{sho} \), 112, \( \text{scho} \), 126, \( \text{she} \), 1721, for \( \text{she} \); and, in particular, the dual form \( \text{unker} \), of you two, 1882. The most noteworthy possessive pronouns are \( \text{min} \), pl. 1365, \( \text{pin} \), pl. 620; \( \text{his} \) or \( \text{hise} \), pl. \( \text{his} \), 34; \( \text{ure} \), 606; \( \text{youres} \), 2800; \( \text{hir} \), 2918, with which cf. the dat. sing. \( \text{hir} \) of the personal pronoun, 85, 300. \( \text{pis} \) is plural, and means \( \text{these} \), in l. 1145. As in other old English works, \( \text{men} \) is frequently an impersonal pronoun, answering to the French \( \text{on} \), and is followed by a singular verb; as in \( \text{men ringes} \), 390, \( \text{men seyt} \) and \( \text{suvereth} \), 647, \( \text{men fetes} \), 2341, \( \text{men nam} \), 900, \( \text{men birpe} \), 2101, \( \text{men dos} \), 2434; cf. \( \text{folk sau} \), 2410; but there are a few instances of its use with a plural verb, as \( \text{men haunden} \), 901, \( \text{men shulen} \), 747. The former is the more usual construction.

**Verbs.** The infinitives of verbs rarely have \( y- \) prefixed; two examples are \( y-lere \), 12, \( y-se \), 334. Nor is the same prefix common before past participles; yet we find \( i-gret \), 163, \( i-groten \), 285, and \( i-maked \), 5, as well as \( \text{made} \), 23. Infinitives end commonly in \( -en \) or \( -e \), as \( \text{rienden} \), 26, \( y-lere \); also in \( -n \), as \( \text{don} \), 117, \( \text{leyn} \), 718; and even in \( -o \), as \( \text{flo} \), 612, \( \text{slo} \), 1364. The present singular, 3rd person, of the indicative, ends both in \( -es \) or \( -s \), and \( -eth \) or \( -th \), the former being the more usual. Examples are \( \text{longes} \), 396, \( \text{lcues} \), 1781, \( \text{haldes} \), 1382, \( \text{fedes} \), 1693, \( \text{bes} \), 1744, \( \text{comes} \), 1767, \( \text{glides} \), 1851, \( \text{parnes} \), 1913, \( \text{haues} \), 1952, \( \text{etes} \), 2036, \( \text{dos} \), 1913; also \( \text{eteth} \), 672, \( \text{haueth} \), 804, \( \text{bikenneth} \), 1269, \( \text{doth} \), 1876, \( \text{lip} \), 673. The full form of the 2nd person is \( -est \), as \( \text{lowest} \), 1663; but it is commonly cut down to \( -es \), as \( \text{weldes} \), 1359, \( \text{slepes} \), 1283, \( \text{haues} \), 688, \( \text{etes} \), 907, \( \text{getes} \), 908; cf. \( \text{dos} \), 2390, \( \text{mis-gos} \), 2707, \( \text{slos} \), 2706. The same dropping of the \( t \) is observable in the past tense, as in \( \text{refles} \), 2394, \( \text{feddes} \) and \( \text{claddes} \), 2907. Still more curious is the ending in \( t \) only, as in \( \text{pu bi-hetet} \), 677, \( \text{pou mait} \), 689; cf. ll. 852, 1348. In the subjunctive mood the \( -st \) disappears as in Anglo-Saxon,
and hence the forms bute þon gonge, 690, þat þu fonge, 856, &c.; cf. bede, 668. In the 3rd person, present tense, of the same mood, we have the -e fully pronounced, as in shield, 16, yew, 22, leuw, 334, rekv, 687; and in l. 544, wreken should undoubtedly be wreke, since the -en belongs to the plural, as in moten, 18. The plural of the indicative present ends in -en, as, we haun, 2798, ye witen, 2208, þei taken, 1833; or, very rarely, in -eth, as ye bringeth, 2425, he (they) strangleth, 2584. Sometimes the final -n is lost, as in we haue, 2799, ye do, 2418, he (they) brene, 2583. There is even a trace of the plural in -es, as in haues, 2581. The present tense has often a future signification, as in es, 907, eteth, 672, getes, 908.

Past tense. Of the third person singular and plural of the past tense the following are selected examples. Weak Verbs: hauede, 770, sparede, 898, yemede, 975, semede, 976, sparkede, 2144, þankede, 2189; pl. loueden, 955, leykeded, 954, woundeden, 2429, stareden, 1037, yemede (rather read yemeden), 2277, makeden, 554, sprouleden, 475; also calde, 2115, gredde, 2147, herde, 2410, kepte, 879, fedde, 786, ledde, 785, spedde, 756, clapte, 1814, kiste, 1279; pl. herden, brenden, 594, kisten, 2162, ledden, 1246; and, thirdly, of the class which change the vowel, aute, 743, laute, 744, bitauhte, 2212. Compare the past participles osed, 971, mixed, 2533, parred, 2439, gadred, 2577; refst, 1367, wend, 2138, hyd, 1059; tolde, 1036, sold, 1638, wrouth = wrout, 1352. There are also at least two past participles in -et, as stenget, 1923, grethet, 2615, to which add weddeth, beddeth, 1127. In l. 2057, knawed seems put for knavén, for the rime’s sake.

Strong Verbs: third person singular, past tense, bar, 815, bad, 1115, yaf; or gaf, spak; kam, 766 (spelt cham, 1873), nam, knen, hew, 2729, lep, 1777, let, 2447 (spelt leth, 2651), slep, 1280, wex, 281; drou, 705, for, 2943, low, 903, slow, 1807, haf, 2750, stod, 983, tok, 751, wok, 2093; pl. beden, 2774, youen, or youen; comen, 1017 (spelt heme, 1208), nomen, 2790 (spelt neme, 1207), knenwen, 2149, lopen, 1896, slepen, 2128; drowen, 1837, foren, 2380, lowen, 1056, slowen, 2414, &c. And secondly, of the class which more usually change the vowel in the plural of the preterite, we find the singular forms bigan, 1357, barw, 2022, karf; 471, swank, 788, warp, 1061, shou, 2144, clef, 2643, sau, 2109, gropp, 1965, draf, 725, shaf.
892; pl. bigunnen, 1011, sowen, 1055, gripen, 1790, drive, for
driuen, 1966; also bunden, 2436, seuten, 2431 (spelt schoten, 1864,
shoten, 1838), leyen, 2132, &c. Compare the past participles
boren, 1878, youen or gouen, cumen, 1436, nomen, 2265 (spelt
numen, 2581), laten, 1925, waxen, 302, drawen, 1925, slaven, 2000,
which two last become draue, slave in l. 1802, 1803.

We should also observe the past tenses spen, 1819, stirt, 812,
<em>fanth</em> for <em>fant</em> or <em>fauht</em>, 1990, citte, 942, bere, 974, kipte, 1050, flow,
2502, plat, 2755; and the past participles demd for demed, 2488,
<em>give</em> for giuen, 2488, henged, 1429, <em>krft</em>, 2005.

**Imperative Mood.** Examples of the imperative mood singular,
2nd person, are <em>et</em>, <em>sit</em>, 925, <em>nim</em>, 1336, <em>yif</em>, 674; in the plural,
the usual ending is -es, as in <em>lipes</em>, 2204, <em>comes</em>, 1798, <em>folwes</em>,
1885, <em>lokes</em>, 2292, <em>bes</em>, 2216, to which set belong <em>slos</em>, 2596, <em>dos</em>,
2592; but there are instances of the ending -eth also, as in
<em>cometh</em>, 1885, <em>yene</em>, 911, to which add <em>doth</em>, 2037, <em>goth</em>, 1780.
Indeed both forms occur in one line, as in Cometh <em>swipe</em>, and
<em>folwes me</em> (1885). Instead of -eth we even find -et, as in herknet,
1. These variations afford a good illustration of the unsettled
state of the grammar in some parts of England at this period; we
need not suppose the scribe to be at fault in all cases where there
is a want of uniformity.

Of reflexive verbs, we meet with <em>me dremede</em>, 1284, <em>me met</em>,
1285, <em>me <i>pinke</i>es</em>, 2169, <em>him hungrede</em>, 654, <em>him semede</em>, 1652, <em>him
stonde</em>s, 2983, <em>him rewede</em>, 503. The present participles end most
commonly in -inde, as <em>fastinde</em>, 865, <em>grofinde</em> (? <em>gretinde</em>), 1390,
<em>lauhwinde</em>, 946, <em>platinde</em>, 2282, <em>starinde</em>, 508; but we also find
<em>gangande</em>, 2283, <em>driuende</em>, 2702. Compare the nouns <em>tipande</em>,
2279, <em>offrende</em>, 1386, which are Norse forms, <em>ti'Sindi</em> (pl.) being the
Icelandic for <em>tidings</em>, and <em>offrand</em> the present participle of <em>offra</em>,
to offer. But the true Icelandic equivalent of the substantive <em>an
offering</em> is <em>offran</em>, and the old Swedish is <em>offer</em>; and hence we see
at how very early a date the confusion between the noun-ending
and the ending of the present participle arose; a confusion which
has bewildered many generations of Englishmen. Yet this very
poem in other places has -<em>ing</em> as a noun-ending only, never (that
I remember) for the present participle. Examples of it are
greeting, 166, dreping, i.e. slaughter, 2684, buttinge, skirming, wrastling, putting, harping, piping, reeding; see ll. 2322—2327. Such words are frequently called verbal nouns, but the term is very likely to mislead. I have found that many suppose it to imply present participles used as nouns, instead of nouns of verbal derivation. If such nouns could be called by some new name, such as nouns of action, or by any other title that can be conventionally restricted to signify them, it would, I think, be a gain. Amongst the auxiliary verbs, may be noted the use of cone, 622, as the subjunctive form of canst; we none, 840, as the subjunctive of mowen; cf. ye mowen, 11; but especially we should observe the use of the comparatively rare verbs birpe, it behaves, pt. t. birde, it behoved, and parte, he need, the latter of which is fully explained in the Glossary to William of Palerne, s. v. port.

The prefix to- is employed in both senses, as explained in the same Glossary, s. v. To-. In to-brised, to-deyle, &c., it is equivalent to the German zer- and Meso-Gothic dis-; of its other and rarer use, wherein it answers to the German zu- and Meso-Gothic du-, there is but one instance, viz. in the word to-yede, 765, which signifies went to; cf. Germ. zugehen, to go to, zugang (A.S. to-gang), access, approach. There are some curious instances of a peculiar syntax, whereby the infinitive mood active partakes of a passive signification, as in he made him kesten, and in feteres festen, he caused him to be cast in prison (or perhaps, overthrown), and to be fastened in fetters; l. 81. But it is probable that this is to be explained by considering it as a phrase in which we should now supply the word men, and that we may interpret it by "he caused [men] to cast him in prison, and to fasten him with fetters;" for in ll. 1784, 1785, the phrase is repeated in a less ambiguous form. See also l. 86. So also, in ll. 2611, 2612, I consider keste, late, sette, to be in the infinitive mood. Such a construction is at once understood by comparing it with the German er liess ihn binden, he caused him to be bound. In l. 2352, appears the most unusual form ilker, which is literally of each, and hence, apiece; cf. unker, which also is a genitive plural. It will be observed that the verb following is in the plural, the real nominative to it being pei pre. In l. 2404, the expression pat per prette, "that there threat," recalls a colloquialism
which is still common. The word *prie*, 730, is, apparently, the O.E. adverb *thrie*, thrice; *liues*, 509, is an adverb ending in *-es*, originally a genitive case. *hus-gate* is, according to Mr Morris, unknown to the Southern dialect; it occurs in ll. 785, 2419, 2586. I may add that Havelok contains as many as six expressions, which seem to refer to *proverbs* current at the time of writing it. See ll. 307, 648, 1338, 1352, 1693, 2461.


The poem is written in the familiar rhythm of which I have already spoken elsewhere, viz. at p. xxxvii of the Preface to Mr Morris's edition of Genesis and Exodus. The metre of Havelok is rather more regular, but many of the remarks there made apply to it. The chief rule is that every line shall contain four accents, the two principal types being afforded (1) by the eight-syllable and nine-syllable lines—

(a) For hém | ne yédë góld | ne fé, 44;
(b) It wás | a kíng | bi árë dáwës, 27;

and (2) by the seven-syllable and eight-syllable lines—

(c) Hérk|net tó | me gó|dë men, 1;
(d) Al|lë thát | he mích|ë fyndë, 42.

To one of these four forms every line can be reduced, by the use of that slighter utterance of less important syllables which is so very common in English poetry. It is not the number of *syllables*, but of *accents*, that is essential. In every line throughout the poem there are four accents, with only two or three excep-

1 "This *four accents* I consider to be a wrong way of stating the fact... The metre consists of four measures, each generally, not always, of *two* syllables, the first often *one* syllable, the others often of *three* syllables, and each measure has generally more stress on the last than on any other, but the accents or principal stresses in the verse are usually 2, sometimes 3, perhaps never 4." — A. J. Ellis. I need hardly add that such a statement is more exact, and that I here merely use the word *accent* in the loose sense it often bears, viz. as denoting the "stress," more or less heavy, and sometimes imperceptible, which is popularly supposed to belong to the last syllable in a measure. I must request the reader to remember that this present sketch of the metre is very slight and imperfect, and worded in the usual not very correct popular language. For more strict and careful statements the reader is referred to Mr A. J. Ellis's work on Early English Pronunciation. Until readers have made themselves acquainted with that work, they will readily understand what I here mean by "accents;" afterwards, they can easily adopt a stricter idea of its meaning.
tions, viz. ll. 1112, 1678, &c., which are defective. In a similar manner, we may readily scan any of the lines, as e. g. ll. 2—4:

(c) W[i]uës, mayd[nës, and all]ë men
(b) Of a ta[lë pat, ich you | wile tellë
(b) Wo-so | 't wil' her' | and per|to duellë, &c.

Here the syllables -nes and in l. 3, of a in l. 4, and it wile in l. 5, are so rapidly pronounced as to occupy only the room of one unaccented syllable in lines of the strict type. However awkward this appears to be in theory, it is very easy in practice, as the reciter readily manages his voice so as to produce the right rhythmical effect; and, indeed, this variation of arrangement is a real improvement, preventing the recitation from becoming monotonous. Those who have a good ear for rhythm will readily understand this, and it seems unnecessary to dwell upon it more at length. But it may be remarked, that the three lines above quoted are rather more irregular than usual, and that the metre is such as to enable us to fix the instances in which the final -e is pronounced with great accuracy, on which account I shall say more about this presently. I would, however, first enumerate the rimes which seem to be more or less inexact or peculiar, or otherwise instructive.

I. Repetitions. Such are men, men; holden, holde, 29; 2 erpe, erpe, 739; heren, heren, 1640; nithes, knithes, 2048; youres, youres, 2500. To this class belong also longe, londe, 172, heye, heie, 1151, 2544; where longe, londe is, however, only an assonance.

II. Assonant rimes. Here the rime is in the vowel-sound; the consonantal endings differ. Such are rym, fyin, 21; yeme, quene, 182; shop, hok, 1101 (where shop is probably corrupt); odrat, bad, 1153; fet, ek, 1308; yer, del, 1333; maked, shaped, 1646; bepe, rede, 1680; riche, chinche, 1763, 2940; feld, swerd, 1824, 2634; servede, verewed, 1914; wend, gent, 2138; þank, rang, 2560; bópen, ut-drownen, 2658. To the same class belong name, raven,

1 "You cannot scan this line in any way. This method of doing it is quite impossible; it is a mere chopping to make a verse like this. The line is corrupt. Omit pat, and you have

Of | a tal' | ich you | wile tellë

or better,

Of | a tal' | ich wile telle."—Ellis.

2 The number is that of the first line of the pair.
1397, grauen, name, 2528; slawen, rauen, 2676. Henged, slenget, 1922, should rather be called an imperfect rime. There is also found the exact opposite to this, viz., an agreement or consonance at the end, preceded by an apparent diversity in the vowel; as longe, gange, 795 (but see longe, gonge, 843), bidde, stede, 2548, open, drepen, 1782, gres, is, 2698, bope, rathe, 2936 (but see rathe, bathe, 1335, 2512), fet (long e), gret, 2158; and not unlike these are some instances of loose rimes, as bepe, rede, 360, knave, playe, 949, sawe, hawe (where hawe is written for have), 1187, sawe, wowe, 1962 (but see wove, lowe, 2078, lowe, sawe, 2142, wawe, lowe, 2470). Observe also bouth, oft (read vt or ut = ountry), 883, tun, barun, 1001 (cf. town, brun, 1750, champions, barons, 1032); plattinge, gangande, 2282, &c. Eir, toper, 410, harde, crackede, 567, are probably due to mistakes.

III. Rimes which shew that the final -en was pronounced so slightly as to be nearly equivalent to -e. Examples: holden, holde, 29; gongen, fonge, 855; bringe, ringen, 1105; mouthen, douthe, 1183; riden, side, 1758; wesseylen, to-deyle, 2098; slawen, drawe, 2176. In the same way hon rimes to lond, 1341, owing to the slight pronunciation of the final d.

IV. Rimes which appear imperfect, but may be perfect. Riche answers to like, 132, but the true spelling is rike, answering to sike, 290. Mithe, 196, should probably be moucte, as in l. 257, and it would thus rime with poucte. Blinne, 2670, should certainly be blunne; cf. A.S. blunna, pt. t. s. ic blan, pt. t. pl. we blunnan; and thus it rimes to sunne. Misdede, 993, is clearly an error for

1 "You have omitted the curious harde, krakede, 567, here; it is only an assonance, not a mistake, I believe."—Ellis. But see note to l. 567.

2 "On i, e rhymes, see p. 217, last line and following, of my Chap. IV. The o, a depend on a provincialism, and this applies to sawe, wove, bepe, rede, knave, playe, sawe, hawe, &c. Bouth, oft is a case of assonance, bouth being bought, where properly the ugh is the voiced sound of Scotch guth, and easily passes into f. The assonance is therefore nearly a rhyme. Plattinge, gangande is probably a scribal error. Eir, toper is certainly a mistake; read Swanborow, helpled, his sistres fair."—Ellis.

We may then perhaps alter gangande to ganginde. I do not quite like writing the modern form fair instead of the old plural fayre in order to gain a rime to eir. Cf. ll. 1095, 2300, 2538, 2768.

3 "Hon, lond may arise from a Danism, or from an English custom at that time of not pronouncing d after n in nd final; Danish Manu and German Mann are identical."—Ellis. I prefer to call it Danish; we English, now at least, often add a d, as in sound, gownd, from sound, gowen.
misceyde, as appears from the parallel passage in ll. 49, 50; and it then rimes with leye. So in l. 1736, for deled read deyled, as in l. 2098. Bope, 430, has no line answering to it, and a line may have been lost. Nicth, liet, 575, is a perfect rime. Halde, bolde, 2308, may also be perfect. For-sworen answers to for-lorn (pronounced for-loren), 1423; bitawte to authe (pronounced aute), 149; yemede (pronounced yem-dè) is not an improper rime to fremde, 2276; anon rimes with iohan (if pronounced ion or John, as indicated by the spelling ion in l. 177), 2562, 2956. Yet in another instance it seems to be two syllables, Jo-han; see winman, iohan, 1720. Speche should be speke, and thus rimes to meke, 1065. Stareden should perhaps be stradden, or some such form, rightly riming to ladden, 1037. Under this head we may notice some rimes which throw, possibly, some light on the pronunciation. Thus, for the sound of ey, ei, observe hayse, preyse, 60; leyke, bleike, 469; laumpeire, wei, 771; deye rimes to preye, 168; day to wey, 663; seyd to brayd, 1281; but we also find hey, fri, 1071; hey, sley, 1083; heye, heic, 1151; heye, eie, 2544; leye, heye, 2010; heye, flaye, 2750. From rimes to sham, 55; yet the latter word is really shame, 53; gange is also spelt gonje, halde rimes with bolde, 2308. The pronunciation of ware, were, or wore, seems ambiguous; we find sore, wore, 236; wore, more, 258; ware, sare, 400; wore, sore, 414; were, pere, 741; more, pore, 921. For the sound of e, observe suere, gere, 388; suereth, deretn, 548; eten, geten, 930; yet, fet, 1319; stem, bem, 592; glew, bem, 2122; also yeue, liue, 198; liue, gyue, 356; lynce, yeue, 1217; her, ther, 1924; fishe, suere, 2230. For that of i,

1 "Johan is almost Jon in Chaucer, however written, but l. 177 wants a measure; read—
Bi [Jhesu] crist, and bi seint ion.
In l. 1720 also the verse is defective; omit ai, and read—
In denemark nis winman [non]
So fayr so sche, bi seint Johan,
where seint is a dissyllable; see p. 264 of my Early English Pronunciation. Hey, fri, 1071, is an error; read hy, and see p. 285 of my book. The other instances of ei, ai are all regular, the confusion of ei, ai being perfect in the thirteenth century. Shame, l. 83, is dative, and would prove nothing, but shame in Ormyn is conclusive. Hence in sham', 56, we have an e omitted; compare p. 323 of my book, and the German Ruh".—Ellis. In other places, the spelling heye occurs, rather than hy: see ll. 719, 987, 1071, 1083, 1289, 1683, 2431, 2471, 2544, 2724, 2750, 2945, &c.
observe cri, merci, 270; sire, swre, 310; swipe, vnblie, 140; fir, shir, 587; sire, hir, 909; rise, bise, 723; fyr, shir, 915; ly, strie, 997; hey, fri, 1071; for-pi, merci, 2500. For that of o, observe two, so, 350; do, so, 713; shon, on, 969; hom, grom, 789; lode, brode, 895; anon, ston, 927; ston, won, 1023; do, sho (shoe), 1137; do, sho (she), 1231; stod, mod, 1702; ilkon, ston, 1842; shon (shoon), ston, 2144; croud, god, 2338; don, bon, 2354; sone (soon), bone, 2504; bole, hole, 2438.¹ Only in a few of these instances would the words rime in modern standard English. For the ou and u sounds, observe coup, moupe, 112; you, now, 160; wolde, fulde, 354; yw, nou, 453; bounden, wden, 545; sowel, couel, 767; low, ynow, 903; sowen, love, 957; strout, but, 1039; pou, nou, 1283; down, tun, 1630; crus, hous, 1966; wounde, grunde, 1978; bowr, tour, 2072; spuse, huse, 2912. Lowe, 1291, 2431, 2471, should rather be lawe, as in 1. 2767. These hints will probably suffice for the guidance of those who wish to follow up the subject. It is evident that full dependence cannot be placed upon the exactness of the rimes.

§ 29. On the final -e, &c.

There can be little doubt that the final -e is, in general, fully pronounced in this poem wherever it is written, with but a very few exceptions; but at the same time it is liable to be elided when followed by a vowel or (sometimes) by the letter h, as is usual in old English poetry. In the following remarks, I shall use an apostrophe to signify that e is written, but not pronounced; thus “wil’” signifies that “wile” is the MS. form, but “wil” the apparent pronunciation. I shall use an italic e to signify that the e is elided because followed by a vowel or h, as “cuppe” (l. 14); and in the same way, “riden,” “litel,” &c., signify that the syllables -en, -el are slurred over in a like manner. It will be seen that such syllables are, in general, slurred over when they occur before a vowel or h; under the same circumstances, that is, as the final -e. When I simply write the word in the form “gode” as in the MS., I mean that the -e is fully pronounced; so that “gode” stands for “godē.”

¹ “The instances of o are all regular, except croud, god, 2338, which is a false rhyme altogether; ou = modern oo.”—Ellis.
The following, then, are instances. I follow the order in Mr Morris's Introduction to Chaucer's Prologue, &c. (Clarendon Press Series).

(A) In nouns and adjectives (of A.S. origin) the final -e represents one of the final vowels a, u, e, and hence is fully sounded even in the nominative case in such instances. Examples; gome (A.S. guma), 7, blome (A.S. blóma), 63, trewe (A.S. tréowe), 179, knaue (A.S. cnqfa), 308, 450, sone (A.S. sunu), 394.

(B) In words of French origin it is sounded as in French verse. Such words are scarce in Havelok. Examples: hayse, 59, beste, 279, mirâcle, 500, rose, 2919, curtesye (miswritten curteyse), 2876, cf. 194, drurye, 195, male, 48, large, 97, noble, 1263.

(C) It is a remnant of various grammatical inflexions:—

(1) it is a sign of the dative case in nouns; as, nede, 9, stede, 10, trome, 8, wronge, 72, stede, 142, dede (not elided, because of the cæsura), 167, arke, 222, erpe, 248, lite prawe, 276. It also sometimes marks the accusative, or the genitive of feminine nouns: accusatives, cuppe, 14, wede, 94, brede, 98, shrede, 99, mede, 102, quiste, 219, sorne, 238 (cf. sorw' in l. 240), sone, 308, knaue, 308, sone, 350, wille, 441: genitives, messe, 186, 188, helle, 405.

(2) In adjectives it marks—

(a) the definite form of the adjective; as, pe meste, 233, pe riche (not elided¹), 239, te beste, 87, pe hexte [man], 1080, pat wicke, 1158, pat foule, 1158, pe frste, 1333, pe rede, 1397. This rule is most often violated in the case of dissyllabic superlatives; as, pe wictest', 8, pe fairest, pe strangest, 1081, 1110; cf. 199, 200.

(b) the plural number. Examples abound, as, gode, 1, alle, 2, are, 27, yung = yunge, 30, holde, 30, gode, 34, 55, harde, 143, grene, 470, bleike, 470, halte, 513, doumbe, 513, &c.

The same use is often extended to possessive pronouns; we find the plurals mine, 385, 514 (but min', 392), pine, 620, hise, 34, 67, hure, 1231; and even the singulars hire, 84, 85, hure, 338, yure, 171. But the personal pronoun feminine is often hir', 172, 209; yet see l. 316.

(c) the vocative case, as, dere, 839, 2170; lcue, 909.

¹ Riche being both A.S. and French, has the e even when indefinite; a riche king, 311; a riche man, 373.
(3) In verbs it marks—

(a) the infinitive mood; as, telle, 3, duelle, 4, falle, 39, beye, 53,sweren,254, be-bedde, 421, bere, 549, &c. On this point there cannot be a moment's doubt, for the form -en is found quite as often, and they rime together, as in 254, 255, cf. 29, 30. But it is well worth remarking that -en is slurred over exactly where -e would be, with much regularity. Examples are: ride?, 10, biginnen, 21, maken, 29, hengen, 43, lurken, 68, crepen, 68, riden, 88, hauen, 270. Other examples are very numerous. But we sometimes find -en not slurred over, as, drinken, 15; and the same is true even of -e, but such cases are exceptional and rare.

(b) the gerund; as, to preye, 60.

(c) the past participle of a strong verb, as, drawe, 1802, slawe, 1803. But these are rare, as they are commonly written drawn, slawen, 2224.

(d) the past tense of weak verbs, where the -e follows -ed, -t, or -d. Examples are very numerous; as, louede = lov'de, 30, 35 (not elided), 37, hauede = hav'de, 343; cf. haued = hav'd, 336; purte, 10, durste, 65, refte, 94; dede, 29, sende, 136, seyde, 228, herde, 286. Observe hated = hatede, 40. The plurals of these tenses are rarely in -e, generally in -en, as, haueden, 241, deden, 242, sprauleden = sprau'den, 475.

(e) the subjunctive or optative mood, or the 3rd person of the imperative mood, which is really the 3rd person of the subjunctive. This rule seems to be carefully observed. Examples are yeue, 22, thau, 296, yerne, 299, leue, 406, were, 513, wite, 517, &c. So for the first person, as, late, 509, lepe (not elided), 2009, speke, 2079; and for the second person, as, understonde, 1159, fare, 2705, cone, 622, 623.

(f) other parts of a few verbs; thus, the 1st person singular present, as, liue, 301, etc, 793, rede, 1660, wille, 388, where wille is equivalent to wish.

(g) present participles: thus, plattinde, 2282, is a half-rime to gangaunde. In other places, the author is careful to place them before a vowel, as gretinde, 1390, lauhwinde, 946, starinde, 508, druende, 2702, fastinde, 865.

(4) In adverbs the final -e denotes—

(a) an older vowel-ending; as, sone (A.S. sōnā), 136, sone, 218,
251, yete (A.S. geta, as well as get), 495, ofte (Swed. ofta, Dan. ofte), 227.

(b) an adverb as distinguished from its corresponding adjective, as, yerne, 153, loude, 96, longe, 241, more, 301, softe, 305, heye, 335, swipe, 455, harde, 639. Hence, in l. 640, we should read neye.

(c) an older termination in -en or -an; as, þer-hinne, 322, 709, 712, henne, 843, inne, 855. Cf. A.S. heonan, innan.

(d) It is also sounded in the termination -like, as, sikerlike, 422. Hence, in baldelike, 53, both the ees are sounded; cf. feblelike, 418. When the final -e is slurred over before an h in Chaucer, h is found commonly to begin the pronoun he, or its cases, the possessive pronouns his, hire, or their cases, a part of the verb to have, or else the adverbs how or heer. The same rule seems to hold in Havelok. Observe, that e often forms a syllable in the middle of a word, as, bondeman, 32, engelondes, 63, pourelike, 322.

With regard to the final -en, it is most commonly slurred over before a vowel or the h in he or haue, not only when it is the termination of the infinitive mood, but in many other cases. One striking example may suffice:

He greten and gouleden and gouen hem ille, 164.

A still more striking peculiarity is that the same rule often holds for the ending -es. We find it, of course, forming a distinct syllable in plurals; as, limes, 86; and in adverbs, as, lines, 509. But observe such instances as maydnes, 2, prestes, 33, vtlawes, 41, sipes, 213, &c.

In the same way, when rapid final syllables such as -el, -er, -ere, &c., are slurred over, it will generally be found that a vowel or h follows them. Examples: litel, 6, woneth, 105, bedels, 266, bodi, 345, deuel, 446, hunger, 449. Compare oueral, 38, 54. There are many other peculiarities which it would take long to enumerate, such as, that sworn is pronounced sworen, 204; that the final -e is sometimes preserved before a vowel, as in dede am, 167; that the word ne is very frequently not counted, as it were, in the scansion, as in 57, 113, 220, 419, the second ne in l. 547, and in several other places. But it must suffice to state merely, that when the above rules (with allowance of a few exceptions)
are carefully observed, it will be found that the metre of Havelok is *very regular*, and *valuable on account of its regularity*.  

It would therefore be easy to correct the text in many places by help of an exact analysis of the rhythm. But this, except in a very few places, has not been attempted, because the imperfect, but unique, MS. copy is more instructive as it stands. In l. 19, *e. g. wit* should be *wite*; in l. 47, *red* should be *rede*; in l. 74, *his soule* should be *of his soule*, &c. The importance of attending to the final -e may be exemplified by the lines—

Allē greten swipē sore, 236;
But sonē dedē hirē fetē, 317;
ɕinē cherlēs, ɕinē hinē, 620.
Grimēs sonēs allē ārē, 1399;
Hisē sostres herē lif, 2395.

Mr Ellis writes—"These final examples suggested to me to compose the following German epitaph, which contains just as many final e’s, and which I think no German would find to have anything peculiar in the versification:

**GRABSCHRIFT.**

Diese alte reiche Frau
Hasste jede eitle Schau,
Preiste Gottes gute Gabe,
Mehrte stets die eig’ne Habe,
Liegt hier unbeweint im Grabe.

I think Havelok may be well compared with Goethe’s ballad,

Es war ein König in Thule,
Gar treu bis an das Grab,
Dem, sterbend, seine Buhle
*Einen goldenen* Becher gab.

Es ging ihm nichts darüber,
Er leert’ ihn jeden Schmaus,
Die Augen gingen ihm über
So oft er trank daraus.

Und als er kam zu sterben,
*Zählt’ er seine Städte im Reich,*
Gönnt’ alles seinem Erben,
Den Becher nicht zugleich:—
and the end:

Die Augen thätten ihm sinken,
Trank nie einen Tropfen mehr.

The italicised trisyllabic measures are fine. Observe also the elisions of final -e before a following vowel (Städ' being very unusual), and the omission of the dative -e in im Reich, to rhyme with zugleich.”

I have only to add that my special thanks are due to Sir F. Madden for his permission to make use of his valuable notes, glossary, and preface, and for his assistance; as also to Mr Ellis for his notes, which, however, reached me only at the last moment, when much alteration of the proofs was troublesome. There are many things probably which Mr Ellis does not much approve of in this short popular sketch of the metre, in which attention is drawn only to some of the principal points. In particular, he disapproves of the term slurring over, though I believe that I mean precisely the same thing as he does, viz. that these light syllables are really fully pronounced, and not in any way forcibly suppressed; but that, owing to their being light syllables, and occurring before vowel sounds, the full pronunciation of them does not cause the verse to halt, but merely imparts to it an agreeable vivacity. As I have already said elsewhere—“A poet's business is, in fact, to take care that the syllables which are to be rapidly pronounced are such as easily can be so; and that the syllables which are to be heavily accented are naturally those that ought to be. If he gives attention to this, it does not much matter whether each foot has two or three syllables in it.”

Preface to Mr Morris's Genesis and Exodus, p. xxxviii.
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 2, l. 44. *Ne yede,* went not, availed not; cf. l. 1430, and mod. E. *'it went for nothing.'*

p. 2, l. 47. The MS. has *red*; but *rede* would better suit the scansion. Cf. p. lii, l. 7.

p. 3, l. 66. For the MS. reading *here* Mr. Garnett proposed to read *there*, which is much better. The sense is then—*'Hunger, nor other harmful thing.'*

p. 3, l. 74. For *his soule* (as in the MS.) we should probably read *of his soule.* The sense is—*'So faithful of soul was he.'* Cf. p. lii, l. 8.

p. 3, l. 79. For *wo diden* (as in the MS.) we should read *wo so dide,* i.e. whoever did.

p. 5, l. 130. As the line stands, it can only be construed by—*'And put them (her enemies) off wherever it may be agreeable to her;' which is very forced. Garnett proposed to read *hat for var;* and we should also read *of hem for hem of.* The line would then run—*'And don of hem pat hire were queme;* i.e. and do with them (i.e. the English or the thousand men of l. 127) that which might be agreeable to her.' Such is clearly the general sense intended.

p. 5, l. 133. For *Me,* Garnett proposed *Ne;* so also, in l. 132, *Ne* is better than *No.* Then the sense is—*'It would never displease me, not even if I were in heaven.'*

p. 5, l. 139. Here and in l. 265, the limits of England are defined as being 'from Dover to Roxburgh.' Prof. Hales reminds me that Roxburgh was first held by Edward I. in 1291; so that we have here, probably, an exultant allusion to a recent event. In that case, the proposed date of the poem, viz. 1280, must be placed a little later, say about 1295. It cannot be much later, because 'Havelok' is quoted in 1303. See note below, to l. 820.

p. 6, l. 174. This line recurs at l. 2713, whence we know that the missing word is not *move* (as suggested in the text), but *were.* Moreover, I now think the footnote to l. 2713 is quite wrong, for *winnen* or even *winnen* cannot stand for the pp. *winnen* or *winnen.* I now therefore suggest that the line should run thus—*'Til pat she [were] winan of helde,' i.e. till she should become a woman of (sufficient) age.

p. 6, l. 177. See note 1 on p. xlvii. I am not sure that a 'measure' is wanting; for the line recurs in the same form; see l. 1112. Perhaps some stress was laid on *Bi.*
p. 6, l. 191. Cf. the following:—

'A ful grete bulge opon his bak;
Thar was noght made with-octen lac.'

This is a description of a misshapen dwarf in Ywain and Gawain, l. 263; see Ritson, Metrical Romances, i. 12.

p. 7, l. 195. For *Gon* read *Don* (?); *don of curteysye*, act courteously.

p. 7, l. 221. 'So much (as) men might wrap him in.'

p. 9, l. 277. Literally, 'awe of him stood to (i. e. resided in) all England.' This curious idiom was once tolerably common; see my note to Barbour's Bruce, bk. iii. l. 62; p. 555. The statement (there made) that I printed 'stod [in] awe' in Havelok, l. 277, was true at the time. I have since cut out the intrusive preposition, which spoils the rhythm.

p. 11, l. 334. For *me* read *mote*, as in l. 406. This correction is due to Zupitza; see *Anglia*, i. 468.

p. 11, l. 347. For *on* perhaps read *on*; but see remarks on *Onne*, p. lxi. So also, in ll. 372, 435, 466, for *offe* read *of*.

p. 12, l. 373. The repetition of *was* is very awkward. Zupitza proposes to read—

'A riche man, *hat* under mone
Was je trewest, as he wende.'

See *Anglia*, i. 468. This makes it all right.

p. 12, l. 377. Here *undertoke-e* is in the subjunctive mood:—'would take them under his care.'

p. 13, l. 411. For *tother*, perhaps read *faire*, which rimes with *eir* in l. 605.

p. 13, l. 412. Omit *he*; the sense does not require it, and it clogs the line.

p. 17, l. 544. For *wreken*, grammar requires *wreke*, i. e. may He wreak. Cf. p. xli, l. 4.

p. 17, ll. 545—555. This difficult passage is discussed by Zupitza; see *Anglia*, i. 468. I have now adopted his suggestions, that something is lost after l. 546 (as shewn by the dots); and that *ful* is the adverb meaning 'very'. I also accept his explanation of * lethede* (see below). The passage seems to mean:—'When Grim had bound him fast, and afterwards tied him up in an old cloth, [he next proceeded to insert in his mouth] a gag (made) of rags (that were) very rotten (or worn out), so that he could neither speak nor breathe, wherever he wished to carry or conduct him. When he had done that deed, that1 the deceiver had made him swear (to do, viz.), that he should conduct him forth, and drown him in the sea—such was the compact they made—immediately he cast him on his back, (confined) in a foul and black bag;' &c.

p. 17, l. 551. Zupitza's explanation of * lethede* is certainly right. The initial *h* is a needless addition, as in many other words; see p. xxxvii. The final *e* is equally needless, and due to mistaking the rime, which is a

1 For *Hwan* (l. 551) I read *pat*. I can make nothing of *Hwan* as here repeated.
mee an oath." It answers to an A.S. form *æðian, from ðæ, an oath. For the sense, cf. ll. 1417, 2231. For the form, cf. M.H.G. eiden, G. vereiden, to bind by oath, make one swear to; O.Fries. etha. Zupitza quotes two examples from Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, ll. 379, 2467:

'Fyrst I cye þe,' i.e. first I conjure thee.

And again:

'Therfore I cye þe,' therefore I conjure thee.

p. 18, l. 560. For with read wilt (Garnett). 'As thou desirest to preserve my life.'

p. 18, l. 572. The sense is:—(he might lament) that vulture or eagle, &c. had not seized him.' Here hauede = got, caught, taken, seized.

p. 18, l. 581. For beren him read him beren.

p. 19, l. 594. Disregard the footnote; inne is the adverb (A.S. innan); see Inn in the Glossary.

p. 19, l. 597. Perhaps Sir is miswritten for Ris, i.e. rise (Morris).

p. 19, l. 600. Perhaps this is another proverbial expression, to be added to the six mentioned at p. xliv, l. 7. It means—'for people ought to shew good will,' or 'to be kind.'

p. 20, ll. 625, 626. Transfer wite to l. 626, thus:

'He ne shal neuere, sikerlike,
   Godard wite, þat fuile swike.'

p. 20, l. 640. For ney read neye, the adverbial form. Cf. p. li, l. 6.

p. 21, l. 660. Introduce a comma after Slep. 'Sleep, son;' &c.

p. 23, ll. 745, 746. Zupitza proposes to omit the former alle, and to read:

'So þat grimesbi [hit] calle
   þat þer-offe speken alle.'

I think this is still better than my suggestion at p. xxxix, l. 21.

p. 24, l. 777. Put the comma after þenne; see þenne in the Glossary, p. 147.

p. 24, l. 784. See the note at p. 93. Another explanation is to be had by making se-weren a compound word; for this, see Weren in the Glossary, p. 153.

p. 25, l. 794. Grim's five children were the following—Robert the Red (1397); William Wenduth or Wendut (1398, 1690, perhaps meaning 'wend-out'); Hugh Raven (1398, 1868); Gunnikl (2866); and Levive (2914); making three sons and two daughters. Cf. l. 1205.

p. 25, l. 802. Ful strong, very outrageous. Cf. 'Folly in fools bears not so strong a note As foolery in the wise; ' Shak. L. L. L, v. 2, 75. And cf. the phrase—'to come it strong.' Wies þat wite to strang, that punishment was too severe; Genesis, 1819.

p. 25, ll. 819, 820. These two lines are closely copied by Robert of Brunne (a Lincolnshire man), in his Handlyng Sinne, ll. 5811, 5812, which was written in 1303. He says:
'Plenerly, alle pat he toke,
Wyphelde he nat a ferfyng noke.'

Ll. 991, 992 of Havelok are imitated in Handlyng Sinne, ll. 5837, 5838:—

'And for he bare hym so meke and softe,
Shrewes mysleded hym ful ofte.'

We have seen, at p. x, that Robert of Brunne expressly refers to the Lay of Havelok in his Chronicle, completed in 1338.

p. 29, l. 950. The occurrence of plaue, to play, is not a little extraordinary, since in the next line we have pleye. Stratmann takes plaue to be the Norse form, whilst pleye is from the A.S. pleygan. See playe, plaigen, and pleien in Stratmann's Dictionary.

p. 31, l. 993. Mr. Ellis well remarks that misdede (caught from l. 992) is clearly an error for misseye, as shewn by the rime; see ll. 49, 1688.

p. 31, l. 1020. 'Though they happened to have work in hand,' had plenty to do.

p. 32, l. 1037. Stareden is probably an error for straden (answering to A.S. *strádon, pt. t. pl. of *stridan), i.e. contended. We find Icel. striða; and we may infer that the verb was once strong from the Swed. dialect form stred, pt. t. of strídu, to contend, given by Rietz. See Stride in my Etym. Dictionary.

p. 33, l. 1072. Fri is clearly the wrong word, as it gives a false rime. The right word is sley; see l. 1084 just below. This is better than reading hy in l. 1071, as proposed by Mr. Ellis, in note 1, p. xlvii.

p. 33, l. 1080. After heste insert man, to complete the line; see l. 199, which is precisely parallel to it.

p. 34, ll. 1100, 1101. Zupitza (in Anglia, i. 471) proposes to keep shop, and to alter l. 1100 to—'He was þe werste sathanas.' He remarks that Sathanas is applied to Godard in l. 2512. See, for the general sense, ll. 422-4. The scribe may have been thinking of l. 1134.

p. 35, l. 1129. 'It was ill for her.' Cf. 'well is thee.'

p. 38, l. 1233. Garnett suggested that we should delete the comma after clothen, and explain that word as 'clothes.' He forgot that clothen is a false form for the plural; see clothes in l. 586. We find clathen in Layamon, i. 135, but this is the dative, and represents A.S. cláðum. Nevertheless, I feel sure that the suggestion is practically right. We should surely read clopes; and the sense is—'they shall wash and wring her clothes.'

p. 41, l. 1336. As Nim in with the gives no sense, Zupitza proposes to read Nimen with, or rather Nimen wit, i.e. let us two go; where wit is the A.S. wit, we two. We have the dual form unker in l. 1882; and nime means 'go' in l. 1931. This is an admirable suggestion.

He also notes that, in l. 1337, we must divide on frest into two words, as Stratmann does, s. v. frist. Do on frest = put in delay, cause to be delayed; where frest is a sb., viz. Icel. frest, delay. Vigfusson gives selju á frest, to sell on credit (lit. to sell on delay). See Anglia, i. 471.

p. 43, l. 1420. For wolde read he wolde; or he must be understood.
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 44, l. 1430.  *Hauede* go, availed; cf. note to l. 44, p. liv.

p. 45, l. 1643.  *Yowen-el* given it; see the Glossary, s. v. *Et* and *Yeue.*

p. 45, l. 1667.  Formerly I printed *me serf-borw,* giving no sense. The admirable correction (to *me-self borw*) is due to Dr. Murray. It means—'thereof will I myself be surety.'

p. 45, l. 1669.  *Drad* can hardly be thus used; read *a-drad,* as in l. 2304.—Sir F. Madden.

The scribe has mistaken *sor* *a-drad* for *sor-e drad.*

p. 46, l. 1678.  Cf. note, p. 97.  Read—

‘Or he [*ferre*] fro him ferde,
Seyde he, *hat* his folk [hit] herde.’

*Ferre* = further; see Stratmann.

p. 46, l. 1687.  For *parned* read *poled;* see Glossary, s. v. *parne.*


p. 47, ll. 1732, 1733.  For *tel* read *telle,* the gerundial form. *Bidde* can hardly be right; and *bide* is scarcely better. I suspect we should read—'Ne of *pe* wyn me *bir* pout dwelle.'  See *Birpe* in the Glossary.

p. 47, l. 1736.  For *deled* read *deyled;* see l. 2099.

p. 50, l. 1838.  Shoten means 'rushed,' or 'dashed;' not 'shot.'  So also *scuten* in l. 2431; and in Barbour’s *Bruce,* 8. 54, 9. 591, 10. 654, 14. 210, 16. 406, 17. 111.

p. 52, l. 1884.  Zupitza (in *Anglia,* i. 472) says I ought to have inserted *be,* not *we,* at the end of the line.  It would then mean—'Till our lord be avenged.'  This will do very well.

But *we* also makes sense, viz. 'Till we may avenge our lord.'  Zupitza says the order of words is 'etwas unnatürlich.'  To me, an Englishman, it is natural enough.  Cf. *late we* in l. 1883.

p. 53, l. 1915.  Perhaps insert a note of interrogation after the former *he.*  See *Wereved* in the Glossary.

p. 53, l. 1932.  *Wold* is not in the Glossary, nor do I understand it.  Stratmann takes it as for *wolde* (*wolden*), the pp. of *welden,* to rule, govern, control.  Then the line means—'that this strife, to what it is turned,' i.e. to what this strife has been turned.  The general sense clearly is—what has been the upshot of this struggle.

p. 56, l. 2005.  *Hauen-et,* have it; *sure,* sourly, bitterly; *kaff,* bought.  I.e. 'they have bought it bitterly.'  *Sure* (omitted in the Glossary) is explained at p. xxxix, l. 10.

p. 58, l. 2101.  For *birpe* read *birp;* see Glossary.

p. 61, l. 2171.  Here *eyn-e* = A.S. *égenum,* dat. pl.

p. 62, l. 2214.  For *tauhte* read *bi-tauhte,* as in l. 2212.  Compare ll. 2217-9 with ll. 186—191.

p. 66, l. 2338.  As *crowd* will not rime, read *crod.*  Note that *crod* is a better form, being short for *croden,* the pp. of *crûden,* to crowd, push, squeeze, oppress; and the sense is—'I should not be oppressed (or burdened) thereby.'  We find *crod* used in the prov. E. (Norfolk) sense
of 'to push a barrow' in the Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner, iii. 215—
'though sche xuld be creod in a barwe,' i.e. though she should be wheeled along in a barrow. The Norfolk crowd also means to squeeze, incommod.

p. 66, l. 2348. For hec I formerly printed het, which makes no sense. As the MS. may be read as hec, I alter it. Hec = ec = eke. The sense is—'And also William Wendut, his brother.' This correction is due to Zupitza, in Anglia, i. 472.

p. 66, l. 2356. With-held be king, the king retained. So in l. 2362.

p. 67, l. 2370. Hal = half; cf. twel = twelve.—Sir F. Madden.

p. 68, l. 2413. Perhaps Ne weren should be Ne were, i.e. had it not been that, or unless. Cf. Warne (= war ne), unless, in Morris's Glossary to Hampole's Pricke of Conscience. On the other hand, the plural weren is not excluded. It is no stranger idiom than we find elsewhere. Take, for example, the following:—'He fell in a great dyke, and was sore hurt, and had ben there deed and [if] his page had nat ben, who followed hym,' &c.; Spec. of English, pt. 3, ed. Skeat, p. 163, l. 95. Before Slowen understand who.

p. 69, l. 2441. Sir F. Madden explained to leite by 'too light'; see Glossary. This cannot be right. Leite is the Icel. leita, to seek; and the line means:—'the bonds were not to seek,' were not such as to need to be sought for; i.e. they were visible enough, being multiplied sufficiently. See laiten in Stratmann.

p. 72, l. 2536. Understand was before comen; 'and an army was come.'

p. 72, l. 2557. 'With very good weapons, that ye so bear;' as if quoting Godrich's very words. For ber read bere, pl.

p. 73, l. 2567. For sat read at-sat, resisted. See Sat in the Glossary.

p. 73, l. 2579. I formerly placed a comma at the end of the line, but Zupitza pointed out (in Anglia, i. 472) that it was not wanted, and I have removed it. He also notes that Hise in l. 2580 is an error for Is. The sense is:—'See where, at Grimsby, an army of foreigners is come (has arrived).' Cf. l. 2153, 2535.

p. 74, l. 2611. Late rith, let (to be) right, placed aright, adjusted.

p. 75, l. 2635. With can hardly mean 'together with'; so the footnote is probably wrong. With the sword = by means of his sword; cf. l. 1825 for the rime.

p. 76, l. 2670. For bliune read blunne; this is certain. Cf. p. xlvi, l. 24.

p. 76, l. 2698. Read—'That he [ne] felden,' i.e. that they did not fall. Cf.—'vncline spirits, whan thei seyen him, felden down to him'; Wyclif's version of Mark iii. 11. So also Dan. falde is 'to fall.'

p. 77, l. 2713. Read wimman, and disregard the footnote. See note to l. 174 above; p. liv.

p. 82, l. 2889. It were, there were. Cf. 'it is I,' formerly 'it am I.'

p. 85, l. 2990. For thit read tith, i.e. right, rimeing with rith, i.e. right. See Thit in the Glossary.
ADDITIONS, &c. TO THE GLOSSARY.

Bathe. Add—Bepe, 360. And see Bepe. Add—Bepe; see Baçe.
Bihetet; not 'promised,' but 'promised it.' Put for bihetet it. See Et.
Bise. Reference omitted. See l. 724.
Blake. This occurs, in M.E., both as the pl. of blak, black, and of blak, pale, wan, white. Even the singular blak occasionally has the latter meaning. The references are more numerous than are given, viz. blac, black, 555; Blake, pl. black, 2521. Also blac, black (?), 1008; cf. Blake (riming with crake), 1909; (riming with take), 2181, 2694, 2847; (riming with make), 2249. Also mi Blake swire, my pale? (white?) neck, 311. See Bleike below, and Blake in Murray's Dictionary.
Blakne. Perhaps 'to grow pallid,' as with rage; but see Blacken in Murray's Dictionary.
Bleike. Not the A.S. blæc, but the Norse form; Icel. bleikr, Swed. blek.
Bole. A.S. bulluc, not bulluca.
Bone. Not A.S. bæn, but Icel. bón.
Bulder. Dele the last three lines.
But, n. 1040. It means a 'put,' a throw. Godefroy gives O.F. 'bout, coup'; also 'boute, coup porté en bontant.'
Cone, 622, 623. It is the 2 pers. sing. pres. subj.; A.S. cunne, mayst be able.
Croud. See note above, to l. 2338; p. lviii.
Crus. Cf. 'Gains them he was ful kene and crus,' i. e. angry, severe; Cursor Mundi, 14740. And see Chester Plays, ed. Wright, p. 51.
Dam; i. e. lord. Cf. 'Dan Chancer.'
Dreng. So also in ll. 1327, 2184, 2194.
Drop, pt. t. slew, 2229; see Drepen.
Drou, Drof. Transpose these.
Dunten. Misplaced; see after Dint.
Et. So also bihetet = bihetet it, 677; youenet, given it, 1643.
Feldon (l. 2698) may stand; see note to l. 2698 above; p. lix.
Ferne; see under Fer.
Frend, pl. friends, 2585.
Frest, n. delay; see note above, to l. 1337; p. lvii.
Fri; probably an error; read sley. See note to l. 1072; p. lvii.
Gad. Not A.S. gâd, but Icel. gâðr.
Gan, pt. s. did, 2443. (A mere auxiliary.)
Gate (1); so also in l. 2509.
Gol, s. gold, 357.
ADDITIONS, &C. TO THE GLOSSARY.

Greting. Misplaced; see after Grene.

Greyhe. Not A.S. gerédian, but Icel. greiða.

Hec, for ec, i.e. eke, 2348. See note, p. lix.

Hend, n. pl. hands, 2444. See Mätzner.

Here, n. army. So in l. 2580.

Hul. Cf. hule, a hole, in Mätzner. It can hardly be the river Hull, as that is too far off.

Kayn. The sense is 'retainer'; but Sir F. Madden's identification of kayn with theyn is impossible. Cf. Kaynard; see Cauenard, p. 113.

Late, adj. late; to late, too late, 691, 845.

Leite. Wrongly explained; see note to l. 2441 above; p. lix.

Leyk. Not A.S. lac, but Icel. leikr.

Littene; (perhaps) to become little, to diminish (Stratmann).

Mele, v. speak, 2059. A.S. mēlan. (Stratmann.)

Mine, n. the name of a game, 2326. See p. 101, section 5. Godefroy has:—'Mine, s. f., sorte de jeu.'

Mithe. A.S. mīðan; G. meiden.

Mone, n. 816. Surely an error for won; see ll. 1711, 1972.

Neth, (1) net; (2) neat, cattle, beast. The references are, perhaps, wrongly distributed. It means 'net' in l. 752, but 'neat' or 'beast' in ll. 700, 808, 1026, 1222; so also net, 1891. Perhaps 'calf' is sometimes meant.

Onfrest. Error for 'on frest'; see note to l. 1337; p. livii.

Onne; perhaps sometimes dissyllabic, and adverbial; see also ll. 1675, 1689, 1940, 2105.

Plattinde. Cf. the following, where it seems to mean 'flapping about.'

For the mouthe he had grinning
And the tonge out platting.


Sat; see note to l. 2567; p. lix.

Segges. The F. sèche = Lat. sepia.

Selthe. Better 'happiness'; and the proverb means—'Peace and happiness go together.' Cf. 'rest and be thankful.' I think Goldburgh meant that she could neither rest nor be happy in England. Restlessness was upon her, and she must have her wish. Cf. l. 1339.

Sene, adj. is the A.S. ge-sēne, ge-sēne, visible; cf. Chaucer, Prol. 134. Quite distinct from the pp. of see.

Serf-borw. See note to l. 1667; p. lviii.

Shoten; see Schoten.

Site, v. sit; so in l. 366.


Sweyn; see Sueyn. Not A.S. swēn; but Icel. sveinn.

Tel. A.S. tel, with the same sense as talu, viz. reproach.
Unwrast. The A.S. words are unwræst and wræst.
Wat, pp. said, 1674. See Quath. But the use of this form as a pp. is incorrect.
Winan; read Wiman. See note to l. 174; p. liv.
With-held, pt. s. retained, 2356, 2362.
Wold. See note to l. 1932; p. lviii.
Wone, n. opinion, 1711, 1972 (and probably 816). Stratmann gives the same explanation, s. v. wene.

W. W. S.

Herknet to me, gode men,
Wiwes, maydnes, and alle men,
Of a tale þat ich you wile telle,
Wo so it wile here, and þer-to duelle.
þe tale is of hauelok i-maked ;
Wilk he was litel he yede ful naked :
Hauelok was a ful god gome,
He was ful god in eueri trome,
He was þe wicheste man at node,
þat purte riden on ani stede.
þat ye mowen nou y-here,
And þe tale ye mowen y-lere.
At the beginning 1 of vre tale,
Fil me a cuppe of ful god ale ;
And [y] wile drincken her y spelle,
þat crist vs shilde alle fro helle !
Krist late vs heuere so for to do,
þat we moten comen him to,
And wit[e]2 pat it mote ben so !
Benedicamus domino !
Here y schal biginnen a rym,
Krist us yeue wel god fyn !

[Fol. 204, col. 1.]
Hearken !

4 I will tell you the tale of Havelok.

8 a wight man at need.

12 First, fill me a cup of ale.

16 Christ grant we may do right !

20

1 MS. Beginnig.
2 See ll. 517, 1316.
The rime is about Havelok.
The rym is made of hauelok,
A stalworpi man in a fok;
He was pe stalworpeste man at nede,
mat may riden on ani stede.

There was once a king who made good laws.
It was a king bi are dawes,
That in his time were gode lawes
He dede maken, an ful wel holden;
Hym louede yung, him louede holde,
Erl and barun, dreng and kayn,
Kniet, bondeman, and swain,

All loved him.
Wyndes, maydnes, prestes and clerkes,
And al for his gode werkis.
He louede god with al his micth,
And holi kirke, and soth, ant rict ;
Rich-wise 1 men he louede alle,
And oneral made hem forto calle ;
Wreieres and wrobberes made he falle,
And hatred hem so man doth galle ;
Vtlawes and theues made he bynde,
Alle that he micthe fynde,
And heye hengen on galwe-tre ;
For hem ne yede gold ne fe.

He hated traitors and robbers.
In that time a man pat bore
{Wel fyfty pund, y woth, or more, 2
Of red gold up-on his bac,
In a male with or blac,
Ne funde he non that him misseyde,
N[e] with iuele on [him] hond leyde.
Banne micthe chapmen fare
Buruth engloud wit here ware,
And baldelike beye and sellen,
Oneral þer he wilen dwellen,

1 MS. "Rirth wise."
2 Supplied from conjecture. Cf. v. 653, 787. A few more instances will be found where a similar liberty has been taken, for the purpose of completing the sense.
In gode burwes, and þer-fram
Ne funden he non þat dede hem sham,
þat he ne weren sone to sorwe brouth,
An pouere maked, and browt to nouth.
þanne was engelond at hayse;¹
Michel was sviæ a king to preyse,
þat held so eng[æ]lond in grith!
Krist of heuene was him with.
He was engelondes blome;
Was non so bold lond to rome,
þat durste upon his [menie] bringhe
Hunger, ne here wicke þinghe.
Hwan he felede hise foos,
He made hem lurken, and crepen in wros;
þe hidden hem alle, and helden hem stille,
And diden al his herte wille.
Rich he louede of alle þinge,
To wronge midst him no man bringe,
Ne for siluer, ne for gold:—
So was he his soule hold.
To þe faderles was he rath,
Wo so dede hem wrong or lath,
Were it clerc, or were it knicth,
He dede hem sone to hauen rich;
And wo [so] diden widuen wrong,
Were he neure knicth so strong,
þat he ne made him sone kesten,
And in feteres ful faste festen;
And wo so did maydne shame
Of hire bodi, or brooth in blame,
Bute it were bi hire wille,
He ² made him sone of limes spille.
He was te ³ beste knið at nede,
þat heuere micthe riden on stede,
Or wepne wagge, or folc vt lede;

¹ MS. athayse. ² MS. Ke. ³ MS. Ke waste.
Of knith ne hauede he neuere drede,
pat he ne sprong forth so sparke of glede,
And lete him [knaue] of hise hand-dede,
Hw he coupe with wepne spede;
And opre he refte him hors or wede,
Or made him some hauedes sprede,
And "louerd, merci!" loude grede.
He was large, and no wicth gneede;
Hauede he non so god brede,
Ne on his bord non so god shrede,
Pat he ne wolle þorwit fede
Poure þat on fote yede;
Forto hauene of him þe mede
Pat for vs wolle on rode blede,
Crist, that al kan wisse and rede,
Pat euere woneth in ani þede.

He made his foes cry for mercy.

Hw he coujje with wepne spede;
He made his foes cry for mercy.

He fed the poor.

His name was Athelwold.

He had but a young daughter to succeed him.

He feels he is dying; and says,

"I am in trouble about her."
Sho ne kan speke, ne sho kan go.
Yif scho coupe on horse ride,
And a thousande men bi hire syde;
And sho were comen intil helde,
And engelond sho coupe welde;
And don hem of par hire were queme,
An hire bodi coupe yeme;
No wolde me neuere iuele like
Me pou ich were in heuene-riche!"

Quaune he hauede pis pleinte maked,
per-after stronglike [he] quaked.
He sende writes sone on-on
After his erles euere-ich on ;
And after his baruas, riche and poure,
Fro rokesburw al into douere,
That he shulden comen swiâpe
Til him, that was ful vnblîpe ;
To pat stede pe[r] he lay,
In harde bondes, nicth and day.
He was so faste wit yuel fest,
pat he ne mouthe hauene no rest ;
He ne mouthe no mete hete,
Ne he ne mouchte no lype gete ;
Ne non of his iuel pat coupe red ;
Of him ne was nouth buten ded.

A lle pat the writes herden,
A lie sorful an sori til him ferden ;
He wrungen hondes, and wepen sore,
And yerne preyden cristes hore,
pat he [wolde] turnen him
Vt of pat yuel pat was so grim!
Quanne he weren comen alle
Bifor pe king into the halle,
At winchestre pe he lay ;

Were she but of age,
I would not care for myself."

He summons his lords, from Roxburgh to Dover.

He can no longer eat.

All sadly obey his summons.

They come to Winchester.
“Welcome,” he seyde, “be ye ay!
Ful michel pank[e] kan [y] yow
That ye aren comen to me now!”

They all mourn and lament.

Quan he weren alle set,
And þe king aneden i-gret,
He greten, and gouleden, and gouen hem ille,
And he bad hem alle ben stille;
And seyde, “þat gretiþ helpeth nouth,
For al to dede am ich brouth.
Bute nov ye sen þat i shal dye,
Nou ich wille you alle preye
Of mi douther þat shal be
Yure leuedi after me,
Wo may yemen hire so longe,
Boþen hire and engelonde,
Til þat she [mowe] winan of helde,
And þa she mowe yemen and welde?"
He anssereden, and seyden an-on,
Bi crist and bi seint ion,
That þerl Godrigh of cornwayle
Was trewe man, wit-uten faile;
Wis man of red, wis man of dede,
And men haueden of him mikel drede.

They answer, “Earl Godrich of Cornwall.”

He may hire alþer-best[e] yeme,
Til þat she mowe wel ben quene.”

The king sends for chalice and paten,

Pe king was payed of that Rede;
A wol fair cloth bringen he dede,
And þeron leyde þe messebok,
þe caliz, and þe pateyn ok,
þe corporaus, þe messe-gere;
þer-on he garte þe erl suere,
þat he sholde yemen hire wel,
With-uten lac, wit-uten tel,
Til þat she were tuelf 1 witer hold,

1 Qu. tuenti. Cf. v. 259.
And of speche were bold;
And that she coupe of curteysye,
Gon, and spoken of lune-drurye;
And till that she louen moucte
Wom so hire to gode thoucte;
And that he shulde hire yeue
Be beste man that michte line,
Be beste, fayreste, the strangest ok:
That dede he him sweren on he bok.
And thatne shulde he engelond
Al bitechen in-to hire hond.

Quaunce that was sworn on his wise,
That king dede he mayden arise,
And he erl hire bitancte,
And al the lond he euere awcte;
Engelonde eueri del;
And preide, he shulde yeme hire wel.

He king ne mowcte don no more,
But yerne preyede godes ore;
And dede him hoslen wel and shrune,
I woth, fif hundred sipes and fiue;
An ofte dede him sore swinge,
And wit hondes smerte dinge;
So that blod ran of his fleys,
That tendre was, and swipe neys.
And sone gaf it euere-il del;
He made his quiste swipe wel.
Wan it was gouen, ne michte men finde
So mikel men michte him in winde,
Of his in arke, ne in chiste,

1 MS. mithe. But see l. 257.
2 MS. Quaunce. And perhaps "his" should have been "his."
3 Some lines appear to be wanting here, such as—
   "He boucte his quiste pan to make,
   His catel muste he wel bitake," &c.
In engelond pat noman wiste:
For al was youen, faire and wel,
Pat him was leued no catel.

[Fol. 205, col. 2.]

Anne he hauede ben ofte swngen,
Ofte shriuen, and ofte dungen,
"In manus tuas, lou[er]de," he seyde,
Her pat he pe speche leyde.

The king dies.
To ihesu crist began to calle,
And deyede biforn his heymen alle.
Pan he was ded, pere micte men se
Pe meste sorwe that micte be;
Per was sobbing, siking, and sor,
Handes wringing, and drawing bi hor.

All mourn for him.
Alle greten swipe sore,
Riche and pourre pat pere wore;
An mikel sorwe haueden alle,
Leuedyes in boure, knictes in halle.

Quan pat sorwe was somdel laten,
And he haueden longe graten,

Belles deden he sone ringen,
Monkes and prestes messe singen;
And sauteres deden he manie reden,
Pat god self shulde his soule leden
Into heuene, biforn his sone,
And per wit-uten hende won.

Masses are sung for him.

Pan he was to pe erpe brouth,
Pe riche erl ne foryat nouth,
Pat he ne dede al engelond
Sone sayse intil his hond;
And in pe castels leth he¹ do
Pe knictes he micte tristen to;
And alle pe englis dede he swere[n],

¹ Sir F. Madden printed "lechhe"; but the MS. may be read "leth he."
Earl Godrich takes possession.

Pat he shulden him ghod fey beren;
He yaf alle men, pat god pouccte,
Liuen and deyen til pat him mouccte,¹
Til pat pe kinges dowes wore
Tuenti winter hold, and more.

Anne he hausede taken pis oth
Of erles, baruns, lef and loth,
Of knictes, cherles, fre and pewe,
Justises dede he maken newe,
Al engelond to faren porw,
Fro douere into rokesborw.
Schireues he sette, bedels, and greyues,
Grith-sergeans, wit longe gleyues,
To yemen wilde wodes and papes
Fro wicke men, that wolde don scapes;
And forto haunen alle at his cri,
At his will, at his merci;
Pat non durste ben him ageyn,
Erl ne barun, knict ne sweyn.
Wislike for soth, was him wel
Of folc, of weapne, of catel.
Soplke, in a lke prawe
Al engelond of him stod awe;
Al engelond was of him adrad,²
So his pe beste fro pe gad.

E kinges doughter bigan priue,
And wex pe payrest wman on liue.
Of alle pe wes w[as] she wis,
Pat gode weren, and of pris.
Pe mayden Goldeboru was hoten;
For hire was mani a ter igroten.

¹ So in MS. But the sense requires
"He gaf alle men, pat god him pouccte,
Liuen and deyen til pat he mouccte," &c.
² MS. "adred," altered to "adrad."
GODRICH PLOTS AGAINST HIS WARD.

Quanne the Erl godrich him herde
Of pat mayde, hw we[1 s]he ferde;
Hw wis sho was, w chaste, hw fayr,
And pat sho was pe rithe eyr
Of engelond, of al pe rike:—
Bo bigan godrich to sike,
And seyde, "weper she sholde be
Quen and leuedi ouer me?
Hweper sho sholde al engelond,
And me, and mine, hauen in hire hond?
Dapeit hwo it hire thaue!
Shal sho it neuere more haue.
Sholde ic yeue a fol, a þerne,
Engelond, þou sho it yerne?
Dapeit hwo it hire yeue,
Euere more hwil i liue!
Sho is waxen al to prud,
For gode metes, and noble shrud,
þat hic haue youen hire to offte;
Hic haue yemed hire to softe.
Shal it nouth ben als sho þenkes,
'Hope maketh fol man ofte blenkes.'
Ich haue a sone, a ful fayr knaue,
He shal engelond al haue.
He shal [ben] king, he shal ben sire.
So brouke i euere mi blake swire!"

Hwan þis trayson was al þouth,
Of his oth ne was him nouth.
He let his oth al ouer-ga,
þerof ne yaf he nouth a stra;
But sone dede hire fete,
[fol. 205 b, col. 2.]
Er he wolde heten ani mete,
Fro winchestr þur sho was,
Also a wicke traytur iudas;
And dede leden hire to doure,
BIRKABEYN IS KING OF DENMARK.

Of Goldeboru shul we nou laten,

\[\text{He shuts her up in the castle.}\]

Of hire frend, with [hire] to spoken,
\[\text{May Christ release Goldborough from prison!}\]

\(\text{He was fayr man, and wicth, Of bodi he was pe beste knieth}\)

\(\text{He hauede a sone [and] douhtres two,}\)
\(\text{He haude a sone [and] douhtres two,}\)
\(\text{He haude} a sone\ [and]\ douhtres two,\)

\(\text{He pat wile non forbere,}\)
\(\text{Death came upon him.}\)
Liuen, but hyse dayes were fulde;
pat he ne moucte no more liue,
For gol ne siluer, ne for no gyue.

He sends for the priests.

\[ \text{Hwan he pat wiste, rape he sende} \]
\[ \text{After prestes fer an hende,} \]
\[ \text{Chanounes gode, and monkes bepe,}^1 \]
\[ \text{Him for to wisse, and to Rede;} \]
\[ \text{Him for to hoslon, an forto shriue,} \]
\[ \text{Hwil his bodi were on liue.} \]

[\text{Fol. 206, col. 1.}]\]

He asks who will guard his children?

\[ \text{Hwan he was hosled and shriuen,} \]
\[ \text{His quiste maked, and for him gyuen,} \]
\[ \text{His knictes dede he alle site,} \]
\[ \text{For porw hem he wolde wite,} \]
\[ \text{Hwo micte yeme hise children yunge,} \]
\[ \text{Til pat he koupen spoken wit tunge;} \]
\[ \text{Spoken and gangen, on horse riden,} \]
\[ \text{Knictes an sweynes bi here siden.} \]
\[ \text{He spoken per-offe, and chosen sone} \]
\[ \text{A riche man was under mone,} \]
\[ \text{Was pe trewest pat he wende,} \]
\[ \text{Godard, pe kinges oune frende;} \]
\[ \text{And seyden, he Moucthe hem best loke,} \]
\[ \text{Yif pat he hem vndertoke,} \]
\[ \text{Til hise sone Mouthe here} \]
\[ \text{Helm on heued, and leden vt here,} \]
\[ \text{In his hand a speri stark,} \]
\[ \text{And king ben maked of denemark.} \]
\[ \text{He wel trowede pat he seyde,} \]
\[ \text{And on Godard handes leyde;} \]
\[ \text{And seyde, “Here bi-tethe i pe} \]
\[ \text{Mine children alle pre,} \]
\[ \text{Al denemark, and al mi fe,} \]
\[ \text{Til pat mi sone of helde be;} \]

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\[ ^1 \text{MS. “bope.” But “bepe” rimes to “Rede”; see l. 694.} \]
\[ ^2 \text{MS. forthim to, the hem being expimcted.} \]
But *pat ich wille, pat po[u] suere
On auter, and on messé-gere,
On *pe belles *pat men ringes,
On messé-bok *pe prest on singes,
*pat *pou mine children shal[1] yeme,
*pat hire kin be ful wel queme,
Til mi sone mowe ben knicth,
Janne biteche him *po his Ricth,
Denemarke, and *pat pertil longes,
Casteles and tunes, wodes and wonges."

Godarst stirr up, an swor al *pat
*pe king him bad, and s[1]pen sat
Bi the knicthes, *pat *per ware,
*pat wepen alle swipe sare
For *pe king *pat deide sone:
Ihesu críst, that makede mone
On *pe mirke nith to shine,
Wite his soule fro helle pine;
And leue *pat it mote wone
In heuene-riche with godes sone!

Hwan birkabeyn was leyd in graue,
*pe erl dede sone take *pe knaue,
Havelok, *pat was *pe eir,
Swanborow, his sister, helled, *pe toper,¹
And in *pe castel dede he hem do,
*per non ne micte hem comen to
Of here kyn, *per *pei sperd wore;²
*per he greten ofte sore,
Bope for hunger and for kold,
Or he weren *per winter hold.
Feblelike he gaf hem clopes,
He ne yaf a note of hisce opes;

388 He makes him swear to take care of them,
392 and to give up the kingdom to the boy.
396 Godard swears to do so.
400 Christ save the king's soul!
404 [Fol. 296, col. 2.]
408 Godard shuts up the children, Havelok, Swan-

¹ Corrupt? Lines 410, 411 do not rime well together.
² MS. were. But see l. 237.
GODARD IMPRISONS THE THREE CHILDREN.

He hem [ne] clopede rith, ne fedde, 420
Ne hem ne dede richelike be-bedde.

panne godard was sikerlike

Vnder god pe moste swike,
pat eure in erpe shaped was,
With-uten on, pe wike Iudas.

May he be accursed!

Haue he pe malisun to-day
Of alle pat eure spoken may!
Of patriark, and of pope!
And of prest with loken kope!
Of monekes, and hermites bope!¹
And of pe leue holi rode,
pat god him-selue ran on blode!

Cursed be he by north and south!

Crist warie him with his mouth!
Waried wrthe he of norp and suth!
Offe alle man, pat spoken kunne!
Of crist, pat made² mone and sunne!
panne he hauede of al pe loud
Al pe folk tilled in-till his hond,
And alle haueden sworn him oth,
Riche and poure, lef and loth,
pat he sholden hise wille freme,
And pat he shulde[n] him nouth greme,
He pouthe a ful strong trechery,
A trayson, and a felony,
Of pe children forto make:
pe deuel of helle him sone take!

He plots against the children.

Hwau pat was pouth, onon he ferde
To pe tour per he weren sperde,
per he greten for hunger and cold:
pe knaue pat was sumdel bold,
Kam him ageyn, on knes him sette,
And godard ful feyre he per grette;

He goes to the tower where they are.

And Godard seyde, "Wat is yw?"

¹ Lines 430, 431, 432 rime together. NB. The words *holi rode*
² MS. maude.
are written over an erasure.
Hwi grete ye and goulen nou?

“For us hungreth swipe sore:”—

Seyden he wolden [haue] more,

“We ne haue to hete, ne we ne hauc
Herinne neyther knith ne knaue
pat yeueth us drinken, ne no mete,
Haluendel pat we moune ete.

Wo is us pat we weren born!
Weilawei! nis it no korn,
pat men micte maken of bred?
Vs 1 hungreth, we aren ney ded.”

Godard herde here wa,
Ther-offe yaf he nouth a stra,
But tok pe maydnes bothe samen,
Al-so it were up-on hiis gamen;
Al-so he wolde with hem leyke,
pat weren for hunger grene and bleike.

Of bopen he karf on two here protes,
And sipen [karf] hem alto grotes.
ber was sorwe, wo so it sawe!
Hwan pe children bi p[e] 2 wawe
Leyen and spranleden in pe blod:
Havelok it saw, and pe[r] bi stod.

Ful sori was pat seli knaue,
Mikel dred he mouthe haue,
For at hise herte he saw a knif,
For to reuen him hise lyf.

But pe knaue, 3 pat litel was,
He knelede bifor pat iudas,
And seyde, “louerd, merci nov!
Mazrede, louerd, biddi you!
Al denemark i wile you yene,
To pat forward pu late me liue;
Here hi wile on boke swere,
pat neure more ne shal i bere

1 MS. ðs; cf. l. 455. 2 MS. bip; cf. l. 2470. 3 MS. kuae.
offering never to oppose him,
Ayen pe, louerd, shel ne spere,
Ne oper wepne ¹ that may you dere.
Louerd, haue merci of me!
To-day i wile fro denemark fle,
Ne neuere more comen ageyn :
Sweren y wole, pat bircabein
Neuere yete me ne gat:”—
Hwan pe deuel he[r]de ² that,
[fol.206f., col.2.]
Godard has pity on liim.
Sum-del bigan him forto rewe ;
With-drow pe knif, pat was lewe
Of pe seli children blod ;
per was miracle fair and god !
pat he knaeu nouth ne slou,
But fo[r] rewnesse him wit-drow.³
Of auelok rewede him ful sore,
And poucte, he wolde pat he ded wore,
But on pat he nouth wit his hend
Ne drepe him nouth,⁴ pat fule fend!
poucte he, als he him bi stod,
Starinde als he were wod :
"Yif y late him liues go,
He micte me wirchen michel wo.
Grith ne get y neuere mo,
He may [me] waiten for to slo ;
And yf he were brouct of line,
And mine children wolden thrue,
Louerdinges after me
Of al denemark micten he be.
God it wite, he shal ben ded,
Wile i taken non oper red ;

¹ MS. "wepne here," where "here" is redundant.
² MS. hede.
³ Printed thus in the former edition:—"But to rewnesse him thit drow." But the MS. has fo, not to, where fo is corruptly written for for, as in l. 1318; and the initial letter of the last syllable but one may be read as a Saxon w (Ƿ), not a thorn-letter (þ). It merely repeats the idea in ll. 497, 498.
⁴ Qu. mouth.
I shall do casten him in þe se, 1
þer i wile þat he drench[ed] be;
Abouten his hals an anker god,
þat he ne flete in the flod.”
þer anon he dede sende
After a fisheere þat he wende,
þat wolde al his wille do,
And sone anon he seyde him to:
“Grim, þou wost þu art mi þral,
Wilt don mi wille al,
þat i wile bidden þe,
To-morwen [i] shall maken þe fre,
And aucte þe yeuen, and riche make,
With-þan þu wilt þis child[e] take,
And leden him with þe to-nicht,
þan þou sest se 2 Mone līth,
In-to þe se, and don him þer-inne,
Al wile [i] taken on me þe sinne.”
Grim tok þe child, and bond him faste,
Hwil þe bondes micte laste;
þat weren of ful strong line :—
þo was hauelok in ful strong pine.
Wiste he neuer her wat was wo:
Itheu crīst, þat makede to go
þe halte, and þe doumbe speken,
Hauelok, þe of Godard wreken!

Hwan grim him hauede faste bounden,
And sipen in an eld cloth wunden . . .
A keuel of clutes, ful un-wraste,
þat he [ne] mouthe speke, ne fnaste,
Hwere he wolde him bere or lede.
Hwan he hauede don þat dede,
Hwan 3 þe swike him hauede lethede, 4

1 MS. she.  2 So in MS. Qu. þe.
3 We should rather read “þan.”  4 MS. he þede.
Havelok is taken to Grim's cottage.

He puts him in a bag, and takes him on his back.

He puts him in charge of his wife.

She throws down Havelok violently.

The child lies there till midnight.

Grim tells his wife to light the fire and a candle.

If he shulde him forth [leden]
And him drinchen in þe se;
If forwarde makeden he.

In a poke, ful and blac,
Sone he caste him on his bac,
And bitauete him dame leue,
And seyde, “wite þou þis knaue,
Al-so thou with mi lif haue;
I shal dreinchen him in þe se,
For him shole we ben maked fre.
Gold haueþ ynow, and þær þe;
If hauet mi louerd bihoteþ me.”

Slie throws down Havelok violently.

The child lies there till midnight.

Grim tells his wife to light the fire and a candle.

Hwan dame [leue] herde Ifat,
Vp she stirte, and nouth ne sat,
And caste þe knaue adoun so harde,
Ifat hise crowne he þer crakede
Ageyn a gret ston, þer it lay:
þo hauelok micte sei, “weilawei!
Ifat euere was i kingser bern!”
Ifat him ne hauede grip or ern,
Leoun or wlf, whuine or bere,
Or þær best, Ifat wolde him derc.
So lay Ifat child to middel niðth.
Ifat grim bad leue bringen lict,
For to don on [him] his cloþes:
“Ne þenkeste nowt of mine opes
Ifat ich haue mi louerd sworen?
Ne wile i nouth be forloren.
I shal beren him to þe se,
þou wost Ifat [bi-]houes me;
And i shal dreinchen him þer-inne;
Ris up swipe, an go þu binne,
And blou þe fir, and lath a kandel:”
Als she shulde hise cloþes handel
On fortodon, and blawe pe \(^1\) fir,
She saw per-inne a lith ful shir,
Also brith so it were day,
Aboute pe knaue per he lay.
Of hisemouthit stodastem,
Als it were a sumnebem;
Also lithwasitper-inne,
So perbrendencergesinne: \(^2\)

"Ihesu crist!" wat dame leue,
"Hwat is pat lith invre cleue!"
Sir\(^3\) upgrím, and loke wat it menes,
Hwat is pe lith as pouwenes?"
He stirten bopeup totheknaue,
For manshal god wille haue,
Vnkeuleden him, and swipe unbounden,
And sone anon [upon] him funden,
Als hetirneden ofhisserk,
Onhissrithshuldreakynemerk;
A swipebrith, aswipe fair:
"Goddot!" quath grím, "pis [is]ure eir
\(\text{pat} \)shal [ben] louerd of denemark,
He shal ben king strong and stark;
He shal hauener in his hand
A[l] denemark and engeland;
He shal do godard ful wo,
He shal him haugen, or quik flo;
Or he shal him al quic grave,
Of him shal he no merci haue."
\(\text{Jus} \)seide grím, and sore gret,
And sone fel him to pe fet,
And seide, "louerd, haue merci
Of me, and leue, that is me bi!
Louerd, we aren bope pine,
Pinecherles, pine hine.

\(^1\) MS. per. \(^2\) Qu. prinne. See II. 716, 761, 2125. \(^3\) Qu. stir, or stirt.
Lowerd, we sholen þe wel fede,
Til þat þu cone riden on stede,
Til þat þu cone ful wel bere
Helm on heued, sheld and spere.
He ne shal neuere wite, sikerlike,
Godard, þat fule swike.
þoru oper man, lourerd, than þoru þe,
Sal i neuere freman be.
þou shalt me, lourerd, fre maken,
For i shal yemen þe, and waken ;
þoru þe wile i fredom haue:"
þo was haveloc a blipe knaue.
He sat him up, and crauede bred.
And seide, "ich am [wel] ney ded,
Hwat for hunger, wat for bondes
þat þu leidest on min hondes ;
And for [þe] keuel at þe laste,
þat in mi mouth was þrist faste.
y was þe[r]-with so harde prangled,
þat i was þe[r]-with ney strangled."
"Wel is me þat þu mayth hete :
Goddoth!" quath leue, "y shal þe fete
Bred an chese, butere and milk,
Pastees and flaunes, al with suilk
Shole we sone þe wel fede,
Louerd, in þis mikel nede,
Soth it is, þat men seyt and suereth :
'þer god wile helpen, nouth no dereth.' "

Dame Leve brings him bread
and cheese, butter, &c.

Havelok is glad,
and asks for bread.

Godard shall never know about this.

Havelok eats all
up greedily.

Havelok anon bigan to ete
Grundlike, and was ful blipe ;
Coupe he nouth his hunger Mipe.
A lof he het, y woth, and more,
For him hungrede swipe sore.
þre dayes þer-bisorn, i wene,
Et he no mete, þat was wel sene. 656
Hwan he hauede eten, and was fed,
Grim dede maken a ful fayr bed;
Vnclopede him, and dede him þer-inne,
And seyde, “Slep sone, with michel winne;
Slep wel faste, and dred þe nouth,
Fro sorwe to ioie art þu brouth.”
Sone so it was lith of day,
Grim it under-tok þe wey
To þe wicke traitour godard,
þat was denemak a 1 stiward,
And seyde, “louerd, don ich haue
þat þou me bede of þe knaue;
He is drenched in þe flod,
Abouten his hals an anker god;
He is witer-like ded,
Eteth he neure more bled;
He lip drenched in þe se:—
Yif me gold [and] oþer þe,2
þat y move riche be;
And with þi chartre make [me] fre,
For þu ful wel bi-hetet me,
þanne i last[e] spak with þe.”
Godard stod, and lokede on him
þoruth-like, with eyne grim;
And seyde, “Wiltu [nou] ben erl?
Go hom swiþe, fule drit, cherl;
Go heþen, and be euere-more
þral and cherl, als þou er wore.
Shal þou] haue non oþer mede;
For litel i [shal]3 do þe lede
To þe galues, so god me rede!

1 Qu. Denemarkes.
2 Cf. 1. 1225.
3 The MS. has “ig,” but the g is expuncted; and it omits “shal.”
GRIM SETS SAIL FOR ENGLAND.

for he has done wickedly.

For *pou haues don a wicke dede.*
*pou Mait stonden her to longe,
Bute *pou swipe epen gonge."

Grimoucte to late *pat he ran*
Fro *pat traytour, pa wicke man;*
And *poucte, "wat shal me to rede?*
Wite he him onliue, he wile bepe
Heye hangen on galwe-tre:
Betere us is of londe to fle,
And berwen bopen ure liues,
And mine children, and mine wines."

Grim solde sone al his corn,
Shep wit wolle, neth wit horn,
Hors, and swin, [and gate] wit berd,
pe gees, pe heznes of pe yerd;
Al he solde, pat outh douthe,
That he eure selle moucte,
And al he to pe peni drou:
Hise ship he greyfede wel inow,
He dede it tere, an ful wel pike,
pat it ne douthed sond ne krike;
per-inne dide a ful god mast,
Stronge kables, and ful fast,
Ores god, an ful god seyl,
per-inne wantede nouth a nayl,
pat euere he sholde per-inne do:
Hwan he hauedet greyfed so,
Hanelok pe yunge he dide per-inne,
Him and his wif, hisse sonee prinne,
And hise two doutris, pat faire wore,
And sone dede he leyn in an ore,
And drou him to pe heye se,
peere he mith alper-best[e] fle.
Fro londe woren he bote a mile,
Ne were neuere but ane hwile,
but it ne bigan a wind to Rise
Out of þe north, men calleth 'bise'
And drof hem intil engelond,
þat al was sipen in his hond,
His, þat hauelok was þe name ;
But or he hauede michel shame,
Michel sorwe, and michel tene,
And þrie he gat it al bidene ;
Als ye shulen nou forthwar lere,¹
Yf that ye wilen þer-to here.

In humber grim bigan to lende,
In lindeseye, Rith at þe north ende.
þer sat is ship up-on þe sond,
But grim it drou up to þe lond ;
And þere he made a litel cote,
To him and to his e flote.
Bigan he þere for to erfe,
A litel hus to maken of erfe,
So þat he wel þere were
Of here herborn herborwed þere ;
And for þat grim þat place aute,
þe stede of grim þe name laute ;
So þat [hit] grimesbi calleth alle
þat þer-offe spaken alle,
And so shulen men callen it ay,
Bituene þis and domesday.

Grim was fishere swiþe god,
And mikel couþe on the flod ;
Mani god fish þer-inne he tok,
Bope with neth, and with hok.
He tok þe sturgium, and þe qual,
And þe turbut, and lax with-al,

¹ MS. here; read lere. Cf. ll. 12, 1640.

[Fol. 208, col. 1.] A north wind arises, called the bise, and drives them to England.

724
728
732
736
740
744
748
752

Grim went up the Humber to Lindesey.

There he built a house.

That place was called Grimsby, after Grim.

Grim was a good fisherman.

He caught sturgeons, turbot, &c.
Havelok does not like being idle.

He took pe sele, and pe hwel;
He spedde ofte swipe wel:
Keling he tok, and tumberel,
Hering, and pe makerel,
pe Butte, pe schulle, pe pornebake:
Gode panners dede he make
Ontlil him, and oþer þrinne,
Til hise sones to bernen fish inne,
Vp o-londe to selle and fonge;
Forbar he neyþe[r] tun, ne gronge,
þat he ne to-yede with his ware;
Kam he neuere hom hand-bare,
þat he ne broucte bried and sowel,
In his shirte, or in his couel;
In his poke benes and korn:—
Hise swink ne hauede he nowt forlorn.

And hwan he tok þe grete laumprei,
Ful we[l] he couþe þe rithe wei
To lincolne, þe gode boru;
Ofte he yede it þoru and þoru,
Til he hauede wol1 wel sold,
And þer-fore þe penies told.
þanne he com, þenne he were blipe,
For hom he brouthe fele sipe
Wastels, simenels with þe horn,
Hise pokes fulle of melæ an korn,
Netes flesh, shepes, and swines,
And hemp to maken of gode lines;
And stronge ropes to hiset netes,
In þe se weren he ofte setes.2

Thus they lived for 12 years.

Bus-gate grim him fayre ledde.
Him and his genge wel he fedde
Wel twelf winter, oþer more:
Hauelok was war þat grim swank sore

1 Qu. ful or al. 2 Sic in MS.
Havelok thinks he eats too much to be idle.

For his mete, and he lay at hom:
Thouthe, "ich am nou no grom;
Ich am wel waxen, and wel may eten
More pan euere Grim may geten.
Ich ete more, bi god on liue,
pan grim an hise children fiue!
It ne may nouth ben pus longe,
Goddot! y wile with pe gange,
For to leren sum god to gete;
Swinken ich wolde for mi mete.
It is no shame forto swinken;
pe man pat may wel eten and drinken,
pat nouth ne haue but on swink long,
To liggen at hom it is ful strong.
God yelde him per i ne 1 may,
pat haueth me fed to pis day!
Gladlike i wile pe paniers bere;
Ich woth, ne shal it me nouth dere,
pey per be izne a birpene gret,
Al so heui als a neth.
Shal ich neuere lengere dwelle,
To morwen shal ich forth pelle."

On pe morwen, hwan it was day,
He stirt up sone, and nouth ne lay;
And cast a panier on his bac,
With fish giueled als a stac;
Also michel he bar him one
So he foure, bi mine mone! 2
Wel he it bar, and solde it wel,
pe siluer he brouthe hom il del;
Al pat he per-fore tok
With-held he nouth a ferpringes nok.
So yede he forth ilke day,
pat he neuere at home lay.

1 MS. inc.
2 Cf. ll. 1711, 1972.
So wolde he his mester lere;
Bifel it so a strong dere
Bigan to rise of korn of bred,
That grim ne coujpe no god red,
Hw he sholde his meine fede;
Of havelok hauede he michel drede:
For he was strong, and wel mouthe ete
More þanne heuere mouthe he gete;
Ne he ne mouthe on þe se take
Neyþer lenge, ne þorn[e]bake,¹
Ne non oþer þish þat douthe
His meyne feden with he[r]² mouthe.
Of havelok he hauede kare,
Hwilgat þat he micthe fare;
Of his children was him nouth,
On havelok was al hisþ þouth,
And seyde, “havelok, dere sone,
I wene that we deye mone
For hunger, þis dere is so strong,
And hure mete is uten long.
Betere is þat þu henne gonge,
Þan þu here dwelle longe;
Hepen þow mayt ganþen to late;
Thou canst ful wel þe ricthe gate
To lincolne, þe gode borw,
Þou hauest it gon ful ofte þoru;
Of me ne is me nouth a slo,
Betere is þat þu þider go,
For þer is mani god man inne,
Þer þou mayt þi mete winne.
But wo is me! þou art so naked,
Of mi seyl þy wolde þe were maked
A cloth, þou mithest iæne gongen,
Sone, no cold þat þu ne fonge.”

¹ See l. 759. ² Qu. her, i.e. their. MS. he.
He tok pe sh[e]res\(^1\) of pe nayl,
And made him a couel of pe sayl,
And havelok dide it sone on;
Hauede neyper hosen ne shon,
Ne none kines ope[r] wede;
To lincoln barfot he yede.
Hwan he kam pe[r], he was ful wil,
Ne hauede he no frend to gangen til;
Two dayes pe fastinde he yede,
Dat non for his werk wolde him fede;
Pe priddde day herde he calle:
"Bermen, bermen, hider forth alle!"

\(^2\) Sprongen forth so sparke on glede.
Havelok shof dun nyne or ten,
Rith amidewarde pe fen,
And stirte forth to pe kok,
[per the herles mete he tok,]
Dat he bouthe at pe brigge;
Pe bermen let he alle ligge,
And bar pe mete to pe castel,
And gat him pere a ferping wastel.

Bet oþer day kepte he ok
Swipe yern pe erles kok,
Til Dat he say him on pe b[r]igge,
And bi him mani fishes ligge.
Pe herles mete hauede he bouth
Of cornwalie, and kalde oft:
"Bermen, bermen, hider swipe!"
Hauelok it herde, and was ful blipe,
Dat he herde "bermen" calle;
Alle made he hem dun falle

\(^1\) Qu. sheres. MS. shres.
\(^2\) Cf. l. 91, 101. Here and below an additional line seems requisite.
HAVELOK IS HIRED BY THE EARL'S COOK.

Havelok upsets 16 lads.

\begin{align*}
\text{He} & \text{ catches up the cook's fish,} \\
\text{and carries them to the castle.} \\
\text{The cook takes him into his service.} \\
\text{Havelok tells the cook what he can do.} \\
\text{The cook is}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{pat in his gate yeden and stode,} \\
\text{Wel sixtene laddes gode.} \\
\text{Als he lep pe kok [vn-]til,} \\
\text{He shof hem alle upon an hyl;} \\
\text{Astirte til him with his rippe,} \\
\text{And bigan pe fish to kippe.} \\
\text{He bar up wel a carte lode} \\
\text{Of segges, laxes, of playces brode,} \\
\text{Of grete laumprees, and of eles;} \\
\text{Sparede he neyper tos ne heles,} \\
\text{Til pat he to pe castel cam,} \\
\text{pat men fro him his birpene nam.} \\
\text{pat men haueden holpen him doun} \\
\text{With pe birpene of his croun,} \\
\text{pe kok [bi] stod, and on him low,} \\
\text{And poute him stalworpe man ynow,} \\
\text{And sayde, "wiltu ben wit me?} \\
\text{Gladlike wile ich feden pe ;} \\
\text{Wel is set pe mete pu etes,} \\
\text{And pe hire pat pu getes."}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{"Goddot!"} & \text{ quoth he, "leue sire,} \\
\text{Bidde ich you non oper hire ;} \\
\text{But yeuep me inow to ete,} \\
\text{Fir and water y wile yow fetes ;} \\
\text{pe fir blowe, an ful wele maken ;} \\
\text{Stickes kan ich breken and kraken,} \\
\text{And kindlen ful wel a fryr,} \\
\text{And maken it to brennen shir ;} \\
\text{Ful wel kan ich cleuen shides,} \\
\text{Eles to-turnen \textsuperscript{2} of here hides ;} \\
\text{Ful wel kan ich dishes swilen,} \\
\text{And don al pat ye euere wilen."}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{1 Soddot, MS.} \\
\text{2 MS. to turuen; but the u and n are almost indistinguishable.} \\
\text{Cf. l. 603; and William of Palerne, 2590.}
\end{align*}
Go ynder, and sit pore,
And y shal yene ful fair bred,
And make broys in led.
Sit now doun and et ful yerne:
Dapeit hwo mete werne!"

Havelok sette him dun anon,
Also stille als a ston,
Til he hauede ful wel eten;
Po hauede havelok fayre geten.
Hwan he hauede eten inow,
He kam to welle, water up-drow,
And filde a michel so;
Bad he non ageyn him go,
But bi-twen his hondes he bar it in,
Bad he non him water to fete,
Ne fro b[r]igge to bere mete,
He bar turnes, he bar star,
He wode fro the brigge he bar;
Al that euere shulden he nytte,
Al he drow, and al he ette;
Wolde he neuere hauen rest,
More pan he were a best.
Of alle men was he mest meke,
Lauhwinde ay, and blipe of speke;
Euere he was glad and blipe,
His sorwe he coupe ful wel mipe.
It ne was non so litel knaue,
For to leyken, ne forto plawe,
Pat he ne wo[l]de with him pleye:
Pe children that y[den] in weic
Of him he deden al he[r] wille,
And with him leykeden here fille.
Him loueden alle, stille and bolde,
Knietes, children, yunge and holde;
All like him.  Alle him loueden pat him sowen, Bothen heyemen and lowe. Of him ful wide pe word sprong, Hw he was mike, hw he was strong, 960 Hw fayr man god him hauede maked, But on pat he was almost naked: For he ne hauede nouth to shride, But a kouel ful unride, 964 pat [was] ful, and swipe wicke, Was it nouth worth a fir sticke.  

He has nothing to wear but the old sail.  be cok bigan of him to rewe, And bouthe him clopes, al spannewe; 968 He bouthe him bope hosen and shon, And sone dide him done on. Hwan he was cloped, osed, and shod, Was non so fayr under god, 972 pat euere yete in erpe were, Non pat euere moder bere; It was neuere man pat yemede In kinneriche, pat so wel semede 976 King or cayser forto be, Jan he was shrid, so semede he; For paune he weren alle samen At lincolne, at pe gamen, 980 And pe erles men weren al pore, Jan was hauelok bi pe shuldreren more Jan pe meste pat per kam: In armes him roman [ne] nam, 984 pat he doune sone ne caste; Hauelok stod ouer hem als a mast. Als he was heie, al 1 he was long, He was bope stark and strong; 988 In engelond [was] non hise per Of strengpe pat euere kam him ner. Als he was strong, so was he softe; 

1 Qe. so; see l. 991.
He sees some men "putting the stone."

He is good-natured and pure.

Some champions begin to contend in games.

Strong lads and bondmen are there.

They begin to "put the stone."

\[1\] Qu. wit = with; miswritten owing to confusion of \(p\) with \(p\) (w)?

\[2\] MS. pulten. But see ll. 1031, 1033, 1044, 1051, &c.
He puts the stone 12 feet beyond the rest.

Few can lift it.

He ston was mikel, and ek greth,
And al so heui so a neth;
Grund stalwrthe man he sholde be,
ihat mouthe liften it to his kne;
Was þer neyþer clere, ne prest,
hat mithe liften it to his brest:
þerwit putten the chaunpiouns,
þat þider comeþ with þe barouns.
Hwo so mithe putten þore
Biforn a-nþer, an inch or more,
Wore ye yung, [or] wore he hold,
He was for a kempe told.

Whilst this is going on,

Al-so þe[i] stoden, an ofte stareden,
þe chaunpiouns, and ek the ladden,
And he maden mikel stout
Abouten þe alþerbeste but,
Havelok stod, and lokede þer-til;
And of puttingge he was ful wil,
For neuer yeþe ne saw he or
Putten the stone, or þanne þor.

His master tells him to try.

Hise mayster bad him gon þer-to,
Als he couþe þer-with do.
þo hise mayster it him bad,
He was of him sore adrad;
þerto he stirte sone anon,
And kipte up þat heui ston,
þat he sholde puten wiþe;
He putte at þe firste sipe,
Ouer alle þat þer wore,
Twel fote, and sumdel more.
þe chaunpiouns þat [þat] put sown,
Shuldreden he ile òper, and lowen;
Wolden he no more to putting gange,
But seyde, "we 1 dwellen her to lounge!"

1 In the former edition—"ye". But the y is not dotted, and
it may be "þe."
GODRICH HEARS OF HAVELOK'S STRENGTH.

This feat is everywhere talked about.

1060 Godrich hears the knights talking of it.

1 MS. speche. Read "speke," as in l. 946.
GOLDBOROUGH is sent for to Lincoln.

Onlepi forw in his hond,
With hire, pat was þerof eyr,
þat boþe was god and swipe fair.

He wende, þat hanelok wer a þral,
þer-þor he wende hauen al
In engelond, þat hire rith was ;
He was worse þan sathanas,
þat ihesu crist in erþe shop : ¹
Hanged worþe he on an hok!

He sends for Goldborough to Lincoln.

A fter goldebo[r]w sone he sende, ¹¹⁰⁴
 þat was boþe fayr and hende,
And dide hire to lincolne bringe,
Belles dede he ageyn hire ringen,
And ioie he made hire swipe mikel,
But neþel he was ful swikel.
He seyde, þat he sholde hire yeue
þe fayrest man that mithe line.
She answerede, and seyde anon,
Bi christ, and bi seint iohan,
þat hire sholde noman wedde,
Ne noman bringen to hire ² bedde,
But he were king, or kinges eyr,
Were he neuere man so fayr.

She says she will marry none but a king.

Godrich is wrath at this.

Godrich þe erl was swipe wroth,
þat she swore swilk an oth,
And seyde, "hwor þou wilt be
Quen and leuedi ouer me ?
þou shalt hauen a gadeling,
Ne shalt þou hauen non oþer king ;
þe shal spusen mi cokes knaue,
Ne shalt þou non oþer louerd haue.
Daþeþ þat þe oþer yeue
Euere more hwil i liue!

¹ Qu. shok or strok.
² Qu. hise.
GODRICH ASKS HAVELOK IF HE WILL MARRY.

To-morwe ye sholen ben weddeth,
And, mangre þin, to-gidere beddeth.”
Goldeborw gret, and was ¹ hire ille,
She wolde ben ded bi hire wille.
On the morwen, hwan day was sprungen,
And day-belle at kirke rungen,
After havelok sente þat iudas,
þat verse was þane sathanas :
And seyde, “mayster, wilte wif?”
“Nay,” quoth havelok, “bi my lif!
Hwat sholde ich with wif do?
I ne may hire fede, ne clope, ne sho.
Wider sholde ich wimmaz bringe?
I ne haue none kines þinge.
I ne haue hws, y ne haue cote,
Ne i ne ² haue stikke, y ne haue sprote,
I ne haue neyper bred ne sowel,
Ne cloth, but of an hold with couel.
þis clopes, þat ic onne haue,
Aren þe kokes, and icc his knaue.”
Godrich stirr up, and on him dong
[With dîntes swîpe hard and strong,]
And seyde, “But þou hire take,
þat y wole yeuen þe to make,
I shal hangen þe ful heye,
Or y shal þristen vþh þin heie.”
Havelok was one, and was odrat,
And graunteð him al þat he bad.
þo sende he after hire sone,
þe fayrest wymman under mone ;
And seyde til hire, [false] ³ and slike,
þat wicke þral, þat foule swike :
“But þu þis man under-sonde,

¹ The first letter of this word is either þ or a Saxon w (ƿ). I read it as the latter.
² MS. ine.
³ Both sense and metre require this word.
Havelok resolves to go to Grimsby.

I shall flemen pe of londe;
Or peu shal to pe galwes renne,
And peu shalt in a fir brenne."
She was adrad, for he so prete,
And durste nouthe pe spusing lette,
But pey hire likede swupe ille,
She consent; thinking it is God's will.

But pey hire likede swipe ille,
Sho was adrad, for he so frette,
And durste nouthe pe spusing lette,
He weren penies picke tolde,
Mikel plente upon pe bok:
A dowry is given her.

God, pe makes to growen pe korn,
Formede hire wiunman to be born.
Hwan he haude don him for drede,
Per were pe messe he deden euerdil,
Pat fel to spusing, and god celer[k],
The archbishop of York marries them.

He weren spused fayre and wel,
Be messe he deden euerdil,
Pat fel to spusing, and god celer[k],
The archbishop uth of yerk,
Pat kam to pe parlment,
He ys hire yaf, and she as tok.

Hwan he weren togydere in godes lawe,
Pat pe folc ful wel it sawe,
Havelok knows not what to do.

Hwan he were pe messe he deden euerdil,
Pe messe he deden euerdil,
Pat fel to spusing, and god celer[k],
Pat kam to pe parlment,
Als god him haude pe deuer sent.

He ne wisten hwt he mouthen,
Ne he ne wisten wat hem douthe;
Per to dwellen, or penne to gonge,
Per ne wolden he dwellen longe,
Havelok knows not what to do.

For he wisten, and ful wel sawe,
Pat godrich hem hatede, pe deuel him hawe!
And yf he dwelleden pe outh—
Pat fel havelok ful wel on outh—
Men sholde don his leman shame,
Or elles bringen in wicke blame.

He determins
For pe he token anoter red,
Pat þei sholden þenne fle
Til grim, and til hise sones þre ; 1196
þer wenden he alþer-best to spe&de,
Hem forto clope, and for to fede.
þe lond he token under fote,
Ne wisten he non ðer bote, 1200
And helden ay the riþe [sti] 1
Til he komen to grimesby.
þanne he komen þere, þanne was grim ded,
Of him ne haueden he no red ;
But hise children alle fyue
Alle weren yet on liue ; pat ful fayre ayen hem neme,
Hwan he wisten þat he keme, 1204
And maden ioie swipe mikel,
Ne weren he neuere ayen hem fikel.
On knes ful fayre he hem setten,
And hauelok swipe fayre gretten, 1212
And sayden, “welkome, louerd dere !
And welkome be þi fayre fere !
Blessed be þat ilke þrawe,
þat þou hire toke in godes lawe !
Wel is þus we sen þe on lyue,
þou mithe us boþe selle and yene ;
þou mayt us boþe yeeue and selle,
With þat þou wilt here dwelle. 1216
We hauen, louerd, alle gode,
Hors, and neth, and ship on flode,
Gold, and siluer, and michel auntche,
þat grim ure fader us bitawchte.
Gold, and siluer, and ðer fe 1224
Bad he us bi-taken þe.
We hauen shep, we hauen swin,
Bi-leue her, louerd, and al be þin ;
bo shalt ben louerd, þou shalt ben syre,
We finds that
Grim is død, but his five children are alive.
They welcome
Havelok very kindly.
They beg him to stay with them.
They will serve

1 A word is here erased; but see l. 2618.
GOLDBOROUGH SEES THE WONDROUS LIGHT.

him and his wife. And we sholen seruen pe and hire;
And hure sistres sholen do
Al that euere biddles sho;
He sholen hire clopen, washen, and wringen,
And to hondes water bringen;
He sholen bedden hire and pe,
For leuedi wile we þat she be.”
Hwan he þis ioie haueden maked,
Sithen stikes broken and kraked,
And þe fir brouth on brenne,
Ne was þer spared gos ne henne,
Ne þe hende, ne þe drake,
Mete he deden plente make;
Ne wantede þere no god mete,
Wyn and ale deden he fete,
And made[n] hem [ful] glade and bliþe,
Wesseyl ledden he fele sipe.

They make a fire, and spare neither goose nor hen.

They fetch wine and ale.

At night Goldborough lies down sorrowful.

She sees a great light.

It comes out of Havelok's mouth.

She sees a red cross on his shoulder, and

On þe nith, als goldeborw lay,
Sory and sorwfull was she ay,
For she wende she were bi-swike,
þat sh[e w]ere 1 yeuen un-kyndelike.
O nith saw she þer-inne a lith,
A swiped fayr, a swipe bryth,
Al so brith, al so shir,
So it were a blase of fir.
She lokede no[r]þp, 2 and ek south,
And saw it comen ut of his mouth,
þat lay bi hire in þe bed:
No ferlike þou she were adred.
þouthe she, “wat may this bi-mene!
He beth heymaþ yet, als y wene,
He beth heymaþ er he be ded;” —
On hise shuldre, of gold red
She saw a swipe noble croiz,

1 MS. shere, evidently miswritten for she were.
2 MS. noþ.
Of an angel she herde a uoyz:

"Goldeborw, lat pi sorwe be,
For havelok, pat haue spuset pe,
He^1 kinges sone, and kinges eyr,
pat bikenneth pat croiz so fayr.
It^2 bikenneth more, pat he shal
Denemark hauen, and englond al;
He shal ben king strong and stark
Of englond and denemark;
pat shal pu wit pin eyne sen,
And po shalt quen and leuedi ben!"

Hanne she hauede herd the steuene
Of pe angel uth of heuene,
She was so fele sipes blithe,
pat she ne mithe hire ioie mythe;
But havelok sone anon she kiste,
And he slep, and mouth ne wiste.
Hwan pat anungel hauede seyd,
Of his slep a-non he brayd,
And seide, "lemman, slepes pou?
A selkuth drem dremented me nou.

Herkné nou hwat me haueth met:
Me pouthe y was in denemark set,
But on on pe moste hil
pat euere yete kam i til.
It was so hey, pat y wel mouthe
Al pe werd se, als me pouthe.
Als i sat up-on pat lowe,
I bigan denemark for to awe,
pe borwes, and pe castles stronge;
And mine armes weren so longe,
That i fadmede, al at ones,

1 Qu. Is. 2 MS. It.
She says Havelok will be a great king.

denemark, with mine longe bones;
And þanne y wolde mine armes drawe
Til me, and hom for to haue,
Al that euere in denemark liueden
On mine armes faste clyueden;
And þe stronge castles alle
On knes bigunnen for to falle,
þe keyes fallen at mine fet:—
Another drem dremede me ek,
þat ich fley ouer þe salte se
Til engeland, and al with me
þat euere was in denemark lyues,
But bondemen, and here wiues,
And þat ich kom til engelond,
Al closede it intil min hond,
And, goldeborw, y gaf [it] þe:—
Deus! lemmæ, hwat may þis be?"
Sho answerede, and seyde sone:
"Ihesu crist, þat made mone,
þine dremes turne to ioye;
þat wite þw þat sittes in trone!
Ne non strong king, ne caysere,
So þou shalt be, fo[r] þou shalt bere
In engelond corune yet;
Denemark shal knele to þi fet;
Alle þe castles þat aren þer-inne,
Shal-to, lemmæ, ful wel winne.
I woth, so wel so ich it sowe,
To þe shole comen heye and lowe,
And alle þat in denemark wone,
Em and bɾeþer, fader and sone,
Erl and baroun, dreng an kayn,
Knithes, and burgeys, and sweyn;
And mad king heyelike and wel,
Denemark shal be þin euere-icle del.
Havelok prays for vengeance on Godard.

Haue jou nouth per-offe dounthe
Nouth pe worth of one nouthe;
Per-offe with-inne pe firste yer
Shalt jou ben king, of euere-il del.
But do nou als y wile rathe,
Nim in with pe to denemakers baue,
And do jou nouth onfrest pis fare,
Lith and selthe felawes are.
For shal ich neuere blepe be
Til i with eyen denemarke se;
For ich woth, pat al pe lond
Shalt jou hauen in pin lion[d].
Prey grimes sones alle pre,
That he wenden forp with pe;
I wot, he wilien pe nouth werne,
With pe wende shulen he yerne,
For he louen pe herte-like,
Jou maght til he aren quike,
Hwore so he o worde aren;
Bere ship jou do hem swithe yaren,
And loke pat jou dweluen nouth:
Dwelling haueth ofte scape wrouth.

Hwan Havelok herde pat she raddle,
Sone it was day, sone he him cladde,
And sone to pe kirke yede,
Or he dide ani oger dede,
And bifor pe rode bigan falle,
Croiz and crist bigan] to kalle,
And seyde, "louerd, pat al weldes,
Wind and water, wodes and feldes,
For the holi milce of you,
Haue merci of me, louerd, nou!
And wreke me yet on mi fo,
Pat ich saw biforn min eyne slo
Mine sistres, with a knif,
And siben wolde me mi lyf
Haue reft, for in the [depe] se
Bad he grim haue drenched me.
He [hath] mi lond with mikel vn-Rith,
With michel wrong, with mikel plith,
For i ne ¹ misdede him neure nouth,
And haued me to sorwe brouth.
He haueth me do mi mete to piggge,
And ofte in sorwe and pine ligge.
Louerd, haue merci of me,
And late [me] wel passe pe se,
pat ihe haue ther-offe doutuhe and kare,
With-uten stormes ouer-fare,
pat y ne drenched [be] per-ine,
Ne forfaren for no sinne.
And bringge me wel to pe lond,
pat godard haldes in his hond ;
pat is mi Rith, eueri del : 
Ihesu crist, pou wost it wel !”

Hanne he hauede his bede seyd,
His offrende on pe auter leyd,
His leue at ihesu crist he tok,
And at his suete moder ok,
And at pe croiz, pat he biforn lay,
Sipen yede sore grotinde awaye.

² Hwan he com hom, he worse yare,
Grines sones, forto fare
In-to pe se, fishes to gete,
pat hauelok mithe wel of ete.
But auelok pouthe al anofer,
First he ka[1]de pe heldeste broper,
Roberd pe rede, bi his name,

¹ MS. ine.
² In the MS. the Capital letter is prefixed to the next line.
Wiliam wenduth, and h[uwe r]auen,\(^1\)
Grimes sones alle pre,
And sey[d]e, "lipes nou alle to me,
Louerdinges, ich wile you sheue,
A ping of me pat ye wel knewe.
Mi fader was king of denshe lond,
Denemark was al in his hond
\(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\) day pat he was quik and ded;
But paune hauede he wicke red,
\(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\)at he me, and denemark al,
And mine sistres bi-tawte a pral:
A deuules lime [he] hns bitawte,
And al his lond, and al hise authe.
\(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\) sa that fule fend
Mine sistres slo with hise hend;
First he shar a-two here protes,
And sipen [karf] hem al to grotes,
And sipen bad [he] in \(\text{\textbf{\textit{pe}}}\) se
Grim, youre fader, dreuchen me.
Deplike dede he him swere
On bok, \(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\)at he sholde me bere
Vnto \(\text{\textbf{\textit{pe}}}\) se, an dreuchen inc,
And wolde taken on him \(\text{\textbf{\textit{pe}}}\) sinne.
But grim was wis, and swipe hende,
Wolde he nouth his soule shende;
Leuere was him to be for-sworen,
\(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\)an dreuchen me, and ben for-lorn;
But sone bigan he forto fle
Fro denemark, forto berwen\(^2\) me,
For yif\(^3\) ich hauede \(\text{\textbf{\textit{pe}}}\) per ben funden,
Hauede ben slayn, or harde bunden,
And heye ben henged on a tre,

1400 [Fol. 211 b, col. 2.]

\(\text{\textbf{\textit{he}}}\) says, "My father was king of Denmark.

1404 He left me and my sisters in charge of a foul fiend,

1408 Mine father was king of Denmark.

1412 who slew my sisters,

1416 and bade Grim drown me.

1420 But Grim was wise.

1424 He fled from Denmark with me.

WHA SAYS THEM TO GO WITH HIM TO DENMARK.

1 MS. hauen. Cf. ll. 1868, 2528. Only an assonance, not a rime, seems intended.

2 MS. herpen, the A.S. w being used here. Cf. l. 697.

3 MS. yif.
Havelok asks Ubbe to give him leave to buy and sell there.

He gives Ubbe a gold ring.

and took care of me.

And now, I must go to Denmark.

Go with me, and I will make you rich men."

Hauede go for him gold ne fe.
For-pi fro denemark hider he fledde,
And me ful fayre and ful wel fedde,
So pat vn-to pis [ilke] day,
Haue ich ben fed and fostred ay.
But nou ich am up to pat helde
Cumen, that ich may wepne welde,
And y may grete díntes yeue,
Shal i neuere hwil ich lyue
Ben glad, til that ich denemark se ;
I preie you pat ye wende with me,
And ich may mak you riche men,
Ilk of youshal haue castles ten,
And pe lond pat por-tíl longes,
Borwes, tunes, wodes and wonges.”

* * * * * * * *

“With swilk als ich byen shal :
þer-of bi-seche you nou leue ;
Wile ich speke with non opor reue,
But with þe, pat instise are,
Þat y mithi seken 2 mi ware
In gode borwes up and doun,
And faren ich wile fro tun to tun.”
A gold ring drow he forth anon,
An hundred pund was worth þe ston,
And yaf it ubbe for to spede :—
He was ful wis þat first yaf mede,
And so was havelok ful wis here,

1 A folio has here been cut out of the MS., containing 180 lines. The missing portion must have been to this effect. “To this they gladly assented; and Havelok, accompanied by his wife Goldeborw and the sons of Grim, set sail for Denmark. Disembarking, they travel till they reach the castle of a great Danish earl, named Ubbe, who had formerly been a close friend to king Birkabeyn. Havelok begs that he will allow him to live in that part of the country, and to gain a livelihood by trading;”

2 Qu. sellen.
UBBE INVITES HAVELOK TO A FEAST.

He solde his gold ring ful dere,  
Was neure non so dere sold,  
For chapmen, nepyer yung ne old:

\[
\text{pat sholen } ^1 \text{ ye forthward ful wel heren,}
\]

Yif \( \text{pat ye wile pec storic heren.} \)

\section{Hwan ubbe hauede pec gold ring,}
Hauede he youenet for no pinig,
Nouth for pec borw euere-il del:——
Havelok bi-hel he swipe wel,
Hw he was wel of bones maked,
Brod in pec sholdres, ful wel schaped,
picke in pec brest, of bodi long ;
He semede wel to ben wel strong.

"Deus!" hwat ubbe, "qui ne were he knith?\)
I woth, \( \text{pat he is swipe with!} \)
Betere semede him to bere
Helm on heued, sheld and spere,
\text{baze to bye and selle ware.}
Allas! \( \text{pat he shal per-with fare.} \)
Goddot! wile he trowe me,
Chaffare shal he late be."

\text{Nepeles he seyde sone:}

"Havelok, haue [pou] \( \text{pi bone,} \)
And y ful wel rede \text{p[e]}
\( \text{pat pou come, and ete with me} \)
To-day, pou, and \( \text{pi fayre wif,} \)
\( \text{pat pou louest also \text{pi lif.} \)
And haue \text{pou of hire no drede,}
Shal hire no man shame bede.
Bi pec fey that y owe to pec,
\( \text{perof shal i me-self } ^2 \text{ borw be."} \)

\section{Havelok herde \( \text{pat he bad,} \)
And thow was he ful sore drad,
With him to ete, for hisce wif ;}

\text{Dearly he sells it, all the same.}

\text{Ubbe takes the ring,}

\text{admires}
Havelok's make and strength,

\text{1 MS. shoren.}
\text{2 MS. me serf.}
UBBE TAKES A GREAT FANCY TO HAVELOK.

Havelok fears ill may come of it.

For him wore leuere ṭat his lif
Him wore rest, ṭan she in blame
Felle, or lauthe ani shame.
Hwanne he hauede his wille wat,¹
 Tv stede, ṭat he onne sat,
Smot ubbe with spures faste,
And forth away, but at ṭe laste,
Or he fro him ferde,
Seyde he, ṭat his folk herde :
"Loke ṭat ye comen bepeon, ṭe ste.
For ich it wilte, and ich it rede."

Havelok dares not refuse.

Hauelok ne durste, ṭe he were adrad,
Nouth with-sitten ṭat ubbe bad ;
His wif he dide with him lede,
Vn-to ṭe heye curt he y[e]de.²
Roberd hire ledde, ṭat was red,
Ṭat hau[e]d[e] ļarned for hire ṭe ded
Or ani hauede hire misseyd,
Or hand with iucl[e onne leyd.
Willam wendut was ṭat ṭer
Ṭat hire ledde, roberdes bro[er],
Ṭat was with at alle nedes :
Wel is him ṭat god man fedes !
Ṭan he were[n comen to ṭe halle,
Biforen ubbe, and hise men alle,
Vbbe stirte hem ageyn,
And mani a knith, and mani a sweyn,
Hem for to se, and forto shewe ;
.TypeOf stod hauelok als a lowe
Aboven [po] ṭat per-inne wore,
Rith al bi ṭe heued more
Ṭanne ani ṭat per-inne stod :
.TypeOf was ubbe blipe of mod,
Ṭat he saw him so fayr and hende,

¹ MS. either ṭat or ṭat.
² MS. yde.
UBBE SENDS HAVELOK TO BERNARD.

47

Fro him ne mithe his herte wende,
Ne fro him, ne fro his wif;
He louede hem sone so his lif.

Weren non in denemark, þat him þouthe,
þat he so mikel loue mouthe;
More he louede havelok one,
þan al denemark, bi mine woné!
Loke nou, hw god helpen kan
O mani wise wif and man.

Hwan it was comen time to ete,
Hise wif dede ubbe sone in fete,
And til hire seyde, al on gamen:
“Dame, þou and havelok shulen ete samen,
And goldeboru shal ete wit me,
þat is so fayr so flour on tre;
In al denemark nis" wimmman
So fayr so sche, bi seint iohan!”
þanne [he] were set, and bord leyd,
And þe beneysun was seyd,
Biforn hem com þe beste mete
þat king or cayser wolde ete;
Kranes, swanþes, ueneysun,
Lax, lampreys, and god sturgun,
Pyment to drinke, and god clare,
Win hwit and red, ful god plente.
Was þer-inne no page so lite,
þat euere wolde ale bite.

Of þe mete forto tel,
Ne of þe metes" bidde i nout dwelle;
þat is þe storie for to lenge,
It wolde anuye þis fayre genge.
But hwan he haueden þe kiwing" deled,
And fele sifes haueden wosseyled,
And with gode drinkes seten longe,

1 MS. is.  2 Qu. win.  3 Uncertain in MS. See note.
And it was time for to gonge,
Il man to per he cam fro,
\[pouthe ubbe, "yf I late hem go,
\]bus one foure, with-uten mo,
So mote ich brouke finger or to,
\[For pis wimman bes mike wo !
\]For hire shal men hire louverd slo."
He tok sone knithes ten,
And wel sixti oper men,
Wit gode bowes, and with gleines,
And sende him unto pe greyues,
\[pe beste man of al pe toun,
\]pat was named bernard brun;
And bad him, als he louede his lif,
Haulok wel ye[men], and his wif,
And wel do wayten al pe nith,
Til pe oper day, pat it were lith.
Bernard was trewe, and swije with,
In al pe borw ne was no knith
\[pat betere coupe on stede riden,
\]Helm on heued, ne swerd bi side.
\[Hauelok he gladlike under-stod,
\]With mike loue, and herte god,
And dide greype a super riche,
Also he was no with chinche,
To his bihoue euer-il del,
\[pat he mithe supe swipe wel.
\]Also he seten, and sholde soupe,
So comes a ladde in a ioupe,
And with him sixti oper stronge,
With swerdes drawen, and kniues longe,
Ilkan in hande a ful god gleiue,
And seyde, "undo, bernard pe greyne !
Vndo swipe, and latus in,
Or þu art ded, bi seint austin!
Bernard stirt up, þat was ful big,
And caste a brinie up-on his rig,
And grop an ax,1 þat was ful god,
Lep to þe dore, so he wore wod,
And sayde, "hwat are ye, þat are þer-oute,
þat þus biginnen forto stroute?"
Goth heonne swipe, fule þeues,
For, bi þe louerd, þat man on leues,
Shol ich casten þe dore open,
Summe of you shal ich drepen!
And þe opre shal ich kesten
In feteres, and ful faste festen!"
"Hwat hane ye seid," quoth a ladde,
"Wenestu þat we ben adradde?"
We shole at þis dore gonge
Maugre þin, carl, or outh longe."
He gripen sone a bulder ston,
And let it flye, ful god won,
Agen þe dore, þat it to-rof:
Auelok it saw, and þider drof,
And þe barre sone ut-drow,
þat was unride, and gret ynow,
And caste þe dore open wide,
And seide, "her shal y now abide:
Comes swipe vn-to me! 2
Datheyt hwo you henne fle!"
"No," quodh on, "þat shalton coupe,"
And bigan til him to loupe,
In his hond is swerd ut-drawe,
Hauelok he wende þore hane slawe;
And with [him] comen þer two,
þat him wolde of liue hane do.

1 MS. ar; but see l. 1894.
2 MS. vnto me datheit,—evidently the repetition of the first word in the succeeding line.
Havelok slays seven of the thieves.

He kills them all.

A fourth he knocks down with a blow on the head.

A fifth he hits between the shoulders.

A sixth he smites on the neck.

A seventh aims at Havelok's eye.

Havelok kills him.

The rest divide into two parties.

and rush at him like dogs at a bear.

Hauelok lifte up þe dore-tre,
And at a dint he slow hem þre;
Was non of hem þat his hernes
Ne lay þer-ute ageyn þe sternes.
þe ferþe þat he sísen mette,
Wit þe barre so he him grette,
Bisfor þe heued, þat þe rith eye
Vt of þe hole made he flye,
And siþe clapte him on þe crune,
So þat he stan-ded fel þor dune.
þe siþe þat he ouer-tok,
Gaf he a ful sor dint[e] ok,
Bitwen þe sholdres, þer he stod,
þat he spen his herte blod.
þe siþe wende for to fle,
And he clapte him with þe tre
Rith in þe fule necke so,
þat he smot hisne necke on to.
þanne þe sixe weren doun feld,
þe seuenþe brayd ut his swerd,
And wolde hauelok Riht in the eye;
And hauelok le[t þe] ¹ barre flye,
þat hauede he neure sch[r]ifte of prest;
For he was ded on lesse hwile,
þan men mouthe reyne a mile.
Alle þe opere weren ful kene,
A red þei taken hem bi-twene,
þat he sholde him bi-halue,
And brisen so, þat wit no salue
Ne sholde him helen leche non:
þey drowen ut swerdes, ful god won,
And shoten on him, so don on bere
Dogges, þat wolden him to-tere,

¹ Qu. Hauelok let the. MS. "haue le."
THE THIEVES RUSH AT HIM WITH SWORDS.

J3am3 men doth þe here beyte:
þe laddes were kaske and teyte,
And vn-bi-yeden him ilkon,
Sum smot with tre, and sum wit ston;
Summe putten with gleyue, in bac and side;
And yeuen wundes longe and wide;
In twenti stedes, and wel mo,
Fro þe croone til the to.

Hwan he saw þat, he was wod,
And was it ferlik hw he stod,
For the blod ran of his sides
So water þat fro þe welle glides;
But þanne began he for to mowe
With the barre, and let hem shewe,
Hw he cowþe sore smite,
For was þer non, long ne lite,
þat he Mouthe ouer-take,
þat he ne garte his croone krake;
So þat on a litel stund,
Felde he twenti to þe grund.

þo began gret dine to rise,
For þe laddes on ilke wise
Him asayleden wit grete dintes,
Fro fer he stoden, him with flintes
And gleyues schoten him fro ferne,
For drepen him he wolden yerne;
But dursten he newhen him no more,
þanne he bor or leun wore.

Huwe rauen þat dine herde,
And þowthe wel, þat men mis-ferde
With his louerd, for his wif,
And grop an ore, and a long knif,
And þider drof al so an hert,
And cham þer on a litel stert,
And saw how pe ladders wode
Hauelok his louerd umbistode,
And beten on him so doth pe smith
With pe hamer on pe stith.

"A llas !" hwat hwe, "pat y was boren !

pat euere et ich bred of koren !

pat ich here pis sorwe se !

Roberd! willam! hware ar ye?

Gripeth eper unker a god tre,

And late we nouth pis doges fle,

Til ure louerd wrek[e] [we];

Cometh swipe, and folwes me !

Ich haue in honde a ful god ore :

Datheit wo ne smite sore !"

"Ya! leue, ya!" quod roberd sone,

"We haue[n] ful god lith of pe mone."

Roberd grop a staf, strong and gret,

Dat mouthe ful wel bere a net,

And willam wendut grop a tre

Mikel grettere pan his pe,1

And bernard held his ax ful faste ;

I seye, was he nouth pe laste ;

And lopen forth so he weren wode

To pe ladders, per he stode,

And yaf hem wundes swipe grete ;

per mithe men wel se boyes bete,

And ribbes in here sides breke,

And hauelok on hem wel wreke.

He broken armes, he broken knes,

He broken shankes, he broken thes.

He dide pe blode pere renne dune

To pe fet rith fro the crune,

For was per spared heued non :

He leyden on heuedes, ful god won,
And made crowne[s] breke and cracke, 1908
Of þe broune, and of þe blake;
He maden here backes al so bloute
Als h[er]e 1 wombes, and made hem rowte
Als he weren kradelbarnes:
So dos þe child þat moder þarnes.

He made their backs as soft as their bellies.

Dapeit wo 2 recke! for he it seruede,
Hwat dide he þore weren he werewed;
So longe haueden he but and bet 1916
With neues under hernes set,
þat of þo sixti men and on
Ne wente þer awey liues non.

All sixty assailants are slain.

On þe morwen, hwan 3 it was day, 1920
Ie on other wirwed lay,
Als it were dogges pat weren henged,
And summe leye in dikes slenget,
And summe in gripes bi þe her
Drawen ware, and laten ther.
Sket cam tiding intil ubbe,
þat hauelok hauede with a clubbe
Of his slawen sixti and on
Sergaunz, þe beste þat mithen gon.
"Deus!" quoth ubbe, "hwat may þis be!
Betere his i nime 4 miself and se,
þat þis baret on hwat is wold,
þanne i sende yunge or old.
For yif i sende him un-to,
I wene men sholde him shame do,
And þat ne wolde ich for no þing:

At morn, there they lay like dogs.

Ubbe comes to see what is the matter.

1 Qu. here. MS. he.
2 MS. "pe," clearly miswritten for "po" or "wo." See ll. 2047, 296, 300, &c.
3 MS. "hhan," miswritten for "hpan," from which it differs very slightly.
4 MS. inime.
I loe him wel, bi heuene king!
Me wore leuere i wore lame,
banne men dide him ani shame,

[1940]
Fol. 213 b, col. 2.]  

UBBE ASKS BERNARD WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

He calls for Bernard Brown.

He asks who has beaten him about so?

UBBE ASKS BERNARD WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

Sixty thieves attacked me last night.

Havelok and his friends drove them off.

"L ouerd, 2 merci," quot he sone,
"To-nicht also ros pe mone

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"Sixty thieves attacked me last night.

Havelok and his friends drove them off.
He is *pe beste man* at nede,
*pat euere mar shal ride stede*! 1972

Als helpe god, bi mine wone,
*A thousand of men* his he worth one!
Yif he ne were, ich were nou ded,
So haue ich don Mi soule red;
But it is hof him mikel sinne;
He made* him swilke woundes prinne,*
*pat of pe alper-leste wounde*
Were a stede brouht to grunde.
He haues a wunde in the side,
*With a gleyuc, ful un-ride,*
And he haues on *poru his arum,*
*per-of is ful mikel harum,*
And he haues on *poru his phe,*
*be vn-rideste pat men may se,*
And *ope[x] wundes haues he stronge,*
Mo than twenti swipe longe.
But sifen he hauede *lauth pe sor*
Of *pe wundes, was neuere bor* 1988
*pat so fauth so he fauth *panne*;*
Was non *pat hauede pe hern-panne.*
So hard, *pat he ne dede alto-cruhisse,*
*And alto-shiuere, and alto-frusshe.*
He folwede *hem so hund dos hare,*
*Dapeyt on he wolde spare,*
*pat [he] ne made hem euernilk on*
Ligge stille so doth *pe ston :*
And *per nis he nouth to frie,*
For *oper sholde he make hem lye*
Ded, or *pei him hauede slaven,* 2000
Or alto-hewen, or al-to-drawn.

Louerd, haui no more plith
Of *pat ich was pus greped to-nith.*
*Pus wolde pe theues me haue reft,* 2004
But god-front, he hauenet sure ket.
But it is of him mikel scape:
I woth þat he bes ded ful raþe.

Quoth ubbe, "Bernard, seyst thou soth?"
"Ya, sire, that þe ne þe lepe oth.
Yif þy, louerd, a word leye,
To-morwen do me hengen heye."

The rest confirm Bernard's story.

"The thieves wanted to steal all he had.

They were led on by one Griffin Gall."

[Fol. 214, col. 2.]

Ubbe sends for Havelok,

1 MS. ine. 2 Qu. griffin. 3 MS. agey. 4 Cf. ll. 772, 907.
UBBE SENDS FOR HAVELOK AND TAKES HIM TO HIS CASTLE. 57

but hwan his wundes weren shewed,
And a leche haudeau knawed,
pat he hem mouthe ful wel hele,
Wel make him gange, and ful wel mele,
And wel a palefrey bistride,
And wel up-on a stede ride,
Bo let ubbe al his care
And al his sorwe ouer-fare;
And seyde, “cum now forth with me,
And goldeboru, pi wif, with pe,
And pine seriaunz al pre,
For nou wile y youre warant be;
Wile y non of here frend
pat pu slowe with pin hend
Moucte wayte pe [to] slo,

1 MS. holed.  See l. 2058.
Also þou gange to and fro.
I shal lene þe a bowr,
þat is up in þe heye tour,
Til þou mowe ful wel go,

And wel ben hol of al þi wo.
It ne shal no þing ben bitwene
þi bour and min, also y wene,
But a fayr firrene wowe ;—
Speke y loude, or spek y lowe,
þou shalt 1 ful wel heren me,
And þan þu wilt, þou shalt me se.
A rof shal hile us boþe o-nith,
þat none of mine, clerk ne knith,
Ne sholen þi wif no shame bede,
No more þan min, so god me rede !”

HE dide un-to þe borw bringe
Sone anon, al with ioynge,
His wif, and his serganz þe,
þe beste men þat mouthe be.
þe firste nith he lay þer-inne,
Hise wif, and his serganz þrinne,
Aboute þe middel of þe nith
Wok ubbe, and saw a mikel lith
In þe bour þat hauelok lay,
Also brith so it were day.

Ubbe says he
must go and see
what it means.

“Deus !” quoth ubbe, “hwat may þis be?
Betere is i go miself, and se:
Hweþer he sitten nou, and wesseylen,
Or of ani shotshipe to-deyle,
þis tid nithes, also foles ;
þan birþe men casten hem in poles,
Or in a grip, or in þe fen:

1 MS. sahalt; and the second a is expuncted by mistake, instead of
the first.
Nou ne sitten none but wicke men,
Glotuns, reu[e]res, or wicke þeues,
Bi crist, þat alle folk onne leues!"

He stod, and totede in at a bord,
Her he spak anilepi word,
And saw hem slepen faste ilkou,
And lye stille so þe ston;
And saw al þat mikel lith
Fro hauelok cam, þat was so brith.
Of his mouth it com il del,
þat was he war ful swiþe wel.
"Deus!" quoth he, "hwat may þis mene!"
He calde boþe arwe men and kene,
Knithes, and serganz swiþe sleie,
Mo þan an hundred, with-uten leye,
And bad hem alle comen and se,
Hwat þat selcuth mithe be.

Als þe knithes were comen alle,
þer hauelok lay, ut of þe halle,
So stod ut of his mouth a glem,
Rith al swilk so þe sunde-bem;
þat al so lith wa[s] þare, bi heuene!
So þer brende serges seune,
And an hundred serges ok:
þat durste hi sweren on a bok.
He slepen faste alle fiue,
So he weren brouth of liue;
And hauelok lay on his lift side,
In his armes his brith the bride.
Bi þe pappes he leyen naked:
So faire two weren neuere maked
In a bed to leyen samen:—
þe knithes þouth of hem god gamen,
Hem forto shewe, and loken to.
Rith also he stoden alle so,
And his bac was toward hem wend,
So weren he war of a croiz ful gent,
On his rith shuldre sw[ip]e 1 brith,
Brithter pan gold ageyn pe lith.
So pat he wiste heye and lowe,
Pat it was kunrik pat he sawe.
It sparkede, and ful brith shon,
So doth pe gode charbucle ston,
Pat men Mouthe se by pe lith,
A peni chesen, so was it brith.
Panne bihelden he him faste,
So pat he knewen at pe laste,
Pat he was birkabeynes sone,
Pat was here king, pat was hem won.
Wel to yeme, and wel were
Ageynes uten-laddes here.
"For it was neuere yet a broper
In al denemark so lich anoper,
So pis man pat is so fayr
Als birkabeyn, he is hise eyr."

He fellen sone at hise fet,
Was non of hem pat he ne gret,
Of ioie he weren alle so fawen,
So he him haueden of erpe drawen.
Hise fet he kisten an hundred syfpe, pe tos, pe nayles, and pe lithes,
So pat he began to wakne,2
And wit hem ful sore to blakne,
For he wende he wolden him slo,
Or elles binde him, and do wo.

Quoth ubbe, "louerd, ne dred pe nowth,
Me pinkes that I se pi pouth.

1 MS. swe, for swi¢e. Cf. l. 1252.
2 Here follows the catchword—"And wit hem."
Dere sone, wel is me,

&at y pe with eyn[e]1 se.
Man-red, louerd, bede y pe,
&i man auht i ful wel to be,
For pu art comen of birkabeyn,
&at haude mani knith and sweyn ;
And so shalt &ou, louerd, haue,
&ou &u be yet a ful yung knaue.
&ou shalt be king of al denemarke,
Was &er-inne neuere non so stark.
To-morwen shaltu manrede take
Of pe brune and of pe blake ;
Of alle &at aren in pis tun,
Bope of erl, and of barun,
And of dreng, and of thayn,
And of knith, and of sweyn.
And so shaltu ben mad knith
Wit blisse, for &ou art so with."
Sone, hwat wolde pe justise:
And [he] bigan anon to rise,
And seyde sone, "lipes me,
Alle samen, peu and fre.
A ping ich wile you here shauwe,
hat ye 1 alle ful wel knawe.
Ye witen wel, pat al pis lond
Was in birkabeynes hond,

[Fol. 215, col. 2.]

who commended
his children to
Godard;

Ubbe tells them
about Birkabeyn,

And how Godard
slew the two
girls,

and how Godard
shewed him
the boy;

but afterwards
ordered Grim to
drown him.

But Grim fled
with him to
England.

H e let his oth al ouer-go,
Euere wurpe him yuel and wo!

For 2 pe maydnes here lif
Refte he bopen, with a knif,
And him shulde ok haue slawen,

be knif was at his herte drawen,
But god him wolde wel haue saue,
He hauede reunesse of pe knaue,
So pat he with his hend

Ne drop him nouth, pat sor[i] fend,
But sone dide he a fishere
Swipe grete opes swere,

But Grim saw pat he was so fayr,
And wiste he was pe Rith eir,

1 MS. he. 2 Qu. Fro.
UBBE DOES HOMAGE TO HAVELOK.

Fro denemark ful sone he fledde
In-till englond, and per him fedde
Mani winter, pat til pis day
Haues he ben fed and fostred ay.
Lokes, hware he stondes her:
In al pis werd ne haues he per;
Non so fayr, ne non so long,
Ne non so mikel, ne non so strong.
In pis middelerd nis no knith
Half so strong, ne half so with.
Bes of him ful glad and blipe,
And cometh alle hidre swipe,
Manrede youre louerd forto make,
Hope brune and pe Blake.
I shal mi-self do first pe gamen,
And ye sipen alle samen."

O knes ful fayre he him sette,
Mouthe nopimg him per-fro lette,
And bi-cam is man Rith pare,
Pat alle sawen pat pere ware.

A fter him stirt up laddes ten,
And bi-comen hise men;  
And sipen euerilk a baroun,
Pat euere weren in al that toun;
And sipen drenges, and sipen thaynes,
And sipen knithes, and sipen sweynes;
So pat, or pat day was gon,
In al pe tun ne was nouth on
Pat he 2 ne was his man bicomen:
Manrede of alle hauede he nomen.

H wan he hauede of hem alle
Manrede taken, in the halle,

Then Ubbe shows Havelok to them all,
and bids them swear fealty to him.
Ubbe swears fealty first.
All the rest do the same.

Havelok makes them swear to

1 A word is added in the MS. after men, apparently beye. Perhaps we should read: hise beye men. 2 MS. it.
Grundlike dide he hem swere,
Dat he sholden him god feyth bere
Ageynes alle dat worn on liue;
Ber-yen ne wolde neuer on striue,
Dat he ne maden son pat oth,
Riche and poure, lef and loth.
Hwan dat was maked, sone he sende,
Ubbe, writes fer and hende,
After alle dat castel yemede,
Burwes, tunes, sibbe an fremde,
Dat pider sholden come svipe
Til him, and heren tipandes blipe,
Dat he hem alle shulde telle:
Of hem ne wolde neuere on dwelle,
Dat he ne come sone plattinde,
Hwo hors ne hauned, com gangede.
So dat with-inne a fourtenith,
In al denemark ne was no knith,
Ne conestable, ne shireue,
Dat com of adam and of eue,
Dat he ne com biforn sire ubbe:
He dredden him so phes doth clubbe.

Hwan he hauden alle pe king gret,
And he weren alle dun set,
Po seyde ubbe, “lokes here,
Vre louerd svipe dere,
Dat shal ben king of al pe lond,
And haue us alle under hond.
For he is birkabyynes sone,
Pe king dat was vmbe stonde wone
For to yeme, and wel were,
Wit sharp[e] swerd, and longe spere.

1 Qu. pes, i. e. thighs; or the spelling phes may be intentional; see l. 1884. But Sir F. Madden suggests peues.
2 See l. 2645 for the final e.
Lokes nou, hw he is fayr;
Sikerlike he is his eyr.
Falles alle to his fet,
Bicomes his men ful sket.”
He weren for ubbe swipe adrad,
And dide sone al pat he bad,
And yet deden he sumdel more,
O bok ful grundlike he swore,
pat he sholde with him halde
Bope ageynes stille and bolde.
pat euere wo[l]de his bodi dere :
pat dide [he] hem o boke swere.

Hwan he hauede maareda and oth
Taken of lef and of loth,
Ubbe dubbede him to knith,
With a swerd ful swipe brith,
And pe folk of al pe lond
Bitauhte him al in his hond,
pe cunnriche eweril del,
And made him king heylike and wel.
Hwan he was king, pe mouthe men se
pe moste ioe pat mouhte be :
Buttinge with sharpe speres,
Skirming with talenaces, pat men beres,
Wrestling with laddes, putting of ston,
Harping and piping, ful god won,
Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
Romanz reding on pe bok ;
pere mouthe men here pe gestes singe,
ppe gleymen on pe tabour dinge ;
pere mouhte men se pe boles beyte,
And pe bores, with hundes teyte ;
pe mouthe men se eueril gleu,
pere mouthe men se hw grim greu ;
Was neuere yete ioie more
In al pis werd, pan po was pore.  
\[2336\]
\[\text{per was so mike}^{1}\ \text{yeft of cloves,}\]
\[\text{pat pou i swore you grete othes,}\]
I ne wore nouth per-offe crowd:
\[\text{pat may i ful wel swere, bi god!}\]
\[\text{here was swipe gode metes,}\]
And of wyn, pat men fer fetes,
Rith al so mik and gret plente,
So it were water of pe se.
\[\text{pe feste fourti dawes sat,}\]
So riche was neuere non so \text{pat.}\n\[\text{pe king made Robert pere knith,}\]
\[\text{pat was ful strong, and ful with,}\]
And willam wendut hec, his broper,
And huewe rauen, pat was pat o\text{per,}\nAnd made hem barouns alle \text{pre},
And yaf hem lond, and oper fe,
So mikel, pat ilker twent[i] knihtes
\[\text{Hauede of genge, dayes and nithes.}\]
\[\text{H} \text{wan pat feste was al don,}\]
\[\text{A thousand knihtes ful wel o bon}\]
With-held pe king, with him to lede;
\[\text{pat ilkan hauede ful god stede,}\]
Helm, and sheld, and brinie brith,
\[\text{pat fel to knith.}\]
And al pe wepne pat fel to knith.
\[\text{With hem five thousand gode}\]
Sergaunz, pat weren to fyht wode,
With-held he al of his genge:
\[\text{Wile I na more pe storie lenge.}\]
\[\text{Yet hwan he hauede of al pe lond}\]
\[\text{pe casteles alle in his hond,}\]
And conestables don \text{per-imne,}\n\[\text{He swor, he ne sholde neuer blizne,}\]

\[1\] \text{See l. 2342.}\]
Til þat he were of godard wrecen, 2368
þat ich haue of ofte speken.
Hal hundred knithes dede he calle,
And hisſ five thousand sergaunz alle,
And dide sweren on the bok 2372
Sone, and on þe auter ok,
þat he ne sholde neuere blinne,
Ne for lone, ne for sinne,
Til þat he haueden godard funde, 2376
And brouth biforn him faste bunde.

He goes to meet Godard.

He swor þis oth, 2380
Ne leten he mouth for leſ ne loth, 2380
þat he ne foren swipe rathe, 2380
þer he was unto þe pape, 2380
þer he yet on hunting for,
With mikel genge, and swipe stor.
Robert, þat was of al þe ferd
Mayster, was girt wit a swerd,
And sat up-on a ful god stede,
þat vnder him Rith wolde wede ;
He was þe firste þat with godard
Spak, and seyde, "hede ¹ cauenard !
Wat dos þu here at þis pape ?
Cum to þe king, swipe and rape.
þat sendes he þe word, and bedes,
þat þu þenke hwat þu him dedes,
Hwan þu reftes with a knif
Hise sistres here lif,
An sipen bede þu in þe se
Drenchen him, þat herde he.
He is to þe swipe grim :
Cum þu swipe un-to him,
þat king is of þis kuneriche.
þu fule man ! þu wicke swike !

¹ Qu. helde, i. e. old. Unless it means "heed!"
who will repay him.

And he shal yelde pe pi mede,
Bi Crist pat wolde on rode blede!"

H wan godard herde pat per prette,
With pe nene he robert sette
Biform pe teth a dint ful strong.
And robert kipt ut a knif long,
And smot him poru pe rith arum:
per-of was ful litel harum.

H wan his folk pat sau and herde,
Hwou robert with here lonerd ferde,
He haueden him wel ner browt of liue,
Ne weren his two brethren and oure fine
Slowen of here ladders ten,
Of godardes alper-beste men.

Hwan pe opre sawen pat, he felleden,
And godard swipe loude greddde:
"Mine knithes, hwat do ye?
Sule ye bus-gate fro me fle?
Ich haue you fed, and yet shal fede,
Helpe me nu in pis nede,
And late ye nouth mi bodi spille,
Ne hauelok don of me hise wille.
Yif ye id do, ye do you shame,
And bringeth you-self in mikel blame."
Hwan he pat herden, he wenten ageyn,
And slowen a knitt and a sweyn
Of pe kinges oune men,
And woundeden abuten ten.

But Godard one, pat he flowe,
So pe þef men dos henge,
Or hund men shole in dike slenge.
He bunden him ful swipe faste,
Hwil þe bondes wolden laste,
þat he rorode als a bole,
þat he wore parred in an hole,
With dogges forto bite and beite:
Were þe bondes nouth to leite.
He bounden him so 1 fele sore,
þat he gan crien godes ore,
þat he sholde of his hend plette,
Wolden he nouht þer-forde lette,
þat he ne bounden hond and fet:
Dapeit þat on þat þer-forde let!
But dunten him so man doth bere,
And keste him on a scabbed mere,
Hise nese went un-to þe crice:
So ledden he þat fule swipe,
Til he was biforn hauelok broth,
þat he haue[de] ful wo wrowht,
Bope with hungre 2 and with cold,
Or he were twel winter old,
And with mani heui swink,
With poure mete, and feble drink,
And [with] swipe wikke clopes,
For al his manie grete othes.
Nu beyes he his holde blame:
'Old sinne makes newe shame:,'
Wan he was [brouht] so shamelike
Biforn 3 þe king, þe fule swipe,
þe king dede ubbe swipe calle
Hise erles, and hise barouns alle,
Dreng and thein, burgeis and knith,

1 MS. fo.
2 MS. hungred.
3 MS. Brouht biforn; but the word brouht clearly belongs to the preceding line, in which, however, it is omitted.
HE IS CONDEMNED TO BE HUNG.

And bad he sholden demen him rith:
For he kneu, pe swike dam,
Euerildel god was him gram.
He seten hem dun bi pe wawe,
Riche and pouere, heye and lowe,
pe helde men, and ek pe grom,
And made per pe rithe dom,
And seyden unto pe king anon,
pat stille sat [al] so pe ston:
"We deme, pat he be al quic slawen, ¹
And sipen to pe galwes drawe[n],
At pis foule mere tayl;
þoru is fet a ful strong nayl;
And þore ben henged wit two feteres,
And þare be writen þise letteres:
'pis is pe swike þat wende wel
þe king haue reft þe lond il del,
And hise sistres with a knif
Boþe refte here lif.'
þis writ shard henge bi him þare;
þe dom is demd, seye we na more."

Hwan þe dom was demd and gine,
And he was wit þe prestes shriue,
And it ne mouhte ben non oper,
Ne for fader, ne for broþer,
þat he sholde þarne lif;
Sket cam a ladde with a knif,
And bigan Rith at þe to
For to ritte, and for to flo,
And he bigan for to rore,
So it were grim or gore,
þat men mithe þepen a mile
Here him rore, þat fulle file.
þe ladde ne let no with for-þi,
¹ We should perhaps read flauen, as required by the sense. See II. 2495, 2502.
Godard is flayed alive and hung.

He criede ‘merci! merci!’

Dat [he] ne flow [him] eueril del
With knif mad of grunden stel.

Dai garte bringe þe mere sone,
Skabbed 1 and ful iuele o bone,
And bunden him rith at hire tayl
With a rop of an old seyl,
And drowen him un-to þe galwes,
South bi þe gate, But ouer þe falwes ;
And henge [him] pore Bi þe hals :
Dapeit hwo recke! he was fals.

Pe he was ded, þat sathanas,
Sket was seysed al þat his was
In þe kinges hand il del,
Lond and lith, and oþer catel,
And þe king ful sone it yaf
Vbbe in þe hond, wit a fayr staf,
And seyde, “her ich sayse þe
In al þe lound, in al þe fa.”

Bo swor havelok he sholde make,
Al for grim, of monekes blake
A priorie to seruen inne ay
Hesu crist, til domesday,
For þe god he haueden him don,
Hwil he was pouere and iuel 2 o bon.
And þer-of held he wel his oth,
For he it made, god it woth!
In þe tun þer grim was grauen,
Dat of grim yet haues þe name.
Of grim bidde ich na more spelle.3—
But wan godrich herde telle,

2504 He is bound on an old mare,

2508 drawn over rough ground, and hung.

2512

2516 Havelok makes Ubbe his steward.

2520 He founds a priory of black monks for Grim’s soul,

2524 [Fol. 217, col. 1.]

2528 in the town of Grimsby.

1 MS. Skabeb.

2 The MS. has “we,” which the scribe several times writes instead of “wel.” But “wel” is a manifest blunder, since “iuel” is meant. Cf. l. 2505.

3 The author has here omitted to tell us that Havelok, at the desire of his wife, invades England. See the note.
Of cornwayle þat was erl,
(þat fule traytour, that mixed cherl !)
þat havelok was king of denemark,
And ferde with him strong and stark
Comen engelond with-inne,
Engelond al for to winne,
And þat she, þat was so fayr,
þat was of engelond rith eir,
þat was comen up at grimesbi,
He was ful sorful and sori,
And seyde, "Hwat shal me to rape?
Goddoth! i shal do slou hem baþe.
I shal don hengen hem ful heye,
So mote ich brouke mi Rith eie!
But yif he of mi lond[e] ꞌ fle;
Hwat ? wenden he to desherite me?"
He dide sone ferd ut bidde,
þat al þat euere mouhte o stede
Ride, or helm on heued bere,
Brini on bac, and sheld, and spere,
Or ani oþer wepne bere,
Hand-ax, syþe, gisarm, or spere,
Or aunlaz, and god long knif,
þat als he louede leme or lif,
þat þey sholden comen him to,
With ful god wepne ye ber so,
To lincolne, þer he lay,
Of marz þe seuenteneþe day,
So þat he couþe hem god þank;
And yif þat ani were so rang,
That he þanne ne come anon,
He swor bi crist, and [bi] ꞌ seint Iohan,

1 Cf. l. 2599.
2 Printed "alinlaz" in the former edition. The first stroke of the u is longer than the second, and the tail of the x in the line above converts the second downstroke of the u into an apparent i.
3 Cf. l. 1112.
GODRICH EXCITES THE ENGLISH AGAINST HAVELOK.

That he sholde maken him þral, 2564
And al his of-spring forth with-al.

pe englishe þat herde þat,
   Was non þat euere his bode sat,
For he him dreedde swipe sore, 2568
So Runci spore, and mikle more.
At þe day he come sone
þat he hem sette, ful wel o bone,
To lincolne, with gode stedes,
And al þe weyne þat knith ledes.
Hwan he wore come, sket was þe erl yare,¹
Ageynes denshe men to fare,
And seyde, "þymes me ² alle samen,
Haue ich gadred you for no gamen,
But ich wile seyen you forþi;
Lokes hware here at grimesbi
Hise uten-laddes here komen,
And haues nu þe príorie numen;
Al þat euere mithen he finde,
He breyne kirkes, and prestes bine;
He strangleth monkes, and nunnes bope:
Wat wile ye, frend, her-offe Rede?
Yif he regne þus-gate longe,
He Moun us alle ouer-gange,
He moun vs alle quic henge or slo,
Or þral maken, and do ful wo,
Or elles rene us ure lynes,
And ure children, and ure wiues.
But dos nu als ich wile you lere,
Als ye wile be with me dere;
Nimes nu swipe forth and rape,
And helps me and yu-self baþe,
And slos up-o[n] þe dogges swipe:
For shal [i] neuere more be bliþe,

¹ Or þare; but see l. 2954. ² MS. mi. Cf. l. 2204.
Ne hoseled ben, ne of prest shriuen,
Til pat he ben of londe driuen.
Nime we swip, and do hem fle,
And folwes alle faste me,
For ich am he, of al pe ferdl,
Pat first shal slo with drawen swerd.
Dapeyt hwo ne stonde faste
Bi me, hwil hise armes laste!"
"Ye! lef, ye!"1 couth pe erl gunter;
"Ya!" quoth pe erl of cestre, reyner.
And so dide alle pat per stode,
And stirte forth so he were wode.
Bo mouthe men se pe brinies brihte
On backes keste, and late rithe,
Pe helmes heye on heued sette;
To armes al so swipe plette,
Pat pei wore on a litel stunde

Grethet, als men mithe telle a pund,
And lopen on stedes sone anon,
And toward grimesbi, ful god won,
He foren softe bi pe sti,
Til he come ney at grimesbi.

Havelok meets them boldly,
Hanelok, pat hauede spired wel
Of here fare, eueril del,
With al his ferdl cam hem a-geyn,
For-bar he nofer knith ne sweyn.
Pe firste knith pat he per mette,
With pe swerd so he him grette,
For his heued of he plette,
Wolde he mouth for sinne lette.

Robert kills a second.
Robertd saw pat dint so hende,
Wolde he neuere pepe[n] wende,
Til pat he hauede anofer slawen,
With pe swerd he held ut-drawn.

1 MS. has pe, pe, or ye in both places. But see l. 1888.
COMBAT BETWEEN UBBE AND GODRICH.

2632 William disables a third.

William wendut his sword ṣt-drow,
And ḫe predde so sore ḫe slow,
Ḫat he made up-իn the feld
His lift arm flye, with the swerd.¹

2636 Hugh Raven seizes his sword,

Huwe rauen ne forgat nouth
Ŷe swerd ūe hauede ṧider broth,
He kipte it up, and smot ful sore
An erl, oxetine ūe saw priken ᵇore,
Ful noblelike ūpon a stede,
Ŷat with him wolde al quic wede.
He smot him on ūe heued so,
Ŷat he ūe heued clef a-two,
And ūat bi ҫe shu[l]dre-blade
Ŷe sharpe swerd let [he] wade,
Ŷorw the brest unto ūe herte;
Ŷe dint bigan ful sore to smerte,
Ŷat ūe erl fel dun a-non,
Al so ded so ani ston.
Quoth ubbe, "nu dwelle ich ūo longe,"
And leth his stede sone gonge
To godrich, with a god spere,
Ŷat he saw a-noþer bere,
And smoth godrich, and Godrich him,
Hetelike with herte grim,
So ūat he hope felle dune,
To ūe erþe first ūe crone.
Jaune he woren fallen dun boþen,
Grundlike here swerdes ut-drowen,
Ŷat weren swipe sharp and gode,
And fouhten so ҫe weren wode,
Ŷat ᶫe swot ran ūf ᶫe crune
[To ūe fet rith ūe adune.]²

¹ Cf. l. 1825. We should otherwise be tempted to read shield; especially as the shield is more appropriate to the left arm.
² Cf. l. 1904.
GODRICH DISPLAYS GREAT PROWESS.

The fight lasts from morn to night.
Godrich wounds Ubbe sorely.
Hugh Raven rescues him.
A thousand knights slain.
The pools are full of blood.
Godrich attacks the Danes like lightning.

Æþer mouthe men se to knithes bete
Ayþer on Æþer dintes grete,
So þat with alþer-lest[e] dint
Were al to-shiuered a flint.

So was bi-twelen hem a fiht,
Fro þe morwen ner to þe niht,
So þat þei nouth ne blinne,
Til þat to sette bigan þe sunne.

Þo yaf godrich þorw þe side
Vbbe a wunde ful un-ride,
So þat þorw þat ilke wounde
Hauede ben bronto þe grunde,
And his heued al of-slawen,
Yif god ne were, and huwe rauen,
Þat drow him fro godrich awey,
And barw him so þat ilke day.
But er he were fro godrich drawen,
Þer were a þousind knihtes slawen
Bi boþe halve, and mo y-nowe,
Þer þe ferdes to-gidere slowe.
Þer was swilk dreping of þe folk,
Þat on þe feld was neuere a polk
Þat it ne stod of blod so ful,
Þat þe strern ran intil þe hul.

Þo tarst 1 bigan godrich to go
Vþ-on þe danshe, and faste to slo,
And forth rith also leuin fares,
Þat neuere kines best ne spares,
Þanne his [he] gon, for he garte alle
Þe denshe men biforn him falle.
He felde browne, he felde blake,
Þat he mouthe ouer-take.
Was neuere non þat mouhte þaue
Hise dintes, noþer knith ne knaue,
Þat he felden so dos þe gres

1 So in MS. Qu. faste, as in next line.
Bi-forn þe syþ þat ful sharp is.
Hwan havelok saw his folk so brittene,
And his ferd so swipe littene,
He cam driuende up-on a stede,
And bigan til him to grede,
And seyde, "godrich, wat is þe
þat þou fare þus with me?
And mine gode knihtes slos,
Siker-like þou mis-gos.
þou wost ful wel, yif þu wilt wite,
þat ægelwold þe dide site
On knes, and sweren on messe-bok,
On caliz, and on [pateyn] ¹ hok
þat þou hise douhter sholdest yelde,
þan she were winman ² of elde,
Engelond eueril del:
Godrich þe erl, þou wost it wel.
Do nu wel with-uten fiht,
Yeld hire þe lond, for þat is rith.
Wile ich forgíne þe þat lathe,
Al mi dede and al mi wrathe,
For y se þu art so with,
And of þi bodi so god kníth."
"þat ne wile ich neure mo,"
Quoth erl godrich, "for ich shal slo
þe, and hire for-henge heye.
I shal þrist ut þi rith eye
þat þou lokes with on me,
But þu swipe heþen fle."
He grop þe swerd ut sone anon,
And hew on havelok, ful god won,
So þat he clef his sheld on two:
Hwan havelok saw þat shame do

² MS. winman, i.e. winman or winman; but we are sure, from l. 174, that winman is meant.
Havelok smites him down.

Godrich rises, and wounds Havelok in the shoulder.

Havelok is enraged, and cuts off his foe's hand.

[fol. 218, col. 2.]

When the English find out

His body per bi-forn his ferd,
He drow ut sone his gode swerd,
And smot him so up-on pe crune,
Dat godrich fel to pe erpe adune.
But godrich stirt up swipe sket,
Lay he nowth longe at hise fet,
And smot him on pe sholdre so,
Dat he dide pare undo
Of his brinie rings mo,
Dat pat ich kan tellen fro;
And woundede him rith in pe flesh,
Dat tendre was, and swipe nesh,
So pat pe blod ran til his to:
To was havelok swipe wo,
Dat he hauede of him drawen
Blod, and so sore him slawen.
Hertelike til him he wente,
And godrich per fulike shente;
For his swerd he hof up heye,
And pe hand he dide of fleye,
Dat he smot him with so sore:
Hw mithe he don him shame more?

Hwan he hauede him so shamed,
His hand of plat, and yuele lamed,
He tok him sone bi pe necke
Als a traytour, daþeyt wo recke!
And dide him binde and fetere wel
With gode feteres al of stel,
And to pe quen he sende him,
Dat birde wel to him ben grim;
And Bad she sholde don him gete,
And dat non ne sholde him bete,
Ne shame do, for he was knith,
Til knithes haueden demd him Rith.
Dat pe englishe men dat sawe,
pat pei wisten, heye and lawe,
pat Goldeborou, pat was so fayr,
Was of engeland rith eyr,
And pat pe king hire hauede wedded,
And haueaen ben samen bedded,
He comen alle to crie merci,
Vnto pe king, at one cri,
And beden him sone manrede and oth,
pat he ne sholden, for lef ne loth,
Neuere more ageyn him go,
Ne ride, for wel ne for wo.

Be king ne wolde nouth for-sake,
pat he ne shulde of hem take
Manrede pat he beden, and ok
Hold opes sweren on pe bok;
But or bad he, pat pider were brouth
pe quen, for hem, swilk was his pouth,
For to se, and forto shawe,
Yif pat he hire wolde knawe.
Horuth hem witen wolde he,
Yif pat she aucete quen to be.

Sixe erles weren sone yare,
After hire for to fare.
He nomen on-on, and kommen sone,
And brouthen hire, pat under mone
In al pe werd ne hauede per,
Of hende-leik, fer ne ner.
Hwan she was come pider, alle
pe englishe men bi-gunne to falle
O knes, and greten swipe sore,
And seyden, "leuedi, k[r]istes ore,
And yourse! we hauen misdo mikel,
pat we ayen you haue be fikel,
For englond auhte forto ben yourse,
And we youre men and yourues.
Is non of us, yung ne old,
pat we ne wot, pat anelwold
Was king of pis kunerike,
And ye his eyr, and pat pe swike
Haues it halden with mikel wronge :
God leue him sone to honge !''

Havelok says
They must pass
They admit she
They say he is to
They say he is to
They admit she
They are bound on an
And we are bound on an
And we are bound on an
And we are bound on an
And we are bound on an

Quot' hauelok, "hwan pat ye it wite.
Nu wile ich pat ye doun site,
And after godrich haues wrouht,
pat haues in sorwe him-self brouth,
Lokes pat ye demen him rith,
For dom ne spared 2 clerk ne knith,
And sifon shal ich under-stonde
Of you, after lawe of londe,
Manrede, and holde opes bope,
Yif ye it wilne, and ek rothe."
Anon per dune he hem sette,
For non pe dom ne durste lette,
And demden him to bindeu faste
Vp-on an asse swipe un-wraste,
Andelong, nouht ouer-pwerti,
His nose went unto pe stert ;
And so to lincolne lede,
Shamelike in wicke wede,
And hwan he cam un-to pe borw,
Shamelike ben led per-poru,
Bisoupe pe borw, un-to a grene,
pat pare is yet, als[o] y wene,
And pere be bunden til a stake,
Abouten him ful gret fir make,
And al to dust be brende Rith pere ;
And yet demden he per more,
Oper swikes for to warne,

1 MS. Guot. Cf. l. 1954.
2 Qu. spares.
THE EARL OF CHESTER MARIES GUNILD.

The Earl of Chester marries Gunild.

\( \text{pat hise children sulde parne} \)
\( \text{Enere more pat eritage,} \)
\( \text{pat his was, for hise utrage.} \)

\( \text{wan pe dom was demd and seyd,} \)
\( \text{Sket was pe swike on pe asse leyd,} \)
\( \text{And [led vn-til] pat ilke grene,} \)
\( \text{And brend til asken al bidene.} \)

\( \text{pO was Goldborough ful blipe;} \)
\( \text{She panked god fele syphe,} \)
\( \text{pat pe fule swike was brend,} \)
\( \text{pat wende wel hire body have shend,} \)
\( \text{And seyde, "nu is time to take} \)
\( \text{Manrede of brune and of blake,} \)
\( \text{pat ich se ride[n] and go :} \)
\( \text{Nu ich am wreke[n] of mi fo."} \)

\( \text{Hauelok anon manrede tok} \)
\( \text{Of alle englishe, on pe bok,} \)
\( \text{And dide hem grete opes swere,} \)
\( \text{pat he sholden him god feyth bere} \)
\( \text{Ageyn alle pat woren lines,} \)
\( \text{And pat sholde ben born of wiues.} \)

\( \text{hann he hauede sikernesse} \)
\( \text{Taken of more and of lesse,} \)
\( \text{Al at hise wille, so dide he calle} \)
\( \text{pe erl of cestre, and hise men alle,} \)
\( \text{pat was yung knith wit-uten wif,} \)
\( \text{And seyde, "sire erl, bi mi lif,} \)
\( \text{And pou wile mi conseyl tro,} \)
\( \text{Ful wel shal ich with pe do,} \)
\( \text{For ich shal yeue pe to wine} \)
\( \text{pe fairest ping that is olune.} \)

1 MS. "And him til," which is nonsense. See l. 2827.
2 See l. 2992.
3 MS. haueden.
They are married, and have five
sons.

Havelok remembers
Bertram, the
earl’s cook

Pat is gunnild of grimesby,
Grimes doughter, bi seint dauy!
Pat me forth broute, and wel fedde,
And ut of denemark with me flegde,
Me for to burwe fro mi ded:
Sikerlike, poru his red
Haue ich liued in-to pis day,
Blissed worpe his soule ay!
I rede pat pu hire take,
And spuse, and curtseyse make,
For she is fayr, and she is fre,
And al so hende so she may be.
Pertekene she is wel with me,
Pat shal ich ful wel shewe pe,
For ich giue pe a gine,
Pat enere more hwil ich line,
For hire shal-tu be with me dere,
Pat wile ich pat pis folc al here."
Pe erl ne wolde nouth ageyn
Pe king[e] be, for knith ne sweyn,
Ne of pe spusing seyen nay,
But spusede [hire] pat ilke day.
Pat spusinge was god time maked,
For it ne were neure clad ne naked,
In a pede samened two
Pat cam to-gidere, liuedo so,
So pey did[e]n al here liue:
He geten samen sones fieue,
Pat were pe beste men at nede,
Pat mouthe riden on ani stede.
Hwan gunnild was to cestre brouth,
Havelok pe gode ne for-gat nouth
Bertram, pat was the eules kok,
Pat he ne dide calle[n] ok,
And seyde, "frend, so god me rede!
Nu shaltu haue riche mede,
BERTRAM MARRIES GRIM'S SECOND DAUGHTER.

For wissing, and Þi gode dede,
Þat tu me dides in ful gret nede.
For þazne y yede in mi cuuel,
And ich ne haue[de] bred, ne sowel,
Ne y ne hauese no catel,
Þou feddes and claddes me ful wel.
Haue nu for-Þi of cornwayle
Þe erldom ildel, with-uten fayle,
And al þe lond þat godrich held,
Boþe in towne, and ek in feld ;
And þerto wile ich, þat þu spuse,
And fayre bring hire un-til huse,
Grimes douther, leuïue þe hende,
For þider shal she with þe wende.
Hire semes curteys forto be,
For she is fayr so flour on tre ;
Þe heu is swilk in hire ler
So [is] þe rose in roser,
Hwan it is fayr spad ut newe
Ageyn þe suonne, brith and lewe.”
And girde him sone with þe swerd
Of þe erldom, bi-forn his ferd,
And with his hond he made him knith,
And yaf him armes, for þat was rith,
And dide him þere sone wedde
Hire þat was ful swete in bedde.

After þat he spused wore,
Wolde þe erl nouth dwelle þore,
But sone nam until his lond,
And seysed it al in his hond,
And liued þer-inne, he and his wif;
An hundred winter in god lif,¹

¹ Between this line and the next are inserted in the MS. the words: For he saw þat he, which have been subsequently struck out by the same hand, and the word vacat affixed.
And gaten mani children samen,
And liueden ay in blisse and gamen.
Hwan pe maydens were spused bope,
Havelok anon bigan ful rathe
His denshe men to feste wel
Wit riche landes and catel,
So pat he weren alle riche:
For he was large and nouth chinche.

Per-after sone, with his here,
For he to lundone, forto bere
Corune, so pat [alle] it sawe,
Henglishe ant denshe, heye and lowe,
Hwou he it bar with mikel pride,
For his barnage pat was un-ride.

The feast lasts 40 days.
Pe feste of his corumi[n]g
Laste[de] with gret ioying
Fourti dawes, and sumdel mo;
Po biguanen pe denshe to go
Vn-to pe king, to aske leue,
And he ne wolde hem nouth grene,
For he saw pat he weren yare
In-to denemark for to fare,
But gaf hem leue sone anon,
And bitauhte hem seint Johan;
And bad ubbe, his iustise,
Pat he sholde on ilke wise
Denemark yeme and gete so,
Pat no pleynte come him to.

Havelok remained in
Hwan he wore parted alle samen,
Hauelok bi-lefte wit ioice and gamen

MS. corunig.
In engeland, and was per-inune
Sixti winter king with winne,
And Goldeboru quen, pat I wene:
So mikel loue was hem bitwene,
pat al pe werd spak of hem two:
He louede hire, and she him so,
pat neyper ope[r] mithe be
For 1 oher, ne no ioie se,
But yf he were to-gidere 2 bope;
Neuere yete ne weren he wrope,
For here loue was ay newe,
Neuere yete wordes ne grewe
Bitwene hem, hwar-of ne lathe
Mithe rise, ne no wrathe.

He geten children hem bi-twene
Sones and douhtres rith fluetene,
Hwar-of pe sones were kinges alle,
So wolde god it sholde bifalle;
And pe douhtres alle quenes:
Him stondes wel pat god child strenes.
Nu haue ye herd pe gest al poru
Of havelok and of goldeborw.
Hw he weren born, and hw fedde,
And hwou he weren with wronge ledde
In here youpe, with trecherie,
With tresoun, and with felounye,
And hwou pe swikes haueden thit
Reuen hem pat was here rith,
And hwou he weren wreken wel,
Haue ich sey you euerildel;
And forpi ich wolde biseken you,
pat hauen herd pe rim[e] nu,
pat ilke of you, with gode wille,
Saye a pater-noster stille,
For him ðat haueth þe rym[e] maked,
And þer-fore þele nihetes waked;
Þat ihusu crist his soule bringe
Bi-forn his fader at his endinge.

Amen.
NOTES.

(See additional notes at p. liv.)

[The following notes are abridged from the notes in Sir F. Madden's excellent edition, the abridgement being effected almost entirely by occasional omissions, and with but very slight unimportant changes of a few words, chiefly in the case of references to later editions of various works than were existing in 1828. I have added one or two short notes upon difficult constructions, but these are distinguished by being enclosed within square brackets.—W. W. S.]

9. *He was the wiceste man at nede*

That thurte riden on ane stede.

This appears to have been a favourite expression of the poet, and to have comprehended, in his idea, the perfection of those qualifications required in a knight and hero. He repeats it, with some slight variation, no less than five times, viz. in ll. 25, 87, 345, 1757, and 1970. The lines, however, are by no means original, but the common property of all our early poetical writers. We find them in Laȝamon:

\[\text{þis wes þe feiruste mon} \\
\text{þe æure æhte ær þusne kinedom,} \\
\text{þa he mihte beren wepnen,} \\
& \text{his hors wel awilden.}\]

*Laȝamon*, vol. i. p. 174.

So also in the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*:

He was the best knight at neede
That euer bestrode any stede.


Again, in the *Continuation of Sir Gy*, in the Auchinleck MS., (ed. for the Abbotsford Club, 1840, 4to ; p. 266),

The best bodi he was at nede
That ever might bistriden stede,
And freest founde in fight.

After him his sone Arthur
Hevede this lond thourh and thourh.
He was the beste kyng at nede
That ever mihte ride on stede,
Other wepne welde, other folk out-lede,
Of mon ne hede he never drede.—l. 261.

The very close resemblance of these lines to those in Havelok, ii. 87—90, would induce a belief that the writer of the Chronicle had certainly read, and perhaps copied from, the Romance. The MS. followed by Ritson was undoubtedly written soon after the death of Piers Gaveston, in 1313, with the mention of which event it concludes; but in the Auchinleck copy it is continued, by a later hand, to the minority of Edward III. It only remains to be observed, that the poem in MS. Reg. 12. C. xii. is written by the same identical hand as the MS. Harl. 2253 (containing Kyng Horn, &c.), whence some additional light is thrown on the real age of the latter, respecting which our antiquaries so long differed.

[15. "And I will drink ere I tell my tale." Her = ere.
19. And wite, &c., i.e. And ordain that it may be so; cf. ll. 517, 1316. Both metre and grammar require the final e.]

31. Etl and barun, dreng and kays. The appellation of Dreng, and, in the plural, Drenges, which repeatedly occurs in the course of this poem, is uniformly bestowed on a class of men who hold a situation between the rank of Baron and Thayn. We meet with the term more than once in Doomsday Book, as, for instance, in Tit. Cestresc: "Hujus manerii [Nenton] aliam terram xv. hom. quos Drenches vocabant, pro xv. maneriiis tenebant." And in a Charter of that period we read: "Alger Prior, et totus Conventus Ecclesia S. Cuthberti, Edwino, et omnibus Teignis et Drengis, &c." Hence Spelman infers, that the Drengs were military vassals, and held land by knight's service, which was called Drengagium. This is confirmed by a document from the Chartulary of Welbeck, printed in Dugdale, Mon. Angl. V. ii. p. 598, and in Blount, Jocular Tenures, p. 177, where it is stated, "In eadem villa [Cukency, co. Notingth.] manebat quidam homo qui vocabatur Gamelbere, et fuit vetus Dreynghe ante Conquestum." It appears from the same document, that this person held two carucates of land of the King in capite, and was bound to perform military service for the same, whenever the army went into Wales. In the Epistle also from the Monks of Canterbury to Henry II. printed by Sommer, in his Treatise on Gavelkind, p. 123, we find: "Quia vero non erant adhuc tempore Regis Willelmi Milites in Anglia, sed Threnges, precepet Rex, ut de eis Milites fierent, ad terram defendandam." In Lagamon's translation of Wace the term is frequently used in the acception of thayn, and spelt either dringches, drenches, dranches, or dringes. [Cf. Sw. drång, a man, servant; Dan. dreyng, a boy.] In the Isl. and Su. Goth, Dreng originally signified vir fortis, miles strenuus, and hence Olaf, King of Norway, received the epithet of Goddreng. See Wormii Lex. Run. p. 26. Ihre, Vet. Cat. Reg.
p. 109. Langebek, Script. Rer. Danic. V. i. p. 156. The term subsequently was applied to persons in a servile condition, and is so instanced by Spelman, as used in Denmark. In this latter sense it may be found in Hickes, Diction. Isl., and in Sir David Lyndsay's Poems,

Qusilk is not ordanit for dringis
But for Duikis, Empriouris, and Kingis.

V. Pinkerton's Scotish Poems Reprinted, ii. 97.

V. Jamieson, Dict. in voce.

45. In that time a man that bore
(Wel fyfty pund, y woth, or more.)

This insertion receives additional authority from a similar passage in the Romance of Guy of Warwick, where it is mentioned as a proof of the rigorous system of justice pursued by Earl Sigard,

Though a man bore an hundred pound,
Upon him of gold so round,
There n'as man in all this land
That durst him do shame no schonde.


Many of the traits here attributed to Athelwold appear to be borrowed from the praises so universally bestowed by our ancient historians on the character of King Alfred, in whose time, as Otterbourne writes, p. 52, "armillas aureas in bivio stratas vel suspensas, nemo abripere est ausus." Cf. Annal. Eccl. Roffens. MS. Cott. Nero, D. ii. The same anecdote is related of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, by Guillaume de Jumieges, and Dudon de Saint Quentin.

91. Sprieng forth so sparke of glede. Cf. l. 870. It is a very common metaphor in early English poetry.

He spronge for8 an stede,
swa spare ded of fure.


He sprange als any sparke one glede.

Sir Isumbras, st. 39 (Camd. Soc. 1844)

He spronge as sparkle doth of glede.

K. of Tars, l. 194.

And lepte out of the arsoun,
As sperk thogh out of glede.

Ly Beaus Desconus, l. 623.

Cf. Chaucer, Cant. Tales, l. 13833, and Tyrwhitt's note.

110. Of his bodi, &c. Compare the French text, l. 208.

Mes entre eus n'eurent enfant
Mes qe vne fille bele ;
Argentille out non la pucelle.
Rois Ekenbright fut enfermez,
Et de grant mal forment greuez ;
Bien siet n'en poct garrir.
[Here Argentille is Goldborough, and Ekenbright answers to Athelwold. This quotation, and others below, shewing the passages of the French text which most nearly resemble the English poem, are from a MS. in the Herald's College, marked E. D. N. No. 14. See the Preface.]

[118. Wat shal me to rede, lit. what shall be for a counsel to me. See Rede in the Glossary to William of Palerne.

130. And don hem of par hire were queme, lit. and do them off where it should be agreeable to her; i. e. and keep men at a distance as she pleased. Such seems to me the meaning of this hitherto unexplained line.

132. For me we ought probably to read hit.]

136. He sende writes some onon. We must here, and in l. 2275, simply understand letters, without any reference to the official summonses of parliament, which subsequently were so termed, κατ’ εὐαγγελία. The word briefs is used in the same sense by the old French writers, and in Lajamon we meet with some lines nearly corresponding with the present; see ll. 6669—6678.

[175. pa. Frequently written for pat. See William of Palerne.]

189—203. Ther-on he garte, &c. Compare the French Romance, ll. 215—228.

Sa fille li ad comandée,
Et sa terre tote liuerée.
Primerement li fet iurer,
Veiant sa gent & affier,
Qe leaument la nurrireit,
Et sa terre lui gardereit,
Tant q’ele fust de tiel age
Qe suffrir porroit mari-age.
Quant la pucele seilt granz,
Par le consail de ses tenanz,
An plus fort home la dorroit
Qe el reaume troueroit ;
Qu’il li baillast ses citez,
Ses chasteus & ses fermetez.

263. Justices dede he maken newe,
Al Engelond to faren thorne.
The earliest instance produced by Dugdale of the Justices Itinerant, is in 23 Hen. II. 1176, when by the advice of the Council held at Northampton, the realm was divided into six parts, and into each were sent three Justices. Orig. Judic. p. 51. This is stated on the authority of Hoveden. Dugdale admits however the custom to have been older, and in Gervasius Dorobernensis, we find, in 1170, certain persons, called inquisitores, appointed to perambulate England. Gervase of Tilbury, or whoever was the author of the Dialogus de Scaccario, calls them deambulantes, vel perambulantes judices. See Spelman, in voc. The office continued to the time of Edward III., when it was superseded by that of the Justices of Assize.
280. *The kinges douther,* &c. Comp. the Fr. 1. 283.

Argentille,
La meschine qu'ert sa fille,
Que ia estoit creue & grant,
Et bien poeit auoir enfant.


365. *His quiste,* &c. "His bequest made, and (things) distributed for him."

433. *Crist warie him with his mouth!*

*Waried wrthe he of north and suth!*

So, in the Romance of Merlin, Bishop Brice curses the enemies of Arthur,

Ac, for he is king, and king's son,
Y curse alle, and y dom
His enemies with Christes mouth,
By East, by West, by North, and South!


[506. For *nouth* we must read *mouth* or *wolde.* The sense is—"He thought that he would he were dead, except that he might not (or would not) slay him with his (own) hand."

550. The sense is—"When he had done that deed (i.e. gagged the child), then the deceiver had made him swear," &c.

560. *with* may mean *knowest,* but this hardly gives sense. Perhaps we should read *vill thi,* "As thou wilt have (preserve) thy life."

567. Mr Morris suggests that the riming words are *adoun* and *croune.* We might then read—

"And caste þe knaue so harde adoun,
pat he crakede þer hise croune."

591. *Of hise mouth,* &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 71. sq.

*Totes les houres q'il dormoit,
Vne flambe de lui issoit.
Par la bouche li venoit fors,
Si grant chalur anoit el cors.
La flambe rendoit tiel odour,
Onc ne sentit nul home meillour.

676. *And with thi chartre make (me) fre.* Instances of the manumission of villains or slaves by charter may be found in Hickes, *Diss. Epistol.* p. 12, Lyce's Dict. *ad calc.,* and Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum,* p. 750. The practice was common in the Saxon times, and existed so late as the reign of Henry VIII.

[694. *Wite he him online,* if he knows him (to be) alive.

701. It is evident that the words *and gate* = and goats, must be supplied. For the spelling *gate,* cf. *Pricke of Conscience,* ed. Morris, l. 6134, where *gayte* is used collectively as a plural.]
706. *Hise ship, &c.* Comp. the Fr. i. 89.
  Grim fet nies aparailler,
  Et de viande bien charger.

715—720. *Hauelok the yunge, &c.* Comp. the Fr. ii. 97—105.
  Quant sa nief fut apparaillée,
  Dedenz fist entrer sa meinsée,
  Ses chevalers & ses serganz,
  Sa femme demeine & ses enfanz :
  La reyne mist el batel,
  Haueloc tint souz son mantel.
  Il meismes apres entra,
  A Dieu del ciel se comanda,
  Del haunene sont desancreé,
  Car il eurent bon orré.

Instead of the storm, in the French text Grim's ship is attacked by pirates, who kill the whole of the crew, with the exception of himself and family, whom they spare on the score of his being an old acquaintance.

733—749. *In Humber, &c.* So in the Fr. *Ceo fut el north, &c.* Cf. ii. 122—135.
  Tant ont nage & tant siglé,
  Q'en vne hauene ont parvenu,
  Et de la nief a terre issn.
  Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi ;
  A icel tens que ieo vus di,
  Ni out onques home habité,
  Ne cele hauene n'ert pas haunte.
  Il i adresca primes maison,
  De lui ad Grimesbi a non.
  Quant Grim primes i ariua,
  En .ii. moitez sa nief trecha,
  Les chiefes en ad amont drescé;
  Illec dedenz s'est herbergé.
  Pescher aloit sicome il soloit,
  Siel vendoit & achatoit.

753. *He took the sturgiun and the qual,
    And the turbut, and lax withal,
    He tok the sele, and the huel, &c.*

The list of fish here enumerated may be increased from l. 896, and presents us with a sufficiently accurate notion of the different species eaten in the 13th century. Each of the names will be considered separately in the Glossary, and it is only intended here to make a few remarks on those, which in the present day appear rather strangely to have found a place on the tables of our ancestors. The sturgeon is well known to have been esteemed a dainty, both in England and France, and specially appropriated to the King’s service, but that the whale, the seal, and the porpoise
should have been rendered palatable, excites our astonishment. Yet that
the whale was caught for that purpose, appears not only from the present
passage, but also from the Fabliau intitled *Bataille de Charnage et de
Caresme*, written probably about the same period, and printed by Bar-
bazan. It is confirmed, as we learn from Le Grand, by the French
writers; and even Rabelais, near three centuries later, enumerates the
whale among the dishes eaten by the Gastrolatres. In the list of fish
also published by Le Grand from a MS. of the 13th century, and which
corresponds remarkably with the names in the Romance, we meet with
the *Baleigne*. See *Vie Privée des François*, T. II. sect. 8.

Among the articles at Archbishop Nevil's Feast, 6 Edw. IV., we find,
*Porposes and Seales* xii. and at that of Archbishop Warham, held in
1504, is an item: *De Seales & Porposs. prec. in gross* xxvi. s. viii. d.
Champier asserts that the Seal was eaten at the Court of Francis I., so
that the taste of the two nations seems at this period to have been nearly
the same. For the courses of fish in England during the 14th and 15th
centuries, see Pegge’s *Form of Cury*, and Warner’s *Antiquitutes Culina-
rœ*, to which we may add MS. Sloane, 1868. [Cf. *Babees Book, &c.*, ed.
Furnivall, 1868, p. 153.]

[784. For *setes* we should probably read *seten* or *sette*, which would
be as good a rime as many others. The scribe has probably made the
rime more perfect than the sense. It must mean, "In the sea were they
oft set." We cannot here suppose *setes* = *set es* = *set them.*]

839. *And seyde, Havelok, dere sone.* In the French, Grim sends
Havelok away for quite a different reason, viz, because he does not un-
derstand fishing.

903. *The kok stod, &c.* Comp. the Fr. l. 242.

Et vn keu le roi le retint,
Purceo qe fort le vist & grant,
Et mult le vist de bon semblant,
Merucillous fes poeit leuer,
Busche tailler, ewe porter.

The last line answers to l. 942 of the English version.

939. *He bar the turves, he bar the star.* The meaning of the latter
term will be best illustrated by a passage in Moor's *Suffolk Words*, where,
under the word *Bent*, he writes, "*Bent* or *Starr*, on the N.W. coast of
England, and especially in Lancashire, is a coarse reedy shrub—like ours
perhaps—of some importance formerly, if not now, on the sandy blowing
lands of those counties. Its fibrous roots give some cohesion to the
silicious soil. By the 15 and 16 G. II. c. 33, plucking up and carrying
away *Starr* or *Bent*, or having it in possession within five miles of the
sand hills, was punishable by fine, imprisonment, and whipping." The
use stated in the Act to which the *Starr* was applied, is, "making of
Mats, Brushes, and Brooms or Besoms," therefore it might very well be
adapted to the purposes of a kitchen, and from its being coupled with
*turves* in the poem, was perhaps sometimes burnt for fuel. The origin
staer, a species of sedge, or broom, called by Lightfoot, p. 560, carex ces-pitosa. Perhaps it is this shrub alluded to in the Romance of Kyng Alisaundur, and this circumstance will induce us to assign its author to the district in which the Starr is found.

The speris craketh swithe thickke,
So doth on hegge sterre-stike.—l. 4438.

945. of alle men, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 254.

Tant estoit franc & deboneire,
Que tuz voloit lur pleisir fere,
Pur la franchise q'il out.

959. Of him ful wide the word sprong. A phrase which from the Saxon times occurs repeatedly in all our old writers. A few examples may suffice.

Beowulf wæs breme,
Blæd wide sprang.

Beowulf, ed. Thorpe, p. 2.

Welle wide sprong þas eorles word.

Lazamon, l. 26242.

Of a knight is that y mene,
His name is sprong wel wide.

Sir Tristrem, st. 2, p. 12.

The word of Horn wide sprong,
How he was bothe michel and long.


See also the Kyng of Tars, ll. 19, 1007, Emare, l. 256, Roland and Ferragus, as quoted by Ellis, Ly beaus Descomis, l. 172, and Chronicle of England, l. 71.

984. In armes him woman (ne) nam
þat he doune sone ne caste.

The same praise is bestowed on Havelok in the French text, l. 265,—

Dünant eus linter le fesoient
As plus forz homes q'il sauoioint,
Et il trestouz les abatit—

and it was doubtless in imitation or ridicule of the qualities attributed to similar heroes, that Chaucer writes of Sir Thopas, “Of wrastling was ther non his per.” Cant. Tales, l. 13670.

1006. To ben þer at þe parlament. Cf. l. 1178. If we examine our historical records, we shall find that the only parliament held at Lincoln was in the year 1300, 28 Edw. I., and the writs to the Archbishop of York, and other Nobles, both ecclesiastical and secular, are still extant. The proceedings are detailed at some length by Robert of Brunne, Vol. ii. p. 312, who might have been in Lincoln at the time, or, at all events, was sufficiently informed of all that took place, from his residence in the
county. If we could suppose that the author of the Romance alluded to this very parliament, it would reduce the period of the poem's composition to a later date, than either the style or the writing of the MS. will possibly admit of. It is therefore far more probable the writer here makes use of a poetical, and very pardonable licence, in transferring the parliament to the chief city of the county in which he was evidently born, or brought up, without any reference whatever to historical data.

1022. *Biforn here fet banne lay a tre,*  
*And putten with a mikel ston,* &c.

This game of putting the stone, is of the highest antiquity, and seems to have been common at one period to the whole of England, although subsequently confined to the Northern counties, and to Scotland. Fitzstephen enumerates casting of stones among the amusements of the Londoners in the 12th century, and Dr Pegge, in a note on the passage, calls it "a Welch custom." The same sport is mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, among the diversions pursued at King Arthur's feast, as will appear in a subsequent note (l. 2320). By an edict of Edward III. the practice of casting stones, wood, and iron, was forbidden, and the use of the bow substituted, yet this by no means superseded the former amusement, which was still in common use in the 16th century, as appears from Strutt's *Popular Pastimes*, Introd. pp. xvii, xxxix, and p. 56, sq. In the Highlands this sport appears to have been longer kept up than in any other part of Britain, and Pennant, describing their games, writes, "Those retained are, throwing the putting-stone, or stone of strength (Clock neart) as they call it, which occasions an emulation who can throw a weighty one the farthest." *Tour in Scotl.* p. 214. 4to. 1769. See also *Statist. Account of Argyleshire*, xi. 287. In the French Romance of Horn, preserved in MS. Harl. 527, is almost a similar incident to the one in Havelok, and would nearly amount to a proof, that Tomas, the writer of the French text of Horn, was an Englishman.

In the Romance of *Octovian Imperator* it is said of Florent,

\[
\text{At wrestelyng, and at ston castynge} \\
\text{He wan the prys, without lesynge;} \\
\text{Ther n'as nother old ne yynge} \\
\text{So mochell of strength,} \\
\text{That myght the ston to his but bryng,} \\
\text{Bi fedeme lengthe.} \text{—l. 895.}
\]

It is singular enough, that the circumstance of Havelok's throwing the stone, mentioned in the Romance, should have been founded on, or preserved in, a local tradition, as attested by Robert of Brunne, p. 26.

Men sais in Lyncoln castelle ligges 3it a stone,  
That Hauelok kast wele forbi cuerilkone.

Quant Ekenbright le roi fini,
En ma garde sa fille mist;
Vn serement iurer me fist,
Q'an plus fort home le dorroie,
Qe el reaume trouver porroie.
Assez ai quis & demandé,
Tant q'en ai vn fort troué;
Vn valet ai en ma quisine,
A qui ieo dorrail la meschine; &c.

1103. After Goldeborne, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 377.

Sa niece lur fet amener,
Et a Curan esposer;
Pur lui auiler & honir,
La fist la nuit lez lui gesir.

The French Romance differs here very considerably from the English, and in the latter, the dream of Argentille, her visit to the hermit, and the conversation relative to Havelok’s parents, is entirely omitted.

[1174. This may mean—“He (Havelok) is given to her, and she has taken (him)”—but this makes yof and tok past participles, which they properly are not; or else we must translate it—“He (Godard) gave them to her, and she took them,” i. e. the pence. This alone is the grammatical construction, and it suits the context best; observe, that the words ys and as are equivalent to es = them. Cf. l. 970. See Morris; Gen. & Exod., Pref. p. xviii.]

1203. Thanne he komen there, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 556.

A Grimesby s'en alerent;
Mes li prodoms estoit finiz,
Et la Dame q'is out nurriz.
Kellok sa fille i ont troué,
Vn marchant l'out esposée.

The marriage of Kellok, Grim’s daughter, with a merchant is skilfully introduced in the French, and naturally leads to the mention of Denmark. The plot of the English story is wholly dissimilar in this respect.

1247. On the nith, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 381.

Quant couched furent ambedni,
Cele out grant honte de lui,
Et il assez greindre de li.
As deuz se gent, si se dormi.
Ne voloit pas q'ele veist
La flambe qe de lui issist.

The voice of the angel is completely an invention of the English author, and the dream (which is transferred from Argentille to Havelok) is altogether different in its detail.

1260. He beth heymman, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 521.
Il est né de real lignage,
Oncore auera grant heritage.
Grant gent fra vers li encline,
Il serra roi & tu reyne.

[1334. The words euere-il del are corruptly repeated from line 1330 above. Perhaps we should read wit-uten were, i. e. without doubt.]

1430. Hauede go for him gold ne fe. Cf. l. 44. So in Lajamon:
Ne sculde him neoSer gon fore
Gold ne na gaersume, &c.; vol. ii. p. 537.

[1444. The French text helps but little to supply the blank. It shows that Havelok and his wife sailed to Denmark, and, on their arrival, sought out the castle belonging to Sigar, who answers to the Ubbe of the English version.]

1632. A gold ring drow he forth anon, &c. A similar incident, and in nearly the same words, occurs in Sir Tristrem.

A ring he raught him tite,
The porter seyd nought nay,
In hand:
  He was ful wis, y say,
That first yave yift in land.—fytte i. st. 57, p. 39.

So also Wyntoun, who relates the subsidy of 40,000 moutons sent from France to Scotland in 1353, and adds,

Qwha gyvis swilk gyftyis he is wyse.

[See also Piers Plowman, Text A. iii. 202.]

1646. How he was wel of bones, &c. Comp. the Fr. 1. 743.

Gent cors & bele feture,
Lungs braz & grant furcheure
Ententiuement l'esgarda.

[1678. This line has two syllables too little.]

1722. Thanne he were set, &c. This is an amplification of the Fr. 1. 677, sq.

Quant fut houre del manger,
Et que tuz alerent laner,
Li prodoms a manger s'assist,
Les .iii. valez seeir i fist,
Argentille lez son seignur ;
Serui furent a grant honmr.

1726. Kranes, swannes, renyesyn, &c. We have here the principal constituents of what formed the banquets of our ancestors. The old Romances abound with descriptions of this nature, which coincide exactly with the present. See Richard Cœur de Lion, l. 4221; Guy of Warwick; The Squirrel of Loeve Degre, l. 317; and Morte Arthure, ed. Perry, p. 7.
"Wine is common," says Dr Pegge, speaking of the entertainments of the 14th century, "both red and white. This article they partly had of their own growth, and partly by importation from France and Greece." A few examples will illustrate this:

He laid the cloth, and set forth bread,
And also wine, both white and red.

Sir Degore, ap. Ellis, Metr. Rom. V. 3, p. 375

And dronke wyn, and eke pyment,
Whyt and red, al to talent.

Kyng Alisaunder, l. 4178.

[Cf. Piers Plowman, Text B, at the end of the Prologue.]

In the Squyr of Lowde Degre is a long list of these wines, which has received considerable illustration in the curious work of Dr Henderson.

[1736. I print kirving, as in Sir F. Madden's edition; but I quite give up the meaning of it, and doubt if it is put for kirving. The word is obscurely written, and looks like kipping, and my impression is that it is miswritten for ilk ping, the word he being put for her, as frequently elsewhere. We should thus get hwan he haueden per ilk ping dele, when they had there distributed every thing. This is, at any rate, the sense of the passage.]

1749. And sende him unto the greuys. In the French, Havelok is simply sent to an ostel, and the greuys does not appear in the story.

1806. Havelok lifte up, &c. In the French, all the amusing details relative to Robert and Huwe Raven are omitted, and Havelok is made to retire to a monastery, where he defends himself by throwing down the stones on his assailants.

[1826. wolde, offered at, intended to hit, would have hit.]

1838. And shoten on him, so don on bere

Dogges, that wolden him to-tere.

The same comparison is made use of in the Romance of Horn Childe:

The Yrise folk about him yode,
As hondes do to bare.

Rits, Metr. Rom. V. iii. p. 289.

See Note on l. 2320.

[1914. "Cursed be he who cares! for they deserved it! What did they? There were they worried." A mark of interrogation seems required after dide he.]

1926—1930. Sket sam tiding, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 719.

La nouele vint a chastel,
Au senescal, qui n’est pas bel,
Qe cil qu’il auoit herbergé
Cinc de ses homes out tué.

[1932. Apparently corrupt. Perhaps is should be it. "That this strife—as to what it meant."]

2045. That weren of Kaym kin and Eues. The odium affixed to
the supposed progeny of Cain, and the fables engrafted on it, owe their origin to the theological opinions of the Middle Ages, which it is not worth while to trace to their authors. See Beowulf, ed. Thorpe, p. 8; and Piers Plowman, A. x. 135—156; answering to p. 177 of Whitaker’s edition. See also the Romance of Kyng Alisaunter:

And of Sab the duk Maurnyn,
He was of Kaymes kunrede.—l. 1932.

In Ywaine and Gawaine, l. 559, the Giant is called “the karl of Kaymes kyn,” and so also in a poem printed by Percy, intitled Little John Nobody, written about the year 1550.

Such caitivces count to be come of Cain’s kind.


2076. *It ne shal no thing ben bitwene*

Thi bour and min, also y wene,
But a fayr firrene wowe.

These lines will receive some illustration from a passage in Sir Tristrem, where it is said,

A borde he tok oway
Of her bour.—p. 114.

On which Sir W. Scott remarks, “The bed-chamber of the queen was constructed of wooden boards or shingles, of which one could easily be removed.” This will explain the line which occurs below, 2106, “He stod, and totede in at a bord.”

2092. *Aboute the middel, &c.* In the French, a person is placed by the Seneschal to watch, who first discovers the light.

2132. *Bi the pappes he legen naked.* “From the latter end of the 13th to near the 16th century, all ranks, and both sexes, were universally in the habit of sleeping quite naked. This custom is often alluded to by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and all our ancient writers.” Ellis, Spec. Metr. Rom. V. i. p. 324, 4th Ed. In the Squyr of Lowe Degre is a remarkable instance of this fact:

How she rose, that lady dere,
To take her lene of that squyer;
Al so naked as she was borne
She stod her chambre-dore befoerne.—l. 671.

The custom subsisted both in England and France to a very recent period, and hence probably was derived the phrase *naked-bed*, illustrated so copiously by Archdeacon Naeres in his Glossary.

2192. Cf. the French, l. 843.

Ses chapeleins fet demander,
Ses briefs escriure & enseeler;
Par ses messages les manda,
Et pur ses amis enuoia;
Pur ses homes, pur ses parenz;
Mult i assembla granz genz.
100

NOTES.

[2201. Read ne neme = took not, sc. their way, just as in l. 1207.]

2240—2255. Lokes, hware he stondes her, &c. Comp. the Fr. ll. 913—
921.

"Veez ci nostre dreit heir,
Bien en deuom grant ioë aueir."
Tut primerain se desafubla,
Par deuant lui s'agenuilla ;
Sis homs deuint, si li iura
Qe leaument le servira,
Li autre sont apres alé,
Chescuns de bone volente ;
Tuit si home sunt deuenu.

2314. Vbbe dubbede him to knith,
With a sword ful swithe brith.
So likewise in the Fr. l. 928, A cheualier l'out adubbé. The ceremony
of knighthood is described with greater minuteness in the Romance of Ly
beaus Desconus, l. 73 ; and see Kyng Horn, ed. Lumby, ll. 495—504.

2320. Hwan he was king, ther mouthe men se, &c. Ritson has justly
remarked, Notes to Yicaine and Gawaine, l. 15, that the elaborate de-
scription of Arthur's feast at Carlisle, given by Geoffrey of Monmouth,
l. ix. c. 12, has served as a model to all his successors. The original
passage stands thus in a fine MS. of the 13th century, MS. Harl. 3773.
fol. 33 b. "Refecti autem epulis diversos ludos acturi campos extra
civitatem adeunt. Tunc milites simulachra belli scientes equestrem
ludum componunt, mulieribus ab edito murorum aspicientibus. Alii
cum cestibus, alii cum hastis, alii gravium lapidum factu, alii cum facis,
[saxis, Edd.] alii cum alcis, diversisque alii alteriusmodi jocis contend-
entes." In the translation of this description by Wace we approach still
nearer to the imitation of the Romance before us.

A plusurs iuis se departirent,
Li vns alerent buhurder,
E lur ignels cheuals mustrer,
Li altre alerent eskermir,
V pere geter, v saillir ;
Tels i-aneit ki durr lanconent,
E tels i-aneit ki lutouent :
Chescon del gru [gen?] s'entreometait
Dunt entremettre se sancit.—MS. Reg. 13. A. xxi.

The parallel versions, from the French, of Laçamou, Robert of Glou-
cester, and Robert of Brunne, may be read in Mr Ellis's Specimens of
Early English Poets. At the feast of Olimpias, described in the
Romance of Kyng Alisaundder, we obtain an additional imitation

Withoute theo toom was mury,
Was reised ther al maner pley ;
There was knyghtis turnyng,
There was maidenes carolyng,
There was champions skyrmyng,
Of heom and of other wrastlyng,
Of liouns chas, of boore baityng,
And bay of bor, of bole slatyng.—l. 193. Cf. l. 1045.

Some additional illustrations on each of the amusements named in our text may not be unacceptable:

1. Buttinge with sharpe spere. This is tilting, or justing, expressed in Wace by buhurder. See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 96, sq. 108.

2. Skirming with taleuaces. This is described more at large by Wace, in his account of the feast of Cassibelaunus. Cf. Lazamon, v. i. p. 347; l. 8144. In Strutt's Sports and Pastimes is a representation of this game, taken from MS. Bodl. 264, illuminated between 1338 and 1344, in which the form of the talevos is accurately defined. It appears to have been pursued to such an excess, as to require the interference of the crown, for in 1286 an edict was issued by Edward I. prohibiting all persons Eskirmer au bokeler. This, however, had only a temporary effect in restraining it, and in later times, under the appellation of sword and buckler play, it again became universally popular.

3. Wristling with laddes, puttynge of ston. See the notes on ll. 984 and 1022.

4. Harping and piping. This requires no illustration.

5. Leyk of mine, of hasard ok. Among the games mentioned at the marriage of Gawain, in the Fabliau of Le Chevalier à l'Épée, we have:

Cil Chevalier jenent as tables,
Et as eschés de l'autre part,
O à la mine, o à hasart.

Le Grand, in his note on this passage, T. i. p. 57, Ed. 1779, writes: "Le Hasard était une sorte de jeu de dez. Je ne connais point la Mine; j'ai trouvé seulement ailleurs un passage qui prouve que ce jeu était très-dangereux, et qu'on pouvait s'y ruiner en peu de tems." It appears however from the Fabliau of Du Prestre et des deux Ribaus, to have been certainly a species of Tables, or Backgammon; and to have been played with dice, on a board called Minete. The only passage we recollect in which any further detail of this game is given, is that of Wace, in the account of Arthur's feast, Harl. MS. 6508, and MS. Cott. Vit. A. x., but it must be remarked, that the older copy 13 A. xxi. does not contain it, nor is it found in the translations of Lagamon, or liobert of Gloucester.


7. Ther mouthe men se the boles beyte,
And the bores, with hundes teyte.

Cf. ll. 1838, 2438. Both these diversions are mentioned by Lucianus, in his inedited tract De laude Cestrice, MS. Bodl. 672, who is supposed by
Tanner to have written about A.D. 1100, but who must probably be placed near half a century later. They formed also part of the amusements of the Londoners in the 12th century, as we learn from Fitzstephen, p. 77, and are noticed in the passage above quoted from the Romance of Kyng Alisaundar. In later times, particularly during the 16th century, these cruel practices were in the highest estimation, as we learn from Holinshed, Stowe, Lanham, &c. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 192, and the plate from MS. Reg. 2. B. vii. Also Pegge's Dissertation on Bull-baiting, inserted in Vol. ii. of Archæologia.

8. *Ther mouthe men se hw Grim grew.* If this is to be understood of scenic representation (and we can scarcely view it in any other light), it will present one of the earliest instances on record of any attempt to represent an historical event, or to depart from the religious performances, which until a much later period were the chief, and almost only, efforts towards the formation of the drama. Of course, the words of the writer must be understood to refer to the period in which he lived, i.e. according to our supposition, about the end of Hen. III's reign, or beginning of Edw. I. See Le Grand's notes to the *Lai de Courtois*, V. i. p. 329, and Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, B. 3, ch. 2.

2344. *The feste fourti dawes sat.* Cf. l. 2950. This is borrowed also from Geoffrey, and is the usual term of duration fixed in the Romances.

Fourty dayes hy helden feste,
Ryche, ryall, and oneste.—Octovian Imperator, l. 73.

Fourty dayes lest the feste.—Launfal, l. 631.

And certaynly, as the story sayes,
The revell lasted forty dayes.

*Squyr of Lowe Degre*, l. 1113.

2384. The French story here differs wholly from the English. Instead of the encounter of Robert and Godard, and the cruel punishment inflicted on the latter, in the French is a regular battle between the forces of Havelok and Hodulf (Godard). A single combat takes place between the two leaders, in which Hodulf is slain.

2450. Cf. l. 2505 and 2822. This appears to have been a common, but barbarous, method in former times of leading traitors or malefactors to execution. Thus in the Romance of *Kyng Alisaundar*, the treatment of the murderers of Darins is described:

He dude quyk harnesche hors,
And sette theron heore cors,
Hyndeforth they seten, saun faile;
In heore hand they bulden theo tailes.—l. 4708.

2461. We find a similar proverb in the *Historie de Melusine, tirée des Chroniques de Poitou*, &c. 12mo. Par. 1698, in which (at p. 72) Thierry, Duke of Bretagne, says to Raimondin;—"Vous autorisez par votre silence notre Proverbe, qui dit, Qu'un vieux peché fait nouvelle vergogne."

2513. *Sket was seysed*, &c. Comp. the Fr. l. 971.
Notes.

2516. And the king ful sone it yaf
Vbbe in the hond, wit a fayr staf.

So in Sir Tristrem:

Rohant he yaf the wand,
And bad him sitte him bi,
That fre;
'Rohant lord mak y
To held this lond of me.'—fytte i. st. 83; p. 52.

The editor is clearly mistaken in explaining the wand to be a truncheon, or symbol of power. For the custom of giving seisin or investiture per fustim, and per baculum, see Madox's Formul. Anglican.'pref. p. ix. and Spelman, Gloss. in v. Investire, and Trulitio. The same usage existed in France, par rain et par buton.

2521. ——of monekes blake
A priorie to serven inne ay.

The allusion here may be made either to the Abbey of Wellow, in Grimsby, which was a monastery of Black Canons, said to have been built about A.D. 1110, or (what is more probable) to the Augustine Friary of Black Monks, which is stated in the Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby, by the Rev. G. Oliver, to have been "founded about the year 1280," p. 110. No notice of it occurs in Tanner till the year 1304. Pat. 33 Edw. I. Some old walls of this edifice, which was dissolved in 1543, still remain, and the site is still called "The Friars." If the connection between this foundation and the one recorded in the poem be considered valid, the date of the composition must be referred to rather a later period than we wish to admit.

2530. The French supplies what is here omitted, viz. that Havelok sails to England by the persuasion of his wife.

[Indeed, ll. 979—1006 of the French text may serve to fill up the evident gap in the story; a translation of the passage is added, to shew this more clearly.

When Havelok is a mighty king,
He reigned more than 4 years,
Marvellous treasure he amassed.
Argentille (Goldborough) bade him
Pass into England
To conquer her heritage,
Whence her uncle had cast her out,
And very wrongly disinherited her.
The king told her that he would do
That which she should command him.
He got ready his fleet,

Quant Haneloc est rois pussanz,
Le regne tint plus de .iii. anz ;
Merueillos tresor i auma.
Argentille li commanda
Qu'il passast en Engleterre
Pur son heritage conquerre,
Dont son oncle l'out engettee,
[Et] A grant tort desheretee.
Li rois li dist qu'il fera
Ceo qu'ele li comandera.

Sa nanie fet a-turner,
And sent for his men and his hosts.
He puts to sea when he has prayed.
And took the queen with him.
Four score and four hundred (ships)
Had Havelok, full of men.
So far he steered and sailed
That he has arrived at Carleflure.
Hard by the haven they abode,
And sought food in the country round.

Then sent the noble king,
By the advice of his Danes,
To Alsi (Godrich)—that he should restore to him
The land that Ekenbright (Athelwold) held,
Which was given to his niece,
And of which he had deprived her.
And, if he would not give it up,
He sends word that he will take it.
To the king came the messengers.

The remainder of the French poem altogether differs in its detail from the English.

2927. *Hire that was ful swete in bedde.* Among Kelly’s Scotch Proverbs, p. 290, we find: “*Sweet in the bed, and sweir up in the morning, was never a good housewife;*” and in a ballad of the last century quoted by Laing, the editor of that highly curious collection, the *Select pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, we meet with the same expression:

> A Clown is a Clown both at home and abroad,
> When a Rake he is comely, and *sweet in his bed.*

[2990. The last word is written *thit* in the MS., but, as it rimes to *rith*, we should suppose *tliht* to be the word meant. *Thit* cannot be explained, but *tliht* (or perhaps *thit*, according to our scribe’s spelling) is the pp. of a verb signifying to purpose, which is the exact meaning required. Cf.

> “And y to turne to þee have *tixt*”;
> i. e. “I have resolved to turn to thee.”

*Political, Religious, and Love Poems*; ed. Furnivall, 1866; p. 177.]
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

(See corrections after p. liv.)

ABBREVIATIONS.


It may be useful to add that the names of the Romances edited by Ritson are—vol. i. Ywaine and Gawin; Launfal.—vol. ii. Lybeaus Dionous; King Horn; King of Tars; Emare; Sir Orpheo; Chronicle of England.—vol. iii. Lo bone Florence; Erle of Tolous; Squyr of Lowde Degre; Knight of Curtesy. Those edited by Weber are—vol. i. Kyng Alisander; Sir Cleges; Lai-le-Freine.—vol. ii. Richard Cœur de Lion; Ipomydoun; Amis and Amiloun.—vol. iii. Senyu Sages; Octonian; Sir Amadas; Hunting of the Hare. Beowulf and the Codex Exoniensis are quoted from Thorpe's editions.

A, 610, 936. Apparently an error of the scribe for Al, but perhaps written as pronounced. N.E. and Sc. av. V. Jam.

A before a noun is commonly a corruption of the S. on, as proved clearly by the examples in Tyrwhitt's Gl., Jam., and Gl. Lynds. Adoun, q. v. is an exception. Atwo, 1413, 2643. See On.

Aboven, prep. S. above, 1700.


opposite to, 1509; upon, on, 1828. Agen, towards, 1207. Agyn him go, 1934, opposite him, so as to bear an equal weight. Agyn hire, 1106, at her approach. Agyn pe lith, 2141, opposed to the light, on which the light shines. V. R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc., &c.

Agyn, adv. S. again, 2426.

Al, adv. S. wholly, entirely, 34, 70, 139, 203, &c.

Al, adj. S. all, 203, 264, &c.; every one, 101; every part, 224; plu. alle, 2, 150, &c.

Albidene, adv. See Bidene.

Als, Also, Also, conj. S. [eal-swí] as, like, so, 306, 319, &c. Als, 1912, as if. Al so joles, like fools, 2100. Als is merely the abbreviation of Al so: and the modern as is again shortened from als. In La^amon it is often written alse, as in l. 4953.

And he hæfde a swithe god wif & he heo leouede alse his lif.

Cf. Havelok, I. 1663. Als and Also are used indifferently and universally by the old English and Scotch poets.


And, conj. if, 2862.

Andelong, adv. S. lengthways, i.e. from the head to the tail, 2822. Ovyrtwart and endelang With strenges of wyr the stones hang.—R. Cœur de Lion, 2649.


Anilepi, adj. S. [dalepigg] one, a single, 2107. Onlepi, 1094. In the very curious collection of poems in MS. Digb. 86 (written in the Lincolnshire dialect, temp. Edw. I.) we meet with this somewhat rare word:

A ! quod the vox. ich wille the telle, On alpi word ich lie nelle.

Of the vox and of the wolf (Rel. Ant. ii. 275).

It occurs also in the Ormulum.

Anoper, adj. S. Al another, 1395, in a different way, on another project.

Ah al hit iwrath on other Sone ther after.

La^amon, I. 21005.

Ac Florice thought al another.

Flor. and Blaüheft. ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 3, p. 125, ed. 1803. (Cf. Horn, ed. Lumby, p. 52, l. 32.)


Aren, 1 and 3 pl. S. are, 619, 1321, &c. Arn, Chauc.

Arke, n. S. Lat. a chest or coffer, 2018. R. Br., Jan.

Armes, n. pl. Lat. arms, armor, 2605, 2613, 2925.

Arwe, S. [eary] timid, 2115. 
After the punctuation, and read—
He calde bope arwe men and kene,
Knithes and serganz swipe sleie.
"Arwe or fiercefulle. Timidus."
As for Has, 1174.
Asayleden, pa. t. pl. Fr. assailed, 1862.
Asken, n. pl. S. ashes, 2841.
At, prep. S. of or to, 1387. Yw. and Gaw. (Rits.) 963. Still existing in Scotland.
At-sitte, v. S. contradict, oppose, 2200. It corresponds with the term with-sitten, 1653. In R. Gl. it is used synonymously with at-stonde.
For ther nas so god kuygt non no—
wer a-boute France,
That in jonestes scholde at-sitte the
dynt of ys lance.—p. 137.
See Sat.
And alle the öhten of mine londe.
Lazamon, l. 25172.
Aughtte, K. Alisaund. 6584. Aucht, Doug. Virg. 72, 4; Lynds. Gl.
Aucte, Auh, Auhle, v. imp. (originally pa. t. of Aw, or Owe)
Auned. See Haueden.
Ax, n. S. axe, 1776, 1894.
Ay, adv. S. ever, aye, always, 159, 946, 1201, &c. Æ, Sc. V. Jam.
Ayen. See Agen.
Awe, v. S. to owe, own, possess, 1292. It may also very possibly be a corruption of Have. Cf. ll. 1188, 1298.
Bae; n. S. back, 1844, 1950, &c.; backes, pl. 2611.
Bale, n. S. sorrow, misery, 327.
Bar. See Beren.
Baret, n. (O. Fr. bærat, Isl. bar-atta) contest, hostile contention, 1932.
Ther nis baret, nothir strif.
Nis ther no deth, ae euer lif.
In alle this barette the kyngye and Sir Symon Tille a lokynge tham sette, of the prince suld it be don.
That mekill bale and barete till Ynglande all brynge. Auncyrs of Arthure, st. 23.
Barfot, _adj._ S. barefoot, 862.


Barre, _n._ Fr. bar of a door, 1794, 1811, 1827. Synonymous with Dore-tre, q. v. Chauc. C. T. 552.

Barw. _See Berwen._

Bafe, _adj._ S. both, 1336, 2543. _Bethe,_ 694, 1680.

Be. _See Ben._

Be-bedde, _v._ S. to provide with a bed, 491.

Bede, _n._ S. prayer, 1385.

Bede, _v._ S. to order, to bid, 668, 2193, 2396; to offer, 1665, 2084, 2172. _Beden,_ _pa._ _t._ _pl._ offered, 2774, 2780. _Bedes,_ bids, 2392. Of common occurrence in both senses. _See Bidd._

Bedden, _v._ S. to bed, put to bed, 1235. _Bedded, Beddelth,_ part. _pa._ put to bed, 1128, 2771.

Bedels, _n._ _pl._ S. beadles, 266. V. Spelm. in v. _Bedellus,_ and Blount, _Joc. Ten._ p. 120, ed. 1784.

Beite, Beyte, _v._ to bait, to set dogs on, 1840, 2330, 2440. _Bayte,_ R. Br. From the Isl. _Beita,_ incitare; Su. Goth. _Beita biorne,_ to bait the bear. V. Jam. and Thomson's Ety-mons.

Bem. _See Sunne-bem._

Ben, _v._ S. to be, 19, 905, 1006, &c. _Ben, pr._ _t._ _pl._ are, 1787, 2559. _Be, Ben, part._ _pa._ been, 1428, 2799. _Bes, Beth, imp._ and _fut._ be, shall be, 1261, 1744, 2007, 2246. _Lat be,_ 1265, 1657, leave, relinquish, a common phrase in the Old Romances. _Lat obe,_ Sc. V. Jam.

Benes, _n._ _pl._ S. beans, 769.


Bere, _n._ S. bear, 573, 1838, 1840, 2148.

Bere, Beren, _v._ S. to bear, to carry, 581, 762, 805. _Ber, 2557; Bar, pa._ _t._ bore, 557, 815, 877. _Bere, 974. Beres, pr._ _t._ _pl._ bear, 2323.

Bermen, _n._ _pl._ S. bearers, porters to a kitchen, 868, 876, 885. The only author in which this term has been found is Lajanmon, in the following passages:

Vs selve we habbet cokes, to quensehen to eucene, Vs sulue we habbet bermen, & birles inow—.l. 3315.

Weoren in þes kings eucene twa hundred cokes, & ne mai na man tellen for alle þæ bermeman.—l. 8101.

Bërn, _n._ S. child, 571. _Barn, bearne, R. Br._ _Bairn, Sc._

Berwen, _v._ S. [beorgan] to defend, preserve, guard, 697, 1426; _bæërce, 2570. Barve, pa._ _t._ 2022, 2679. The original word is found in Beowulf:

Seyld-weall gebearg Lif and ëce. (The shield-wall defended Life and body.)—l. 5134.

So in K. Horn, MS. Land 108.

At more ich wile the seruc, And fro sorwe the bære.—l. 224b, c. 2.

Bes. _See Ben._

Bés for Best, 354.

Best, Beste, _n._ Fr. beast, 279, 574, 944, 2691.


Betere, _adv._ _comp._ S. better, 1758.

Beye, _v._ S. to buy, 53, 1654. _Ryen, 1625._

Bethe, 694, 1680.
Beyes, *pr. t.* for Abeyes, S. suffers, or atones for, 2460.

His deth thou *bist* to night,
Mi fo. Sir Tristr. p. 146.

We shulden alle deve
Thy fader deth to *beye*.

*K. Horn*, 113.

An of yow schall *bye* thys blunder.

Le bone Flor. 1330.


Bidene, *adv.* forthwith, 730, 2841.

"Rohand told anon
His aventours *al bidene*.”

Sir Tr. p. 45.

From Du. *bij dien*, by that.


Biforn, *prep. S.* (1) before, 1022, 1034, 1364, &c.; *bifor*, 1357; *biforen*, 1695; (2) in front of, 2406; *bifor*, 1812.


Bihalve, *v. S.* to divide into two parts, or companies, 1834. Halve occurs as a *noun* in Chauc. Troil. 4, 945.


Winde thai hadde as thai wolde, A lond *bihaft* he.


He schal wip *m* bilewe,
Til hit heo *uir* eue.

K. Horn, ed. Lumby, 363.

Horn than, withouten lesing, *Bihaft* at hom for blode-leteing.


Sojourn with us evermo,
I rede thee, son, that it be so.
Another year thou might over-fare,
But thou *bileve*, 1 die with care.


See also the Gl. to R. Gl., R. Br. and Web., to which add Emare, 496, and Gower, Conf. Am. This is sufficient authority for the reading adopted in the text, and it may hence be reasonably questioned, whether *bilewe* in Lyc. and belenes in Sir Gawain and Sir Galorun, i. 6, quoted by Jamieson in v. Belene, be not the fault of the scribe, or of the Editors.


Birde. *See Birpe.*

Birpe (should rather be birp), 3 *p. s. pres.* it behoves, 2101. Hence birde, 3 *p. s. pl.* behoved, 2761. A.S. *byrian, gebyrian,* to fit, suit, be to one’s taste. See Bure in Stratmann.
Birpéc, n. S. burden, 900, 902.
Bise, n. Fr. a north wind. Bise traverse, a north-west or north-east wind. Cotgr.
Après grant joie vient grant ire,
Et après Noel vent bise.
Rom. de Renart, 13648.
The term is still in common use.
Biseken, v. S. to beseech, 2994.
Biswife, part. pa. S. cheated, deceived, 1249.
Hu pu biswikest
Monine mon.
Lazam, I. 3412.
Byswake, K. Horn, 296; Yw. and Gav. 2535. Biswine, R. Br. Bevynke, R. Cœur de L. 5918.
Bite, v. S. to taste, drink, 1731. Horn too hit hise yfere,
Ant seide, Quene, so dere,
No beer nullieh bite,
Bote of cope white.
K. Horn (Ritson), 1129.
Bip for By the, 474. Cf. I. 2470.
Bituene, Bitwenen, Bitwene, prep. S. between, 745, 2665, 2967.
Blakne, v. S. to blacken in the face, grow angry, 2165.
And Arthur saet ful sille,
\[a\]nne stunde he wes \[b\]lar,
and on heue swithe wak,
an while he wes reed.
Lazam. I. 19857.
Tho Normans were sorie, of con-
tenance gan blaken.
R. Brunne, p. 183.
Blede, v. S. to bleed, 2403.
Blenkes, n. pl. blinks, winks of the eye, in derision, 307. R. Br. p. 270; Sc. V. Jam. Suppl. Derived from S. blícan, Su. -G. blenka,
Belg. bleneken, to glance. See Gl. Lynds.
Blissed, part. pa. S. blessed, 2873.
Biife, adj. S. happy, 632, 651.
Blome, n. S. bloom, flower, 63.
Bloute, adj. soft, 1910. Sw. böt, soft, pulpy.
Bon, Bone. See O-bone.
Bondemen, n. pl. S. husbandmen, 1016, 1308. R. Gl.
Bone. n. S. [bén] boon, request. 1659. Sir Tr. p. 31, and all the Gloss.
Bord, n. S. (1) table, 1722, K. Horn, 259; Rits. M. R., Web,
Chaucer; (2) a board, 2106. See the note on l. 2076.

Boren, part. pa. S. born, 1878.


Bote, adv. S. but, only, 721. See But.


Bozen, adj. pl. S. both, 173, 697, 958; q. c. of both, 2223.

Bounden, Bounden. See Binden.

Bour, Bourne. Bowr, n. S. [būr] chamber, 239, 2072, 2076, &c. In Beowulf the apartment of the women is called Broyd-bur; l. 1816.

Ygarne beh to bare & latte bed him maken.

Laçam. l. 19042.


Bouth, part. pa. bought, 883.

Boyse, n. pl. S. boys, men, 1899.

Brayd, pa. t. S. (1) started, 1282. Chane., Gaw. and Gal. iii. 21; R. Hood, n. p. 83; (2) drew out, 1825, a word particularly applied to the action of drawing a sword from the seabbard.

Sone his sword he ut o'brayd.

Laçam. l. 26553.


Broken, v. S. to break, 914. Broken, pa. t. pl. broke, 1238.


Brenne. See On brenne.

Brigge, n. S. bridge, 875. Sir Tr. p. 148. Still used in Sc. and N. E.

Breithe. See Brith.

Brim, adj. S. furious, raging, 2233; R. Br. p. 244; Chauc. Rom. Rose, 1836. Breme, Rits. M. R. It originally signified the sea itself, and was afterwards used for the raging of the sea, Beowulf, l. 56; Compl. of Scotland, p. 62. V. Jan.

Bringe, Bringen, v. S. to bring, 72, 185, &c.


Brisen, v. S. to bruise, beat, 1835. See To-Brised.


Brittene, part. pa. S. destroyed, 2700; R. Br. p. 244. Pistill of Sussan, ap Laing. In Doug., Virg. pp. 76, 5; 296, 1, the verb has the sense of to kill, which it
may also bear here. See Bruten in Will. of Palerne.

Brodi, adj. S. broad, 1647.


So brouke thou thi crowne!

K. Horn, 1041.

Cf. Rits. Gl. M. R., Rich. C. de Lion, 4578; Chauc. C. T. 10182, 15306, R. Hood, V. I. 48, II. 112; Lynds. Gl. Percy, A. R. In Sc. Braike. With these numerous instances before him, it is inconceivable how Jamieson, except from a mere love of his own system, should write: 'There is no evidence that the Engl. brook is used in this sense, signifying only to bear, to endure.'


Brune, adj. pl. S. brown, 2181, 2249.

Bulder, adj. or n. 1790. In the north a Boothe or Boulder, is a hard flinty stone, rounded like a bowl. Brockett's Gl. So also in Grose, Boulder, a large round stone. Bowlers, Marsh. Midl. Count. Gl. The word has a common origin with Isl. balla&Fr. boulet, Sc. boile, in Doug. V. Jam.

Bunden. See Binden.


Burwe. See Berwen.

Burwes. See Born.

But, Bute, conj. S. except, unless, 85, 690, 1149, 1159, 2022, 2031, 2727. But on, 535, 962, except. Butland, Sc. But of, 2972, unless. [It should be noted that but on should properly be one word, being the A. S. buton or buton, except. But it is written as two words in the MS.]

But, n. 1040. Probably the same as Put, q. v. The word Bunt is derived from the same source.

But, part. pa. contended, struggled with each other (or perhaps struck, thrust, pushed), 1916. Butting, part. pr. striking against with force, 2322. From the Fr. Bouter, Belg. Botten, to impel, or drive forward. V. Jam. Suppl. in v. Butte, and Butt in Wedgwood.

Butte, n. a flounder or plaice, 759. Du. bot. See Halliwell.

Byen. See Beye.

Bynde. See Binden.

Bynderes, n. pl. S. binders, robbers who bind, 2050.


Callen, v. S. to call, 747, 2899.

Cam. See Komen.


Casten. See Kesten.


Nowe hath Benis the treasure wone, Through Arundell that well runne,
Wherefore with that and other catel, He made the castle of Arundel.  
Syr Berys, O. iii.

Cauenard, n. Fr. [caignard, caignard] a term of reproach, originally derived from the Lat. canis, 2389. V. Roquef. Menage.

This crokede caynard sore he is adrel.  
Rits. A.S. p. 36.

Sire olde keynard, is this thin array?  
Chauc. C. T. 5317.

Cayser, Caysere, n. Lat. emperor, 977, 1317, 1725.  
Kaysere, 353.

Cerges, n. pl. Fr. wax tapers, 594.  
Serges, 2125.  

Chaffare, n. S. merchandise, 1657.  
Chaffery, Sc. V. Lynds. Gl.

Cham for Came, 1873.

Chanbioun, n. Fr. champion, 1007.  
Sir Tr. p. 97.  


Charbucle, n. Fr. Lat. a carbuncle, 2145.  
Charboule, Chauc. C. T. 13800.  
Charbuckill, Doug. Virg. 3, 10.

Cherl. See Carl.

Chesen, v. S. to choose, select, 2147.  
Sir Tr. p. 27; K. Horn, 666; Rits. M. R., Web., R. Br., Chauc., V. Jam. in v. Chais.

Chinche, adj. Fr. niggardly, penurious, 1763, 2941.

Bothe he was scars, and chinche.  
The Sevyn Sages, 1244.


Chiste, n. S. Lat. chest, 222.


Citte, pa. t. S. cut, 942.  

Cladders, pa. t. 2 p. S. claddest, 2907.

Clapte, pa. t. S. struck, 1814, 1821.

Clare, n. Fr. spiced wine, 1728.  

Clef, pa. t. S. eleft, 2643, 2730.

Cleue, n. S. dwelling, 557, 596.  
A.S. clofù.

Cleuen, v. S. to cleave, cut, 917.

Clothe, Clothen, v. S. to clothe, 1138, 1233. In l. 1233, Garnett suggests that clothen may be a nom. pl. = clothes. If so, dele the comma after it.

Clutes, n. pl. S. clouts, shreds of cloth, 547.  
Clothys, Hunting of the hare, 92.  

Clyueden, pa. t. pl. S. cleaved, fastened, 1300.

Cok, n. Lat. cook, 967.  
Kok, 903, 921, 2598.  
Cokes, Kokes, g. c. cook's, 1123, 1146.

Comen, Comes, Cometh. See Komen.

Cone. See Canst.

Conestable, n. Fr. constable, 2286.  
Conestables, pl. 2366.

Conseyl, n. Fr. counsel, 2862.

Copes. See Kope.

Corporaus, n. Fr. Lat. the fine linen wherein the sacrament is put, 188; Cotgr. V. Du Cange, and Jam. in v. Corporale.

After the relics they send;  
The corporas, and the mass-gear,  
On the handom [halidom?] they  
gun swear,  
With wordes free and hend.  
Gry of Warre. ap. Ellis,  
M. R. V. 2, p. 77.
Cornne, n. Lat. crown, 1319, 2944.
Coruming, n. Lat. coronation, 2945.
Cote, n. S. cot, cottage, 737, 1141.
The word is connected with A.S. cuflte, cuyle, a cowl.
Couere, v. Fr. to recover, 2040.
And prayde to Marie bryght, 
Keveere hym of his care.
Hyt wolde cooyr me of my care.
Couth. See Quath.
Coupé, pa. t. of Conne, v. aux. S. knew, was able, could, 93, 112, 194, 750, 772. KoupEn, pl. 369.
More he couthe of veneri, 
Than couthe Manerious.
See Canst.
Crake, Crakede. See Kraken.
Cruanede, pa. t. S. craved, asked, 633.
Crice, n. explained to mean rima podies in Coleridge’s Glossarial Index, 2450. Cf. A.S. crecca. Icel. kryki, a corner. In Barb. x. 602, creykes is used for angles, corners. See Krike.
Croiz, n. Fr. Lat. cross, 1263, 1265, 1358, &c. Croice, Sir Tr. p. 115.
Croun, Croune, n. Fr. crown, head, 568, 902, 2657. Crune, 1814, 2734
Fykenildes crowne
He fel ther doune.
K. Horn, 1509.
Cf. K. of Tars, 631; Le bone Flor. 92, and Erle of Tol. 72.
Cruhsse. See To-cruhsse.
Crus, brisk, nimble, 1966. It is the Sw. kras, excitable, Sc. crouse. See Crouse in Atkinson’s Cleveland Glossary.
Cunnriche, n. S. kingdom, 2318.
Kinneriche, 976. Kuneriche, 2100.
Kunrik, 2804. Kunrik, 2143.
In the last instance it means a mark of royalty, or monarchy.
Curt, n. Fr. court, 1685.
Curteys, Curteyse, adj. Fr. court- eous, 2875, 2916.
Cuvel. See Couel.
Dam, n. 2468, here used in a reproachful sense, but apparently from the same root as the Fr. Dam, Damp, Dan, and Don, i.e. from Domains.
Dame, n. Fr. Lat. mistress, lady, 558, 1717. V. Gl. Chauc.
Danshe, n. pl. Danish men, 2689, 2945, &c. See Denshe.
Datheyt, interj. 296, 300, 926, 1125, 1887, 1914, 2047, 2447, 2511. Datheyt, 1799, 1995, 2604, 2757. An interjection or imprecation, derived from the Fr. Deshail, dehail, dehet, explained by Babazan and Roquefort, affliction, malheur; [from the O. F. hail, pleasure]. It may be considered equivalent to Cursed! I’ll betide! In the old Fabliaux it is used often in this sense:
Fils à putain, fet-il, Icehiere, 
Vo jouglierie n’est trop chiere, 
Deheil qui vous i aporta, 
Par mon chief il le comparra.
De S. Pierre et du Jongleor, 381.
The term was very early engrafted on the Saxon phraseology. Thus in the Disputation of Ane Hule and a Niztingale, l. 99.
Deheil habbe that ilke best, 
That fuleth his owe nest!
It occurs also frequently in the Old English Romances. See Sir Trist. pp. 111, 191; Horn Childe, ap. Rits. V. 3, p. 290; Amis and Amil. 1509; Sevyn Sages, 2395; R. Brunne, where it is printed by Hearne Dayel. To this word, in all probability, we are indebted for the modern imprecation of Dash you! Dash you! Dash you! still preserved in many counties, and in Scotland. V. Jam. Suppl. v. 1923.

Dawes, n. pl. S. days, 27, 2344, 2950. 2096.


Dede, n. S. deed, action, 1356.

Dede. 1923.

Deide. See Deye.


Deled, part. pa. S. distributed, 1736. See To-deyle.


Denshe, adj. Danish, 1403, 2575, 2693. See Denshe.

Deplike, adj. S. deeply, 1417. Synonymous with Grundlike, q. v.


Dere, adv. S. dearly, 1637, 1638.


Dere, adj. S. dear, 1637, 2170, &c.

Deuel, n. S. devil, 446, 496, 1188. Develes, g. c. devil’s, 1409.

Deus. This is undoubtedly the vocative case of the Lat. Deus, used as an interjection, 1312, 1650, 1930, 2096, 2114. “Its use was the same in French as in English. Thus in King Horn:

Enuers Deu en sun quer a fait grant clamur,
Ohi, Deus! fait il, ki es uerrai creatur,
Par ki deuise, &c.

Harl. MS. 527, f. 66 b. c. 2.

It was probably introduced into the English language by the Normans, and its pronunciation remained the same as in the French. And gradde ‘as armes,’ for Douce Mahons!—K. Alisquander, 3674.

It is curious to remark, that we have here the evident and simple etymology of the modern exclamation Deve! for the derivation of which even the best and latest Lexicographers have sent us to the Duns of St Augustine, the Deus of the Gothic nations, Diis of the Persians, Tens of the Armori-cans, &c. Thomson very justly adds, that all these words, ‘seem, like daemon, to have been once used in a good sense,’ and in fact are probably all corruptions of the same root. Cf. R. Brunne, p. 254, and Gl. in v. Deus. For the first suggestion of this derivation the Editor is indebted to Mr Will. Nicol.”—M.


Dide, Didien, Dides. See Do.

Dike, n. S. ditch, 2435. Dikes, pl. 1923. N.E. and Sc., V. Jam. and Brooke.


Dunten, pa. t. pl. S. struck, beat, 2448.

Do, Don, v. S. The various uses of this verb in English and Scotch, in an auxiliary, active, and passive sense, have been pointed out by Tyrwhitt, Essay on Vers. of Chauc. Note (37), Chalmers, Gl. Lynds. and Jamieson. It signifies: to do, facere, 117, 528, 1191; to cause, effecere, 611; do causen, 519; do hem fle, 2600, to put or place (used with in or on), 535, 577, &c. Done on = don es on = do them on, put them on (see Es), 970. Dos, pr. t. 2 p. dost, 2390. Dos, pr. t. 3 p. does, 1994. 2434, 2698. Doth, Don, pr. t. pl. do, 1838, 1840. Doth, imp. do, cause (ye), 2037. Dos, imp. pl. do ye, 2592. Dede, Dide, pa. t. caused, 658, 970, &c. Dede, Dide, pa. t. put, placed, 659, 709, 859. Dedes, Dides, pa. t. 2 p. didest, 2393, 2903. Deden, Diden, pa. t. pl. caused, 242; did, performed; 953, 1176, 2306. Don, part. pa. caused, 1169. Don, part. pa. done, 667. Of live have do, 1805, have slain.


Dore, n. S. door, 1788.

Dore-tre, n. S. bar of the door, 1806. See Tre.


Doun. See Adoun.

Doutede, pa. t. Fr. feared, 708.

Douthe, n. Fr. fear, 1331, 1377.

Douthe, pa. t. of Dow, v. imp. S. [dugan, valere, prodesse] was worth, was sufficient, availed, 703, 833, 1184. It is formed in the same manner as Monthe, Might. See Sir Tr. p. 77; Jam. and Gl. Lynds. in v. Dow.

Drad. See Dread.

Drawe, Drawen. See Drou.


Dremede, pa. t. S. (used with me), dreamed, 1284, 1304.


Drung, n. See note on l. 31.


Drinchen. See Dreinchen.

Drinken, v. S. to drink, 459, 800.

Drinkes, n. pl. S. drinks, liquors, 1738.

Drit, n. [Icel. dritr, Du. dregel] dirt, 682. A term expressing the highest contempt. K. Alisaund. 4718; Wickhille. So, in an ancient metrical invective against Grooms and Pages, written about 1310,

Thah he yeue hem cattes dryt to huere companione.

3et hym shulde arewen of the arrercage.


Driuende. See Drof.

Drof, pa. t. S. drove, 725; hastened, 1793, 1872. Drive[n]de, part. pr. driving, riding quickly, 2702.


Dubbe, v. Fr. S. to dub, create a knight, 2042. Dubbede, pa. t. dubbed, 2314. Dubban to ridere, Chron. Sax. An. 1055, [1056]. To cnihte hine dubben, Lazam. I. 22497. "Hickes, Hearne, Gl. R. Gl., and Tyrwhitt, Gl. Chauc., all refer the word to the Saxon root, which primarily signified to strike, the same as the Isl. at dubba. Todd on the contrary, Gl. Illustr. Chauc., thinks this questionable, and refers to Barbazan’s Gl. in v. Adouber, which is there derived from the Lat. adaptare. Du Cange and Dr Merrick give it also a Latin origin, from Adaptare, and by corruption Adobare."—M. The etymology is discussed in Wedgwood, s. v. Dub. See Note on l. 2314.

Duelle, v. S. to dwell, give attention, &c.
  A tale told Ysoude fre,
    Thai duelle:
    Tristremi that herd he.
    Sir Tristr. p. 181.

Cf. Sir Otuel, 1. 3, and Sevyn Sages, 1. Dwelle[n], to dwell, remain, 1185; to delay, 1351. Dwelle[n], pr. t. pl. dwell, tarry, 1058. Dwelle[den], pa. t. pl. dwelt, tarried, 1189.

Dwelling, n. delay, 1352
Dun. See Adoun.
Dungen. See Dinge.

Dursten, pa. t. pl. S. durst, 1866.

Eie, n. S. eye, 2545. Heie, 1152.
Eyne, pl. eyes, 680, 1273, 1364; eyen, 1340; cyn, 2171.

Eir, n. Fr. Lat. heir, 410, 2539.


  Ælde hæfde heo na mare
  Buten flhtene zere.
Lazam. I. 25913.

R. Br. In Sc. Eild. It was subsequently restricted to the sense of old age, as in Chauc.

Elles, adv. S. else, 1192, 2590.

Em, S. uncle, 1326. Sir Tr. p. 53. Properly, says Sir W. Scott, an uncle by the father’s side. It appears however to have been used indifferently either on the father’s or mother’s side. See Hearne’s Gl. on R. Gl. and R. Br., Web., Erle of Tol. 988; Chauc. Troil. 2, 162, and Nares. Prov. Eng. Eam.


Epte, n. S. earth, 740; ground, 2657.

Es, a plural pronoun signifying them, as in don es on = put them on, 970. See Gen. and Exod. ed. Morris, pref. p. xix.

Et, a singular pronoun, equivalent to it, used in hauenet = hauen et, 2005; hauedet = haued et, 714.


Eper. See Ayper.


Eyen, Eyn, Eyne. See Eie.

Eyr. See Eir.

Fader, n. S. Lat. father, 1224, 1403, 1416. Sir Tr. p. 35; K. Horn, 114. The cognate words may be found in Jan.

Faderles, adj. fatherless, 75.

Fadmede, pa. t. S. fathom'd, embraced, 1295. From fathomian, Utraque manu extensa complecti, Cod. Exon., ed. Thorpe, p. 334. It has the same meaning in Sc. V. Jam.


Fals, adj. S. false, 2511.


Fare, n. S. journey, 1337, 2621. R. Gl. p. 211; R. Br., Minot, p. 2 (left unexplained by Rits.); Barb. iv. 627. Schip-fare, a voyage, Sir Tr. p. 53.

Faren, v. S. to go, 264. Fare, 1378, 1392, &c. Fare, pr. t. 2 p. farest, behavest, 2705. Fares, pr. t. 3 p. goes, flies, 2690. Ferde, pa. t. went, 447, 1678, &c.; behaved, 2411. For (went), 2382, 2943. Foren, pa. t. pl. went, 2350, 2618.

Faste, adv. S. attentively, earnestly, 2148.

Tristrem as a man Fast he gan to fight.

Sir Tristr. p. 167.

Bidde we 3eorne Ihü Crist, and seint Albon wel faste,

That we moten to the loye come, that euere scenal i-laste.

Vita S. Albani, MS. Laud. 108. f. 47 b.

Fastiande, part. pr. S. fasting, 865.

Fauth. See Fyht.


Fe, n. S. fee, possessions, or money, 386, 563, 1225, &c. See Jam. and Lynds. Gl.

Febli, adj. Fr. feeble, poor, scanty, 323.

Febblelike, adv. feebly, scantily, 418. Febli, Sir Tr. p. 179, for meanly.


Fel. See Bifalle, Falle.

Felawes, n. pl. S. fellows, companions, 1338.

Feld, n. S. field, 2634, 2685, 1291.


Fend, *n. S. fiend, 506, 1411, 2229.

Fer, *adv. S. far, 359, 1863, 2275, &c. Ferne, far, 1864; *pl. adj. foreign, 2031.

*pa kingges buh stronge, And of ferrene loud. Lažam. 1. 5528.


Ferde. See Fare.


Feste, *n. Fr. feast, 2344, &c.

Feste, *v. Fr. to feast, 2938.

Festen, *v. S. to fasten, 1785; (used passively) 82. Fest, *pt. t. fastened, 144.

Fet. See Fot.


Feteres, *pl. S. fetters, 82, 2759.

Fey, *n. Fr. faith, 255, 1666. Feyth, 2553.

Fiiht, *n. S. fight, 2668, 2716.

Fikel, *adj. S. fickle, inconstant, 1210, 2799.

File, *n. vile, worthless person, 2499.

Men seth ofte a muche file, They he serue boten a wile, Bicomen swithe riche. Hending the heude, MS. Digb. 86. So in R. Br. p. 237.

David at that while was with Edward the kyng, 3it auanced he that file vntille a faire thing.

It is used for coward by Minot, pp. 31, 36. Cf. Du. vuil, soul, malicious.


Fir, *n. S. fire, 585, 1162, &c. Fyr, 915.

Firrene, *adj. S. made of fir, 2078. Firron, Doug. Virg. 47. 34.

Flaumes, *n. pl. Fr. custards, or pancakes, 644. See Way’s note in Prompt. Parv.


Flete, *pres. subj. S. float, swim, 522. Sir Tr. p. 27; K. Horn, 159; Chauc. Fleit, Sc. V. Jam.


Flour, n. Fr. flower, 2917.

Fnaste, v. S. to breathe, 548. 
Cf. A.S. Fænestās, the wind-pipe, Fænestan, puffs of wind. Fnast = breath in Owl and Nightingale, 1.44.

Fo, n. S. foe, 1363, 2849; pl. foos, 67.

Fol, n. Fr. fool, 298. Foles, pl. 2100.

Folc, Folk, n. S. men collectively, people, 89, 438, &c.

Folwes, imp. S. follow ye, 1885, 2601.

Fonge, v. S. to take, receive, 763; 2 p. pres. subj. 556. In common use from Lagam to Chauc. and much later.

For, prep. S. For to is prefixed to the inf. of verbs in the same manner as the Fr. pour, or Sp. por. It is so used in all the old writers, and in the vulgar translation of the Scriptures, and is still preserved in the North of England. Cf. 17, &c. For = on account of, 1670. Sir Tr. p. 62.

For, Foren. See Faren.


Forgat, pa. t. S. forgot, 2636, &c. Foryat, 249.

For-henge, v. to kill by hanging, 2724. Cf. Du. verhangen sich, to hang one’s self.


Forpī, adv. S. on this account, therefore, because, 1194, 1431; 2043, 2500, 2578. Sir Tr. p. 14, and in all the Gloss.

Forthwar, adv. S. forthward; i.e. as we go on, 731.

Forw, n. S. furrow, 1094.


Fostred, part. pa. S. nourished, 1434, 2239.


Fouhten. See Fyht.

Fourtenith, n. S. fortnight, 2284.

Fremde, adj. (used as a n.) S. stranger, 2277.

Vor hine willeth some uorgiete
Tho fremde and tho sibbe.

MS. Digb. 4.

Ther ne myhte libbe
The fremede ne the sibbe.

K. Horn, 67.

See also R. Gl. p. 346; Chron. of Eng. 92; P. Plowm., Chau., Jam. and Gl. Lynds.

Freme, v. S. to perform, 441.

Fri, adj. S. free, liberal, 1072. Chauc.


Fro, prep. S. from, 265, &c.

Frusshe. See To-frusshe.

Ful, adv. S. very, much, completely, 6, 82, &c. Ful wo, 2589, much sorrow.


Fulike, adv. S. fouilly, shamefully, 2749.

Fulde, part. pa. S. filled, complete, 355.
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Funde, Funden. See Finda.


Fyn, n. Fr. Lat. ending, 22. R. Br., Minot, Chauc., &c.

Ga, v. S. to go. See Ouer-ga.

Gad, n. S. goad, 279. Geddes, pl. 1016. In Gl. Ælfr. among the instruments of husbandry occur Gad, stimulus, and Gadiron, aculeus. So in The Fermanor and his Docter, printed by Laing:

Quhen Symkin standis quhisling with ane quhip and ane gaid,
Piking and jarkand ane auld ox hide.
V. Jam. in v. Gade, 4. and Nares.

Gadred, part. pa. S. gathered, 2577.

Gadeling, n. S. an idle vagabond, low man, 1121.

Pa wes açer ale cheord
Al swa bald asle an corl,
& alle pa gadelings
Also heo weoren sunen kinges.
Layam. l. 12333.


Gaf. See Yeue.


Gamen, n. S. game, sport, 980, 1716, 2135, 2250, 2577; joy, 2935, 2963. Gamyn, Barb. iii. 465. V. Jam.

Gan, pa. t. S. began, 2443. V. Jam.

Gangen, v. S. to go, walk, 370, 845, &c. Gange, 796. Gogen,


Gat, Gaten. See Geten.

Gate, n. S. (1) way, road, 846, 889. Sir Tr. p. 27; (2) manner, fashion (see pus-gate), 783, 2419, 2586.

Gene, n. S. family, company, 786, 1735; retinue, 2353, 2362, 2383.

pe king of pan londe
Mid muchelere genege.
Layam. l. 6156.

Hence Gang. V. Todd’s Johns.

Gent, adj. Fr. neat, pretty, 2139. Sir Tr. p. 87. R. Br., Chauc.

Gere. See Messe-gere.

Gest, n. Fr. tale, adventure, 2984. See Note in Warton’s Hist. E. P., V. i. p. 69. Ed. 1840.

Gete, v. to guard, watch, keep, 2762, 2960. Icel. geta, to guard.
Cf. Ormulum, 2079. [Suggested by Garnett.]

Geten, v. S. to get, take, 792.


Ghod for Good, 255.

Gisarm, n. Fr. a bill, 2553. See Gl. Rits. M. R., Spelm. in v. Jam. Diet., and Merrick’s Gl. in v. Gesa, Gesum. [“Distinguished from other weapons of the axe kind by a spike rising from the back. There were two kinds, viz. the glaive-gisarme, with a sabre-blade and spike; and the bill-gisarme, in shape of a hedging-bill with a spike.” Godwin’s Archeol. Handbook, p. 254.]

Guye. See Yeue.

Gineled, piled up, 814. [The O.Fr. gavelé means piled up, heaped together. To gavel corn (see Halliwell) is to put it into heaps, and a gavel is a heap of corn. But this may very well be derived from gable, since a heap takes the shape of a peaked end of a house; and the O.Fr. term is probably originally Teutonic, and connected, as gable is, with Meso-Goth. gíbla, a pinnacle, with which compare German giebel, Du. gavel, and hence our word would be taken from a verb giuelen, to pile up. The fish in Havelok’s basket would be what the Dutch call geveltormig, or formed like a gable, or like the peaked end of a stack of hay or corn, whence the author’s expression—gineled als a stac, piled up in the shape of a stack. Other explanations are flayed, from Du. villen, to flay; or piled, ranged in rows upon a stick, where stick is represented by stac. But the latter supposition would require the reading ons rather than als; not to mention the fact that if fish are carried in a pannier they would not resemble fish carried on a stick. Nor is it quite satisfactory to say that gineled is put for gefilled, filled; for this is not elucidated by the expression als a stac, any more than the explanation flayed is. Gable is Icel. gaff, Sw. gaffel, Dan. gavel, Du. gavel, Ger. giebel, gipfel, &c. Its forked shape seems to give rise to Ger. gabel, Sw. gaffel, a fork; respecting which set of words see Gaff in Wedgwood.]

Gladlike, adv. S. gladly, 805, 906, 1760.


Glem, n. S. gleam, ray, 2122. See Stem.


Whar bin thi gleemen that schuld thi gleve,
With harp and fithel, and tabour bete.
Disp. betw. the bote 3. saul, ap. Leyd. Compl. of Scotl.

Glotuns, n. pl. Fr. gluttons, wicked men, 2104.

Va, Glutun, envers tei nostre ici se defeat.


God, n. S. gain, wealth, goods, 797, 2034; pl. gode, 1221. R. Gl., R. Br., Chauc.

God, Gode, adj. S. good, excellent, 7, &c.

Goddot, Goddoth, interj. god wot! 606, 642, 796, 909, 1656, 2543; cf. 2527. It is formed probably in the same manner as Goddil, for God’s will, in Yorksh. and Lanc. V. Craven dialect, and View of Lanc. dialect, 1770, Svo. The word before us appears to have been limited to Lincolnshire or Lancashire, and does not appear in the Glossaries. Other instances are in the Cursor Mundi, MS. Cott. Vesp. F. iii. fol. 87b, and in MS. Cott. Galba E. ix. fol. 61. It also occurs in a translation of a French Fabliau, written in the reign of Edw. I.
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Goddol! so I wille,
And loke that thou hire tille,
And strec' out hire thes.

La fullele & la coutise de dame
Siriz, MS. Digb. 86.

Grundtvig told me (adds Sir F. Madden) that it is "undoubtedly the same interjection spelled To-
dath in the old Danish rime-chron-
icle."

Gome, n. S. man, 7.


Gonge, Gongen. See Gange.

Gore, 2497. See Grim.

Gos, n. S. goose, 1240. Gees, pl. 702.

Gouen. See Yeue.

Goulen, pr. t. pl. 2 p. S. howl, cry, 454. Gouleden, pa. t. pl. howled, cried, 164.

An yollen mote thu se heye,
That ut berste bo thin cy.

Hale and Nithingale, l. 970.

Used also by Wickliffe. In Scot-
land and the North it is still pre-
served, but in the South Yell is used as an equivalent. See Jam.
and Gl. Lynds.

Gram, n. S. grief, 2469.

tud, part. pr. weeping, 1390. Graten, part. pa. wept, 241. I-
groten, 285. See Jam. and Gl.
Lynds.


Greme, v. S. to irritate, grieve, 442. In R. Br. Gram is used as a verb, in the same sense.

Greene, n. desire, lust, 996. It is simply the Meso-Goth. gairuni, lust; Icel. girni, desire. V. Jam.
in v. Grene. Halliwell suggests sport, play, to which it is opposed.

Gres, n. S. grass, 2698.


Grete. See Graten.

Gretting, n. S. weeping, 166.

Grepede, 2003. Explained as greeted, accosted, by Sir F. Mad-
den: but the use of þ (not th) renders this doubtful. May it not signify treated, handled (lit. ar-
rayed), from the vb. grype?

Grethet. See Greye.


Gren, pa. t. S. grew, prospered, 2333; pl. grewe, 2975.

Greue, v. S. to grieve, 2953.

Greyfe, v. S. [gerëdalian] to pre-
pare, 1762. Greypede, pa. t. pre-
pared, 706. Greyped, part. pa.

Greuye, n. S. [gerëfia] grieve, magistrature, 1771. Greuies, g. c.

Grim, adj. S. cruel, savage, fierce, 155, 680, 2398, 2655, 2761. R.
Br., Rits. M. R. See Beowulf, l. 201.

Grim, n. [smut, dirt, 2497. The explana-
tion is that Godard, on being
flayed, did not bear his sentence as one of rank and blood would have done, but began to roar out as if he were mere dirt or mud, i.e. one of the dregs of the common herd. This curious expression is ascer-
tained to have the meaning here.
assigned to it by observing (1) that grim and gore must be substantives, and (2) that they must be of like significations; but chiefly by comparing the line with others similar to it. Now the context, in the couplet following, repeats that "men might hear him roar, that foul vile wretch, a mile off;" and in l. 682, Godard calls Grim "a foul dirt, a thrall, and a churl." The author clearly uses dirt and churl as synonyms. The word grim is the Danish grim, soot, lampblack, smut, dirt, answering to the English grime; see grime in Atkinson's Glossary of the Cleveland dialect. Gore is the A.S. gor, wet mud, or clotted blood, in the latter of which senses it is still used. See "Gore. Limus" in Prompt. Parv., and Way's note.]


Grith, n. S. peace, 61, 511. Grith-sergeans, 267, legal officers to preserve the peace. These must not be confounded with the Justitiarii Pacis established in the beginning of Edw. III. reign, and called Gardiani Pacis. V. Spelm. in v. Cf. Icel. gíðs.

Grom, n. male child, youth, 790; young man, 2472. Belgic grom has the same sense of boy. Cf. Icel. grovar, homuncio. So in Sir Degore, A. iv.

He lyft up the shete anone
And loked upon the lytle grome.

It generally elsewhere signifies lad, page.

Gronge, n. Fr. grange, 764. [Halliwell says that, in Lincolnshire, a lone farm-house is still called a grange. In old English it is sometimes spelt graunge, which comes near the form here used. Cf. Fr. grange; Ital. grangia (Florio), a country-farm.]

Grop. See Gripen.


Grotinde. See Graten.

Grund, adj. used as adv. 1027. See Grundlike.

Grunde, n. S. dat. c. ground, 1979, 2675.


Grundlike, adv. heartily, 651, 2659; deeply, 2013, 2268, 2307, where it is equivalent to Deplike, q. v. The word is undoubtedly Saxon, but in the Lexicons we only find Grundlinga, funditus, from Ælf. Gl. It is used by Læsam. l. 9783.

Cnihtes heom gereden
Grundliche feire.

Gyue. See Giue.

Hal, half, 2370. Cf. Twel.


Halve, n. S. side, part; bi bothe halve, 2682. See Bi-halve.

Halucendel, n. S. the half part, 460. R. Gl. p. 5; R. Br.; K. Alisaund. 7116; Emare, 444; Chron. of Engl. 515; R. Hood, i. 68.


Harum for Harm, 1983, 2408.

Hasard, n. Fr. game at dice, 2326. *See* Note on l. 2320.

Hatede, pa. t. S. hated, 1188.


He, pron. S. Is often understood, as in ll. 869, 1428, 1777, and hence might perhaps have been designedly omitted in ll. 135, 860, 1089, 2311, though the metre seems to require *he* in 135 and 1089. *He*, pl. they, 54, &c.

Heie, n. *See* Eie.


Hel, Helden. *See* Halde.

Helde, Heldeste. *See* Eld.


Hem, pron. S. them, 367, &c.

Hend. *See* Hond.

Hende for Ende, 247.


Hende, adj. courteous, gentle, 1104, 1421, 1704, 2793, 2877, 2914; skilful, 2628. It certainly is the same word with *hendi*, *hendy.* *See* Tyrwh. on C. T. 3199; Gl. R. Glouc.; *Amis* and Amil. 1393; *Ly Beaus Desc.* 333; Morte Arthur, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. i. p. 359, &c.; Dan. and Sw. *händig*, dexterous.


Henged, Hengen. *See* Hangen.

Henne, adv. S. hence, 843, 1780, 1799. In the same manner is formed *Whenne*, K. Horn, 169, which Ritson thought a mistake for *whence*.


Her. *See* Er.

Her, adv. S. here, 689, 1058, &c. *Her ofte*, 2555, hereof.

Her, n. S. hair, 1924. *Hor*, 235.


Here, pron. S. their, 52, 465, &c.


Here, Heren, v. S. to hear, 4,
732, 1640, 2279, &c. 1-Here, 11.
Herd, Herde, pa. t. heard, 286, 465, &c. Herden, pa. t. pl. 150.
Herinne, adv. S. herein, 458.
Herkne, imp. s. S. hearken, 1285.
Hernet, imp. pl. hearken ye, 1.
Herles. See Erl.
Hernes, n. pl. brains, 1808; under hermes, close to the brains, on the head, 1917. Icel. hjarni.
Hert, n. S. hart, deer, 1872.
Herte, n. S. heart, 479, 2054, &c. Herte blot, 1819. Lająam. 1. 15846; Sir Tr. p. 98; Chauc.
Hertelike, adv. S. heartily, 1347, 2748.
Het, MS. error for Hec, eke, 2348. Hole, part. pa. called, named, 106, 284.
Het, Hete, Heten. See Ete.
Hetelike, adv. S. hotly, furiously, 2655.
And Guy hent his sword in hand, And hetelich smot to Colbrand. Guy of Ware. ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 82.
In Sir Tr. p. 172, Hethelich is explained Haughtily by the Editor, and by Jam. reproachfully. Cf. Heterly in Gloss. to Will. of Palerne.
Hethede, for Ethed, pp. conjured, made to swear, 551. From A.S. ðæ, an oath. See pp. liv, lv.
Hepen. See Epen.
Heu, n. S. hue, colour, complexion, 2918. Very common. We may hence explain the "inexplicable phrase" complained of by Mr Ellis, Spec. E. E. P. V. r. p. 109. "On heu her hair is fair enough"—occasioned by Ritson having inadvertently copied it heu, from the MS.; see Anc. Songs, p. 25.
Heued, n. S. head, 624, 1653, 1701, 1759, &c. Heuedes, pl. 1907.
Heuere. See Euere.
Heui, adj. S. heavy, 808; laborious, 2456.
Hey, Heye. See Heie.
Heye, adv. S. on high, 43, 335, 695, &c.
Heylike, adv. S. highly, honourably, 2319. Heyelike, 1329.
Hi, Hic. See Ich.
Hider, adv. S. hither, 868, 885, 1431.
Hides, n. pl. hides, skins, 918.
Hij, pron. S. his, 47, 468. Hise, 34, &c. Hys, 355. [The final e is most used with plural nouns.]
Him, pron. S. them, 257, 1169.
Hinne. See bir-inne.
Hire, pron. S. her, 127, &c. Hire semes, it beseems her, 2916.
His for Is, 279, 1973, 2692.
Hise. See Hijis.
Hof for Of, 1976.
Hof, pa. t. S. heaved, 2750.
Hok, n. S. hook, 1102.
Hol, adj. whole, well, 2075.
Holi, adj. S. holy, 1361. [Printed hoh in the former edition.]
Hold, adj. S. firm, faithful, 2781, 2816.
  Ant suore othes holde,
  That huere non ne sholde
  Horn never bytreye.
  K. Horn, 1259.
Cf. R. Gloce. p. 377, 383, 413; K. Alisaund. 2912; Chron. of
Engl. 730.
Hold, Holde, adj. S. old, 30, 192, 417, 956, &c.; former, 2460.
Holden. See Halde.
Hole, n. S. socket of the eye, 1813.
Holed. See Helen.
Holpen. See Helpen.
Honde. See Hangen.
Hor. See Her, n.
Hore, n. mercy, 153. See Ore.
Horn, n. S. 779. [This probably refers to the shape of the simnel. Halliwell says, a Simnel is "generally made in a three-cornered form." Cracknels are still made with pointed and turned up ends, not unlike horns.]
Hors, n. S. horse, 2283. Horse-knaue, groom, 1019. So in a curious satirical poem, temp. Edw. II.
  Of rybaudz y ryme,
  Ant rede o my rolle,
  Of gedelynges, gromes,
  Of Colyn, & of Colle;
  Harlotes, hors knaues,
  Bi pate & by polle.
  MS. Harl. 2253, f. 124 b.
Used also by Gower, Conf. Am. See Todd's Illustr. p. 279.
Hosen, n. pl. S. hose, stockings, 860, 969. In Sir Tr. p. 94, trrowsers seem to be indicated.
Hoslen, n. S. to administer or receive the sacrament, 212. Hos- lon, 362. Hosled, part. pa. 364.
Hosled, 2598. Le Bone Flor. 776. Chauc.
Hoten. See Het.
Hones, pr. t. S. behoves, 582. [Read bi-hones?]
Hul, n. S. hollow, i. e. vale, 2687 A.S. hol. Cf. l. 2439.
Hungred for Hunger, 2454.
Hungreth, pr. t. hunger, 455. Hungrede, pa. t. hungered, 654.
Hure, pron. S. our, 338, 842, 1231, &c.
Hus for Us, 1217, 1409.
Hyl, n. S. heap, 892. Hil, hill, 1287.
Hwan, adv. S. when, 408, 474, &c. See Quan.
Hwarse, adv. S. where, 1881, 2240, 2579. Hwar-of, whereof, 2976. Hwere, 549, 1083.
Hwat, pron. S. what, 596, 635, 1137, 2547. Wat, 117, 541, &c. Wat is ye, 453. Heat or Wat is ye, 1951, 2704.
Hwat. See Quath.
Hweper, adv. S. whether, 294, 2098.
Hwi, adv. S. why, 454. See Qui.
Hwil, adv. S. whilst, 301, 363, 538, 2437.
Hwile, n. S. time, 722, 1830.
Hwil-gat, adv. S. how, lit. which way, 836. Howgates, Skinner
Hwit, adj. S. white, 1729.
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Hwo, pron. S. who, 296, 300, 368, 2604, &c. See Wo.

Hwor, adv. S. whether, 1119. 

Hwoore-so, wheresoever, 1349.

Hwou. See Hw.

Hws. See Hus.

Hyse. See Hjs.


Hie, 305. 

Hi, 487. 

I, 686. 

J', 15, &c.

Id for It, 2424.

I-gret, 163. See Grette.

I-groten. See Graten.

Hl, adj. S. each, every, 818, 1740, 2113, 2483, 2514. 

Hhe, 1056, 1921. 

Hlhe, 821, 1861, 2959, 2996; (=same), 1058, 1215, 2674, &c. 

Hker, each (of them), 2352. 

Hlkan, each one, 1770, 2357. 

Hlkon, 1842, 2108. 

See Eueri.

Ille, adv. S. Likede hire swithe ille, 1165, it displeased her much. 

Sir Tr. p. 78. A common phrase. 

Ille maked, ill treated, 1952.

I-maked. See Maken.

Inne, adv. S. in, 762, 807. See Perinne.

Inow, adv. S. enough, 706, 911, 931, &c. 

Ynow, 563, 1795. 

Ynow, 904.

Intil, prep. S. into, 128, 251, &c. See Til.

Ioie, n. Fr. joy, 1209, 1237, 1278, &c. 

Joye, 1315.

Ioyinge, n. gladness, 2087.

Ioupe, n. Fr. a doublet, 1767. 

Roquefort gives the form Joupe, but Jupon or Gipou is more usual. 

See Jupon in Halliwel, and Gipe in Roquefort.

Is for His, 735, 2254, 2479.

Iuele, n. S. evil, injury, 50, 1689. 

Yuel, 2221. 

Yule, 994. 

Yuel, sickness, 114. 

Yuel, 144, 155. 

jà pe he wes ald mon, 

jà com him yfel on. 

Layam. i. 19282.

Ful iuële o-bone, very lean, 2505; 

cf. 2525.

Iuele, adv. S. evilly, 2755. 

Me 

iule like, displease me, 132. 

Cf. Ille liken.

Kam. See Komen.

Kaske, adj. strong, vigorous, 1841. Sw. karsk.


Kayn, n. 31, 1327. Evidently a provincial pronunciation of Thayn, which in the MS. may elsewhere be read either chayn or thayn. By the same mutation of letters make has been converted into mate, cake into cate, wayke into wayle, lake into late (R. Hood, i. 106), &c., or vice versa. See Thayn.

Kaysere. See Cayser.

Keft, part. pa. purchased, 2005. 

Sure keft = sourly (bitterly) purchased it. See Sure and Coupe.

Keling, n. 757, cod of a large size, Jam. q.v. The kelyng appears in the first course of Archb. Nevil's Feast, 6 Edw. IV. See Warner's Antiq. Col. Cotgrave explains Merlus, A Melwall or Keeling, a kind of small cod, whereof stockfish is made.

Keme. See Komen.

Kempe, n. S. knight, champion, 1036. V. Jam. in v.

Kene, adj. S. keen, bold, eager, 1832, 2115. A term of very extensive use in old Engl. and Sc. poetry, and the usual epithet of a knight.

Kesten, v. S. to cast in prison, or to overthrow, 81, 1785 (used passively). 

Casten, cast, throw, 2101. 

Keste, part. pa. cast, 2449. 

Keste, part. pa. cast, placed, 2611; [or it may be the infin. mood.]

Kenuel, n. S. a gag, 547. See 

Kevel in Hall, Keel in Jam. A.S. cefti, a halter, headstall.
Kid, part. pa. S. made known, discovered, 1060. Sir Tr. p. 150; R. Br.; Yw. and Gaw. 530; Minot, p. 4; Chauc. From *cypan*, notum facere.

Kin, Kyn, n. S. kindred, 393, 414, 2045.

Kines, n. S. gen. c. kind, 861, 1140, 2691. *None kines* = of no kind; *newere kines* = of never a kind.

Kinneriche. *See Cunnriche.*

Kippe, v. [Icel. *kippa*] to take up hastily, 894. *Kipt, Kipte, pa. t.* snatched up, 1050, 2407, 2638.

Horn in is armes hire kepte.

K. Horn, 1208.

*Kypte* heore longe knyues, and slowe faste to gronde.


*Kept up, snatcht up, Gl. R. Br.* Jamieson derives the word from Su.-G. *kippa*, to take anything violently. V. in v. Kip. Ihre quotes the Icel. *kipti up* = snatched up.


Kiste. *See Chiste.*

Kiste, pa. t. s. kissed, 1279. *Kisten, pa. t. pl. S. kissed, 2162.*

Kiwing, n. 1736. [Respecting this word I can only record my conviction that it is not safe to quote it, as the MS. is indistinct. I read the word as *kilbing*, which I believe to be merely miswritten for *ilk ping* (which the scribe also spells *il ping*), and I suppose the sense of the line to be—"when they had there distributed everything."]


Heore cokes & heore cnaues
Alle hco duden of lif daesen.

*Lasum.* l. 13717.


Kok, n. a cook, 873, 180, 891, 903, 921, 2985. *See Cok.*


Kope, n. Lat. cope, 429. *Copes, pl. 1957.*


Koupen. *See Coupe.*

Kradel-barnes, n. pl. S. children in the cradle, 1912.


Krike, n. S. creek, 708.

Kunne. *See Canst.*

Kuneriche, Kunerike, Kunrik. *See Cunnriche.*

Kyne-merk, n. S. mark or sign of royalty, 604. In the same manner are compounded *cine-helm, cine-stol, &c.*

& Cador pe keue seal beren þas *kinges marke* ; hæbben hæc bene drake, biforen pissere dygeðe.

*Lasum.* l. 19098.

Thyll ther was of her body A fayr chylld borne, and a godele, Hadda a dowbyll *kynges marke.*

*Emare, 502.*
Lac, n. S. fault, reproach, 191, 1727. Laxes, pl. 596. V. Spelm. and Somn. in v. Jamieson says, it was “formerly the only name by which this fish was known.” Cf. Dan. Sw. Icel. lax.


Cf. 

Leche, n. S. physician, 1836, 2057.


Leman, n. S. mistress, lover, 1191. Lewman, 1253, 1312, 1322. Used by all the old writers, and applied equally to either sex.


Lene, v. S. [lédan] to lend, grant, 2072.

I sal lene the her mi ring.

Yew. and Gaw. 737.
Lenge, n. the fish called ling, 832. [Asellus longus, or Islandicus, Ray.] It was a common dish formerly. Thus we have Lyne in jelly, in Archb. Nevil’s Feast, 6 Edw. IV., and Lyng in foyle, in Warham’s Feast, 1504. See Pegge’s Form of Curie, p. 177, 184, and MS. Sloane, 1886.


Leoun, n. Lat. lion, 573. Leun, 1867.


Lere, Leren, v. S. to learn, 797, 823; to teach, 2592. Y-lere, 12.


Leth, See Late.


Leue, n. S. leave, 1387, 1626, 2932, &c.

Leue, adj. See Lef.

Leune, v. S. [lyfan] imp. s. grant, 334, 406, 2807. K. Horn, 465, MS.; R. Gl., Erle of Tol. 365. Guy of Warw. ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 77, where it is misplaced lune. It is very frequently used in the old Eng. Metrical Lives of the Saints, MS. Laud, 108. [The true distinction between lune and lene is, that the former is the A.S. lyfan, G. erlanen = grant in the sense of allow, permit, and is invariably intransitive; whilst lene is the A.S. lenan, G. leihen = grant in the sense of give. The confusion between the senses of grant has led to confusion between lene and lene, and in at least five passages of Chaucer (C. T. 7226, 13613; Tro. ii. 1212, iii. 56, v. 1749, ed. Tyrwhitt) many editions wrongly have lene. In the last three instances Tyrwhitt rightly prints leue, but unnecessarily corrects himself in his Glossary. I regret to add that I have thrice made a similar mistake. In Piers Plowman, A. v. 263, and in Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede, Il. 366 and 573, for lene read leue. Halliwell’s remark, that “the [former] editor of Havelok absurdly prints lene” is founded upon the same misconception, and he is wrong in his censure. See the use of lefe in the Ormulum, ed. White.]

Leuend, pa. t. S. left, 225.


Leuere. See Lef.

Leues, pr. t. 3 p. S. believes, 1781, 2105.


Lewe, adj. S. warm, 498, 2921.

A opened wes his brest, pa blod com forð luke.

Laue, 1. 27556.

Leyd, Leyde. See Leyn.

Leye, n. S. lie, falsehood, 2117.


Leyke, Leyken. See Layke.


Lich, adj. like, 2155.


Lift, adj. S. left (lævus), 2130.


Lime, Limes. See Leme.

Lite, adj. S. little, 276, 1730. Little, 1858, &c. Little, 2014.

Lith. See Lict.

Lith, imp. S. light (thou), 585.

Lith, adv. S. lightly, 1942.


Lith, n. S. 2515. This word is explained by Ritson plains, by Hearne tenements, and by Jamieson a ridge or ascent. Its real signification seems unknown, but may be conjectured from the following passages.


Ther whele not be went, ne lete ther lond ne lith. R. Brunne, p. 194.

where it answers to the Fr. Ne volent lesser te ne tenement.

Who schall us now geve londes or lythe. Le Bone Flor. 841.

Here I gif Sehir Galeron, quod Gaynour, withouten any gile,
Al the londis and the lithis fro laver to layre.

Sir Gau. and Sir Gal. ii. 27.

[See Glossary to William of Paterne, s. v. Lend.]

Lithes, n. pl. S. the extreme points of the toes, or articulations, 2163. Finges lith, extremum digit, Luc. 16, 24.

Lipes, imp. pl. S. listen, 1400, 2204. Lypes, 2576. The verb in the Sax. is hystan, but in Su.-G. lyda, and Isl. hlyda, which approaches nearer to the form in the poem. So also in K. Horn, 2, vilen lith, MS. ; R. Br. p. 93; R. Hood, r. p. 2 ; Minot, p. 1. Still used in Sc. and N. E. V. Jam. and Brockett.

Littene, part. pa. [or inf.?] 2701. "Qu. cut in pieces, from the same root as to lith, divide the joints. V. Jam. Suppl."—M. [Or it may mean disgraced, wounded, defeated. Cf. Su.-Goth. lyta, to wound; Icel. lyta, to disgrace; Sw. lyte, a defect, lître, deformed; Dan. lyde, a blemish.]


Lof, n. S. loaf, 653.


Loken, Lokene, part. pa. S. fastened, locked, closed, 429, 1957. So in the Const. Othonis, Tit. de habitu Clericornum; "In mensura decenti habente vestes, et coipis clausis utuntur in sacris ordinibus constitutis." V. Spelm. in v. Cappa clausa. So also in the Ancren Riwle, fol. 17—"gif he haues a wid hode and a locin cape, &c."


Longes, pr. t. 3 p. S. belongs, 396. R. Br., Chauc., &c.
Lopen. See Lepe.
Loth, adj. S. loath, unwilling, 261, 440, &c. See Lef.
Louede, pa. t. S. loved, 71. Loueden, pa. t. pl. 955.
Louerd, n. S. lord, master, 96, 483, &c. Louerd, 621.
Loupe. See Lepe.
Lune, n. S. love, 195. [Lune-drope] seems here to be a compound word, meaning love-courtship. Lufe-droorie also = love-token, Lynde-say's Sq. Meldrum, 1003. See Drurye.]
Lype. See Lith.
Maght, Mait. See Mowe.
Male, n. Fr. a budget, bag, wallet, 48. La^amon, i. 3543. Web., Chauc., R. Hood.
Malisun, n. Fr. malevolent, curse, 426. Sir Tr. p. 179.
Manred, Manrede, n. S. homage, fealty, 484, 2172, 2180, 2248, 2265, 2312, 2774, 2816, 2847, 2850. Leg. of S. Gregori, ap. Leyd. Compl. of Scotl. See Jam. for further examples.
Marz, n. Lat. March, 2559.
Maugre, Fr. in spite of, 1128, 1789. See Tyrwh. Gl. to Chauc. and Jam. in v.
Maydnes, n. pl. S. maidens, 467, 2222.
Mayster, n. Fr. master, 1135; chief, 2028, 2385.
Mayt, Mayth. See Mowe.
Mede, n. S. reward, 102, 685, 1635, 2402.
Mele, n. S. oat-meal, 780.
Mene, 2201, probably miswritten for neme; see Nime.
Men (used with a sing. vb. like the Fr. on), men, people, 390, 647, 2610.
Mene, v. S. to mean, signify, 2114. Menes, pr. t. 3 p. means, 597.
Menie, n. Fr. family, 827. Mey- nje, 834. This word is to be found from the time of La^amon to Shakespere. Jamieson attempts to derive it from the North. V. in v. Menzie. See maius nie in Roquefort.
Mere, n. S. mare, 2449, 2478, 2504.
Messe, n. Fr. Lat. the service of the mass, 243, 1176. Messe-bok, mass-book, 186, 391, 2710. Messe-gere, all the apparel, &c., pertaining to the service of the mass, 188, 389, 1078, 2217.
Mest, adj. sup. S. greatest, 233. Moste, 1257; tallest, 983.
Met, pp. S. dreamt, 1285.
Meynie. See Menie.


Mite, Michten, Michte, Mithe, Mithest, Mitthen. See Mowe.

Micht, n. S. might, power, 35.


Mik, Mike, Mikel. See Michel.


Milne-hous. See Hus.


Misdede, pa. t. S. did amiss, 337; injured, 992, 1371. Misco, part. pa. misdone, offended, 2798.

Misferde, pa. t. S. behaved, or proceeded ill, 1869. See Faren.

Misgos, pr. t. 2 p. S. goest or behavest amiss, 2707.

Misseyd, part. pa. S. spoken to reproachfully, 1658.


Mo, adj. comp. S. more, 1742, 1846.

Mod, n. S. mood, humour, 1703.

Moder, n. S. mother, 974, 1388, &c.

Mone, n. S. moon, 373, 403.

Mone, n. S. mind, say, opinion, 816. Cf. A.S. wyre, wantian, mo-


Moste. See Mest.

Mote, v. S. may, 19, 406, 1743, 2545. Moten, pl. 18.

Moun. See Mowe.


Na, adv. S. no, 2363, 2530.

Nam. See Nime.

Nayles, n. pl. S. nails, 2163.

Ne, adv. S. nor, 44, &c.

Nede, n. S. need, necessity, 9, &c. Nedes, pl. 1692.

Neme. See Nime.

Ner, adv. S. near, 990, 1949.

Nese, n. S. nose, 2450.

Neth, n. S. net, 752, 808, 1026; pl. netes, 783.

Neth, n. S. neat, cattle, 700, 1222. Netes, g. c. neat's, 781.

Nepeles, conj. S. nevertheless, 1108, 1653.


Neure, adv. S. not, never, 80, 672; neuer a pole, ne'er a pool, 2685. Neure kines, of no kind, 2691.

Ney, adv. nigh, near to, nearly, 464, 640, 2619.

Neys. See Nesh.


Newhen, v. S. [nēhwan] to approach, 1866. In the more recent form to neig that is used in several of the old Romances, Chauc., and Minot.


Nime, v. S. pr. s. take, or go, 1921. Nim, imp. take, 1336. Num, pa. t. took, 900; went, 2930. Nume, pl. went, 1207; cf. I. 2201. Nomen, took, 2790. Nomen, Numen, part, pa. taken, 2265, 2551. Nimes, imp. pl. go ye, 2594; nime, go we, 2600. In the first sense this verb is common in all the Glossaries, but in the latter sense To go it occurs nowhere but in the Gl. to Rob. Brunne, who, from being a Lincolnshire man, approaches nearer to the language of the present poem than any other writer. [In N. E. to nim is to walk with quick, short steps.]

Nis, for Ne is, is not, 462, 1998, 2214.


Noblelike, adv. S. nobly, 2640.

Nok, n. [Belg. nock] nook, corner, 820; a nook a farthinges nok, not the value of a farthing. The same phr. is in the Manuel des Peches of Rob. of Brunne, MS. Harl. 1701, fol. 39.

Nomen. See Nime.

Non, adj. S. no, 518, 685, 1019; no one, 934, 974.


Noper. See Neyper.

Nou, adv. S. now, 328, 1362, &c. Nu, 2421, 2420, 2650, &c.

Nout, Nouthe, Nouht, n. or adv. S. not, naught, nothing, not at all, 219, 505, 566, 618, 1733, 2051, 2522. Nou, Nouth, 770, 2168, 2737.

Nouthe. See Note.

Noyer. See Neyper.

Nu. See Nou.

Numen. See Nime.


O. See On.

Of, prep. S. off, 130, 216, 603, 857, 1850, 2444, 2626, 2676, 2751, &c. Of londe, out of the land, 2399. Sir Tr.


Offrende, Dan. Fr. offering, 1386

Ofte, adv. S. often, 226, &c.

Ok. See Ek.

On, adj. S. one, 425, 1800, 2028, 2263, &c.

On, in But on. See But.

On, prep. S. in, on. On line, 281, 363, 694, 793, &c. O line, 2365. On two, 471, 1823, 2730, in two; a two, 1413, 2643. O londe, 763, on, or in land. On knes, 1211,
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1302, 2710, on knees; o knees, 2252, 2796. On brene, 1239. in flame, on fire. O wuth, 1251, in the night. On uthes, 2048. O worde, 1349, in the world (see Werd). O mani wise, 1713, in many a manner. On gamen, 1716, in sport. On lesse hweile, 1830, in less time. O bok, 2307, 2311, on the book. Wel o bon, 2355, 2525, 2571, strong of body. Iaete o bone, 2505, lean. On hunting, 2382. O stede, 2549, on steeed. Up-o the dogges, 2596, on the dogs. From these examples, added to those which occur in every Glossary, it is evident the Sax. prep. On was subsequently corrupted to O and A. See Tyrwhitt and Jam. A nycht in Barb. xix. 657, explained by the latter one night, is according to the above rule In the night, as confirmed by l. 1251. Sir Tr. pp. 47, 114. R. Glouc.


There hue wonede al one.


Ones, adv. S. once, 1295.


Onlepi. See Anilepi.

Onne, prep. S. on, 347, 1940.


Ontil, prep. S. unto, for, 761.

Or, adv. S. previously, before, 728, 1043, 1356, 1688, &c. Or outh longe, 1789, before any long time.


Osed for Hosed, 971.


Ope for Oper, 861, 1986, 2970.

Oper, conj. S. either, or, 94, 674, 787, &c. See Ayther.

Oper, adj. S. [alter] the other of two, second, 879. Be oper day, 1755, the following day.

Day hit is iong & oper, Wipnute sail & rope.

K. Horn, ed. Lumby, 187.

So also R. Br. p. 169, and Wynt.

Oper, adj. S. [alius] other, 2490. Opes, pl. others, 1784, 2413, 2416.

Opere-fare, v. S. to pass over, cease, 2063. See Fare.

Ouer-go, v. S. to be disregarded, 2220.

Ouer-gange, v. S. to get the superriority over, 2587.

Ouer-pwert, adv. S. across, 2822.


Onne, adj. S. own, 375, 2428.


Outh, n. S. [awihht] any space of time, aught, 1189; cf. l. 1789; anything, 703. [Outh doute = was worth anything, was of any value.]


Pappes, n. pl. Lat. breasts, 2132.
Parred, part. pa. confined, fastened in, barred in, 2439. We have met with this word only in one instance, where Ritson leaves it unexplained.

Yn al this [tyme] was sir Ywayne Ful straitly parred with mekil payn. Yow. and Gaw. 3227.

[It is undoubtedly equivalent to O.E. sperre, or spere. Halliwell, s. v. Parred, quotes "3e are parred in . . . 3e are so spered in." So, too, the Ital. sbarra is the Fr. barrer. Cf. A.S. sparan, O.N. sperra, Sc. spar. Hence the derivation of park, O.E. parrock, an enclosure.]

Pastees, n. pl. Fr. pasties, patés, 644.

Ther beth bowris and halles, Al of pasteiis beth the walles. Land of Cokaygne, MS. Harl. 913, f. 5.

Pateyn, n. Lat. the Plate used in the service of the Mass, 187.

Pape, n. S. path, road, 2381, 2390. Papes, pl. 268.

Patriark, n. Lat. patriarch, 428.


Pen, n. S. penny, 705, 2147. Penies, pl. 776, 1172.

Per, n. Fr. peer, equal, 989, 2241, 2792.

Pike, v. to pitch (used passively), 707. Teut. pecken, Lat. picare. The verb in Saxon is not extant, but only the n. pic.


Plat. See Plette.

Plattinde, part. pr. tramping along, moving noisily or hurriedly, 2282. From the beating noise of the feet, like Sc. plutch (q. v. in Jam.). See Pette.


Playces, n. pl. plaice, 896.

Pleinte, n. Fr. complaint, 134. Pleynte, 2961.

Plette, v. S. [pl coeffian] to strike, 2444. Plat, pa. t. struck, 2755. Plette, 2626; pl. plette, hurried, moved noisily, 2613. [Cf. Plattinde, and note the double use of Sc. skelp, to beat, to hurry, and O.E. strike, to beat, to move along.]


Poke, n. S. a bag, 555, 769. Pokes, pl. 780.

Poles, n. pl. S. pools, ponds of water, 2101.


Pouere, Poure, adj. Fr. poor, 58, 101, 2457, &c.

Pourelke, adv. poorly, 323.


Prique, v. S. to spur a horse, ride briskly, 2639.

Prud, adj. S. proud, 302.

Pulten, pa. t. pl. so reads the MS. l. 1023, instead of pulten. Both have the same signification. So in the Romance of Rob. of Cecyle, Harl. MS. 1701, f. 94, c. I, pulle occurs for pul, placed, and pullt in R. Coeur de L. 4055; pelte, Sir Tr. p. 95. In the imp. Pult
for put, place, is used in Hending the Hende, MS. Digb. 86. In the signification of drove forward, which is nearer to the sense we require, we find pytke in K. Horn, 1433, and R. Glouc. Hence the Engl. word pelt. See Putten. Cf. Pull in Gl. to Will. of Paternae.

Pund, n. pl. S. pounds, 1633.

Put, n. cast, throw, 1055. But, 1040.

Putten, v. to cast, throw, propel forward, 1033, 1044. Puten, 1051. Putte, pa. t. cast, 1052. Putten, pa. t. pl. cast, throw, 1023, 1031, 1844. From the Fr. bouter, Teut. bitten, or Belg. botten, to drive or propel forward, or, as others suggest, from the Br. putian, which has the same meaning, or Isl. potta. From the same root are derived both Put and But. Thus to but in Sc. is to drive at a stone in curling, and to put in Yorksh. is to push with the horns. In the passage before us it is applied to a particular game, formerly in great repute. See Note on l. 1022. Cf. Ramsay's Poems, ii. 106. The word is still retained in the North, and Sc. V. Jam. and Brockett. See But and Putten.

Putting, Puttinge, n. casting, 1042, 1057, 2324.

Pyment, n. B. L. spiced wine, 1725. See Note on l. 1726.

Qual, n. S. [hwel] whale or grampus, 758. See Hwel.

Quan, Quanne, adv. S. when, 134, 204, 240, &c. See Hwan.


Quen, n. S. queen, 2760, 2783, &c. Queenes, pl. 2982.

Qui. See Hwi.

Quic, Quik, adj. S. alive, 612, 613, 1405, 2210, 2476, &c., quik and ded. This is the usual language of the Inquisitiones post mortem, which commence at the early part of Henry III. reign. For the usage of the term, see Gl. to Sir Tr. p. 98. Yw. and Gaw. 668. Chron. of Engl. 762, &c. The word is preserved in the vulgar version of the Scriptures, and Creed. Quike, quick, alert, 1348. Al quic wede. 2641. Cf. l. 2387.


Quod, Quodh, Quot. See Quath.

Radde. See Rede.

Ran. See Remne.

Rang, adj. S. [ranc] perverse, rebellious, 2561.

Rath, n. S. counsel; hence, an adviser, 75. Dut. c. rathe, in the phrase to rathe, 2543; for the meaning of which, see Red.

Rape, adv. S. speedily, readily, quickly, 358, &c. (In l. 1335, I prefer considering it as a verb.)

Rathe, v. S. [raedan] to advise, 1335. A provincial pronunciation of Rede. In l. 2517, it is still broader, "Yif ye it wilen and ek rothe." In the same manner Rede is spelt, and was undoubtedly pronounced Rothe, Ly Beans Dese. 425, and Abode is spelt Abothe, ib. 1118. Cf. ll. 693, 1651, 2555, of the present poem, in which instances the d in rede has the sound of th.

Recke, pr. t. subj. S. may reace, may care, 2047, 2511. Sir Tr. p. 124, &c.

Red, n. S. advice, counsel, 180, 518, 526, 1194, 2871, &c. To rede, lit. for a counsel, i.e. advisable, 118, 693; spelt to rathe, 2542.

Reft, Refte, Reftes. See Reue.

Regne, pr. t. pl. Fr. Lat. reign, assume the superiority, 2536. Reng, Ring, Sc. V. Jam. in v.

Renne, v. S. to run, 1161, 1904. Run on blode, pa. t. 432. So in Sir Tr. p. 176, His henev ran on blod; and in MS. Harl. 2253, f. 128, Lutel wot hit any mon hou loue hym haueth y-bounden, That for vs o the rode runs, ant bolte vs with is wounde.

Reue, n. S. magistrate, 1627. See Greyue.


Still used in the North.

Reures, n. pl. S. robbers, bereavers, 2104.

Alle bachebiteres wendet to helle, Robberes & reueres & the mon-quelle.

A luten seruan, MS. Cal. A. ix. f. 246, b.

V. Jam. in v. Reynfar.

Reunesse, Rewnesse, n. S. compassion, 502, 2227.

Rewe, v. S. to have pity, to compassionate, 497, 967. Rewed, pa. t. ( impersonal) 503.

Richelike, adv. S. richly, 421.


Riden, v. S. to ride, 10, &c.

Rig, n. S. back, 1775. So in Latham. l. 6718. Burne he warp on rigge.


Rim, Rym, n. S. Fr. rhyme, poem, 21, 2995, 2998. So Chauc. Rime of Sire Thopas. [The modern false spelling rhyme is due to confusion of Eng. rime with the Gk. rhythm.]


Ringes, n. pl. S. rings of mail, 2740. See Brini.

Rippe, n. fish-basket, 893. Hence a Rippar, B. Lat. riparius, is a person who brings fish from the coast to sell in the interior. V. Spelm. in v. NAres prefers the etymology of ripa, but without reason. Rip is still provincial for an osier basket. See Jam. and Moore. So also in a curious Latin and English Vocabulary, written out by Sir John Mendames, Parish of Bromenstrope [Brooms-thorp, Co. Norf.] in the middle of the 15th cent., and now preserved in the valuable MSS. library of T. W. Coke. Esq. Cophinus is explained A heryinge hope, or rypp, terms still retained in the county. Jam. gives Icel. hrip, a basket.

Rith, Richth, n. S. right, justice, inheritance, 36, 395, 1099, 1383, 2717.

Rith, adj. S. right (dexter), 604, 1812, 2140, 2545, 2725.

Rithe, Ritchie, adj. S. right (rectus), 772, 846, 1201, 2235, 2473.

Rith, Rithe, adv. S. rightly, 420, 1701, 2611, &c.; exactly, just, 872, 2494, 2506.

Ritte, v. to rip, make an incision, 2495.

The breehe adoun he threst, He ritt, and gan to right.

Sir Tristr. p. 33.

[Cf. Sw. rista, Dan. riste, to slash, cut; G. ritzen. Perhaps connected also with Du. rijten, G. reissen, to tear.]
Rof, n. S. roof, 2082.
Rome, v. S. to roam, travel about, 64.
Roser, n. Fr. rose-bush, 2919.
Rothe. See Rathe.
Rowte, v. S. [kriutan] to roar, 1911. R. Co”r de L. 4304. V. Gl. Lynds. and Jam. in v. Cf. Icel. ærjota, Sw. ryte. The word is still retained in the provinces.
V. Brockett and Wilbr.
Runci, n. B. Lat. a horse of burden, 2569. V. Du Cange and Spelm. The word is common both in Fr. and Engl. writers. Cf. Span. Roziu-ante.
Rungen. See Ringen.
Rym. See Rim.
Sal for Shall, 628.
Same for Shame, 1941. V. Jam.
Sare, adv. S. sore, sorrowfully, 401.
Sat, pa. t. S. opposed, 2567. See Asitte. In Sc. is Sit, Sist, to stop, from Lat. sistere. V. Jam.
Sautres, n. pl. Fr. Lat. Psalters, Hymns for the Office of the Dead, 244.
Sawe, written for sa we, i. e. say we, 338.
Sawe, Sawen, Say. See Se.
Sayse, v. B. Lat. to seise, give scisin or livery of land, 251, 2518.
Scabbed, Skabbed, adj. S. Lat. scabby, scurvy, 2449, 2505.
Sche, Scho, Sho, pron. S. she, 112, 126, 649, 1721, &c.
Schitte for Shrift, absolution, 1829.
Schoten, Shoten, pa. t. pl. S. cast, 1864; rushed, 1838. Scnten, 2431.
Schulle, n. a plaice, 759. Sw. skolla, a plaice. See Coleridge’s Glossarial Index.
Se (the S. art.) the, but perhaps a mistake of the sirebe, l. 534, as it is not elsewhere used.
Se, n. S. sea, 535, &c. ; gen. seis, 321.
Segges, n. pl. Fr. [seches] 896.
In Cotgr. the Seche is explained the Sound, or Cuttle fish. The Seches de Contance were held in the highest estimation. V. Le Grand. See also Jam. v. Sye.
Sei, v. See Seyen.
Seis. See Se.
Seken, v. S. to seek, 1629. The reading is confirmed by an old poem in MS. Digb. 86.
Sirc, we ben kuiettes fer i-fare, For to sechen wide-ware.
La vie seint Eustace, qui out noun Placidas.
Selcouth, n. S. wonder, strange thing, 124, 1059. Selenth, 2119. It was in all probability originally
an adj. as Selkath. Strange, wonderful, 1284.

Sele, n. S. seal, 755.


Selthe, n. S. success, 1338. A.S. seth. [Cf. selēð in Lazam. l. 25136, and see selēð in Stratmann's Dictionary of Old English. The line seems to be a proverb, and the meaning is—"Rest and success are companions." Goldborough tells him to avoid delay, since rest may accompany success, but cannot precede it.]

Sembling, n. Fr. assembling, 1018.

It may also be compared with the Su.-G. saulanung, conventus.

Semes, pr. t. in the phrase, hire semes = it beseems her, it becomes her, 2916. Senede, pa. t. was suitable, was fit, 976. See Seem in Wedgwood.

Sene, adj. evident, 656.

Sendes, pr. t. sendeth, sends, 2392. Sende, pa. t. sent, 136, &c.

Serf-borw, n. S. surety, pledge, 1667. In MS. Soc. Antiq. No. 60, known by the name of The Black Book of Peterborough, is an instrument in which many names both of Saxon and Danish origin appear as the Borhanda, or Suretics, otherwise called Vestermen. See Jam. and the Glossaries, for further examples.


Sarges. See Cerges.


Seren, v. S. to serve, 1230.


Seysed. See Sayse.

Seyst. See Seyen.

Seyt, pr. t. s. put for set it, i.e. say it; or else put for seyth, i.e. say, 647. So in Sir Tr. p. 117.

For mani mey seyt ay whare.


Shamelike, adv. S. shamefully, disgracefully, 2825. Schamliche, Sir Tr. p. 93


Shar, pa. t. S. share, cut, 1413.

So in Am. and Amil. 2298, Her throtes he schar alve.

Shauwe, Shawe, v. S. to shew, 2206, 2784. Sheu, 1401.

Shel, Sheld, n. S. shield, 489, 624, 1653, &c.


Shere. Clearly miswritten for she were, 1250.

Sheu. See Shauwe.

Shides, n. pl. S. It here expresses pieces of wood cleft at the end, 917. In Doug. Virg. Schide signifieth a billet of wood, 223, 10;
or a chip, splinter, 207, S. So in 
*Rauf Coilezear*, st. 39, Schafetes of sehene wode they scheueride in *schides*. So also in P. Pl. The word is preserved in Lane. This custom of skinning eels by inserting the head in a cleft stick, is still practised, we are informed, in the fish markets.

Shir, *adj.* S. bright, 588, 916, 1253, &c.

Shirene, *n.* S. sheriff, 2286.


Sho, *v.* S. to shoe, 1138.

Shof, *pa. t.* S. shoved, pushed, 871, 892.

Shol, I *p. s.* (if I) shall, 1782.


Sholdre, *n.* S. shoulder, 2738.


Shon, *n.* pl. S. shoes, 860, 969.


For a *Sikelines* quiden

*Sotscipe* heo heolden,

And swa longe swa beoð æwure,

Ne seal hit stonde Æwure.

*Lazan.* I. 23177.


Shrede, *n.* S. a fragment, piece cut off, 99. [As it was given off the “board,” to “feed the poor,” it must mean a piece of bread or meat. Correct *“shrede = clothing*” in Coleridge’s Glossarial Index.]

Shres, *n.* S. shears, 857.


Shrud, *n.* S. clothing, 303.


Sibbe, *adj.* S. related, allied, 2277. Sir Tr. p. 44. *See Fremde*.


Sike, *v.* S. to sigh, 291.

Siking, *n.* S. sighing, 234.


Simenels, *n.* pl. Fr. 779, a finer sort of bread, “q. a simila h. c. puriori farina parte.” *Spelun.* Assis. pan. 51 Hen. III. *Sym nutritus vero de quadrante ponderabit 2 sol. minus quam Wastellum. It elsewhere appears to be a sort of cake, or cracknel. So in the *Crieries de Paris*, v. 163, Chaudes tartes et *siminians*. V. Naes in v.

Sinne, *n.* S. fault, 1976. *Ne for lone ne for siane*, 2375. *Wolde he yOUTH for siane lette*, 2627. Traces of this phrase may be elsewhere found:

Neyther for *loch* nor yet for *awe*

Lyninge man none than they saw.

*Sir Degore*, c. iv.

Maboun and Lybeauus

Faste togedere hewes,

And stente for no synne.

*Ly Beaus Desc.* 1957.
Sire, Syre, n. Fr. The term in l. 310, 1229, is used not only to express respect, but command. A parallel passage is in R. Cœur de L. 2347. It simply means Sir, ll. 909, 2009.

Site, v. S. to sit, 2809. Sittes, pr. t. 2 p. sittest, 1316. Sitten, pr. t. pl. sit, 2098. Site on knees, i.e. kneel, 2708.

Sipe, Sipen, adv. S. then, afterwards, after, 399, 472, 1414, 1814, 1988, &c.


Sket, adv. quickly, soon, 1926, 1960, 2303, 2493, 2513, 2574, 2736, 2839. Sir Tr. pp. 36, 40, &c.; Ly Beaus Desc. 484; K. Alisaund. 3047; R. Cœur de L. 806; Rom. of Merlin, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. i. p. 223. [Icl. skjöt, quickly, from skjót, quick, swift. The adj. is still preserved in the surname Sket or Sket.]

Skirming, n. Fr. skirmishing; 2323. Web. M. R. See Note on l. 2320.

Slawe, Slawen. See Slo.


Slepes, pr. t. 2 p. sleepest, 1283.


Slike, adv. or perhaps adj. smoothly, or smooth, 1157. "Slyke, or smooth. Lisin." Prompt. Parv.

Slo, n. S. sloe, berry, 849, 2051.

Slo, v. S. to slay, 512, 1364, 1412, &c. Slow, 2543. Slou, slow, pa. t. 2 p. slayest, 2706. Slou, imp. pl. strike ye, 2596. Slou, Slow, pa. t. slew, 501; struck, 2633. Slow, Slowen, pa. t. pl. slew, 2414, 2427, 2432; struck, fought, 2683. Slawe, Slawen, part. pa. slain, 1803, 1928, 2000, &c. In l. 2747 (as in 2596, 2633, 2683) it has only the sense of struck, wounded, agreeably to the signification of the original word, sleva, sleðana, Cædere, fereire.


Smot, pa. t. S. smote, 2654.

So, a large tub, 933. See So in Halliwell. Dan. sau, a pall.

So, conj. S. as, 279, 349, et pass.

Softe, adj. S. of a mild disposition, 991.

Softe, adv. S. gently, 2618.


Sond, n. S. sand, 708, 735.

Sone, n. S. son, 660, 839. Sones, pl. 2980.

Sone, adv. S. soon, 78, &c.; so soon as, 1354.


Sor, adj. S. sore, detestable, 2229. [Perhaps it should be sori.]

Sorful, adj. S. sorrowful, 151, 2511.

Sori, adj. S. sorrowful, 151, 477.


Sopleike, adv. S. truly, 276.

Soupe, v. Fr. to sup, 1766.

Southe, pa. t. S. sought, 1085.

Sowe, Sowen. See Se.

Span-newe, adj. quite new, 968.
This is the earliest instance on record of the use of this word.

Sparkede, pa. t. S. sparkled, 2144.

Spede, v. S. to speed, prosper, 1634.

Speke, n. S. speech, 946.


K. Horn, 951.

Spelle, v. S. to relate, tell forth, 15, 2530.

Spen for Spent, 1819.


Spired, part. pa. S. speered, inquired, 2620. V. Jam. in v.

Spore, n. S. spur, 2569.

Spranleden, pa. t. pl. S. sprawled, 475.


Sprote, n. S. sprout, 1142. A.S. *sporte, a sprig, sprout.


Spusing, n. S. espousals, marriage, 1164, 1177, 2856.


Stalworþi, Stalworþe, Stalwrthe, adj. S. strong, valiant, courageous, 24, 904, 1027, &c. *Stalworþeste, sup. 25.

Stan-ded, adj. S. dead as a stone, completely dead, 1815. *Stille als a stou, 928. Cf. K. of Tars, 549; Erle of Tol. 754; Launfal, 357. See Gl. to Partenay.

Star, n. Icel. a species of sedge, 939. Icel. *stör; Sw. *starr; Dan. *stær. See the Note.


Starinde, part. pr. staring, 508.

Stark, adj. S. stiff, stout, strong, 341, 380, 608, &c. V. Jam. in v.

Stede, n. S. steed, horse, 10, &c.


Stem, n. S. a ray of light, beam, 591. It is equivalent to Glen. I. 2122.

Therewith he blinded them so close, A stine they could not see.

R. Hood, 1. 112.


Sternes, n. pl. stars, 1809. *Ageyn pe sternes = exposed to the sky, or to the open air.

Stert, n. S. leap, 1873. Chaucer has at a stert for immediately, C. T. 1707.


Steuene, n. S. voice, 1275.
Sti. n. S. road, way, 2618. Sir Tr. p. 192; Yw. and Gaw. 599; Emare, 196; Sevyn Sages, 712; R. Br. Chaucer uses stile in the same sense, C. T. 12628, and Minot, p. 5, in both which passages the respective Editors have made the same mistake in explaining it. [Cf. G. steg, a pass.]

Stille, adj. S. quiet, 955, 2309.


Stiward, n. S. steward, 666.


Strie, n. a straw, 998. See Strá.


Stroute, v. S. to make a disturbance, 1779. Bosworth explains A.S. strádan, strádict, as having originally the sense to bustle about.

Stunde, n. S. short space of time, 2614. V. Gl. to R. Gloue. See Vmbestonde.


Suer, Suere. See Sweren.

Suete, adj. S. sweet, 1388. Cf. 1. 2927.

Sueyn, Sweyn, n. S. swain, villain, 343, 1325, &c. Sweynes, pl. 371, 2195. It is generally used in opposition to knight.

Svich, adj. S. such, 60.

Suilk, adj. such (things), 644. See Swilk.

Sule. See Shol.

Sunidel. See Somdel.

Sunne-bem, n. S. sun-beam, 592, 2123.

Sward, n. S. sword, 1759, &c. Sweordes, pl. 1769, 2659.

Sweren, v. S. to swear, 494. Sweereth, pr. t. s. swear, 647. Swor, pa. t. swore, 398, 2367. Swere, pr. subj. 2 p. s. 388.


Swikel, adj. S. deceitful, 1108.

For alle pine witien
Beoð swike swikele.

Lajam. 1.15848.

Hoe beth of swikele kunne
Ther nide the witheriwne.

The save of Seint Bede, MS. Digb. 86.

He was suikül, fals, ant fel.

Chron. of Engl. 791.

Swilen, v. S. [swilian, Ps. vi. 6] to wash. 919. It occurs also in Rob. of Brunne’s Handling Swayne, 1. 5828. Still provincial.

Swilk, adj. S. such, 1118, 1625, 2123, 2654, 2783. Swilk, 644.
Swinge, v. S. to beat, chastise (used passively), 214. Swen, part. pa. beaten, 226. Lazam. l. 21070. So in Syr Becys, C. ii. All at ones on him they swonge. In the North the verb retains the same meaning; v. Brockett.

Swink, n. S. labour, 770, 801, 2456.

Swinken, v. S. to labour, 798. Skaak, pa. t. laboured, 758.

Swire, n. S. neck, 311. Formerly in universal use, and still preserved in the provinces.

Swipe, Swype, adv. S. very, exceeding, 110, 217, 341. Quickly, 140, 652, 690; ful swithe, 2436. appears a pleonasm. Swithe forth and rathe, quickly forth, and soon, 2594.

Swot, n. S. sweat, perspiration, 2662. The word has the same meaning in Cadmon, f. 24, ed. Thorpe, p. 31, l. 8, which seems to contradict Mr Price's assertion to the contrary, in Warton's Hist. Engl. Poetr. p. lxxi., ed. 1840.

Swegen. See Swinge.

Syre. See Sire.

Sype, Sypes. See Sipe.

Sype, n. S. scythe, 2553, 2699.

Tabour, n. Fr. tabor, 2329.

Tale, n. S. number, 2026.

Taleuaces, n. pl. Fr. large shields, 2323. See the Note on l. 2320.

Tarst (so in MS.), 2688: almost certainly an error for fuste, which appears in the next line. Also, the movements of Godard are compared to the course of lightning.

Tauhte, pl. s. committed, 2214, probably an error for bitauhte. See Bitaken.

Tel, n. S. deceit, reproach, 191, 2219. A.S. tālu.

Telle, v. S. to count, number, 2615. Told, part. pa. numbered, esteemed, 1036.

Tene, n. S. grief, affliction, 729.

Tere, v. S. to tar (used passively), 707.

Teth, n. pl. S. teeth, 2406.

Teyte, adj. S. 1841, 2331. [Explained "lively" by Coleridge, Stratmann, and Morris, as if from Icel. treiir, hilaris. The same explanation is given by Stratmann, who refers to Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, B. 871; and to Gawain and the Green Knight, 988, 1377; and such is doubtless the sense here intended. E. tight is a different word; compare—"Theel, adj. water-tight. O.N. þettr or þettir, densus, solidus. O.Sw. thealer, Sw. Dial. tlett or ljett, Dan. tlett, Germ. dicht. Thre gives . . . ett tätt fat, a flawless vessel. 'Thyht, hool fro brekynge, not brokyn. Integer, solidus. Prompt. Parv.'"] Atkinson's Glossary of the Cleveland dialect.]

Ta, written for fat, 175.

Jan, Janne, adv. S. then, 51, 1044, &c.; when, 226, 248, et saepius; than if (quæam), 944, 1867.

Jar, adv. where (!) 130. See the Note; and cf. Per.

Jare, adv. S. there, 2481, 2739. Cf. þer, pore.

Jarne, v. to lose, be deprived of, 2492, 2835. Parnes, pr. t. wants, is deprived of, 1913. Parned the ded, 1657; [clearly miswritten for polded þe ded, suffered death. The scribe was thinking of parned þe lif; cf. l. 2492.] The verb only exists in the Sax. in the pt. t. þarnode, Chron. Sax. p. 222, ed. Gibs., which is derived by Lyte from the Cimbr. At thunora, or thorna, diminui, privari. V. Hickes Thes. i. p. 152. [I. c. it is from the root of the Sw. tarfe, Icel. tjarfa, Goth. thanurban, with the f dropped, and
with the addition of the passive or neuter infinitive-ending denoted by -ne, like -na in Sw., -nan in Meso-Gothic. See *parraeum* in Gl. to *orrunm.*

**Bas, read, Was, 1129.** [As p at the beginning of a word is never put for t, it is not = Sc. las, takes, as some have suggested.]

**Bane, v. S. [paflan] to grant, 296; bear, sustain, 2696. *Ormulum,* 5157.**


**Pe, n. S. thigh, 1950. phe, 1984. pes, pl. 1903. Phes, 2289.**

**Pe, adv. S. (written for per), there, 142, 476, 863, 933. Pe with, therewith, 639. See *per.*

**Pe, conj. S. though, 1682. Pei, 1966. Pei, 807, 992, 1165, 2501. See *pou.*

**Pede, n. S. country, dwelling, 105; place, 2890. Webh, Le Bone Flor. 246. R. Br. p. 18. V. Jam.**

**Pef, n. S. thief, 2434. Pences, pl. 1780.**

**Pei, pron. S. they, 1020, 1195, &c.**

**Pey, pèy, conj. though. See *pe.*

**Penke, pr. subj. S. think, 2394. Penkeste, pr. l. 2 p. thinkest thou, 578.**

**Penne, adv. S. thence, 1185. [Perhaps in l. 777, we should put the comma after penne; "when he came thence," &c.]**


**Pere, pron. S. their, 1350.**

**Perl for pe crl, the earl, 178. Perne, n. a servant, maid-servant, as a term of contempt, 298. Icel. erna, G. diure; allied to A.S. *pwen,* a maid-servant; see Divre in Kluge.**

**Perteken, adv. moreover, 2878.**

From *per,* there, and to *eke in,* to add, shortened to eken. See in the Glossary to the Ancren Rivle. We again find *teken* (i.e. to eke, to increase; in addition to) in Old English Homilies, ed. Morris, Part I. p. 287, l. 2. Cf. St. Marherete, ed. Cockayne (E. E. T. S., 1866), s. v. *teken,* p. 110. (Not allied to *token.*)

**Pet, conj. S. that (quod), 330.**

**Pet, pron. S. that, 879.**

**Pepe, *pepen,* adv. S. thence, 2498, 2629.**

**Pewe, n. S. in a servile condition or station, 262, 2205. R. Gl.**


**Pi. See Forpi.**

**Pi for *by,* thy, 2725.**

**Pider, adv. S. thither, 850, 1012, 1021, &c.**

**Pigge, v. S. *pigean* to beg, 1373. This word is chiefly preserved in the Sc. writers. Wall. ii. 259; Doug. Virg. 182, 37; Evergreen, ii. 199; Bamantyne Poems, p. 120, V. Jam. in v., who derives it from Saxon *tigga,* Alem. *thigen,* petere. [See *tigga* in *Old.* "Thyggynge or begynge, Mendivacio," Prompt. Parv.]**

**Pis for pise, these, 1145.**

**Pisternesse, n. S. darkness, 2191. Dalden from *tan filthe*  
Al bi *pastere nihte.*

**Laqam. l. 7567; cf. Gen. and Ex., 58. Thit, pp. 2990. [The rime shews that the i is long; and, whether**
the th is sounded like t, or (which is more likely) the word should have been written tith or litih, we may be tolerably confident that it is equivalent to the O.E. tight or tiȝt, a pp. signifying intended, purposed, designed, which is the exact sense here required. Stratmann gives five instances of it, of which one is—"To brewe the Crystene menys banys Hy hadden tyght;" Octavian, 1476.]

бо, pron. S. those, 1918, 2044.

бо, adv. thou. See /.u.

бо, adv. S. then, 930; when, 1047. Thow, 1669.

поро, adv. S. there, 741, 922, 1014, &e. Porth, thereto, 1443. Porut, therewith, 100. See Пе, Petr.


пон, conj. S. though, 124, 299, &e. po, 1020. See Пе.


Richel metes was forth brouht
To all men that God thought.

Disp. betw. a Crystene mon and a see, f. 301.

[Or, if we read "Fat god him поще," this would mean "that seemed good to him;" cf. l. 197.]

боу, n. S. thought, 122, 1190.


прядде, приддле, adj. S. third, 867, 2633.

претте, pa. t. S. threatened, 1163.

прье, 730. [In the former edition it is glossed "trouble, affliction; apparently the same as Tray or Treye;" cf. A.S. trege. But this renders the construction difficult, nor is it clear that trege and прье can be identified. Without doubt, the usual meaning of прье is thriue, which is easily construed, only it remains to be shewn why thriue should be introduced; unless perhaps it signifies in a threefold degree.]


пріст, прістен, v. S. to thrust, 1152, 2019, 2725. Pristl, part. pa. thrust, 638.

бу, pron. S. thou, 527, &e. бу, 527, &e. po, 388. пв (read fat пв instead of пв that?), 1316. Tor, 1322. Tho, 2903. It is often joined to the verb which precedes, as Shalott, Wiltt, &e. The gen. is би, 1128; the acc. is бе, 529.

бурте, pt. t. s. need, might, 10. [It answers to the A.S. þurftan, pt. t. ic þorftle, Icel. þurfa, pt. t. þurfsti, Meso-Goth. þarban, pt. t. þarbstā. See Ormuł, l. 16164, and Sir F. Madden’s note to port in Gl. to Will of Palerne.]

буршт. See бору.

буш for бис, 785, 2586. (In comp. буш-гейте.)

тид, n. S. time, hour, 2100.

тіл, prep. S. to, 141, 762, 864, &e. See Intil, Pertil.

Тил, v. S. to tell, 1348.

Тилл, part. pa. S. obtained, acquired (lit. drawn, taken), 438. V. Gl. R. Br. in v. tîlle, and see quotation under Goddot.

Тinte, pa. t. S. lost, 2023. Sir Tr. v. 104. V. Jam.
Timned, pa. t. pl. F. turned, 603.
Tipandes, n. pl. Icel. tidings, 2279.
To-, in composition with verbs, is usually augmentative, or has the force of the Lat. dis.-To-brised, part. pa. very much bruised, 1950. (See Brisen.) To-eruhsse, inf. crush in pieces, 1992. To-deyle, inf. divide, 2009. (See Deled.) To-drawn, part. pa. dragged or pulled to death, 2001. (See Drun.) To-frusseh, inf. break in pieces, 1993. To-hewen, part. pa. hewn in pieces, 2001. To-tieden, part. pa. torn or riven in pieces, 1953. To-rof, pa. t. burst open, 1792. To-shivere, inf. shiver in pieces, 1993. To-shivered, part. pa. shivered to pieces, 2667. To-tene, inf. tear in pieces, 1539. To-torn, part. pa. torn in pieces, 1948, 2021. To-tusde, part. pa. entirely rumpled or tumbled, 1948. In one case only we find it to be merely the prep. to in composition; viz. in To-yede, pa. t. went to, 765. (See Yede.) [See note on this prefix in Gloss. to William of Palerne.]
To, adv. S. too, 303, 689, 691, &c.
To, n. S. toe, 1743, 1847, &c. Tos, pl. 898, 2163.
To, num. S. two, 2664.
To, prep. follows its case in ll. 197, 325, 526.
To-frushe, v. Fr. [froisser] to dash or break in pieces, 1993. The Sareynes layde on with mace, And al to-frusched hym in the place.
B. Cœur de L. 5032. Cf. 5084. He suld some be to-fruschyt all.
Barb. x. 597. So also Doug. Virg. 51, 53. V. Jam. in v. Frusch.
Togidere, Togydere, adv. S. together, 1128, 1181, 2683, 2891.
Tok, pa. t. S. took, 354, 467, 537. Toke, pa. t. 2 p. 1216. Token, pa. t. pl. 1194. Token under fote, 1199.
Told. See Telle.
To-tede, pa. t. peeped, looked, 2106. This verb is thrice found in P. Ploughman’s Crede, ll. 142, 168, 339. Although it would appear a rare word from its not appearing in Hearne, Ritson, or Weber, yet in later times it occurs often, and is instance by Jamieson from Pat-ten’s Account of Somerset’s Expedicion, p. 53, and by Nares from Hall, Latimer, Spenser, and Fairfax. It also occurs four times in the Ancren Riwle. ed. Morton, 1853. In Sc. it is pronounced Tete, which is derived by Jam. from the same stock as Su.-G. tilt-a, explained by Ihere, “Per trasennam veluti videre, ut solent curiosi, aut post tegmina latentes.” V. the authorities quoted, Todd’s Johns. and Wilbr. Gl. [Cf. Sw. tilla; Dan. tillte, to peep; Dan. tittelege, to play at boopep.]
Tour, n. Fr. tower, 2073.
Tre, n. S. a bar or staff of wood, 1022, 1821, 1843, 1882, &c. Dore-tre, 1806, 1968, bar of the door.
Trewe, adj. S. true, 1756.
Tristen, v. to trust, 253.
Tro. See Trowe.
Trome, n. S. [truma] a troop, company, S.
Heo makeden heore seeld-trome
Lazum. l. 9454.
Bisydes stondeth a feondes trome,
And wailith hwemne the saules cume.
The same mode of expression used above occurs lower down, l. 24.
"A stalworpi man in a flok," which is also found in Laçammon, Cador ther wes sec, be kene wes on flocke.—I. 23824. And in Sir Guy, H. iii. Then came a knight that hight Sadorck, A doughty man in every flock.


Tuenti, num. S. twenty, 259. Tumberel, n. a porpoise, 757. In Spelm. Tumberelus is explained, a small whale, on the authority of Skene, Vocab. Jur. Scot. L. Forest, Si quis celum. In Cotgr. also we find "tumbe, the great Sea-Dragon, or Quadrader; also the Gurnard, called so at Roan." [But the Sw. tumlare, a porpoise, lit. a tumbler, suggests that the name may be given from its tumbling or rolling. The Dan. tumler, however, is a dolphin.]

Tun. See Toun.


Twel for Twelve, 2455.

Ueneysun, n. Fr. venison, 1726. Umbestonde, adv. S. for a while, formerly, 2297. & heo seileden forth, wet innæ sæ heo conen, pa vumbe stunde ne sæge heo noht of londe. Laçam. l. 11907. It is equivalent to umbe-while or vnwhile, Sc. unghile. See Stunde.

Umbistode, pa. t. S. stood around, 1875. See Bistode, Stonden.

Vn-bi-yeden, pa. t. pl. S. surrounded, 1842. See Yede.


Underfong, pa. t. S. understood, 115. This sense of the verb is not found elsewhere. It is in the present poem synonymous with Understod (as Lat. accipere, percipere).


Horn child thon vnunderstond, Tech him of harpe and song.

where the MS. Laud 108 reads runderfonge. See Lumby's ed. l. 239.

Unker, pron. g. c. dual. S. of you two, 1582.

Unkeuelden, pa. t. pl. S. ungagged, 601. See Keul.

Unkyndelike, adv. S. unsuitably, 1250.

Vnornelike, adj. S. basely, or degradingly, 1941. The only word in the Sax. remaining to which it can be referred, is vnornlie, tritus, Jos. 9. 5. The following instances also approach the same stock: Ne speke y nout with Horne, Nis he nout so vrone.

K. Horn, 337.

Mi stefne is bold & nostr vnorne, Ho is ilich one grete horne, & pin is ilich one pipe.

Hale and Nislingale, l. 317. [Ihre shews that Icel. and Su.-Goth. orna mean to acquire vital heat, to grow warm. Hence unorne means unfervent, spiritless, feeble, old. Thus, in the Hale and Nislingale it means ferble, weak; in Jos. 9. 5, it is used of old, worn-out shoes. In the Ornulhm, unorne occurs frequently, in the sense
of poor, mean, feeble; see ll. 827, 3668; also unworneble, meaning meanly, humbly, obscurely, in ll. 3750, 4855, 7525, 8251.]

Unride, adj. S. [ungereed, ungeyerle] It is here used in various significations, most of which, however, correspond to the senses given by Somner. Large, cumbersome (of a garment), 964; unwieldy (of the bar of a door), 1795; deep, wide (of a wound), 1981, 2673; numerous, extensive (of the nobility), 2947. Unrideste, sup. deepest, widest, 1985. In the second sense we find it in Sir Tristr. p. 167, Dartz wel unride, Beliaqog set gan.

And in Guy of Warwick, ap. Ellis, M. R. V. 2, p. 79.

A targe he had ywrought full well, Other metal was ther none but steel,

A mickle and unrede.

In the fourth sense we have these examples:

Opon Ingloud for to were
With stout ost and unride.


Sehir Rannald raugh to the renk ane rout wes unryde.

Sir Gaw. and Gol. ii. 25. The soudan gedereat an ost unryde.

K. of Turs, 112.

Cf. also Sir Guy, Ee. iv. in Garriek's Collect. 'Ameraunt drue out a swerde unryde?' In the sense of huge, or unwieldy, we may also understand it in Sir Tr. p. 118, 164; Guy of Warw. ap. Ell. M. R. V. 2, p. 78; Horn Childe, ap. Rits. V. 3, p. 295. In R. Brunne, p. 174, it expresses loud, tremendous. Sir W. Scott and Hearne are both at fault in their Glossaries, and even Jamieson has done but little to set them right, beyond giving the true derivation, and then, under the cognate word Unrede, Doug. Virg. 167, 35, &c., errs from pure love of theory.

Vnrith, n. S. injustice, 1369.

Unwrast, Unwraste, adj. S. [un-wrcest] feeble, worthless, 2821; rotten, 547. This word occurs in the Saxon Chron. 168, 4 (ed. Thorpe, p. 321), applied to a rotten ship, and this appears to have been the original meaning. The sense in which it was subsequently used may be learnt by comparing Lagam. ll. 13943, 29609; R. Gl. p. 536; Chron. of Engl. 662, 921; Ly Beaus Desc. 2118 (not explained by Rits.); K. Alisauand. 875; R. Cœur de L. 572, and Sevyn Sages, 1917. It is not found in Jam. Cf. A.S. wruest, firm.

Uoyz, n. Lat. voice, 1264.

Vre, pron. S. our, 13, 596, &c.


Ut-bidde. See Bidd.

Ut-drawe, Ut-drow, Ut-drowen. See Drou.

Uten, prep. S. out, exhausted, 842; without, foreign, as in Utentlades, 2153, 2580, foreigners.

Ut-lede. See Lede.

Uttrage, n. F. outrage, 2837.

W. See Hw.

Wa, n. S. woc, wail, 465.


Wagge, v. S. to wield, brandish, 89.


Wakne, v. S. to wake, awaken, 2164.

Wayte, Wayten. See Waiten.

We, 115, 287, 392, 772. Apparently an error of the scribe for wel, but its frequent repetition may cause it to be doubted, whether the l may not have been purposely dropped.

Wed, v. See Wade.

Wed, n. S. clothing, garments, 94, 323, 561. In very general use formerly, and still preserved in the phrase, a widow’s weeds.

Weddeth for Wedded, 1127.

Wei, Weie, n. S. way, road, 772, 952.


Wel, adv. S. full, passim. Wel sixth, 1747; wel o-bon. See On. Wel with me, 2878. Wol, 185.

Wel, n. S. weal, wealth, prosperity (for wel ne for wo), 2777.

Welde, v. S. to wield, govern (a kingdom), 129, 175; (a weapon), 1436; (possessions), 2034. Weldes, pr. t. 2 p. wieldest, governest, 1359.


Wepen, pr. t. or pa. t. pl. S. weep, wept, 401.

Wepne, n. S. weapon, 89, 490, 1436, &c.

Wer for Were, 1097.

Werd, n. S. world, 1290, 2241, 2335, 2792, 2968. O worde, in the


Were, should be, 2782. Weren, 3 p. pl. were, 156, &c.

Weren, 784. Sir F. Madden says—Garnett conjectured weirs or dams, from Isl. ver. [If weren be really a plural noun, I should prefer to translate it by pools; cf. A.S. wer, Icel. ver, Su.-Go. w är. Ihre says—"Wär, locus, uhi congregari amant piscis, ut solent inter brevia et vada. Isl. ver, fiskaver. A.S. id. unde ver-harde apud Bens. custos septi piscatorii, Angl. v e r, wear, &c." See ver in Stratmann. In this case the line means—"in the sea-pools he often set them," and the note on the line (q.v.) is wrong.]

Werewed, part. pa. S. worried, killed, 1915. [We should probably insert a mark of interrogation, thus —"Hwat dine he? pore weren he werewed," i.e. "What did they effect? There were they slain," Spelt werwed, 1921. Cf. Du. worgen, and see Jam. s. v. Wery, and Worry in Atkinson’s Gl. of Cleveland dialect.]


Wesseyl, n. S. wassail, 1246.


Wicth, With, n. S. [wiht] whit, bit, small part, 97, 1763, 2500. Lajam. i. 15031; Sevyn Sages, 293. ‘The loue of hire ne lesteth no wyght longe,’ MS. Harl. 2253, f. 128.

Wicth, With, adj. courageous, stout, active, 344, 1008, 1064, 1651, 1692, &c. Wicdeste, ssp. 9. An epithet used universally by the ancient poets, and to be found in every Gloss. merely differing in orthography, as spelt Wate, Wate, Wight, Wicht, &c. [Sir F. Madden suggests a derivation from A.S. hwæt (Icel. hvitr), acute, brave. Wedgewood suggests Sw. vig, nimble. Cf. Su.-Goth. vik, Icel. vigr, fit for var (A.S. vig).]

Wider, adv. S. whither, where, 1139.

Widuen, Wydues, n. pl. S. widows, 33, 79.

Wif, n. S. wife, 2860; woman, 1713. Wines, pl. 2855.

Wike, Wikke. See Wicke.

Wil, adv. S. while, 6.

Wil, adj. lost in error, uncertain how to proceed, 863; at a loss, without experience, 1042. Wynt. vi. 13, 115. V. Jam. who derives it from Su.-G. wild, Isl. vilt. It is radically the same with wild.

Wile, will, 352, 485, &c. Wile, 528, 1135, wile thou; Wilt, 681, 905. Wilen, pl. 732, 920, 1345, 2517, &c.

Wille, n. S. will, 528.

Win, n. S. wine, 1729. Wyn, 2341.

Winan, v. S. to get to, arrive at, 174. V. Gl. to Will. of Palerme.


Wirchen, v. S. to work, cause, 510.

Wirwed. See Werewed.

Wis, adj. S. wise, prudent, 180, 1421, 1633; skilled, 282.

Wislike, adv. S. wisely, 274.

Wisse, v. S. to direct, ordain, advise, 104, 361. Sir Tr. p. 29; K. Horn, Chron. of Engl. 499; Chauc., Gl. Lynds.

Wissing, n. S. advice, or conduct, 2902.


Wit, prep. S. with, 52, 505, 701, 905, 1090, 2517, &c.; by, 2489. Wituten, 179, 2417, 2860, without. Withuten, 425, except. With than, provided that, 532. With that, 1220.

Wite, v. S. [witen, decernere] pres. subj. or imp. decree, ordain, 19, 1316.

Wite, v. S. pres. subj. or imp. preserve, guard, defend, 405, 559. R. Gl. p. 98, 102. So in the Carmen inter Corpus & Animam, MS. Digb. 56.

The king that al this world shop thorou his holi myllte, He wite hourc soule from then huele wijtete.

And in the French Romance of Kyng Horn, MS. Harl. 527, f. 72, b. c. 2.

Ben iurez Wite God, kant auerez ben tant, Kant le vin uus eschaufe, si seez si iurant.

Wite, Witen, v. S. [witan, cognoscere] to know, 367, 625, 2201, 2786; to recollect, 2708. Wite, pr. t. pl. 2 p. know, 2808; imp. 3 p. wise, know, 517. Wite, 3 p. s. subj. (if) he know, 694. Witen, pr. t. pl. 2 p. know, 2208. See Wot.

With, conj. See Wit.

With, n. See Withe.

With, adj. See Withe.


Wlf, n. S. wolf, 573.

Wluine, n. S. she-wolf, 573. Dan. utsinde, a she-wolf.

Wman. See Wimman.

Wden, part. pa. S. wound, 546.


Wo, n. S. woe, sorrow, 510, &c.

Wod, adj. S. mad, 508, 1777, 1848, &c. Wode, pl. 1896, 2361.

Wok, pa. t. S. awoke, 2093.

Wol. See Wel.


Wombes, n. pl. S. bellies, 1911.

Wom so, pron. S. whomso, 197.


Wone, v. S. to dwell, 247, 406. 

Wone, pr. t. 3 p. dwelleth, 105.

Wone, part. pa. wont, 2151, 2297. K. Horn, 36; R. Gl. Chron. of Engl. 632; Web., Chauc. [A.S. wene, a custom.]

Wonges, n. pl. S. fields, plains, 397, 1444. Cf. l. 1360. Spelman thinks arable land is meant by the term, rather than pasture.

Wore, 2 and 3 p. s. were, 504, 684, &c. Wore, Woren, pl. 237, 448, &c. It is not merely a licentious spelling, as conjectured by Sir W. Scott.

Worpe, v. S. imp. may he be, 1102, 2873. Wrt, 431. Worpe, 2221. La'am. l. 28333. Sir Tr. p. 49, and all the Gloss., including Lynds.

Wosseyled. See Wesseylen.


Wowe. See Wawe.

Wrathe, n. S. wrath, anger, 2719, 2977. See Wroth

Wreiers, n. pl. S. betrayers, spoilers, 39.

The wraiers that were in halle, Schamly were thai schende.  
Sir Tristr. p. 190.


Wringen, v. S. to wring, 1233.


Wrobbere, n. pl. S. robbers, 39.

Wros, n. pl. corners, 68. So in the Leg. of S. Margrele, quoted by Dr Leyden:

Sehe seijse a wel fouler thing  
Sitten in a wro ;

which Jamieson aptly derives from the Su.-G. wræa, angulus. Cf. Dan. vraa, a nook, corner.

Wroth, adj. S. wrath, angry, 1117. Wroth, 2973. See Wrath.


Wrth. See Worthe.


Wurpe. See Worpe.

Y, pron. I. See Ich.

Ya, adv. S. yea, yes, 1888, 2009, 2607. Ye, 2606. See Rits. note to Yw. and Gaw. l. 43. In l. 2009, we should probably have found yis in a more southern work. See the note to 38 in Gl. to Will. of Palerne. The distinction between no (l. 1800) and nay (l. 1136) is rightly made.

Yaf. See Yeue.

Yare, adj. S. ready, 1391, 2788, 2954. Sir Tr. p. 28; Rits. M. R., Web., Chauc., Gl. Lynds.

Yaren, v. S. to make ready, 1350. This word in all the Gloss. has the form of Yarke.

Yede, pa. t. S. went, 6, 774, 821, &c. Yeden, pa. t. pl. 889, 952.

Ye. See Giue.


Yen. See Agen.


Yette, *adv.* S. yet, 495, 973, 996, 1043.


2488; *gouen*, 220. *Youenet = Youen it*, given it, 1643. For *yaf* in l. 1174, see note on the line.

Y-here. *See* Here, *v.*


Yif. *See* Yeue.

Y-lere. *See* Lere.

Ynow. *See* Inow.

Youen. *See* Yeue.

Ys. *See* note to l. 1174.

Yuel, Yuele. *See* Iuele.

Yunge, *adj.* S. young, 368, &c.

Yure, *pron.* S. your, 171.
INDEX OF NAMES TO “HAUELOK.”

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Athelwold (spelt Aelwald, l. 1077), is king of England, and governs wisely, pp. 2, 3; feels he is dying, p. 4; bequeaths his daughter to the care of Godrich, pp. 6, 7; dies, p. 8. ( Mentioned again in l.l. 2709, 2803.)

Auelok, another spelling of Hauelok, 1395, 1793.

Bernard Brun (i.e. Bernard Brown; so called in ll. 1751, 1945), provides a supper for Havelok, p. 48; his house attacked by thieves, p. 49; fights against them, p. 52; tells Ubbe how well Havelok fought, p. 54.

Bertram (named in l. 2898), is cook to the Earl of Cornwall, and employs Havelok, pp. 27, 28; is made Earl of Cornwall, and marries Levive, Grim’s daughter, p. 83.

Birkabeyn (spelt Bircabein, l. 494; gen. Birkabeynes, 2150, 2209, 2296), is king of Denmark, p. 11; commends his three children to Godard, p. 12; dies, p. 13; his son Havelok’s resemblance to him, p. 60.

Cestre (Chester), 2607, 2859, 2896.

Cornwayle (Cornwall), 178, 2908; Cornwalie, 884.

Crist, 16, &c.;—krist, 22; gen. krestes, 2797.

Dauy, seint, 2863.

Denemark (Denmark), 340, 381, 386, &c.

Denshe, sing. adj. Danish, 1403; pl. 2575, 2698, 2938. Danshe, 2689.

Douere (Dover), 139, 265. Doure, 320.


Englishe, pl. adj. (followed by men), 2766, 2795;—Englis (used absolutely), 254;—Henglishe, 2945.


Godard (gen. Godardes, l. 2415), is made regent of Denmark, pp. 12, 13; shuts up Birkabeyn’s children in a castle, p. 13; kills Swanborow and Helfled, p. 15; spares Havelok, p. 16; but afterwards hires Grim to drown Havelok, p. 17; is attacked by Havelok, p. 67; is taken prisoner, p. 68; condemned, flayed, drawn, and hung, pp. 70, 71.
Godrich (spelt Godrigh, l. 178), is Earl of Cornwall, p. 6; is made regent of England, pp. 7, 8, 9; shuts Goldborough up in Dover castle, p. 10; makes Goldborough marry Havelok, p. 33; raises an army against Havelok, p. 72; excites his men, p. 73; marches to Grimsby, p. 74; fights with Ubbe, p. 75; fights with Havelok, pp. 77, 78; is taken prisoner, p. 78; taken to Lincoln, and burnt alive, pp. 80, 81.

Goldedoruh (or Goldeborw, l. 2985), is daughter of King Athelwold, p. 4; is committed to the care of Godrich, pp. 8, 9; shut up in Dover castle, p. 11; is sent for to Lincoln, p. 33; is married to Havelok, p. 36; hears an angel's voice, p. 39; encourages Havelok to go to Denmark, p. 41; rejoices at Godrich's death, p. 81; is queen of England, p. 85. See Havelok.

Grim, a fisher, is hired by Godard to drown Havelok, p. 17; discovers Havelok to be the right heir to the crown, p. 19; takes Havelok over to England, p. 20; founds Grimsby, p. 23; sends Havelok to Lincoln, p. 26; dies, p. 37. [In l. 2333, there seems to be an allusion to a spectacle, in which the history of Grim is represented.]

Grimes, gen. c. of Grim, 1343, 1392, 2567.

Grimesbi, 745, 2540, 2579, 2617, 2619;—Grimesby, 1202.

Gunnild (daughter of Grim, marries Earl Reyner of Chester), 2566, 2896.

Gunter (an English earl), 2606.

Havelok, son of king Birkabeyn of Denmark, p. 13; spared by Godard, p. 16; but given over by him to Grim to be drowned, p. 17; spared and fed by Grim, p. 20; goes to England, p. 22; sells fish, p. 25; works as a porter, p. 27; puts the stone, p. 31; marries Goldborough, p. 35; returns to Grimsby, p. 36; his dream, p. 39; returns to Denmark, p. 43; trades there, p. 44; is noticed by Ubbe, p. 45; defends Bernard's house against thieves, pp. 48—53; is known to be heir of Denmark by a miraculous light, p. 60; is dubbed knight by Ubbe, p. 65; is king of Denmark, p. 66; defeats Godard, p. 68; invades England, p. 72; defeats Godrich, p. 77; rewards Bertram and others, p. 82; lives to be a hundred years old, p. 83; is crowned king of England at London, p. 84; is king for sixty years, p. 85. [The story is called "the gest of Havelok and of Goldeborw," l. 2985.]

Helfled (Havelok's sister), 411.

Hengelonde (England), 999.

Henglishe (pl. English), 2945.

Humber (the river), 733.

Huwe Rauen (one of Grim's sons), 1398, 1568, 2349, 2636, 2677; spelt Hwe, 1878.

Iohan, seint; the patron saint to whom Havelok commits his Danes, 2957; bi seint Iohan! 1112, 2563. Spelt Ion, 177.

Iudas, 319, 425, 1133.


Leue (Grim's wife), 558, 576, 595, 642.

Leuine (Grim's daughter, married to Bertram), 2914.

Lincolne, 773, 847, 862, 980. 1105, 2558, 2572, 2824.

Lindeseeye (N. part of Lincoln-shire), 734.

Lundone (London), 2943.
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Marz (March), 2559.

Reyner (earl of Chester), 2607.

Roberd pe rede (Grim’s eldest son), 1397, 1686, 1888, &c.;—Robert, 2405, 2411, &c.; gen. Roberdes, 1691.

Rokesbrow (explained by Prof. Morley to mean Rokeby, but it is surely Roxburgh), 265;—Rokesburw, 139. Roxburgh is spelt Rokesburgh in Walsingham, ed. Riley, i. 340, &c.

Sathanas (Satan), 1100, 1134, 2512.

Swanborow (Havelok’s sister), 411.

Ubbe, a great Danish lord, p. 44; entertains Havelok, p. 45; takes him to his castle, p. 57; does homage to Havelok, p. 63; dubs him knight, p. 65; his combat with Godrich, p. 75; is sorely wounded, p. 76.

Willam Wendut (one of Grim’s sons), 1690, 1881, 1892, 2348, 2632;—William Wenduth, 1398.

Winchestre, 158, 318.

Yerk (York), 1178.

Ynde, India, 1085.