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### **The History Of English Poetry**

From The Close of the Eleventh To The Commencement of the Eighteenth  
Century

**Warton, Thomas**

**London, 1778**

Section VIII. Poems under the name of Thomas Rowlie. Supposed to be  
spurious.

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## S E C T. VIII.

**B**UT a want of genius will be no longer imputed to this period of our poetical history, if the poems lately discovered at Bristol, and said to have been written by Thomas Rowlie, a secular priest of that place, about the year one thousand four hundred and seventy, are genuine.

It must be acknowledged, that there are some circumstances which incline us to suspect these pieces to be a modern forgery. On the other hand, as there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry, if it was for no other reason than that the world might be furnished with an opportunity of examining their authenticity. By exhibiting therefore the most specious evidences, which I have been able to collect, concerning the manner in which they were brought to light<sup>a</sup>, and by producing such specimens, as in another respect cannot be deemed unacceptable; I will endeavour, not only to gratify the curiosity of the public on a subject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully stated, but to supply the more inquisitive reader with every argument, both external and internal, for determining the merits of this interesting controversy. I shall take the liberty to add my own opinion, on a point at least doubtful: but with the greatest deference to decisions of much higher authority.

About the year 1470, William Cannyng, an opulent merchant and an alderman of Bristol, afterwards an ecclesiastic,

<sup>a</sup> I acknowledge myself greatly indebted to the ingenious doctor Harrington of Bath, for facilitating my enquiries on this subject.

and dean of Westbury college, erected the magnificent church of Saint Mary of Redcliffe, or Radcliff, near Bristol<sup>b</sup>. In a muniment-room over the northern portico of the church, the founder placed an iron chest, secured by six different locks<sup>c</sup>; which seems to have been principally intended to receive instruments relating to his new structure, and perhaps to his other charities<sup>d</sup>, inventories of vestments and ornaments<sup>e</sup>, accompts of church-wardens, and other parochial evidences. He is said to have directed, that this venerable chest should be annually visited and opened by the mayor and other chief magistrates of Bristol, attended by the vicar and church-wardens of the parish: and that a feast should be celebrated every year, on the day of visitation. But this order, that part at least which relates to the inspection of the chest, was soon neglected.

In the year 1768, when the present new bridge at Bristol was finished and opened for passengers, an account of the ceremonies observed on occasion of opening the old bridge, appeared in one of the Bristol Journals; taken, as it was declared, from an antient manuscript<sup>f</sup>. Curiosity was naturally raised to know from whence it came. At length, after much enquiry concerning the person who sent this singular memoir to the news-paper, it was discovered that he

<sup>b</sup> He is said to have rebuilt Westbury college. Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634. edit. 1730. And Atkyns, GLOUCESTERSH. p. 802. On his monument in Radcliffe-church, he is twice represented, both in an alderman's and a priest's habit. He was five times mayor of Bristol. See Godwin's BISH. p. 446. [But see edit. fol. p. 467.]

<sup>c</sup> It is said there were four chests: but this is a circumstance of no consequence.

<sup>d</sup> These will be mentioned below.

<sup>e</sup> See an inventory of ornaments given to this church by the founder, Jul. 4, 1470, formerly kept in this chest, and printed by Mr. Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 45.

<sup>f</sup> The old bridge was built about the year 1248. HISTORY OF BRISTOL, MS. Archiv. Bodl. C. iii. By Abel Wantner.

Archdeacon Furney, in the year 1755, left by will to the Bodleian library, large collections, by various hands, relating to the history and antiquities of the city, church, and county of Gloucester, which are now preserved there, Archiv. C. ut supr. At the end of N. iii. is the manuscript HISTORY just mentioned, supposed to have been compiled by Abel Wantner, of Minchin-Hampton in Gloucestershire, who published proposals and specimens for a history of that county, in 1683.

was a youth about seventeen years old, whose name was Chatterton; and whose father had been sexton of Radcliffe church for many years, and also master of a writing-school in that parish, of which the church-wardens were trustees. The father however was now dead: and the son was at first unwilling to acknowledge, from whom, or by what means, he had procured so valuable an original. But after many promises, and some threats, he confessed that he received a manuscript on parchment containing the narrative above-mentioned, together with many other manuscripts on parchment, from his father; who had found them in an iron chest, the same that I have mentioned, placed in a room situated over the northern entrance of the church.

It appears that the father became possessed of these manuscripts in the year 1748. For in that year, he was permitted, by the church-wardens of Radcliffe-church, to take from this chest several written pieces of parchment, supposed to be illegible and useless, for the purpose of converting them into covers for the writing-books of his scholars. It is impossible to ascertain, what, or how many, writings were destroyed, in consequence of this absurd and unwarrantable indulgence. Our school-master, however, whose accomplishments were much above his station, and who was not totally destitute of a taste for poetry, found, as it is said, in this immense heap of obsolete manuscripts, many poems written by Thomas Rowlic above-mentioned, priest of Saint John's church in Bristol, and the confessor of alderman Cannynge, which he carefully preserved. These at his death, of course fell into the hands of his son.

Of the extraordinary talents of this young man more will be said hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that he saw the merit and value of these poems, which he diligently transcribed. In the year 1770, he went to London, carrying with him these transcripts, and many originals, in hopes of turning so inestimable a treasure to his great advantage.

advantage. But from these flattering expectations, falling into a dissipated course of life, which ill suited with his narrow circumstances, and finding that a writer of the most distinguished taste and judgment, Mr. Walpole, had pronounced the poems to be suspicious, in a fit of despair, arising from distress and disappointment, he destroyed all his papers, and poisoned himself. Some of the poems however, both transcripts and originals, he had previously sold, either to Mr. Catcott, a merchant of Bristol, or to Mr. Barrett, an eminent surgeon of the same place, and an ingenious antiquary, with whom they now remain<sup>s</sup>. But it appears, that among these there were but very few of parchment: most of the poems which they purchased were copies in his own hand. He was always averse to give any distinct or satisfactory account of what he possessed: but from time to time, as his necessities required, he produced copies of his originals, which were bought by these gentlemen. The originals, one or two only excepted, he chose to retain in his own possession.

The chief of these poems are, The TRAGEDY of ELLA, The EXECUTION of sir CHARLES BAWDWIN, ODE to ELLA, The BATTLE of HASTINGS, The TOURNAMENT, one or two DIALOGUES, and a Description of CANNYNGE'S FEAST.

The TRAGEDY of ELLA has six characters; one of which is a lady, named Birtha. It has a chorus consisting of minstrels, whose songs are often introduced. Ella was governor of the castle of Bristol, and a puissant champion against the Danes, about the year 920. The story seems to be the poet's invention. The tragedy is opened with the following soliloquy.

<sup>s</sup> Mr. Barrett, to whom I am greatly obliged for his unreserved and liberal infor-

mation on this subject, is now engaged in writing the ANTIQUITIES of BRISTOL.

CELMONDE

CELMONDE *atte Brystowe.*

Before yonne roddie sonne has droove hys wayne  
Through half hys joornie, dyghte yn gites of gowlde,  
Mee, haples mee, he wylle a wretch behowlde,  
Myselfe, and alle thatts myne, bounde yn Myschaunche's  
chayne!

Ah Byrtha, whie dydde nature frame thee fayre,  
Whie art thou alle that poyntelle<sup>b</sup> canne bewreene?  
Whie art thou notte as coarfe as odhers are?  
Botte thenne thie foughle<sup>l</sup> woulde throwe thie vyfage  
sheene,  
Yatte<sup>k</sup> shemres<sup>l</sup> onne thie comlie femlykeene<sup>m</sup>,  
Or scarlette with waylde linnen clothe<sup>n</sup>,  
Lyke woulde thie sprite<sup>o</sup> [shine] upon thie vyfage:  
This daie brave Ella dothe thyne honde and harte  
Clayme as hys owne to bee, whyche nee<sup>p</sup> from hys moste parte.  
And cann I lynne to see herre with anere<sup>q</sup>?  
Ytte cannotte, must notte, naie ytte shall notte bee!  
Thys nyght I'lle putt strong poyfonne yn the beere,  
And hymme, herre, and myselfe attones<sup>r</sup> wylle flea.  
Affyst, me helle, lette devylles rounde me tende,  
To flea myselfe, my love, and eke my doughhtie friende!

The following beautiful descriptions of SPRING, AUTUMN,  
and MORNING, are supposed to be sung in the tragedy, by  
the chorus of minstrels.

SPRING.

The boddying flowrettes bloshes at the lyhte,  
The mees be springede<sup>s</sup> with the yellowe hue,  
Yn daiseyed mantells ys the monntayne dyghte,  
The neshe<sup>t</sup> younge cowflepe bendethe wythe the dewe;

<sup>b</sup> Pencil.      <sup>l</sup> Soul.      <sup>k</sup> That.      <sup>o</sup> Soul.      <sup>p</sup> Never.  
<sup>i</sup> Glimmers.      <sup>m</sup> *Seemliness.*      Beauty.      <sup>q</sup> Another.      <sup>r</sup> At once.  
<sup>n</sup> Perhaps we should read,      <sup>s</sup> The meadows are sprinkled, &c.  
Or scarlette veiled with a linnen clothe.      <sup>t</sup> Tender.

The

The trees enleafede, into heaven straught \*,  
Whanne gentle wyndes doe blowe, to whestflynge dynne ys \*  
brought.

The evenyng commes, and brynges the dewe alonge,  
The rodie welkynne sheeneth toe the eyne,  
Arounde the alestake \* mynstrelles fyng the songe,  
Yonge ivie rounde the doore-post doth entwyne ;  
I laie mee on the grasse : yette to mie wylle,  
Albeytte alle ys fayre, there lackethe sommethyng styll.

## AUTUMN.

Whanne Autumne, blake, and sonne-brente doe appere,  
Wythe hys goulde honde, guylteyng the falleynge lese,  
Bryngeyng oppe Wynterre to solfyll the yere,  
Beereyng uponne hys backe the riped shefe ;  
Whanne alle the hylls wythe woddie seede is whyte,  
Whanne lewynne fyres, ande lemes, do mete fromme farr  
the syghte :

Whanne the fayre apple, rudde as even skie,  
Doe bende the tree untoe the fructyle grounde,  
Whanne joicie peres, and berryes of blacke die,  
Doe daunce ynne ayre, and calle the eyne arounde :  
Thanne, bee the even fowle, or even fayre,  
Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys steyned withe somme care.

## MORNING.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte,  
Fro the redde easte hee flytted wythe hys trayne ;  
The howers drawe awaie the geete of nyghte,  
Herre sable tapistrie was rente ynne twayne :

\* Stretching. Stretched.

\* i. e. Are.

\* A sign-post before an alehouse. In  
Chaucer, the Hoste says,

— Here at this *alehouse-stake*,  
I wol both drinke, and etin of a cake.

WORDES HOST. v. 1835. Urr. p. 131.  
And in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, fol. 9. a.  
edit. 1570.

By the *ale-stake* knowe we the alehouse,  
And everie inne is knowen by the signe.

The dauncynge streakes bedeckedd heavenne's playne,  
 And onne the dewe dydd smyle wythe shemrynge<sup>1</sup> eie,  
 Lyche gottes<sup>2</sup> of blodde whyche doe blacke armour steyne,  
 Sheenyng uponne the borne whyche stondethe bye :—  
 The fouldyerrs stode uponne the hyllis fyde,  
 Lyche yonge enlefed trees whych ynne a forreste byde<sup>3</sup>.

But the following ode, belonging to the same tragedy,  
 has much more of the choral or lyric strain.

I.

O! syng unto mie roundelaie,  
 O! drop the bryny tear with me,  
 Daunce ne moe atte hallie day,  
 Lyke a running river bee.  
 My love is dedde,  
 Gone to his death bedde,  
 Al under the willowe tree.

II.

Blacke his cryne<sup>b</sup> as the wyntere night,  
 Whyte his rode<sup>c</sup> as summer snowe,  
 Rodde his face as morning lyght,  
 Cold he lies in the grave below.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Glimmering.      Swift fleis the hower that will brynge oute  
 the daie,  
<sup>2</sup> Drops.      The softe dewe falleth onne the greeynge  
 grasse;  
<sup>3</sup> There is a description of morning in another part of the tragedy.      The shepster mayden dyghtynge her arraie,  
 Scante sees her vyfage ynne the wavie glasse:  
 The mornyng gyns alonge the east to shecne,  
 By the fulle daylight wee scalle ELLA fee,  
 Darkling the lyghte does on the waters plaie;  
 Or BRISTOWE'S walled towne. Damoy-  
 The feynte rodde beam slowe creepethe  
 over the leene,      felle followe mee.  
 To chafe the morkynesse of nyghte awaie.      <sup>b</sup> Hair.      <sup>c</sup> Neck.

## III.

Swote his tounge as the throffle's note,  
 Quycke in daunce as thought can be,  
 Deft his tabor, codgelle stote,  
 Oh! he lies by the willowe tree.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

## IV.

Hark! the raven flaps his wyng,  
 In the brier'd delle belowe;  
 Hark! the dethe owl loud doth fying  
 To the night mares as they go.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

## V.

See the white moon sheenes on hie!  
 Whyter is my true love's shrowde,  
 Whyter than the morning skie,  
 Whyter than the evening cloud.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

## VI.

Here upon my true love's grave  
 Shall the garen<sup>d</sup> fleurs be layde:  
 Ne one hallie faynte to fave  
 Al the celness of a mayde.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

## VII.

With my hondes I'll dente<sup>e</sup> the brieres,  
 Round his hallie corse to gre<sup>f</sup>;  
 Ouphante<sup>s</sup> faeries, light your fyres,  
 Here my bodie still shall bee.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Bright.    <sup>e</sup> Indent. Bend into the ground.    <sup>f</sup> Grow.    <sup>s</sup> Ouphan. Elphin.

## VIII.

Come with acorne-cup, and thorne,  
 Drain mie harty's blodde awaie :  
 Lyfe and all its goodes I fcorne,  
 Daunce by night, or feast by day.  
 My love is dedde, &c.

## IX.

Watere wythes crownde with reytes <sup>b</sup>,  
 Bere me to your lethale tyde;  
 I die—I come—My true love waytes !  
 Thos the damfelle spake, and dy'd.

According to the date assigned to this tragedy, it is the first drama extant in our language. In an Epistle prefixed to his patron Cannyng, the author thus censures the MYSTERIES, or religious interludes, which were the only plays then existing.

Plaies made from HALLIE <sup>i</sup> TALES I hold unmete;  
 Let some *great story of a man* be songe;  
 Whanne, as a man, we Godde and Jesus trete,  
 Ynne mie poore mynde we doe the godhead wronge.

The ODE TO ELLA is said to have been sent by Rowlie in the year 1468, as a specimen of his poetical abilities, to his intimate friend and cotemporary Lydgate, who had challenged him to write verses. The subject is a victory obtained by Ella over the Danes, at Watchett near Bristol <sup>k</sup>. I will give this piece at length.

<sup>b</sup> Reeds.

<sup>i</sup> Holy.

<sup>k</sup> With this address to Lydgate prefixed.

Well thenne, good John, sythe ytt muste  
 needes so be,

That thou, and I a bowtyng matche muste  
 have;

Lett ytt ne breakyng of ould friendshippe  
 bee,

Thys ys the onelie allaboone I crave.

U 2

Remember

SONGE TO AELLE LORDE OF THE CASTLE OF BRISTOWE  
*ynne daies of yore.*

Oh! thou (orr whatt remaynes of thee)  
 EALLE the darlynge of futuritie!  
 Lette thys mie songe bolde as thie courage bee,  
 As everlastyng to posteritie!  
 Whanne Dacya's sonnes, whose hayres of bloude redde hue,  
 Lyche kynge cuppes braftyng wythe the mornynge due,

Arraung'd ynn dreare arraie,  
 Uppone the lethale daie,  
 Spredde farr and wyde onn Watchett's shore:  
 Thenn dyddst thou furyouse stonde,  
 And bie thie brondeous honde  
 Beefprengedd all the mees with gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle<sup>1</sup>,  
 Downe to the depthe of helle,  
 Thousanddes of Dacyanns wente;  
 Brystowannes menne of myghte,  
 Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,  
 And actedd deedes full quente.

Remember Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Carmalyte,  
 Who, when John Clackynge, one of myckle lore,  
 Dydd throwe hys gauntlette penne wythe hym to wryte,  
 He shewde smalle wytte, and shewde his weaknesse more.  
 Thys ys mie 'formance, whiche I now have wrytte,  
 The best performance of mie lyttel wytte.

*Stowe* should be *Stone*, a Carmelite friar of Bristol, educated at Cambridge, and a famous preacher. Lydgate's answer on receiving the ode, which certainly cannot be genuine, is beneath transcription. The writer, freely owning his inferiority, declares, that Rowlie rivals Chaucer and

Turgotus, who both lived in *Norman times*. The latter, indeed, may in some measure be said to have flourished in that era, for he died bishop of Saint Andrews in 1115. But he is oddly coupled with Chaucer in another respect, for he wrote only some Latin chronicles. Besides, Lydgate must have been sufficiently acquainted with Chaucer's age; for he was living, and a young man, when Chaucer died. The writer also mentions Stone, the Carmelite, as living with Chaucer and Turgotus: whereas he was Lydgate's cotemporary. These circumstances, added to that of the extreme and affected meanness of the composition, evidently prove this little piece a forgery.

<sup>1</sup> Sword.

Oh!

Oh! thou, where'er (thie bones att reste)  
 Thie spryte to haunt delyghteth beste,  
 Whytherr upponn the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,  
 Orr whare thou kennst fromme farre  
 The dyfmalle crie of warre,  
 Orr seefte somme mountayne made of corse of sleyne :

Orr seefte the harnesd steede,  
 Yprauncynge o'er the meede,  
 And neighe to bee amonge the poynctedd speeres ;  
 Orr ynn blacke armoure staulke arounde  
 Embattell'd Brystowe, once thie grounde,  
 And glowe ardorous onn the castell steeres :

Orr fierie rounde the mynster<sup>m</sup> glare :  
 Lette Brystowe styll bee made thie care,  
 Garde ytte fromme foemenne and consumynge fyre,  
 Lyche Avone streme ensyrke ytt rounde ;  
 Ne lett a flame enharme the grounde,  
 'Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyres.

The BATTLE OF HASTINGS is called a translation from the Saxon : and contains a minute description of the persons, arms, and characters of many of the chiefs, who fought in that important action. In this poem, Stonehenge is described as a Druidical temple.

The poem called the TOURNAMENT, is dramatically conducted, among others, by the characters of a herald, a knight, a minstrel, and a king, who are introduced speaking.

The following piece is a description of an alderman's feast at Bristol ; or, as it is entitled, ACCOUNT OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST.

<sup>m</sup> The monastery. Now the cathedral.

Thorowe

Thorowe the hall the belle han founde,  
 Byalccoyle <sup>a</sup> doe the grave beseeme;  
 The caldermenne doe fytted arounde,  
 And snoffelle <sup>o</sup> opp the cheorte steeme.  
 Lyke asses wyld in deserte waste  
 Swotely the morneyng doe taste,  
 Syke kene thei ate: the mynstrells plaie,  
 The dynne of angelles doe thei kepe:  
 Thei styll <sup>p</sup>: the gwestes ha ne to faie,  
 But nodde ther thanks, and falle asleepe.  
 Thos echeone daie bee I to deene <sup>q</sup>,  
 Gyff <sup>r</sup> Rowley, Ischamm, or Tybb Gorges, be ne seen.

But a dialogue between two ladies, whose knights, or husbands, served in the wars between York and Lancaster, and were now fighting at the battle of Saint Albans, will be more interesting to many readers. This battle happened in the reign of Edward the fifth, about the year 1471.

## ELINOUR and JUGA.

Anne Ruddeborne <sup>r</sup> bank twa pynnyng maydens fate,  
 Theire teares faste dryppeyng to the waterre cleere;  
 Echone bementyng <sup>s</sup> for her absente mate,  
 Who atte Seyncte Albonns shouke the morthyng <sup>t</sup> speare.  
 The nottebrowne Ellynor to Juga fayre,  
 Dydde speke acroole <sup>u</sup>, with languyshmente of eyne,  
 Lyke droppes of pearlie dewe, lemed <sup>v</sup> the quyvryng brine.

<sup>a</sup> BELLACCOYLE. A personage in Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 2984. &c. i. e. KING WELCOME. From the Fr. *Bel accueil*.

<sup>o</sup> Snuff up.

<sup>p</sup> The minstrels cease.

<sup>q</sup> Dine.

<sup>r</sup> Ruddorn, in Saxon, red-water, a river near Saint Albans.

<sup>s</sup> Lamenting.

<sup>t</sup> Murdering.

<sup>u</sup> Faintly.

<sup>v</sup> Glistened.

ELINOUR.

## ELINOUR.

O gentle Juga! hear mie dernie <sup>x</sup> plainte,  
 To fyghte for Yorke mie love is dyght <sup>y</sup> in stele;  
 O mai ne fanguen steine the whyte rose peyncte,  
 Maie good Seyncte Cuthberte watch fyrre Robynne wele!  
 Moke moe thanne death in phantasie I feelle;  
 See! see! upon the grounde he bleedyng lies!  
 Inhild <sup>z</sup> some joice <sup>a</sup> of life, or else my deare love dies.

## JUGA.

Syfters in sorrowe on thys daise ey'd banke,  
 Where melancholych broods, we wylle lamente:  
 Be wette with mornynge dewe and evene danke;  
 Lyche levynde <sup>b</sup> okes in eche the oder bente:  
 Or lyke forletten <sup>c</sup> halles of merriemente,  
 Whose gastlie <sup>d</sup> nitches holde the traine of fryghte <sup>e</sup>,  
 Where lethale <sup>f</sup> ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

No mo the miskynette <sup>g</sup> shalle wake the morne,  
 The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;  
 No mo the amblyng palfrie and the horne,  
 Shall from the lessel <sup>h</sup> rouze the foxe awaie:  
 Ill seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie:  
 Alle nete amenge the gravde cherche <sup>i</sup> glebe wyll goe,  
 And to the passante spryghtes lecture <sup>k</sup> mie tale of woe.

Whan mokie <sup>l</sup> cloudes do hange upon the leme  
 Of leden <sup>m</sup> moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte:  
 The tryppeynge faeries weve the golden dreame

- <sup>x</sup> Sad complaint.
- <sup>y</sup> Arrayed, or cased.
- <sup>z</sup> Infuse.
- <sup>a</sup> Juices.
- <sup>b</sup> Blasted.
- <sup>c</sup> Forsaken.
- <sup>d</sup> Ruins.
- <sup>e</sup> Fear.

- <sup>f</sup> Deadly, or death-boding.
- <sup>g</sup> A small bagpipe.
- <sup>h</sup> In a confined sense, a bush or hedge,  
though sometimes used as a forest.
- <sup>i</sup> Church-yard, full of graves.
- <sup>k</sup> Relate.
- <sup>l</sup> Black.
- <sup>m</sup> Decreasing.

Of

Of felyness<sup>a</sup>, whyche flyethe with the nyghte ;  
 Thenne (but the seynctes forbydde) gif to a spryghte  
 Syrre Rychardes forme is lyped ; I'll holde dysfraughte  
 Hys bledeynge clai-colde corse, and die eche daie yn thoughte.

## ELINOUR.

Ah, woe-bementynge wordes ; what wordes can showe !  
 Thou lymed<sup>o</sup> river, on thie linche<sup>r</sup> mai bleede  
 Champyons, whose bloude wylle wythe thie waterres flowe,  
 And Rudborne streeme be rudborne streeme indeede !  
 Haste gentle Juga, trippe ytte o'ere the meade  
 To know or wheder wee muste waile agayne,  
 Or whythe oure fallen knyghte be menged onne the plain.  
 So saieing, lyke twa levyn-blasted trees,  
 Or twain of cloudes that holdeth stormie raine,  
 Theie moved gentle o'ere the dewe mees<sup>s</sup> ;  
 To where Seyncte Albon's holie shrynes remayne.  
 There dyd theye finde that bothe their knyghtes were sleyne ;  
 Disfraughte<sup>r</sup>, theie wandered to swollen Rudborne's syde,  
 Yelled theyre leathalle knelle, fonke in the waves and dyde.

In a DIALOGUE, OR ECLOGUE, spoken by two ladies, are these lines.

Sprytes of the blaste, the pious Nygelle fedde,  
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.  
 Richard of lyonn's harte to fyghte is gonne,  
 Uppon the broad sea doe the banners gleme ;  
 The aminufedd natyons be aftonn  
 To ken fyke<sup>r</sup> large a flete, fyke fyne, fyke brems<sup>s</sup> :

<sup>a</sup> Happines. Chaucer, Tr. Cæes. iii. 815.  
<sup>o</sup> Glassy.  
<sup>r</sup> Bank.  
<sup>s</sup> Meads.

<sup>r</sup> Distracted.  
<sup>s</sup> So.  
<sup>s</sup> Fierce.

The barkis heofods coupe the lymed <sup>u</sup> streme :  
 Oundes <sup>w</sup> synkyng oundes uppon the hard ake <sup>x</sup> rise ;  
 The waters slughornes wyth a swoty cleme  
 Conteke <sup>y</sup> the dynninge <sup>z</sup> ayre, and reche <sup>a</sup> the skies.  
 Sprytes of the blaste, on gouldenn trones astedde <sup>b</sup>,  
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde !

I am of opinion, that none of these pieces are genuine. The EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN is now allowed to be modern, even by those who maintain all the other poems to be antient<sup>s</sup>. The ODE TO ELLA, and the EPIS- TLE to Lydgate, with his ANSWER, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was shewn to an ingenious critic and intelli- gent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. It was not even skilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, al- though artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alpha- bets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent: part of the same manuscript exhibiting some letters shaped

<sup>u</sup> Polished. Bright.

<sup>w</sup> Waters.

<sup>x</sup> Oak. Ship.

<sup>y</sup> Contend with.

<sup>z</sup> Noify.

<sup>a</sup> Reach.

<sup>b</sup> Seated.

<sup>c</sup> It contains 98 stanzas, and was printed at London, in the year 1772. 4to. I am told, that in the abovementioned chest, belonging to Radcliffe-church, an antient Record was discovered, containing the expences for Edward the fourth to see the execution of sir Charles Baldwin; with a description of a canopy under which the king sat at this execution. This Record seems to have given rise to the poem. A bond which sir Charles Baldwin gave to king Henry the sixth, I suppose about seizing the earl of Warwick, is said to have been mentioned

in one of Rowlie's manuscripts, called the YELLOW ROLL, perhaps the same, found in Cannyng's chest, but now lost. See Stowe's CHRON. by Howes, edit. fol. 1615. p. 406. col. 2. And Speed's, p. 669. col. 2. edit. 1611. Stowe says, that king Edward the fourth was at Bristol, on a progress through England, in the *harvest season* of the year 1462. And that he was *most royally received*. Ibid. p. 416. col. 2. Cannyng was then mayor of Bristol. Sir Charles Baldwin is said to have been executed at Bristol, in the presence of Edward the fourth, in the year 1463. MS. Wantn. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. The same king was at Bristol, and lodged in saint Augutine's abbey, in 1472, when he received a large gratuity from the citizens for carrying on the war against France. Wantner, *ibid*.

X

according

according to the present round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the antient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look still older, was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast. To communicate a stronger stamp of rude antiquity, the ODE was written like prose: no distinction, or termination, being made between the several verses. Lydgate's ANSWER, which makes a part of this manuscript, and is written by the same hand, I have already proved to be a manifest imposition. This parchment has since been unfortunately lost<sup>d</sup>. I have myself carefully examined the original manuscript, as it is called, of the little piece entitled, ACCOUNT OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST. It is likewise on parchment, and, I am sorry to say, that the writing betrays all the suspicious signatures which were observed in that of the ODE TO ELLA. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic manuscripts of the time of Edward the fourth, to all which I have found it totally unlike. Among other smaller vestiges of forgery, which cannot be so easily described and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannyng and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the same pen which wrote the verses. Even the style and drawing of the armorial bearings discover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.

<sup>d</sup> At the same time, another manuscript on parchment, written, as pretended, by Rowlie, was shewn to this gentleman: which, tallying in every respect with the ODE TO ELLA, plainly appeared to be forged, in the same manner, and by the same modern hand. It was in prose; and

contained an account of Saxon coins, and the rise of coining in England, with a list of coins, poems, antient inscriptions, monuments, and other curiosities, in the cabinet of Cannyng abovementioned. This parchment is also lost; and, I believe, no copy remains.

As

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of ancient spelling and of obsolete words, not belonging to the period assigned to the poems, strikes us at first sight. Of these old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet existed in the unpolished state of the English language: and sometimes the antiquated diction is most inartificially misapplied, by an improper contexture with the present modes of speech. The attentive reader will also discern, that our poet sometimes forgets his assumed character, and does not always act his part with consistency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damsel who drowns herself, which I have cited at length from the TRAGEDY of ELLA, is much more intelligible, and free from uncouth expressions, than the general phraseology of these compositions. In the BATTLE OF HASTINGS, said to be translated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written soon afterwards: about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the supposition which had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Hastings, appears from the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his history not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries. In the EPISTLE to Lydgate, prefixed to the TRAGEDY, our poet condemns the absurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and re-

commends SOME GREAT STORY OF HUMAN MANNERS, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of society<sup>e</sup>.

But, above all, the cast of thought, the complexion of the sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not antient. The ODE TO ELLA, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny<sup>f</sup>. Nor is it impossible that he might write English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and

<sup>e</sup> It would be tedious and trifling to descend to minute particulars. But I will mention one or two. In the ODE TO ELLA, the poet supposes, that the spectre of Ella sometimes appears in the *minster*, that is Bristol-cathedral. But when Rowlie is supposed to have lived, the present cathedral of Bristol was nothing more than an Augustine monastery, in which Henry the eighth established long afterwards a bishop, and a dean and chapter, in the year 1542. *Minster* is a word almost appropriated to Cathedrals: and I will venture to say, that the church of this monastery, before the present foundation took place, never was called *Bristol-minster*, or *The minster*. The inattention to this circumstance, has produced another unfortunate anachronism in some of Rowlie's papers. Where, in his panegyric on Cannynge he says, "The favouryte of godde, the fryende of "the chyrche, the companyonne of kynges, "and the fadre of hys natyve *CITIE*, the "grete and good Wyllyamme Canynge." Bristol was never stiled a *CITY* till the erection of its bishoprick in 1542. See Willis's *NOTIT. PARLIAMENT.* p. 43. Lond. 1750. See also king Henry's Patent for creating the bishoprick of Bristol, in Rymer, dat. Jun. 4. A. D. 1542. An. reg. 34.

Where the king orders, "Ac quod tota "Villa nostra Bristollicæ exnunc et deinceps "imperpetuum sit *Civitas*, ipsamque *CIVITATEM BRISTOLLICÆ* appellari et "nominari, volumus et decernimus, &c." *FOED.* tom. xv. p. 749. Bristol was proclaimed a *CITY*, an. 35 Henr. viii. MS. Wantner, ut suprà. In which manuscript, to that period it is constantly called a *town*.

The description of Cannynge's feast, is called an *ACCOUNT* of CANNYNGE'S FEAST. I do not think, that so early as the year 1470, the word *Account* had lost its literal and original sense of a *computus*, or *computation*, and was used in a looser acceptance for *narrative* or *detail*. Nor had it even then lost its true spelling *account*, in which its proper and primary signification is preserved and implied.

<sup>f</sup> He is also said to have been an eminent mechanic and mathematician. I am informed, that one of Rowlie's manuscripts discovered in Cannynge's iron chest, was a plan for supporting the tower of the Temple-church in Bristol, which had greatly declined from its perpendicular. In a late reparation of that church, some subterraneous works were found, minutely corresponding with this manuscript.

which

which have been so confidently ascribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that these poems were composed by the son of the school-master before mentioned; who inherited the inestimable treasures of Cannyng's chest in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius: and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verses: and some of his early compositions, which he wrote without any design to deceive, have been judged to be most astonishing productions by the first critic of the present age. From his situation and connections, he became a skilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himself therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miscellany of obscure and neglected parchments, which were commodiously placed in his own possession, he was tempted to add others of a more interesting nature, and such as he was enabled to forge, under these circumstances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old English literature, which is rarely the study of a young poet, a sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily attainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confessed, that this youth wrote the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN: and he who could forge that poem, might easily forge all the rest.

In the mean time, we will allow, that some pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preserved in Cannyng's chest: and that these were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the case, they were so much altered as to become entirely new compositions. The poem which bids the fairest to be one of these originals is CANNYNG'S FEAST. But the parchment-manuscript of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumstance

cumstance which is perhaps alone sufficient to make us suspect that no originals ever existed.

It will be asked, for what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture? I answer, from lucrative views; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promised himself greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exercising his abilities: or, he might have sacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the success of his invention and dexterity.

I have observed above, that Cannyng ordered his iron chest in Radcliffe-church to be solemnly visited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment should be provided for the visitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which some of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately sent me from Bristol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannyng's will: and that he specifies therein, that not only his manuscript evidences abovementioned, but that the POEMS OF HIS CONFESSOR ROWLIE, which likewise he had deposited in the aforesaid iron chest, were also to be submitted to this annual inspection. This circumstance at first strongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of these pieces. At least it proved, that Rowlie had left some performances in verse. But on examining Cannyng's will, no such order appears. All his bequests relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the said church: to the two chantry-priests, or chaplains, of his foundation: to the keeper of the PYXIS OBLATIONUM, in the north-door: and to the fraternity *Commemoracionis martirum*. Also vestments to the altars of saint Catharine, and saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of saint Catharine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment of his

two

two chantries<sup>a</sup>, at the altars of saint Catharine and saint George, abovementioned. To the choir, he leaves two service-books, called *Liggers*, to be used there, on either side, by his two chantry-priests. He directs, that his funeral shall be celebrated in the said church with a *month's mind*, and the usual solemnities<sup>b</sup>.

Very few anecdotes of Rowlie's life have descended to posterity. The following MEMOIRS of his life are said to have been written by himself in the year 1460, and to have been discovered with his poetry: which perhaps to many readers will appear equally spurious.

"I was fadre confessor to masteres Roberte and mastre William Cannings. Mastre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greedie of gaynes and sparyng of alms deedes; but master William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of twenty-two years decesd master Roberte, and by master William's de-

<sup>a</sup> Compare Willis, *MITR. ABB.* ii. 88.

<sup>b</sup> This will is in Latin, dated Nov. 12. 1474. Proved Nov. 29. It was made in Westbury college. *CUR. PRÆROG. CANT. REGISTR. WATTIS*, quatern. xvii. fol. 125. Beside the bequests mentioned in the text, he leaves legacies to all the canons, the chaplains and deacons, and the twelve choristers, of Westbury college. To the six priests, six almsmen and six almswomen, founded in the new chapel at Westbury by Carpenter, bishop of Worcester. To many of the servants of the said college. To the fabric of the church of that college, xl*s.* To rebuilding the tower of the church of Compton Graynefield, xl*s.* He also makes bequests to his almshouses at Bristol, and to the corporation of that town. He remembers some of the religious foundations, chiefly the mendicants, at Bristol. He styles himself, *nuper mercator villæ Bristol, et nunc decanus collegii S. Trin. de Westbury*. The subdean of Westbury college is one of the executors. In this will the name of ROWLIE is not mentioned. Compare

Tanner, *NOTIT. MONAST.* p. 484. And Atkyns's *GLOUCESTERSH.* p. 802.

Bishop Carpenter, about the year 1460, was a considerable benefactor to Westbury college. He pulled down the old college, "and in the new building, enlarged it very much, compassing it about with a strong wall embattled, adding a faire gate with divers towers, more like unto a castle than a colledge: and lastly, bestowed much good land for augmenting the revenew of the same." Godwin, *SUCCESS. BISHOPS*, pag. 446. edit. 1. ut supr. And Leland speaks much to the same purpose. "Hic [Carpenter] ex veteri collegio, quod erat Westberia, novum fecit, et prædiis auxit, addito pinato muro, porta, et turribus, instar castelli." *ITIN.* vol. viii. fol. 112. a. And hence it appears to be a mistake, that Cannyng, who was indeed dean while these benefactions took place, rebuilt the college. As Dugd. *WARWICKSH.* p. 634. edit. 1730. Atkyns, *GLOUCESTERSH.* p. 802. supr. citat. p. 140.

fyre

fyre, bequeathd me one hundred marks; I went to thank master William for his mickle courtesie, and to make tender of my selfe to him. — Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will need your aide. Master William, said I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not so farr distant, said he: I ken you for a mickle learnd priest, if you will leave the parysh of our ladie, and travel for mee, it shall be mickle to your profits.

“ I gave my hands, and he told mee I must goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyngs<sup>i</sup>, if of anie account at any price. Consented I to the same, and pursuant sett out the Mundaie following for the minster of our ladie<sup>k</sup> and Saint Goodwyne, where a drawing of a steeple, contryvd for the belles when runge to swaie out of the syde into the ayre, had I thence, it was done by syr Symon de Mambrie<sup>l</sup>, who in the troublesomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himselfe, and was shorne.

“ Hawkes showd me a manuscript<sup>m</sup> in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyngs. — The next drawyngs I metten with was a church to be reard, so as in form of a crofs, the end standing in the ground, a long manuscript was annexd. Master Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it. — The tale of the drawers deferveth relation. — Thomas de Blunderville, a preefte, al-

<sup>i</sup> I much doubt, if this word now existed, in the modern, or any, sense. Indeed, the phrase *to draw a picture* might have been now known: but *to draw*, in its present uncombined use, had not yet acquired this meaning. So late as the reign of James the first, a Painter was often called a *picture-drawer*. In antient inventories of furniture, a *drawing* never occurs as any species of production of the art of designing: it became a technical and distinguishing term when that art began to attain some degree of maturity. *Pictures*, although this word is now confined to a

precise signification, would not have been improper here. Yet the word *Picture* was not antiently used in its present sense and manner: but, a *picture with a cloth, a table with a picture, &c.*

<sup>k</sup> I suppose, Worcester cathedral.

<sup>l</sup> Or Malmesbury.

<sup>m</sup> This was not an English word at this early period: it was not used, and for obvious reasons, till after the invention of printing. So again we have below, “the *Saxon manuscript*.” These, at this time, would have been called *books*.

though

though the preeſte had no allows, lov'd a fair mayden, and on her begett a ſonn. Thomas educated his ſonn; at ſixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then ſixteen, who was ſeen and lov'd by Thomas, ſon of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Meſching, of the Minſter, who invited, as cuſtom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heſchamme. Thomas nevertheleſs had not ſeen his ſonn for five years, kenning him inſtauntly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him aſyde and diſcloſd to him that he was his ſonn, and was weded to his own ſiſtre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on ſo that he was ſhorne.

“ He drew manie fine drawyings on glaſs.

“ The abott of the minſter of Peterburrow ſold it me, he might have bargaynd twenty marks better, but maſter William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did ſell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y'allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kyng Henrie the firſt, a mann of fickle temper, havng been tendred ſyx pounds of ſilver for it, to which he ſaid naie, and afterwards did give it to the then abott<sup>a</sup> of Coventree. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyings, all the works of mickle cunning.—Maſter William culld the moſt choiſe parts, but hearing of a drawyng in Durham church hee did ſend me.

“ Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth than you gave; take this for your paynes: ſo ſaying, he did put into my hands a purſe of two hundreds good pounds, and did ſay that I ſhould note be in need, I did thank him moſt heartily.—The choiſe drawyng, when

<sup>a</sup> This ſhould have been *Prior*. An *abbot* was never the title of the ſuperiour in cathedral-convents. The PRIOR OF CO-

VENTRY muſt have been a dignitary well-known by that name, as he ſate in parliament.

Y

his

his fadre did dye, was begunn to be put up, and somme houfes neer the old church erased; it was drawn by Aflema, preeft of Saint Cutchburts, and offerd as a drawyng for Westminster, but cast afyde, being the tender did not ſpeak French.

“ I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a houfe on the hyll, often repayryngs to maftere William, who was now lord of the houfe. I ſent him my verſes touching his church, for which he did ſend me mickle good things.

“ In the year kyng Edward came to Briſtow, Maſter Cannings ſend for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had ſeen, of the familie of the Winddivilles, the danger where nigh, unleſs avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a ſonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cauſe, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings inſtauntly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend, biſhop of Worceſter, and the Fryday following was preparid and ordaynd the next day, the daie of Saint Mathew, and on Sunday fung his firſt maſs in the church of our ladie<sup>o</sup>, to the aſtoniſhing of kyng Edward, who was ſo furioſly madd and ravyns withall, that maſter Cannings was wyling to give him three thouſand markes, which made him peace again, and he was admyted to the preſence of the kyng, ſtaid in Briſtow, partook of all his pleaſures and paſtimes till he departed the next year<sup>p</sup>.

“ I gave maſter Cannings my Briſtow tragedy<sup>q</sup>, for which he gave me in hands twentie pound, and did praiſe it more then I did think my ſelf did deſerve, for I can ſay in troth I was never proud of my verſes ſince I did read maſter Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be

<sup>o</sup> Moſt probably Worceſter cathedral.

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 153.

<sup>q</sup> That is, the poem called the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN, mentioned above, p. 153. What is there ſaid

concerning this poem, greatly invalidates the authenticity of theſe MEMOIRS. Rowlie might indeed write a poem on this ſubject; but not the poem circulated as his.

ydle,

ydle, I went to the minster of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett my self diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performd and settled in the Battle of Haftyngs; master William did bargyin for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another. — Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advisd me to tender it to no man, beyng the mann whose name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me twenty markes, and I did goe to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

“ But his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps<sup>r</sup>, of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speake by a figure would have over founded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; I was fain content to gett away in a safe skin.

“ I wrote my Justice of Peace<sup>s</sup>, which master Cannings advisd me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was seizd with great pains, which did cost me mickle of marks to be cured off.—Master William offered me a cannon's place in Westbury collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to staie at home. After this mischance I livd in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaird since Robert Confull of Gloucester repayrd the castle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my house on the hyll the ayre was mickle keen, some marks it cost me to put it in repair my new house, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessour, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne sup-

<sup>r</sup> A Norman family.

<sup>s</sup> I know nothing of this piece.

ports, and fynding them staunch, and repays no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a *repaying lease* for ninety-nine years<sup>1</sup>, he thinking it would fall down everie day; but with a few marks expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd."

It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie's poems to be spurious. Antient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered, and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm: exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures, arising from the idea of antiquity, which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction, resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.

<sup>1</sup> I very much question, whether this technical law-term, or even this mode of contract, existed in the year 1460.