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**FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JOHN HARVEY TREAT
OF LAWRENCE, MASS.
CLASS OF 1862**

THE
LIFE
OF
SAINT NEOT,
THE
OLDEST OF ALL THE BROTHERS
TO
KING ALFRED.

BY THE
REV. JOHN WHITAKER, B. D.
RECTOR OF RUAN LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN JOSEPH STOCKDALE,
NO. 41, FALM-MALL.

1809.

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Pratt fund

T. Gillet, Printer, Crown-court, Fleet-street.

THE
PREFACE.

IT has fallen to my lot to introduce, by way of Preface, to the courteous Reader, **THE LIFE OF ST. NEOT**, by the celebrated *historian of Manchester*.

During his convalescence, from an illness, which had, for a time, deprived him of the use of his pen, Mr. Whitaker adopted the resolution of giving, to the public, his **Life of St. Neot**. He had thought of a bookseller, in the city, for his publisher; but, he was pleased to change his mind, in favour to me; and, upon this alteration of purpose, he wrote me the following letter, which is characteristic of that extraordinary man:

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Happy to return to you again, I send you a work of mine, for your publication.

I had sent it to another bookseller; but, my friend Mr. B. recommending you to me, and, for a reason, which is always, a strong recommendation, to me, I take the reason, and accept the recommendation. I shall, therefore, be glad to hear, in what form, and within what time, you will be able to publish it.—And, I remain, dear Sir, unable to write, with my own pen, but very much your friend,

“ JOHN WHITAKER.”

Ruan Lanyhorne, }
Aug. 13, 1808. }

I immediately wrote him, for answer, that I would recommend a cheap edition, in an octavo form, to be published, as soon as might be, in the winter season. I soon received a reply, dated Wednesday, the 24th of August, written with his own hand, which seemed to be much enfeebled, by his late illness. And he again wrote me, like himself, and scarcely like any other person, as follows :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I reply to your letter, with speed,—happy to have you for my publisher. My present work will be followed by another, next year,—*The History of Oxford*: yet, that will be merely a small work, an octavo, like this, at present. Both will be followed, by a third, much larger in size, and significance,—*A History of London*, quite new, and original, and fit to make a quarto.

“ ‘ Do not be offended,’ you say, ‘ with a suggestion, which I make, from having witnessed the ill effects of a similar omission, in your *St. Germain’s*. Should you not introduce your work to the reader, by something of a preface, and heads of chapters, and annex to it that great desideratum of all students, an index?’ To this, I partly assent, and partly do not. A preface, I think, will be an incumbrance, and heads of chapters will be an anticipation of contents. But, I agree with you, in the usefulness of an index.

“ ‘ My inclination, in regard to the mode

‘ of printing St. Neot, ’ you add, ‘ is to make
 ‘ it an octavo volume, and not to run into
 ‘ any unnecessary expence either in fine paper,
 ‘ or fine printing; but, to bring it forward, in
 ‘ a respectable manner, without the assistance
 ‘ of a pomp, which it is not calculated to
 ‘ bear.’ In all this, I totally agree with you.
 ‘ As soon as I know your determination, and
 ‘ have your approving *fiat*, I will put it to
 ‘ press, and send the proofs to you.’ But,
 cannot you make an agreement with Mr. F.
 for the transmission of the proofs, backward,
 and forward? As mere proof sheets, they can
 hardly bear the expence of postage.—With
 great regard to you, I remain,

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your friend and servant,

“ JOHN WHITAKER.”

“ You see how my hand-writing has been
 affected by my late illness. This is my first
 letter, written without the help of an ama-
 nuensis.”

Ruan Lanyhorne, }
Wednesday, Aug. 24, 1808. }

The Life of St. Neot was, accordingly, committed to the press ; and, I got an old friend, to forward the proofs to him, a circumstance which, as it seemed to revive his former kindness, for that active friend, greatly delighted him. The author very regularly returned the proofs, corrected by himself, till the sheet, beginning with page 209, which was sent back by his nephew-in-law, in the following note :

“ SIR,

“ The occurrence of poor Mr. Whitaker’s death, on Sunday last (30th October), occasions the return of the proof-sheet of his *St. Neot*, uncorrected, which you will, therefore, have the goodness to get done.

“ I am, &c.

“ THO. T. HAMLEY.”

Ruan Lanyhorne, }
Nov. 1, 1808. }

Thus ended the literary career of this great writer, at his parsonage of Ruan Lany-

-horne, in Cornwall, aged seventy-three, leaving one work, in the press, and others, in contemplation. I have corrected the remaining proofs, from page 209, to the end of the work, as well as I could; and, I have added an Index. Such are the facts, and circumstances, which, I presumed to think, the more inquisitive reader might be glad to know of the posthumous *Life of St. Neot*, by one of the ablest men of an able age; the illustrious vindicator of Mary Queen of Scots.

J. J. S.

Pall-Mall, Dec. 23, 1808.

THE
LIFE
OF
SAINT NEOT.

CHAP. I.

A SAINT, however related, and however renowned, will hardly be expected to furnish materials in his life, either attractive of themselves, or important in their consequences; yet the present, I think, with proper management will. It is my business, therefore, to use this management, to note the connexion of his opinions with our national manners, and to mark the bearings of his actions upon our national annals. I hope thus to render even the biography of a Saint, concerning whom little is told, and less understood, even concerning one who is now, for the first time, referred to history by the hands of criticism, useful enough to challenge the curiosity of many in the beginning, and interesting enough to engage the attention of more to the end.

But before we enter upon the life of a Saint, so replete with miracles ascribed to him, we must stop

a moment to ascertain the origin of the miracles so ascribed, and to explain the quality of the facts so magnified into miracles. Such an operation is requisite, antecedently to any prosecution of his biography; in order to divest the history of all that appearance of incredibility which at present surrounds it, and to bring it down from the high æther of romance to the sober level, the perspirable atmosphere of reality. For this purpose we must examine the original biographers of St. Neot, find the author by whom the miracles were first attributed to him, and so mark the matter, as well as the manner, in or on which they were attributed. We shall thus come to see clearly, how common incidents in the Saint's life were worked up into marvellous contingencies; how the very mode of their relation originally shewed them to have been merely common incidents only; and how the very relater of them at first appears to have been the very repro-bater of them afterwards.

SECTION I.

The first Life of St. Neot must have been one that was written a few years after his death; and a few years afterward is cited by Asser. This biographer of Alfred, a personal attendant upon him, has brought down the life of his royal patron in a regular form to the 39th year of his age, or the year 887; and, by an accidental stroke of antici-

tion, to the 45th or 893.¹ He even appears writing the last part of Alfred's Life, in this very year 893.² But, before he wrote that, a life of St. Neot had been actually published; about the middle of his biography of Alfred, he referring thus to it, "as we read in the Life of the Holy Father Neot," for a circumstance in the history of Alfred under 878.³ But of this Life of St. Neot we know no more, than what Asser's citation tells us. The work itself has perished in the many ages that have intervened since the time of Asser, and most probably in that particular part of them, which has swept so many lives of saints to destruction. Most of them, indeed, survived what we proudly denominate the Gothic night of a monk's ignorance, and then perished in the broad day-light of a reformer's incuriousness.

This was particularly the case with another Life of Neot, which certainly came down to the time of the Reformation, as it is actually cited by the pen of Leland. This I would willingly have believed to have been the same with the other. It is apparently very ancient, and even Saxon; as it interprets the

¹ P. 58. Wise's Edition, Oxon, 1722. "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCCLXXXVII. nativitatibus autem Alfredi Regis, trigesimo nono;" the last year of the Christian æra, specified by him in all his work. P. 58, "a vigesimo ætatis anno usque ad quadragesimum quintum;" the last year of Alfred's life noticed by him.

² P. 58. Ad quadragesimum quintum quem nunc agit."

³ P. 30. "Et, ut in vitâ Sancti Patris Neoti legitur, apud quendam, &c."

name of *Athelingey* in Somersetshire thus: "The place Ethalingey, which with us is expressed the Royal Isle;" and as it tells us the Saxon name of St. Neot's thus: "NOW, IN THE VULGAR LANGUAGE, Neotstoke," for "Neotstowe, in Doomsday Book, or "Ncotstoke," in a record soon afterwards.¹ Yet it has one grand falsehood in it, as I shall hereafter show, that proves it to have been later than the days of Alfred. It stands, however, the oldest, the most authentic Life that we have of the Saint, and is a very valuable record concerning him, so far as we have it. But alas! we possess this treasure in a few fragments only, and know no more of it than what half a dozen extracts, very briefly made by Leland, can tell us. Nor does either of these Lives appear to have contained any of the miracles, which are popularly referred to St. Neot. *Asser* cites, and *Leland* extracts, not one of them from either.

The reference was made afterwards. The first referrer is William Ramsay, a monk of Croyland, concerning whom Leland, that ever-useful *manu-ductor* to an antiquary, has given us this account. "He appeared," says this universal panegyrist of the monkish writers, a panegyrist in spite of all his Protestant prejudices, and too much a panegyrist, probably, from the antiquarian tendency of his mind; "such in the study of eloquence as that age

¹ *Collectanea* iv. 13; editio 2ndo, London, 1776; "Locus Ethelingia, quod apud nos Regalis Insula exprimitur," nunc LINGUA VULGARI Newstoke.

“reverenced, and posterity has respected, forming
 “their judgment from his polished writings.¹ He
 “exercised his pen, not merely in prose, but in
 “poetry also, for which he was so very well quali-
 “fied by nature, that, had he appeared in a period
 “a little more propitious, he would have been re-
 “puted an excellent poet.” The antiquary has
 here, I think, vitiated the taste or overborne the
 judgment of the critic. The poetry of Ramsay is
 not good, and the prose is very bad; as the reader
 may feel for himself in the two lives of St. Neot, writ-
 ten by him, from which I have made extracts in my
 notes and appendix here, both poetical and prosaical.²
 But, as Leland proceeds with some notices that
 definitively mark his chronology, “he wrote the
 “Life of St. Guthlac, the patron Saint of his
 “abbey, in a grand strain of heroic verse; and de-
 “dicated it to Henry Longchamp, the abbot of
 “Croyland,” who continued abbot from 1191
 to 1236.³ “In the same kind of numbers he
 “began and he completed the Life of Birinus the
 “Roman, and the Bishop of Dorchester in Ox-
 “fordshire; dedicating the work to Peter de
 “Rupibus, consecrated Bishop of Winchester in
 “1205.”⁴ Besides these works, he lamented “the

¹ Sect. iv.

² *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum*, Tom. i. Oxon. 1684. Ap. 457—477, *Hist. Croylandensis continuatio*.

³ *Godwin de Præsulibus*, 217. Richardson.

⁴ Leland de Script. Brit. 215. Hall, Oxon. 1709: “*Talem se in eloquentiæ studio præstitet, qualem illa ætas coluit, et*

“ bloody death of Walthros, Earl of Northumber-
 “ land, in a mournful composition, partly prosaical,
 “ partly poetical, that tells us much of the Earl’s
 “ family, and the Earl’s life.”¹ And these are
 all the works of his which Leland knew, he being
 wholly unacquainted with his two lives of St. Neot,
 the one in verses hexameter and pentameter alter-
 nately, the other, “ partly prosaical, partly poetical.”
 In the former he writes professedly, from some
 memorials that had been committed to paper. He
 particularly refers to them, when he enters upon
 the *Cornish* period of his biography. “ *From that*
 “ *period,*” he cries, “ the Saint’s miracles began
 “ to be written, and a few out of the vast number
 “ I will now recite.”² He accordingly recites
 them, and we find them in general to be the very
 miracles popularly ascribed to him. Ramsay, how-

“ posteritas (ex climatis libris, judicio facto) admirata est. Exerunt
 “ autem calamos, non modo solatâ risus oratione ; verum carmina,
 “ quod ipsum vel naturâ aptissimum fecerat ; usque adeo, ut si in
 “ sæculum paulo felicius incidisset, in versibus pangendis omne tu-
 “ lisset sani punctum. Vitam Waldephi, nobilissimi comitis Norta-
 “ brinorum aspiere, — cruentam lugubri libello, qui et genus et vitam
 “ ejus perdocet, partim solutâ partim constrictâ oratione deflevit.
 “ Vitam præterea D. Guthlaci, patroni sui, heroico grandiloquo
 “ concinuit carmine ; quod opus Henrico Longocampo — Abbati
 “ Crulândensi dedicavit. — Eisdem numeris Berini Romani, Episcopi
 “ — Durocastrensis, vitam meditatus est ac mediatem personuit,
 “ consecrato libro Petro Ventæ Siminorum Episcopo.”

¹ Verses 381—382.

² “ Ex tunc coeperunt Sancti miracula scribi,
 “ De quibus innumeris pauca referre libet.”

ever, we must in candour suppose, did not think himself licensed to lie as a poet, and much less to repeat the lies of others, as the poet of a monastery ; or the panegyrist of a Saint. No ! he was deceived himself, and so went on to deceive others. He found the incidents recorded in writings ; he believed *those* to be genuine on the credit of *these*, and he thus preserved the fooleries of falsehood, that have hung so many ages upon the history of St. Neot, but which would otherwise have long since perished with the writings themselves. They thus appear to be like so many rude escutcheons, pinned by the childish hand of credulity upon the herse of the Saint, and preserved by the childish taste of credulity to the present time.

The poetical Life of our Saint, however, ends very abruptly. It closes in an hexameter line, and it ends in the middle of an incident. The author had not the patience to spin his spider's threads of poetry, his

Tenui deducta poemata filo,

to any greater length of either fineness or weakness. But we have another, a prosaical life, that is evidently a fabrication of the same staple, and from the same wheel. The only manuscript that I know of this life, though in a hand-writing much more modern than itself, attributes that life expressly to Ramsay. It is, indeed, formed almost entirely of the same matter, and written wholly in the same manner as the other, taking the thoughts, taking the

words, and arranging both nearly in the same order. It sallies out also at times into poetry, exactly the same as the others; and it regularly carries on what was so abruptly broken off before, into a long continuation of narrative. But, what is a happy circumstance for the lovers of historical truth, the author *leaves out of his narrative* all the very *miracles, which he had rehearsed before*. This of itself forms a sufficient condemnation of them all. Yet he goes even further. He actually *points his censure* at them, and actually *condemns them as false*. This is a very singular feature, in the complexion of a monkish biographer; but it is the more singular, the more useful, and the more powerful, as condemnatory of *his own* conduct before. He professes now to tell us only “such things of the venerable man as are *worthy of relation*, and have been *transmitted to us by faithful narrators* in an *unambiguous manner*.”¹ He afterwards comes to the present station of our biography in Cornwall, and says peculiarly at his entrance upon this peculiar region of romance to St. Neot, as in direct opposition to what he had said at his entrance before, that he “will produce” only “what he *knows to be true* concerning him.”² But at the close he makes this sweeping declaration concerning all, that “innumerable more instances of miracles are stated

¹ “De tam venerabili viro quæ a fidelibus haud ambigua tracta sint, relatione digna.” Prologus.

² “Sed quoque quæ sceiro depromam vera Neoto”

“ by writers, as done by this Holy Man of God,
 “ WHICH I HAVE NOT HERE CERTIFIED, BECAUSE
 “ THEY ARE ESTEEMED BY ME EITHER AMBIGUOUS OR
 “ INCREDIBLE.”¹ He thus puts all that he has
 omitted here and recorded before, all the marvel-
 lous incidents particularly that spot the virgin cha-
 racter of Neot’s reputation in Cornwall, under the
 ban of an interdict for ever. The prosaical biogra-
 pher has done all that he could do, to cure the ex-
 travagancies of the poetical; to destroy in his later
 years that fabrication of fables, which he had framed
 in his former; and to atone for the historical sins of
 his youth probably, by the repentance avowed, the
 reformation showed in his old age. And the refor-
 mation, the repentance are the more remarkable, in
 the Cornish parts peculiarly of the author’s bio-
 graphy; because, in almost all others, he shows as
 much credulity, and repeats as much falsehood, as
 ever. These parts had long, probably, been the bur-
 den of fabling biographers; had even imposed upon
 his own weakness before; therefore engaged now
 his critical examination of them, and attracted now
 his critical electricity against them; while the rest
 he received without enquiry, and delivered without
 censure.

Ramsay thus comes forward to the eye, as at

¹ “ Innumero quoque de eodem Sancto Dei viro, Neoto, a sci-
 “ entibus apponuntur signorum insignia, quæ non hic certifi-
 “ cissimus de causâ, quâ nobis hæc censerentur ambigua aut in-
 “ credibilia.”

once the propagator and the proprietor of falsehoods concerning St. Neot. But is it so dangerous for man to sport unwittingly with truth, unconsciously to repeat falsehoods, and to become weakly credulous as a writer; that Ramsay now stands the first known author of all the fooleries in the biography of the Saint, while his reprobation of the fooleries is wholly unknown. He was followed by an author, who had read his reprobation, but preferred his fooleries. This was one, of whom the universally knowing Leland knew nothing, as he has never mentioned him among his British writers. So very imperfect, after all, is that very useful commentary, which exhibits to us so many writers unknown before, even yet unknown; and lays open such secrets of antiquity, concerning books. “John, Vicar of
“Tinmouth, whence he is always called Tinmuth-
“ensis, though he was afterwards Monk of St.
“Alban’s, A. D. 1366,” says an informant, much poorer than Leland, “was a mighty collector of
“our English histories, which he has left digested
“into three very large volumes, whereof there are
“now fair copies in the libraries at Oxford, Lam-
“beth, &c. This he was pleased to call *Historia*
“*Aurea*. It chiefly relates to the *miracles* of our
“English saints: abstracts of their lives may be
“had in the voluminous works of John of Tyn-
“mouth’s *Sanctilogium Britannicæ*, which gives
“the best and largest account that is any where
“extant, of the lives of our British, English, Scotch,

“and Irish saints. The whole is a collection of such passages related to these holy persons, out of his *Historia Aurea*. There is an ancient and fair copy of it in the Cottonian Library.”¹ From this I have received a transcript of St. Neot’s life, and shall make extracts from it in my present work.² But Tinmouth, in composing the life of our saint, plainly had both these, the poetical and prosaical biographies of Ramsay before him. He adopts the prosaical in all those accounts of Alfred, which had been begun only by the poetical; even as to the very course of the circumstances, and almost the very current of the words. Yet, such is the magic influence of fiction, extraordinary and miraculous, upon the yielding minds of many; that he wilfully erased the brand stamped by the poet himself upon his own fictions, and took up his fictions for truths in despite of his own remonstrance. Tinmouth has thus acted by Ramsay, as the famous bird acts by his game in the Hebrides, pursues him very swiftly, yet aims only at the food which the fugitive vents as he flies through fear, and catches the dainty as it drops for his own nourishment.³

¹ Nicolson’s Eng. Hist. lib. i. 175, 11—30.

² Life iii.

³ Martin’s Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 2d edit. p. 73. “The bird *Faskidar*, about the bigness of a sea-mew of a middle size, is observed to fly with greater swiftness than any other fowl in those parts, and pursues lesser fowls, and forces them in their flight to let fall the food which they have got, and by its nimbleness catches it before it touches the ground.”

In this retrograde progress of history, Tinmouth was followed by one who is better known than himself, even by Capgrave. "He was," says my humble informant, "Confessor to the famous Humphrey Duke of Gloucester," and "epitomized Tinmouth's book; adding here and there several fancies and interpolations of his own. It was translated into English by Caxton, and first printed in the year 1516; since which time it has been frequently reprinted, both here and beyond the seas, and is common in the families of our gentlemen of the Roman communion."¹ But, as the much more confidable Leland tells us, "when ever Duke Humphrey thought concerning the care of his soul, and he very often thought about it, he always used the very prudent counsels of the very learned Capgrave."² This is more to the honour of Capgrave, than to have written the *Iliad* or composed the *Paradise Lost*. Yet he published writings, that did not indeed raise him to a level with either Milton or Homer; but were in high repute with his cotemporaries, and their immediate successors. He wrote one commentary on the *Pentateuch*, dedicated to Duke Humphrey; another on the *Books of Kings*, dedicated to John, made Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1433;³ and a third on the *Acts of the Apostles*, dedicated to William, consecrated Prelate of Ely, in 1458.⁴ He died in 1464; and Leland

¹ Nicolson, ii. 31.

² Leland, 453—454.

³ *Ibid.* 453.

⁴ *Ibid.* 453.

speaks of him in terms very high, though merely general. "Of all the writers among the Augustinians," cries the critic, "I have read none that can be justly compared with Capgrave in all points." Yet this very writer, as far as we can judge from the single life of St. Neot, condescended to become the mere copyist of Tinmouth, the mere retailer of his fables, and the mere repeater of his falsehoods. So clear, indeed, does he appear in this biography, from the charge of "adding here and there several fancies and interpolations of his own;" that he has not made one interpolation,—has not inserted one fancy,—has not altered hardly a single word. He was content with the humble operation of taking merely what he found, exhibiting it merely as he found it, yet holding up the whole to the public as *more correct*, because *more new*. Capgrave has thus been the means principally, and the unwitting means assuredly, of diffusing the poetical legends of Ramsay through all the kingdom, and staining the history of St. Neot with the hue of falsehood through all its substance.—Capgrave and Tinmouth, therefore, appear in the newly discovered mode of the South-sea islanders, to be both drinking the intoxicating liquor

¹ Leland, 453. "Quotius de animæ et curâ cogitabat, frequentissime autem cogitabat, habis literatissimi Capogrevi prudentissimo consilio retebatur. Quod sentio libere dicam; hoc estimè nullum ex Augustiniciis scriptoribus, quos nostra prodescit Britannia, hactenus legisse, quem merito per omnia cum illo conferam."

that has been formed by the brewing of a third person's mouth.

Having thus shewn the marvellous acts of St. Neot to have been reprobated, by the very author who gave them first to the world in their present form; let me now proceed to examine them singly, to shew the superadded air of incredibility which they have gained in their transmission, and to trace, if we can, the real incidents that have been thus distorted into marvellous. The very memorials that imposed upon Ramsay at first, were not, I am persuaded, the fabrication of wilful falsehood, rioting in a wantonness of fiction, and imposing studied forgeries upon the faith of the world. This is too dreadful an extreme of guilt, for the generality of mankind; and especially for the sequestered few, who love to dwell upon the actions of a saint, to revere the graces of heaven really resplendent always in his conduct, and to contemplate the powers of heaven supposedly displayed in his words at times. Such men are too good to be deceivers, but are very apt to be deceived; to mistake the meaning of names, or the quality of circumstances; to consider every common incident in a saint's biography, as a miraculous one; to suppose the Deity equally present with the saint in visible powers, as he certainly is in invisible graces; and to fancy *those* communicated, in order to give a kind of visibility to *these*. From such mistakes, I believe, have resulted all the legends of a saint's biography; and

I shall endeavour to prove the truth of my belief, by examining the legends of St. Neot's particularly.

I. The first, therefore, that I shall notice, is one related *not* by Ramsay, related *not* by Tinmouth, related *not* by any writer whatever: it subsists merely in the traditions of the people, and in the remains of an intrenchment within our parish of St. Neot's in Cornwall. Yet it is as fresh in the memory, and as lively upon the tongues of the parishioners, as any of his written miracles. It even appears to carry a higher confidence of truth than any other, by appealing to a visible monument in proof of its own veracity. It alleges the saint and his attendants to have been once distressed much, in some agricultural pursuits that they had, by the crows flocking from the neighbouring downs to pick up the corn as it was sowed. For this evil the saint is reported to have used a miraculous remedy, by his power banishing the crows from all the lands under tillage, and confining them to what is therefore denominated the CROW POUND at present. This lies upon the downs, about half a mile from the church, and close on the left of the road to Bodmin; a small square inclosure, small enough to be only half an acre in extent, and square enough to be deemed exactly square still, formed by mounds of earth, that are now reduced low by time, but once were sufficiently high to compose the

Manorial Pound assuredly, for foreign cattle straying into the woods of the saint.

Yet this wonderful *relegatio in insulam* of the voracious crows, by the imperial voice of St. Neot, however existing in vivid colours to the imagination of the reporters, however verified seemingly to their senses, by the very inclosure before their eyes; has yet obtained no place even in that local record of St. Neot's actions, the painted window in the church. The fable has, therefore, been formed *since* the record was made. It has been formed from a *blunder*, a merely *English* blunder. The inclosure being denominated a *pound* by the English, and this term superseding the Cornish *ke* for a pinfold, the prior half of the appellation still adhered to the object, and was there misunderstood by the English. Having caught by contagion all the vivacity of imagination in the natives concerning St. Neot, and beholding every thing relative to him with *their* eye of fond conceit about his miraculous powers, the English interpreted the Cornish *crow*, which signifies merely a hut, as *ros-crow* an excellent house in Gluvias parish signifies only the *heath-hut* in itself, to signify the very same as their own *crow*, a bird; and so turned the pound-hut, by a wonderful metamorphosis, into a pound for crows. But the fact forms a striking instance under our very eyes, in such a legend arising from such a mistake, even *since* the history of St. Neot has been painted on the window; how all the legends have arisen

originally, how errors have created all the extravagancies, and how blunders have wrought all the miracles. We here see one of the miracles still at the state in which they all were originally, still struggling for a written existence, and still evincing its own origination from a blunder. With this clue in our hands, therefore, from a miracle so wrought, so recent, and *not yet* inserted in the saint's biography; let us enter the labyrinth of miracles, and trust to find our way through it with the same success.

II. Taking the miracles in the order in which the *poetical* Ramsay has given them, we first read a strange account in Tinmouth, of the saint's distress about getting out of the church when he was locked within it, because the lock was too high for him to reach; and of the lock's miraculous condescension in coming down of its own accord, as low as his girdle. But, in order to feel the force of these notices concerning the church of Glastonbury, we must form a proper plan of the abbey in our minds. And I am luckily enabled to form one for my readers, from my personal inspection of the buildings, from my personal attention to the traditions, and from my immediate notation of all that I saw or heard, in the month of July, 1777.

The grand entrance into that walled extent of sixty acres, was what now remains opposite to the market-house of the town, a great gate of stone, with a cover for a port-cullis over it, once accompa-

nied with a lower arch for a foot-way on each side, and still accompanied with one upon the left.¹ This was the state-approach, only used upon particular occasions, and accordingly built in the form of the triumphal arches at Rome.² But further on to the south, beyond the range of the town, is the stranger's (or pilgrim's) gate; which appears to have been the ordinary access into the abbey, because it has what the other has not, a room over it for a porter.³ This led to the inner pilgrim's gate, at which, on the right without, was a guard-room, tradition says, for five or six persons to be always on duty in it; but says very falsely, I believe, as such a guard-room is totally incompatible with a porter's lodge before it, and extravagantly superfluous in itself. The room was assuredly destined only for such pilgrims as came when the gate was shut, to wait in it till this was opened.⁴ Adjoining to that on the right within, was the hall for the meals of the pilgrims, with two chambers as bed-rooms

¹ Monasticon, ii. plates 1, 2.

² This gateway is thus strangely noticed by Dr. Stukeley in *Itin. Cur.* 1. 153. 2d edit. "When I left this place," he says of the town, "I passed through a great gate built across the road, built under the abbey-wall, with a lesser portal by the side of it, which I suppose was some boundary of the abbey-lands, and part of their extravagance."

³ Gale's *Scriptoris Quindecim*, 1. Malmesbury mentions the porter—"Janitori, si quenquam excluderet," &c.

⁴ Nor does either Malmesbury or Monasticon mention such a room.

for the men and the women apart. Of these pilgrims, a remark has been made by that eminent antiquary Dr. Stukeley, which will, I suppose, be echoed by every heart, and repeated by every tongue among us protestants; that they "came strolling hither, and idling away their time, for sanctity." But surely, in all justness of thinking, those pilgrims were as usefully strolling "thither, and idling there for sanctity," as the Doctor or myself were for antiquarianism; and were acting as beneficially to themselves or to the public, in coming to kneel within the church, or to pray before one of its saints, as we were in visiting the church to trace out its ancient grandeur, or in surveying an image to make out its sainted owner. Close to those bed-rooms and that hall for pilgrims, however, but within the gate, yet immediately to the right of the reputed guard-room, is that abbot's kitchen, of which "they have a report in the town, that King Henry VIII. quarrelling with the abbot, threatened to fire his kitchen; to which [threat] he returned answer, that he would build such a one as all the timber in his forest (forests) could not burn;"¹ but the report concerning which is merely a conjectural anecdote, to account for a mode of building so singularly made all of stone, yet so suited for the purposes of a building, that was the kitchen of the abbey as well as of the abbot, having a chimney in each

¹ Itin. Cur. 1. 152.

of the four niches, and a strong arch which spans over the mouth of an ample funnel.¹ The building is actually reported by tradition to be as old as King John, and is certainly as old as the rest of the building in its aspect; but is now used only as an occasional shed for the cattle straying over this once well-inhabited, and once well-built solitude of ruins.² To the right of this were rooms appertaining to the kitchen, as the larder, the bake-house, &c. all extending into the present orchard. To the right again of these was the abbot's house, newly rebuilt, with the old arms upon the stones,³ and having still in its little garden a slip of that famous thorn, which is not, as our botanists have been poorly content to surmise hitherto, in its budding on Christmas-day, as if this was May-day, an accidental variation from the common hawthorn, and a variation ascribable either to art or to accident;⁴ but is merely THE HAWTHORN OF JUDEA, brought into Britain by some travelling abbot, planted by him near the abbot's house of Werial-park, and

¹ Itin. Cur. 1. 152.

² Yet, on the credit of this forged anecdote, has Mr. Gough in his *Britannia*, 1. 72. presumed to call it positively "the kitchen built by Abbot Whiting." So much has assertion built upon surmise!

³ Gough, 1, 173, says, the new house is "much nearer the road" than the old. What road is meant, we are not told; but plates 36, 37, in *Itin. Cur.* shew the assertion (whatever road is meant) to be untrue.

⁴ Gibson, 79.

budding still as it originally used to bud about Christmas-day.¹ Close to these, beyond the pilgrim's hall, and running on to the eastward, where the other buildings appurtenant to the abbot's house, particularly a large room denominated the King's lodging, with a gallery to it,² a wall separating the whole from the area of the abbey, and an arch through the wall just remaining to connect them

¹ Gough, 1. 73. "The original hawthorn tree grew on the south ridges of Werial-hill or park, and was cut down in the civil war," by those madmen, who looked upon every object of curiosity, especially if considered with a religious eye, as a monument of superstition, and so set themselves in open hostility to almost every monument of religion among us: "but some of its branches are still growing in the garden behind the abbey-house, and in an inn garden;" query, what inn? yet noticed as indefinitely by Gibson, 79, "in Judge Gould's garden at Godney, in this county, and in others, and in nurseries." He thus omits the principal slip mentioned in Gibson, "one in the garden of W. Stroud, the possessor of the ground where the other stood."—P. 79. "IT IS COMMON IN THE HOLY LAND, and FLOWERS AT THE SAME TIME." This is an important intimation given us by Mr. Gough. Yet the giver is so little conscious of its value, or so much confused in his understanding about it, that "Mr. Ray thinks," he instantly adds, "the hawthorn tree differs but accidentally from the common shrub so called." To catch the bursting beam of truth was the peculiar felicity of Mr. Gough; but to turn from it and plunge into darkness, is an infelicity known only to himself.

² Leland's Itin. iii. 119. "This, John Chinok," abbot, "builded the cloyster, the dormitor, the fraternity," or lesser-hall; "as Gualterus Framont began the great hall, Gualter Monington, next abbat to hym, endid it."

again. At the side next to the house, was the dormitory on the east, and the hall on the west, with the cloisters opposite to the dormitory, and the library, I believe, over the cloisters.¹ These, with lodgings for some secular priests, that were called the clerks of our lady,² and an alms-house, with a chapel on the north side of the court, for seven or ten poor women,³ are all laid low by the levelling hand of sacrilege. This hand has scarcely spared the foundations of all. The guard-room remains only in a small part of it. The pilgrim's hall likewise remains in a part too small, even to ascertain the very designation which we know from tradition it had; and ever since a considerable part of it was blown up with gunpowder, the rest hangs in the air frightfully menacing a fall. But, I was fortunate in a *Ciceroni* aged and knowing, a little fond of the fabulous indeed, a little in love with popery for the sake of its very monuments, and, from both propensities, calculated the better to enter deeply into the antiquarian history of the ruins, who remembered the hall entire, with the stone table in the midst of it. The church itself was on the north side of all, and long in itself; Joseph's chapel at the west end, in a line with the nave, and

¹ Itin. Cur. plate 36, and my own observations.

² Leland's Itin. iii. 120. "Bere," abbot, "builidid the new lodggings for secular prestes, and clerks of our lady."

³ Leland's Itin. iii. 120. "He made an almose house in the north part of the abbay, for vii. or x. poor women, with a chapel."

therefore considered as a part of it, being fifty paces in length, the rest of the nave up to the cross sixty-two, the cross thirty-eight, and the quire fifty-two hundred paces or five hundred and eighty feet in all.¹ The church, indeed, has escaped much of the destruction which has so sadly overwhelmed the rest, which has spread such a scene of havoc over their site, as must draw tears from the most unfeeling, and almost extort curses from the most forgiving; that very genius of religion, which prompted the erection of all the parts for this one, having retired to this before the storm of sacrilege, now maintaining the last yet desperate hold at this, still shaking her ægis, and still brandishing her spear, over this the most sacred part of the whole.

Was this, then, the very church in which St. Neot administered as a priest? To ascertain this, we must unfold the involved history of it. The original tradition of the abbey asserted its church, to have been primarily composed of mere rods wattled together; but in the *seventh* century, to have been sheathed with shingles, and covered with lead from top to bottom. Yet this appears an evident mistake, from the very sepulture of the celebrated Arthur, as it is in the *sixth*. Mortally wounded, or actually killed in a battle at Camelford, in Cornwall, he was brought to be buried here. Here, therefore, was then a church and a cemetery, celebrated over all the west of the island, and worthy to

¹ Monasticon 1, 1. plates.

receive the remains of such a hero, or such a monarch, within them. A church had assuredly been built at Glastonbury as well as at Verulam, by the Christians of Roman Britain; and *that* was considered by their descendants, when *this* was lost to the Saxons, with all the reverence paid to *this* before. *That* remained to the days of Ina, as *this* continued to the time of Offa; and *that*, like *this*, is said to have been then rebuilt. "The fourth and "greater church," cries Malmesbury, "did Ina "the King construct in honour of the Lord our "Saviour, and his apostles Peter and Paul, on the "eastern side of the others."¹ But in all probability Ina, like Offa, formed only a monastery, and annexed it to the church.² And the Roman-British church of Glastonbury probably continued, like its sister at Verulam, to the days of the Romans; when "their ambitious fondness for new construc- "tions"³ put Turstin, the first abbot from Normandy, upon pulling down the old, and beginning a new church; ⁴ even put Hurlwin, who was appointed in 401 the second abbot from that country, upon "levelling with the ground the church be- "gun by his predecessor, because it did not corre- "spond with the magnitude of his possessions;" as

¹ Gale i, 300, Malmesbury.

² Ibid 333. "Quartam et majorem construxit Ina Rex, in honore Domini Salvatoris et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in orientali parte aliarum."

³ My cathedral of Cornwall, xi. 2.

⁴ Gale, i, 333.

abbot, "beginning a new one, and expending 480 pounds upon it."¹ And this having perished with almost all the abbey by an accidental fire in the reign of Henry II.; he ordered it to be rebuilt, and laid the first stone of it with his own hand;² the abbey of course rising with its church, and both standing ever afterwards of the same date in age. The church of Neotus, therefore, was the one which had existed from the days of Ina, from the days of Arthur, and from the first establishment of christianity in Britain.

This having been rebuilt by the Normans, we could derive no assistance for elucidating the history of Neotus from the present structure, if we did not see the internal disposition of both to have been just the same. This sameness appears from a va-

¹ Ibid. Ibid. "Ecclesiam a predecessore inchoatam; quia magnitudini possessionum suarum non respondebat; solo tenuis eruit; et novam inchoavit, in qua cccclxxx libras dispendit."

² Ina accordingly pretends not in the verses which he inscribed upon the church, "in cujus supremo ordine hos versus fecit describi;" that he built it. He only speaks in general terms of giving "these buildings" as a donation to his subjects,

Hæc pius egregio Rex Ina refertur amore,
Bona [Dona] suo populo non moritura dedit:

or of enlarging the endowment of the church,

Totus in effectu Divæ pietatis imhærens,
Ecclesiæ juges amplificavit opes;

or of completing the work of religion (by adding a monastery to a church),

Melchisedec noster, merito Rex atque sacerdos,
Complevit veræ religionis opus. Gale, i. 310.

riety of notices. At the Great Hall mentioned before as ranging near the church, "Gualter Morington," abbot, who completed what Walter Framont had begun of it, "made to the middle " *postè the Chapitre House,*"¹ which was considered as a part of the church, and actually used as a tomb-house to it. But he lived not to finish it, as "John Chinok," abbot, his successor, performed it, and there is buried "*in sepulchro cum imagine alabastris.*"² But this was only a rebuilding, as there was a chapter-house before upon the site, made memorable by a quarrel of murder commenced in it between the abbot and his monks. "When, therefore, Turstin one day entered the "chapter-house with a disturbed mind," says Malmesbury, concerning the first abbot from Normandy, "and spoke to his monks on these or other "points with turbulence, but could not bend them "to his will; immediately, in the blindness of his "wrath, he ordered his *soldiers* and *guards,*" known only by tradition at present, "to enter armed. At "the sight of these the monks were struck with a "most violent panic, fled as fast as they could flee, "*ran into the church* as an asylum, and *locked the "doors of it,*" &c.³ The doors thus mentioned

¹ Leland's Itin. iii. 119.

² Itin. iii. 119.

³ Gale i. 332. "Cum igitur die quâdam mente turbidâ capitulum ingrederetur, ac monachos super his et aliis negotiis turbulentius alloqueretur, nec eos suæ voluntati posset inclinare, con-
festim, irâ cæcatus, milites ac satellites suos phaleratos fecit ac-

were principally one just by the chapter-house, even the grand entrance into the church. Thus Edgar the King, as reported by Malmesbury to have been "first buried," like Abbot Chinok, "in the *chapter-house before the entrance* into the church;"¹ or, " (as *the language runs afterwards*) before the door " of the church." Thus the remains of Dunstan are reported by Malmesbury to have been buried in 1012, on their translation from Canterbury, " within *the great and ancient church, by the holy water, on the right hand of the entrance.*"² And Tica, who became abbot in 754, " at his departure from life, " received a notable sepulture," as Malmesbury adds, " *in the right angle of the great church, just by the entrance of the old church; it is for bigness of bulk, and fineness of engraving, no ignoble monument.*"³ So exactly was the old church disposed within, like the new; and so easily are monuments in any part of the old pointed out, by a reference to the same parts in the new! "The *porch,*" notes Leland concerning this grand entrance, " is to the south, and a chapel from which

" *cersiri; quo viso, monachi pavore vehementissimo correpti in fugam (prout melius poterant) versi sunt, ecclesiamque pro asylo subierunt ejusdem hostiâ seris obstruentes,*" &c.

¹ Gale i. 306. " *Edgari prius in capitulæ ante introitum ecclesie.*"

² Ibid. 322. " *Sepultus est, ut prædiximus, in capitulo ad ostium ecclesie.*"

³ Ibid. 303. " *In majori et vetustâ ecclesiâ, secus aquam benedictam, in dextrâ parte introitus.*"

“ you may go the treasury.”¹ This grand entrance still appears in the southern face of the church, in the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea, but near the south-western angle of it; an arch, round in form, large in size, and leading through the length of the chapel into the nave and into the quire, up to that high altar at which our St. Neot was wont to officiate, and on the north side of which was this treasury, now said by tradition to have had a door of gold to it, a door more likely to have been plundered than the Treasury itself! The walls of the Treasury still remain in part, and just by them the foundations of a reported guard-room. But to go back into antiquity, and to mount up as high as Ina himself, let me note from Malmesbury concerning the general identity of form, in the old church with the new; that “ some years after” the mere rods composing the old had been planked and leaded, “ the bodies of Indractus and his companions were, “ by Yna, King of the West Saxons, then blessed “ with a divine vision, translated from the place of “ their martyrdom, and interred *in the same church*; “ he, indeed, *in a pyramid of stone to the left of the “ altar, the others, under the pavement, as either “ chance offered or industry selected a place for “ them.”*² So plainly was the very church of Ina’s

¹ Gale i. 301. “ Tica, cum valefecisset vitæ, in dextero angulo “ majoris ecclesiæ, juxta introitum vetustæ, notabilem accepit sepulchrum; ea est et mole structuræ et arte cælaturæ non ignobilis.”

² Coll. v. 55. “ Porticus ad meridiem est, et sacellum quod dicitur in gazaphylacium.”

days the same in internal disposition, as the church succeeding, and even (whatever pretended records may allege) as the church preceding too! These records may relate the truth concerning the lead, the planks, and the rods of some ancient church; but certainly draw down to later times what can refer only to the earlier. The very interment of Arthur in the church-yard here, let me again observe, evinces at once the venerableness and the grandeur of the church at the time; but it also evinces another point, in the history of Neotus.

“ I would willingly declare that which is a secret to almost all,” cries Malmesbury, “ if I could
 “ wrest out the truth of what those pyramids mean,
 “ which stand at some feet from the old church,
 “ and on the edge of the cemetery of the monks.
 “ The taller, and the nearer to the church, has five
 “ stories and an elevation of 26 feet; this, though
 “ threatening ruin from its extreme agedness, has
 “ yet some documents of antiquity, which may fairly be read, but cannot be fully understood. At
 “ the higher story is an image, in a pontifical form;
 “ at the second is an image exhibiting royal pomp,
 “ and the letters *Her, Sexi, and Blisyer*; at the
 “ third these names, *Wemerest, Bantonop, Pinepegn*;
 “ at the fourth, *Hats, Palfred, and Eanfled*; at the
 “ fifth or lowest, an image, and this writing, *Logpor, Peslicas, and Bregden, Spelpes, Hyen Gendes, Bern*. But the other pyramid has 18 feet and
 “ 4 stories, on which are written these words, *Hedde*

“ *Episcopus, and Bregored, and Beorward.* What
 “ these signify, I do not rashly determine ; but I
 “ suspect and surmise, that *the bones of such as are*
 “ *read above are repositied in hollowed stones below.*
 “ Truly *Logpor* is affirmed for certainty to be he,
 “ from whose name what is now called *Montacute*
 “ Hill was called *Logperesbeorh,*” or *Logper’s*
 “ Hill ; “ *Bregden, from whom Brentacnolle was, as*
 “ *Brentamarse* is, called ; *Berevold* was abbot after
 “ *Hemgisel.*”¹. Malmesbury, indeed, knew enough
 concerning the pyramids, if he dared to confide in
 his own knowledge, and to follow as it led. He
 knew, as he tells us immediately before, that Ar-
 “ thur, the famous King of the Britons, was bu-
 “ ried in the cemetery of the monks, between the
 “ two pyramids.”². This notice should have been

¹ Gale i. 300. “ Aliquantis autem annis elapsis, per Ynam
 “ regem West-Saxonum, divinæ visionis compotem, martyris In-
 “ dracti et sociorum ejus corpora de loca martyrii translata, et in
 “ eâdam ecclesiâ tumultata sunt : ipsius quidam in lapideâ pyra-
 “ mide ad sinistrum altaris, cæterorum in pavimento prout vel
 “ çasus tulit vel industria locavit,”

² Gale i. 306, “ Illud quod clam pæne omnibus est, libenter
 “ prædicarem, si veritatem exculpere possem, quid illæ pyra-
 “ mides sibi velint, quæ aliquantis pedibus ab ecclesiâ vetustâ
 “ positæ cimeterium monachorum prætexunt ; procerior sane, et
 “ propinquior ecclesiæ, habet quinque tabulatus, et altitudinem
 “ xxvi ; hæc præ nimiâ vetustate, etsi ruinam minetur, habet
 “ tamen antiquitatis non nulla spectacula, quæ plane possunt legi
 “ licet non plene possint intelligi. In superiori vero tabulatu, est
 “ imago pontificalis cemate facta ; in secundo imago regiam præ-
 “ tendens pompam, et literæ *Her, Sexi, et Blisyer* ; in tertio

sufficient for him. And all the names inscribed upon the pyramids must be those of Saxons buried near to Arthur, but since his burial, since the erection of the stones, and the termination of his grave with them. His own *Berewold*, or *Bregden*, or *Logpor*, apparently is. But *Beorward*, and *Bregored*, and *Hedde Episcopus*, and *Eanfled* are more apparently such. Even in the first story, at which (if at any) we should find British appellations, we find *Her* and *Sexi*, both Saxon, both very different "from that name of *Worgret* the abbot, which savours strongly of British barbarity." Arthur had been buried here, between the two pyramids; the "taller of these," as "nearer to the church," being at the feet; and the lower, as more distant, at the head; the hero lying between them in the

"nihilominus nomina, *Wornerest*, *Bantomp*, *Pirepagn*; in quarto, *Hats*, *Palfred*, et *Eanfled*; in quinto, qui et inferior est, imago "et hæc scriptura, *Logpor*, *Pessicas*, et *Bregden*, *Spelpes*, *Hye*, *Gendes*, *Bern*. Altera vero pyramis habet xviii. pedes, et quatuor tabulatus, in quibus hæc leguntur, *Hedde Episcopus*, et *Bregored*, et *Beerword*. Quid hæc significant, non diffinio; sed ex suspitione colligo, eorum interius in cavatis lapidibus contineri ossa, quorum exterius leguntur nomina. Certe *Logpor* is pro certo asseritur esse, de cujus nomine *Logpers* *Leork* dicitur, qui nunc *Mons Acutus* dicitur; *Bregden*, a quo *Brentic-nolle*, qui nunc *Brentamerse*, dicitur; *Beorwald* nihilominus abbas post *Hemgiselum*."

¹ Gale i. 306: "Arturo inclyto rege Britonum, in cæmeterio monachorum inter duas pyramides tumulato."

Ibid. 308. "*Worgret* abbati, cujus nomen Britannicæ barbariam redolet."

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Christian position of sepulture, extended east and west, with his face to the east. They thus remained to the days of Malmesbury, having often engaged assuredly the attention of Neotus while he resided here, and engaged it the more from the tradition, so lively, yet so certain, through all the intermediate period of the burial of Arthur between them¹. They remained even to the time of William of Worcester, and beyond it to the time of Leland. "There are," says the former, "*in the cemetery, two crosses of stone hollowed*" by engravings upon them.² "*In the burial-ground, esteemed so holy at Glastonbury,*" cries the latter, "*stand two pyramids of very ancient structure, showing images and letters upon them; but winds and storms, wasting time or invidious antiquity, have so defaced figures and inscrip-*

¹ "It seems a mistake," says Mr. Gough, i. 74, "that those corpses," Arthur's and his Queen's, "were found between the pyramids, which would probably have mentioned them; but *this does not appear to have been the case.*" Upon such frivolous reasons does Mr. Gough presume to contradict Camden himself and the fact. Even in Mr. Gough's own translation, Camden's citation from Geroldus Cambrensis, tells us expressly, that Arthur "was buried at Glastonbury *between two pyramids,*" i. 59. And indeed the whole incident, though pretendedly questioned by many, who mistake doubts for determinations, and consider realities for reveries, merely because those are extraordinary. Never was any incident of history so extraordinary as this is, attested so strongly as this appears to have been.

² Itinerarium W. de W. 294. "*Sunt in cimiterio duæ crucee lapide excavatæ.*"

" tions once fine in workmanship, that they can
 " scarce, with any labour, be caught with the
 " keenest eye. These are frequently noticed on the
 " page of writers, and particularly by the pen of
 " that great antiquary William of Malmesbury;
 " because in his very fair and very elegant book
 " concerning the antiquities of Glastonbury, he has,
 " with exquisite labour, restored to light the images
 " and inscriptions, which were not obliterated four
 " hundred years ago." ¹ They even remained to our
 own times, having been so very recently removed,
 that my *Ciceroni* saw them with his own eyes, and
 knew them to be the same as (Gibson's) Camden
 had (from Malmesbury) described to him. They
 were then, however, reduced to the height only of
 nine or ten feet, yet even then exhibited some of
 their old engravings upon them, and in this state
 were they dragged away, though some of the most
 celebrated monuments in Britain, to make a post
 to a field, or to form a prop for a cottage. When
 seen for the last time by any historical eye, they
 stood in their original position, on the edge of the

¹ *Assertio Arthuria* in collect. v. 45, 46. 2d edit. " In Sepulch-
 " reto quod Avallaniæ sacro-sanctum est, stant duæ pyramides
 " antiquissimæ structuræ, imagines et literas præ se ferentes; sed
 " venti, procellæ, tempus edax rerum, postremo invidiosa ve-
 " tustas, ita operum eximias olim figures et inscriptiones devenusta-
 " verunt, ut vix ullo labore deprehendi, vel a Greco possint.
 " Has frequens scriptorum pagina commemorat, et præcipue
 " Gulielmi Meldunensis antiquarii curâ magis."

burying-ground, and a few feet from the north-western angle of the church. The burying-ground is still pointed out by the finger of tradition, stretching along the north side of the church, but now serving as a kitchen-garden to that inn in the town, the White Hart, at the back of which the ruins lie. Thus a gardener is constantly employed upon ground esteemed so holy at Glastonbury, even to the time of Leland, even considered before as profaned by the introduction of a hawk, a dog, or a horse, within it, and as actually avenged upon the profaner (says tradition) by a repeated miracle.¹ Thus, too, vegetables for visitors to the ruins are raised in higher luxury from a soil impregnated strongly with the bodies of monks, bishops, nobles, and kings innumerable². *There* are still shown the cavities in which the pyramids were set; two large hollows, having a smaller hollow for the sepulchre between them. The sepulchre had been always pointed out for Arthur's, even down to the days of Malmesbury, with so unfaltering a tone of assurance, that the thinking mind cannot but wonder at the negligence of those, or the preceding days, in not searching out the remains, and shewing them to the eye of admiring curiosity. But a few years afterwards a tradition, equally preserved in Wales

¹ Monasticon, i. 7.

² Ibid. Ibid. "Requiescunt etiam ibi multi, præter supra nominatos, Episcopi, Duces, Abbates, alique Magnates, quos pro pròlixitatis tædio annumerare supersedeo."

without any sight of the pyramids, being accidentally recited to our Second Henry by a bard there, and carefully transmitted by Henry to the Abbot, gave a new life to the tradition at Glastonbury, and a search was resolved to be made immediately. That no impediment might be given to the diggers, a space round the pyramids was inclosed with curtains¹. The earth, however, was opened to the depth of *seven feet before* the men reached the stone, that seemed the upper part of a tomb for inclosing his remains, but appeared, upon raising it, to be only the flat stone closing his grave². Upon the lower face of this stone, and inserted into a cavity within it, was a cross of lead inscribed with the name of Arthur; and *nine feet* below were the bones found, repositied in a coffin.³ The *nine feet* of soil appears, from the gravestone above them, to have been the original depth of the grave, and the *seven* above the gravestone, to have risen from the accretions of earth in the years elapsed since the burial of Arthur. The latter, indeed, have been ascribed by men who *would not* think, to a fear of

¹ Leland's Coll. v. 51, from the writing of an anonymous monk at Glastonbury: "Anno Domini 1159, quâdam die, locum "cortinis circumdans, fodere precepit."

² Ibid. 50. from the same writing: "Lapide quôdam lato, tantam ad sepulchrum, a fodientibus invento quasi pedum septem sub terrâ"

³ Ibid. Ibid. from the same: "Quem tamen sepulchrum "Arturii novem pedum inferius inventum fuerit."

the Saxons in the buriers, and to a desire of concealing Arthur's remains from them¹. But the very existence of the pyramids, so conspicuous in the churchyard, and the very continuation of the tradition so vivid concerning Arthur's sepulture between them, prove there was no fear entertained, and no concealment intended by the buriers. The continued sepultures at the side of the grave had thrown up this accumulation of earth upon the stone; as the insertion of the cross in the lower face of the stone was merely an act of prudence to prevent what would certainly have otherwise happened, the loosening of the lead from the stone, and the carrying of the cross away from the grave. And we actually find a fact surprisingly similar, in a hero of Wales buried in a churchyard of Anglesey; Pabo, "the pillar of Britain," a little later, perhaps, than Arthur, having a flat stone laid over his grave, and this being found in the last century *six* feet under the soil². The ground, then, on the west or north sides of Glastoabury church had risen *seven* feet since the burial of Arthur, and the only access from the church to the churchyard, *the north western porch*,³ must have gone up from it by several steps.

¹ Leland's Coll. v. 31. from the same; "Sepulchrum valde pro-
funde propter metum Saxonum," and 52, from Geraldus: "Tam
profunde itum corpus et quasi absconditum fueret, ne a Saxoni-
bus possit ullatenus inveniri."

² Rowland in *Mora Antiqua*, 158. 2d edit.

³ Gale, i. 325. "In aquilonari porticu."

The floor of this part of the church is broken down into an under-croft extending along all, and the level of the floor can be taken only by such measurements as that at present¹. How then shall we take the level of the floor from the ground along the south side of the church? Here, indeed, we have no burials to raise the soil, but we have buildings and rebuildings. Thus, as we have seen already, the chapter-house at the south-door was erected before the days of Edgar, and was renewed by abbots afterward; Framont beginning the great hall, but Monington, his successor, finishing it, Monington beginning the chapter-house at the middle of the hall, yet Chinok, his successor, completing it; and Chinok rebuilding the cloister adjoining to the chapter-house on the east². All must have united to give

¹ Gough, i. 74. "The leaden cross Camden has engraved—I know "not from what drawing." But Camden says even in Mr. Gough's version, "I have thought proper to add the inscription, *formerly copied from the original in Glastonbury abbey,*" i. 59. Camden procured this copy after his edition in 1594, as there we have only the inscription without the figure, page 164. The original was still in the abbey when Leland visited it; and we cannot but admire the lively manner in which he speaks of it, Coll. v. 45. What became of it afterwards, who can tell? Camden could not see it, and we know no one to have seen it since. It may therefore be useful to observe, from the information of my honest and knowing *Ciceroni* at Glastonbury, that the cross was a few years before in the possession of the late Mr. Chancellor Hughes, at Wells.

² Leland's Itin. iii. 119.

that descent into the church, which we know the Normans affected, ¹ and which I suspect the Saxons to have equally affected, as I find such a descent at all our ancient churches, whether Saxon, Norman, or English ².

¹ Cornish Cathedral, xi. 4.

² The whole church is built a little in the style (which was a very early anticipation) of the light Gothic; at once elegant and solid. The stone is neat in its aspect, and looks always new, being brought from a quarry near Frome, not less than eighteen or twenty miles off. The eastern end of the church is a chapel unknown to all our antiquaries, and dedicated to *Lucius*, the King, so particularly noticed in the private, but fabulous history of the abbey (Gale i. 294); and dedicated to him by that abbot *Monington*, I suppose, who lengthened out the quire by adding two windows to the original four (Leland's Itin. iii. 120).

“There is one jamb at the east end of the high altar left; *hereabouts* were buried King Edgar and many of the Saxon kings,” (Itin Cur. i. 152.) But this is a mistake. Edgar, indeed, on his *translation* from the chapter-house, was buried in the great shrine of the church over the altar (Gale i. 306, 322, 324.) But *Kenwin* was buried, like *Arthur*, in the church-yard; yet not so grand as *Arthur*, having only one pyramid at his grave (i. 306.) And *Edmund* the elder was interred “in turri” (i. 306.) Nor was any king of the Saxons buried “*hereabouts*,” except *Edmund Ironside*, “ad magnum altare” (i. 306).

Arthur (when translated from the church-yard) was buried under a magnificent tomb in the quire of the church (Coll. v. 152.) Yet “they say King “*Arthur* was buried under the great tower,” (Itin. Cur. i. 152.) This is evidently a mistake: for *Edmund* the elder, noticed above.

The division of the quire from the nave is plainly marked by the remains of half-lights in the quire for illuminating the cross-aisle, and of two strong tall massy pillars that lately supported an

This, therefore, being the disposition of Glastonbury church within, the north-western or secondary door having a descent of several steps, and the primary or south-western having at least one step of ascent into it ; let us now return to our nar-

arch. " Bere," says Leland, concerning the abbot last but one, " made the volte ó [of] the *steeple* in the *transepto*, and under " [made] two arches [in]stersecting each other obliquely] like S. " Andres crosse, els it had fallen" (Itin. iii. 120). This, therefore, had probably not been rebuilt when the rest of the church was. But in the tower of it, as we have seen before, p. 306, but " ad sinistram," adds Malmesbury very contrarily, p. 318, in the quire on the south, notes Leland, iii. 118, more probably.

There seem not from the ruins to have been any ailes at all. Yet there were, as Leland notes, the sepulchres of true abbots in the *southern aile*, with one in the *northern* ; and he speaks of the former aile as adjacent to the presbytery," (Itin. fii. 119.) He also notices the sepulchre of abbot Brere, " in the *south aile* of the church *nave*." (Ibid. ibid.) The ailes, therefore, extended equally along the nave and the quire.

In these ailes were chapels : as we have that of St. Mary on the " north side of the quire," (iii. 119) ; and an abbot buried " in " the south aile adjacent to the presbytery," (iii. 119), yet " before the chapel of St. Andres" (iii. 119.) " Bere, cumming " from his embassadrie out of Italie, made a chapelle of our lady " of Loretta, joining to the north side of the body of the church," (iii. 120.) For this reason, as we read before, " Bere builded the " new lodgginges for secular preestes and clerks of our lady," (iii. 120.) But " he" also " made the chapelle of the sepulchre " in the south ende, *navis eccle* (*wherby*) he is buried *sub plano* " *marmore* south aile of the bodie of the chircbyn," (iii. 120.) The cross-aile was divided of course into two ; as Leland places some sepultures in the southern part, and others in the northern, (iii. 117) ; but contained twelve chapels in each side, as tradition

ration concerning Neotus, his inability, from his lowness to unlock the church-door within, and the miraculous deed done to relieve his inability. We can now account for the miracle from principles merely physical, by reciting that original of the tale which has never been noticed by any before, but which, with the church, gives an air of probability to the tale, while it enables us to account for its fabrication. St. Neot, as even the *romancing* Ramsay tells us, "was so low in person, as always
 "to stand upon a stool of iron when he chanted the
 "mass;—he was instantly made sacrist¹; then, by
 "chance, on a certain day, a certain man of high
 "quality came to the church," or abbey, "at the time
 "of rest; for," "as the poet adds in a strain that

reports, all (as the remaining two show) very small. One of these on the northern side is called St. Mary's by Dr. Stukeley, and another St. Edgar's opposite to it, (Itin. Cur. i. 152); yet the former we have found in the body of the church before, and the latter we shall instantly find in the quire. "Abbot Bere," Leland tells us, "builed Edgar's chapel at the est end of the
 "chirch," in a part probably of Lucius's chapel before; "but
 "abbatte Whiting performed sum part of it," (Itin. iii. 120), probably at the back of Edgar's remains in the screen. "Bere" certainly "arched on both sides the est parte of the chirch, that
 "began to cast out," (iii. 120.) So steadily did the spirit of architectural improvement go on to the last in our abbeys, even till a *Tramontane* tempest came, and swept away almost all improvements, all abbeys, all architecture, and all religion before it.

¹ Monasticon, i. 18. says of Abbot Henry, "Nepos Henrici
 "Regis [Secundi]," that he "insulam de Andredesei adquisicit,
 "et Sacristariæ anexuit; and "pensionem quadraginta solido-
 "rum de ecclesiâ de Polcelescharde—Sacristariæ assignavit.

has never been hitherto known to the public, and that gives us a most extraordinary assimilation of our English monks to the Italian gentry at present, "it is the custom for monks at noon-day," to have, like the Italians, their *siesto*, or sleep after dinner, and so "to keep the gate shut while they rest."¹ The man, seeing the gate "shut, requires the gate to be opened," either fancying the hour for shutting to be not arrived yet, or believing the hour for opening to be arrived already. He had passed through the outer gate of the stranger, this being, on such an occasion (it seems) left open while the porter himself took his *siesto*; had proceeded to the inner gate, and required this to be opened for him. "No one answers from within," and the man persists in knocking without, the servants in the adjoining kitchen being all gone to their *siesto*, the pilgrims in their hall being equally gone to theirs, and the monks, with the very monk of the gate, being in their dormitory at some distance. Thus, "finding none to answer, he" does not desist and depart in order to return, but "knocks so stoutly at the gate, that you would think he must

¹ Milton, with some affectation surely of a travelled man, and in direct violation of that rule of good sense which requires all allusions in poetry to be popularly intelligible, as designedly explanatory, notices this custom of Italy as an allusion for English readers; and refers to a fact almost as little known to the generality of them, as the *siesto* of the monks:

———his look

Drew audience and attention *still as night*,

Or *summer's noon-tide air*. Book ii. 307, 309.

“soon break it. At last Neot the sacrist,” who as sacrist officially, went to rest within the church, it seems, lying there upon a bench; as Wolstan, Archbishop of York, was used to lie when he was a monk, and having, perhaps, as Wolstan had, the book from which he prayed, or on which he was reading, for his pillow,¹ “hears the loud knocking” from the vicinity of that part of the church in which he was sleeping, St. Joseph’s chapel, “and hastens “too eagerly,” as a man suddenly roused from sleep, “to open the door of the church,” and go out to the gate of the abbey. This door was evidently the principal entrance into the church, the porch on the south-west, and the only access near to the gate. “But finding the lock” of the door “too high for his low stature, he was not able “to reach it;” this entrance into the church being assuredly by the descent of a step, the lock therefore standing higher within than without the church, and so he, who had just before unlocked the door from without, being unable to unlock it now from within. Then, in the hurry of a man so suddenly roused from sleep, Neotus forgot the iron stool on which he always stood at the altar, and by mounting on which before, he had always unlocked the door from within. “The man without stood knocking, the saint within was trying to reach the lock “in vain. *He had nothing to put under his feet,*”

¹ Florentius Wigorniences, 422. edit. London, 1592: “Super
“aliquod Scamnum ecclesiæ, libro in quo orabat sive legebat ca-
“put sustentans, paulisper se reclinabat.”

as growing more confounded by his own agitation of spirits, and therefore thinking less of his stool. "He is thus distressed exceedingly, when at last," in the language of a lover of marvels, "wonderful to be seen! the lock descends from its height, and comes down to the level of his monastic sash;" or, in the soberer style of truth, he recollected his stool, fetched it from the high altar, at the distance nearly of 580 feet, "and so," by mounting upon it, "was able to open the door easily." But, as the author proceeds, "the lock remained *thus low* during *a long time afterwards*, for a witness to the mighty "miracle," being lowered assuredly in consequence of St. Neot's distress, continuing lowered long after St. Neot was gone, and so giving rise to the fable among those who then began in their fancies, to throw a gleam of supernatural light over the whole history of St. Neot, and to magnify all the common incidents of his life into deeds of a miraculous quality. Thus, what was left as the consequence of a little alteration made, and the memorial of a little event in the life of the saint was shaped, by the plastic imagination of devotees, into the memorial of a miracle that had never been wrought; till the abbot properly interposed to remove, what, *as the monument of a miracle, he would never have removed*, but what, as an object of falsified belief, he was obliged to remove. Yet so strong was this artificial rainbow in its colours, that even at a distance from Glastonbury, at our own St. Neot's in Cornwall, it generated another, more faint indeed in its colours,

and more contracted in its form, but still shown with confidence by the inhabitants there. These still "show a stone opposite to the south porch, on which St. Neot is said to have stood, whenever he was disposed to go into the church to his devotions, and from thence to have thrown the key towards the church-door, not being able from the ground to rise to the lock," when "the key, of course, found its way into the key-hole, and opened the door for him." They thus, as in the crow-pound before, appeal to an existing monument in proof of a fond conceit, unite two objects that could never have had any connection with each other, and turn into a stool for their saint, a stone which "was evidently the foundation of an ancient cross, such as in popish times were always placed opposite to the south porch in every church-yard." After such a wonderful manner, has the very hearing of the written miracles served to form other miracles; to form them still hovering in the mere atmosphere of tradition, there waiting still for some "cloud-compelling" Ramsay to draw them down, to fix them in some historical writing, and to consolidate them into a life of the Saint.²

¹ Some Account, 15.

² Verses 255—286.

Sic parvus fuerat, quod cum cantare solebat
 Missam, sub pedibus semper habere volet
 Scamnum de ferro factum; — — —
 — — — — — — — — —
 Nec mora, Sacrista factus fuit.

III. "In a certain fountain," adds the poetical Ramsay, "which the saint had, the kindness of God had placed three small fishes; but the saint would not touch them, before he was certified of the design of God in placing them there." At this period he lived like, what I shall soon shew him to have actually been, a hermit, wholly upon vegetables. He, *therefore*, touched not the three fishes in the fountain, but left them to sport unhurt amid their native waters. He is consequently supposed by those who never thought of his hermitical abstinence, to have abstained only in a ridiculous

Forte die quãdam vir quidam nominis alti,
 Tempore pausandi, venit ad ecclesiam,
 Nam mos est monachis sub tempore meridiano,
 Ostia, dum pausant, clausa tenere sibi.
 Ostia clausa videns aperiri postulat; inotus.
 Nullus respondet, perstat et ille petens.
 Cernens quod nullus respondeat, ostia pulsat
 Fortiter, ut subito frangere velle putes,
 Audivit tandem sonitum Sacrista Neotus,
 Et nimis accelerit mox aperire volens;
 Conspiciensque seram nimis altam, corpore parvus,
 Tangere non potuit præ brevitæ suã.
 Restitit ille feris, intus nil perficit iste,
 Nec quod sub pedibus ponat habere potest;
 Anxius efficitur nimis, et, mirabile visu!
 Se sera de summo tollit, et ima petit
 Per se descendens sic, quod cinctoria sancti
 Tangit, et ad libitum sic aperire valet.
 Sic sera deposita multo sub tempore mansit,
 Tanti miraculi testis ut esse queat.

expectation of a message from heaven concerning them.¹ Then, in the propagation of one absurdity by another, and in the successive generation of

A race of *marvels* on some pregnant cloud,

the saint is believed to have received a message. "He is admonished by an angel that he may take one daily, and it shall suffice for him, he leaving the rest untouched. He accordingly keeps himself within the reserve of this permission, nor suffers himself to violate it. He began to eat one daily, yet in the morning found the number no less than three still." The continuance of abstinence by the hermit, was the continuation of life to the fishes; and those who considered not his abstinence, invoked a miracle to account for the continuation. "It happened, however, that the saint lay languishing under a disease, and could scarcely take any food," the hermit, by his abstinence, brought on a sickness; "when Barius, of whom we have spoken before, the faithful companion of the saint from the first, grieved greatly for his sickness, and wished to support him with proper food," that natural cure for a hermit's sickness, animal food; thus saying to himself in secret, "I will take two fishes out of the fountain," as being totally ignorant of the angelic prohibition, totally ignorant of the very fact, perhaps, of the grounds of the saint's

¹ Milton's Hymn on the Nativity of our Saviour.

"Might think the infection of my sorrows loud,

"Had got a race of mourners on some pregnant cloud."

daily abstinence from all but one, totally ignorant certainly, of the miraculous revival of the consumed one every morning, and *therefore knowing only the hermitical abstinence from all*, “ I will dress one of these by broiling, I will boil the other, that if he cannot eat of the one, he may taste of the other, and so perhaps recover his health. He does so; and bears them to the saint. But when the saint sees them, he is troubled in heart, he groans in spirit,” not condemning Barius for forgetfulness of his abstinence before, for forgetfulness of the divine prohibition, and for forgetfulness of the divine revival before, as he must have done if heaven and Barius had so acted; but only, saying thus, “ What hast thou done, thou wretch? Lo, the holy grace of God is withdrawn from us, go swiftly, restore those fishes to the well, lest the wrath of God burst in rage upon us.” Barius runs, and throws them into the water, “ when, wonderful to tell! both the fishes, as soon as they reached the water, began to swim about. He returns to the saint, and relates what he had seen;” when he must have seen (if it had really happened) what was much more wonderful, one fish dressed every day, *even every day eaten*, yet revived every morning for some time before; but had been without noticing, or had noticed without remembering. The saint replied, “ glory, praise, and honour be unto God,” for an incident considerably less in miraculous importance than what had happened

every morning just before. “ He then ordered one fish to be taken and dressed as usual, and as soon as he had tasted of it, he grew well.” He broke his hermitical abstinence very wisely, on account of his sickness; but ventured not upon flesh-meat, ventured only upon fish, took therefore one of the three fishes that he had hitherto spared, and found himself much strengthened by even this feeble food. So simple is that narrative of a miracle, when it is reduced to its proper standard; so plainly does the very narrative compel us, thus to reduce it. The acting man is only mounted upon a huskin, in order to appear more than man, to stalk in tragic pomp upon the stage, and to seem as the mimic of majesty before us.

¹ Verses 382—414.

In quâdam fonte quam sanctus habebat in orto [horto]

Tres sibi pisciculos gratia summa dedit.

Sed sanctos illos contingere noluit ante,

Quàm feret certus, quid velit inde Deus.

Angeliq; monita sibi dicitur, ut sibi sumat.

Unum cotidie, sufficiatque sibi,

Intactos reliquos permittat; et ille reservat.

Hoc sibi permissum, nec violare sinit.

Cotidie cepit unum consumere; sed tres

Non minus in mane pisciculos habuit.

Contigit ut sanctus morbo cogente, jaceret.

Languidus, atque cibum sumere vix poterat.

Cernens hoc Barius, de quo jam dicimus ante,

Qui sancti fidus assecla primus erat,

Indoluit nimium præ morbo patris, eumque

Vult recreare cibus, talia corde loquens;

IV. "Not long afterwards," adds the poet, "some thieves come by night, steal the oxen of the saint, and flee away with them. When, therefore, the brethren wanted to use their ploughs, there were no oxen to draw them." This was a real incident, I believe, and so became the basis of a legendary one; oxen being still used in Cornwall to draw the plough, though now under the leading of one or two horses generally. "The committed theft is reported to the saint, and he exhorts the bretheren not to droop in sorrow over their loss;" as a saint naturally would exhort, even if he had no resources of miraculous power within himself.— "There was a great herd of stags nigh the place, and the saint ordered these to be yoked to the plough like oxen. At the saint's command they

" Binos pisciculos sumam de fonte, parabo

" Horum unum torrens, et pone coquens alium :

" Ut si non possit ex uno sumere, sumat

" Ex alio pisce ; forte valebit ei."

Sic facit, et pertat coram patre. Cum pater illos

Cenit, turbatur corde, dolore gemit,

Sic dicens : " utquid sic fecisti, miser ? ecce,

" Tollitur à nobis gratiâ sanctâ Dei ;

" Perge celer, pisces istos in fonte repone,

" Ne veniens in nos sæviat ira Dei."

Currit et in fontem jactat : mirabile dictu !

Quam cito sunt mersi, piscis uterque natat.

Ad Patrem redit, narrat quod vidit, et ille

Dixit, " sit Domino gloria, laus, et honor."

Tunc unum sumi jussit è more parari,

Quem cum gustasset illico convaluit.

“ all leave their pasture, and advance promptly to
 “ bow their necks under the yoke. They are yok-
 “ ed, they plough constantly through the day, and
 “ as soon as they are unyoked in the evening, repair
 “ to their beloved pasture. They thus act for a
 “ long time, labouring in the day, feeding in the
 “ evening, and bearing the toil patiently.”

We have other stags submitting to the yoke, in the biography of another saint; as “ Cadvo,” notes Leland, “ was a man of a most excellent life, “ inhabiting a place in Glamorganshire, very remote from all noise; which the Welsh afterwards “ denominated *Lancarovan*, that is, a place marked “ out by stags, because in laying the foundation of “ his abbey, and in raising the walls of it, *he used “ stags for cattle.*”¹ This incident, however, is built merely upon a name, we see, and history is raised on the quicksands of etymology. Such a new source have we accidentally opened here, for the miracles of a saint’s biography! The name is capable of other interpretations, and this *Lancarovan*, or church of stags, is actually *the valley of Corban*; “ the abbot of S. Catoc,” in 597, being repeatedly denominated by the register of a Welsh

¹ De Script. Brit. 52. “ Erat autem Cadocus, vir probatissimæ “ vitæ, locum in Morganiâ ab omni strepitu remotissimum inso- “ lens; quem Cambri, quod ipse in condendo cœnobio suo ac fa- “ ciundo opere cervis pro jumentis usus sit, *Lancarovan*, id est, “ locum à cervis designatum, posta appellavere.”

synod in that year, "the *abbot* of the *valley* of
" *Corban*."¹

But, as Ramsay goes on with the stags of
St. Neot, "the report of an event so great reached
" the ears of the thieves, who had wickedly car-
" ried off the aforesaid oxen by violence. With
" compunction in their hearts, and with terror on
" their spirits, they repair to the saint, lament their
" felony, and implore his pardon; promising a re-
" formation of life, and receiving a remission from
" him." Not awed by a miracle that had never
been wrought either at Lancarovan or St. Neot's;
awed only by the feelings of their consciences, which
had not yet been hardened in guilt, but were sensi-
ble still to the solicitations of penitence, they came
back with their plunder to the saint, and besought
his forgiveness. This he granted them so readily,
yet spoke at the same time assuredly with so awak-
ening a power to their souls, on the brief duration
of life, on the rapid advances of death, and on the
happiness or misery of an eternity beyond, that
" they afterwards request to wear the monastic
" habit, which is given them, and these men of evil
" fame before become monks now, spend their lives
" properly in the work of religion, and pass by a
" happy death to heaven." They entered as *servings*

¹ Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 17. "Concen abbas, S. Catoci,
" Concen abbati Calbani Vallis," "Concen abbas Calbani Vallis,"
"Concen abbatem Catoci."

brethren, I suppose, into what I shall hereafter show to have been St. Neot's monastery, were thus known to have lived religiously, and are thus reported to have died happy. Hence in that window of St. Neot's church, which exhibits by the pencil on glass what either history or tradition had recorded before, the very ploughman of the monastery appears equally a monk with the saint, as being equally habited in black, and equally covered with a cowl. ¹

“Then,” adds Ramsay, “the saint commands the oxen to do their own work, and the stags to live in their own manner. But concerning these we have a marvellous report, that the progeny of them retains the signs of their having thus laboured; as there is a ring of white like a yoke about their necks, and on that part of the neck which used to bear the yoke.” In this stroke, so modestly referred to report, we see the very rise and origin of the whole fable. These deers had naturally a circle of white about their necks; and wondering curiosity, in its endeavours to account for it, connected it in connecting every thing with the history of the saint, assimilated it to the collar of a yoke, so had recourse to a supposition at first, and then, by carrying assimilation into certainty, by hardening supposition into fact, formed the tale. So we find somewhat similarly in

¹ Some account, plate, compartment xth.

Wales, that "the offerings of calves and lambs, which happen to be born with the *Nod Banno*, or the mark of *St. Benno*, a certain mark in the ear, have not entirely ceased." But, to make this hint concerning *Banno's* mark on lambs and calves more intelligible, as it seems so clearly to illustrate *St. Neot's* on the deer, I subjoin a passage from a much earlier author. "A yonge man," says an English writer, describing what he saw about two centuries ago in Wales, "drove the bullocke befor him (beinge about a yere oulde), and asked his Hoste what it was worthe. His host answered, that it was worthe about a erowie; the yonge man said, it was worthe mote; his hoste answered, and said thus: Upon *Sunday* se'night *Mr. Vear* brought here a bullocke about the bigness of your bullocke, for sixteene groats," or five shillings and fourpence; "therefor you are like to have no more for yours." A note here adds, "By the which words it is manifest, that there was another offered that day." The young man spoke to the host for, and the host promised to him "a rope to tye the bullock with," ready for killing it. "Then they drove the bullocke befor them, toward the church-yarde; and as the bullocke dyd enter through a little porche," a *church-style* so familiar in Cornwall, being a covered entrance "into the church-yarde, the yonge man spake

? Penant's Tour in North Wales, ii, 219;

“aloude, THE HALFE TO GOD, AND TO BEYNO. Then
 “dyd I aske his hoste, why he said the halfe, and not
 “the whole; his hoste answered in the yonge man’s
 “hearing, he oweth me thother halfe, therefor he
 “offereth but the one halfe;” as for this reason the
 bullock was to be killed, and half the value paid
 back by the vicar to the host. “This was paid in
 “the parishe of Clynnog, about fifteene myle from
 “Bangor, in the yere of our Lord 1589. The peo-
 “ple are of opinion, that *Beyno his cattell will pros-
 “per marvelous well*; which maketh the people
 “more desyrous to buye them. Also it is a common
 “report among them, that ther be some bullocks;”
 and not all, as Mr. Pennant has said above, “which
 “have had *Beyno, his marke*, upon their ears, as
 “soon as they were calved.”¹ So readily does hu-
 man credulity refer any singularities in nature to
 the interposition of favourite saints.

But we have another instance still more apposite
 to our own. There be “stones figurid like ser-
 “pentes wounde into circles;” noted by one about
 two centuries and a half ago, who seldom notes any
 object in the region of physicks, yet had this forced
 upon his attention by its extraordinary nature, that
 are “found in the *quarries* of stone about Cain-
 “sham,” in Somersetshire,² Yet even this very
 singularity, so buried in the bosom of the earth, so

¹ Leland’s Coll, ii. 548—649. For St. Beyno, see Leland’s
 Itin. iv. 136—137. edit. 3d, 1770.

² Leland’s Itin. vii. 104.

apparent only when the earth is perforated by quarries, yet so apparent in the walls of the houses as the eye passes hastily through the village ; is believed at the present moment by the inhabitants of the parish, and has therefore been for ages believed to have been produced, not by the hand of nature, but by the interposition of their favourite saint. And from the popular belief the interposition has crept into written history, an early life of the saint, who (like our own) has lent the parish its very denomination, recording with all the gravity of a life of St. Neot, that “ Keina, the virgin, freed the
 “ places which she inhabited from serpents, and
 “ turned the serpents into stones, which still pre-
 “ serve the form of serpents.”¹ With so fond a piety did our ancestors subject all nature to the delegated dominion of a saint, surveying even the physical objects before them through the spectacles of their belief, beholding the former coloured over with the stains upon the latter ; and at last describing them in their biographies, because they had long appeared in their opinions as the operations of their saint, the signatures of his divine power, the testimonials of his divine goodness !²

¹ Leland's Itin. viii. 53. “ Ex vitâ S. Keinæ.”—Keina Virgo
 “ locos ubi Keina habitabat,” *Keienscham*, says the margin, “ ser-
 “ pentibus liberabat et serpentes in lapides [vertit], servatâ etiam
 “ serpentum formâ”.

² Verses 418—484.

Non multo post adveniunt de nocte latrones,
 Furanturque boves patris, et effugunt.

V. Thus has the biography of St. Neot been so loaded hitherto with a weight of fiction, as to sink into a kind of annihilation under it. To be banished out of the region of realities, to be sent among

Et cū jam manē fratres de morte volebant
 Jungere carrucas, bos ibi nullus erat,
 Furtum commissum patri narratur, et ille
 Hortatur fratres ne sua furta fleant.
 Grex prope cervorum magnus fuit, et pater illos
 Jussit carrucis jungere more boum.
 Patris ad imperium cuncti sua pascua linquunt,
 Et veniunt prompti jungere colla jugo.
 Junguntur, constanter arent sub luce diei,
 Vespere disjuncti pascua grata petunt.
 Tempore sic longo faciunt, sub luce laborant,
 Vespere pascuntur, nec labor augeat eos.
 Fama rei tantæ furum pervenit ad aures,
 Qui malè vi dictos dissipare boves.
 Cordeque compuncti, simul et terrore coacti,
 Ad patrem redeunt, et sua facta gemunt,
 Et furto veniam poscunt; mutare malignam
 Vitam promittant, parcat et ille reis.
 Post habitum poscunt monachorum, qui datur illis;
 Et fiunt monachi, nomines ante mali,
 Vitam deducunt in religione probatam,
 Morteque felici regna superna petunt.

— — — — —
 — — — — —

Inde boves sanctus proprio servire labori
 Præcipit, et cervos vivere more suo.
 De quibus hoc mirum fertum quod tota præpago
 Ex illis veniens signa laboris habet;
 Nam circum colla, joga quæ portare solebant,
 Albor inest quidam, qui jugo consimulat.

the shades and spectres of romance, is a real annihilation to an historical work. But I have already rescued the biography, I trust, from this sentence of reprobation, have recalled it from the shades, have recovered it from the spectres, and so fixed it in the region of realities again. Yet one miracle more remains; and I again encounter the fooleries of fable, in order to perfect the work that I have undertaken.

“On a certain day,” adds the poetical Ramsay, “when Neot was accidentally chanting the psalms, a trembling doe flying through the thickets of the forest, leaping over the impassable under-wood, and fearing only the passable, lies down before the feet of the saint, and by her anxious pantings implores that aid which she could not implore by her voice.” This is an incident, so much within the scope of probability, and so likely to have taken place at the verge of a wood abounding with deer, that I cannot but consider it to be true, and cannot but look upon it as the groundwork of the whole. “Beholding her subdued by so much terror, the saint exerts all the divine efficacy that he could, and promises safety to her.” The heart of the saint, naturally tender of itself, and kept tender to others amidst all its sternness to itself, took pity on the poor fugitive, and resolved to beg her life from her pursuers. He *thus* exerted *all* the divine efficacy that he could; as being all

that he held. "The pursuing dogs wished to tear her in pieces, and showed the signs of their fury in the loudness of their barking. But, when they saw the doe at the foot of St Neot, they fly back to their thickets, as if they had been struck with a stick or a spear; and the saint commands the doe to depart in safety." The saint interposed between the huntsman, the dogs, and the doe, begged the life of the last, and induced the first to call off the dogs from her. "The huntsman," not then as now a mere menial, but a gentleman ordering his own dogs, and hunting with them in his own woods, "beholding so great a miracle," that is, struck with the sight of the saint, struck with his expressions of humanity, and struck with his addresses of religiousness, "runs, throws down his implements of hunting at the feet of the saint, prostrates himself before him, and with prayers intreats his advice about his life in future. By advice of the saint, he cordially relinquishes the world, and is made a monk in honour of God. And the very horn, which he used to bear about with him, remains to this day a witness of the fact; being sent as a sort of relic in a present to the saint, and hung up in the church of St. Petroc." The gentleman becoming a monk, his ensign of gentility is given to the monastery into which he entered; and given to it by the saint who converted him; a kind of holy relic, and hung up

as such in the church of the monastery.¹ There it continued to the days of Ramsay. And there it also continued probably to the Reformation; then sharing in the fate of Ulphus's horn at York. This was equally the hunting horn of a gentleman, and, as all hunting horns equally were, his drinking horn too.

“That Ulphus,” as an ancient manuscript informs us, “was a prince in the western parts of “Deira,” the immediate vicinity of York; “and apprehensive of altercations concerning his domains after his death, between his two sons the elder and the younger, he soon made them both equal; for he went without delay to York, and *filled with wine the horn from which he used to drink*, and on his bended knees before the altar, “by the act of drinking, gave all his lands and rents to God and the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles.” At the Reformation this horn was seized by the hands of rapacious sacrilege, sold to a goldsmith, and deprived of all its valuable ornaments. But a figure of it had been previously carved in bas-relief, over the great arches of the nave and choir in the present cathedral; just as our own horn was hung up in the church at Bodmin. Ours indeed was sent to be hung up there, “as a

¹ Hence all the statutable qualifications for killing game are merely *personal*, confined to the gentleman himself, and not extending to his servants; excepting game-keepers, &c.

“kind of relic;” and Ulphus’s was shown as a kind of relic, in the sacristy at York. There is it also shown still, having been surprisingly recovered after an absence of more than a century, and retaining nearly all its original beauty; being of ivory, cut in an eight-square form, carved in a durable manner, and ornamented at the larger extremity with the figures of two griffins, a lion, an unicorn, dogs, and trees interspersed, around the circumference.¹ Such or similar, though less magnificent,

¹ Camden p. 573. “Ex veteri libro. ‘Dominabatur Ulphus ille in occidentali parte Deiræ,’” in York and about six miles from it, (Archæ, i. 179, 180, 175), “et propter altercationem filiorum suorum, senioris et junioris,” or “between his eldest son and his youngest,” says Bishop Gibson truly, 861, but “between his elder and younger sons,” cries Mr. Gough falsely, iii. 10. “super dominus post mortem,” a quarrel “like to happen,” adds Gibson, justly as “post mortem” requires, yet “upon a quarrel,” Gough, “mox omnes fecit æquæ pares,” or “he presently took this course to make them equal,” Gibson, “he presently contrived to make them all equal sharers,” Gough. “‘Nam et indilato Eboracum divertit, et cornu quo bibere consuevit vino replevit, et coram altari Deo et beato Petro apostolorum principi omnes terras et reditus flexis genibus propinavit,’” Ulphus “filled the horn with wine, and kneeling upon his knees before the altar, bestowed all his lands” (Gibson); Ulphus, “filling with wine the horn he usually drank out of, offered with it—all his lands” (Gough). Both have thus lost all the relative propriety of the word, all its correspondence with the actions before. The “gold chain” of the horn too, mentioned by Dugdale, Arch. iii. 170, and Gough iii. 65, was no part of the horn originally, but added to it by one of the canons afterward; the horn being described in the reign of Henry VIII.

was the horn at Bodmin probably ; not used as a conveyance of any lands to the church, but hung up merely as a symbol of that secularity, which the gentleman had once pursued but the monk had now relinquished, the horn and the wearer being equally dedicated now to God. ¹

as “ unum magnum cornu de ebone, ornatum cum argento de-aurato, ex dono Ulfi——, cum zonâ annexâ, ex dono magistri “ *Johannis Newton, Thesaurarii*” (Arch. i. 181). See also 169, 170, 180, 182.

¹ Forte die quâdam psalmos psallente Neoto,
 In Quôdam fonte, quo sibi moris erat,
 Quædam cerva tremens, fugiens per devia saltus,
 Dumos transiliens, invia nulla timens,
 Ante pedes Sancti prosternitur, auxiliumque
 Quod prece non potuit anxietate petit.
 Sanctus eam cernens tanto terrore subactam,
 Numine quo poterat spondet ei requiem.
 Sectantesque canes illam lacerare volebant,
 Latratuque suo signa furoris habent ;
 Sed postquam cervam cernebant ante Neotum,
 Protracti fugiunt et sua lustra petunt,
 Ac si percussi telo vel faste fuissent ;
 Illesamque feram Sanctus abire jubet.
 Cernens venator tantum mirabile, currit,
 Ante pedes Sancti mox sua tela jacet,
 Et se prostravit, precibus Sanctumque rogavit,
 Ut de commissis det sibi consilium ;
 Consilio Sancti, mundum de corde relinquit,
 Et monachus factus est in honore Dei.
 Ejus adhuc cornu, quod circumferre solebat,
 Est facti testis, nam manet usque modò ;
 Ex dono Sancti missum jure reliquiarum,
 Sancti Patraci pendet in ecclesia.

VI. The only remaining miracle in the life of St. Neot, is one that is little known, as having never been adopted by Tinmouth; that therefore excited my surprise much, when I first observed it in Ramsay; and was evidently omitted by Tinmouth, because it was *not miraculous enough*. The mind of man may be so accustomed to fables and habituated to extravagances, that all approach to the sober strain of history becomes disgusting; and the ravings of the Persian tales will be warmly admired, while the facts of Livy and the incidents of Tacitus will excite no emotion. The present miracle comes near to one of those incidents or facts, and was therefore a dish of meat too plain to suit a palate used to high-seasoned ragouts. It is merely this, as related by Ramsay himself.

“ The saint had a neighbour, a man abounding
“ with riches but proud in heart; one, who studied
“ to oppress the inhabitants of St. Neot’s, and com-
“ pelled them by threats or by violence to perform
“ him such services, as the law had never imposed
“ upon them.” The monk here speaks not like a
lawyer. He is under a cloud of ignorance, concerning the civil economy of our manors formerly; the service here meant being merely that of bringing home the lord’s corn at harvest, and this being a service common to every part of Britain. “ It
“ happened” accordingly, “ that the tenants were
“ once driving the lord’s wains loaded with corn,
“ in their usual manner, to the usual places. They

“ had scarce begun to move, when, wonderful to be
“ seen, a vehement wind came rushing among them.
“ So great was its vehemence indeed, that it forced
“ wains, and oxen, and men, suddenly to turn and
“ go back. All go back together to the field,
“ from which the corn had been taken ; as with the
“ force of a dart from a hand.”

The incident is very true, I believe, as it is certainly very probable in itself. A sudden wind arose as the wains were beginning to move, and in a direction opposite to their movement. We know from our own experience in Cornwall at present, where we still carry our corn on wains, and still draw it with oxen, piled artificially in rows upon rows of sheaves, raised to a considerable height, and bound down by a rope in several directions ; how readily such a tall structure catches the force of those rushing winds that frequently annoy us from the south-west. This was such a wind assuredly. The rising stories of sheaves could not stand the violence of it, the whole mass tottered from side to side, and all will instantly be thrown to the ground. The attendants feel the distress, run to support the load at the sides with their protended pikes, and goad on the oxen. But their labours are all vain ; the oxen are not able to advance, against such a torrent of air so obstructed ; and the sheaves begin to fly. In this extremity, no resource is left but to turn, to move before the wind, to seek the field in

which they took up the load, and there to lay it down again. Such an incident as this may have happened to many, and is likely to happen to all; our Cornish mode of forming our sheaves into round mows within the field, and there leaving them *saved* (as we naturally presume to speak), till the weather permits us to carry them into our rick-yard, being calculated equally to defend them against the wind as to protect them from the wet. Yet this incident at St. Neot's seems to have been rather an uncommon one, to have had a great degree of violence in it. For "as soon as the rich man heard of the storm, he considered it as sent for his sin. He hastens to the saint, he begs pardon, and by a perpetual donation liberates," not all his tenants, but only "the tenants of the saint," who must, therefore, have been the men carrying in the lord's harvest at the time. The lord had continued that imposition of service upon lands given to the saint, which was fixed upon them and all others before; but now, in consequence of a mighty storm that arose when the tenant of these lands was carrying the lord's corn, and from his reference of this storm to his continued operation of clerical lands with secular services, he freed these lands from the services for ever. So little of a miracle is there in this incident! And so plainly does it shew all the miracles to be, as I have represented them all, only incidents of common life, like this, heightened a little with the pencil, and

varnished a little with the colours, of romantic credulity.¹

Having now freed the entrance upon the life of our Cornish saint from those legendary tales that stood like so many lions and tigers to frighten us from it; having even made the tales, as some have made tigers and lions, to serve our purpose and draw our car triumphantly; let us hasten to attend the saint in his real history, and to mark him in his real manners.

¹ Life i. verses 485—502.

Dives erat vicinus ei, sed corde superbus,
 Atque Neotenses sponte gravare student.
 Obsequium sibi non linitum detorsit ab illis,
 Obsequium præstant veribus atque minis.
 Contigit, ut carros ejus de farre repletos
 More suo traherent, ad loca jussa sibi.
 Vix iter arreptum fuit, et, mirabile visu!
 En! ventus vehemens corruit inter eos.
 Carros atque boves homineque repente reverti
 Cogit retrogrados, vis sua tanta fuit!
 Ad loca quo sumpta fuerant simul omnia tendunt,
 Ac si telorum jactibus acta forent.
 Dives ut audivit fieri sibi talia, totum
 Quod male commisit imputat ipse sibi,
 Ad Sanctum properat, veniam deposcit, et *omnes*
Sancto subjectos munero perpetuo
 Liberat; obsequium nullum se spondet ab illis
 Post exacturum, dum sibi vita manet.

SECTION II.

“ In searching the library of this monastery” at St. Neot’s in Huntingdonshire, says that useful discoverer of the lives of saints, Leland, “ I found “ two, not elegant, but small, manuscripts on the “ life of St Neot, without the name of the author to “ either. One was used in the liturgick services of “ that church,” the history of the saint naturally forming a lesson or legend upon the saint’s day; and bishop Grandison, of Exeter, on that account, abbreviating the legends of the saints in 1336, for the use of his cathedral, with its subordinate churches.¹ “ The other, which was written partly “ in prose, and partly also in verse, exhibited I “ know not what affectation of eloquence, rather “ than the honest fidelity of history.”² The latter

¹ Leland’s Itin. iii. 66. “ Johannes de Grandisono *collectid* “ the legendes as they be now redde in divine services, in the “ diocese of Excester;” p. 64. “ ex legendâ Sanctorum secundum “ usum Exonien. *Eccl.* auctore Joanne Grandisono episcopo “ Exon. ;” p. 62. “ Joannes de Grandisono *abbreviavit* legendas “ Sanctorum in usum Exon. *Eccles.* A. D. 1336.” What was used in the cathedral became equally used all over the diocese; and these *lessons*, so replete with fiction in the opinion of protestants, became the origin of our *legends*.

² De Script. Brit. 143, 144. “ Vidi ego, excussâ hujus monasterii bibliothecâ, duos non elegantes de vitâ Neoti libellos, “ sed presso in utrôque codice autoris nomine; unus in liturgiâ

work is plainly the same from which Leland has made large extracts in his *Itinerary*; even that very work of Ramsay's, which in an affected and embarrassed prose, that loses itself at times in a double labyrinth of poetry, so usefully reprobates the miracles popularly ascribed to St. Neot. The former is also the same from which he equally makes extracts in his *Collectanea*, but professedly as "out of *the* book concerning the life of St. Neot;" and only interposes, or subjoins, some remarks of his own.¹

The first extract which he makes, is this: "Neotus, the son of Adulph king of Kent, and the brother of Alured the king."² Leland, however,

"eiusdem templi in usu erat, alter, partim prosâ partim etiam carmine scriptus, affectatam nescio quam eloquentiam potius quam historiæ fidem integram exhibuit."

¹ Coll. iv. 13. "Ex libro de vitâ S. Neoti."

² Coll. iv. 13. "Neotus, filius Adulphi regis Cantiorum, et frater Aluredi regis." In this point of the particular royalty borne by Adulph, Tinnmouth has followed historical evidence, while Cressy (in his *Church History*, 1668, folio) has gone after fabulous. The father of Neot, says the former, was "Rex Occidentalium Anglorum." "St. Neotus," adds the latter, "was descended of the royal family of the *East Angles*," (p. 706.) He copied Tinnmouth or Tinnmouth's author, saw the false appellation in him of *West Angles* for *West Saxons*, but supposed it a mistake for the only nation of denominated Angles in the isle, the *East Angles*. So a biographer of St. Neot, who is our prosaical Ramsay, says in Leland's *Itin.* iv. 135: "Neotus Evis [Eois], ut fertur Britannicæ (qua nunc Anglia) partibus ortus; parentes Neoti de genere Regum *Orientalium Anglorum*."

interposes a remark here, presumes to contradict the biographer, and avers without hesitation concerning St. Neot, "he was not the brother, but the nephew" of Alfred.¹ Leland has thus given the tone to all succeeding writers; antiquaries, like echoes, loving to return the sounds that are pronounced to them with boldness, catching only the last words generally, and repeating them even with the lisping voice of idiocy. St. Neot has thus been echoed since by every mouth to be the nephew and not the brother of Alfred. Yet, all the while, the authority of the biographer is infinitely superior to his corrector's. A biographer so early carries a decisive authority, in the region of realities. St. Neot, therefore, was undoubtedly what his biographer says he was, the brother and not the nephew of Alfred.

Yet, *how* was he his brother? By *Leland's genealogy*, "Adulph, king of Kent," must have been the brother of Alfred, and the father of St. Neot; while, by the *true* one, he was actually the common father of St. Neot and of Alfred. Ethelwulph, colloquially denominated Adulph,² and the well-known father of Alfred, had (as is equally known) three sons older than Alfred; who successively inhe-

¹ Coll. iv. 13, a line interposed by Leland between the extracts, "Non erat frater sed nepos."

² Malmesbury, f. 20. Savile. "Ethelwulphus, quem quidam Æthulphum vocant;" Huntingdon, f. 199. Addelwlf,—Aedhulf,—Adelwlf: Ethelwerd, f. 478. "De principatu Athulf;" Mathew Westm. 301. "Aethelulfus,—quem quidam Eadulfum appellant."

rited the crown before Alfred, under the appellations of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred. Nor were these *all* the sons of Ethelwulph. There was another older than all these, who is clearly exhibited to us in history for a while, and then lost to our notice for ever. Egbert, the father of Ethelwulph, had reduced the kingdom of Kent under his dominion, consisting of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Surry; but Ethelwulph, when he came to the throne of West Saxony himself, gave up the kingdom of Kent to *his son Athelstan*. "Contenting himself," says Malmesbury, "with the West Saxon kingdom of his ancestors; he resigned up the rest, which his father had subdued, as an appanage to his SON ÆTHELSTAN." ¹ Æthelwulf, son of Egbert," notes the Saxon Chronicle, "took to the West Saxon kingdom; and he gave to his son Æthelstane Kent kingdom, and Essex kingdom, and Surry,

¹ Malmesbury, f. 20. "Avito West Saxonum regno contentus, cætera quæ pater subjugaverat, Appendicia Ethelstano filio contradidit." This sentence shews our *appanage*, to be the very *same* word with our *appendage*, pronounced only with that elision of the intermediate *d*, which formerly pervaded our whole language nearly, and still predominates in the French. Among many instances that might be produced of this in our own, we find thunder pronounced thun'er in Lancashire, London pronounced Lun'on every where, Sud or Suth Sex called Sussex, Sudrige or Suthrie, Surry, and Sud or Suth Fole, Suffolk. Yet Johnson considers *appanage* as *appanaguim* in Latin, and explains it to mean a provision of bread. So forced and violent is *his* derivation, while the *other* is all easy and natural. So necessary is it also for a *Lexicographer to be an antiquary!*

“and Sussex.”¹ “Æthelwulf began to reign in “West Saxony,” adds Florence of Worcester, “and placed HIS SON ÆTHELSTAN king over the men “of Kent, Essex, Surry, and Sussex.”² “Æthelwulf,” subjoins Matthew of Westminster, “had a “FIFTH SON NAMED ÆTHELSTAN,—to whom he “gave all the kingdoms which *his* father Egbert “had acquired by power, contenting himself with “the sole kingdom of West Saxony.”³ This son was born *before* Ethelwulph was married to the mother of Alfred, Ethelred, Ethelbert, and Ethelbald; not indeed in bastardy, though the last historian says so,⁴ because all the other historians state him expressly, without any note of spuriousness, to have been the brother of them, but by some lady, whom Ethelwulph had married early in life, as he and all the historians attest Ethelwulph to have given him the *kingdom of Kent*. This son was thus a *king*, when all his younger brothers were merely princes. As a king, he fought a battle with the Danes at Sandwich, in the Kentish part of his

¹ Sax. Chron. p. 73, Gibson.

² Florence 291. London 1592. “Æthelulfus in West Saxoniâ regnare cœpit, suumque filium Æthelstanum Cantuariis, East Saxonibus, Suthregiis, et Suth Saxonibus regem præfecit.”

³ M. Westm. 301. London, 1570. “Quintum habuit filium nomine Athelstanum,—cui pater Aethelulfus omnia regna quæ ejus genitor Egbertus potenter adquisierat contulit, Occidentalia Saxonum *solum* modò ipse contentus regno.”

⁴ M. Westm. 301. “Non de matrimonio generatum.”

own kingdom under the year 851 ; was victorious over them, made a great slaughter of them, chased them to the shore, seized nine of their ships, and compelled the rest to push out to sea directly for their lives. ¹ But after this glorious commencement of his military career, Athelstan disappears at once. What became of him from this moment, no one has ever presumed to conjecture. Malmesbury expressly tells us, near seven hundred years ago, that he knew not his fortune and fate. "With how great an end," he says, "and with what end Ethelstan died, is all uncertain." ² Yet, however uncertain, I presume to conjecture and hope to ascertain. He merges from our view, I am persuaded, in the person, and under the title of our SAINT NEOT.

History, and the windows in the Cornish church of St. Neot, unite to suggest this. History avers, that St. Neot was what Athelstan was, "the son of Adulph King of Kent, and the brother of Alfred the King." A window adds, by an inscription upon it, that he was also a king himself, just as we have seen Athelstan to have been ; and that he did resign up his crown, just as we have strong reason to believe Athelstan did, to his *brother*. In that win-

¹ Asser. 6. "Eodem quoque anno Æthelstan rex, filius Æthelwulfi regis," &c. Huntingdon, f. 199. Savile. "Edelstan rex Cantiaë," &c.

² Malmesbury, f. 20. "Qui quanto et quo fine defecerit, incertum."

dow which gives us the history of St. Neot, the first compartment begins naturally with his first step towards a sequestration from the world, and exhibits an inscription which says, "Here he delivered his crown to his *younger* brother."¹ So far the accounts of St. Neot and of Athelstan are the same! Nor is this sameness merely in petty and incidental points; it is in great and important circumstances; it is, we see, in their common descent from Ethelwulf as the father of both, in their common relation to Alfred as the brother of both, and in their common possession of a crown as seniors both to their brothers.

But, there is also a circumstance of still nicer coincidence, in their history. St. Neot was the son of Adulph, not being of *West Saxony*, but "King of Kent;" being born, therefore, *before* Ethelwulf became King of West Saxony, and *while* he was yet only King of Kent. So the biographer plainly meant, and so Leland understood him to mean; Leland stating St. Neot to have been "the son of Adulph, alias Ethelwulf, son of Egbert King of the West Saxons," *himself* [Ethelwulf], as one [the biographer of St. Neot] reports, "*a little King of Kent.*"² That Ethel-

¹ Some account, p. 13. "Hic tradidit coronam fratri suo juniore."

² De Script. Brit. 143. "Neotus Adulphi, alias Ethelwolphi, filii Ecberti regis Visi Saxonum, ut quidam refert, reguli apud Cantios, filius erat."

wulph was ever King of Kent, before he became King of West Saxony, is not asserted by the *words* of history, but concurs exactly with *its incidents*. In the year 823 Egbert obtained a great victory over the Mercians, and, as Malmesbury relates, “while he was yet heated with his victory, sent *his son Ethelwulph* with a chosen body of troops into *Kent*, that they might annex this province to the West Saxon dominions; the party sent subdued *Kent, Surry, Sussex, und Essex.*”¹ Thus subdued by *Ethelwulph*, this kingdom would naturally be given to *Ethelwulph* himself, the very subduer of it, and the only son of Egbert. For that reason probably *Ethelwulph* gave it afterwards, on succeeding his father in West Saxony, to his eldest son *Athelstan*. The kingdom of *Kent* thus became in some manner what the principality of *Wales* is at present, a kind of secondary sovereignty attached to the heirs of the crown, and descendible on the heirs obtaining that to his eldest son. Upon this principle afterwards, resolving to retire from the world, *Athelstan* resigned up his crown, not to his father *Ethelwulph*, but to his “younger brother” *Ethelbald*, the next to himself in succession of seniority; and now heir in his room to their common father. *Ethelbald* accordingly appears to have been a *King*, and *King of Kent* in three

¹ Malmesbury, f. 19. “Fervente adhuc victoriâ, Ethelwulphum filium cum—electâ manu in Cantiam misit, qui provinciam—dominatui West Saxoni eo adjiceret; missi Cantiam, Southeriam, Australes et Orientales Saxones, subdidere.”

or four years afterwards. Athelstan fought the battle and gained the victory above, in 851; having then "Duke Ealhere" under him.¹ But this very Duke appears fighting another battle, within the same kingdom of Kent, and only two years afterwards, *without Athelstan*.² The latter, therefore, resigned up his crown to Ethelbald in or about 851; and Ethelbald appears with it in 855. Ethelwulph going to Rome in this year, and staying there for some time, "Ethelbald KING, "the son of King Ethelwulph," says Asser, "and "Ealhstan Bishop of the church of Sherbourne, "Eanwulph too, Earl of Somersetshire, are reported to have conspired together, that King Ethelwulph, on his return from Rome, should never be "received into his kingdom." On his return "from Rome, they attempted to repel the king from his own kingdom. At last an agreement was made, that "the *eastern parts* be given to "the father, the *western*, on the contrary, to the "son: for, where *the father in justness of judgment should have reigned*, there reigned the *wretched and rebellious son*; for the *western part of Saxony*," that is the kingdom of West Saxony "is, and was always, superior to the *eastern*," that is to Essex, Kent, Surry, and Sussex.³ Thus did

¹ Asser, p. 6, Huntingdon, f. 199, Sax. Chron. p. 74.

² Asser, p. 7. Huntingdon, f. 200, Sax. Chron. p. 76.

³ Asser, p. 8, 9. "Æthelbald rex, Æthelwulfi regis filius, et "Ealhstan Scireburnensis ecclesie episcopus, Eanwulf quoque "Summurtunensis pagæ comes, conjurasse referuntur, ne unquam Æthelwulf rex, a Româ revertens, iterum a regno reci-

Ethelbald, on finding himself so very close to the throne of his father Ethelwulph, by the retirement of his elder brother Athelstan, attempt to mount the throne before the death of his father; and compelled his father to accept *his* subordinate royalty of Kent for the commanding royalty of Wessex. "Among the antiquities of the church of Canterbury," we accordingly see, "there is found a charter of King Ethelwolf made at Wilton, dated *the year following*," that is the year 856; "in which he bestowed upon one of his princes, named Ealhere," the very Duke who fought under Athelstan in 851, and fought again without him in 853, "*for requital of former services*, a lordship called Lenham in Kent," the very county within which he fought both his battles; and the "King Ethelwolf, styled *in the donation itself* King of the West Saxons, yet subscribes *himself* only King of Kent," while his "son Ethelbald *abstains* from the title of king, and subscribes *himself*" merely duke and son of the king."¹ So modest and bashful was this usurping son in forms, though he was so presuming and audacious in acts! But Ethelbald appears plainly from all, to have

"peretur. Redeunte eò a Româ, tantati sunt ut regem a regno proprio repellerent. Regnum dividitur, et orientales plagæ patri, occidentales filio e contrario, deputantur; ubi enim pater justo judicio regnare debuerat, illic iniquus et pertinax filius regnabat; nam occidentales pars Saxonix semper orientali principalius est."

¹ Cressy, 722. "Ap. Reyner, in Apost, f. 58."

been King of Kent before his usurpation. Ethelwulph died in 857, by his will left Ethelbald in fair possession of the royalty, which he had violently seized before : and bequeathed the kingdom of Kent to his third son Ethelbert, on his death, the heir to the crown of West Saxony.¹ Ethelbald died in 860 without issue, Ethelbert the King of Kent succeeded him, and immediately suppressed for ever this progressive kind of royalty ; this royal step to the imperial throne of West Saxony, which had been first formed in Ethelwulph probably, had certainly existed in Athelstan, had even been continued successively in Ethelbald and in Ethelbert himself.² Thus, though Ethelbert was King of West Saxony for five years, yet Ethelred, yet Alfred, his successors in that kingdom, never became kings of Kent. With such a just precision does the life of St. Neot, and the inscription in the window concerning his crown, unite with general history ; in a point too of a nature merely temporary, sure, therefore, to be evanescent soon from the *memory of mere tradition*, and preserved only by the incor-

¹ Malemsbury, f. 22. " Testamentum fecit, in quo, post divisionem regni inter Ethelbaldum et Ethelbrithum filios," &c. Anno Dom. 857, " duo filii Ethelwulphi, regnum paternam partientes Ethelbaldus in West Saxoniam, Ethelbertus in Cantia, regnaverant." See also Sax. Chron. p. 77.

² Asser p. 14. " Æthelbald, defunctus est, et Æthelbert frater suus Cantium, et Suthrigam, Suthseaxam quoque, suo dominio (ut justum erat) subjunxit.

poration of tradition into biography, in the earliest life of St. Neot.

In the mean time, however, Athelstan having resigned his crown of Kent, retired from the world, and entered into a monastery. "Here," says the second compartment in the historical window above mentioned, that he "becomes a monk,"¹ The monastery into which he entered was the one which is so particularly described by me before; that of Glastonbury in West Saxony. For this circumstance we have the authority of Leland, who had read the earliest life of St. Neot,² and spoke assuredly from it.³ The publication of Capgrave's work, confirms the testimony of both. Nor can we doubt the truth of the triple report, when Ramsay also, the poetical and the prosaical, confirms the testimony of both.⁴ Nor can we doubt the truth of the triple report; though the poetical has intermingled with it, what the *prosaical* has not, what is yet repeated by Tinmouth as true, yet what is certainly false in itself, and what, in the too great briskness of our spirits at resenting such a detected

¹ Some account, p. 13. "Hic est monachus."

² Coll. iv. 13. and De Script. Brit. 143, 144.

³ De Script. Brit. 143. "Confirmaturus tamen eum studiosissimum fuisse omnium bonarum artium, et vitam in cœnobis duxisse celebrem."

⁴ Some account, p. 7, so a wooden tablet at our St. Neot's church, in the English verses inscribed upon it, says, "St. Dunstan was his teacher."

imposition, is apt to discredit the whole as a fable. He became a monk at Glastonbury, as Tinmouth tells us from the poet, “ while *Dunstan* was abbot “ there.”¹ Thus do these authors, by the astonishing dexterity of ignorance, overleap all the successive reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, Alfred, Edward, and Athelstan; vault from Ethelwulph, who died in 857, to Edmund, who deceased in 946,² and throw nearly one whole century under their flying feet, Dunstan being not abbot of Glastonbury till the reign of Edmund.³ One Elmmand was abbot in 851;⁴ the very year, certainly, in which *our* Athelstan gained his bloody victory over the Danes, the very year assuredly in which he resigned up his crown of Kent. The bloodiness of that victory, perhaps, disgusted his over-feeling mind. Nothing in the whole compass of human spectacles, I suppose, is so capable of disgusting a mind of sensibility, and making it loath

¹ Life. “ In Glastoniensi cœnobio monachus sub Dunstano “ abbate effectus est.” Berves, 85—86, 91, 92.

Cœnobiam Glastense fuit tunc temporis, alti
Nominis; et magnæ religionis erat:

— — — — —
— — — — —

Illi cœnobio sub tempore præfuit illo
Sanctus Dunstanus — — —

² Sax. Chron.

³ Malmesbury in Gale. i. 317. “ Edmundus, frater Ethelstani,—eum ibidem abbatem constituerat.”

⁴ Ibid. i. 316.

the scenes of secular ferociousness; as the view of a field of slaughter immediately after a battle, when the ardour of the soul has had time to cool, when gentler feelings have power to operate, and the eye has leisure to survey all the horrible carnage of the hand. But we have two remarkable donations of land to the abbey of Glastonbury, about this very time; one certainly by that very King Ethelwulph, and the other in all probability by this very Athelstan his son. "In the year 851," notes Malmesbury, "Elmund the abbot, with the consent of *Æthelwulf the King*, transferred Dulting over to the rights of the monastery; to which *the aforesaid king*, with the assent of bishop Alhstan," the prelate of Sherborne mentioned above, "added xx hides, for the furtherence of the *regular life*. The *same king*, we read, to have piously given the tithe of his lands, to the churches of his kingdom; at which time," the year 855,¹ "he gave to the monastery at Glastonbury, Offaculum, xxiv hides, Bochland, v hides, Pennard, ix hides, Occenefeld [hides], Scearampton," Shirehapton near Bristol, "vi hides, Sow, x hides, Pyrintun, Logderesbeory," Logperesbeory or Montacute-hill, "Occemund, and Bedul, Branuc, Duneald. ETHALSTAN the EARL, gave Clutton x hides, WITH THE ASSENT OF THE SAME KING ETHELWULF. The conveyance of this his aforesaid inheritance, THE

¹ Asser, p. 7. 8.

“ SAID EARL RESIGNED UP together WITH HIS OWN
 “ PERSON, to the monastery of Glastonbury; beseech-
 “ ing in the name of Jesus Christ, that the brethren
 “ of this monastery would never relinquish this inhe-
 “ ritance.”¹ The coincidence of *times*, of *names*,
 and of *circumstances*, binds this donation close to
 the history; shows us Ethelwulph giving twenty
 hides of land to the monastery, in the very year 851,
 on the entrance probably of his son Athelstan into
 it; shows us Ethelwulph again in 855, when his
 son probably had past that long noviciate, during
 which Ealhere the duke presided for him over his

¹ Malm. in Gale, i. 316. “ Anno DCCCLi Edmund abbas, Æthel-
 “ wlf o rege annuente, Dulting in jus monasteriale transtulit; cui
 “ etiam rex præfatus, Alhstano episcopo consentiente, xx hidas
 “ addidit ad supplementum vitæ regularis. Idem rex decimam ter-
 “ rarum suarum ecclesiis legitur pie contulisse. Quo tempore
 “ monasterio Glastoniæ dedit Offaculum, xxiv hidas, Bocland,
 “ v hidas, Pennard, ix hidas, Occenefeld, Scearampton, vi hidas,
 “ Sowy, decem hidas, Pyrinton, Logderesbœorgum, Oçcemund, et
 “ Bedul, Branuc, Duneald, Ethelstanus comes dedit Clutton, x
 “ hidas, assensu ejusdem Æthelwlfii regis Cartulam hanc [hujus].
 “ præfatæ hereditatis suæ, præfatus comes cum corpore suo
 “ commendavit ad monasterium Glastoniæ; obsecrans nomine
 “ Iesu Christi, ut fratres illius monasterii nunquam ipsam lin-
 “ quant.” In Monasticon, i. 9. we read with some variations thus:
 “ Athelwlfus rex dedit viginti *quinque* hidas, et *redidit* Dal-
 “ tinge; dedit etiam Offaculum; confirmavit etiam, de dono
 “ Ethelstani comites, Clutton,” &c. In p. 11, we read thus:
 “ *Quidam* Ethelstanus, consensu, ejusdem regis, comes,” &c.
 The contradictoriness of the records in the Monasticon, destroys
 their authority; and the documents in Malmesbury alone are
 authentic vouchers.

kingdom, and fought the battle in 853, when he therefore was now, as the second compartment in the window of the church, says expressly he was, *perfected* a monk,"¹ giving many more to the monastery; and finally shows us Athelstan himself, no longer a king, now an earl only (just as we have seen Ethelbald before, in an affected kind of delicacy calling himself a duke), surrendering up his estate of inheritance, *together with his person* to the monastery for ever. And, as I shall immediately show, at Glastonbury was kept for six ages afterwards, a striking memorial of his residence in the abbey.

Thus "perfected a monk" at Glastonbury, Athelstan took a new name, I apprehend. The custom of superseding the old name at such a time, by adopting a new one; is retained in monasteries to the present day. The resignation of the old is considered as one grand act, in the universal resignation of the world; and the assumption of a new one, as a signature of the new character of abstractedness now adopted. The king thus lies disguised for the future under the cowl of a monk, and Athelstan is lost to history for ever in the name of NEOTUS. Yet what could be the meaning of a name, so dissimilar to all the Saxon appellations, so dissimilar to all in scriptural or in ecclesiastical history? *This* I suppose to have been the meaning. In Cornwall he is

¹ Some account, p. 13. "Hic perfectus est monachus."

noticed familiarly by conversation to this day, *Little St. Neot*. "In person," from Ramsay we learn, "he was low of stature, another Zaccheus for shortness; he was so low, indeed, that in chanting the mass, he was always mounted on an iron stool, which then supported him, but now remains as a relique." "There exists in *Glastonbury*," cries the very historian of the abbey at the end of the *fifteenth* century, "an iron grate called *St. Neotus's*; upon which, as tradition says, he was wont to stand when he officiated in the solemn service of the mass, during the time of his living there."¹ In allusion (I suppose) to this very lowness of stature, which would dispose him the more to embrace a monastic life, as it would disqualify him the more for the martial activities then peculiarly requisite in a king; he gave himself the appellation of *Neorfor*, or the Little One, as at once descriptive of his person, and significative of his humility.² Nor let us wonder at a *Græcian* name, among Saxons. We see Edgar familiarly calling

¹ *Joannes Glastoniensis*, i. 102. "Extat autem in Glastoniâ craticula ferrea, sancti Neoti dicta; supra quam, ut perhibent, ad missarum solempniâ celebranda stare consueverat, quando illic conversatus fuerat." Cressy, 768, refers this passage to "Malnesbur. in Antiq. Glast." an unpublished part.

² *Neorfor* signifies any thing newly born, the foal of a mare, or the chick of a hen, so comes to mean the yolk of an egg, and may therefore mean, as our chick does, a little man. Hence we have *chicken-hearted*, *chick-pox*, and *chick-peas* in our language, all importing littleness.

himself "the *Basileus* of all Albion;" and frequently repeating the familiarity.¹ We see him once using another word of Greek with perfect ease, in his subscription to a charter "impressing the sign of the *ayia* cross."² We see even his grandmother, in the mere familiarity of the practice among the men, subscribing the same charter with a term still more Græcian, by confirming it with "the *crux* of the cross," in allusion to the cross-like form of the Greek *crux*.³ Even so early a writer as Malmesbury, first observes in a very remarkable strain of discrimination, that the writings of Adhelm, who died in 709, "have less of liveliness in them, than those critics require who estimate style highly, but see little value upon sense; reasonable judges not to know, that the modes of writing vary with the manners of nations, as the Greeks are wont to write with a closeness of language, the Romans with a splendour of diction, the English with a pomp of words;" then says thus, "in all the ancient charters we may perceive, how

¹ *Totius Albionis Basileus*, Malmesbury, f. 32. See also Wilkins's *Consilia*, i. 239, 240, 244.

² Wilkins, i. 244. "*Signum hægise crutis imprithens*." So in Ingulphus, f. 503. Dunstan says, "*hægise crutis trophæo corroboravi*." See also, f. 503, 501, and *Monasticon*, i. 17, for "*hægise crutis*." Again, Leland's *Coll.* iii. 349. for "*hægise sophia*;" in the eight century.

³ Wilkins, i. 244. "*Crutis taumate*." See also *Monasticon*, i. 109, for "*hægise crutis*," 244, for "*hægise crutis*," and "*crutis taumate*."

"much delight is taken in certain abstruse words derived from the Greek;" but finally adds, "that Adhelm however acts with more moderation, using exotic words only seldom, and of necessity, introducing his sound sense in the garb of eloquence, and decorating his most violent assertions with the colours of rhetoric; so that, on a full consideration of him, you would at once think him to be a Greek from his smartness of style, swear him to be a Roman from his neatness of diction, and understand him to be an Englishman from his pomp of words." But, what comes much nearer to the time of St. Neot, we see in his very early biographer two Greek terms used with equal ease, "Mesembria," *μεσημβρια*, for the south, and "Anthologia," *ανθολογια*, for the east. But, what comes up to the days of St. Neot at once, we find even Asser gravely using the word *υπεριον*, for a writing of Ethelwulph's, and calling Ethelwulph's do-

Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 7. "Sermones ejus minus infundunt hilaritatis, quam vellent hii qui rerum incuriosi verba trutinant, judices importuni, qui nesciant quod secundum mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involutè, Romani splendide, Angli pompaticè, dictare solent. Id in omnibus antiquis chartis est animadvertere, quantum quibusdam verbis abstrusis ex Græco petitis delectentur. Moderatius tamen se agit Aldelmus, nec nisi perraro et necessario verba ponit exotica. Allegat catholicos sensus sermo facundus, et violentissimas assertiones exornat color rhetoricus. Quem si perfectè legeris, et ex acumine Græcum putabis, et ex nitore Romanum jurabis, et ex pompa Anglum intelliges."

nation of lands to the clergy, the monks, the nuns, or the poor, *with his liberation of tithes from all secular services,*¹ for such it was in reality, and not a mere concession of tithes, *these having been conceded ages before,*² a perpetual “*graphium.*”³

So surprisingly prevalent, even to the amazement (I believe) of every classical scholar, was the introduction of Greek words into writing, during the ninth and a few *following* centuries! So much in the fashion of the times was Athelstan, when he threw off his secular name for a monastic one, and from his smallness of stature denominated himself in Greek, *Necros*, or the Little One. †

¹ Leland's Coll. iv. 13.

² Hist. of Manchester, ii. quarto, 438—440.

³ Asser, p. 8. “*Sempiternø graphiø in cruce Christi.*”

⁴ *Monasticon*, i. 218, for “*Basileus,*” and 243, for “*sophiæ.*” Matthew of Westminster mentions Joannes Scotus as killed at Malmesbury in the reign of Alfred, “*a pueris quos docebat graphiis perforatus,*” (p. 334). Malmesbury, f. 24, says the same thing concerning the same person, “*graphiis, ut fertur, perforatus.*” Wise in his Asser, p. 176, contends for these stabbing instruments being the ancient *styli* of the Romans, even then retained among us; actually affirming, that in “*Textu S. Ceaddæ Lichfieldensis (cujus notitiam fecit Cl. Wanleius Catt. Codd. Anglosax, p. 289.) quorundam Anglosaxonum nomina hodiè extant grafio aut stylo, non atramento et calamo, exarata.*” But he has neglected to produce three authorities for this interpretation of the *graphium*, which would have been decisive in his favour. “*When Julius Cæsar was assassinated,*” says Montfaucon, iii. part. 1. 7. 2. 1. Humphreys, 1723, “*he defended*

But there is a remarkable variation in the writing and in the pronunciation of this name, in the orthography and in the orthoepy of it. The name is *written* conformably to the etymology. But in that region of our isle, within which alone we can expect to find the legitimate sound of it, even in Cornwall, we find it constantly sounded *Niot*. Nor is this merely a modern vitiation of the sound. It is very ancient, even as ancient as the saint himself. Thus we see the church in the Valor of 1292, specified as "ecclesia Sancti Nyoti," by Spelman's and the Harleian copies of it. Yet much earlier do we see the saint denominated "Sanctus Niotus," by that

"himself with his *stylus*, and thrust it through the arm of Casca; "the *disciples* also of the martyr Cassian *stabbed him* with their "*styli*." Leland in Itin. ii. 53. says, the scholars of John similarly killed him, "by thrusting and striking him with their *table-pointelles*." What, however, bears more immediately upon the subject, we see the kings, bishops, abbots, and nobles at the council of Cealchythe in 785, actually "with a *style* put the sign of "the cross to this paper," the original record of the canons made "there (Johnson's Ecc. Laws, and Wilkins's Concilia." (i. 151.) "*Stylo diligenti in charta hujus pagine exaraverunt*)." So long did the *stylus* and the *tabula cerata* of Roman antiquity, continue in use among us; even to transmit the Saxon name of a "*pointelle*," for the former, united with half the Roman name of the latter in "*table*," down to the very days of Leland! But I can show the familiar use of Greek among the Saxons, in other instances; and every instance serves to lay open an unsuspected scene of vision to our eyes. Edmund, king of the East-Angles, was slain by the Danes in 870, was thirty-three years afterwards interred with the honours due to a martyr, and is said to have been preserved

Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118.¹ We even see him so denominated by that Cottonian manuscript of Asser,² which is supposed by Wanley, the best of judges, to have been penned about the year 1000, only a hundred years later than Asser himself.³ This mode of writing the name, however, was directed by the tone of pronouncing it, and the tongue dictated to the pen. But then it was solely the tongue of Cornwall, as the tone of pronouncing is purely Cornish. St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, is pronounced exactly as it is written; while, Melor, another saint of Cornwall, made equally an English saint by the translation of some of his remains into England, and equally pronounced as

from all corruption in his body, by an image of St. Michael bearing an *Ellenized* line in its hand, that was allusive to the miraculous fact. The next abbot after the removal of the corpse into a grand church built on purpose, opened his tomb, and "invenit unum changelum [archangelum] de auro opt. fabricatum, cubiti longitudine, jacentem supra pectus martyris, et dexteram gladium habentem, sinistram vero scriptum sic dicens.

"Martyris ecce zoma Michaelis servat *Agalma*." Leland's Coll. i. 222. In Monasticon, i. 218, we have also "somate tumulati;" as we have in the same page "philangyric," in Widmore on Westminster Abbey, p. 14. "onomate summi Kyriou," in Monasticon i. 101, 215, 218, 236, "onomate," in i. 236, "Kyrios," in i. 101, "baratri," "Karaxata," in Joannes Glastoniensis, i. 151. "Brithwoldus onomate dictus archonti Domino," and in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 9. "autumnali torrido—caumate," i. 602, "didascole," 603, "cosmi redemptorem."

¹ Florence, p. 309. ² Asser, p. 40. ³ Ibid. p. 137.

⁴ Leland's Itin. i. 1. "S. Neotes."

written in England, ¹ is pronounced *Milorin* Cornwall. Yet such has been the predominance of the Cornish mode of pronouncing the name, as actually to fix it in writing upon the English records above. The true, however, maintained its ground amidst all these Cornish encroachments; the name being still written "Neot" in another part of the Cottonian copy of Asser. ² "Neot," also in another, the Cottonian, copy of Pope Nicholas's Valer, and "St. Nyote, *alias* St. Neot," in the Valer of Henry VIII. From the peculiar celebrity of the saint in Cornwall, the peculiar pronunciation of the saint's name among the Cornish, had such an influence upon the English; as to overbear the very evidence of their senses at times, and to make the known orthography of the name bend repeatedly, before the believed orthoepy of Cornwall.

¹ Leland's Itin. viii. 54. "Meleri reliquiæ tandem Ambresbyriam delatæ." See also Monasticon, i. 191, 192.

² Asser, p. 30.

C H A P. II.

SECTION I.

WHEN we perceive the biography of a monastic saint, we naturally pass over many incidents in it, as the angels pass over the ground in Milton, "smooth-gliding without step." We thus "glide" particularly over all the virtues that we consider as merely monastic, and "step", only (if we "step" at all) upon the more active, the more social, graces of their conduct. We have even carried this fastidiousness of Protestantism so far, as to have become insensible to all the vital spirit of religion, and ignorant of all the living fires of devoutness, often kindled, often maintained within the walls of a monastery. By this means, the private conduct of a truly pious monk, one actuated by a flame from heaven in retiring within a monastery, one acting under a flame from heaven in his continuance there, has become such a novelty to us, as to excite our curiosity, and to engage our attention powerfully. I shall, therefore, lay before my readers such an account of St. Neot at Glastonbury, as a monk has given us near six hundred years ago; because it is an account not very long, yet very pleasing; sufficiently general to be very comprehensive, yet sufficiently particular to be very amusing, and shewing us the inside of a monastery, by its brightest light.

This holy man, "Neotus," says his biographer, the *prosaical* Ramsay, "drew off by imitation the "graces of all in the monastery, to make them his "own; and so procured for himself the reins of different virtues; ¹ lest the grand enemy of man "should find any avenue in him, by which he might "subject the whole habitation to his power, through "one lapse of intemperance. He, therefore, followed close after the continence of this man, he "*welcomed the pleasantness of another;*" a virtue little understood at present, to have ever resided within the gloom of a convent, or (if accidentally there) ever to have been thought worthy of adoption by a monk and a saint. A sun-shine here breaks-in to gild the gloom, to chase the owls that we suppose to be always hooting there, and to introduce the melody of the birds of heaven. "He "approved of the *mildness* of that man," so much more alluring does the inside of a convent appear as we advance! "he emulated the severity *tempered with mercy* in this, he explored and he experienced the *vigils of psalmody* in a third." Here we hear the cells echoing to the very melody of the birds, all literally the birds of heaven. "He imitated one man "in his exercises of divine *reading,*" exercises (as we have been wildly told) for which a monk had no

¹ This is plainly the meaning of the sentence, however strangely, it is expressed: "singulorum gratias, veluti sibi proprias, exhauriebat, atque diversas habendarum virtutes sibi comparabat."

leisure because of his public devotions; “ he endeavored to follow another in his fastings, but another in his humiliation of sackcloth and ashes. He admired the patience of a first man; he extolled, he embraced the *good nature* of a second.” We thus see all the gentler virtues that we cultivate so greatly, and rate so dearly in social life, equally rated, and equally cultivated in monastic. “ Holding in himself, therefore, a vicarious love for all, he proved himself humble to all, *affable in conversation, mild in transaction of business, venerable in aspect, serene in countenance, moderate in his very walk, in sincerity and probity, of manners calm, from his very cradle excelling in all chastity. A practical but pre-eminent life!*”¹

¹ Life ii. 1. “ Vir sanctus singulorum gratias, veluti sibi proprias, exhauriebat; atque diversas habenarum virtutes sibi comparabat; ne ullum inimicus in eo repperiret aditum, unde totum ditioni suæ vendicaret habitaculum per unum immoderantiae lapsum. Sectabatur ergo continentiam hujus, jocunditati gratulabatur illius. Istius approbat lenitatem, alterius cum misericordiâ emulabatur severitatem, aliis explorando experiebatur psalmodiarum vigiliis. Hunc lectiones exercitantem imitabatur divinas; istum jejunantem, illum exsequi nitebatur in pulvere cilicioque quiescentem. Unius patientiam mirabatur alterius mansuetudinem predicando amplectebatur. Omnium itaque vicariam intra se continens caritatem omnibus se præbebat humilem, eloquio affabilem, actuali negotio mitem, venerandum aspectu, serenum vultu, ipso modificatum incessu, sinceritate motum, que probitate tranquillum, omni castitate ab ipsis quoque cunabulis egregium. Practica nec non præpollens vita!” Timotheus has neglected one touch of the pencil in this

“ Such a care burned in him for some poor, that
 “ he gave to them directly all that he possessed,
 “ *except mere clothes and meat.* Yet he was not at-
 “ tracted by any favour of man, arising from those
 “ riches of virtue which had grown by the grace of
 “ God in him; *nor did he suffer his purity of con-*
 “ *science, to be even slightly stained with it.* For re-
 “ posing in his inmost bosom the saying of his
 “ gracious Master, he imaged it out to his whole
 “ soul; that his left hand should by no means know,
 “ what act of good hope his right hand had done.
 “ Indeed, he held himself even between both, to at-
 “ tend constantly upon doing good works, and *not*
 “ *to spot his works of charity with affectation of po-*
 “ *pular applause.* But he particularly applied to
 “ *frequent prayer,* remembering that command of
 “ the Lord, ‘ Pray, lest ye enter into temptation,’
 “ and that direction of the Apostle, ‘ Pray without
 “ ceasing.’ He often watched also *for such stolen*
 “ *applications to prayer, in the unseasonable hours of*
 “ *silence during the night; as wholly to disguise him-*
 “ *self by changing his cloathes.* Thus assuming the
 “ garb of a merely secular penitent.”¹ As such he
 had equal access to the church with the monks
 themselves, from a custom that seems very strange

portrait, content, as in other parts he is, to be a mere copyist, by
 changing the “ *venerandum aspectu,*” into “ *aspectu angelicus.*”
 And hence the saint appears in Capgrave, “ *of countenance truly*
 “ *angelic.*” (Some account, p. 15.)

¹ So I understand the words “ *inermium, penitentiam.*”

to our ideas at present ; yet resulting from another which appears equally strange, but is retained on the continent to this day, the general accessibility of the churches night and day ; a practice implied which shows a much greater devoutness in the people than what we now see, a much greater desire of praying to God, and a much greater of praying fervently to him, as in his own temple or at his own altar ; *“ he spent the whole night in a vigil at times praising the Almighty God. The principal care of the man of God, however, was, that no prying eye should catch any knowledge of him. Thus did he prudently shun any incitements to boasting ! But soon as did the dawn of day begin, he resumed his accustomed dress, he regularly performed his duties all the day, intent on the services and other cares of the monastery. He was frequently vacant also to divine readings, wishing to retain the doctrines of the most Holy Fathers that had gone before him. Yet, with such a life, he esteemed himself inferior to all, and listened with attentive ears to serve every one. Besides, he never sought the blandishments of a better dish, and never importuned his attendants for different or delicate, or any other provocatives of appetite. He was actually one, to whom fasts were very familiar, lest his body, by a more free indulgence, should swell with any insolence. Bestowing too upon the poor what he should have laid out upon himself, he enjoined late fasts to his belly, but provided heavenly*

“ dishes for his mind. No deaf hearer of the divine
 “ law, with all the powers of his soul and body he
 “ longed to be an imitator of his Lord. ‘ Man lives
 “ not by bread alone,’ he cries, ‘ but by every word
 “ which proceedeth out of the mouth of God.’
 “ There was likewise eminent in him a special con-
 “ tinency, worthy of our admiration and adoption,
 “ that in nothing, *however necessary to the body,*
 “ *was he ever complaining, or even inclined to com-*
 “ *plain, being in an honourable humility content with*
 “ *whatever was given him. And as long as he con-*
 “ *tinued to live in the monastery aforesaid, he*
 “ *moved so strictly in the speculative line of life, that*
 “ *he knew no one, and was known of none, except*
 “ *his spiritual brothers, and their venerable family.*
 “ Finally, such abundant grace by the divine will
 “ shone upon him, that he was venerated and loved
 “ with an incalculable diligence by all, without any
 “ intermixture of envy.¹

¹ Life, ii. 1. “ Tanta circa quoslibet pauperes exarserat cura, ut
 “ quicquid præter simplicem vestem cibumque habere posset, eis
 “ indilate erogaret. Hunc tamen favor humanus pro bonis quæ
 “ in eo divinitas exoreverant opibus non attraxit, nec conscientia
 “ puritatem saltem leviter contaminavit. Pii enim dictum magis-
 “ tri intimo recondens pectori, toto effigiebat animo, ne quovis-
 “ modo dinosceret sinistra quid bonæ spei peregisset dextera. Si-
 “ quidem se inter utrumque tenens, ut et bonus operibus assiduus
 “ vacaret; nec tamen caritatis opera popularis commacularet.
 “ Specialiter autem frequenti erat incumbens orationi, illius non
 “ immemor verbi Domini, ‘ Orate ne intretis in temptationem,’
 “ et Apostoli, ‘ sine’ inquit ‘ intermissione orate.’ Sæpentumero

In this manner he went on, till he was successively ordained deacon and priest. "He then became more steadily persevering than ever. For, as

quoque adeo furtivis intempestæ noctis silentio vigilabat applicationibus, ut quis esset mutatis penitus dissimularet vestibus. Inermium enim penitentium assumens tegumenta, in Dei Omnipotentis laudibus pervigili pernoctabat curâ. Hæc ideo Dei viro summa erat opera, ne cui forté investigatori ejus perpatesceret notitia. Fomes etiam sic ab eo prudenter vitabatur jactantiæ. Mox autem imminebant crepuscula lucis; assuetis resumptis indumentis, regularibus totâ die inserviebat obsequiis, cœnobii, intentus exeniis aliisque curis. Sæpe etiam lectioni vacabat divinæ, sanctissimorum jam præcedentium patrum cupiens adhærere doctrinæ. Tali tamen vitâ degens, se omnibus inferiorem æstimabat, singulorumque servitio attentis auribus inerat. Ad hoc, mollioris escæ blandimenta nunquam est sectatus, ne pro variis et delicatis et quibuslibet aliis gulæ irritamentis suis unquam fuit tædiosus. Immo [fuit ille], cui competenter familiaria erant jejunia, ne corpus quâcunque intumesceret insolentiâ, largiori delibutum effluentia. Indigentibus quoque propriam clanculo elargiens impensam, sera ventri dicebat jejunia, menti verò suæ cælestia administrans fercula. Non surdus divinæ legis auditor, totis mentis corporisque viribus fieri Domini percupiebat imitator. 'Non in solo,' inquit, 'pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei.' Miranda etiam et amplectenda quædam in eo specialis eminebat continentia, quodd in re aliquâ corpori necessariâ nequaquam aliquando alicui extitit querulus, immo nec queribundus; his tantùm quæ dabantur, egregiâ humilitate contentus. Quippe, quamdiu supradictis co-usus est congregationis vitâ, sic speculativâ perstuduit semitâ, ut neminem agnosceret et [à nemine] agnosceretur præter spirituales fratres et venerandam eorum familiam. Tanta denique super eum divino nutu enituit gratia, quatinus inestimabili ab omnibus veneraretur amoris diligentia, abque ullâ alicujus invidiæ maculâ."

“ the grace of virtue was doubled in its descent from
 “ Elias to Elisha, so was it from the bishop to Neotus;
 “ that he might both by his diligence act up to the
 “ dignity of the priesthood, and not lose the pur-
 “ poses of his prior religiousness. For who *did*
 “ ever approach him in sadness, and not return from
 “ him rejoicing in the comfort administered? Who
 “ did ever seek him with complaints of poverty, and
 “ did not depart from him content with their wants,
 “ rich in the riches of God? Who, when affected
 “ with sorrow, did not change his lamentation into
 “ joy? Who, burning with the fire of anger, was
 “ not converted by his words and fixed in the love of
 “ peace?”

“ When Neot had thus laboured, as an unfainting
 “ servant of God, in all the commands of Christ,
 “ he was admonished by a heavenly oracle to cul-
 “ tivate his new graces before the Lord God in
 “ another place;”¹ in one at which—he could *not*
 exercise them at all. What was this oracle then? The poetical Ramsay tells us, that it was the fear of vain-glory, from the only miracle which Neot is reported to have wrought at Glastonbury; when he is equally reported to, have wrought several miracles at his new residence, and must, therefore, in time, have equally abandoned the new with the old.² Yet Timmouth takes up the tale of the poet,

¹ Life, ii.

² Life, i. verses 293, 294.

“ Sed metuens sanctus, ne gloria possit inanis”

Ex hoc surripere, cedere sponte parat,” &c.

then blends the poetical and prosaical accounts together, and makes the oracle, whatever it was, admonish him to fly for fear of that vain-glory.¹ St. Neot, we are sure, must have been much admired, and much revered *wherever he was*, as having given up a palace for a monastery. He must, therefore, have *always* encountered a temptation to vain-glory, unless he could divorce himself from himself. And he, who had resisted the temptation so triumphantly at Glastonbury, could never have been compelled to fly from it into another country. The truth is, that Ramsay, who had assigned this reason for the saint's conduct in his poetical history, *rejected it as a reason in his prosaical*. He knew not the real reason indeed, and therefore referred it to an oracle he knew not what, pronounced from heaven he knew not how, and delivered by heaven he knew not why. Cressy was so sensible of this absurdity, that with a dexterity superior to his probity, he turns the oracle into "inspiration," and superadds "the permission or advice of superiors."² The permission Neot undoubtedly had, and such a permission was frequently granted to monks. The king had formerly changed himself into a monk, and the monk now wanted to retire; not, indeed, into a monastery less splendid in itself, less large in its numbers, less echoing with the fame of his self-

¹ Life, iii. "Populi tandem frequentiam ac favorem declinare affectans, divino præmonitus oraculo," &c.

² Cressy, 767.

devotion. He wanted only to do, as many a monk has done before or since, with the natural precipitancy of an active mind, that was bent on religious perfection, and stretching forth in one final effort to seize it; *he wanted to retire into a hermitage.*

The love of solitude, like the love of society, strengthens with the exercise, and grows with the indulgence of it. But the latter grows generally with frivolous, vain, and vacant minds; while that of the former generally strengthens with minds active, employed, and feeling, with the studious, the thinking, the religious. *Those* run into society to escape from themselves, to evade that *ennui* for which the French alone, from the airy vivacity *once* sparkling in their face, like their own champagne in a glass, have invented an appropriate name; and in which the empty mind, like the empty stomach, collapsing upon itself, excites all the disagreeable sensations of hunger.¹ But *these* take refuge in solitude, from the pettiness of conversation, the officiousness of civility, or the violence of rudeness, from that spirit of insidiousness, which frequently

¹ The French *ennui* is plainly derived from an allusion to the weariness and languor of a night-journey; *s'ennuiter* signifying to be benighted, *s'ennuyer* to be weary, and *ennui* weariness. A name has been thus affixed to a sensation exclusively by those, who felt it least of any nation in Europe, who, *for that very reason*, marked it first by an invidious appellation, and who *now* in the revolution of their politics, or in the whirl of their brains, or in both, have plunged headlong into all the gloomy fanaticism of liberty.

hovers like a harpy over the social board, watching what is said, falsifying it for mischief, and reporting it again in malignity ; or from that worse spirit of irreligion, which so much pollutes the intercourse of man with man, and taints it even to the very core. They thus turn from man to God, sure to find all that is lovely, all that is sublime, all that can engage the best of minds in the best of operations, the humility of supplication, the rapture of gratitude, the excursiveness of contemplation, and the solemnity of reverence. A solitude, so employed, might well become attractive to a religious spirit, like St. Neot's. But where did he propose to find this solitude ?

“ Admonished by a divine oracle before,” as Timouth tells us, “ Neot sought a remote place of solitude within the confines of Cornwall;—and, under *his* guidance who had admonished him, he came to a place *prepared for him by God*. For that *wilderness* is distant from St. Petroc's monastery, in Cornwall, about ten miles ; and deriving its name from this very man of God, is called Neotstoke by the inhabitants. The place, however, was woody, *abounding in rivers, and adjoining to the sea.*” This delineation of the state of

¹ Life, iii. “ Divino præmonitus oraculo, intra Cornubiæ confinia remota solitudinis loca quæsivit—et, ipso ducente suo præmonente, ad locum sibi à Deo preparatum devenit. Destat enim heremus illa à Sancti Petroci in Cornubiâ monasterio, miliaribus fere decem ; et, tracto ab ipso viro Dei nomine, ab incolis locus

our Cornish parish at the time, is evidently sketched by a writer, uninformed of its precise position, inattentive to its actual state, and unacquainted with its previous history. But the original of the sketch is in the poetical Ramsay, who has penciled it out in this form: "Neot seeks Cornwall; there wanders over many places, that he may at last determine where he may chuse to reside;" an assertion all contradictory to Tinmouth's, and showing Tinmouth to have shaped his history by his fancy at times; "he examines mountains, he searches vallies, and he crosses waters, to find a fit place for him." In what a strange attire has Ramsay here drest up our saint, fit only for a mere knight errant in religion. "At last appears a place agreeable to himself, and fit for brethren, if he should perhaps chuse to associate any with himself. The place was surrounded with wood, secret, pleasant, but known only to birds and beasts. The soil of it was

"ille Neotstoke appellatur. Erat autem locus ille nemorosus, fluviis perspicuus, et mari affinis." This passage is thus translated from Capgrave (by some account), p. 16—17: "He was directed to seek a retirement in the remote province of Cornwall;—the same Providence, which had moved him to undertake this journey, continuing to be his guide, he arrived in safety at the spot destined by God, and to be his abode; the hermitage, in which he settled, is about ten miles distant from the monastery of St. Petroc, in Cornwall, and taking its name from this holy man, is now called by the people of the country, Neotstoke; it is a spot abounding in wood, well watered with various clear streams, and not far distant from the sea."

“ fruitful ; but *having no culture, bore no produce,*
 “ *before the saint cultivated it.* The place was made
 “ *delectable by a river, and delicious by a fountain ;*
 “ *being near to the sea, and so the more commodi-*
 “ *ous.*”¹. Even the prosaical Ramsay has retained
 most of these strokes from his poetical pencil. “ Neot,”
 he cries, “ prepared to visit the regions and race of
 “ the western Angles of Britain, but the race is *re-*
 “ *ported to have been called by the Romans, Corn-*
 “ *wall ; he therefore soon reached the interior bo-*
 “ *som of a desert place,*” the author *here rejecting*
all the rambles that he has given to the saint be-
 “ *fore ; “ having thus found what he wanted, name-*
 “ *ly, an apt recess of solitude, he resolved to live*
 “ *here ; and this wilderness is distant about ten mile-*
 “ *stones from the monastery of St. Petroc, but de-*
 “ *riying a name from the blessed man himself, it is*
 “ *called NEOTESTOCE by the inhabitants of the place ;*

¹ Life, i. verses 312—322.

Cornabiamque petit ; isthic loca plura pererrat,

Ut tandem videat quò remanere velit.

Montesperlustrat, valles scrutatur, et undas

Transmeat, ut videat quis locus aptus ei.

Apparet tandem placidus sibi, fratribus aptus,

Si quos fortè sibi associare velit.

Silvâ conceptus locus est, secretus, amœnus,

Sed solisavibus cognitus atque feris.

Terra ferax in eo ; sed cultûs nescia, fructum

Non fecit, donec sanctus eam coluit.

Flumine jocundus locus est, et fonte jocosus,

Vicinusque mari, commodus inde magis.

“ being walled round on every side with the trees of
 “ a wood, *flowing with clear rivers, and continued to*
 “ *the sea as standing by proximity upon it, this then,*
 “ as we have said, the servant of God—embraced as
 “ *offered him by God his provider.*”¹ So very poetical is even the prosaical Ramsay in his language! Tinmouth has plainly consulted both, compressed even the language of the latter, and so made his meaning more visible. Even the prosaical Ramsay almost loses himself in a cloud of words, yet emits one ray of meaning through it. Tinmouth marked the ray, and just caught it in his useful contraction of the otherwise poetical diffuseness. But both Tinmouth and Ramsay have erred amazingly in their geographical notices, Ramsay leading the way; and his residence at Croyland, in Lincolnshire, leaving him no accuracy of acquaintance, with the relative positions of places in Cornwall. Thus all the three lives have fixed “ the interior bosom of”

¹ App. No. 11. “ Occidentalium partes gentis Anglorum
 “ Britanniarum (natio enim illa à Romanis affertur Cornu Gallie
 “ vocabalata) perlustrare disposnit, loci que mox penetralia de-
 “ serti interiora expetiit. Mox ubi quod percupiebat comperit,
 “ videlicet aptum solitudinis recessum,—vitam ducere constituit.
 “ A sancti autem Petroci monasterio hæc distat heremus decem
 “ fere lapidibus. Tracto vero ab ipso beato viro nomine, NEO-
 “ TESTOCE à loci incolis est appellatus. Qui locus nemorosis un-
 “ dique vallatur arboribus, perspicuisque emanat fluminibus,
 “ maris quoque superstat affinitate contiguus. Hunc igitur lo-
 “ cum, ut diximus, Dei servus—ut à Deo provisore sibi oblatum
 “ est amplexatus.”

this "desert place," the center of the parish of St. Neot, in the very vicinity, if not upon the very verge, of a sea equally to the south as to the north; when it is not less than ten or eleven miles from either. The residence of the author at Croyland, at what was *then* the distance of half Europe to a monk, must plead his excuse for the mistake. And, with this before us, shall we wonder at another mistake, that places "the *wilderness*—about ten mile-stones from "the monastery of St. Petroc;" meaning not, as an ingenious author has suggested, to soften the error, the town of Padstow,¹ but the town of Bodmin, the seat of "the monastery of St. Petroc," the seat of the principal house, and not the seat of a mere cell, when the monastery of Bodmin is not more than eight from the church at St. Neot's, and Padstow is not less than twenty. But we must wonder at a third error, that speaks of the region immediately about the church of St. Neot's, "as the interior bosom of a desert place," as therefore a "wilderness" in itself, "having no culture," therefore "bearing no produce," and "known only to birds and beasts;" when the very reason that drew St. Neot to it, the very oracle that admonished him of it, proves it to have been cultivated, proves it to have been inhabited, proves it to have had even a church within it, before the coming of St. Neot.

¹ Some account, p. 16. "The meaning must be, that *Neotstowe* "is about ten miles distant from Petrocstowe, or Padstow; not "from the monastery of St. Petroc, at Bodmin."

The brother of the saint, the celebrated Alfred, then only nineteen years of age, in 867 came into Cornwall with the design of hunting within it; and here heard, "of a certain church," as Asser tells us, "in which SAINT GUERYR rests."¹ This is a Cornish saint, of whom we know nothing, except that he appears from his name to have been a physician, that he was also sainted, after death for his religiousness, and was then denominated THE MEDICAL SAINT. Cornwall has thus the honour of producing the only sainted physician known, except St. Luke, I believe,² in the whole calendar of our religion. He probably exercised his medical profession at Leskard, distant about six miles to the east, in attendance upon the court of Cornwall there, and only a little before the visit of Alfred; then, from a mind deeply thinking and keenly feeling, became disgusted with the nothingness of wealth, the nothingness of grandeur; and, in a high tone of religiousness, retired from the shadowy forms of secular life to the substantialities of religion in devoutness, amid the adjoining wilds of St. Neot, within the cell of a hermitage which he constructed there. He thus lived

¹ Asser, p. 40. "Ad quamdam ecclesiam—in qua sanctus Gueryr requiescit."

² Camden, 138. "Ecclesia S. Guerir, si interpreteris Britan-nice, S. Medici." *Guerir* (Cornish) is to heal or cure (Pryce) the origin of the English word *cure*, and, as a Celtick word, of the French *guerir*, to heal; both words totally distinct from the Latin *curo*. The literal meaning of *Sanctus Gueryr*, is, therefore, *the Holy Curer*.

and thus died, I suppose, at a well that I shall soon notice as a little distant from the church, was buried within the church, and then revered as the saint of it; under an appellation of reference equally to his profession as to his hermitage, and in a full supersedence of his personal name by this double title of honour for ever. Such a saint was sure to attract the votaries of health, to his shrine. He particularly attracted Alfred, who was, in the general habit of his life, says Asser, "a diligent visitor of holy places even from his infancy, for the sake of praying and distributing alms there;" and who had acquired this habit from that strongest monitor of religion to the soul of man, the pressure of sickness; "being afflicted with a most grievous kind of malady, the piles, from his infancy."¹ Alfred, therefore, upon a visit at the court of Leskard, "turned aside" one day from his hunting in those wilds, went to the church of St. Gueryr in the valley, and became a supplicant at his altar. He "prostrated himself" there, he "continued long in silent prayer," and he intreated God, through the mediation of this medical saint, to remove his complaint. He then retired from the altar, went on with his hunting, returned afterwards into West Saxony, and in a few months found himself entirely relieved.²

¹ Asser, p. 40. "Quod genus infestissimi doloris [ficum] etiam ab infantiâ habuit."

² Asser, p. 41. "Oratione—finitâ cœptum iter arripuit, et non multo post tempore, ut in oratione deprecatus fuerat, se ab illo

“ Such a cure, so received by a brother, when he had
 “ struggled long and painfully to support himself
 “ under it, and had even been reduced by the extre-
 “ mity of pain to despair of life,”¹ must certainly
 have been ever present to St. Neot’s memory, and,
 from the freshness of the incident, would naturally
 suggest to his mind St. Gueryr’s hermitage in the
 vale as his scene of retirement, when he began to me-
 ditate a stricter sequestration, from the angular pro-
 jection of this province out of the rest of the island,
 from that resort of hermits into it which this projec-
 tion perhaps had produced so amply, and from the
 reported solitariness of St. Gueryr’s church in the
 midst of woods.

Directed by the light which he had received
 from Alfred concerning St. Gueryr’s place of retire-
 ment; and so acting upon the only principles, that
 could reconcile his conduct at once to probability
 of hope, or to propriety of wisdom; he set out for
 Cornwall, “ attended only by one person, *Barius*,
 “ who adhered faithfully to his person :”² or (as
 Tinmouth speaks to the same purport, but with

“ dolore medicatum esse devinitus sensit, ita ut funditus eradica-
 “ retur.” Asser adds, p. 19. that Alfred married in 868; and a
 little before his marriage he was relieved, “ eo amoto—alius in
 “ nuptiis arripuit,” p. 42.

¹ Asser, p. 42. “ In quo diu et ægrè per multos annos robo-
 “ rans se, etiam de vitâ desperabat.”

² Life, i. verses 311, 312.

“ Nec mora, discedit uno tantum comitante,
 “ Cui nomen Barius, qui sibi fidus erat.”

more fulness), "content with the company of one client, Barius by name, whom he had made privy to his design, and who with persevering fidelity never deserted him either in life or in death."¹ In the general predominance, of the English language over the Cornish, during the Saxon period, in the reference of the local name to a Saxon saint, and in that particular predominance of the Saxon in this parish, which was occasioned by both, so as to be apparent here at present. From the Conquest, the parish lost its Cornish appellation, and obtained what it bears now, this of NEOT-STOW.² Here the royal saint settled in what had been St. Gueryr's hermitage before, with his attendant Barius, near to the church, like St. Gueryr, for the sake of his devotions in it; and, consequently, near to the priest of it. He thus retired from the ample society of embodied monks at Glastonbury, and from the large resort of persons to him for edification or for curiosity, to a site completely sylvan, solitary, and savage; sylvan, from the extensiveness of its woods; solitary, from that infrequency of houses which these occasioned; and savage, from the number of those deer which (as we have reason

¹ Life, iii. "Unius clientis nomine Barrii, quem sui fecerat secreti conscium, comitatu contentus, qui eum nec in vita nec in morte, fidelis semper perseverans, non deseruit."

² Domesday Book, f. 120. "Clerici St. Neote tenent Neote-stou."

to suppose, from what we shall find hereafter, the patronage of the church being vested in the Earl-
dom) were originally appropriated to the king's own
hunting, as inhabiting the woods of the crown,
which had thus drawn Alfred to hunt in this wood-
land part of Cornwall, by an invitation from the
king to him, which continued (as the fabulous
points of St. Neot's history relate) all the time of
St. Neot, and even seem to have remained nearly
or wholly to the very day of Ramsay himself.¹

The love of retirement must have been a flame
in the breast of St. Neot, as strong in its power as
it was bright in its tendency, to make him meditate
such a scheme of retirement at such a period of life :
“ He was become a little old man,” notes Leland,
“ when in an eager desire for the life of a hermit
“ he went into Cornwall.”² Yet in this eagerness

¹ Life, 1. verses 448, 450, 452, 454.

De quibus hoc mirum fertur, quod tota propago
Ex illis veniens æqua laboris habet,—&c.

But Timmouth speaks more dubiously thus, “ asserunt—non-
nulli,” meaning Ramsay alone, his ever-credited author upon other
miracles, “ cervos illos et omnes de stirpe eorum prodeuntes, in
“ hujus rei memoriam usque hodie albedinem circa loca ubi lora
“ tetigerunt, albedinem prætere; hoc enim nec asserere
“ contendo nec de Dei potentia diffiden abnegare præsumo.”
Both refer the *miracle* to report, but neither refers to the continu-
ance of the deer.

² Leland de Script. Brit. 143. “ Illud non est omittendum, quod
“ seniculus Coriniam eremitæ vitæ propenso studio petierit.”

Life 3. “ Arduam virtutes austerioremque vitam ducere con-

he acted prudently, by not secluding himself singly from the world, by not burying himself alone amid the wilds of St. Gueryr, but taking a companion with him, and settling near to a church with its priest. From this conduct, solitude smoothed her rugged looks for him, a hermitage lost its dreariness of aspect, and, by the irradiations of social religion,

—There did a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
And cast a gleam over these tufted groves.

Yet there “resolving to lead a life of virtue more arduous and more austere than before,” cries the prosaical Ramsay, “he entered upon the life of an anchorite, as if he was a novice in religion; he macerated his body by fastings, by watchings, by prayers, and by other operose labours of justice; because,” as the poetical Ramsay had written more amply before, “Neot had not lived hitherto in any hermitical strictness, he takes upon himself the burden of an uncommon religiousness. His past actions he reckons nothing, he innovates his conduct with a new religiousness. All that he had previously read in books while he was young, he now turns to the profit of his holy work. Thus becoming vacant in heart to himself,

“suluit.—Vitamque anachoriticam veluti modo neophitus, &c.
“Agrediens, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, cæterisque operosis
“justitiæ laboribus, suum ibi attenuabat corpus.”

“ and to God alone; he is often cherished with the
“ conversations of angels.”¹

The grand object which attracted the settlement of a hermit to a place, as I have intimated in another work,² was always that magnet to the lovers of solitude and of nature, a fine fountain of water. This, therefore, is the sure accompaniment to all such churches in Cornwall, as are denominated from saints once resident in solitude near them. When the fountain is close to the church, as at Bodmin, St. Mawes, Germo, and Merther; we may be sure, I apprehend, that the church was posterior to the saint. But when it is at some distance, as in Piran, then the church, I suppose, is prior to the hermitage, and the saint of the hermitage, if the denominator of the church at present, has superseded the original in that honour. Thus at St. Neot's is a well about a quarter of a mile from the church, and we know the denominating saint of the latter to have been Gueryr at St. Neot's arrival, from his residence as a hermit at the well,

¹ Life, i. verses 328—335.

Hic quia non antè vixisset in ordine stricto,

Sumit in auditæ religionis opus.

Actus præteritos proprios non computat, actus

Innovat ipse suos religione novâ.

Omnia quæ juvenis in libris legerat antè,

Nunc in opus sanctum fructificare facit.

Licque sibi, solique Deo, de corde vacando,

Sæpius angelicis pascitur alloquiis.

² Historical Survey of the Cornish Cathedral, 1. 3.

and from his burial as a saint in the church, superseding the name of the prior saint, as St. Neot superseded his afterward. That well is to this day denominated St. Neot's; and thus tradition unites with history to fix the hermitage of St. Neot at it. When Neot settled in this parish, as the poetical biographer very usefully informs us, he "resolved to live upon the labour of his own hands;" and accordingly forms "a garden for himself." "With- in a certain fountain which the saint had in his garden," cries the poet, "were three fishes, &c." "Neot," adds the poet, "was one day chanting psalms in a certain fountain, according to his custom, when a doe, &c." That both these events are meant for the hermitical period of the saint's residence here, and *prior* to the existence of any monastery, though Ramsay, in the indiscriminating tone of his biography, has not referred them to the period, has even blended them with incidents relative to the monastery alone; is evident from his

! Life i. Verses 327, 328, 382, 383.

Hunc ergo Sanctus sibi diliget, excolit illum,
De propriis manibus vivere sponte volens.

— — — — —
In quôdam fonte quem Sanctus habebat in orto,
Tres sibi pisciculos, &c.

Life iii. "Erat enim in illo loco fons irriguus, in quo vir Dei tres pisciculos inveniens," &c. "Near the spot on which his monastery stood, there was a spring of clear water, which in the driest seasons never failed; in it this man of God perceived three fishes," &c.

H

own account of St. Neot spending some time in a hermitage before he built a monastery here. It is evident also from St. Neot's only attendant, Barius, catching two of the fishes in the fountain, and dressing them as a meal for the sick saint. It is evident again from the huntsman, who was pursuing the doe, being so struck with the sight of its falling at the saint's feet, as to become a monk; not in the saint's own monastery, because this was not in existence at the time, but in what altho' existed then, the priory of St. Petroc, at Bodmin. And it is finally evident from the contrasted appearance of another incident, equally legendary in itself, but as plainly relative to a monastery as those are to a hermitage; "the oxen of the saint" being stolen, "the brethren" being therefore unable "to use their ploughs," the stags "being yoked and ploughing continually through the day;" the robbers on hearing of the miracle, bringing back the oxen, becoming monks, living religiously, and dying happily, under the eye of the saint. So naturally does the biography divide itself, into incidents at the hermitage, and into events in the monastery; even under the confounding hands of that very Ramsay, who has actually fixed the anecdote of the oxen, between that of the fishes and that of the doe.¹

¹ Life iii. "Cum viri Sancti boves furto sublati essent, et pro tali penuria fratres, ad agros egressi, laboribus insisterent," &c. "The oxen belonging to the monastery were stolen; and for want of them the servants of the holy monks could not plough

At this well, then, which is to the west of the church, lying in what is a meadow under a wood at present; St. Neot resided as a hermit with Barbas, and communicated that reputed holiness which still adheres in part to its waters. That there was a good arch of stone over it; with a large oak springing from the arch, and with doors to the entrance; is well remembered now. "This beautiful spring," says a late author, who has happily caught some descriptive touches concerning it, "with a rill issuing from it, that constantly supplies the neighbouring village with water, is yet to be seen at the foot of a steep wood: about thirty [now forty] years ago, a very large and spreading oak, which grew almost horizontally from the bank above, and overshadowed the well, in a fan-like form, was cut down by the tenant of the estate for repairs," when it had been spared for centuries probably from a principle of religion. Weakly children used also within memory to be brought from a distance, even from the distance of Exeter itself, to be bathed in the waters on the three first mornings in May. Even now, the parish-clerk resorts to it in all weathers, as his predecessors in office have immemorially resorted, to fetch

their grounds. Then behold! many stags came, and continued obediently to perform *all the labours necessary for the support of the monastery.*" (Capgrave, as translated in *Some Account*, 19, 20.)

¹ Some Account, 17.

from it the water for the baptismal font in the church. The water itself is very fine to the eye, and very pleasing to the taste. Here, adds Ramsay, St. Neot "was daily wont to repeat the whole *"Psalter throughout;"*¹ thus going through a length of private prayer, to which *our* faint and languid spirits in devotion could never extend. But *our* spirits in devotion are not to be compared with a *hermits*. When the soul is constantly engaged in the contemplation, of that awfully important point of time on which it stands ; is tremblingly alive to its destiny in heaven or in hell, for the whole round of eternity ; then sees only the slight transparency of life, rising up before both ; and is continually breathing forth its supplications to God, its hopes or its fears concerning both ;— under this habitual discipline of devoutness, what must be the intense-ness, the fervidness, and the ardency, of prayer ? Infinitely superior must they be to those sensations of devoutness, which the man of business, or the man of studiousness, even if very devout, can ever feel in his bosom. The latter can be no more to the former, than the fugitive coruscations of an autumnal night to the steady radiations of a summer's sun. St. Neot, therefore, might well indulge himself in such a length of prayer, as to go through the whole Psalter every day ; by the frequent recurrence of his prayers in the day, and by the con-

¹ Some Account, 20, 21.

tinuance of them for a long time at every recurrence. But he also appears to have *chanted* his prayers, as the Psalter was his manual of devotions. So another saint, Adhelm of West Saxony, in the end of the seventh century, is stated by his historian to have "*chanted* his Psalter" every day.¹ All the prayers of the church, indeed, were chanted equally with the Psalter, down to the Reformation at least; and are chanted still in our cathedrals. The chant not merely assists the voice, and gives it a larger volume of sound for an extensive church; but, what is of much more consequence, augments the devoutness by the modulation of its tones, by the rapid flow at one time, by the solemn slowness at another, by the rise, the fall, and the swell; much more strongly marked than any of these can be in reading, much more *expressive* of devoutness in the officiating clergyman, and much more *impressive* of devoutness upon the attending congregation. A chanted prayer is thus the *poetry* of devotion, while a prayer read is merely the *prose* of it. So at least thought the wisest and the best of our ancestors; men peculiarly qualified to judge, because their intellects were exalted and their spirits were very devout; who therefore carried the chanted prayer from our churches into their closets. That the service of our churches *was* chanted, one useful notice from

¹ Anglia Sacra 11, 13. "Finis duntaxat percantati Psalterii
"terminum imponebat labori."

Leland will attest, and one striking example from history will demonstrate. Wulstan, a monk of Winchester cathedral, in the tenth century, says Leland, "was not without a voice finely musical, or without very great skill in singing; on both accounts, he became much esteemed by his fellow-collegians; and was thus at last made even *Præcentor*, a kind of magistrate in high honour among the monks formerly," in high honour among ourselves still, and the leader purely of the chants in our cathedral services.¹ But in the eleventh century, when Edmund Ironside, under 1016, engaged Canute and his Danes within the county of Essex, we behold an amazing picture of devoutness in the midst of a camp, in the open field, and in the heat of a battle; Ednod, bishop of Lincoln; "chanting the communion service there," even while the battle was at its very height, being overtaken by the close of it before he had concluded, and, while he was praying with lifted hands, having one of them cut off by the victorious Danes.² So early do we find (what we do not find in our cathedrals at present) the prayers of the eucharist chanted! yet still earlier do we perceive the chanted prayer, in private. In those illustrious moments of

¹ De Script. Brit. 165. "Nec defuit vox bene canora, ut neque summa canendi peritia; quo utroque nomine, collegianis suis ter charus erat: unde tandem et præcentor factus, quod genus magistratus apud monachos in magno olim pretio."

² Hist. Eli. in Gale 1. 497. "Dum missam cantaret."

death, when the celebrated Bede shone more than he had ever shone before, and was placed by the altar at which he had used to pray, there "he ~~chanted,~~" even with his expiring breath, "glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit;" but as soon as he had invoked the Holy Spirit, "he breathed his own spirit out from his body;" and thus, as the narrator concludes, *he was singing* "glory be to the Father," with "some other spiritual sentences, as long as his soul *was in his body.*"

In this manner St. Neot, as Ramsay tells us, "lived a solitary in the service of Almighty God, remaining known to very few for seven years." This, therefore, is a very memorable period in the saint's life. Yet, however memorable, it has never been noticed with particularity before, but left confounded and lost in the general mass of his actions within Cornwall. The poetical Ramsay first led the way to this confusion by reciting the miraculous incidents of the fishes, the stags, the doe, and the storm, though some so plainly

¹ Island's Coll. ix. 79—80. "Decantans 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto,' cum Spiritum Sanctum invocavit, *ex corpore exhalavit ultimum;—sicut audisti, quousque anima in corpore fuit, 'Gloria Patri,' et alia quedam cecinit spiritualia.*"

² Life, ii. "Solitariè igitur in Dei Omnipotentis servitio, uno *integro lustro, annique duobus, paucis admodum novis permanens.*"

hermitical, and others so evidently monastic, all in one tissue of narratives *after* the hermit had become a monk. The *prosaical* corrected this confusion, by rejecting the incidents themselves. But Tinmouth was too fond of miracles in the biography of a saint, not to recal the incidents and the confusion together, with the *prosaical* and the *poetical*; saying that Neot spent seven years at the place in "great perfection of life;" yet, like the *prosaical*, referring the *poetical* "conversations of angels" with the hermit, to a period when he was a hermit no longer, and repeating what he reports of the poet's incidents, with all the disorderly arrangement of the poet.¹

At the end of seven years, a third revolution took place, in the mind and affections of the saint. He

¹ No. ii. No. iii. "Transactis autem in loco illo, in magna vite perfectione septem annis; Romam profectus, et constructo monasterio monachos congregavit, et *frequenti angelorum visitatione consolari meruit.*" Capgrave, in *Some Account*, p. 17, maintains of course the same tenour, but with an improvement of absurdity upon Tinmouth's improvement. Neot, he says, "having spent seven years here, resolved on a journey to Rome; he returned home to build a monastery, and filled it with monks, and was thought *worthy of frequent consolation from angelic visitors.* Near the spot on which his monastery stood, there was a spring of clear water," in which "there were three fishes." &c. The tale of the fishes, is clearly hermitical; he next recites the story of the stags, so clearly monastic; and concludes with the incident of the doe, so apparently hermitical again.

improved the "gleam" which the company of Barrius, and the vicinity of the priest, had "cast over these tufted groves." He brightened the "silver lining," which from this vicinity, and that company, "the sable cloud" of a hermitage had "turned forth" upon "his night" of solitude. He deepened the irradiations of social religion, by altering his hermitage into a monastery.

In order to do this, as the prosaical Ramsay subjoins, "*being fired with a divine desire and love for the labours of pious men, he resolved to visit at Rome the churches of those princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul; he was received with very great honour by the apostolic lord; he largely conversed for some time with the very religious pope; he enjoyed his apostolical benediction, and returned home.*"¹ What then was the motive for this journey to Rome, and who was the pope that he visited? Ramsay, indeed, intimates here, that his only motive was a religious curiosity, a kind of spiritual antiquarianism, and an antiquarianism of the most elevated quality, as having a beam of heaven to enlighten it, and a flame of heaven to invigorate it. But, in his poetry, he had previously assigned another reason *along with this;*

¹ Life, ii. "*Pii laboris desiderio amoreque exignitus divino, Romæ principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli visitare proponit limina, cum honore maximo a Domino susceptus est apostolico; aliquandiu cum religiosissimo Papâ spaciâns; dein benedictione fretus apostolicâ, dum reverteretur ad propria.*" &c.

and had specified the very pope that Neot visited. "The seven years being past," he then cried, "Neot proposes to see Rome, that he may return more holy from a view of the holy places; wishing also to know of the pope, whether the life which he had now chosen would be profitable to him; he went, reached Rome, saw Pope Martin, tells him the cause of his coming," and "the pope commends his holy purpose, yet admonishes him to complete it with a holy execution. In a few days the pope directs him to return into his own country, to preach the word of God to the people." Here the poetical biographer is for once more useful than the prosaical. He presents us with a reason for such a journey, as is compe-

¹ Life, verses 338.

Illis transactis, Romam proponit adire,
 Ut loca sancta videns, sanctior hinc rediret.
 Scire volens etiam de Papâ, si sua vita,
 Quam nunc delegit, sit sibi proficua.
 Ivit, pervenit Romam, Papanque videndo
 Nomine Martinum, pronus adorat eum.
 Papa videns illum vultus fulgorè nitentem,
 Adventus causam quærit; et ille docet.

Ejus propontum sanctum commendat, eumque
 Admonet, ut sancto fine perornet idem.

Postque dies paucos jubet illum Papa redire
 In patriam, populo spargere verba Dei.

tent in itself, and speaks its own propriety. Neot went to consult the pope upon this grand change in his religious life, being humble enough to seek the advice of another upon it; looking up, therefore, to some holy bishop for his adviser, and so turning his thoughts naturally to that bishop, who was seated at the centre of all theological intelligence to Europe, who was revered as a kind of apostle by half the world. The pope approved of the change, that Neot was meditating in his mind; and advised him to pursue it. He returned, adds the prosaical writer, "in the spirit of heaven, gave himself over to a *pure life*, and in it merited to receive very frequent visits from angels.—In the same place, therefore, he began to build a monastery of brethren."¹ Or, as the poetical gives us this closing fact, which fixes decisively the tone and meaning of all the others, "Neot, returning to his own country, repaired to the desert which he inhabited before, and there erected houses for religion."² So happily do the poet and the prose writer unite together at last, to show us the purport of this extraordi-

¹ Life, ii. "Iterum puriori vitæ se cœlitus studuit mancipandum: ubi siquidem frequentissimè angelicâ meruit perfrui visitatione.—In eodem igitur loco, cœnobium cœpit edificare fratrum."

² Life, i. verses 367—370.

"Ad patriam tandem veniens, deserta petivit

"Quæ prius incoluit, advena quam fuerit.

"Arigit inde domos aptatas religioni."

nary visit to Rome, to reconcile it with propriety to the character of Neot, and to carry it with energy to our hearts of love for him.

This anecdote serves to shew us what the suspiciousness of protestant scepticism would suggest; how much Ramsay, even the prosaical Ramsay, was inclined to decorate the plainness of history with the embroideries of fancy in his Neot. Such a journey as this, indeed, may seem totally incompatible with the old age of Neotus when he came into Cornwall, and with his hermitical life of seven years in the county; but the seeming results only from our own minds, ignorant as they are of the powerful principle that produced such a journey, and of the familiarity of such a journey even to English hermits at the time. Nor does the reason appear insignificant in itself; because he went not merely to obtain the pope's permission for erecting a monastery here,¹ but to consult him upon a solemn change in his life; upon a liberation of himself from all his hermitical vows, and a remission of himself to a laxer life. Nor does chronology throw off the incident from history, as injurious to the health, and even hostile to the life, of truth; though the very pope, to whom the application is said to have been thus made, and by whom the permission is reported to have been thus granted, is one who

¹ Capgrave, in p. 17, of some account: "He returned home with the pope's blessing, and with *permission to build a monastery at this his place of retirement.*"

died in 885, and became pope only in 884 or 883 before, who therefore became not pope at all till *some years after Saint Neot was dead*; this saint dying (as I shall soon prove) in or before the year 878.¹ We must not push a mistake in chronology into a proscription of a narrative. A failure in a date or a name, carries no conviction of falsehood against the whole. And to suppose it does, is to sacrifice substance to circumstance, to resign up half the history of the world to reprobation.

Yet what and where was this monastery built? It seems to have been merely, like our priory at St. Germain's, the rectorial house of the parish-priest rebuilt and enlarged into a college of clergy, all charged with the care of the parish, and all sharing in the endowments of the church. St. Neot, adds Cressy with an useful rhetoricalness at this period, "by a renewed inspiration of God was called to return to an active life for the spirituall good of others; since that, by so long continued internall exercises, he had enriched his soule with such a treasure of vertues solidely established, that without any danger to himself he might attend to the

¹ Florence, p. 320. "884.—Marinus [Martinus] 107 Papa;—885 Marinus [Martinus]—Papa sende *thalignum Domini* Æl-frede cyninge;—885—departed the good papa Martinus." Asser, p. 87-39. "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXXIV—beatæ memoriæ Marinus [Martinus] papa universitatis viam migravit,—qui—regi—transmisit—non parvam illius—crucis—partem in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus—pependit."

“ care of his Christian neighbours. He therefore,
 “ changing his manner of life, employed himself in
 “ preaching and instructing the ignorant; in reform-
 “ ing the lives of profane and sensual Christians, in
 “ comforting the afflicted; and, in a word, in dis-
 “ solving all the snares spread by the Devil to en-
 “ trap unwary, negligent, tepid souls. Few there
 “ were in the same unhappy age who employed
 “ themselves in such works of Christian zeal and
 “ charity; so that great multitudes had recourse to
 “ him, for their spirituall necessities. And many
 “ also, whose hearts the spirit of God had touched
 “ with a contempt and hatred of worldly vanities,
 “ came to him for his instructions in a religious con-
 “ versation; whom he charitably received, assisting
 “ them not only with counsel, but furtherance also
 “ in executing so good a design. For he built a
 “ monastery, into which he gathered great numbers
 “ of devout persons, weary of the distractions and
 “ solitudes of the world; over whom he became
 “ abbot and spirituall father, instructing them in
 “ piety, and directing them in the ways of perfec-
 “ tion.” Or, as another writer to the same pur-
 port tells us, “ St. Neot’s fame being spread abroad,
 “ some secular nobles renounced the world with its
 “ allurements, requested to wear the habit of true
 “ religion, and begged to be trained in his disci-
 “ pline. At the same place, therefore, he built a

monastery, in which he assembled a number of monks, and became at once abbot and rector to them." St. Neot thus, after an experience for seven years of that contemplative life, which is supposed by some to be peculiarly *untive* of the soul to God, and therefore the consummation of religious excellence upon earth, "returned" to those activities of religion; in which he had been engaged at Glasbury before, of which we know the very religion of the angels themselves to consist particularly, and by which every good parish-priest becomes a kind of human angel to his parishioners; usefully showing them the practicability of religiousness, amid the avocations, the distractions, the temptations of life, brightly displaying the beauty of it in his general habits of life, warmly enforcing the happiness of it in his addresses to them, and then feeling himself singularly happy in this "work of zeal and charity" among them. A clergyman religious, spirited, and judicious, at the head of a parish, is one of the highest characters in the scale of human excellence, most beneficial to the interests of man, most valuable in the eye and heart of God.

But let us see what our regular informants tell us concerning the monastery, even though we are

¹ *Joannes*, i. 111. "Vulgat à ejus famâ, seculi nobiles; mundum cum suis illecebris abdicantes, veræ que religionis habitum quærentes, suis cupiebant instrui disciplinis. In eodem igitur loco edificavit cœnobium, in quo aggregavit numerum monachorum, factusque est abbas et rectori."

obliged to repeat what we have cited from them before. "In the same place, then," says our principal informant, "relying upon that God who built with him, he began to build a monastery of brethren, which by the divine blessing and his own attentions he speedily finished. In this he assembled innumerable brethren to attend upon the Lord, and carefully trained them in the regular institutions of a monastery. Many nobles of the state also, renouncing the world with all its allurements, and seeking the habit of true religiousness, were warm to be trained in his salutary discipline, and to be formed by his salutary regulations. Some persons even, impelled by the report of his goodness, brought him their own sons to be formed in the service of Almighty God. The western Britons now called him their father, their master, the father of their country; yet he himself, as wholly fixed in heaven, and trampling the world under his feet, and wishing to please Almighty God alone, applied himself to prayers and to watchings, carefully recommending himself *and his affairs* to the Lord, on whom he had now from earliest life rested all his hope." ¹ But,

¹ Life ii. "Multi præterea sæculo nobiles, mundum suis cum illecebris abdicantes, veræquæ religionis habitum quærentes, suis ardescebant instrui disciplinis, imbuique salutaribus regulis. Nonnulli verò, ejus bonitatis famâ citati, ad imbendum ei proprios in Dei Omnipotentis servitio deferebant filios. Jam patrem, jam Dominum, jam patriæ auctorem, oc-

as the poet tells us to the same purport, "Neot
 " there erects rooms fitted for religiousness," as the
parts of a monastery. Willing also to save others
 with himself, he looks out for "brethren, who
 " would willingly abide with him. By his exhor-
 " tations many propose to relinquish the world,
 " come to him, and seek the seeds of holiness from
 " him. The saint receives them, gives them his
 " hermitical plans," softened down by his monastic
 rules, "and trains them in their new garbs under
 " his new religiousness. For," as the poet goes on to
 say, in a strain, that at once refutes his previous de-
 clarations of the uncultivated and uninhabited state
 of the parish, yet gives us too true a picture prob-
 ably of the inhabitants *then*, "the people were
 " previously *barbarians, leading their whole lives*
 " *without any fear of God*. And in a short space
 " of time, by the co-operation of God, a grand so-
 " ciety of monks is formed."¹ In this society he

" cidentales nuncupabant. In eodem igitur loco, co-edificatore
 " fidens Deo, cœnobium cœpit edificare fratrem, quod divino
 " dispositu celerique attentione est ad unguem perductum. In
 " quo, innumeris ad Domino famulandum aggregatis fratribus,
 " regularibus accuravit comparare institutionibus. Ipse verò om-
 " nia mundi jam quasi cœlo positus calcans, solique Deo Omni-
 " potenti morigerari desiderans, orationibus et vigiliis incumbe-
 " bat, seque, suaque Domîno sedulò commendabat, cui jam prime
 " ævo omnem spem suam contulerat."

¹ Life i. verses 368-377.

Erigit inde domos aptatas religioni,
 Ecclesiamque novam construit ille Deo,

combined with himself Barius assuredly, who attended him into Cornwall, adhered to him in his hermitage for seven years afterward, and continued with him to the last. To him he added the priest of the parish probably, who had been urging him to consult the Pope, and perhaps suggested this change in the life of a saint, thus eventually drawing his graces from the shade of contemplation, "the sylvæ academi" of devoutness, "in solem et pulverem palæstræ." To both he added a couple of adjoining "nobles;" perhaps the lord of the parish in consequence of the storm, and the keeper of the hounds in consequence of the conversation concerning the hunted doe. *Two* are sufficient to answer the many of the biographers, such writers as these being still children in judgment, always therefore magnifying the objects described, and multiplying the number of them. Thus the poet calls the society of monks here a "grand" one; and the prose writer, more poetical than the poet himself, asserts it to have consisted of "innumerable" persons. But, in both, the biographer is betrayed by the rhetorician. The monastery was

Ejus adhortatu multi cōtempnere mundum
 Proponunt; veniunt; semina sancta petunt.
 Sanctus eos recipit, hermitica schemata donat,
 Vestitos format religione novâ:
 Barbara namque priùs gens extitit undique, vitam
 Totam deducens absque timore Dei.
 Inque brevi spatio per Sanctum grex monachorum
 Grandis adunatur; sic operante Deo.

not large, and the members of it were not many. This, the most authentic of all records, shews us. In Doomsday Book "the clerks" and "the presbyters" of St. Neot, as they are significantly denominated from being the incorporated priests and [the ministering] clerks of the church, appeared to have only *two* hides of land, previously valued in *twenty* shillings, then worth *five* only; and are said to have kept only *four* bordarii, for the management of them.¹ A society maintained by four farm-servants, and provided with land of twenty shillings a year, even of five, in value, could not maintain "innumerable" persons within it; could contain very few; and must have been not "grand," but small, in itself.

The tithes of the parish indeed are not noted here or elsewhere, in Doomsday Book; and one of these hides assuredly composed, with the tithes, the original endowment of the church. The other was a donation to St. Neot, probably from the king of the country, admiring the devoutness of his royal brother, and shewing his admiration in his patronage of the royal monk; as we shall soon see the Earl of Cornwall, the successor of the king in all his pow-

¹ Doomsday Book, f. 121. "Clerici S. Neoti tenent Neotes-toll, et tenebant tempore Regis Edwardi. Ibi sunt ii hidæ, quæ nunquam geldaverunt. Ibi sunt iv bordarii. Valet v solidos.—Presbyteri habent,—prius valebat xx solidos." This is the oldest, and indeed the only proof that I know, of the clerks in our churches being noticed as such.

ers, exerting his power of patronage over the monastery. But all was taken away, except one acre, by Robert Earl of Cornwall, soon after the Conquest, yet before Domesday Book was drawn up.¹ "We cannot wonder," says an ingenious writer accordingly, "that *no traces* of the monastery founded here by St. Neot should *now remain*; when we consider, that it was stripped of its possessions, soon after the Conquest, by Robert Earl of Mortaigne."² It was stripped of *nearly all its lands*, an acre only being left to the clergy. Yet we must not therefore suppose, that, deprived of their little support, the few monks were compelled to relinquish their abode, and the small monastery sunk in ruins under the dilapidations of neglect. No! This acre is expressly declared to have been one *carucate*, and was in fact, six scores of statute-acres.³ The monks too were presbyters and clerks, collegiate to take the common superintendence of the parish, and retaining in their hands, when Norman sacrilege had done its worst, the whole *tithes* with 120 acres of *glebe*. Accordingly William, who in 1091 succeeded Robert in his earldom of Cornwall, founded the priory of Montacute in Somersetshire; gave his priory, among other things, these

¹ Domesday Book, f. 121. "Totam hanc terram, præter unam acram terræ quum presbyteri habent, abstulit comes ab ecclesiâ. Odo tenet de eo."

² Some account, p. 3.

³ See vii. 2. of Hist. Survey of the Cornish cathedral.

strangely misnamed benefices "in Cornwall," of which he must therefore have been respectively the patron, "the churches of Lerky," Elerky or Ver-yan, that residence once of the kings of Cornwall; "Altremine," or Alternun, betwixt Bodmin and Launceston; "SENNET," or St. Neot, the church endowed with one hide *extraordinary*, but having its presbyters in a college at it; "and St. Carantocus," or Crantock, "with all their appurtinencies in *lands and tithes.*"¹ St. Neot's college, as well as St. Carantock's, was now appropriated to the priory of Montacute; and the 120 acres of glebe were ceded with the tithes of the former, to that priory. Yet, had this been all, neither the church nor the college had suffered. Only the patronage of the church had been transferred from the earl to the prior, and the clergy would still have lived with

¹ *Monasticon*, ii. 90. "Et in Cornubiâ ecclesiam de Lerky, ecclesiam de Altremine, ecclesiam de Senneot, et ecclesiam de Sancto Carentoco, cum omnibus quæ ad eas pertinent tam in terris quàm in decimis." So in *Monasticon*, i. 669, "in Cornubiâ ecclesiam de *Altremine* et ecclesiam de *Sennet* et ecclesiam de *Sancto Carentoco*, et cum omnibus quæ ad eas pertinent tam in terris quàm in decimis, et ecclesiam de *Lerky* cum omnibus quæ ad eam pertinent." But in i. 670, we have the names thus properly expressed in general. "Ecclesiam de *Alternona*, ecclesiam *S. Neoti*, ecclesiam *S. Karentoci*, et ecclesiam de *Lerchi*;" and again, in the next column, thus, "ecclesiam de *Alternona*, ecclesiam *Sancti Neoti*, ecclesiam *Sancti Karentoci*, cum omnibus earum ecclesiarum pertinentiis, ecclesiam de *Lerchy* cum appendiciis."

their ancient allocations in their ancient college. But all the four churches were now converted into vicarages at the same instant; *the great tithes* diverted to the use of the priory, only *the small* allowed, with a few particles of the glebe, to the one parish-priest; the inhabitants of the college, as at St. German's, being all changed into monks. Accordingly the glebe and tithes still attached to the rectory are estimated in the valor of Pope Nicholas at *ten pounds*; while the vicarage is rated at *twenty shillings* only. The college thus remained still, but with monks instead of priests. Yet the author of the *English* lines upon the tablet of St. Neot's church, speaking with the very language of Doomsday Book, and therefore speaking of what had continued this language so long by its own continuation, as to make the tradition cover the change entirely; affirms St. Neot to have had "a college of "clarks" here, of high reputation *while he lived*, and of higher still *after his death*. So changed insensibly to the eye of tradition, the college remained to the æra of the Reformation; but remained merely as a cell to the priory of Montacute, and was then dissolved with it.

’ “ But thence enforced by furious Danes,
 “ He forward took his way
 “ To Guerriers-Stoke for his repose,
 “ His place so called of yore,
 “ But now best known by Neot's name,
 “ More famous than before;

“ For

Nor can we infer, as acuteness of discernment,
ever

—————like a greyhound in the slip
Straining upon the start,

and eager to break away on the chace, is ready to infer; that St. Neot's college or monastery was destroyed before Capgrave wrote, because he speaks of "the spot on which his monastery," not *stands*, but "stood."¹ We may as well conclude a current there to have likewise disappeared, because he equally avers, that "near the spot on which his "monastery *stood* there *was* a spring of clear water, which in the driest seasons never failed."² The mere language of writers not very precise in their selection of terms, is seldom to be made the ground-work of an argument. The monastery or college remained, even to the days of Leland; and, by the dissolution of it then, the church became simply parochial again. "Neotestoke in Cornwall," says Leland, "was formerly a monastic, "but *is now* a parochial, church."³ What had been raised from a parochial to a monastic or col-

"For why? a college here of clarks
"He had, whose fame increased
"When as his corpse were clad in clay,
"And he from hence diceased."

¹ Some account, p. 17.

² Some account, p. 17.

³ Coll. iv. 13. "Neotestoke in Cornubiâ, olim monasterio, "nunc verò parochiali ecclesiâ."

legiate church before, by the management of St. Neot, and the patronage of a Cornish king; was now reduced back to its original condition, by that sweeping sacrilege of protestantism, which continued all the rapacities of popery even while it pretended to reform popery itself, and then shot out into greater rapacities of its own. It did so, by taking away the pope's arbitrary, burthensome imposition of "annates, or first-fruits," upon bishoprics or archbishoprics, yet laying it *anew* upon them, extending it even to *all* church-preferments, and then transferring the whole to *another* pope, a *secular* one, the very king himself; even aggravating the insult from this mockery of reformation, by *enhancing* and *heightening* these "first-fruits" in a *new* and *enlarged* valuation of all preferments; and actually crowning the whole system of tyrannical sacrilege by *another* imposition; one *never* thought of by the real pope, one carrying the sacrilege through *every* year of possession, *an annual tax of tenths*.¹ It did so again, by leaving the vicarages

¹ Statutes, 25 H. VIII. c. xx, and 26 H. VIII. c. iii. Mr. Newcome, in his History of St. Alban's Abbey, p. 430, says: "These innovators changed its old name, as if to disguise its origin, and called it now by a new appellation of *first-fruits*;" because it is called only "first-fruits" in the *latter* law, when it is actually called "annates, or first-fruits," in the *former*. "First-fruits" is the English, or popular appellation, and "annates" the Latin, or papal one. Mr. Newcome also refines too much, in p. 431, when he affirms, "they ordained the payment of tenths, in imitation of yearly quit-rent; intending hereby to propagate the opi-

to stand as they stood before, forlorn and destitute; even reducing them to a situation still worse than before; plundering the destitute by burthening them with first-fruits, and making more wretched the forlorn by taxing them with tenths. This tax and that burthen, by confiscating the whole income for the first year, and the tenth of the whole for every year afterwards; if they had not been accidentally lightened in their pressure to a very wonderful degree by the fixedness of the payments, and by the variation in their value; must at this moment be crushing the clergy under them to the very dust. The only relief in this distressing change at St. Neot's, seems to have been; that the vicar, who had probably, like his brother-vicars at Veryan, at Padstow, at Probus, and many other churches, been thrust into a petty house, and lodged with it in a damp hollow, as the principal security for such a house from the blasts of the winter; was by some donation, or by some purchase, from the laical receiver of the college, transferred to it, and inhabits the monastery at present, all unconscious of its once monastic state. This transfer has been made so long, that even tradition has lost all memory of it; that the name of the vicarage has superseded the

“ nion, that the temporalities of the church were holden by the
 “ like kind of tenure as those of the laity.” The law itself shews that the actuating principle in making it was merely a gross, vulgar, brutal avarice for plunder, which equally precluded all speculation, and defied all sacrilege.

title of the monastery entirely; and that even antiquarianism, not over-curious in its enquiries, has searched for all remains of the monastery in vain. Yet all the while the vicarage betrays itself, to have been the late monastery and the ancient college. In the very front of the building, it shews, to this day, an arch of entrance, only three feet six inches and a half wide, but, pointed like the arches of St. Germain's, even low in its pitch, not more than six feet four inches and a half high, rude in its form, and void of all mouldings. This carries therefore an air of very great antiquity, and is probably as old as St. Neot himself. But close to this, at right-angles with it, and on the right of it, was within memory another arch, similar in form, similar in height, and admitting into a room that had a descent of three steps into it. The room was denominated the cyder-cellar, when it received for the first time a chamber above, a partition into two rooms below, and a rise in the level of the floor, that buried the steps in the adventitious soil, and made the demolition of the arch necessary to the elevation of the entrance. Yet the original wall of the arch still remains, no less than three feet in thickness, still ranging between the late cellar and the rest of the house, even rising up to the very roof. These walls and arches are plainly parts of the old college. The front-arch was the entrance, and opened (as now it opens) into a passage through the house, but had the hall behind a screen of wood

or walling on the left, and the buttery behind the thick wall on the right; a hall, that has long been converted into a kitchen, and chambered overhead; and a buttery that has been chambered within memory. This seems to have been the whole of the college in front. Behind, its buildings formed the usual quadrangle of a college; the bare walls that now help to compose one irregularly, being then a row of rooms, with a chapel probably on the south or north; as in the exterior face of the house appear occasionally large fragments of freestone, some of them evidently wrought for a better position than their present, and all plainly the relics of a respectable structure. But in the eastern, or further side of the quadrangle, still remains the kitchen of the college, in a shell denominated the old brew-house, or the old malt-house, from the uses to which it has been successively applied. This has, as from all that we know of college kitchens at present, and of ancient kitchens still appearing in manerial or conventual houses, we naturally expect it to have, a chimney very capacious in depth and length; to take in the proper stock of wood behind for burning, and to receive the successive ranges of spits before for roasting. But it has also what we seldom see preserved at this day, a receptacle for boiling as capacious as the chimney, the basis of a furnace equally immense, with the walls about it, still white with the powder of malt-dust, that the more recent use of it for a drying-kiln has left hanging

upon them. Thus the site of the hermitage, and the position of the fountain, had not been continued for the ground of the monastery here any more than at Bodmin before. The monastery here was erected upon a higher ground, at the distance of a quarter of a mile to the east, and close by the south-eastern end of the church. There the monks had latterly lived under the rules of that cluniac priory, to which they were auxiliaries, And there also the "presbyters," or "clerks," had previously lived in a collegiate manner together, but employed as the rector was employed before; only collegiated to act with united energies, in praying with or for their parishioners, in preaching the gospel to them, and in exhibiting to them the spirit of the gospel, the spirit of prayer, vitally realised in their own lives.¹

¹ So at Wakefield in Yorkshire, says Leland, in Itin. i. 43:
"The vicarage at the este ende of the chiroh garth is large and
"fair; it was the personage house not very many yeres syns,"

CHAP. III.

SECTION I.

IN all the three lives of St. Neot, which we have so frequently cited before, even in that best of the three, the prosaical biography of Ramsay, even in that fourth life, which I believe to be more ancient and more authentic than any of the three; are some particulars attributed to Neot and Alfred in conjunction, which have thence passed into the page of history, yet are as false in their nature as the very miracles themselves. They are even more false, because they have no resemblance, no archetypes, like the miracles, in the world of history. They are solely the fabrications of fancy, kindling with a high sense of merit in the saint, and ascribing to him a merit of which he was not possessed. The heat in the brain of the writer raised a mist before his eyes, as strong as it was unfortunate; and his reverence for the saint coloured over the mist, with a ray as false as it was glaring.

“When King Alfred,” cries the poetical Ramsay, “heard of the saint’s miracles,” this first author of the new legend thus connecting it expressly with the old; “he rejoices in reverence over him. For he was of the same blood with the saint,” even

(as I have shewn before, yet the author did not know) the very brother of Alfred; “ *but their lives* “ *were very different.* That of the saint was holy, “ steady, and modest; while the king’s was *slip-* “ *pery, proud, oppressive, and cruel.* When there- “ fore he *very often* requested the saint to bless “ him, and the saint did bless him, the latter ex- “ hortated the former *to change his life, to act ho-* “ *nourably, and to remember the shortness of life.* “ He proposes to him the example of David, who was “ raised from a low estate to a royal one, because he “ was *mild in his spirit*; and of Saul, who by the “ operation of God was deprived of his royalty, be- “ cause he was *very proud and cruel.* By these re- “ plies he frequently reproveth the king’s actions, “ and the king *promises to correct them, but does* “ *not*; rather *accumulating evil actions upon evil,* “ and *becoming worse* from the toleration of God. “ At last coming to the saint, he hears words *very* “ *hard* from him, as the saint thus addresses him: “ “ You have been wandering in a *depravity of* “ *manners*; I have given you *many wholesome lec-* “ *tures,* but you *retain none*; your *whole glory is* “ *in foul actions*; but be assured, that many evils “ await you *as such,* that your *present prosperity* “ will be short, and *your sorrows long.* If you are “ wise, therefore, redeem your *crimes* by your sor- “ rows; in a *little time* the *nations* will *make war* “ with you; your strength will fail while theirs

“ will be great; they will drive you from that
“ *royalty* which has made you err so much in a blind
“ *security*, and in a short period you shall be left
“ alone; but be firm under all, because in conse-
“ quence of my prayers, and from the mercies of
“ your God, you shall be restored to your royalty.
“ What I now say will be your lot if you repent of
“ your conduct, and correct the evil of it. But
“ the evils foretold will not befall you while I live,
“ they shall come when I am gone; and this will
“ soon be, as my Redeemer will take me out of this
“ life to enjoy a better; *in a short time* I shall pay
“ the debt to death, and shall then (I doubt not)
“ go to the kingdom of heaven. Then will I pray
“ with all my power to the Lord for you that he
“ will restore your lost royalty to you. Now then
“ send to Rome, beseech the pope to pour forth his
“ prayers for you and your royalty, and request that
“ *the English school begun at Rome may be freed*
“ *from the tax imposed upon it.* ” Hearing this,
“ the king trembles through his whole heart, and
“ finds himself oppressed with a double sorrow, for
“ the announced death of the saint, as well as for
“ the shame which he shall feel himself under the
“ punishment of his conduct. He beats his breast, he
“ sheds a flood of tears, he leaves the father to see
“ him no more. He soon sends to Rome, transmit-
“ ting many presents to the pope, and so obtains
“ all that he wanted; the pope also remitting a
“ part of the blessed cross to the king, who

“thought himself happy in such a present.”¹ I
have laid this account in all its fulness before my

¹ Life, i. verses 515-570.

Ut rex Æloredus audivit tanta referrî
De sancto, guadet, et reveretur eum.
Nam fuit ex ipso quo sanctus sanguine natus ;
Sed fuit illorum dissona vita nimis,
Nam sancti sancta, stabilis fuit, atque pudica,
Lubrica sed regis, sæva, superba, gravis.
Sed cùm ad sanctum persæpe requirit, ab ipso
Ut benedicatur, et benedicat eum,
Sanctus et hortatur ut vitam mutet, honestos
Actus assumat, nam sua vita brevis.
De David exemplum proponit, quòd fuit ipse
De parvo factus rex, quia initis erat ;
Atque Saül, quia sævus erat nimiumque superbus,
Regno privatus, sic operante Deo.
Sæpiùs hic replicans sua facta redarguit, et rex
Se correcturum spondet, agitque nihil ;
Sed magis accumulât mala facta,
De que mala pejor fit, tolerante Deo.
Ad sanctum tandem veniens, audivit ab illo
Verba nimis dura, nam pater inquit ei :
Moribus in pravis errans fuisti ;
Dogmata sana dedi plurima, nulla tenes ;
Actibus in fœdis tua gloria tota ; sed esto
Certus, quòd talem te mala multa ruent ;
Nam tua prosperitas brevis est et lacrima longa ;
Si sapias, redimas crimina de lacrimis ;
Post modicum tempus gentes tibi bella movebunt,
Vis tua deficiet, vis sua grandis erit ;
Et te de regno, pro quo malè tutus oberras,
Pellent, et parvo tempore solus eris ;
Sed constans esto, quia regno restituêris
Pro, precibus nostris, te miserante Deo ;

reader, that he may see it in all its falseness. But, before I attempt to refute it, let me lay equally before my reader the prosaical Ramsay's account of the same pretended incidents, in hopes that the latter may cast off some of the falsities from the former. e

“ At this time,” cries Ramsay, connecting not his narration with any miracles, but dating it just after the erection of the monastery, “ Hælored,

Si, cùm peniteat de peccatis, mala facta
 Emendes, veniet quod tibi dico modò ;
 Ast ego dum vivo, tibi non venient mala dicta,
 Sed cùm de vitâ tollar habebis ea ;
 Quod citiùs fiet, nam me meus ipse Redemptor
 De vitâ tollet, ut meliore fruam ;
 Post modicum tempus persolvam debita morti,
 Ac tunc, non dubito, regna superna petam ;
 Tunc pro te Dominum totâ virtute rogabo,
 Ut tibi restituat perdita regna tua ;
 Nunc ergo mittas Romam, papamque rogato,
 Pro te, pro regno fundat ut ipse preces ;
 Et simul hoc petito, quòd Romæ cœpta ceinsu
 Anglica doctrina libera permaneat.
 Talibus auditis, de tota corde tremiscet
 Rex, est tristatus duplici tristitiâ,
 De Sancti morte sibi dictâ, deque pudore
 Quem jam percipiet cùm sua facta luet.
 Pectus contundit, lacrimarum flumina fundit,
 A patre discedit non rediturus ad hunc.
 Mox Romam mittit, transmittens munera multa,
 Et sic consequitur omnia quæ petiit.
 Insuper et partem crucis almæ papa remittit
 Regi, qui tanto munere tutus erat.

“King of the *Angles*, hearing of the fame of Neotus, the servant of God, cautiously enquired whether the report concerning the saint was true, and found it all so. Soon going devoutly to the servant of God, and *prostrating himself on the ground* before him, in the ancient manner, he desired his blessing. He added also, that he saw in him what might be useful to him by his prayers to the merey of Almighty God; and hoped he would not disdain to do this. But this soldier of the Lord, Neotus, being always pious in his manners, blest the king as he desired, and *treated him with reverence, as even very near in blood to him*; also instructed him much in divinity, then *corrected him* for his *pravity* of conduct, and laid before him the duties of a most christian king. Finally, the king having received a blessing, departed in fear to his courtiers. From that time the king often repaired to Neotus, the child of God, and *sometimes used his counsels*, because he found very many miracles;” the prosaical Ramsay here uniting with the poetical, in connecting the incidents concerning Alfred with the miracles done by Neot, but not venturing, like the poetical, to specify any, and even pronouncing all the specified before to be ambiguous or incredible; “and because that Neot was wholly a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. One day the king came in his usual mode of familiarity, with a very few attendants, to the man of God, when this servant of

" God, in much other conversation, *again chided*
 " *him sharply for his very bad actions, even placed*
 " *the punishment of hell-fire before him, shewing the*
 " *great would suffer great torments; and addi-*
 " *tionally telling him by a prophetic spirit almost all*
 " *that should befall him. 'You suffer now,' he said;*
 " *'many misfortunes from your adversaries,'* "
 when the poet has made Neot notice, in this very
 speech, the " present prosperity" of Alfred; " ' but
 " you shall suffer as many again. For you shall be
 " deprived of the royalty, with which you *swell and*
 " *practise an unbridled rage of tyranny, yet from*
 " which you ought to appear humble and poor be-
 " fore the eyes of the Divine Majesty, as David
 " did appear, who was formerly a king and a pro-
 " phet at once. You shall be invaded by *foreign*
 " *nations that know not Christ.*" ' A declaration
 that betrays the forgery at once; because this ad-
 dress, as professedly made *only a little before* Al-
 fred's distresses in 878, cannot be fixed later than 877,
 or, at the farthest, 876, and in both these years Al-
 fred was struggling for his very existence as a king,
 against Danes who had actually "invaded" his
 kingdom, actually traversed it already from end to
 end, and obliged him to fight repeatedly in despe-
 rate encounters with them; had even been engaged
 with these "foreign nations" in a grand battle at
 Wilton, about a month only from his accession to
 the crown.' " ' You shall hardly escape alone

¹ Asser. 28-29, 27-28, 24-25.

“ from your adversaries ; you shall be made by
“ God a *lurking fugitive* ; and so you shall remain
“ under the chastisement of sin *for some days*. I
“ obtained by my prayers, however, from Almighty
“ God, that if you shall withdraw yourself from
“ your *cruel iniquities*, he will yet throw his look of
“ mercy upon you, and restore you to your former
“ sceptre and prosperity. For the state and safety
“ of your kingdom, therefore, choosing counsels
“ more wholesome in themselves, send ambassadors
“ with presents to the most reverend the pope of
“ of Rome, Marinus ; earnestly beseech him to
“ grant liberty to the English schools at Rome.
“ For I am going the way of all flesh, as the Lord
“ Jesus has revealed to me, who is calling me out
“ of this world ; and I shall *very soon* yield to
“ nature. But when the Divine Wisdom shall
“ have fulfilled all its determinations upon you,
“ and shall have *deservedly* punished you for your
“ *committed sins* ; be stout in heart and fond in
“ hope, directly invoke the aid of HIM who governs
“ the universe, and the Lord God Omnipotent, by
“ me his servant, will afford you the assistance de-
“ sired according to the promise which he has been
“ pleased to give, and grant you your former state
“ of elevation.’ When the king heard this, violently
“ struck with consternation to his inmost marrow, he
“ was for a long time bathed in a shower of tears,
“ and went away sorrowful, having first desired his
“ prayers and his blessing. Ambassadors, however,
“ being magnificently appointed, from the com-

“ *mand* of the servant of God Almighty, Alfred,
 “ sent them to Rome as he was instructed, and
 “ without any delay obtained his wishes from the
 “ venerable pope. Also his *Roman highness* fa-
 “ voured the aforesaid Prince of the *Angles* with
 “ innumerable presents. For the king received
 “ from the head-pontiff of the Roman see, as an
 “ eternal memorial, a part of the most precious
 “ wood of that health-bearing cross, on which by
 “ a penal death hung the life and health of the
 “ world; with other and pre-eminent reliques of
 “ our sainted helpers. By these the king was a
 “ little relieved from his biting cares about Neot’s
 “ prophecy.”¹

¹ Life, ii. “ Eadem itaque tempestate, Dei famuli Neoti fa-
 “ mam rex Anglorum concipiens Hæloredus, utrùm quæ de
 “ Sancto ferebantur vera essent, cautè perquisivit; ac ita esse
 “ cuncta comperit. Mox Dei servum devotus adiens, totoquè se
 “ corpore pronus ante eum advolvens more sub antiquo, bene-
 “ dictionem sibi dari expostulavit. Adjūxit etiam se in eo cer-
 “ nere, unde apud Omnipotentis Dei clementiam eum suis vale-
 “ ret precibus adjuvare; quod et non dedignaretur peragere,
 “ Domini autem miles Neotus, sicut semper piis aderat moribus,
 “ regi (ut expostulaverat) benedicens, atque (ut etiam sibi con-
 “ sanguinitate proximum carnis) honorificè suscipiens, multa cum
 “ in divinis edocuit, atque deinde ex suis pravis actionibus cor-
 “ rexit, et quæ christianissimo pertinebunt regi disseruit. Deni-
 “ que, iterùm benedictione acceptâ, ad suos se cum timore rece-
 “ pit. Ex hóc deinceps tempore, sæpius idem rex Dei alumnum
 “ requirebat Neotum, suisque interdum utebatur consiliis, quia
 “ plurimis eum Domini Jesu Christi omnimodis esse servum ex-
 “ periebatur signorum indicis. Quâdem siquidem die, rex præ-

We thus see King Alfred charged by Neot's poetical biographer, as "proud, oppressive, and

"fatus de more familiariter cum adeo paucis ad Dei hominera
 "accessit. Quem Dei famulus Neotus, inter alia plurima, acriter
 "iterum de suis nequissimis actionibus increpuit, etiam ignis
 "pœnas apposuit, potentes potenter tormenta pati demonstravit,
 "et, præter hæc, omnia fere quæ ei offutura erant præsgo spi-
 "ritu protulit. 'Tanta,' inquit, rex, ab adversantibus infortunia
 "pateris; atque tam nulla adhuc pateris. 'Namque regno quo
 "tumes, quo immoderatum debacchando tyrannidem exerces,
 "unde ante divinæ majestatis intuitum humilis et pauper cum
 "Davide, quondam rege pariterque prophetâ, apparere deberis,
 "privaberis; a gentibus exteris Christum ignorantibus invadê-
 "ris; vix solus ab adversariis evades, profugus latitabis divinitus,
 "sicque peccato cogente aliquibus diebus manebis. Optinui
 "tamen apud omnipotentem Deum precibus, quod si te à tuis
 "sævis retraxeris iniquitatibus, adhuc misericordiæ suæ vultum
 "super te prætendat, sceptroque pristino prosperitatisque restituat.
 "Pro tui igitur regni salutē ac statu, sanioribus usus consiliis, lega-
 "tos Romam cum muneribus reverendissimo Papæ Marino dirige;
 "hunc obnixius deprecare, quatinus Anglorum Scholis Romæ
 "libertatem dignetur concedere. Ego enim universæ carnis
 "viam ingrediens, Domino meo Iesu Christo mihi hoc revelante,
 "meque de hoc seculo vocante, in proximo concedem naturæ.
 "Cum vero divina quod disposuit prudentia super te adimpleverit,
 "teque dignè pro commissis coangustaverit; protinus invoca, et
 "Dominus meus Omnipotens Deus, per me famulum, suum,
 "tibi optatum ex sponso (sicut ei assidet) præstabit subsidium,
 "priorisque culminis statum.' Quibus rex auditis, vehementer
 "ex intimis pavefactus medullis oratione pariter et benedictione
 "petitâ, largis, diutius perfusus lacrimis, abiit tristis. Apparatis
 "tamen rex famuli Omnipotentis Dei Iesu magnificè legatos
 "Romam (quemadmodum edoctus fuerat) misit; quodque petiit,
 "ex voto absque ullâ intercapedine ab venerabili Papâ impetra-
 "vit. Præterea, Celsitudo Romana innumeris prædictum mune-

“cruel,” as “very proud and very cruel;” as reproved by Neot for these “crimes,” yet “becoming worse,” even “accumulating evil actions upon evil,” and at last placing his “whole glory in” such “foul actions.” We even see the prosaical, whom we should expect to find more simple in his narrative, and more rigorous in his characters, actually substantiating (as it were) this general charge, not, indeed, by any one specific allegation, but by a crimination particular and distinct. Alfred appears expressly in him as “practising an unbridled rage of tyranny,” in “cruel iniquities” to his subjects, so ranking with the Neros or the Domitians of history, and standing with them in the fore-front of imperial infamy. But was the good, the great Alfred, the favourite of history, and the idol of tradition, such a man, or such a king as this? No, surely! Neither tradition nor history has been in a dream of insanity, for so many ages; to have so grossly mistaken his royal character, and in a point of it so very prominent to all. But those have really been, who first fancied tyranny in Alfred as heightening the reputation of Neot, and who have successively transmitted it to the present times in their lives of Neot. They have thus placed the

“ribus Anglorum principem donavit. Ob æternæ enim memorie signum, pretiosissimi ligni salutiferæ Crucis partem, in quâ vita et salus orbis penali morte pependit, a summo pontifice sedis Romanæ suscepit; nec non et alia præcipia Opitulatorum Sanctorum pignora. Unde modestibus curis rex aliquantulum est relevatus.”

two brothers, like Castor and Pollux, though both stars, and both stars of brightness too, to shine in opposition to each other, one to rise as the other sets, and one to set as the other rises. But the opposition is as injudicious to Neot, as it is unjust to Alfred. The brightness of Neot, however great in itself, is not great enough to eclipse the brightness of Alfred. The king must for ever shine in his orb, a star of the first magnitude upon the historical horizon of England, lending his light to, and darting down his warmth upon, our England peculiarly; while Neot will shine in a higher part of the sky, very visible on the earth, yet half lost to us in his brightness, and wholly in his warmth from his distance, noticed only by the glass of the curious astronomer, as admired only by the mind of the religious one.

The crimes charged in general upon Alfred, we must remember, are confined to such years of his royalty, as passed before his flight into the marshes of Athelney, 871; ¹ this flight being the very punishment said to be predicted by Neot, for those very crimes themselves. How many years, therefore, had he then reigned? Only seven; as he came to the throne in 871, on the death of his brother Ethered. ² All these "crimes," all these "cruel iniquities," all this "unbridled rage of tyranny," were practised in the short period of

¹ Asser, 30—33.

² Ibid. 24.

seven years. Were these then such years of peace, plenty, and prosperity to Alfred and his kingdom, as were likely to make the mind even of an Alfred swell with the insolence, and dilate with the tyranny, so natural to the heart and head of man? No; they were not. They were even the very contrary. In the first year of his royalty, as king himself, or as secondary to his brother the king, he fought no less than EIGHT battles with the Danes.¹ He harassed them, indeed, so greatly, that they agreed to leave his kingdom, and actually left it.² They staid there for the winter, and even continued for all the year.³ They were thus hovering all the year in the confines of West Saxony; and with that infidelity to engagements, so common amongst the pagans, and so dreadfully common again to the paganized Christians of France, were likely every moment to break into West Saxony again. The next year, 873, the Danes left London, but went into Lindsay in Lincolnshire.⁴ But, in 874, they returned into Mercia, in despite of all treaties with the Mercians, and seized the whole country.⁵ They were thus growing more and more formidable to Alfred. But, in 875, they divided into two armies; one went into Northumbria, and reduced the whole country; but the other, commanded by three of their princes, pushed southward,

¹ Asser, 25.² Ibid. 25, 26.³ Ibid. 26,⁴ Ibid. Ibid.⁵ Ibid. 26, 27.

and tended towards West Saxony, yet staid in Cambridgeshire.¹ In 876, however, they directly invaded West Saxony, penetrated through it even into Dorsetshire, were there faced by Alfred, and there agreed with him to abandon the country; but violated every engagement, sallied out in the night, put his horse to the sword, as the most formidable part of his army, and reached Exeter. At Exeter they were besieged by Alfred in 877, at last agreed with Alfred to leave the country, and Alfred was obliged to trust their perfidy again. They were, however, not perfidious now. They went and settled in Mercia.² Where then *could* be the "prosperity," and, as the natural result of this, the "cruel iniquities," the "unbridled rage of tyranny," ascribed to Alfred? The prosperity is gone, and the rage has fled with it. Yet the rage is represented as peculiarly strong at the time of St. Neot's rebukes, a little before the reported punishment; to have gone on in opposition to repeated remonstrances from the saint, to have "accumulated evil actions upon evil," and to have shown us Alfred at last placing his "whole glory in" his "foul actions;" to have thus risen to its sublimity of tyrannical oppressiveness, at the very period in which it could not have risen at all, in which even the genius of tyranny itself must have paused upon its plans, and the very dæmon of oppression itself must have drawn in its cloven foot.

¹ Asser, 27.

² Ibid. 23—30,

Yet, all this prediction proves itself at once to be the mere work of forgery, by the creepingness of deceit which runs through it. Alfred, indeed, was a very different character in himself. We have a singular opportunity of viewing him in a glass of history accidentally close to him, reflecting him fairly to our eyes, and exhibiting him fully to our minds. Asser was at once his chaplain, his friend, and his historian; too near not to know him, too unaffected to amplify his account by flattery, and too honest to magnify his character by design.

Yet thus does he describe Alfred's spirit before the death of Ethered. "Alfred might *very easily*," he says, "with the *consent* of all the kingdom, have *found* the throne even in the life of his said brother, if he *would have deigned to accept it*; because he excelled his brothers in all wisdom and in all goodness, and because in all the battles he was rather too warlike, and almost always victorious."¹ This single stroke of narration, so incidental and so slight, is sufficient of itself to wipe away all the charges of tyranny at once. Tyranny was never made of such stuff as this. The substance of all tyranny is, a fondness for power, shows itself in reaching eagerly after the crown that comes

¹ Asser, 24. "Quod etiam vivente prædicto fratre suo, si dignaretur accipere, facillimè cum consensu omnium potuerat invenire; nempe quia et sapientiâ et cunctis moribus bonis cunctos fratres suos præcallebat, et insuper, eo quod nimium bellicosus, et victor prope, in omnibus bellis erat."

within its view, and even cancels all the bonds of nature to secure it.

But let us go back to the still earlier period of Alfred's life, and mark the springing seeds of virtue or of vice within his constitution, in order to ascertain his character more perfectly. "In the fresh flower of his youth, and before he married," adds this almost confessor to Alfred, laying open (like a confessor) the very secrets of Alfred's heart to us, "he strove to fix his mind steady upon the commands of God, but found he could not keep his spirit pure from carnal desires," which always accompany a strength of passion and a vigour of intellect. "Yet fearing he should incur the displeasure of God, if he did any act contrary to his will; very often rising secretly at cock-crow, and the dawn of day, he visited churches and the reliques of sainted men for the sake of praying there, and continued a long time in the prostration of prayer. The burden of his prayers was, that Almighty God in his mercy would turn his heart wholly to himself, and strengthen it much more in the love of his service, by some infirmity of body, which he should be able to bear, yet by which he should not be rendered insignificant and useless in the business of the world." The spirit of devotion in all this is very striking, especially in that prayer for some "infirmity" which should attach his heart more and more to the service of God,—yet should not render him "useless" to the

world by making him "insignificant" among men. This is such a self-denial in Alfred as is truly honourable to him; resulting from a love of God, superior to any kind of pain, and surmounted only by what is the very essence of a dignified spirit, a desire to be known, to be distinguished, to be honoured under God as pre-eminent among men. The humility of Christian prudence, and the fondness for honourable fame, are happily united together to fan the flame, into heroism.

"When he had thus acted for some time with great devoutness of mind, he received from the hand of God that disease the piles, under which he long and painfully struggled for many years, even to a despair of longer life, till God freed him wholly from it in consequence of his prayer. But, alas! when this was removed, another and a worse disease came, which, from his marriage in the twentieth year of his age, even to his forty-fifth, harassed him incessantly night and day. Yet, at times, this disease was suspended by the mercy of God, for the interval of one day, one night, or even one hour; his fear and dread of that horrible pain never left him, but rendered him (as he thought himself) almost unfit for any attentions either divine or human."¹

¹ Asser, 41, 42. "Cum in primævo juventutis suæ flore, antequam propriam conjugem duceret, mentem suam propriam in Dei mandatis stabilire vellet, et se a carnali desiderio abstinere non posse cernerit; offensam Dei incurrere, si aliquid contrarium voluntati illius perageret, metuens, sæpissime galli

A young man assaulted by several passions, yet so afraid of incurring the displeasure of God by them, and so praying for a visitation of sickness as a check upon them; a king, so continually harassed by a violent disorder, that hardly allowed him a short interval of rest from pain, and even then left a dread of its return so deeply impressed upon his spirits, and almost incapacitated him in his own opinion for all divine or human attentions; such a man, such a king, could not possibly have had the elements of a tyrant within him, could not possibly (if he had) have called out those elements into action.¹

“cantu et matutinis horis clam consurgens, ecclesias et reliquias
 “sanctorum orandi causâ visitabat; ibique diu prostratus orabat,
 “quo [quód] Deus Omnipotens, propter suam misericordiam,
 “mentem illius amore suæ servitutis multo robustius, per aliquam
 “infirmi-¹tatem (quam posset sustinere, non tamen quo [que]
 “eum indignam et inutilem in mundanis rebus faceret) ad se
 “penitus convertens, corroboraret. Cumque hoc sæpius magnâ
 “mentis devotione ageret, post aliquantulem intervallum, præ-
 “fatum fici dolorem Dei manere incurrit; in quo diu et æquè
 “per multos annos roborans se, etiam de vitâ desperabat, quois-
 “que oratione factâ à se penitus eum amorit. Sed proh dolor!
 “Ep amato alius infestior in nuptiis—eum arripuit, qui, a vigesi-
 “mo ætatis suæ anno usque ad quadragesimum quintum, eum
 “die noctuque incessabiliter fatigavit. Sed, si aliquando Dei mise-
 “ricordiâ, unius diei aut noctis vel etiam unius horæ intervallo,
 “illa infirmitas seposita fuerat; timor tamen ac tremor illius
 “execrabilis doloris unquam eum non deserit [deseruit], sed
 “quasi inutilem eum (ut ei videtur) in divinis et humanis rebus
 “popemodum effecit.”

¹ Asser has very singularly omitted to tell us, what this second disorder was. He even speaks of it in so mysterious a manner,

Nor was this the spirit of Alfred, merely previous to his ascending the throne. He still exhibited the same spirit afterwards, and exhibited it more largely, as from the magnifying mirror of royalty. "In the midst of wars," adds the same writer, "and the frequent impediments of his present life, the inroads of the pagans upon him, and the daily infirmities of his own body, he never ceased daily in his own person, very studiously, and to the best of his power, both to manage the helm of state, and practise every art of hunting; to instruct all his goldsmiths and artists, his falconers, his hawkers, and his huntsmen; *in a new style of his own* to build edifices more costly and more respectable, than those of any of his ancestors; to recite Saxon books, but particularly to *learn by memory* and command others to learn, Saxon books; he also attended divine service, especially the *Eucharist*, daily; with *psalms* and

as has given rise very naturally to many conjectures. He speaks of it as "omnibus medicis incognito-dolore" (p. 40.) "Multi," he adds, "favore et fascinatione circumstantis populi" at the feasts of the wedding-week, "hoc factum esse autumabant; alii Diaboli quâdam invidiâ, qui semper bonis invidus existat; alii inusitato quâdam genere febris; alii ficum existiment." But the last was his first disorder, and his second was "alius infestior" (42.) Yet Malmesbury has explained what Asser could not tell; saying Alfred "valetudinis adversæ fuit, ut qui semper "vel fico vel aliquo *interraneorum morbo* agigaretur" (f. 24.) It was a bowel complaint, intermitted frequently, yet returned within a short time, and renewed at every return with violent paroxysms of pain.

“ *prayers in private* ; he kept the *established hours*
“ *of prayer,*” being every third hour, “ both night
“ and day ; and still *used as before* to enter the
“ churches secretly in the night for prayer. He
“ carefully dispersed his liberality with a free hand,
“ to the nations of the country, and to foreigners
“ of all nations ; he BEHAVED TO ALL MEN WITH
“ VERY GREAT AFFABILITY, and with INCOMPARABLE
“ PLEASANTNESS ; and he set himself judiciously to
“ work, in investigating points of knowledge un-
“ known to him. But many Frenchmen, Frisians,
“ and Welsh, Pagans, Britons, Scotch, and Armo-
“ ricans, noble and ignoble, voluntarily came to
“ settle in his dominions ; all whom, equally with
“ his own subjects, he in his dignity of station,
“ governed, loved, honoured, and enriched with
“ power as well as money. He used, also with a
“ careful solicitude, to hear the Scriptures of God
“ from the recitations of natives, or even (if by
“ chance any arrived from abroad) to hear prayers
“ equally from foreigners. His bishops, with every
“ order of clergy, his earls and nobles, his ministers,
“ and all his attendants, HE LOVED WITH A WONDER-
“ FUL AFFECTION. Their sons too, who were bred up
“ in the royal household, HE LOVED NOT LESS THAN
“ HIS OWN SONS ; he ceased not, amidst all his em-
“ ployments, day and night, *personally to instruct*
“ *them in all good morals, and give them a taste for*
“ *literature,* as if he had no comfort in all his em-
“ ployments, and suffered no other perturbation

“ within or without. Yet night and day he was in
 “ sad anxiety complaining, and with perpetual
 “ sighs lamenting to God, and to ALL WHO LIVED
 “ WITH HIM IN HIS FAMILY, AND WERE ATTACHED
 “ TO HIM IN LOVE; that God Almighty had made
 “ him *unacquainted with the wisdom of God, and*
 “ *uninformed in the liberal arts.*”¹ This is so far

¹ Asser, 43. “ Rex inter bella et præsentis vitæ frequentia
 “ impedimenta, nec non paganorum infestationes, et quotidianas
 “ corporis infirmitates, et regni gubernacula regere et omnem ve-
 “ nandi artem agere; aurifices et artifices suos omnes, et falcon-
 “ rios, et accipitrarios, carnicularios, quoque docere; et ædificia
 “ supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem, venerabi-
 “ liora et pretiosiora novâ suâ machinatione facere; et Saxoni-
 “ cos libros recitare; et maximè carmina Saxonica memoritèr
 “ discere, aliis imperare; et solus assiduè pro viribus studiosissimè
 “ non desinebat. Divina quoque ministeria, et missam scilicet,
 “ quotidie audire, psalmos quosdam et orationes, et horas diurnas,
 “ et nocturnas celebrare, et ecclesias nocturno tempore (ut dixi-
 “ mus), orandi causâ, clam à suis adire solebat et frequentabat:
 “ Eleemosynarum quoque studio et largitati indigenis et advenis
 “ omnium gentium; ac maximâ et incomparabili contra omnes
 “ homines affabilitate atque jocunditate [fuit]; et ignotarum rē-
 “ rum investigationi solerter se jungebat. Franci autem multi,
 “ Frisones; Galli, Pagani, Britones, et Scōti, Armorici sponte se
 “ suo dominis subdiderant, nobiles scilicet et ignobiles; quos om-
 “ nes, sicut suam propriam gentem, secundum suam dignitatem
 “ regebat, diligebat, honorabat, pecuniâ et potestate ditabat.—
 “ Divinam quoque Scripturam à recitantibus indigenis, aut etiam
 “ (si casu quōdam aliunde adveniret), cum alienigenis pariter
 “ preces audire sedulus et sollicitus solebat. Episcopus quoque
 “ suos, et omnem ecclesiasticum ordinem, comites, ac nobiles
 “ suos, ministeriales etiam, et omnes familiares, admirabili amore
 “ deligebat. Filios quoque eorum, qui in regali familiâ nutri-

from being the portrait of a tyrant, that it is the very reverse; that it gives us, with a simplicity which proves its fidelity, the face, the soul, the mind of a man singularly amiable, singularly humble, singularly dignified. Never was a royal character described with such an artlessness of narration in the writer, such little strokes of nature, or such engaging touches of manners before. And Alfred appears from all, one of the first heroes in history, feeling the defectiveness of his own education, lamenting it to his more intimate attendants, curing it by every attention in his power, and even endeavouring personally to prevent the same defectiveness in the rising generation of his nobles, with all the magnanimity of consciousness condescending to become a pupil; then, with all the majesty of commiseration, stooping to become a tutor; and so proving himself at last the most respectable of princes, as the most amiable of men.

“ebantur, non minus propriis deligens, omnibus bonis moribus
 “instituere, et literis imbuere solus die noctuque inter cætera
 “non desinebat, sed quasi nullam in his omnibus consolationem
 “haberet, et nullam aliam intrinsecus et extrinsecus perturbatio-
 “nem pateretur. Ita tamen quotidiana et nocturna anxius tris-
 “titiâ ad dominum et ad omnes, qui sibi familiari dilectione ad-
 “sciti forent, querelabatur et assiduo gemebat suspirio; eo quod
 “Deus Omnipotens eum expertem divinæ sapientiæ, et libera-
 “lium artium fecisset.”

SECTION II.

But having thus vindicated the character of Alfred effectually from those charges of tyranny which some biographers of St. Neot have brought against him, and brought in a strange paroxysm of credulity, to enhance the character of St. Neot, I must now advert to an intimation of an opposite kind, but in the same direction, from another biographer of the saint. Those were calculated to raise the reputation of the saint, by lowering the fame of the king, while this was to build the saint's honour upon the king's, and to give Neot a share with Alfred in a deed of glory ascribed to the latter. But history disclaims all falsehood, rejects it in the shape of slander, and declines it in the form of honour. Nor will a modern biographer of St. Neot suffer the saint to be tricked out with *merit not his own*, either from faults affected to be corrected by him in Alfred, or from honours averred to be participated with Alfred by him.

The assertors of those corrections were biographers much later than the averrers of this participation, he being the earliest of whom we have any extracts, and the very writer exhibited to us in fragments by Leland. In one of the fragments is this passage; "Alfred FOUNDED THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, at the *instigation of his brother*

Neot.”¹ These words have been attended with great consequences, have proved a kind of war-whoop between our two universities, and produced a long train of rencounters between the combatants of both. The writers of Oxford have contended strenuously for the erection of their University by Alfred; and the antiquaries of Cambridge have opposed the erection, as attributing an origin to Oxford earlier than to Cambridge. Thus have they regularly marshalled themselves on the side to which their prejudices attached them. Nor has a single author yet appeared, who permitted his reason to rise above his passions, and suffered his proofs to predominate over his prejudices. But let such an author now appear, while I, an Oxonian

(*Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnita tellus,
Magna virum.*)

take the side of Cambridge, and show Alfred to have not founded my favourite university, either with or without the intervention of my Cornish saint.

This passage, indeed, in the early biographer of Neot, has given rise to another in Asser's life of Alfred; and forgery has been here superadded to falsehood. In 886, cries the passage, “arose a very bad
“and very foul dissension at Oxford, between Grymbald,” a clergyman of France invited into England by Alfred, “at the head of those very learned
“men whom Grymbald brought with him thither,”

¹ Coll. iv. 13. “Neotus—frater Aluredi regis, qui Achademiam Oxoniensem fundavit instigante fratre.”

when in reality Grymbald was accompanied from France by one alone, equally a priest with himself, "and these original scholars whom he found there." But here let us pause a moment. Grymbald is never noticed by Asser before, as sent to Oxford by Alfred; and historical interpolations always betray themselves to the critical eye, by such incoherences as this with the narrative preceding. Grymbald, indeed, must, in all fair construction, be considered to have settled at Winchester, the royal residence, because he is not noticed to have been sent *elsewhere*. And at Winchester he certainly settled, because (in the express language of Asser) "Alfred called to him from France one Grymbald, a priest and a monk, a very venerable man," &c. With Grymbald did Alfred call to him "John also, who was equally with Grymbald a priest and a monk, a man of a very keen understanding," &c. "By the instructions of both these, the king's understanding was much enlarged." The passage, therefore, has not merely the incoherence of an interpolation with the text, but stands with a contradiction to the text peculiarly daring, and is thus proved to be an interpolation by the strongest of all signatures. "The original scholars, on the coming of Grymbald, utterly refused to accept the laws, modes,

¹ Asser, 46—47. "Inde advocârît Grimbaldum sacerdotem et monachum, venerabilem videlicet virum; Johannem quoque, æque presbyterum et monachum, acerrimi ingenii virum: quorum doctrinâ, regis ingenium multum dilatatum est."

"and forms of lecturing instituted by Grymbald," though he was sent commissioned by their king to reform all upon the plans of France. "For three years the dissension was not great between them," though the old scholars "utterly" refused obedience to the king's commissioner all the while; "yet there was a secret spleen," with an "utter" refusal of obedience, "which became as clear as the light itself when it afterwards broke out with the greatest violence." Yet what violence could be greater than an "utter" refusal of obedience? The reason assigned for the refusal is totally incompetent to the occasion, as (if true) it could prove only the superior goodness of the old practice over the modern innovations, and could only justify an appeal to authority, not vindicate a rebellion of years against it. "That very invincible king Alfred being informed of this quarrel by a message and complaint from Grymbald," who had sent no message, and made no complaint before against an "utter" refusal of obedience, and even for the long period of three whole years, "repaired to Oxford, to terminate and conclude this controversy. There he took the utmost pains to hear the causes and the complaints on both sides," that is, the reasons urged on both for obeying or disobeying the king's own authority. "The grand point of the controversy," as urged by the old scholars, "was this: that *the king's authority ought to be disobeyed, because (as they contended) before the coming of*

"Grymbald to Oxford, literature had there flour-
 "ished all over the town, though the scholars were
 "then fewer in number than in times preceding, most
 "of them having been driven away by the cruelty
 "and tyranny of the Pagan Danes;" a tyranny
 that appears not to have been ever exercised, and a
 cruelty that appears not to have been ever felt, till
 (as I shall soon show) many years afterwards. Here
 then we have a second proof, historical, chronolo-
 gical, and decisive of the forgery in this passage.
 "Moreover they proved and showed BY THE INDU-
 "BITABLE EVIDENCE OF ANCIENT ANNALS, that the
 "rites and institutions of the place had been estab-
 "lished by some pious and learned persons, by
 "SAINT GILDAS," who wrote in the sixth century,
 and is most ignorantly denominated a Saint by our
 blundering interpolator, "by Melkin," who is
 supposed by Leland to have written about the same
 time with Gildas, but whose very existence either
 as an author or as a man is very problematical,
 "by Nennius," who wrote in the seventh, "by
 "Kantigern," who lived in the sixth,¹ "and by
 "others, WHO ALL GREW OLD THERE IN THEIR LATE-
 "RARY STUDIES TOGETHER," though living in "no
 "less than three different centuries, and in the ad-
 "ministration of the whole with a happy peace and
 "concord," Yet mark the chronology. It is al-
 ways dangerous for an interpolator to meddle with

¹ De Script. Brit. 41.

² Usher, 293—294, 358—359, 47—48.

that. He is almost sure to betray his footsteps by his trippings. He has actually done so here. The *three* years are a plain signature of forgery. The whole account is inserted in Asser's narrative, under the year 886; when the very arrival of Grymbald in England is placed by Asser himself in 884 the prior year expressed, or in 885 the year not expressed, but followed immediately by 886 expressed. In 884-5 is the arrival dated, and in 886 is his contest of *three* years stated. But Grymbald came, we know, in 885 specifically.¹ And we thus find one single solitary year wire-drawn by the pincers of forgery into no less than *three*. Having noted this one more evidence against the passage, let us attend the interpolation in his further progress.

"They asserted also S. German," who lived in the *fifth* century, "to have visited Oxford, and to have spent there half a year, in an extraordinary manner approving the orders and institutions noticed above, when he was taking his journey through Britain to preach the heresies of the Pelagians," and so stopt no less than half a year at Oxford to preach against them there!!! "The king, with an unexampled humility, heard both sides very attentively," even those who had "utterly" acted in rebellion against his authority for three years together; "with pious and salutary admonitions; exhorting them again and again, to keep up a

¹ Coll. i. 18. "Ex vitâ Grimbaldi. Venit Grimbaldus in Anglium, anno A. D. 885."

“ mutual union and concord amongst them. The king then departed in this disposition of mind,” *without settling any thing*, yet “ with a trust that all of both parties would obey his counsel,” which settled nothing, “ and embrace his institutes,” which were left as nothing, being rejected by the old scholars, and not enforced now by the king himself. “ But Grymbald,” very naturally “ resenting this conduct in the king,” now turned “ rebel himself to the royal authority, immediately” relinquished Oxford in high disgust, yet went not back to France from which he came, “ went away to the monastery of Winchester, LATELY FOUNDED BY ALFRED himself.” Here then we have another incoherence of the passage with the context, and even another contradiction in that to this. This monastery at Winchester is never noticed by Asser before, no monastery at all is noticed even in a general manner before, as founded by Alfred; and thus we have a reference in the interpolation to what never appears in the text. Nor is the monastery ever noticed afterwards by Asser, though one at Athelney is, with another at Shaftesbury; ¹ and though Asser adds to his account of both, that “ these monasteries being thus compleated, the king, in his usual manner, considered within himself what more he could do yet” in the practice of piety. ²

¹ Asser, 60, 64.

² Asser, 64. “ His ita diffinitis solito suo more intra semetipsum cogitabat, quid adhuc addere potuisset, quod plus placeret ad piam meditationem.”

The monastery at Winchester, therefore, if at all founded by the king, was founded at a period *posterior to the latest reach of Asser's history*. And the reference to it as "lately founded" in 886, when it did not exist at the moment, when it did not exist for years afterward, becomes a third historical and chronological proof of forgery in the passage.

But here comes a fresh proof, as this passage speaks of "those very learned men whom Grynbold brought with himself to Oxford," as actually several in number, when they were confessedly no more than one, and one denominated specifically, "John, a presbyter and a monk, a man of a very sharp genius, one very learned in all the discipline of the literary art, and one well taught in many other arts." He took care to have the tomb transferred to Winchester, which amidst all the distractions of the three years preceding, he had leisure and thought to provide for his burial, as "in which he had proposed, after the course of his life, to have his bones repositied in the vault made under the chancel of St. Peter's church in Oxford, a church built by the same Grynbold," amidst all his distractions through the three years preceding, "from the very foundations, with stone most highly polished," and for this very reason *not* of the age of Alfred.

¹ Asser, 47. "Johannem quoque æquè presbyterum et monachum, acerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus disciplinis literaturæ artis eruditissimum, et in multis aliis artibus artificiosum."

² Asser, 52. "Eodem anno exorta est pessima ac terribissima Ox-

So big with absurdities within, and so pregnant with anachronisms without, is this extraordinary

“ onix discordia, inter Grymbaldum, doctissimosque illos viros,
 “ quos secum illuc adduxit, et veteres illos scholasticos quos ibi-
 “ dem invenisset; qui ejus adventu leges, modos, ac prælegendi
 “ formulas ab eodem Grymbaldo institutas, omni ex parte am-
 “ plecti recusabant: per tres annos haud magna fuerat inter eos
 “ dissensio [quia] occultum tamen fuit odium, quod summa cura
 “ atrocitate postea erupit, ipsa erat luce clarius: quod ut sedaret,
 “ rex ille invictissimus Ælfredus de dissidio eo nuntio et querimo-
 “ niâ Grymbaldi certior factus, Oxoniâ se contulit, ut finem
 “ modumque huic controversiæ imponeret; qui et ipse summos
 “ labores hausit, causas et querelas utrinque illatas atudiendo.
 “ Caput autem hujus contentions in hoc erat positum. Veteres
 “ illi scholastici contendebant, antequam Grymbaldus Oxoniâ
 “ devenisset literas illic passim floruisse, etiamsi Scholares tunc
 “ temporis numero erant pauciores quam præcis temporibus,
 “ plerisque nimirum sævitia ac tyrannide Paganorum expulsis.
 “ Quia etiam probabant et ostendebant, idque in dubio veterum
 “ annalium testimonio, illius loci ordines ac instituta à nonnullis
 “ piis et eruditis hominibus fuisse sancita, ut à D. Gilda, Melkino,
 “ Nennio, Kentigerno, et aliis qui omnes literis illic consenserunt,
 “ omnia ibidem felici pace et concordia administrantes: ac Divum
 “ quoque Germanum Oxoniâ advenisse, annique dimidium illic
 “ esse moratum; quo tempore per Britanniam iter fecit adversus
 “ Pelagianorum hæreses concionaturus, ordines et instituta supra
 “ mitum in modum comprobavit. Rex ille inaudita humili-
 “ tate utramque partem accuratissimè exaudivit; eos piis ac salu-
 “ taribus monitis etiam atque etiam hortans, ut mutuam inter se
 “ conjunctionem et concordiam tuerentur. Itaque hoc animo dis-
 “ cessit rex [fidens] quosque ex utraque parte consilio suo esse
 “ obtemperaturos et instituta sua amplexuros. At Grymbaldus
 “ hæc iniquo animo ferens, statim ad monasterium Wintoniense
 “ ab Ælfrædo recens fundatum proficiscebatur, deinde turbam
 “ Wintoniam transferri curavit, in qua propestrat post hujus vite

passage. Yet it was first produced as authentic by no less a man than Camden, and it has been defended as genuine by a Twyne, a Wise, as well as a Carte since. Camden found the passage in a manuscript of Asser, which he thought to be as old as the reign of Richard II. ¹ But the passage is *not* found in that elegant manuscript of Asser, which in the opinion of the best of judges, Wanley, was written about the year 1000, within less than a century after the death of Asser, ² and is very likely, therefore, to have been what Usher, a judge little inferior to Wanley, conjectured it to be *the very manuscript of Asser himself*. ³ Such an evidence is irrefragable in its favour, and proves any omitted passage in the body of the manuscript, particularly as this is, to have been no part of the original work. ⁴ But when we come to range this evidence as an auxiliary to evidences before and behind,

— — — we make surety doubly sure,
And take a bond of fate.

Well then may we smile, on looking back from

“ curriculum ossa sua reponenda, in testudine, que erat facta sub-
“ ter cancellum ecclesiæ Divi Petri in Oxoniâ ; quam quidem ec-
“ clesiam idem Grymbaldus extruxerat ab ipso fundamento de
“ saxo summâ curâ perpolito.”

¹ Wise's Asser, 139.

² Ibid. 137.

³ Ibid. 136.

⁴ I thus write, to obviate an argument used by Wise, 137 ; that the Cottonian manuscript in other parts is not so full as that from which Camden, or even that from which Archbishop Parker published. Its want of fullness is its very correctness, especially in the body of the work.

the height to which we have climbed, at what Mr. Carter thus writes, "that Gildas studied at *Ichen*, i. e. Oxford (called in British "Ryd-ichen), as is asserted by the author of his life published from "an ancient M. S."¹ Well may we smile more at what our interpolator tells us, that Alfred founded the University of Oxford at the instigation of our own St. Neot. Well may we smile still more at what a later historian tells us, that "Alfred instituted "schools at Oxford, granted them privileges by the "hands of Grimbald and Neot."² But well may we smile most of all, at what a tablet hung up in our own church of St. Neot informs us of him; that,

In famous Oxford he was eke
The first professed teacher.
That there in schools by quaintest terms,
The sacred themes expounded.

What even a professed antiquary, what the very antiquary of Oxford equally tells us, that Grymbald was, "elected" by Alfred "one of the first professors of divinity in this most flourishing University of Oxon," he being, "divinity lecturer immediately after St. Neot, who was first professor of that faculty, vide Hist. et Antiq. Univers. Oxon, lib. ii. p. 30."³ And well may we exclaim in triumph over all, that the erudition of the scho-

¹ Carte's History of England, i. 303.

² Coll. ii. 413. from Rudborne. "Scholas Oxonii instituit, et privilegia eis per Grimbaldum et Neotum dedit."

³ Arch. i. 154.

lar, as well as the foolishness of the vulgar, are very nearly allied; even that they often hunt in couples together, on the quest of antiquities particularly.

Yet as Mr. Carte has added one argument more in favour of our interpolator, and as this argument is of a much superior nature to the preceding, being purely historical in itself, and seemingly carrying historical authority with it; I shall finally examine this, in order to preclude every possibility of doubt, and to fix the point beyond the reach even of suspicion itself. "I take no notice," remarks the historian, and the critic in one united push, "of the difficulties started by some people, on account of Oxford's being thought to lye in the division of Mercia, because they are evidently founded upon mistakes or uncertainties. For Oxford and Gloucestershires never made any part of the Mercian territories till A. D. 775, when they were reduced by Offa, and continued but 48 years under their dominion, i. e. till A. D. 823, when they were conquered by Egbert. It is very reasonable to think, that, from this recovery of these countries, they were reunited to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, who first peopled them; and I have not observed any passage in our old historians that clashes with this notion." The progress of reasoning in this passage is very remarkable, as it is eager and violent in the outset, but lame and impotent in the conclusion. The objection from Oxford

¹ Carte, i. 303.

being in Mercia at this period, is affirmed at once to be a mistake, or (as the author shrinks before himself) at least an *uncertainty*. But even this reply, sobered down as it is to a cautious timidity, is too incautious, and too daring; therefore shrinks up a second time into something, which, "it is very reasonable to think," and once more shrinks up into an observation merely negative, that he has "not observed any passage in our old historians" to the contrary. Yet he might have observed, if he had looked for them. They are almost too prominent to be overlooked. I shall just adduce a few, and only for the reign of Alfred or his son, without recalling the king Algar that we have seen at Oxford about the year 787, that was certainly not a king of West-Saxony, as we know all the kings, but meet with no such name among them, and that was as certainly, therefore, a king of Mercia. "When now the Danes," says Huntindon in the seventh year of Alfred, "were possessed of all the kingdom on the northern side of the Thames, and king Haldane reigned in Northumbria, and the brother of Haldane was in East-Anglia, but the three kings above-mentioned," Godrum, Oscytil, and Amund, "were with king Ceolwlf in Mercia, and London, and Essex, but nothing remained to king Alfred except the land beyond the Thames; the Danes disdained to let him have even this, and three of their kings, therefore, came to Chippenham in

“*West-Sex.*”¹ This is sufficiently explicit of itself, for Mercia reaching up to the Thames at the time, and consequently inclosing Oxford within its arms. But let us advance to a passage still more explicit as more specific. Edward the son of Alfred, in his fourth year, as Malmesbury informs us, “constituted two bishops, for the South Saxons *Berney*, and for the *Mercians*, Cenulph, at the city of *Dorchester*, in the county of Oxford.”² This fixes Oxfordshire particularly within the kingdom of Mercia, and carries Oxfordshire, in its town of *Dorchester*, up to the very brink of the Thames. Nor need I, even if I can, produce any other proofs of the point. Yet I can, and will produce one more, one still more explicit in its language, still more decisive in its efficacy. On the death of *Ethered* in 912, *Huntindon* tells us, Edward king of West Saxony “seized *London* and *OXFORD* and ALL THE LAND BELONGING TO THE PROVINCE OF *MERCIA*.”³

¹ *Huntindon*, f. 200—201. “Cum jam Daci omne regnum a Boreali parte Tamesis obtinerent, regnaretque rex Haldene in Nordhum bre, et frater Haldene esset in Est-Angle, tres vero reges prædicti cum Ceolwlfo rege eorum essent in Merce et Londiniâ et Estsexe, regi vero Alfredo non remansisset nisi terra ultra Tamsim; indignum visum est Dacis, ut vel hoc ei remaneret. Tres igitur reges venerunt Cipunham in Westsexe.”

² *Malmesbury*, f. 26. “Constituit duos episcopos, Australibus Saxonibus—Bernegum, et Mercii Cenalphum ad civitates *Dorcestræ* in pago Oxoniæ.”

³ *Huntindon*, f. 202. “Edwardus saisivit Londoniam, et Oxi-

Oxford then was demonstrably *without* the kingdom of West-Saxony, in the days of Alfred; and Alfred could not possibly have founded any university at it. He must have founded his university, if he founded any at all, for his own subjects, and within his own kingdom. For those, and within this, he actually founded one; even the very university which has given rise, under the forming hands of partiality and fiction, to his very erection of one at Oxford. He gave a second share of a portion of his income, his biographer informs us, “to the *two* monasteries which he had commanded to be built, and to those who served God in them; but a third to the SCHOOL, which he had very carefully assembled out of MANY persons, noble and ignoble, OF HIS OWN PECULIAR KINGDOM.”¹ Here then was the university, the only university founded by Alfred. But where especially was it? In West-Saxony certainly, and at Winchester assuredly, the capital of it. “*At first,*” as our ever-useful biographer acquaints us, “because Alfred had *no* noble and free man of his own peculiar kingdom (except infants, that could not yet, from the tenderness of their age, either choose good or refuse evil) who would voluntarily engage in a monastic life; the love for such a life

“*nefordiam, omnemque terram Mercensi provincię pertinentem.*”

¹ Asser, 67. “*Tertiam Scholę, quam ex multis suę proprię gentis nobilibus studiosissimę congregaverat.*”

M

“ having, through a long period of years past,
 “ ceased entirely in *that whole nation*, as well as in
 “ many other nations, though very many monasteries
 “ still appear erected in *that region*, but none of
 “ them keeping strictly to the rules of such a life;
 “ I hardly know why, yet either from the incursions
 “ of the Danes, which very often harass them by
 “ land or by sea, or even from *the very great abun-*
 “ *dance of riches of every kind in that nation*,” an
 intimation very extraordinary in itself, unnoticed by
 all our modern writers, and strongly confirmatory
 of what I have observed in another work, the orna-
 mental wealth of the Saxon churches, but “ which,”
 when diffused through a nation, “ is much more
 “ than the other the cause of despising that kind of
 “ monastic life; therefore Alfred endeavoured to
 “ fill the monastery” of Athelingey “ with monks
 “ from different places abroad.”¹ The monk ap-

¹ Asser, 61. “ Primitus, quia nullum de suâ propriâ gente no-
 “ bilem ac liberum hominem, (nisi infantes, qui nihil boni eli-
 “ gere nec mali respicere pro teneritudine invalidæ ætatis adhuc
 “ possunt), qui monasticam voluntariè vellet subire vitam, habe-
 “ bat; nimirum, quia per multa retroacta annorum curricula mo-
 “ nasticæ vitæ desiderium ab illâ totâ gente, nec non et à multis
 “ aliis gentibus funditus desierat, quamvis per plurima adhuc mo-
 “ nasterio in illâ regione constructa permaneant nullo tamen regu-
 “ iam illius vitæ ordinabiliter tenente, nescio quare, aut pro alie-
 “ nigenarum infestationibus, quæ sæpissimè terrâ marique hostili-
 “ ter irrumpunt, aut etiam pro nimîâ illius gentis in omni genere
 “ divitiarum abundantîâ, propter quam multo magis id genus de-
 “ spectæ [despectum] monasticæ vitæ fieri existimo; ideo diversi
 “ generis monachos, in eodem monasterio congregare studuit.”

pointed by him to be abbot over them,¹ was that John, whom we have seen him already drawing to him with Grimbald, and plainly with a design to fix them both in the college of clergy at the cathedral of Winchester. "Grimbald," adds Asser, "was a very excellent singer, and thoroughly taught in all ecclesiastical discipline, as well as in the divine scriptures;"² being plainly designed, therefore, for the place of president, or præcentor to the cathedral, and to form it on the model of the cathedrals abroad. But "John," as Asser goes on, "was a man of a very keen genius, and very well taught in all the discipline of the literary art, as well as ingenious in many arts besides,"³ as plainly designed therefore for the management of that school which had been annexed to the cathedral, as such schools have still through all ages remained annexed in every part of the island. But John he afterwards raised to the abbacy of Athelney, and then Alfred provided English masters for his school. His school "in time became one very carefully assembled out of many persons, noble and ignoble, of his own peculiar kingdom."⁴ Nor was this a mere school,

¹ Asser, 61.

² Ibid. 46—47. "Grimbaldum, cantatorem optimum, et omnimodo ecclesiasticis disciplinis et in Divinâ Scripturâ eruditissimum."

³ Ibid. 47. "Johannem, accerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus disciplinis literatorix artis eruditissimum, et in multis aliis artibus artificiosum."

⁴ Ibid. 67. "Scholæ, quam ex multis suæ propriæ gentis nobilibus [et etiam ignobilibus," addit. Hor.].

in the modern sense of the title. It was an academy ; it was an university ; it was the commencing and finishing place of education, for one of Alfred's own sons, for the sons of all the nobles of West-Saxony, for the sons of any private persons within it. " Æthelfloed," the eldest daughter of Alfred, says Asser in an early passage that anticipated the fortunes of all his children, " when she became marriageable, was united in matrimony to Edred earl of the Mercians ; Ætheelgofu," another daughter " engaged in the immediate service of heaven, by devoting her virginity to God, being conjoined and consecrated to the rules of a monastic life" in Alfred's own nunnery at Shaftesbury. But while his sons Eadward and Ælfhryth were " always educated in the royal court, yet not even these were bred up in idleness and incuriousness without a liberal discipline (between those other studies of this life which became nobles), in studiously learning psalms and Saxon books, and especially Saxon verses ; and in very frequently using books in general ;" Æthelweard, the youngest of his children, " by the suggestion of God, and the wonderful forethought of the king, was put into a SCHOOL OF LITERARY DISCIPLINE, and under THE DILIGENT CARE OF MASTERS, with ALMOST ALL THE NOBLE INFANTS OF THE WHOLE REGION, and even MANY IGNOBLE PERSONS besides. In this SCHOOL, BOOKS OF BOTH LANGUAGES, LATIN

! Asser, 64.

“ and SAXON, WERE READ EVERY DAY. They also
 “ attended there to writing. Thus, before they had
 “ strength sufficient for the HUMAN ARTS, namely
 “ hunting, and other arts which become nobles, they
 “ APPEARED STUDIOUS AND INGENIOUS IN THE LIBE-
 “ RAL ARTS.”¹

Such was the university really founded by Alfred, and founded not at Oxford, but at Winchester. Yet even at Winchester, as I have already intimated, it was only what the zeal of some writers has long contended the university of Oxford to be, not founded originally, and only restored by Alfred. All our greater churches had schools annexed to them, and coeval with them. Thus in another

¹ Asser, 42, 43. “ Æthelfræd, adveniente matrimonii tempore, Eadredo Merciorum comiti matrimonio copulata est. Æthelgeofu quoque monasticæ vitæ regulis, devotâ Deo virginitate, subjuncta et consecrata, divinum subiit servitium, Æthelweard omnibus junior, ludis literariæ disciplinæ, divino consilio et admirabili regis providentiâ, cum omnibus pene totius regionis nobilibus infantibus, et etiam multis ignobilibus, sub diligenti magistrorum curâ traditus est; in quâ scholâ utriusque linguæ libri, Latinæ scilicet et Saxonicæ, assiduè legebantur; scriptioni quoque vacabant; ita ut, antequam aptas humanis artibus vires haberent, venatoriæ scilicet et cæteris artibus quæ nobilibus conveniunt, in liberalibus artibus studiosi et ingeniosi viderentur. Eadwerd et Ælfthryth semper in curto regio nutriti—huc usque perseverant; nec etiam illi sine liberali disciplinâ (inter cætera præsentis vitæ studia quæ nobilibus conveniunt) otiosè et incuriosè permitterentur; nam et psalmos et Saxonicos libros et maxime Saxonica carmina studiosè dedicere, et frequentissimè libris utuntur.”

work I have shewn our metropolitical cathedral of Canterbury to have had a famous school annexed to it, and even kept within it.

Bertulph, king of Mercia, in 874, adds Asser, being driven out of his kingdom of Mercia by the Danes, repaired to Rome, soon died there, "and was honourably buried *in the school of the Saxons within the church of St. Mary.*"¹ Alfred thus appears to have been far from having "recently" erected a monastery at Winchester in 886, to which Grimbold could retire in this year, and at which he was buried afterwards; that Alfred *found* a monastery at the cathedral, coeval with the cathedral itself; that Alfred *found* a school belonging to the one, kept within the other, even coeval probably with both, and that therefore *he never erected any at all there*, having only conceived the plan of one, additional to that at the cathedral; but Edward his son, executing the plan, building this monastery *within the very precincts of the other*, and even placing "the two churches so near by the contiguity of their very walls, that the voices of their quires actually disturbed each other."²

¹ Asser, 26. "In Scholâ Saxonum, in ecclesiâ Sanctæ Mariæ honorificè sepultus."

² Malmesbury, 25. "Elfredus sepultus est Wintoniæ in monasterio suo; ad cujus officinas instruendas, Edwardus filius ejus sufficiens spacium terræ ab *Episcopo et Canonicis* tunc temporis nundinatus," &c. "Et erant ambæ ecclesiæ sic vicinæ parietibus contiguas, ut voces cantantium aliæ obstreperent aliis. Ariunt Aelfredum prius in *episcopatu* sepultum, quod suum mo-

Alfred therefore could not have founded the university of Oxford at the instigation of our Saint Neot. The idea of an university had not then entered the mind of man. Even if it had, it could hardly have appeared first in the mind of a monk, in the intellect of a hermit. Nor could the suggestion that Neot advised what Alfred executed in the erection of an university at Oxford, have intruded into the biography of Neot, till the university arose in the reign of the first Henry, and till it was become celebrated enough to reflect an honour even upon an Alfred, as its supposed erector, and to communicate a share of the honour even to a Neot, as his supposed adviser in the erection.

SECTION III.

WHATEVER engages much the affections of a writer, is sure to warp aside his understanding in what he writes; whether his subject be the antiquity of an university in which he himself has been

“nasterium esset imperfectum, moxque filium successorem Edwardum genitoris extalisse exuvias, et in novo monasterio—
 “composuisse,” f. 140. “Est etiam,” after speaking of the cathedral monastery, “in eadem civitate monasterium, quod
 “quondam rex Elfredus mente conceperat, et Edwardus filius
 “ædificaverat, in eo canonicos posuerat, Grimbaldo quondam
 “Flandrensi suadente, qui *ibidem magnâ gloriâ humatus,*” &c.

bred, or the life of a saint whom he has been accustomed to honour. Both indeed have previously combined their energies together, in the suggested erection of the Oxford university by Alfred under the counsels of Neot. But they have shewn their influence over the mind, when each has been operating single and alone. The obstinate defence which we have just seen of that erection, by writers who thought nothing of Neot, has already proved this. And another fiction, that has no concern with Alfred, that is calculated only to magnify Neot, will prove this again. Neot is asserted by his biographers to have built a church at his Cornish place of residence; when he certainly found one there, and when as certainly he never built another. On his return from Rome, cries the poetical Ramsay concerning him, he "erects rooms fitted for religion" of a monastery, "and he constructs a new church to God."¹ From the conjunction of the church with the monastery, indeed, we might with full propriety perhaps consider this church, as what I felt myself strongly inclined to consider it at first, as the mere chapel of the monastery. But the author himself forbids us; as in another place he speaks of the saint's burial, "within the *minster* which *Neot himself had erect-*

¹ App. No. 1, verses 369-370.

"Erigit inde domos aptatus religioni,

"Ecclesiamque novam construit ille Deo."

“*ed.*”¹ Accordingly, the prosaical tells us, with a brevity that nothing but the copiousness of his poetical biography could have fully unfolded, that “Neot’s venerable body was buried in HIS OWN “church.”² And the saint thus carries still a fictitious glory round his head, which it is my wish, as it is my business, to remove, that I may exhibit him in the simple splendor of genuine history.

I have already shewn two hides of land that had been given to the church to have been all taken away, except a single acre, by the violence of Robert the First, Earl of Cornwall, after the Norman Conquest. But with pleasure I suggest, that they were both restored to the church by William, who succeeded him in the year 1091. The suggestion indeed has never been made before, but appears necessary to the completeness of truth. For from such a circumstance alone can it have happened, that we find the rectory in 1292 to have been valued so very highly. Its *lands* were rated, just before the making of Domesday Book, at *twenty* shillings, when those of Probus were actually rated at

¹ App. No. 1. verses 641-642.

“Fodiuntque sepulcrum,

“Infra Basilicam quam Pater instituit.”

² App. 11. viii. “Venarabile verò corpus ejus in suâ—tu—
“multa tum est ecclesiâ.” To my amazement Tinmouth has omitted to twine this leaf of honour in the wreath around his saint’s head.

*forty.*¹ But in 1292 the lands and *tithes* of Probus were estimated at only *twelve pounds*, while the *tithes* and lands of St. Neot's were at *ten.*² This single incident proves the lands taken away to have been restored. We accordingly find the two hides formed into two manours, and retaining to this day the strongest signatures of their original connection with the church, being both of them *the manours of Saint Neot*; one of them denominated *the manour of St. Neot* simply, and the other of *Saint Neot Barret*, for distinction, though both are noticed together, in Doomsday Book, under the one appellation of Neotstou.

At this restoration of the plundered patrimony of the college, and under this sunshine of patronage from the earl, the present church of St. Neot was projected to be built, I believe, and windows were resolved to be put up with their present paintings upon them. I thus account for what seemed totally unaccountable before, the construction of such a church, and the formation of such windows in it, when the college to which it belonged was supposed to be stript of all its possessions, and believed to have sunk even into ruins itself. The paradox

¹ F. 121. "Canonici S. Probi tenent Lanbrebois,—volet xl. solidos."

² See No. 3 of Appendix to Hist. Survey of St. German's church.

³ Some Account, p. 5.

disappears before the face of argument, and leaves a fair probability in its room.

The church "is a handsome structure," says a gentleman who has a peculiar right to dictate on subjects of taste and elegance in general, or on architectural subjects in particular; "consisting of a nave and two side-aisles, with a tower at the west end. The nave is separated from the south-aisle by seven pointed arches; from the north aisle by six arches, corresponding with the six western on the south side; then by a surbased arch, somewhat lower, and much narrower than the other six. The church, in its style of building, resembles the churches, which we know to have been of the reign of Henry VI." This stroke in the description, not dwelt upon sufficiently by the author, shews the architecture to be that light and airy Gothic, which so greatly attracts our attention in some of the sixth or seventh Henry's buildings at present, but which hence appears to be much prior to either of those Henrys, if we carry back this building to the æra designed. "And the windows are perfectly [probably]¹ as old as the church:" certainly not older than it, and (without evidence to the contrary) to be justly considered as coeval with it. "The rude design and drawing of them would lead us to conjecture they were of much higher antiquity than those of King's College, in Cam-

¹ So in a copy corrected by the author's own hand.

“ bridge, of Henry VII.’s chapel, or of any of our
 “ cathedrals.” This concurs directly with my
 early æra assigned to it before. “ The windows of
 “ this church are *seventeen* in number. *Two* con-
 “ tain the Old Testament history from the creation
 “ to the death of Noah,” twice intermingled, how-
 ever, with anecdotes, purely traditional and Jewish,
 concerning that history¹ “ in different compart-
 “ ments, with an inscription under each, explain-
 “ ing its subject. *Thirteen* either have, or plainly
 “ have had, full-length figures of saints. *Two* con-
 “ tain the acts of Saint George and of SAINT
 “ NEOT.”² The insertion of the traditions of the
 Jews among the very incidents of Scripture, car-
 ries us up to that period of our Cornish history, the
 reign of John, commencing in 1199, when the
 Jews were particularly numerous in Cornwall; the
 managers of our tin mines, and the monopolists of
 our tin trade.³ But the equal insertion of the acts
 of SAINT GEORGE with the deeds of St. Neot, and
 of both equally in a regular series of compart-
 ments,⁴ raises all to a period still higher, even to
 the year 1198. In this year Robert, Duke of Nor-
 mandy, and eldest son to the Conqueror, was with
 others prosecuting his glorious course of victory
 over the Saracens, taking the city of Antioch, and

¹ Origin of Arianism, p. 331-334.

² Some Account, p. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11.

³ Origin of Arianism, p. 334.

⁴ Some Account, p. 10, 11.

engaging a great army that came too late to save it, but were therefore the more eager to recover it; when St. George, a saint in some repute before, and, as an officer in Dioclesian's soldiery who had been martyred for the Gospel, the natural saint of military men, in reality or in report appeared with an innumerable host, all coming down from the hills, all mounted on white horses, all clad in sun-bright armour, and all ranged under a cross of red, assisting the christians, and routing the infidels. ¹ That this was a saint, *even then* revered very highly among the christians, foreign or English, of the army, is apparent from a little anecdote which Leland has retailed to us concerning a battle the year preceding. In it, as he tells us from a genealogy of the Veres, Earls of Oxford, "*a baner of St. George was taken from [the] christians, the which after was won againe by this Albry [Aubrey de Vere] the 3: whereupon Albry gave after the armes of St. George in his shield.*"² But St.

¹ Malmesbury, f. 78. "*Persuadebantque sibi videre antiquos martyres, qui olim milites fuissent, quique mortis pretio porasent præmia vitæ, Georgium dico et Demetrium, vexillis leuatis a partibus montanis accurrere, iacula in hostes, in se auxilium, vibrantes. Nec diffitendum est affuisse martyris Christianis, sicut quondam Angelos Maccabæis simili duntaxat causâ pugnantibus.*" Huntingdon, f. 215. "*Ipsi viderunt exercitum, equis albis et phœbeis armis, quorum ductores erant Georgius Mercurius, et Demetrius.*"

² Leland's Itin. vi. 40. "*This Albry the 3, his father yet living, was at the conquest of the cites of Mique, of Antioche, and of Hierusalem, in the cumpanie of Robert Courtois, Duke*

George had been canonized in the Saxon calendar; King Ethelred being reported by the Saxon Chronicle itself to have died in 1016, on "Sanctus Georgius mass-day." Yet that grand interposition of the saint, in favour of the christians naturally gave him a much greater reputation among them, and so fixed him, from the English there, under the command of Duke Robert, the patron saint of the English nation.¹

"of Normandie. At the siege of the cite of Antioche, in a bataille againe Solimant, Prince of the Turkes, A.D. 1097, a banner of St. George," &c. Mr. Pegge, in Arch. vi. 24, would have been glad of this fact. It serves also to explain what he cannot explain, in p. 26. "There was a fraternity or gild of St. George," he says there, "established in the Black-friars church, at Norwich, 1385, to which Sir John Fastolf gave 'an angel silver, silver and guylt, beryng the arme of St. George,' q. his 'cross or his limb.'" Neither assuredly, but the arms of St. George, then well known, and being (as appears from a seal in Mr. Pegge's own account, p. 24) "the equestrian figure of St. George."

¹ The late Dr. Byrom, a man witty and religious, but whimsical and wild, with talents suited to strike the festive companion or the light reader by combinations of ideas ingenious and jocular, but with no one atom of that severer intellect which is calculated to examine, to prove, or to disprove with rigid reason, made an attempt, ridiculously impotent in itself, to read history with the glass of speculation on this point, to suppose the national saint of England should be the converter of the English from heathenism, then to believe he actually was, and so to mold the name of Georgius as supposedly miswritten and mispronounced, though all ages or generations since, not indeed into Augustinus, the real converter, because his name was too stubborn for the requisite ductility, but into Gregorius, the sender of the other. Such a

But here let me be more particular. The church was constructed, and the windows were painted, about the year 1190, I believe. The first and second of the south aisle from the east have the history of the antediluvian world delineated upon them, as derived in general from scripture; but with two incidents particularly borrowed from Jewish tradition, and all closing in the death of Noah. These were the windows formed by the earl himself, I apprehend. Then comes the third of the south aisle, exhibiting whole-length figures of the saints Christopher, NEOTUS, Leonard, and Catharine; with a notation at the bottom, specifying the makers of it, and declaring them to be Nicholas Burlas, a great proprietor assuredly in the parish under the earl, with Catharine his wife; and with John Vivian, the probable father of Catharine, who had his window painted at their expence, and by the act have given it the name which it retains at present, of *the Borlase window*.¹

mere player-pun upon history is too childish for refutation. Yet it has been amply refuted by a writer fond of parading in erudition, yet usefully parading now, and now exercising some intellect with it; Mr. Pegge, in Arch. v. 5-32. But Mr. Pegge unaccountably overlooks the grand incident at Antioch, and therefore, in p. 27-28, "confesses" his "ignorance" when St. George became patron of England. The comet thus loses itself in its range of aberration from the sun.

¹ The inscriptions on this window are these: "Ste. Christauf ora pro me," "Ste. Neoti ora pro me," both referring evidently, by their singular number, to John Vivian, "Ste. Leo-

The fourth represents to us the crucifixion, St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen. But the head of our Saviour was executed with such a happy pencil, as attracted the attention and engaged the desires of a reverend antiquary; who was wilful enough to request, and found the vicar with his vestry weak enough to allow, a mutilation that was the discredit of *his* taste, and a decollation that was the disgrace of *his* or *their* religiousness. Yet this spirit did not end here. One whole column of figures was removed at the same time, with considerable parts at top and bottom of the three columns besides: those remembered to have been the four evangelists, and these to have had some shields of arms, all finely executed like the head, we may be sure; and so, in a most irreverend lust of sacri-

“narde ora pro nobis,” “Sta. Catharina ora pro nobis,” both again referring as evidently to Nicholas and Catharine Borlase, the female saint being chosen as a namesake with the female votary. At the foot of the window are these: “Orate pro aministrabus Katharine Burlos—[Nicolai] Burlos, et Johan Vy—qui istam fenestram—[jusserunt] fieri,” only “et Johan Vy —” were turned by mistake, at some repair toward the churchyard. Catharine was an heiress, as she is mentioned before her husband. Vyvian was her father, as he is allusively prayed for before her, even while he is personally mentioned after her. And the name of Nicholas, which comes last, I have supplied from an account in the hands of the parish-clerk, taken many years ago, but not very correct. It has particularly, by what appears rather the operation of pert pedantry than of blundering negligence, changed “ova” in what was put in the mouth of the deceased Adam, into “grana,” as in Origin of Arianism, 332.

lege, taken from their original consecration to the honour of God in the glory of his church, to honour—a tea-room, or to glorify—a water-closet.¹ The arms belonged, undoubtedly, to the donors, who are remembered to have had the appellation of *Martyn*, and who appear, from the remaining inscription below, to have been a father, with his sons, a considerable proprietor undoubtedly, in the parish.² The fifth exhibits the four evangelists again, but on a larger scale than the preceding painting could admit, and with some variations probably from the preceding; St. Matthew having an animal half-bird, but half-beast on his left, and St. Luke bearing a child in his arms. The inscription under each is the initial verse of his gospel in the vulgate, only with St. Luke the fifth verse is properly made the initial, the four verses preceding

¹ “A part of the painted glass,” says *Some Account*, p. 11, “in the window of the south aisle which is behind the pulpit,” which *was*, but *is not*, as the pulpit has been removed, “*was some years ago taken out by the vicar for the time being, and plain glass put in its place.* The painted glass was presented by the parish to *Dr. Charles Lyttleton, then Dean of Exeter, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle.*” This action is too tenderly noticed. It asks a whip of wire to correct the persons concerned in it. “The vicar for the time being” ought to be *known* by name as well as the dean. He *was no antiquary*; but his name *Samuel Thomas*.

² The inscriptions remaining are, “*Ste. Johannes ora pro nobis,*”——“*Stephane ora pro nobis,*” under the two figures respectively, and at the bottom of all, “*orate pro bono——et filior*
“—*suq*—”

being considered as merely prefatory; and all have been mangled or confounded at some reparation of the window. The name of the donor is preserved, however, and appears to be *Mutton*, another proprietor of consequence, under the earl, assuredly. And the sixth displays the history of *St. George*, in twelve compartments; equally as the two first, without the name of any benefactor, but with circumstances, in the delineated incidents, of a date posterior to the earl's period. The dragon, that principal monster in the mass of fiction concerning *St. George*, makes his appearance in form upon the glass, and is slain in form by the saint. This shows us of itself, that the representation in the window is all derived from an author, who is the first known to have caught the kindling fondness of the nation for *St. George*, in the magnifying mirror of romance, and to have reflected it back upon the nation in its present glare of fiction. This man wrote about the year 1290. The window, therefore, could not be charged with his extravagancies till some time after he wrote; till half or a whole century after; till the credulity of the public had been overpowered by the audaciousness of falsehood, and all his wild lies were considered for such sober truths, as to be substantially proper for the painting of a church-window. This reduces the date of the painting to 1340 or 1390. But as there was assu-

¹ The memorial below is " — Johannes Mutton — eror ac
" — — — — — bufactor."

redly a painted window here coeval with the other five, upon this the only handsome side of the church, so that appears, upon a close inspection, to have been formerly charged with real history ; with history correspondent to all which precedes it ; with history prosecuting all to its full completion and close. The first and second carry the chain of historical intelligence from Adam to Noah ; the third interposes the figures of four saints ; the fourth takes up the chain again in the crucifixion of our Saviour ; the fifth interposes again the persons of the four evangelists ; and the sixth once concluded in the resurrection. The painting on this window then consisted, I suppose, of three stages of progressive action ; the taking of our Saviour down from the cross, in one below ; the burial of our Saviour, in another about the middle ; and the resurrection of our Saviour, *as it now remains*, in a third above. In the highest part of the window, close to the arch itself, even now remains our Saviour with his crown of thorns on his head, stepping up out of his tomb, and bearing a cross with a banner in one of his hands. On his right stands a woman with a lighted censer, as ready to adore him immediately ; and on his left a man, marked for a man by his spear, with an opened book in his hand, as ready to consult the gospel concerning our Saviour's religion ; representatives of the two sexes, now induced both of them by his resurrection to become his disciples, but the female more forward than

the male, as it honourably was in fact, and having already lighted its censer for adoration, while the male is only reading, in order to know about him. With this reasoning coincide directly all the appearances of the window. No traces, indeed, of the original painting are now to be even dimly discerned through the intervals of the painting superinduced. But the resurrection above, and the adventures below, are as different in the hands that painted them, as in the credibility of their story painted. The colours are equally good and lively in both; but there is an evident difference in their style and manner of execution. The resurrection is greatly superior to the adventures. The touches of the pencil are much heavier in these than in that. At the bottom of the original painting also, is drawn *an artificial line of glazier's lead*. And some decorations are added immediately below the line, in order to be a continuation of those above; but in a style that betrays them still more by their proximity, to be only a mean imitation of the others in a form not meeting and tallying exactly with the others.

¹ Arch. vi. 16. Mr. Pegge. "The legend of St. George's killing the dragon is related by Jacobus De Voragine, in *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 56; and we are not certain he was the first author of it. On the contrary, it is reasonable to think he had it from some vulgar story current before his time. Jacobus flourished at latest, A. D. 1290, Heylin 13." This mode of referring the fiction from a visible author to an invisible one, I cannot but condemn. The mode would apply just as well to a third man as to a second. And the fluttering mind might be entangled in the

Here then ends the *original* series of windows, complete in its range, as filling up the whole front of the church; and complete in its history, as extending from the creation to the resurrection. The rest appears no ways correspondent in history, much

meshes of an *infinite series*. Jacobus undoubtedly was the real, as well as the reputed, father of this fiction. We are certain, from what Mr. Pegge himself has noticed in another page, that the fiction cannot be much older than Jacobus, as a priory in Derbyshire, dedicated to St. George, "in the reign of King Henry I.," as a seal "to an instrument of" "the reign of Henry II. or Richard I.," commencing in 1154 and 1189 respectively, with the equestrian "figure of St. George *alone*," that is, *without the dragon* (p. 24). Yet we read on the window these inscriptions: "Hic Georgius pugnat contra Gallicanos," "Hic Gallicani nactant Georgium," "Hic Beata Maria resuscitat eum a tumulo," "Hic Beata Maria armat Georgium," "*Hic mactat draconem*," "Hic capitur et ducitur ante regem," "Hic corpus ejus laceratur," "Hic Georgius decollatus est," "— [Hic] molat— [immolatur]," "Hic ponitur in furno cum plumbo," "Hic trahitur cum equo indomito," "Hic filius imperatoris equitat super eum." These inscriptions sufficiently shew us how madly the fabricating Jacobus has mounted up to the moon, in producing these fictitious deeds to the supersedence of the genuine, and in losing the grand, the glorious cause of all, his hero's sufferance of all for the cause of christianity! "It is thought by several learned men," adds Mr. Pegge, and reason here gives what she frequently denies, her assent to the dictates of learning, "that Lactantius, in his book *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, when he says, speaking of the edict against the christians, 'Quod edictum *quidam*, etsi non rectè, magno tamen aximo, diripuit et concidit,—statimque productus, non modò *extortus*; sed etiam legitime *coctus*, cum admirabili patientiâ postremo *exustus* est,' "

"meant our champion."

inferior in size, and carrying actual notations of dates upon some of them, much later in time than even the superinduced paintings of the last window. The windows of the front, or south aisle, are all "handsome pointed arches with tracery," while those of the back, or north aisle, "consist of four "scalloped lights under a square band;" a "variety, occasioned by the ground on the north side of the church rising so high, as not to admit of windows of the same proportions with those to the south."¹ For the same reason, assuredly, these back-lights were *not* decorated with any paintings *originally*. We see the fact demonstrably from some dates upon them. The first of them on the west, the window charged with all the history of St. Neot, appears to have been the first of this new series; but is only declared, in its own inscription at the bottom, to have been made at the expence of the *young men* of the parish.² The next, in course, toward the east is *relatively* declared to have been made at the expence of the *young women*; ³ as in the third, at the expence of the *wives*.⁴ But the

¹ Some Account, 11-12.

² "Ex sumptibus juvenum fenestram fac [ierunt]."

³ "Ex sumpt sororum Ste. Neoti ista fenestra facta [fuit] vitrea facta."

⁴ "Ex sumptibus uxorumum [uxorum]—[hujus] parochie [parochie]—[ex] pte occidentali Sti Noti [ejus] facerunt fenestram vitream." These words being in two lines upon fragments of glass irregularly put together, "o, p, acab

former of these two informs us expressly, that it was so made "in the year 1529;"¹ while the latter as expressly reports itself to have been made "in the" very "year" following, "1530."² The first, then, was assuredly made in 1529, since the second certainly was in 1529, and the third as certainly in 1530; all three referring, in their inscriptions, prospectively and retrospectively to each other. Till 1528, therefore, St. Neot had only a whole-length figure of himself in the windows, while St. George had all his history detailed in them about two hundred years before. So much had the particular impression, once made upon the minds of the Cornish by St. Neot, been then effaced by the general stroke of electricity upon their nerves, from the military martyr of Cappadocia; from the saint interposing

"*adorant parochiæ—piæ—dei—faciebant—fenestram—*," and expanded thus, "*orate pro animabus uxorum parochiæ [quæ] pi [o amore] dei—faciebant—[hanc] fenestram.*" The words "*[ex] parte occidentali*" are singular, and therefore omitted by Some Account, p. 12, but in themselves mean the western part of the parish, this being still divided into east and west sides; and the words "*Sti Noti,*" are put immediately under, in order to fix their meaning to that place. But the author has too good an excuse for this reading, however devious from the truth, in that feebleness and faintness of eye-sight, which had for years precluded him from all excursive-ness of reading, had so checked the range of his lively genius, and pulled back the mounting eagle to its perch.

¹ "*Facta [millimo] quingentesimo xxix.*"

² "*Quingentesimo millimo—ano Dni—tricesimo.*"

to fight for christians against infidels, from the adopted guardian and patron of the whole kingdom, newly drest out, for their admiration, in the most fantastic habiliments of romance! This was even detailed upon the window, in supersedence of an history *infinitely* superior in its value, because St. George had now become a more fashionable object of devotion to some than our Saviour himself; and one of the scalloped lights at the back of the church was not large enough for his history. So little need we to wonder that the Cappadocian saint had then eclipsed the Saxon, and the soldier thrown a shade over the hermit; even in the saint's own church, and at the hermit's own residence! The fourth window tells, what is particularly curious in itself, that one Harris was at once the *painter* and *donor*; ¹ the fifth assures us that one Callowy, a name still retained in Cornwall, but pronounced Challavy, was the donor; ² and the sixth, or last one, told, that Tubb the vicar was, with one or more besides, still imploring the intercessions of our Saviour and three saints for him as well as them. ³

¹ "Dono——[hæc fenestra] Radulphi Harryset——[ejus] lab——
" [labore] facta fuit."

² "Bono" for *Dono*——"Callavy——"

³ The name of Tubb I take from the clerk's paper, there being no maker's name now upon the glass. But these addresses to our Saviour and to saints are; "—Ora pro nobis," "Fili Dei miserere nobis," with a crucifix over it, "——Johannes——," and "Stephane ora pro nobis." The plural style of these inscriptions

Thus does the northern series of windows go on from 1528 to 1529, 1530, and three or more years posterior.

We therefore find it *not* "impossible to fix the exact date of St. Neot's windows;" and feel ourselves *not* content merely to "conclude from the subjects of them, that they are older than the Reformation."¹ We see two actual dates upon the windows that point out the very year in which two of them were respectively made, even many a year before the Reformation. In the window, dated 1529, is that sure signature of popery, repeated four different times, "ora pro nobis."² In that of 1530 is the same signature, in addresses to three saints for their prayers, with an invocation of pity from our Saviour.³ The fourth window has the same, in addresses to four saints; and one of the saints is a *pope*, distinguished by his triple

shews some one else to have been concerned with Mr. Tubb in having the window painted,

¹ Some Account, p. 10.

² "Ste. Patrice ora pro nobis," "Ste. Clere ora pro nobis," "Ste. Mance ora pro nobis," then this abbreviation at the foot of another figure, "Or bz" for *omnibus*, and immediately "Stus" for *Ste*, without any saint's name, directly following "ora pro nobis." About the bosom of this last saint is a groupe of eight heads, supposed to be a fragment brought from some other window.

³ "— Maria ora pro nobis," "Sta. Mabena ora pro nobis," "Jesu Fili Dei miserere nostri," "Ste. Meberede ora pro nobis."

erown. The fifth has addresses to two saints, with an invocation of pity from the cross itself. The superinduced painting at the west end of the south aisle, dated itself still earlier before the Reformation. And this window, in its original state, with the remaining five in front, all refer themselves to a period much earlier still; to that, at which alone the traditions of the Jews could be combined with the incidents of scripture, in which the two manors, torne away before, had been actually given back again; and during which the priests of the college could plan, while the earl or his successor would execute, such a structure for their church, with such windows for the front of it. And the dawn of Reformation breaks in at the very close of all, our Saviour being introduced, as the giver of blessings, in company with mere saints.

¹ " —es Baptista ora pro nobis," " Ste. —ora pro nobis," at the foot of a triple-crowned saint, " —eonarde ora —," and " —ora pro nobis" at the foot of a male saint, embracing a cross with his left arm, and holding a book in the hand of his right.

² " Ste. —lavy ora pro me, " Ste. Germani ora pro me," and a crucifix with " miserere mei" under it.

³ " The roof," says Some Account, p. 8, concerning the church, " is of timber, ornamented with lozenges scalloped within side. In the lozenges are initial letters, knots, and other ornaments. In the western lozenge of the nave is a date 1503. But the church seems to be of greater antiquity than its present roof." All this refers to an inscription and two dates which have not been understood. In the wood work of the roof along the nave, but commencing from the belfrey, are

In that college, then, St. Neot lived; and in that church he was buried. "Between this smaller arch and the east end," says the author previously cited concerning the surbated arch of the nave and the north aisle, "is solid wall; on the north side of which is a stone casket of 18 inches by 14, said to contain the remains of the dwarfish saint. Over this is a wooden tablet, inscribed with unorth rhymes in honour of him, both in Latin and in English."¹ St. Neot, however, was not buried in this casket originally. He was actually put into the earth. "The brethren," cries the poetical

these letters formed in Gothic characters, "AN NO DNI M CCCCL" in one line, "E DI FI CA TA" in another; and in a third, but with inverted position, these characters and figures, "XX X hec DO Ms." The third of these lines is to come in the construction as the second, and the second as the third. Thus arranged the words are these at full length, "Anno Domini millisimo quingentesimo trigesimo hæc domus edificata;" and mean the very same year in which the third window of the north aisle from the west was painted. Only, from the largeness of the interval between the two first and the third of the tens, a very just doubt may arise, whether the last x was not ix originally, and so brings the year to that in the second of the same aisle, 1529. But the whole appears, from its commencing point, to refer merely to the belfrey, the "bell-house," as popularly called. This was the "house" in 1529-30. But the "date 1593," which is betwixt the belfrey and the inscription, has no relation to either, referring merely to the roof of itself, even now of a different aspect in the nave from either of the aisles, and comparatively new in appearance.

¹ Some Account, p. 7.

Ramsay, "lamented over Neot, and *dug his grave* " in the church ;" and afterwards " the clergy with " the laity, each in their own stations, recommend- " ed his soul to God, and *commit his body to the* " *grave.*"¹ " His venerable body," adds the prosaical, " was, with all diligence, *buried in the* " church ; and *the dust of his grave* is taken by the " faithful" as a medicine.² And as Tinmouth sub- joins, here copying the prosaical only, but ready to copy either, for any incident wildly extravagant, " the *earth of his grave* being, with pious veneration, delivered to the languishing; is known to " have profited many medicinally; as, on being " tasted for any kind of infirmity, it made men, it " made beasts, to recover,"³ He therefore lay

¹ Life, No. 1, 641.

Fratres interdum plorant fodiuntque sepulchra

Infra basilicam — — — — —

Commendat animam Domino, corpusque sepulchro,

Cum populo clerus, ordine quisque suo.

² Life, No. 11, viii. " Venerabile verò corpus ejus in suâ, cum " omni diligentia, tumulatum est ecclesia.—Ejusdem—sanctissimi Neoti tumuli pulvis a fidelibus sumitur," &c.

³ Ibid. No. 111. " Terra quippe sepulturæ illius, cum piâ veneratione languentibus tradita, multis medicinaliter noscitur profuisse; gustata quippe pro quolibet invaliditudo genere, tam homines quàm jumenta convalescere faciebat." Capgrave accordingly echoes Tinmouth thus in *Some Account*, p. 22. " He " died soon after in *the odour of sanctity at this his monastery of* " *Gerrurstoke*, and the earth that covered his grave, *when mixed* " *with any liquid, was sovereign in all disorders both of men* " *and cattle,*"

within a grave; and, as the very tenor of the verses upon the tablet over it confirms, lay long in it. Both the Latin and the English testify the very *bones* to have been *consumed*, and nothing to remain of them but the *dust*. The English additionally witness, that he ~~he~~ had a *previous* tomb or coffin, which had rotted into ruins. And, what is even physically conclusive, a "casket of 18 inches by 14" *could not* contain any body of any size of man. But the casket also appears, upon examination, by gently opening a hole through the end of it, and by thrusting the hand to feel the inside, to be very thick in the substance of its sides, and to have only a very shallow cavity within, hardly capable of containing any thing but *ashes*, and of these not more than one or two quarts. So little was this the original repository of his remains, and so little was it proportioned in its size to his dwarfishness!

At the eastern end of the church-nave without, appear two seams in the wall, distinguishing to every eye the older parts of the building from the newer, and inclosing all the length of the altar-rails within them. The interval is also distinguishable in the mode of construction from all the rest of the church, except the tower; that being composed of a variety of materials, moorstone, freestone, flint, and slate, in a variety of dimensions; while *this* is

‡ Life, p. 7.

formed in a very graceful uniformity of moorstone, and on a scale of dimensions much nearer approaching to uniformity.¹ The arch also of the altar-windows is cut into *tesserae*, or dies, as are two window-arches in the tower; while the other windows are made of large stones carved into handsome mouldings. Thus the tower appears to have been of the same age and style of architecture with the eastern walls; the two opposed ends of the church uniting in identity of appearance, and both remaining the unnoticed relics of the church prior to the present, prior to St. Neot's sepulture in it; even equal with St. Guery's own. Having noted this, in full refutation of the biographer's assertion of Neot's building the church here, I go on to shew the biographer's own refutation of it, while I trace the sepulture of Neot within the church.

“The people daily increases,” cries the poet, “which comes in honour of the saint, so that the place cannot contain them. Then immediately a resolution is taken to pull down the small church,” asserted above to have been so recently erected by Neot himself, “and speedily build a new one. The work, as resolved on, is made large, grows amazingly, and is shortly finished; as the populace come bringing these donations in their hands

¹ In the tower are two windows more, not *tessellated* like the other two, yet not similar to any others in the church. The bell-house in this tower, we must remember, was only repaired, not built, in 1529-30.

which are sufficient, and more than sufficient, for
 the building. The church being finished and
 enriched with various ornaments, the saint is
 lifted out of the earth with pious love, and carried
 by hands above the altar; and thus accrues fresh
 honour to the saint, with fresh glory to God.¹
 Or, as the poetical with more circumstantiality
 adds, and with more poeticalness than even the
 poet himself, "when now the sun has six times re-
 measured the houses of the signs, and the year
 has seven times rolled round, the temple was re-
 built in a greater fabric, being enlarged by some
 very religious persons. This was, therefore,
 thought a reasonable opportunity to transfer the
 little body of the servant of God to another part of
 the same church. It was accordingly with watch-
 ings, prayers, and fastings, lifted up from thence;
 and was stored up and repositied in a place very
 proper on the northern side of the altar of the

¹ App. No. 1. verses 649-659.

Corpore sacro sanctorum more sepulto,
 Fioibus a multis sexus uterque venit;
 Cotidie crescit populus, veniens in honorem
 Sancti, sic quòd eos non capit ipse locus.
 Tunc in statuunt confringere parvam
 Ecclesiam, citius ædificare novam.
 Fit sicut statuunt opus amplum, mirificèque
 Crescit, et in parvo tempore perficitur;
 Nam plebs advenièns offert ibi munera tanta,
 Quod satis ad fabricam sufficit et superest.

“said church.”¹ Yet all this reconstruction and enlargement of the church, when reduced to the scale of reality, is nothing more than the addition of a chapel made to the church, as the accompanying translation of St. Neot’s remains to the place where his casket now is sufficiently shews. The bones of St. Neot were left to rest in the earth, under the gravestone placed over them; not, as the prosaical biography asserts, for *seven* years only, but, as historical probability cries aloud, and as the fact appears demonstrably to have been from the size of the casket, near *seventy* years; even *till* the reverence for his memory increased, when the Saxons conquered the country, and his royal house of Wessex became the imperial house of Cornwall too. About *sixty* years, therefore, after his death, about the year 936, his remains were taken out of their grave, and carried into a side-chapel, then added to the nave, then dedicated to his memory, and still preserved in one part, when the rest, with its accompanying church, was pulled down, in order to be rebuilt. That part was peculiarly preserved out of reverence to the saint, to his stone-casket, and to his inclosed remains. Hence, while “the nave is separated from the *south* aisle by *seven* pointed

¹ App. No. 1. v. 661-665.

Ecclesiâ factâ varioque decore dicatâ,

Tollitur à terrâ sanctus amore pio;

Et super altare manibus distollitur, et sic

Crêscit honor sancto, gloria lausque Deo.

“ arches, from the *north* aisle by *six* arches, corresponding with the *six* western on the *south* side; then by a *surbaised* arch, somewhat *lower*, and *much narrower* than the other *six*,” dissonantly answering to the seventh on the south, and the original entrance from the old church into this chapel; “ between this smaller arch, and the east end” of the whole, “ is solid wall,” the original wall of partition between the chapel and the church; “ on the north,” or chapel, “ side of which is a stone casket, said to contain the ashes of the saint.”

This casket I surveyed with attention in October, 1795, and found the measure of “ 18 inches by 14” to be merely the measure of a projecting end. It then seemed a chest of freestone, thrust into the wall, but projecting from it, and resting at the other end in some slight opening into the *original* wall of the chapel. For a *new* wall has been plainly formed at the place, rising to a ledging about seven feet in height, and lying upon the face of the old, to lend a proper rest for the middle of the casket, just thick enough to hold the inner half securely, yet thin enough, with a small lodgment in the old wall, to leave out the other half in sight. But this hitherto unnoticed addition serves clearly to shew us, that the old wall was prior to the translation of Neotus’s remains; that it is in reality what the *surbaised* arch and the nave-wall without have already suggested it to be, a part of the original chapel, which was dedicated to Neotus when his remains

were translated into it. The arch, indeed, is very low and very narrow, carrying hardly half the height or half the span of the other arches, and nearly circular, while these are peaked.

So I reasoned, when I returned from my visit to this tomb of the saint. But, a few days after my visit, and in consequence of it, another pilgrim of antiquarianism coming to the tomb, the selfish impetuosity of drunkenness in some workmen about the church, which I restrained with great difficulty while I used it a little, burst out when the latter gentleman was gone, in search (I suppose) of treasure apprehended to be concealed, and actually broke up the whole repository. Then the seeming casket appeared to be no casket at all, I understand, but merely the visible memorial of a casket within; hollow indeed, yet slightly so, as being nearly filled up, and so contracted in its dimensions, as to be within the facing wall only ten inches and a half by nine. It thus reached nearly up to the original wall, ending only two inches and a half from it. In *this* wall was found the real repository of St. Neot's remains; a large cavity, apparently *not made with the wall*, but dug into it *after* its construction, being perfectly rude and formless. To guard the remains in it more securely, the mouth was closed with a stone; while the seeming casket was made to extend from it into sight, and was therefore formed neatly of four wrought stones. *This* was found to contain

nothing within it, except the stones which had filled it at first, or which had been driven into it since, in opening the end a little. But in the cavity was found a mould-earth, very fine in itself, yet adheging in clots, and dark in colour, being (I doubt not) the very "sacra gleba" of Neotus, as we shall soon see his remains expressly called, the very last and evanescent relics of that body which was once actuated by the high-set soul of a St. Neot. These relics, from a couple of grooves in the seeming casket, which my fingers felt broad and long on the right as well as the left of it, but which were now seen reaching from the top to the bottom, appear to have been primarily designed for sepulture in the narrower or unseen end of the casket, for a lodgment with this in the facing wall, and for a separation from the thicker, or projecting end, by a stone inserted in the grooves. The end of the casket, however, was found upon trial, I suppose, to be too small, and a new casket was formed in the substance of the original wall, the facing wall was still retained, and the old casket was still lodged in it; yet merely as a portico to the fane, as a step to the altar, or a curtain to the shrine. A part of the old was thought, and the whole of the new was found, though each of them was only a small cavity, to be large enough for containing all that *then* remained of St. Neot. There they were repositied, and the repository was elevated in the wall, not (as folly fancies at times) in order to ascertain the

height of his stature by the top of the casket, but for the purpose of more openly exhibiting his tomb to the eye, and for the use of more impressively praying at his altar just by it.

The lines in Latin, which seem from their conciseness alone to be much older than the loquacious English, appear from the very tone of their language, to have been written at this period. They combine the times past and present, in a singular sort of confusion, together. They thus show themselves to have been written at a middle time, betwixt both. They refer pointedly to the *raised* reliques of St. Neot to their *visible* reduction into dust, and to their grave *now open under the eye*.

Hic (olim noti) jacuere relictæ Neoti,
Nunc præter cineres nil superesse vides ;
Tempus in hæc fossâ carnem consumpsit et ossa ;
Nomen perpetuum, Sancte Neote, tuum.

Here (in life noted) Neot's reliques lay,
Yet nought but ashes now your eyes survey ;
Time in this grave both bones and flesh hath eat ;
Yet shall St. Neot still in fame be great.

The English lines, indeed, are almost wholly a loose paraphrase upon the Latin, with an account tacked to it, concerning St. Neot, as false as it is prattling ; but catch not these little circumstances of vision, as either too fine for the optics, or too pointed for the period of the writer. They catch only the grosser circumstances concerning the burial of St. Neot in a grave, or concerning the consumption of his flesh

and bones within it. To these they add, from traditional history, I suppose, an intimation concerning his *coffin*, which they miscall his *tomb*, and aver to have been equally consumed.

Consuming time Neotus' flesh
And bones to dust translated;
A sacred *tomb* this dust enclosed,
Which now is *minated*.

A *coffin* would be reduced into ruins in the course of sixty years, but a *tomb* could not. Nor do the lines mean any other reduction into ruins than by the hand of time; as they instantly add, in a sort of Hibernism that *putrifies* the very *dust* of the saint,

Though flesh and bones, and *dust* and *tomb*,
Through tract of time be *rotten*;
Yet Neot's fame remains with us,
Which ne'er shall be forgotten.

These, and the other lines in English, which are referred by their *language*, even amidst the modern aspect of their *orthography*, and by one grand omission in the history detailed by them, to a period a little earlier than the Reformation,¹ were un-

¹ The orthography is too modern for a period just antecedent to the Reformation, and has therefore been changed on some recent renewal of the frame within which they are inscribed. But the language occasionally points to such a period. In it we find "quaintest" for nicest, "spoils" for spoliation, "behested" for devoted, and "diceased" for departed. These indeed, of themselves, would only carry us up to the age of Elizabeth. Even so, however, they carry us beyond the time of the orthography. And

doubtedly not made *till* the window was painted with St. Neot's history, about the year 1528. Yet were they assuredly made *soon afterwards*. The time intervening between 1528 and the Reformation is short in itself; and all the windows up to the lines were apparently painted *before* the Reformation. Those windows, as I have already shewn, all bear sure signatures of their priority to the Reformation. Even the lines betray themselves to be older than the Reformation, by the popish legendary turn of the saint's own history in them. They thus point to their author in that very vicar, who, with one or more besides, had the *adjoining* window painted at his or their expence; and who, as the dates upon two windows unite with the progressive nature of all to indicate, was the last vicar before the Reformation.

the total silence of the lines concerning the college's fate at the Reformation, when all the endowment of it was swallowed up by the jaws of sacrilege, unites with the language to date the whole a little before the Reformation. The only mention of the college is this, that it survived its founder, and that its reputation increased when he himself was dead.

¹ The preceding account of the paintings and inscriptions upon the windows, &c. I owe to that promptness of friendship, and that vivacity of intellect, which I am happy to acknowledge in the worthy, the classical, the reverend Mr. Lyne, of Leskard. Being situated at no great distance from the church of St. Neot, he was kind enough to pay no less than six visits to it for me, in order to examine the windows, the tomb, &c. and send me his notices concerning all. To his notices I subjoin one general observation, that in the windows so replenished with saints, those of

the northern aisle, the saints are almost all *merely local* in themselves, and of the *vicinage* itself. A general view of the saints sufficiently proves the point, and at the same time enables us to rectify the spelling in one or two of the appellations. The St. Neot of the first window from the west is apparently local. In the second "Ste. Patrice," as painted, should be "Ste. Patrace," as meant; "Ste. Clere" is the patron of the adjoining St. Clere; "Ste. Mance" is for Mancus, the Bishop of Cornwall, mentioned in vi. 4. of my Historical Survey of St. German's Church; and "Stus," by mistake, for "Ste," yet without the name of any saint immediately following it, because the place of this has been occupied by the cypher for *omnibus*, had once the name directly under the figure of a saint, where now is only vacant glass, but has it, by some transposition in a repair, thrown into the general inscription below; the first word assuredly for the saint of Lammoran. Accordingly this saint is drawn with a groupe of eight heads about his bosom, to denote probably the saints (just eight in number) that I have intimated in my Survey to have come with him from Ireland; Brenca, Sinninus, Germocus, and Elwen, Crewenna, Helena, St. Just, and St. Madern (see iv. 7). In the third window "Sta. Mabena" is the saint of the adjoining St. Mabyon, noticed in v. 3. of my Survey, and represented on the glass in a female form, having upon her lap a dead Saviour crowned with thorns; "Ste. Maberade" is meant for St. Mybbard, of the adjoining Cardinham (see vi. 4). In the fourth window recorded is Leonard, the patron of a chapel at the adjoining Bodmin (i. 4. at the close). In the fifth "Ste. —lawy" means some saint yet unknown, but of the same appellation, I suppose, with the donor of the window, Callawy; as "Ste. Germani is obviously our own St. German's.

CHAP. IV.

SECTION I.

MY account of St. Neot should now close, with settling the period of his death, and with determining a dispute concerning his remains. The dispute has arisen from the claim of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, to the remains of our Cornish saint. But before I can venture upon this final part of the whole, I must determine and settle the quality of a work, to which I shall appeal for some material incidents in it; because this quality has much distracted the historical critics, has often puzzled myself formerly, and was puzzling me so much at present as to *force* me upon a solution of the difficulty.

There are two histories of Alfred, both of which carry the name of Asser for their author; one cited repeatedly by me before, and another now to be cited. The former, which I shall denominate Asser's LIFE of Alfred is allowed by every writer to be genuine. But the latter, which I shall distinguish by the title of his ANNALS, is allowed by no one. I therefore engage in the Herculean task of cleansing this Augean stable, and of clearing this reprobated work from its universal stigma of spuriousness.

The annals of Asser, which Leland cites as the

“*Chronicon Sancti Neoti* ;”¹ which are so entitled upon the work itself, but in a writing more recent than that of the work,² had large extracts made from them, as I shall hereafter show, by that indefatigable extractor Leland,³ and have been since published entire by Gale from this manuscript, which was seen by Leland at St. Neot’s in Huntingdonshire, and is now in the library of Trinity College, in Cambridge.⁴ That these annals are equally genuine with the life, whatever brands have been tried to be fixed upon the work,⁵ is apparent from a fact, as stated by the principal brander himself. “*Marianus Scotus*,” says this writer concerning an historian, who actually lived within a hundred and thirty years after Asser,⁶ “had also met with it somewhere, for *he transcribes it by wholesale.*”⁷ But Gale notes the circumstance in a more descriptive manner, saying that “*Marianus has inserted the greatest part of the annals in his own chronicle with so much fidelity, so much exactness, as not to change those forms of writing, and those peculiarities of speaking, which suited the age and person of Asser, but did not suit either the person or age of Marianus ;*”⁸ just as Asser him-

¹ Coll. iii. 214.

² Preface to Gale’s *Scriptores*.

³ See 1st section.

⁴ Gale, i. 145—175, & Preface.

⁵ Nicholson’s *Eng. Hist. Lib.* i. 121—122.

⁶ Florence, 404.

⁷ Nicholson, 122.

⁸ Preface ; “*Horum Annalium Marianus maximam partem in*

self has acted with Bede in these very annals. If those allegations are in any form, or to any extent true, the genuineness of the annals is unquestionable in itself. An attestation so early and so powerful to its genuineness, infinitely outweighs all the dust of doubts, and all the cobwebs of suspicions that can be thrown into the scale against it. But I will not rest upon such an authority, however great. I want no concessions from the calumniators of the annals. I therefore adduce a decisive argument of my own. That the annals were written equally with the life by Asser, is plain, from a passage in both, which acknowledges Asser to be the author of both; the author recording the same anecdote thus in the annals, "quod a Domino meo Alfredo, Angulo—Saxonum rege veredico, etiam sæpe mihi referente, audivi,"² and thus in the life, with the variation only of a single letter, "quod a Domino meo Ælfredo Angulo—Saxonum rege veridico, etiam sæpe mihi referente, audivi."

A difficulty remains, however, to account how Asser came to form two historical works so very different, yet so much the same. But the difficulty may be thus removed effectually. Asser first formed one of them as the full annals of his own times, with a long preface concerning the past; and after-

"suam chronicam comportavit, tantâ fide, tantâ diligentia, ut non mutavit illas formas sermonis et loquendi proprietates, quæ Asserii ævo et personæ conveniebant, Mariano autem nullo modo."

¹ Wise's Preface to the Life, p. xxvii.—xxviii.

² Gale, 157.

³ Wise, 10.

wards new-modelled this into a mere life of Alfred, by throwing off almost all the *general* parts of it, beginning with the birth of Alfred in 849, working up all the modern incidents that related to Alfred, and intermixing Alfred's private life with the whole. He thus takes usually that very form of words, and that very position of facts which appear in the annals. Even by one casual stroke of composition, which lays open all the conduct of Asser at once, in the life he *actually refers* to the annals for a fuller account of one expedition, than what he could there stay to give. "De hoc Rollone," he says under 876, "vide plura in ANNALIEUS;"¹ Rollo under that very year passing, in the annals, from Britain into France, entering the Seine, reducing Rouen, conquering all Normandy, and being converted to Christianity himself.² So apparently were the annals composed *before* the life, and so apparently was the life composed *from* the annals!

Yet this is true, concerning only *the greatest part* of the annals, *not concerning the whole*. Asser appears actually writing the life, as I have previously noticed, in the year 893. He had *then*, therefore, carried the very annals no further than this year. He had, in all probability, carried them only to 887, as the life terminates in that year; *this being* compelled by *that* to terminate so abruptly as it does, even *thirteen* years before the death of its

¹ Wise, 28.

² Gale, 165—166.

hero. Yet the very abruptness shows, that he meant to continue the life; and we know for certain, that he actually continued the annals. He therefore proceeded with the annals, as he had previously proceeded with them, in order to draw off into the life, as he had previously drawn, the great incidents of history in them. He thus went on with *those*, but never returned to *this*. He went on with *those* as a prior work in his plan of composition, but never returned to *this* as a posterior one. He probably returned not, *because* he had no longer any accounts of Alfred's private life to intermix with the great incidents, *because* he had already said all which he could say upon that subject, and *because*, without some additional touches of biography, the annals would never be modified into a life.

Death, the cause assigned by Sir John Spelman,[†] could not have prevented the prosecution of the life, as it *did* not preclude the continuation of the annals. Asser indeed appears, from the very life itself, to have survived all the thirteen years which he left out in the life, and to have outlived his royal patron. This is plain from a clause in the life, which Asser's hand interpolated after the death of Alfred; and which shows itself to have been interpolated by its incompatibility with the context beside it. "Ab
" *infantiâ usque ad præsentem diem,*" he says, concerning the year 893, when we know he was writing the life, "et, ut credo, *usque ad obitum vitæ*

[†] Spelman's Vita Ælfredi, 101.

“ *sue, in eodem insaturabili desiderio*” of learning, “ *sicut nec ante destituit, ita nec etiam adhuc,*” though his *death* has just been noticed, “ *inhiare desinit.*”¹ Thus does Asser, who in p. 45 notes the year of his writing to be 893, in p. 17, before make mention of Alfred’s death, which was *seven years afterwards*, and mention it in such a manner, as proves the notice to be hastily inserted in the composition, posterior to the event, therefore not uniting cordially with the rest of the sentence. It unites so ill with the rest, that Alfred is intimated to be *alive* in the *first* part of the sentence, to be *dead* in the *second*, and to be *alive* again in the *third*. Asser truly lived *many years* after Alfred. He even lived beyond that year 909, in which he has been generally supposed to have died; and so supposed, merely because one Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, appears from our Asser’s annals, to have died in that year.² The mention of his death in *his own* annals, proves that Asser undeniably *not* to be himself. In those annals too, he notices a number of incidents under the year 910. He again notices others under 911, and others again under 912. And he finally comes to a year, which is mis-written or mis-printed *DCCCIV*, but was plainly from the consecution meant for *DCCCXIV*, to notice a peace made in it between Rollo Duke of Normandy and Charles King of France.³ Asser, therefore, survived Al-

¹ Wise, 17.² Gale, 174.³ *Ibid.* 174—175.

fred *fourteen* years at least; and for *twenty-seven* years neglected to continue the life; though he took care to continue the annals through the whole period.

But he spent all this long period, I apprehend, in his native country of Wales. He came out of it to Alfred at first, on Alfred's solicitation about 884, and engaged to spend only part of his time with Alfred.¹ He *seems* to have been then a bishop, from the manner in which he speaks of an undoubted bishop and himself. "Hemeid," the King of South Wales, he tells us, "sæpe deprædabatur illud monasterium et parochiam Sancti Dogni," the monastery and diocese of St. David's, "aliquando expulsionem illorum ANTISTITUM qui ea superpræessunt; sicut et Novis archiepiscopum, propter iniquum meum, ET ME, expulit aliquando subipsis."² The passage has even been adduced in form, to denote his episcopal dignity.³ But as the word "Antistes" can never prove such a dignity in such a writer, so the tenour of the whole shews Novis to have been either the bishop of the diocese, or as such the archbishop of the province, and Asser the abbot of the monastery. He accordingly speaks of himself on his first coming to Alfred merely as a monk and a clergyman, declaring he could not desert entirely, "illa tam sancta loca" those monastic abodes, "in quibus nutritus et doctus ac

¹ Wise, 47—49.

² Ibid. 49.

³ Ibid. Preface, xx.

“*coronatus fueram*,” meaning by the last of the marked words the monastic circle of tonsure on his head, and so forming perhaps the earliest mention of this tonsure in our history, “*atque ad ultimum ordinatus, pro aliquo terreno honore et potestate.*”¹ But the clause which he hastily interpolated in the life concerning the demise of Alfred, intimates plainly he was then, and had been for some years at a distance from Alfred; the context avers the king to have retained his insatiable love for learning from infancy to the present day, without any reference to others, by a recurrence only to Asser’s own *knowledge*, and in a full tone of certainty. But the interpolation speaks in a lower key of assurance, and pitches its sounds only to the fainter notes of *persuasion*; adding thus after the declaration of his having retained that love to the year 893, “and, as I BELIEVE, to the very conclusion of his life,” “*et ut CREDO, usque ad obitum vitæ suæ.*”² He thus appears plainly to have been at a distance from Alfred, in the very year of Alfred’s decease, and for some years antecedent to it. In fact, he had then returned back into Wales. There he became Bishop of St. David’s; a very ancient catalogue of bishops in manuscript, now repositied within the Cotton library, mentioning him expressly as a bishop of St. David’s; the annals of St. David’s, a list ending in 1286, and therefore of some antiquity in itself, no-

¹ Wise, 47.

² Ibid. 17.

ting himself equally for a bishop there; and Giraldus Cambrensis specifying Novis, Etwal, Asser, as successively bishops there.¹ Asser therefore returned into his own country, and (as some subsequent appearances concur with the preceding to intimate) long before the death of Alfred. The annals are strongly distinguished from the life, by one peculiarity truly Welsh in the latter. The names of Nottingham, or (as written by this biographer "Scro" "tengatam") is thus explained by him in a reference to the Welsh language, "quod *Britannice* "Tigguocobanc interpretatur, Latine autem *Spe-* "luncarum Domus."² Dorsetshire is described, as "plaga quæ dicitur *Britannice Durn-gueis* Saxonice autem *Thorn-sæta*."³ Exeter is called the place, "qui dicitur Saxonice Exanceastre, *Britannice* autem *Cairwise*."⁴ The Ayon of Wiltshire is said to be the river, "quod *Britannice* dicitur "ABON."⁵ Selwood Forest is called "Latine—" "Sylvæ Magna, *Britannice* Coitmaur;"⁶ and "Cirencestre," we are told, "— *Britannice* Caerceri "nominatur."⁷ These explanations in Welsh are evidently calculated only for Welsh readers, like *Rhyd Ycken* for our Oxford, or *Gwlad yr Hâf* for our Somersetshire; thus shew the life to have been written in Wales, consequently prove the annals that have none of these Welsh assimilations of our

¹ Wise, Preface, xx. and Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 648.

² Wise, 19.

³ *Ibid.* 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* 70.

⁶ *Ibid.* 33.

⁷ *Ibid.* 35.

local names, to have been drawn up in England for English readers, through all those parts of them which were drawn up before the life was, and to have been for the sake of uniformity continued in the same manner afterwards. But as Asser carries on the life in a regular form to the year 887, and once gives us an incidental anecdote by anticipation for the year 893, stating a malady of Alfred's to have been still continuing in *this* year; he appears to have remained with Alfred to this year inclusively, and in this year to have gone away from Alfred into Wales. Then had he not yet entered upon writing the life, the first notice of a Welch appellation for a place occurring so very early as the fifth year of it.¹

Thus were the annals and the life composed in two lines of historical narration, that very frequently unite in one, that however fly off from each other at times, and end at last with the life stopping short in 887, but the annals running on into 914. Yet which of these two appears to be most quoted by historians nearest to the time? Marianus, we have

¹ Wise, 7. Two interpretations of Saxon names, "in loco qui dicitur Aclea, id est, in Campulo Quercus," and "insulâ quæ vocatur Scheapieg, quod interpretatur Insula Ovium," appear in the third of the life (Wise, 6, 5); and seem to shew Asser had written so far, when he set out for Wales. But an interpretation of a Saxon name is equally found in the twenty-third, "in loco qui dicitur Æscesdum, quod Latine Moris Fraxini interpretatur." (Wise, 21—22).

been told before, transcribes the *annals* into his history by wholesale;¹ and Florence, we may be equally told now, copies the *life* so closely as to form the best transcript of it.² But upon examining Marianus in the only way in which I can examine him, the original being improvidently suffered by the university of Oxford, which has the correctest and fullest copy of it, to rest in manuscript within its public library, by viewing it in the printed history of Florence, and considering the latter as what it *professes* itself to be, merely the mirror of the other; I find only the *life* known to Marianus.³ In Gale 156 we have these words, “contra Paganorum exercitum in insulâ Tenet animosè belligeraverunt;” but in Wise 7, find them thus enlarged, “contra Paganorum exercitum in insulâ quæ dicitur in Saxonica lingua Tenet, Britannico autem sermone Ruim animosè,” &c.; and in Florence 296 see them thus repeated, “contra Paganorum in insula quæ Saxonice dicitur Tenet, Britannice Ruim, animosè, &c. In Gale 156, “Paganorum exercitus hyemavit in insulâ Sceapige,” is in Wise 8, “Paganorum exercitus totâ hieme in præfatâ Scepige insulâ hyemaverunt,” and in Florence 297 just the same, “Paganus exercitus totâ hieme in præfatâ Sceapege insulâ hiemavit.” Wise 13, “contra Dei interdictum—duxit effrenis—que duobuset dimidio annis—post patrem—rexit,”

¹ Wise's advertisement, “Lectori.”

² Nicolson, i. 149.

³ Florence, 404. “Marianus hujus chronicae auctor.

is in Gale 158, "*regnavit Adhelbaldus filius ejus post illum duos annos et dimidium,—sed—contra Deum—duxit;*" but in Florence 300 as in Wise, "*contra Dei interdictum—duxit, effrænisque duobus et dimidio annis—post patrem—rexit.*" In Wise 14 we meet with a word without a meaning, "*concertoque prælio oppido Pagani passim trucidantur;*" Florence, therefore, has *left it out* thus 301, "*concertoque prælio Pagani passim trucidantur;* while the annals in Gale 158 throw a meaning over the whole directly, "*concertoque prælio longè ab omni oppido Pagani passim trucidantur.*" And to produce only one instance more, in Florence 302 we read, "*Paganorum classis de Danubio Britanniam advenit,*" in Gale 158 only "*Paganorum classis Angliam advenit;*" but in Wise 15, "*Paganorum classis de Danubio Britanniam advenit.*" See also Florence 303 for Alfred's mother-in-law, taken from Wise 19; Florence, *ibid.* for the British name of Nottingham, taken also from Wise, *ibid.*; Florence, *ibid.* "*nam fratres,*" &c. taken from Wise 19, "*nam illi fratres,*" &c.; Florence, 307, "*pristino more,*" from "*apri—no more,*" in Wise 22—23; Florence, 308—309, for the infantine and puerile years of Alfred, from Wise 15—17; Florence 309—311 for Alfred's maturer years, from Wise 40—44, 46—49; Florence 315 for the nunnery at Wareham, from Wise 27; and Florence 323—327, from Wise 55, 58—59, 60—61, 64, 64—65, 66—67, 67—69, 70—71.

So plainly is Marianus, as exhibited by Florence, the copier of the *life*, and *not* of the *annals*! Even when the *life* terminates in 887, and we naturally expect the historian then at least to copy the *annals*; yet he *does not at all*. So wildly has he been said to transcribe those *annals* by wholesale, which he appears not to have ever known! He transcribes the *life* by wholesale, but copies not the *annals* in a single clause.

Leland, however, appears in a nearly opposite light. He makes very large extracts from the *annals*; and, but for one hint with one citation, would appear to be as ignorant of the *life* as Marianus is of the *annals*. Leland in his work *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*,² having mentioned that "Asser, like a rare Apelles, has elegantly painted up to the majesty of the subject the *life*, and also all the illustrious acts of Alfred, in a book of *annals* likely to be immortal;"³ then cites expressly from "Asser,"⁴ and plainly, therefore, from the *annals* still, a passage which is *not* in the *annals*, as Wise has justly observed,⁵ but is, though Wise was not aware of the fact, in the *life*.⁶ We

¹ Coll. iii. 214—219.

² P. 157.

³ *Ibid.* 157. "Asserius ejus vitam, atque adeo facta illustra omnia, libro Annalium victuro, eleganter pro rei majestate, tanquam rarus Apelles depinxerit."

⁴ *Ibid.* "Ex his Asserii verbis."

⁵ Preface, xxx.

⁶ Wise, 43.

thus find Leland acquainted with the *life*, though his memory deceived him, and made him refer to the *latter* what was actually in the *former*. Yet we have an instance of a contrary nature in the same person and work a few pages before. The death of Alfred, says Leland, “is most illustriously displayed by a book, which has reduced the *annals* of Asser into an *epitome*,” meaning evidently the *life*. Yet he instantly adds, what refers only to the *annals* themselves; “I then, as I have lately lighted upon an ancient manuscript at St. Neot’s church, here subjoin the very words of an author so worthy of credit.”¹ He thus cites a passage which is in the *annals* only, concerning the death of Alfred.² So plainly was Leland acquainted with the *life*, as to know it was merely an *epitome* of the *annals*! Yet so equally conversant was he with the *annals*, as at one time to refer to the *annals* what was only in the *life*, and at another to cite from the *life* what was merely in the *annals*!

The *life* indeed is the strongest authenticator of the *annals*. It is constantly adopting their facts and their language. It once refers expressly to them, for a fuller account than what it could stay to give

¹ De Script. Brit. 152. “Illustrissime [liquet]—ex eo libello, qui Asserii Annales in epitomen redegit. Nos igitur, quoniam apud Fanum Neoti in vetus exemplar nuper incidimus, ipsa tam bonæ fidei verba subjicimus.”

² Compare De Script. Brit. 152. with Gale 172—173, and see Wise’s preface, xxviii.

itself. It thus forms an evidence of genuineness, superior to any that any other history merely human has ever received.

SECTION II.

St. Neot, I have previously stated, to have become a monk about the year 851, the year under which he fought the bloody battle in Kent, and at which Alfred was only three years old.¹ St. Neot, was then general as well as king of Kent, and consequently twenty-five or thirty years of age. He lived "some time," says Capgrave, "some years," says Cressy more explicitly, at Glastonbury.² In 867, the 19th year of Alfred's age, Alfred came into Cornwall, and prayed in the church of St. Gueryr there. St. Neot was not then come, but still remained at Glastonbury. The "some time" and the "some years, therefore, take in a compass of sixteen years at least, and reach to the forty-first or forty-sixth year of St. Neot's age. But they must take in more, as St. Neot was become "a little old man" when he left Glastonbury, and consequently was fifty-five or sixty at least. And he died in ten or twelve years after the visit of Alfred into Cornwall. He was dead when Asser was writing his life of Alfred in 893, and particularly when he wrote his account of Alfred's coming into

¹ Asser, 5—6

² Some account, p. 16.

Cornwall.¹ He was dead some years before, even so early as 878, when that memorable incident is said to have happened to Alfred, which was the basis of all the fabric of fiction preceding, about Neot's prophetic admonitions to Alfred, and which, yet very astonishingly, proves of itself the falsehood of the fabric raised upon it. For this reason, as well as for the notice concerning Neot's death before, I must enter critically into the nature of the incident, and so vindicate this signal portion of our history from the fooleries, that have been always attached to it.

“*In a little time,*” cries St. Neot to Alfred, as prompted by the poetical Ramsay, “the nations will make war upon you; your strength will fail while theirs will increase; they will drive you from that royalty which has made you err so much in blind security, and for a *short period YOU SHALL BE LEFT ALONE.* But the evils foretold will not befall you *while I live*, they shall come when I am gone; and *this will soon be, for in a short time I shall pay the debt to death.*” And, as the biographer adds in his own character, “*when the king departed from the saint, the saint from that time immediately began to be oppressed with fevers,*”

¹ Asser, 40. “Nunc, Sanctus Neotus pausat.” So false is the date upon the wooden tablet at our S. Neot's, “Neotus floruit anno Dom. 896. Some account, p. 8.

sickened, and died.¹ St. Neot, therefore, according to the chronology of this biographer, died *a little after the prophecy, and a little before the event.* But as the prosaical repeats the whole with more particularity, both in the speech and in the narrative, “ ‘ you shall be deprived,’ ” cries the saint to Alfred, “ ‘ of the royalty with which you swell so much ; you shall be invaded by nations that know not Christ ; YOU SHALL HARDLY ESCAPE ALONE FROM your adversaries, you shall be made by God a LURKING FUGITIVE, and so you shall remain under the chastisement of sin for some days :—I am going the way of all flesh, and I shall very soon yield to nature.’ ” Then the biographer subjoins as from himself, thus : “ *not long afterwards, this man of God, Neotus, was seized with a bodily languor, and this increasing daily,*” he died.² The prosaical thus unites in harmony with the poetical biographer, to fix the distress of Alfred as predicted by Neot *a little before his own death, and as realized to Alfred a little after the death of Neot.* Neot then died according to these historians, in the year immediately antecedent to this distress, the year 877.

¹ Verses 571—572.

Cum rex a sancto digressit, sanctus ab illo
Tempore mox cœpit febribus esse gravis, &c.

² Life, iii. “ Non multo post igitur vir Dei Neotus, corporis
attactus languore, et hoc perindies ingravescente,” &c.

But let us attend to the circumstances of the prophecy as they have since stolen back into history, have vitiated its integrity in part, and stand detected in their falsehood by the remainder. That the king should "be left alone," that he should "hardly escape alone from his adversaries," and that he should be "made by God a lurking fugitive," are particulars all false in themselves, demonstrative therefore of the forgery again, yet believed by "the million" of readers, and even incorporated in form into history by some respectable writers. Thus even the sober, the judicious Camden, speaks of "Athelney," in Somersetshire,¹ as "not less famous with us for being *the lurking-place* of Alfred, when now the Dane was making universal confusion, than the marshes of Minturnæ are among the Italians, for being the *lurking-hold* of Marius," who waded quite alone through the marshes with the water quite up to his middle, gained the solitary hut of a man, but thence retired hastily, on hearing some pursuers, to plunge into the water, stood immersed there up to the chin, and concealed his head in the reeds. "And," as Camden subjoins, a most convenient *lurking-hold* was this island to Alfred." The comparison thus conspires with the narration, to violate grossly the truth of history.

¹ Camden, p. 163. "Athelney, quæ non minus Alfredi regis latebris nobis nota, cum jam Danus omnia permisceret, quam Italis Minternensium paludes Marii latibulo.—Et per commo- dum sane erat hæc insula latibulum."

Yet an incident has been produced by the biographer of Neot; and even by the biographer of Alfred, wholly founded upon this false idea. "There is a place," notes the former, "situated in the farthest limits of English Britain to the west, of which the name in Saxon language is *Æthel- ingaige*, a name to our ears meaning the Isle of Princes, encircled with *salt-marshes immensely large*, having a very petty plain in the middle. Thither king Helored, in his exile, happened, *contrary to his expectation*, to get alone." So nearly similar to Marius's fate is the fate of Alfred, as represented even by this author! "As however Alfred *afterwards* spied and found *the little hut* of some *unknown swinherd*, he lodged with him; like a guest *poor in himself*, and *counterfeiting his condition*, he sought, he accepted, *an inn of rest*, and *dwelt* there for *some days content even with very little*. One day, therefore, by mere accident, when the *swinherd* had led his cattle, as usual, to *their wonted pastures*, the king happened to be left alone in the house with the *swinherd's* wife. She, solicitous about the arrival of her husband, had put cakes to be toasted as an offering well-deserved to the goddess of love. Yet being (as is common with the wives of rustics) intent upon points of her rural business, when she comes to take the cakes from the fire, she sees them burning upon one side. Immediately she cries out with indignation to the unknown king, 'Hark you, man,

“ To turn the burning cakes have you forgot,
 “ Prompt as you are to eat them when they’re hot ?”

“ But he, so assailed with mean reproaches, consi-
 “ dering them as the tasks imposed by Heaven, in
 “ obedience to the scolding voice of the low wo-
 “ man, not only turned the cakes, but attended
 “ them till he had got them quite ready.”¹ Who
 first produced this address and that narration to
 the public, may not seem easy to determine; be-
 cause we find them both in Camden’s manuscript

¹ Life, No. ij. 10. “ Est locus in ultimis Anglorum Britan-
 “ niæ partibus ad Occidentem situs, cui nomen linguâ Saxonum
 “ est ÆTHELINGAIGE, quod apud nos sonat Clitonum Insula ;
 “ immensis salis paludibus circumseptus, quantulâ in medio pla-
 “ nitie retentus. Ibi ex insperato rex Heloredus exul intercidit
 “ solus. Ut post tamen comperit cujusdam tugariolum ignoti
 “ prospiciens subulci, apud illum divertit, quietis hospitium pe-
 “ tiit, accepit, ut hospes et pauper atque subditus, et minimis
 “ contentus per dies aliquot cohabitavit. Cum patientiâ tamen
 “ ex Dei justî judicio talia sibi fieri pensans,” &c. “ Fortuitu
 “ ergo quâdam contigit die, subulco ad solita suum pascua gre-
 “ gem de more ducente regem solum cum subulci conjuge domi
 “ remansisse. Quæ viri adventu sollicita sui, telesinæ meritò
 “ Veneris solidam ad coquendam commiserat farinam. Rurico-
 “ laribus autem (ut apud rusticas mos est) aliis intenta negotiis,
 “ dum panes Vulcano requirit, alterâ ex parte ardere conspicit.
 “ Mox indignata regi ignoto,—‘ Heus homo,’ inquit,

“ Urere quos cernis panes girare moraris,

“ Cùm nimiùm gaudes hos manducare calentes ?”

“ At ille tam depressis contumeliatus conviciis, supernis ista
 “ reputans pensis mulierculæ obtemperans, laccessitus jurgiis, non
 “ modò panes giravit verum servavit, dum apparatus de more red-
 “ didit.”

of Asser's Life of Alfred, a little prior to the year 1400. Yet it is easy, as Camden himself reckoned this manuscript to be about the reign of Richard the Second, and Ramsay lived near two centuries before. Ramsay, therefore, was the producer, and the Pseudo-Asserius thus relates the story *with improvements*:—"It happened on a certain day," cries the historian, "that the rustic woman, the wife of the cow-herd, prepared cakes for toasting; and this king, sitting thus at the fire, was forming for himself a bow with arrows, and other instruments of war," an employment very ingeniously devised for a king taking shelter from the triumphant Danes in obscurity, yet feeding his mind with resolutions of active warfare against them, and even in his idlest moments fabricating weapons of war with his own hands. "But when this unfortunate woman beheld the cakes burning before the fire, she hastily ran and removed them, chiding the most invincible king, and crying,—'Hark you, man,

"To turn the burning cakes have you forgot,

"Prompt as you are to eat them when they're hot?"

"That unlucky woman little thought him to be the King Ælfred, who waged so many wars against the Pagans, and gained such great victories over them."¹ The turn of the whole passage, the

¹ Asser, 30, 31. "Contigit autem die quôdam, ut rustica, uxor videlicet illius vaccarii, pararet ad coquendum panes; et ille rex, sedens sic circa focum, præparavit sibi arcum et sagit-

language borrowed, and the two lines of poetry adopted, show the incident decisively to have been taken from the biographer by an interpolator. Yet what shows this still more, all the abuse which we have seen thrown upon Alfred before, with all the advice which we have heard given him by Neot, and all the predictions that we have found the one uttering against the other, the interpolator makes even the historian to repeat after the biographer, in the very terms of the prosaical biographer, and to his very assertion of Alfred's being "often reduced into such a state of misery, that no one of his subjects knew where he was, or whither he was gone."¹

"tas, et alia bellorum instrumenta. Cùm verò panes ad ignem
 "positos arduos aspexit illa infelix mulier, festinanter currit,
 "et amovit eos, increpans regem invictissimum, et dicens,—'Heus
 "homo;

"Urere quos cernis panes, gyrare moraris,

"Cùm nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes?"

"Mulier illa infausta minimè putabat illum esse regem Ælfre-
 "dum, qui tot bella gessit contra Paganos, tantasque victorias ac-
 "cepit de eis."

¹ Wise's Asser, 31. "Non solum autem eidem glorioso regi
 "victorias de inimicis, et prosperitatem in adversis conferre Do-
 "minus dignatus est; verum etiam ab hostibus fatigari, adver-
 "sitatibus affligi, despectu suorum deprimi, *multotiens*," when
 all refers to one event alone; "eum idem benignus Dominus
 "permisit, ut sciret, 'quoniam unus est omnium Dominus, cui
 "curvatur omne genu, cujus in manu corda sunt regum, qui
 "ponit de sede potentes, et exaltat humiles,' qui suos fideles in
 "summâ prosperitate positos flagellis adversitatem vult aliquando

The passage is accordingly non-apparent in the only certain copy of Asser's original, even in what is assuredly the very original itself.¹ And, it is

“tangi; ut depressi, de Dei misericordiâ non desperent, et ex-
 “altati de honore non superbiant; sed etiam sciant, cui debent
 “omnia quæ habent. Quam siquidem adversitatem præfato regi
 “illatam non immeritò ei evenisse credimus, quia in *primo* ten-
 “pore regni sui, *cùm adhuc juvenis erat*: animoque *juvenili* deten-
 “tus fuerat,” how directly is all this contrary to the account be-
 “fore of Neot's denunciation of evils upon Alfred for practices
 “still pursued by Alfred, *a little before* they fell upon him, even in
 “877, when Alfred came to the throne in 871, and the evils befel him
 “in 878! “Homines sui regni sibi que subjecti, qui ad eum vene-
 “rant, et pro necessitatibus suis eum requisierant, et qui depressi
 “potestatibus [erant],¹ suum auxilium ac patrocinium implora-
 “bant; ille verò noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium impen-
 “debat, sed omnino eos nihili pendebat: [propter]² quod beatis-
 “simus vir Neotus, adhuc vivens in carne, qui erat cognatus suus,
 “intimo corde doluit; maximamque adversitatem ob hoc ei ven-
 “turam spiritu prophetico plenus prædixerat. Sed ille piissimam
 “viri Dei correctionem parvi pendebat, et verissimam ejus pro-
 “phetiam non recipiebat. Quia igitur quicquid ab homine pec-
 “catur, aut hic aut in futuro necessè est ut quolibet modo
 “puniatur, noluit verus ac pius iudex illam regis insipientiam
 “esse impunitam in hoc seculo, quatenus illi parceret in districto
 “iudicio. Quare ergo idem sæpedictus Ælfrédus in tantam mise-
 “riam sæpius incidit,” when all refers to one incident, and the
 “language is therefore contrary to the narration, “ut nemo sub-
 “jectorum suorum” in 878 “sciret, ubi esset, vel quo devenis-
 “set.” See the passage in No. ii. 10. word for word.

¹ Archbishop Parker in the Preface to his Asser notices “ven-
 “randam ipsius archetypi antiquitatem, ipso adhuc (ut opinio fert
 “mea) Ælfrédo superite, *isdem* *literarum formulis descriptam*.”

¹ Superfluous.

² Supplied by me.

equally non-apparent in that printed work, which comes the nearest of any work, either printed or manuscript, to the age of Asser,—the Annals of Florence of Worcester.¹

In contradiction to all this trumpery of falsehoods, let us see what Asser says in his own manuscript, and we shall leave the fairy fictions of romance for the substantial realities of history. “In the year of our Lord 878 —,” the Life tells us, but, as the Annals tell us with more circumstantiality, “after Theophany,” the appearance of God in the flesh, or after the twelve days of Christmas, the Christian year being even then popularly divided into periods by the very festivals of Christianity; “the army so often mentioned before,” being still a great army and *all mounted*,² left Exeter, and “pushed up to Chippenham,” with a design to surprise Alfred, † in “this royal ville, which is

“Augent conjecturam Pastoralia, quæ ab ipso prudentissimo rege
“ex sermone Romano in Saxonicum conversa fuerunt, atque
“illius imperio per quasdam Britanniae ecclesias sparsa. Quorum
“*vetusta quaedam exemplaria, eodem etiam tempore descripta,*
“*hodie extant similibus depicta characteribus.*” (Wise, p. 111.)
“Hic loci,” says Wise, 30, concerning both these paragraphs,
that in the text and this in the notes, “mutilatus est Codex Cott. ;”
Wise perversely calling that a mutilation, which omits an interpolation.

¹ Florence, 316.

² Gale, i. 166. So Sax. Chron. “In mid winter,” every twelfth night.

³ Gale and Sax. Chron. *ibid.*

[†] Gale, *ibid.* “Latenter.”

“situated on the north side of Wiltshire, on the eastern bank of a river that is denominated Abou in Welsh.” The Danes, however, missed Alfred. Yet “they secured the town, and took up their quarters there for the rest of the winter; by their hostilities, by the dearth which they made, and by the fear which they excited,” as they scoured the country with their horses, “compelling numbers of the West-Saxons to cross the sea, and reducing under their dominion the generality of the inhabitants in West Saxony.” Alfred had been plainly surprised by the boldness and suddenness of the enterprise, just escaped with difficulty their meditated seizure of him, and took shelter for the moment in the natural fastnesses of Somersetshire. But he did not take shelter there, a solitary fugitive and an unknown wanderer. No; he was well known and well attended. “King Alfred,” notes the Saxon Chronicle, “went to the fastnesses in the woods and moors WITH A LITTLE COMPANY.”¹ “During this time,” adds Asser, “Ælfred the king so often mentioned of the West Saxons, led a life of disquietude, in great tribulation and penury “among the woody and fenny parts of Somersetshire, with A FEW OF HIS NOBLES, and even with SOME KNIGHTS AND THEIR VASSALS.”² But here I feel myself amazed at these three denominations of ranks, so expressly specified by a co-

¹ Sax. Chron, *ibid.*

² Sax. Chron.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* “*Angustia.*”

temporary in the external economy of a Saxon kingdom, and so decisively proving of themselves what I was once compelled to prove by a long chain of notices laboriously linked together, the general existence of the feudal system among the Saxons.¹ We here find the feudal denominations, the feudal distinctions, and the feudal gradations of ranks, equally prevailing, equally familiar among the Saxons, as with the Normans, and prior, by a couple of centuries too, to the Normans in England. Nor was Alfred *lurking* with his men in the fens and forests. He could not suppress his activity, if he would have done so. “For he had no provisions for his table, but what he fetched in by frequent sallies, open or secret, upon the Pagans” that had pursued him into the country, “or even upon the Christians who had submitted to their dominion. And, AS WE READ IN THE LIFE OF THE HOLY FATHER NEOTUS, he resided in the house of a certain man *who was master of his dairy.*”² The isle of Athelney appears from all

¹ History of Manchester. ii. Quarto, 148—156.

² Asser, 30. “Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXVIII,—supra memoratus sæpe exercitus Eaxeancestre deserens, Chippenham villam regiam, quæ est sita in sinistrâ parte Wiltunscire; in orientali ripâ fluminis quod Britannicè dicitur Abon, adiit, et ibi hyemavit; et multos ejusdem gentis ultra mare compulit hostiliter, et penuriâ, atque pavore navigare, et maximâ ex parte omnes illius regionis habitatores suo subdiderunt dominio. Eodem tempore Ælfred sæpe supra-memoratus rex Occidentalium Saxonum cum paucis suis nobilibus, et etiam

this part of Alfred's history, to have been a portion of the royal demesnes. It had, therefore, a royal house at "a place near Æthelungaeg," says Asser himself, "called Alre," in which Alfred afterwards received a king with his train; near Aller, a village on the northern bank of the Perrot; ¹ and the rich meadows at the confluence of the Tone with the Perrot, composing the islet of Athelney, were the dairy grounds of this rural palace. So very different does the scene of action now appear, from the representation given of it before by the biographer Ramsay and the interpolated Asser; totally unfit for the feeding of swine, and fit only, as all the marshy meadows about it are still, for the grazing of bullocks! Yet, so much has this error been *burnt* into the forehead of history by the clumsy hands of romancing biography, that even Malmesbury exhibits it himself, in reciting professedly from the tales of tradition, which form the very biography itself, the name and the history of this master of the royal dairy. "Deneulf," he tells us in his *Life of the Bishop of Winchester*, "*if we can believe fame,*

"cum quibusdam militibus, et vasallis, per sylvestria et grates
 "Summurtunensis pagæ loca in magnâ tribulatione, inquietam
 "vitam ducebat, (nihil enim habebat, quo uteretur, nisi quod a
 "Paganis, et etiam a Christianis, qui se Paganorum subdiderant
 "dominio, frequentibus irruptionibus aut clam, aut etiam palam
 "subtraheret); et, ut in vitâ Sancti Patris Neoti legitur, apud
 "quendam suum vaccarium."

¹ Asser, 35. "Ad Ælfred regem prope Æthelungaeg in locis
 "qui dicitur Alre pervenit."

"till he was advanced in life was not only void of
 "literature, but even a *swine herd*. Him Alfred
 "found by chance feeding his swine, when the king
 "was forced from his royalty by the violence of
 "his enemies, and fled alone into a wood. And
 "(not to embarrass myself with a long detail) ob-
 "serving the goodness of his intellect and its ten-
 "dency to religiousness, he had him educated in
 "literature. Nor did Alfred desist from his kind-
 "ness, before he had him taught more perfectly,
 "and created him bishop; having thus done a
 "deed deserving the name of a miracle." ¹ But
 half the miracle is lost in the recital; when we
 know his real condition at the time; and consider
 him as he was, as also this very anecdote implies
 him to have been, a kind of superior gentleman,
 the able bailiff of the king's dairy farm, the know-
 ing manager of the king's dairy servants.

This expedition of the Danes from Exeter to
 Chippenham, appears to have been executed at a
 period of the year in which we should not expect
 to see any armies moving; even in the worst period
 of the winter. The king was probably, therefore,

¹ Malmesbury, (Savile) 138. "Deneulfus, si famæ creditur,
 "ad multam ætatem non solum literarum experts, sed et subulcus
 "fuit. Eum Elfredus rex, hostium violentiâ regno cedens, et in
 "silvam profugus, casu sues pascentem offendit. Et (ne multis
 "innectar) comperto ejus ingenio, quod ad bonum spectaret, lite-
 "ris informandum tradidit. Nec descivit ab officio, donec per-
 "fectiùs institutum crearet episcopum, commentus rem dignam
 "miraculo."

the more likely to be surprized by them. Yet he escaped with his small band of adherents to his demesne tenants, took post with them among the woods on the high grounds, or among the marshes in the vallies below, and fixed his head-quarters particularly at his dairy-house. There he kept up the only wretched remains of the fallen empire of the Saxons, actually lost himself to all the rest of the kingdom, and obliged to support his followers by depredations from the neighbouring country. Thence, therefore, he sallied out by night or by day, to fetch in the provisions necessary for his numbers from the villages or the towns adjoining. And all these events passed before the Easter of that year. "The same year," adds Asser, "*after* Easter, the king" was apprehensive of a visit from the Danes in the neighbourhood, because of his frequent incursions into the more cultivated parts of the country; and resolved to secure the only avenue into his islet. He, therefore, "*with a few of his assistants,*" his former band of adherents, "BUILT A FORT in the place which is called Æthelingæg." This "Athelney," notes Malmsbury in the twelfth century, "is not a salt-water island," as the biographer of Neot has denominated it above in his mention of it for a salt marsh,

¹ Asser, 33. "Eodem anno post Pascha, Ælfred rex cum paucis adjutoribus fecit arcem in loco, qui dicitur Æthelingæg." Saxon Chronicle calls them as before, "the little company."

“ but made so inaccessible by fens and stagnated
 “ waters, as not by any way to be reached except in a
 “ boat. There is in it a very large wood of alders,
 “ stocked with stags, and roes, and such sort of
 “ beasts in abundance. The solid land is scarcely
 “ two acres in breadth.”¹ The inaccessibility of
 the islet by land, so strongly asserted by Malmes-
 bury, is a mistake corrected by himself before ;
 when he speaks of the islet, as “ *hardly* accessible
 “ from the marshy moisture around it.”² Had it,
 indeed, been absolutely inaccessible by land, the
 construction of a fort by the king would have been
 a superfluous operation. But it *was* accessible at
 one avenue by land, having a bridge over the water,
 as it still had in the days of Leland. And this
 avenue was now secured by Alfred with a fort.
 As “ the place called Athelney,” adds Asser, “ is
 “ surrounded on every side by the waters of very
 “ fens, marshy and impassable, and has no possible
 “ access to it except by boat, only a single bridge,

¹ Malmesbury, 143. “ Adelingea est non maris insula, sed
 “ ita stagnorum refusionibus et paludibus inaccessa, ut nullo
 “ modo nisi navigio adire queat. Alnetum in eâ per-maximum,
 “ cervos et capreas multasque idgenus bestias continet. Terra
 “ solida vix duobus jugeribus lata.” Camden, 104, prefixes, as
 from himself undoubtedly, these words: “ pontem olim habuit
 “ inter duas arces ab Ælfredo constructas:” yet bishop Gibson,
 74, and Mr. Gough, i. 57, consider them as Malmesbury’s, which
 they certainly are not. And Camden reading “ capris” by mis-
 take for “ capreis,” they both stock the wood with “ goats.”

² Malmesbury, f. 23. “ Palustri uligine vix accessibilem.”

“ which is carried in an operose continuation between two towers; at the western boundary of which is the *very strong* and *very fair* fort, that was built by the command of the king;” and, at the eastern, one built afterwards.¹

Even the very site of the western fortress is apparent yet, or at least is to an antiquary. In traversing by a new road over some marshes near Taunton, in June, 1806, I soon began to suspect the marshes were Alfred’s own, and had my suspicions confirmed by the sign of ALFRED’S HEAD at a new inn beyond all. But when I returned the same way about a month following, I felt the force of all corroborated by other evidence. The tradition is very prevalent at the Alfred’s Head, that King Alfred took shelter in this neighbourhood from his enemies the Danes. This, indeed, is so prevalent there, that the common people talk of it currently; and that a gentleman has set up an inscription

¹ Asser, 60. “ In loco qui dicitur Æthelingæg, quod [monasterium] per maxima gronpia paludosissima et intransmeabilia et aquis undique circumcingitur, ad quod nullo modo aliquis accedere potest, nisi nauticis, aut etiam per unum pontem, qui inter duas [alias] superfluus” “ arces operosa protelatione constructus est; in cujus pontis occidentali limite, arx munississima prefati regis imperio pulcherima operatione consistit est.” This was the passage, which Camden did not cite indeed in a note preceding, but had in his mind when he wrote thus, 164, “ Stagnantibus utique aquis et refusionibus inaccessa est, quas Latino— Saxonico vocabulo Gronnas Asserius dixit, Pontem olim habuit inter duas arces ab Ælfrædo constructas.”

about one mile to the west, commemorative of the fact. Yet, what is still more, there is a farmhouse actually denominated *Athelney* to this day, the very dairy-house, assuredly, of the whole, and the very residence of Alfred himself during his stay here. But, what is the completion of all, at *Burrow-bridge* is a pass over the river *Perrot*, which has a rounded hillock by it evidently denominated *Burrow* from it, and the evident fortress of Alfred himself. A line of raised road appears, extending from the east to it, and terminating at it. This is "a large borough or mount," says Mr. Collinson, "very high and steep, which, though generally reckoned natural, seems to have been thrown up by hands for the purpose of a sepulchral tumulus. This opinion is corroborated by the many battles which are known to have been fought in these parts in very early times, the tradition of the inhabitants, and the instruments of war which have been found in this vicinity unsimilar to those of modern times," arguments all, that speak their own absurdity, since the discovery of weapons in the vicinity proves nothing for the mount itself, since "the many battles fought in these parts" are merely hypothetical, and since "the tradition of the inhabitants" must be equally legendary with them. That this, indeed, is merely a "sepulchral tumulus," the very inspection refutes of itself. It is vastly too large for that. And it is equally too large, to have been (as this author asserts it to

have been) thrown up by any hands at all. The only fortress thrown up by hands, is plainly what Alfred is said expressly to have thrown up against the Danes. But then Alfred is said as expressly to have thrown it up "with a few men" only. It was, therefore, nothing like so large as this. It was plainly a natural hillock much larger in dimensions than this, and topped with a tower accordingly; as it has since been with a chapel. From that tower it became a fortress, and was accordingly denominated a borough. "The materials," indeed, "of which this borough is composed," adds Mr. Colinson, "are such as are not to be found within less than three miles of the place, viz. at Red Hill within the parish of Curry Rivel, being a stiff very deep red clay." This is no proof of the materials coming from the same bed of earth, because nature might as well lodge them here as at Curry Rivel. "This mount stands on the east side of the river Perrot, and has on it the remains of an ancient chapel, built in the form of a cross; part of the tower, and most of the main walls are still standing, and form a very singular and picturesque object. It was dedicated to St. Michael, and occurs very early in the Memorials of Athelney Abbey, to which it was appendant. It sustained much damage (though it was ruinous before) in the great rebellion of the last century,—The river Perrot is navigable to this hamlet, and hence to Langport. It has over it a

“ stone bridge of three high arches, which gives
 “ the additional name to the place.”

Then, more confident in the safety of his headquarters, Alfred could sally forth into the country with a greater frequency, and a more vigorous spirit. He, accordingly, as Asser proceeds, and so represents him rising in his state from a mere plunderer into a regular warrior, “ *rebelled* without intermission against the Pagans, in sallying from the “ very fort continually at the head of the nobles of “ Somersetshire,” the region immediately adjoining,¹ which he now appears, to have gained from them. They were the nobles from the nearer parts of the county, who had come with their vassals to join him in Athelney. At the head of these he sallied out, as they knew the country better than the nobles, knights, and vassals, whom he brought with him out of Wiltshire. And he left *these* to guard the fort in his absence.

But here Malmesbury interposes between us and Asser, to relate a miraculous anecdote that has a peculiar connection with St. Neot, though Malmesbury has altered the name of the Saint. “ Alfred,” remarks the historian, “ when he himself was afterwards restored to happier times, was wont to recite his misfortunes to his familiars with a merry

¹ Asser, 33. ‘ De ipsa arce semper, cum nobilibus [et] vassalis “ Summurtunensis pagæ, contra Paganos infatigabiliter rebellavit.” Saxon Chronicle says, “ that part of Somerset which was “ nighest.”

“ and cheerful pleasantness, and to recount how
 “ he was delivered from them through the merits of
 “ the blessed *Cuthbert*,—as it is generally the man-
 “ ner of men, to delight in mentioning those events
 “ past which they received with terror at the time.
 “ For, when one day, during his confinement in the
 “ island, he was alone in the house, his companions
 “ being dispersed along the bank of the river in
 “ fishing, he resigned his body, sick with cares as it
 “ was, to slumber; and lo! *Cuthbert*, formerly
 “ bishop of Lindisfarne, speaks to him in these
 “ words as he sleeps: ‘ I am *Cuthbert*, if you have
 “ heard of me; the Lord hath sent me to announce
 “ prosperity to you, as *England*,’ not Alfred, ‘ hath
 “ now paid the penalty of her sins; and God at
 “ length beholds her, through the merits of her na-
 “ tive saints, with an eye of pity. You also, so
 “ miserably driven from your royalty, shall, in a
 “ little time, be gloriously replaced upon your
 “ throne, and of this I give you a striking sign;
 “ your fishers to-day shall come bringing a vast
 “ number of great fishes in baskets, and the more
 “ miraculously, as the water is now freezing, and
 “ the river is now curled, forbidding any hope of
 “ such a prey; besides, the air is dropping in cold
 “ sleet, and eluding all the art of the fishers; but
 “ you shall gain a prosperous fortune, and act in a
 “ royal manner, if by a competent devoutness, you
 “ shall endear God, and me, his messenger, as an
 “ assistant to you.’ ” The promise, we see, is con-

ditional now, but was absolute before: so contradictory is the ghost of Cuthbert in the compass of only a short speech! "Thus saying, the saint delivers the sleeping king from his solitudes. Alfred also went with the joyful news of this message to comfort his mother," who had undoubtedly been dead many years before, as his father had actually married again in 855; "who," yet is said by Malmesbury to have "lain near him" at the time, "and to have been inviting to her hard bed a slight slumber in ease of her cares. Both being thus awakened, both with frequent recurrences of words repeated, that they had had the very same *dream*, when the fishers entered, and exhibited such a great abundance of fishes, as seemed sufficient to gratify the voraciousness of any great army." ¹ This

¹ Malmesbury, 23. "Solebat ipse postea, in tempora feliciora reductus, casus suos jocundâ hilarique comitate familiaribus exponere, qualiterque per beati Cuthberti meritum eos evaserit; sicut plerumque mos est mortalibus, ut eos illa juvet meminisse quæ olim horruerint excepisse. Nam cum quâdem die in insulâ inclusus solus domi esset, sociis per oram fluminis ad piscandum dispersis, corpus curis ægrum sopori commisit; et ecce! Cuthbertus, Lindiffornensis quondam episcopus, his verbis dormientem alloquitur 'Ego sum *Cuthbertus*, si audivisti; misit me Dominus, ut tibi prospera annunciem; quia enim Anglia jamdudum peccatorum pœnas enormiter luit; modo tandem Deus, indigenarum sanctorum emeritis, super eam misericordiæ oculo respicit. Tu quoque tam miserabiliter, regno expulsus, gloriosè post paucum tempus in solium reponeris; atque a Deo tibi signum eximium dabo; venient hodiè

anecdote is evidently derived from the same stock of fabulous tradition with the others before. They are all the fruits of the same forcing-house, unnatural, unflavoured, and unaccording with the season; the strawberries of January, and the peaches of June. Malmesbury believes equally with Ramsay, that the king was not attended by any nobles, any knights, or any vassals, at his retreat into Athelney; that no nobles or vassals of Somersetshire came to him afterwards; that he constructed no fort there for the guard of the isle; and that he carried on no warfare against the Danes from it. Only Ramsay reduces him to a solitary, unrecognized fugitive, and Malmesbury gives him his mother with some unnamed others for companions; but companions only of his inactivity, not partakers of his expeditions; maintaining themselves by fishing, not by invading the country, not beating up the quarters of the Danish soldiery and bringing back

“ piscatores tui, magnam vim grandium piscium corbibus evehen-
 “ tes; quod erit mirabilius, quia his diebus gelante aquâ fluvius
 “ asperatus nihil tale operari promittit, super hoc hodiè gelido
 “ rore stillans aer omnem piscantium artem eludit.” Verum tu,
 “ fortunæ secundæ compos, regaliter feceris; si adiutorem tuum
 “ Deum, et me ejus nuncium, competentî devotione demerueris.
 “ Hæc dicens, Sanctus regem soporatum sollicitudinibus exiit;
 “ matrem quoque prope cubantem, tenuesque somnos propter le-
 “ ven curarum ad durum cubile invitantem, ejusdem nunciî læti-
 “ tiâ confortavit. Experrecti ambo unum et idem se somniasse,
 “ frequenti verborum recursu iterabant; cùm piscatores ingressi
 “ tantam piscium copiam exhibuère, ut cujusvis magni exercitus
 “ ingluviem exsaturare posse videretur.”

stores of provisions to their little castle. Nor is the ghost, which is conjured up by Malmesbury, half so proper in himself as Ramsay's. Cuthbert was a Northumbrian saint, with whom Alfred, as a West Saxon, could have no familiarity, and of whom Alfred could have known only as a scholar from Bede. Even Malmesbury himself, makes Cuthbert to question, whether Alfred had ever *heard* of him; and we have the positive authority of Ingulphus for saying, what unites in fullest correspondence with this observation, that among the many saints revered by Alfred, the Northumbrian was not one; that, to use the very language of Ingulphus—"bending and bowing as Alfred was at the feet of the saints, he held in the *highest* veneration" our own "St. NEOT," and "a bishop of Worcester, whom he employed in translating the Dialogues of Pope Gregory, with Peter, his disciple, out of Latin into English," and "St. Werfred," both sainted by Alfred or his three brothers at their respective deaths.¹ Ramsay accordingly tells us, that the person who appeared to Alfred was actu-

¹ Ingulphus, (Savile) f. 495. "Sanctorum pedibus acclivis et subditus Sanctum Neotum et Sanctum Werfredum in summâ veneratione habuit." This unknown Werfred we find Asser mentioning, p. 46, as "Werfrithum, scilicet Wigornensis ecclesie episcopum, in Divinâ scilicet Scripturâ bene eruditum, qui imperio regis libros dialogorum Gregorii Papæ et Petri sui discipuli, de Latinitate primus in Saxoniam linguam, aliquandò sensum et sensu ponens, elucubratim et elegantissimè interpretatus est."

ally St. NEOT, and that he appeared in a manner very different from Cuthbert. "While this tempest of destruction was raging," Ramsay tells us with many circumstances merely imaginary, I see, yet many very true, I suppose, "and Alfred's subjects were wandering here or there from the cruelty of the Pagans; Helored was equally found and recognized by some of his subjects. Having thus collected a few choice soldiery, he finishes, after some days, a fortification in a castle. He then begins the war anew (as it were) against the foreigners, at first feeble, but afterwards vigorous. And as the army, recovering from its dispersions on every side, joined him with their afflicted residue; he daily recovered strength to fight, and he actually fought; explored the forces of the enemy, suddenly attacked them, yet guarded his own men from their attacks, was sometimes beaten, and sometimes beat them; enduring the chances for their season of war. Yet trusting to his hopes in God, and to his confidence in Christ's confessor," NEOTUS, "he often sustained the attacks of his adversaries, and checked their presumptuous pride. And, in his enterprises, he sought with sighs from his inmost soul for the aid of Christ Jesus and the holy NEOTŪS.

"Night came, and biting cares the royal breast

"Besieged, nor could he taste the sleep of peace;

"Lo! NEOT comes, the child of pitying God,

"Before him stands, and speaks in kindness thus:

"Why art thou so oppressed with crowding cares?"

“ ‘ Knowest thou not, how vain are the thoughts of
 “ men? You shall, I say, you shall know, that
 “ they who wait upon the Lord shall renew their
 “ strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles,
 “ they shall run and not be weary, they shall fly and
 “ not fall¹.”

“ ‘ Remember me, I come to soothe thy woes.’ ”

“ And when Alfred in amazement fixed his eyes
 “ upon him, often asked who he was, because his
 “ countenance was so bright, and his clothes so
 “ shining; ‘ I am,’ added the saint, ‘ NEOTUS the
 “ servant of that Omnipotent GOD Jesus Christ;
 “ even he who while yet in the flesh, by the com-
 “ mand of that GOD, foretold you of these misfor-
 “ tunes coming on you. Now then, if you are
 “ wholly turned in heart to the Lord,’ ” the ghost
 thus making a proper reference to the past and to the
 present, “ ‘ if in loving peace, justice, truth, modes-
 “ ty, and honesty, greatness of soul, and humility of
 “ heart, true innocence, and true charity, you shall
 “ persist even to the end;’ ” the ghost of Neot
 appearing more contradictory than Cuthbert’s, pro-

¹ Vulgate. “ Qui autem sperant in Domino, mutabunt forti-
 “ tudinem, assument pennas sicut aquilas, current et non labora-
 “ bunt, ambulabunt et non deficient.” This is meant to be cited
 by the text, but is cited with variations thus: “ qui sperant in
 “ Domino, mutabunt fortitudinem, assument pennas ut aquilæ,
 “ volabunt et non deficient.” But I have given my translation
 literally from the English Bibles, to make the whole appear as a
 citation from the Scriptures.

mising positively at first, but conditionally afterwards, conditionally referring to the future, even to a future that could not come till long after the success so conditionally promised had actually been granted: "you shall rise superior to your opposing enemies, and at last reascend to the royalty derived from your ancestors. Moreover you shall make the tyrant himself so execrable to Almighty GOD, by your example, a king faithful to the Christian religion. For in the seventh week after the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the deeps below, I will head thy army then re-assembled in the East after their flight, and dispersion, and wandering from you; I will lead you with yours, and in the power of the King Supreme fighting for you against the profane, I will give you victory from Heaven."

"The morn then rising from her rosy bed,

"Rises the king, and pours his warmest thanks

"To the High God and Neot his forerunner.

"And then he anticipated the time foretold, in days set apart [as Lent] for fastings, watchings, prayers, and supplications. ¹ The first part of

¹ Life, ii. xi. "Eadem ingruente tempestate stragis, huc illucque ob barbarorum sævitiam Gentilium palantibus, à quibusdam suis Heloredus est compertus pariter et cognitus. Sicque paucis et delectis conceptis militibus, munitionis arcem aliquot perfecit diebus. Dein bellum, primis siquidem debile, post verò validum, contra alienigenas quasi ex integro sumpsit. Ac quemadmodum ubique dispersus sibi residuus et afflictus

this passage is evidently taken from the Cottonian copy of Asser's Life of Alfred. But the general

“ cohærebat exercitus, diurnatim receptis, pugnandi viribus pugnare, hostium copiam explorare, repentè invadere, suos cavere, modò superari, interdum superare, casum belli pro tempore pati. Spe tamen fretus divinâ et confessoris Christi confidentiâ adversariorum sæpe sustinebat impetum, et eorum impatientem comprimebat fastum. Inque suis cœptis, Christi Iesu almique Neoti ex intimis suspiriis expetebat suffragium.

“ Nox erat, et curæ mordaces pectora regis

“ Vallebant, poterat nec somnum nosse quietis;

“ Ecce! Neotus adest, Domini miserantis alumnus,

“ Coram quem verbis primùm sic fatur amicis.

“ “ Quid, rex, comprimeris turbarum tot modò curis?

“ An ignoras, quàm cogitationes hominum vanæ sint? Noveris, inquam, noveris, quàm qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem, assumunt pennas ut aquilæ, volabunt et non deficient.

“ ‘ Sis memor, advenio solâmen ferre laborum.’ ”

“ Cùmque obstupefactus luminum in eo figeret intuitum, et quis esset sæpe requireret, ob nimix claritatis vultum perspicuumque nitorem vestium; addidit Sanctus. ‘ Sum,’ inquam ‘ Iesu Christi Omnipotentis Dei servus Neotus, qui tibi, adhuc carne vigenis; ex ejus jussu hos affuturos tibi vaticinatus sum casus. Nunc igitur, si ex toto ad Dominum corde conversus fueris, si pacis emulator, si justitiæ, si veritatis, si pudiciæ et honestatis, si magnificentix et humilitatis, si veræ innocentix et caritatis sectator, ea præcedentium sanctissimum regum more, usque in finem perstiteris; de tibi obvertantibus superior triumphis inimicis, ac defum regni proavorum jure possessi apice sublimaberis. Ad hoc, ipsum tyrannum execrabilem Omnipotenti Deo tuo reddes exemplo Christianæ regem devotioni fidelem. Septimâ enim post Domini nostri Iesu Christi ab inferis resurrectionem ebdomadâ, errabundi qui sparsim exula-

notice is amplified into many particulars, and the Iliad rises out of a nut-shell. The main incident however, is sanctioned by a Life of St. Neot, much earlier than Ramsay's, even the nearest that we have to the days of Asser. "Ethelingey," says the Life in an extract made from it by Leland, "in our language means the isle of princes;" but in fact evidently meant the royal isle. "Here" St. Neot "appeared to his brother Alured, promising him victory over the Danes." Yet, as Leland subjoins, "there are some (if I remember right) who attribute this appearance to St. Cuthbert." Leland remembered the variation, but did not recollect the author of it, and probably had not vigour of intellect (if he had recollected) to reprobate him for it. But the appearance of St. Neot is formally fixed by Asser himself, in his Life and in his Annals. The Life refers in form to the Life of St. Neot, for Alfred's residence in the house of his

"verat à te, exercitu congregato in Eois partibus præero, teque tuosque ducabo, atque ex Superni Regis virtute ipse vobiscum contra prophanos dimicans, de cælo victoriam administrabo."

XII. "Matutâ demum roseo surgente cubili,

"Rex pariter surgit, gratis et strenuus egit

"Victori summo præductorique Neoto.

"Ac exinde statutis diebus jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, et supplicationibus, præmonitum arripuit tempus."

¹ Coll. iv. 13. "Locus Ethelingaia, quod apud nos Regalis Insula exprimitur.—S. Neotus Aluredo fratri apparuit, pro mittens illi victoriam de Danis.' Sunt tamen (si rectè meminî) qui hoc Divo Cuthberto tribuant."

master of the dairy within the isle of Athelney; and thus points allusively to the tale of St. Neot's appearance to Alfred, in the period of distress. Had not this Life contained this appearance, what connection could the biography of the saint have had with the distress of the monarch? Or how could a connection have been formed by the biographer so closely between them, that he could dwell particularly upon the distress, and even notice his residence with the very master of his dairy? Nor let this reasoning be considered as too finely spun to form a texture substantial enough for history. The texture, in my opinion, would be substantial enough of itself. But it is substantiated at once into history, by the very annals of Alfred. Repeating the same reference to the life of St. Neot, and then proceeding to that tale concerning Alfred, which the Cottonian manuscript has proved to have been interpolated into the Life, and now proves it therefore to have been interpolated equally into the Annals, from the fooleries of Ramsay; they proceed thus: "At night," says the annalist, "when the king resigned himself up to sleep, a certain form appeared before him in the shape of St. Neot, once his familiar friend and near relation, and admonished him to lay aside all fear and terror concerning the barbarians,—with the assurance of his going before his standards in battle, and of the Almighty God's fighting for him; when the king, immediately waking, became

“gladdened by the angelic vision.”¹ Such an incident as this would be superciliously rejected by the narrative, in that lowering and sceptical spirit of modern history, which seems to preclude all supernatural agency in our human world, and even to shut out God himself from his own universe. But let not superciliousness pretend to estimate recorded facts, by its own short standard of experience. Incidents are now and then arising on the pages of history, too large for private, too vast for general, too gigantic for any experience. Yet the present incident is not of that extraordinary kind. It is merely a *dream* of Alfred’s. Malmesbury represents it as a *dream*, in his strange distortion of it; and Asser represents it as a *dream*, again, in his generally just exhibition of it. St. Neot’s resignation of a crown must have shed the strongest odour of sanctity over his character; and his life afterwards, his death of late, must have tenderly impressed his memory upon the mind of a prince, so nearly related to him, so religious in himself, and so tremblingly alive to religion in these moments

¹ Gale, i. 166—168. “Ut in vitâ Sancti Patris Neoti legitur, “diu latebat apud quendam suum vaccarium. Contigit autem die “quâdam, &c. “Nocte illâ, cum se sopori dedisset, apparuit ei “quædam effigies in speciem Sancti Neoti, quondam ejus famili- “aris amici et propinqui, ammonuitque ut omnem terrorem et “metum barbarorum abjiceret,—et adjecit,—‘Præcedam ante vex- “illa tua,—ut—scias quia Dominus Omnipotens pugnat pro te’— “Statimque rex somno excitus, lætissimus effectus est de ange- “lica visione.”

of distress. His fancy therefore, brooding over his distresses in the moments of slumbering, and invoking the aid of his sainted brother now in Paradise, dictated a dream to his sleep, imaged forth the saint as standing by the side of his bed, and represented him as addressing words of encouragement to his ear. And, in this view of the related incident, the saint must undoubtedly have been, whatever cotemporary history pronounces him, not a foreign, an unknown St. Cuthbert, but the West Saxon, the royal, the family saint, even his elder brother, now naturally made the guardian saint of the royal house of West Saxony, Neotus.

Nor was this dream *in* the isle of Athelney. The Life of Neot extracted by Leland, indeed, seems to imply that it was. But then the produced parts of this Life, we must remember, are mere extracts, unconnected in themselves, and noted only as they struck the mind of Leland in perusing. The Annals of Alfred alone point out the real period; and shew it to have been at a time, when the king was *at some distance from the isle of Athelney*. Thus is Malmesbury's tale concerning the fishes, as calculated only for the isle, cast off from the history with a double energy of refutation.

The king pursued his petty warfare against the Danes, in continual sallies from his fort on the isle, at the head of his Somersetshire nobles, knights, and their vassals, during all the interval of time, betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide. But in this interval he

formed the adventurous plan of collecting his scattered forces into one point, and once more making a decisive push at the main army of the Danes. "He accordingly set out," says the biographer Asser, "in the seventh week after Easter," left his fort in the isle, and boldly marched out with his double band of soldiery to the appointed rendezvous. But where was this? Where also did he engage the Danes? And where, therefore, was the place at which he had the dream concerning St. Neot?

To settle all this I shall not cite the opinions of others, but produce my own. Others have almost uniformly agreed to fix the central point of the whole, the place of the engagement, at Hedington near to Bratton Castle, and not far from Wexbury in Wiltshire. Camden began, Gibson followed him, and Mr. Gough has followed both.¹ Yet this is apparently wrong. The battle was fought at a place much further to the north. The Danes seized *Chippenham* when Alfred fled, and at *Chippenham* we find them when defeated by him.² Near *Chippenham*, therefore, the battle certainly was. Having settled this terminating point of Alfred's marches, we can easily draw the line of them as we attend his advances to it.

¹ Camden, 178, Gibson, 109, Gough, i. 100.

² Asser, 35. "Præfatus Paganorum exercitus de Chippenhamme, ut promiserat, consurgens Cirrenceastre adiit."

“ In the seventh week after Easter,” Asser proceeds to tell us, “ Alfred rode” (his men being all mounted) “ to Ægbryht’s Stone, which is on the eastern side of the forest denominated Selwood, Great Wood in Latin, and Coitmaur in Welsh. There he was met by all the inhabitants of Somersetshire, and of Wiltshire, by all the inhabitants too of Hampshire who had not sailed beyond the sea for fear of the Pagans:”¹ all equally mounted with his own men.² Sir John Spelman was the first who fixed upon Brixton (or, as generally named, Brixtin Deverell) for this place of rendezvous. It was then perhaps what it had originally been, merely a great rock in the forest. But most probably it was then what it is now, a house or village near the rock, and lending the name of its Saxon owner to this rock. This lies indeed a little to the right of a direct course from Athelney to Chippenham. But then a deflection from this course to the right, became necessary to the coming of knights and nobles with their vassals out of Hampshire. “ And when these beheld their king, they very naturally received him after such

¹ Asser, 33. “ In septimâ hebdomadâ post Pascha, ad Petram Ægbryti, quæ est in orientali parte saltûs qui dicitur Selwdu, Latinè autem Sylva Magna, Britannicè Coit Maur, equitavit; ibique obviaverunt illi omnes accolæ Summurtunensis pagæ, et Wiltunensis; omnes accolæ Hamtunensis pagæ, qui non ultra mare, pro metu Paganorum navigaverant.”

² Saxon Chronicle.

“ great tribulations, as risen from the grave again; “ were filled with infinite joy at the sight; and “ there encamped together for the night.”¹

“ As soon as the next morning appeared to light “ them, the king moved his camp thence, came to “ a place called *Æcgley*, and there encamped for the “ night.”² Where this place is, has occasioned much perplexity. Bishop Gibson suggested Clay Hill near Warminster, as coming nearest of any name that he could recollect in affinity of sound to *Æcgley*.³ This is obviously too remote from Chippenham, however it may be near to Worthing, Bratton Castle, and Heddington. It must be some place at no great distance from Chippenham. Such a place occurs a little to the north-east of Trowbridge, and answers exactly in its name to the Saxon orthography of *Æcgley*, this being denominated *Iglea* by the Saxon Chronicle,⁴ being so denominated even by Asser’s own Annals,⁵ and having its appellation re-echoed in that of *Hightey* at present, a common immediately beyond Whaddon, and almost escaping observation from obscurity.

¹ Asser, 34. “ Visoque rege, sicut dignum erat, quasi redivivum post tantas tribulationes recipientes, immenso repleti sunt gaudio, et ibi castrametati sunt unâ nocte.”

² Asser, 34. Dilucculo sequenti illucescente, rex inde castra commovens, venit ad locum qui dicitur *Æcglea*, et ibi unâ nocte castrametatus est.”

³ Sax. Chron.

⁴ Sax. Chron. A. D. 878.

⁵ Gale, i. 167. “ Venit ad locum qui dicitur *Iglea*.”

At this place it was that Alfred had the dream, which was so signally verified by the event, and made such an impression upon him at the moment. The mind of Alfred was struggling with the event of the morrow. The morrow was to decide his fortune as a king, perhaps his fate as a man, for ever. If he failed in his attempt to-morrow, he should be plunged back into that abyss of calamities, from which he had just risen for this decisive effort. If he succeeded, he should once more rescue his people from their heavy oppressions, restore them to the undisturbed possession of their religion, and raise himself to the happiness of beholding, of securing, of enjoying their happiness. In this frame of spirits probably, all suspended in the coming battle of the morning, he fell asleep. Then appeared before his closing eyes the form of his brother Neot, and spoke in words of comfort to his closing ears; assuring him *he* would go before his standards on the morrow, and God would fight on the morrow for him. ¹

“ As soon as the subsequent day dawned, Alfred moved his standards thence, and came to a place called Ethandum,” Ethandun in the Annals ² and all other histories. ³ There the Danes had formed themselves a camp for the summer, leaving their winter quarters at Chippenham; and now drew up in regular order of battle, as Alfred approached

¹ Gale, i. 167.

² Ibid. 168.

³ Sax. Chron.

ed with his army, all cavalry. ¹ But Alfred, “in
 “a close compact column, attacking the whole
 “army of the Danes with vigour, long persisting
 “in the attack with resolution, and at last by the
 “divine favour obtaining a victory; overthrew the
 “Pagans with a very great slaughter, pursued the
 “fugitives even to their entrenched camp, and put
 “every one to the sword that he overtook. All
 “that he found without the entrenchment, he
 “seized; men, and horses, and other cattle; but
 “instantly put the men to the sword, and boldly
 “encamped at the gates of the entrenchment, with
 “all his army.” ² Where particularly, then, was
 this field and this fortress in the neighbourhood of
 Chippenham? The present YATTON about five
 miles to the north-west of Chippenham, is the fair
 representative of Ethandun in the history. But
 the battle itself was a little lower on the Avon
 even at SLAUGHTER-FORD; “the very name of
 “which,” notes one who never thought of the
 application, “denotes what *the tradition of the*

¹ Sax. Chron.

² Asser, 34. “Inde sequenti mane illucescente, vexilla com-
 “movens ad locum qui dicitur Ethandum venit; et contra uni-
 “versum Paganorum exercitum cum densâ testudine atrociter
 “belligerans, animoseque diu persistens, divino nutu tandem vic-
 “toriam potitus, Paganos maximâ cæde prostravit, et fugientes
 “usque ad arcem percutiens persecutus est; et omnia quæ extra
 “arcem invenit, homines scilicet et equos et pecora, confestim
 “cædens homines, surripuit; et ante portas Paganicæ arcis, cum
 “omni exercitu suo, viriliter castrametatus est.”

“*inhabitants has handed down, concerning a great slaughter of the DANES in THIS PLACE.*”¹ So happily do the local circumstances accord with the historical representation! Yet where was the fortress, to which the routed Danes fled? It was undoubtedly that “double entrenchment in Bury Wood, betwixt Colern and North Wraxhall,” as described by one writer; which is described by another,² both equally unconscious of any relation in either to the history of Alfred, as “Northwood Camp of eighteen acres,—not *Roman*,” with “the entrance from Colern Down” and Slaughterford.³

In this battle, so fortunately realizing Alfred’s dream of the night before concerning St. Neot, was the saint seen visibly preceding the standards of Alfred? No history pretends that he was. Even that history pretends not, which really records it

¹ Gibson’s Camden, 103.

² *Ibid. ibid.*

³ Gough, i. 99. Mr. Gough in *his* Additions, 96, repeats the words of Gibson thus: “Hence it [the Avon] goes to Castlecomb and so west to Slaughterford, the very name of which favours the constant tradition of the inhabitants, about a great slaughter of the Danes in this place; their camp may have been that double entrenchment in Bury-wood between Colern and North Wraxhall.” Yet in 99 he adds thus, without seeming to know he is describing the same object again, and both times as from himself: “on Colerne-down on the Fosse near Wraxhall and Slaughter-ford, in Bury-wood, is North-wood, a camp of eighteen acres, double works, not Roman, the entrance from Colerne-down.” How wrong therefore is *Magna Britannia*, in p. 62, 63, vol. the first, on these parts?

as a dream, yet seemingly reports it as a vision. And so it does for one decisive reason, because Alfred was not asleep when he fought the battle.

But let us pursue the history to the close, that we may see the lively gratitude of Alfred to St. Neot at the end. "When Alfred had thus besieged the fortress for fourteen days," adds Asser, "the Pagans were overpowered with hunger and with cold," having no provisions of food or fire-wood laid up in store for a siege, "and with fear mounting at last into despair, that they sued for peace, and offered to give the king what hostages he pleased, without expecting any from him. These were conditions so ample, that he had never entered into such a treaty with their countrymen before. Hearing their offer, the king was moved with the compassion natural to him, and took the offered hostages as many as he chose. Then the Pagans swore very speedily to quit his kingdom. Even their king Godrum promised to embrace Christianity, and to receive baptism under the sponsorship of the king. All this he and they performed as they promised. For, in three weeks,"² a period of time undoubtedly spent in removing the Danes out of their new camp in Bury Wood to their old

¹ Gale, i. 167. "Nocte illà, cum se *sopori* dedisset, apparuit ei quædam effigies in speciem Sancti Neoti; statimque rex somno excitus, lætissimus effectus est de angelicâ visione."

² Ibid. i. 6, 8. Sax. Chron. Wise therefore has unwarily interpolated "septem" in p. 35.

quarters in Chippenham, and in preparing the spirit of Godrum for receiving this initiatory sacrament of Christianity, " Godrum, king of the Pagans " came" from Chippenham, " with thirty of the " most select of his army to King Alfred, in a " place near Athelney which is called Alre; and " King Alfred received him as his godson out of " the holy font. But his confirmation, as of an " adult, was on the eighth day afterwards, at a " royal villa which is called Wædmor," a few miles to the north of Auler. ¹ " He remained however " with the king twelve days after he was baptized, " and received in generous donations from the " king, as all his attendants received, much money " with very many and excellent houses," for their

¹ Mr. Gough in i. 56. has confounded the confirmation with the baptism, yet with seeming dubiousness as to the words meaning *this*, and without appearance of never once thinking upon that. " Godrum their king promised," according to Asser, " to embrace " Christianity, Alfred assisted at his baptism in this place," *Aulre*, " and with great ceremony received him from the font," A. D. 878, p. 35. Edit. Wise, with thirty of his army, " *cujus chris-* " *masoluta octavo die in villâ regiâ quæ dicitur Wædmor fuit.*" This is equally called his *Chrysm Loving* in Sax, Chron. The *chrysm* or *chrysom* used at confirmation. Peshall, 317. " Bap- " tized 1577. Mem. That Sir W. Catesbye lying at Gloucester-hall " with the Lady Catesbye his wyfe, in the lodgings of Sir G. " Pechkam, and the said lady delivered of a woman child, did pay " her *chrysom* and all other duties to the vicar and clark of St. " Thomas parish."

residence in Chippenham; ¹ as in Chippenham he resided with them for all the remainder of the year 878, and for some part of the next. "For in the year of our Lord's incarnation, 879," as Asser finishes his account,—“the aforesaid army of Pagans, breaking up from Chippenham according to stipulation, went to Cirenceastre” in Mercia; ² and so completed that treaty with honour which had been imposed upon them by force, but which the humanizing influence of Christianity upon their king, and upon thirty of their chiefs under him, bound down their spirits to observe with punctuality, though always ready before to violate a treaty with eagerness. ³

¹ Asser, 35. “Qui postquam baptizatus fuit, duodecim noctibus cum rege mansit; cui rex cum suis omnibus multa et optima ædificia largiter dedit;” and the Sax. Chron. adds, “muckle fee” or money.

² Asser, 35. “Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXIX,—præfatus Paganorum exercitus de Cippenhamme (ut promiserat) consurgens Cirrenceastre adiit.”

³ That St. Neot wrote the *Life* of Alfred, thus appears to be “the sick man's dream” of antiquarianism. Yet Sir John Spelman, p. 3, cites “*anonymum* quendam auctorem” for a clause in some notes to Ranulphus Cestrensis, “quam clausulam annotator iste testatur in Vitâ S. *Alfredi*,” of *Saint Alfred!!!* “a S. Neoto conscriptâ.” The falsity results from folly, the original suggestor of the untruth probably seeing Asser's *Annals* in manuscript, entitled by a newer hand “*Chronicon Fani* “Neoti;” reading “Fani” into “Sancti,” so misunderstanding the meaning grossly, and giving the work to the saint as author because it was referred to his abbey as proprietor.

This victory was so decisive in itself, and so beneficial in its consequences to Alfred, that it served strongly to impress his dream upon his mind, to make him revere his sainted brother the more for it, and attribute it to his interposition with God for him. He bore the figure of his guardian saint, as a Roman sort of ornament to his person, and as a christian kind of amulet to his life in the hours of military activity, and in the moments of military danger. But immediately after the victory he erected a monastery, and had it dedicated to his brother as the promiser of the victory. At the dedication he seems to have taken the jewel from his neck, to have presented it as an additional offering of gratitude to the saint, and so to have left it in the monastery. There probably it continued till the Reformation, thence probably it was then taken for plunder, or for preservation, and in its removal was accidentally lost, not far from its old repository.

¹ This last," says Mr. Gough, i. 100—101, concerning Bratton Castle, "no doubt was the fortification to which the Danes fled, and held out a siege of fourteen days. On the south-west face of the hill is a most curious monument, unnoticed by Bishop Gibson," or by any other antiquary before the late Mr. Wise of Oxford; "a white horse in a walking attitude, cut out of the chalk, an undoubted memorial of this important victory and like that by which Alfred commemorated his first great victory in Berkshire eight years before." Mr. Gough is very inaccurate in his reference to the last victory, which was not Alfred's own victory at all; as Alfred was only second in command, and his elder brother Æthelred was the first. To Æthelred also was and is the victory actually attributed; quæ regis Christiani fides multum apud Dominum

SECTION III.

BUT I must now draw back from the long stride which I have taken for ascertaining the *period* of

“*valuit, sicut in exequentibus apertius declarabitur.*” (Asser 22); But Mr. Gough is more inaccurate, in taking up the hypothesis of Mr. Wise so hastily, and with him uniting two objects together for Alfred, that had never any relation to Alfred, or to each other. In 1738, Mr. Wise published a dissertation on the White Horse of Berkshire, and attributed the fabrication of it to Alfred for a victory, *not* obtained by him, not obtained by any one at such a distance from Reading, therefore properly fixed before at Aston, near Wallingford (Sax. Chron.). Mr. Wise, too, with that unhappiness which often attends young adventurers in antiquarianism, cited even a passage from the Saxon Chronicle, which demonstrated his Ashdown to be Aston; and then endeavoured to free himself from the force of the evidence, by losing himself or his readers in a puzzle (p. 19.). But, his hypothesis being very naturally opposed by many, Mr. Wise published a second dissertation in 1742, to confirm the first, and with an unhappiness that never was exceeded, or with an ingenuousness that never was equalled, overthrew the arguments of the first forcibly, and defeated the design of the second effectually. The puzzle which he had formed for favouring his escape from the evidence, he now gave up very frankly (p. 10.); and as to “the White Horse of Bratton Castle in Wiltshire,” he expressly owned, “which I once imagined would have confirmed my opinion beyond all possibility of doubt, I had the mortification to find myself disappointed” (p. 47.). He then dwells upon the supposed victory of Alfred here. “Notwithstanding which,” he himself adds, “I must give my readers a caution about it. For, *did not the fabric discover it to be modern, yet the inhabitants of Westbury, a borough town*

St. Neot's death, and go on to describe the *manner* of his death, with the place of his sepulture. I shall thus pursue the history of the saint to its re-

“ about a mile from it, WHO MADE IT, AND INSTITUTED A REVEL,
 “ OR FESTIVAL THEREUPON, might inform them as much ; IT HAV-
 “ ING BEEN WROUGHT within the MEMORY of persons NOW LIV-
 “ ING, or *but VERY LATELY DEAD*” (p. 47—48.). Can evidence
 possibly be more strong in itself, or more strong in its circumstances ?
 The author went to the monument in full persuasion of *proving* his
published hypothesis concerning the first, by adducing the evidence
 of the second. Yet he found himself compelled by the testimony
 existing on the spot, not only to desist from proving, but even to turn
 about and disprove, to sacrifice his hypothesis to truth, and to sa-
 crifice it openly in the eyes of the world. He exerted, indeed,
 this ingenuous bravery of spirit, with many shades of excuse for
 palliating his mistakes, and many efforts to maintain what he was
 compelled to retract. But his confession has acquired an addi-
 tional energy from his very struggles against it. “ I am sur-
 “ prised,” however, cries Mr. Gough in a tone of respect, which
 shows he could not have mounted to such dignity of acknow-
 ledgment ; that “ this very learned investigator of these kind of
 “ monuments among us, should *doubt the antiquity* of this horse,”
 which was made within memory, “ yet which so greatly corre-
 “ sponds with the other both in execution and intention,” when
 Mr. Wise himself denies the execution, as criticism denies the in-
 tention, “ and represent it as of modern make within memory,” re-
 presents it as such upon the testimony of persons then alive. “ As
 “ I could find no such tradition when I surveyed it in 1772,” the
 tradition, as Mr. Gough improperly calls what was positive and
 personal testimony, might well be lost by the decease of the wit-
 nesses between 1742 and 1772, who were suspected by Mr. Wise
 to be deceased in 1742 itself, and Mr. Gough actually knew no-
 thing of this evidence till months after his survey, being first in-
 formed of it by myself in the winter of 1772—1773, “ he [Mr.

mostest point, correct many mistakes that have been made concerning it, and once more perhaps throw new rays of light upon our national annals.

“Not long afterwards,” as the *prosaical* Ramsey tells us, that man of God Neotus, being seized with “a languor of body, and this increasing every day, “was frequently comforted with a divine as well as “angelic visitation. He then did,” under a foresight of his approaching death, as *all* good Christians in *all* ages have done at such moments, and as none but the fanatical, the ignorant, or the irreligious decline to do among ourselves at present; “he fortified his soul with the participation of the “Lord’s body and blood. He recommended a “peaceable demeanour to his young disciples in the “college. He spoke much that was calculated for

“Wise] *must have been misled to confound the scouring as they call it with the original making.*” The mode of reasoning is very observable, and ought to be held up in derision to the public, “as “I could find no such tradition—he must have been misled.” And a monument witnessed unwillingly by a writer upon the ground, as “having been wrought within the memory of persons “now living,” as having been “made” by the inhabitants of a “town adjacent, and as even having had instituted a revel or festival thereupon” by them, is by an argument that precludes all reasoning, and by a perverseness that defies all conviction, made to be an antiquity of nine centuries in age. It and all the monuments of the kind *now* appear decisively from *this*, to be what common sense had always reported them to be, and what a populace, more wise than antiquaries has always believed them to be, not the memorials of battles, not the ensigns of kings, but the petty fabrications of vulgar fancy, and the quaint frolics of vulgar festivity.

“ the salvation of souls, in general exhortations to
 “ all. Then delivering up his soul to the mercies
 “ of Almighty God, in the very midst of hymns and
 “ prayers, he resigned his holy spirit to heaven.
 “ For he had merited by his worthy works in life,
 “ that now, secure of his reward, he should receive
 “ his temporal death with joy.”¹ Thus died as he
 had lived the revered Neot, a saint equally in life
 and in death, only trembling, hoping, and trusting
 in life, but rejoicing, enjoying, and triumphing in
 death; rejoicing to be released from the shackles of
 mortality, enjoying the free communion which he
 should now have with all his kindred spirits in eter-
 nity, and triumphing in the thought of soon going

¹ Life, ii. 8. “ Non multo post—vir Dei Neotus, corporis at-
 “ tactus languore, et hęc perendies ingravescenti, frequenti con-
 “ solabatur Divinā pariter Angelicāque visitatione. Postquam
 “ autem se Domini corporis ac sanguinis participatione munivit,
 “ pacem propriis commendans ovis, ac multis quibus animę sa-
 “ lus assequitur in communis exhortamine prolatis, suo in Omni-
 “ potentis Dei misericordiā contradito spiritu, inter ipsa psalmodi-
 “ arum et oraminum verba sanctam cęlo animam reddidit. Dig-
 “ nis enim operibus promeruit, quod jam, securus de pręmio
 “ mortem lætus temporalem excepit.” Cressy, 768, refers to
 “ Malmesbur. in Antiq. Glast.” for this following short abstract of
 Ramsey’s account, which is also in Joannes Glastoniensis, i. 112.
 “ Nec multo post vir Dei, Neotus, attactus languore, postquam
 “ se Domini corporis ac sanguinis participatione munivit, pacem
 “ propriis commendans ovis, inter verba orationis alacri [alacri-
 “ ter] sanctam cęlo reddidit animam.” But not knowing any such
 passage in Malmesbury, I rest on Ramsay’s account as fuller in
 itself, though later in time.

with them to the region of heaven, to the society of embodied angels, to the very presence of God himself.

His "venerable body," as it is truly called, I have already shewn to have been buried "in his own church," first within a coffin and a grave there; but many years afterwards, when all that once had been Neot's representative on earth, was reduced by time into a quart of ashes, within an opening formed in the wall near the high altar. There did it remain ever afterwards, or thence was it removed by that zeal for religion, and that reverence for this dignified practiser of it, which mounted so high after his death, as to crowd his history with miracles, and to value his remains more than jewels!

"The remains," as Leland tells us, "rested there," in Cornwall, "even to the time of Edgar, that most powerful and most fortunate prince. Then at length they were translated by Ethelric, a great noble of Huntingdonshire, and by Ethelfled his wife, a woman who had hardly her equal, to *Ernulph's court*, alias *Eincsbury*. And a church being immediately erected to his honour, the place began commonly to be called *St. Neot's*. The Danes afterwards shewed violence to the place. *Fame indeed reports*, that the *relics were transported thence to Croyland*; and, on the return of peace, were, *by right of recovery*, brought back to their own temple again.¹ But, as

¹ Leland De Script. Brit. i. 143. "Reliquiæ usque ad Eadgari, principis potentissimi et fortunatissimi, tempora ibi con-

Tinmouth tells us in a strong contradiction to Leland, "Barius, the faithful attendant upon St. Neot, even to the conclusion of the saint's life, transported the *glebe*, or reliques of the saint's body to Encloesbiri, which is now called the town of St. Neot's; and a certain venerable matron, named Lewina, lady of Encloesbiri, fearing the hostility of barbarians, and influenced by love for her brother, carried the reliques of St. Neot to the monastery of Crouland, over which her brother Osketell presided, *as appears openly written in the same monastery*. Whence afterwards, when some of the brethren doubted upon the point, notwithstanding

quiere: tum demum ab Ethelrico, viro inter Venantodunenses nobilissimo, et Ethelfedâ ejus uxore, fœminâ vix comparabili, ad Ernulphi curiam aliàs Einesbury, translatae sunt; statimque erectâ in ejus gloriam ecclesiâ locus vulgò dici cœpit *Sancti Neoti*; Dani—loco postea vim intulerunt; fama equidem prædicat, reliquias inde Crulandiam traductas, et, pace confirmatâ, postliminii jure suo fano redditus." So in Coll. iv. 13. Sanctus Neotus, monachus Glessoburgensis, translatus a Neotestoke—ad Arnulphesbery in provinciâ Huntingdunensi." In Itin. i. 1. From Eltisle to St. Neotes four miles. The elder parte of the towne, wher the parochie chirche ys, kepith the olde name of Ainsbyri, so caullid corroptely, for Enulphesbury." This is callid in Itin. iv. 30. "Eynisbyri by St. Neotes." And in Coll. iii. 271. we read as a kind of interpolation made by Leland in the words of a cited historian, "illinc," from St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, "prò Danorum incursione sublatus et deportatus, *ut ego accepi*, Croilandiam." Yet Sir John Spelman, in his Life of Alfred, p. 102, has distinguished Einesbury from St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, and fixed it at St. Neot's in Cornwall; "Einsburia in agro Cornubiensi in æde S. Guerici sepultus" [Neotus].

" this decisive testimony upon paper, the abbot,
 " having had tapers lighted with much devoutness,
 " broke open the coffin with much awe, and found
 " the skull, the collar bones, the shoulder-blades,
 " some bones of the thorax, with the bones of the
 " legs and thighs. For these the abovementioned lady
 " had brought with her, *some bones being left with*
 " *ashes behind in their former place*" at Aynesbury.
 " But these bones were now transferred to another
 " place," in Croyland church, " by abbot Henry,
 " and reposed close by the altar built in honour
 " of St. Neot, under the year of our Lord 1213." ¹

¹ No. III. " Venerabilis quædam matrona, nomine Lewina,
 " Encloesbiri quæ nunc villa Sancti Neoti dicitur Domina, ubi
 " quondam ejusdem Sancti corporis glebam sive reliquias discipu-
 " lus ejus Barri, divinitè admonitus, detulerat; ad monasterium
 " Croulandiæ, cui frater suus Osketellus præfuit, barbarorum me-
 " tuens hostilitatem amore fraterno compulsa, reliquias Sancti
 " Neoti adduxit; sicut scriptum in eodem monasterio palam osten-
 " ditur. Unde postea, dubitantibus de hõc quibusdam fratribus,
 " Abbas cum devotione, accensis cereis, loculum cum timore
 " frangens, invenit testam capitis, ossa de colla, de scapulis, de
 " thorace nonnulla, ossa tiliarum et coxarum. Has enim partes
 " secum Domina præfata attulit, in priore loco ossibus quibusdam
 " cum cineribus dimissis. Translata enim fuerunt ossa illa ab
 " Abbate Henrico, et juxta altare in honore ejus constructum col-
 " locata, Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo tertio-decimo."

Capgrave, catching the sense rather than taking the words of Tin-
 mouth, says thus in *Some Account*, 23—24. " Barius, after this,
 removed a *part* of Neotus's relics to Encloesburi, in the county
 of Huntingdon. Lewina, lady of Encloesburi, fearing the incur-
 sions of the barbarians, caused them again to be removed from
 thence to Crouland, of the abbey at which place her brother Or-

Tinmouth thus contradicts Leland directly, in his reported remigration of the bones from Croyland to St. Neot's "on the return of peace." The bones remained at Croyland, he alleges, till the days of Henry Longchamp, who became abbot in 1191, we know, and continued abbot for forty-six years afterwards; but were then made apparent to all, he affirms by Henry's opening the coffin, by Henry's marking the very bones preserved, and by Henry's transferring them to an altar built now in honour of St. Neot.

"To Guthlac was added," Malmesbury subjoins in a general conformity to Tinmouth, "a new guest, but an ancient patron with God, St. Neot, who, being formerly a disciple of the most blessed Erken-

ketellus [Osketellus] was superior." Capgrave, thus reciting the appeal of Tinmouth to the written evidence in the monastery of Croyland: "It being doubted in after times," notwithstanding these evidences, "whether any relics of this saint were really deposited at Croyland, the abbot ordered wax-candles, the only candles then used in our churches, to be lighted with great devoutness, and breaking open with great reverence the chest wherein it was reported, they lay," Capgrave adding these words "very properly," in it were found *the crown of the skull*," Capgrave omitting the *collar-bones*, "with the bones of the shoulder and breast, and of the hips and *shins*, being all that Lewina had sent thither," Capgrave omitting what Tinmouth avers of "*some bones being left with ashes behind in their former places*," though so necessary to the completeness of his own account. These bones Henry, then abbot, removed from the church of Croyland to the honour of St. Neot.

¹ Malmesbury, 134. *Call.* i. 19—20, and *Bede*, iv. 6.

"wald" as Malmesbury in some wild misinformation avers, Erkenwald (according to Malmesbury himself and the truth) being bishop of London near "two hundred years before Saint Neot existed; " has "been always held in the highest veneration at "Einulfesbiri, but being taken thence because of "an incursion of the Danes, and carried to Croy- "land, now unites his shield with Guthlac's to "protect the natives, listening also to the voice of "strangers." And as Ingulphus, the best of witnesses for the general point, adds to all with a nearer conformity to Timmouth, "in the time of Lord Osketul, abbot of Croiland," when the Danes, "thus "disquieted the whole land, a certain great lady of "a town called Elnophesbiry, Lefwiny by name, "and a sister by parental descent to Lord Osketul, "abbot of Croyland, came to Whitlesey, then a "town of hers, and brought with her some holy "relics in a shrine formed to hold them, namely, "the most sacred mould of Saint Neot the Confessor, "from Elnophesbiry, because they lay there in less "honour than they deserved, and were exposed to "the depredations of the Danes. Sending a swift "messenger to her brother the lord abbot Osketul,

¹ Malmesbury, 167. "Accessit et novus hospes, sed vetus apud "Dominum patronus, Sanctus Neotus, qui, quondam beatissimi "Erkenwaldi discipulus, apud Einulfesberi maximâ semper vene- "ratione habitus est; sed illinc, pro Danorum incursione subla- "tus, et Croiland delatus, modò juncto cum Guthlaco umbone in "digenas protegit, advenarum etiâ vocibus exorabilis."

" she humbly supplicated him to come to Whitle-
 " sey, with a proper train of his brethren, and with
 " a becoming reverence, to bear away the said re-
 " lics of St. Neot the Confessor to his monastery.
 " He, rejoicing and exulting, took some brethren
 " with him, went to Whitlesey, and transferred the
 " said holy relics with due honour, and with psalm
 " singing to Croiland, where they are placed with
 " due devotion near the altar of Mary the mother
 " of God."¹

Thus does the translation of St. Neot's relics,

¹ Ingulphus, 506. " In tempore Domini Osketuli abbatis, Croilandix, cum sic Dani totam terram inquietarunt, accidit, quendam magnam Dominam villæ quæ Elnophesbiry vocatur, Lefwinam nomine, sororem scilicet ex parentum propagine Domini Osketuli abbatis Croilandix, ad Witlesey tunc villam suam venire; et secum sacras reliquias, scilicet sacratissimam glebam Sancti Neoti confessoris, de Elnophesbiry, quia minus honorificè jacuerunt, ac Danorum deprædationi patuerunt, in scrinio ad hoc aptato deferre. Quæ dirigens celerem nuntium ad fratrem suum Dominum abbatem Osketulum, supplici postulabat supplicatione; quatenus cum congruo fratrum sacrum comitatu Witlesiam placeret accedere, et dictas reliquias S. Neoti confessoris secum in suum monasterium cum dignâ reverentiâ deportare. Ille gaudens et exultans, assumptis secum quibusdam fatribus, Witlesiam adiit, et dictas sanctas reliquias cum debitâ honorificentia et psalmodiarum melodiâ ad Croilandiam transtulit; ac juxta sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ," [Leland adds, " in aquilonali parte," Itin. iv. 144.], " cum devotione debitâ collocantur." So in Leland's Itin. iv. 136. " Hæc quæ secuntur [sequuntur] de translatione reliquiarum S. Neoti in Croiland, et quendam [ex quâdam] pagellâ de eâ translatione scriptâ excerpti." Yet no extracts appear.

first in the whole into Huntingdonshire, and afterwards in part into Lincolnshire, appear asserted by such a quadruple band of witnesses, that the point seems to be placed beyond the reach of assailing arm. Yet I will venture to assail the fortress, I hope to shake it to its very center; and I trust to expose the rottenness of its structure completely. The variations apparent between the authors, the errors committed by some of them, take off much certainly from the stability of their united opinions; and evidence superior to theirs, bears them down with an irresistible weight to the ground.

The appeal of Timmouth to written evidence at Croyland, for the remains of St. Neot being repositied there, and the attestation of Timmouth to abbot Henry's being led by repute to the tomb of St. Neot there, which appears from Ingulphus to have been placed near the altar of the Virgin Mary, opening it, finding bones within it, even noting specifically what they were, and then removing them to an altar erected now by the abbot in honour of St. Neot himself, unite to form a testimony, very strong indeed in itself, but opposed by evidence much stronger. That there was a tradition in the days of Ingulphus, of St. Neot's bones being brought to Croyland by Lewina for fear of the Danes, and being repositied in a coffin near the altar of St. Mary, Ingulphus himself is an indubitable witness; and his history of the abbey was assuredly the very evi-

dence to which Tintmouth so loosely appeals, at what "appears openly written in the same monastery," the monks undoubtedly preserving their own abbot's history of themselves in their own library. But the tradition appears to have been lost in the falsity of the fact, within a century afterwards; as our Ramsay was one of those very monks of Croyland, even dedicated one of his publications to this very abbot Henry,¹ yet gives no intimation of St. Neot's remains ever migrating to Croyland, even gives some of their never migrating to Croyland at all. He carries them to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, but *there keeps them*, thus robbing *his own* monastery of the honour of possessing them. Yet robbing it assuredly *because it no longer claimed them*, and conferring all on Aynesbury. Bringing the relics to Aynesbury, he relates the erection of a monastery there in honour of them by the lord of the town, and says, the lord "denominated the place itself in *perpetual* memory of Neotus, the servant of God, Neotesbery to the present day, even *always with just propriety.*"² He also adds thus: "because those *pledges* of this so great man of God are *there worshipped especially*, as well as those persons lying immediately round about, those persons far remote, truly *feel* the most pious com-

¹ Section 1st before.

² No. II. 20. "Locique ipsius nomen, ad perpetuam Sancti Dei, Neoti, memoriam, Neotesberi cognominavit ad presentem diem, usque sat. ex debito jure."

“forts from their devout supplications;”¹ for “Christ *remains* in Neotus, since he even *makes him* “to shine with miracles in this rapidly gliding period of time.”² He thus shews the body of St. Neot, in his opinion, to be still retained at Aynesbury, still worshipped at Aynesbury, and still working miracles at Aynesbury, from its first conveyance out of Cornwall to the day of Ramsay’s publication. But he confirms and corroborates all, by other intimations antecedent to them; that the body was to be removed into Huntingdonshire, “to amplify the worship of the saint with *one other set of merits*,”³ that Neot himself ordered the removal, “not as abandoning Cornwall, but as willing to “have two places;”⁴ and that Providence directed the removal into Huntingdonshire for the sake of this “pledge of Neotus the servant of God, being “here preserved perpetually, and never transported to any other place.”⁵ So fully is the evidence of

¹ Ibid. ibid. “Quia—ibi specialiter, tanti viri Dei excoluntur pignora, tam circum adjacentes populi, quam longius remoti, ejus profectò piissima ex devotis supplicationibus sentiunt solamina.”

² Ibid. ibid. “Manet Christus in Neoto, cùm et eum coruscare miraculis facit hoc incitissimo labili seculo.”

³ Ibid. 16. “Quatenus alio meritorum more ampliaretur oraculum.” *Oraculum* for *oratio*.

⁴ Ibid. ibid. “Non hunc dimitto, duo sed mihi condere glisco.”

⁵ Ibid. ibid. “Ut Dei famuli Neoti pignus, hic perpetuò conservaturum, alias minimè transferreretur.”

Ingulphus superseded, for the removal of St. Neot's remains to Croyland, by a very monk of Croyland, and by a very biographer of the saint. Yet how shall we supersede the more pointed evidence of Tinmouth concerning abbot Henry. Even *by denying the truth of it*. Ramsay dedicated one of his publications to this very abbot, yet knew no fame of St. Neot's sepulture at Croyland, knew of no tomb then pointed out for his, and knew of none opened there by the abbot. We have even an account of the very abbacy of Henry from the year 1191, to the year 1236, so very long and particular as to run out into no less than twenty pages in folio; yet *not giving the slightest hint* of the abbot's opening of the tomb so solemnly made, of this abbot's notation of the bones so specifically stated, and of this abbot's translation of the bones so illustriously marked by the erection of a new altar. He notices also the very year specified by Tinmouth for these acts, but notices it only as the year in which a papal interdict was taken off, after a continuance of nearly six years, that allowed only conventual churches to have divine service within them, allowed *them* to have it only once a week, and even obliged the parochial clergy to fetch the consecrated elements from *them* for administering the Eucharist to their dying parishioners; a mode of coercion on a kingdom at once implying much of religiousness in the people interdicted, and little in the person interdicting. And he notices the removal of St. Guthlac's

remains, with the erection of a new altar to St. Guthlac, in this very church, and by this very abbot. The whole therefore rests upon the slender authority of Tinmouth, but is shaken by the silence of one historian, and is upset by the opposition of another.

Nor indeed *could* the body of St. Neot be transferred from Huntingdonshire into Lincolnshire, because it was never transferred out of Cornwall into Huntingdonshire at all. That *Barius* did *not* carry Neot's body thither, is plain from the testimony of Tinmouth himself, who (as I have already noted) says, St Neot died in Cornwall, "and the earth of his grave being delivered to the languishing, is known to have profited many medicinally."¹ But it was made demonstrably plain by the historical relation of Asser in his life of Alfred, when in 893 he tells of a church in Cornwall, in which St. Gueryr rests, and *now St. Neot reposes there.*² The body therefore was incontestably buried in Cornwall. Nor is Leland's ascription of this removal to *the reign of Edgar* one tittle more true, than Tinmouth's reference of it to the personal operation of *Barius*. *Some* remains indeed were removed into Huntingdonshire, and transported afterwards into Lincolnshire. But as Leland has told

¹ See chapter 1st before.

² Asser, 40. "Ad quandam Ecclesiam,—in qua Sanctus Gueryr requiescit, et nunc etiam Sanctus Neotus ibidem pau-
"sat."

us from the report of some, and the contradiction of others, from the assertion of the remains being removed into Lincolnshire, yet the appearance of the remains in Huntingdonshire still, that these, *whatever they were*, were restored to Huntingdonshire again. Yet they were not restored, because they *had never been removed, and were never there to be removed*. This appeared decisively at the Reformation. They were not the *bones* of St. Neot at all, whatever Ingulphus has said, or Ramsay and Tinmouth have dreamed. Croyland pretended not to exhibit any of his remains at the grand period of scrutiny into such pretensions. Even St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, which pretendedly transmitted to, and recovered from Croyland, all of St. Neot that Croyland ever possessed, which had taken the very name of the saint for its own name, and has long enjoyed undisturbed the reputation of actually possessing his body; ¹ even she, at that grand scrutiny, resigned up all her pretensions to the *bones*,

¹ Leland's Coll. iv. 81. "Sanctusque Neot presbyter in loco, "qui dicitur Eanuluesberig, requiescit." The ingenious gentleman also, who first attempted to illustrate the history of our St. Neot's church, and to whose attempts (as the references on my margin show) I am so much indebted for information, appears to have considered this as the settled sentiment of the public. Noticing in his text "the stone-casket of 18 inches by 14, said to "contain the remains of the dwarfish saint," he thus subjoins in a "note, "perhaps, as the tradition was that all his bones were not "carried from hence into Huntingdonshire, it might be pretended, "that such as were left, were deposited in this small chest."— (Some account, 7).

and acknowledged plainly the exclusive claim of Cornwall to the whole. And all the while Cornwall continued to assert her claim by the lively tradition, by the visible stone-casket, by the Latin epitaph, and by the English one, at her St. Neot's, in the loudest tone of voice proclaiming, that those bones of St. Neot, which Asser averred to remain in Cornwall at the conclusion of the ninth century, remained equally in Cornwall to the Reformation.

What then were the remains of St. Neot that Huntingdonshire really had? At this very epocha it pretended to exhibit only two articles, but two that were *totally* extrinsic to him, and had *merely* been once possessed by him. Leland himself was curious enough to note what they were. They were "the INTERIOR TUNIC of St. NEOT, "made of cloth of hair in the Irish fashion;" and "the COMB of St. Neot MADE OF A SMALL "BONE TWO FINGERS IN BREADTH, BUT HAVING "THE TEETH OF FISH INSERTED INTO IT, SO AS TO "APPEAR LIKE THE JAW OF THAT RIVER-FISH THE "PIKE."¹ Huntingdonshire thus showed to Leland

¹ Some account, S.

"Some say his bones were carried hence,

"St. Neot's will have it so.

"Which claims the grace of Neot's tomb;

"But hereto we say no."

² Leland's Coll. iv. 13. "Sanctus Neotus. Oppidum antea dictum Einulphesbury—Vidi tunicam interiorem S. Neoti, ex panno villosa more Hybernica; pecten S. Neoti ex ossiculo "duos digitos lato; insertis piscium denticulis instar maxillæ lupi "fluvialilis."

all that it had of St. Neot's. This all, was merely the comb and the interior tunic of the saint. Nor did the monks there pretend to have any thing else of his. All proves them to have possessed none of his *bones*, yet to have owned some remains of his, which in the undistinguishing talk of the times among others, in the studied obscurity of language among themselves, and in the bold eruptions of partial fondness into positive falsehood at times, were vainly estimated to be bodily relics.

Nor let my reader smile at this long and successful labour, to appropriate the bones or the dust of an ancient saint to Cornwall. The fondness for sanctified relics is now past its meridian indeed, and the human mind exercises itself at present, upon what it supposes to be grander objects of attention, Yet, even with these objects before it, the genius of learning is not more usefully or more vigorously employed than it was before. Antiquarianism particularly, one of the favourite studies of the day, has equally its relics, and its fondness for them. The *impassioned* part of all studies *must* have them; only as religion has less hold upon the mind or the affections, that sober rational enthusiasm, which is properly fond of relics, is transferred from theology to literature; and a coin, an altar, or a tessellated pavement, take place of the comb, the tunic, or the bones of a saint. The same taste prevails, but the objects are changed. Yet the antiquary smiles at the objects of the devotee, while the de-

votee has greater reason to smile at the antiquary's. The sepulchre of such a saint as Neotus, is surely more worthy of our affectionate attention, than the grave-stone of a Roman soldier, or the tomb of a Roman officer, of either of whom we know no more than that he lived, and that he died, or else we know that he was brave, successful, and destructive. And as the truth of history required me to ascertain the permanent place of St. Neot's interment, I felt enough of the fondness of antiquarianism for such a king, and of the reverence of religion for such a saint, to draw aside the curtain that has hung so long before his tomb, and to show it in all its dimensions to the eye of my readers. His dust has been always preserved at our St. Neot's, and the casket of stone continued to our own days the faithful repository of it, while those remains of his, which were conveyed away into Huntingdonshire, have long since been destroyed by neglect or by wilfulness, the shrine containing them is equally gone, and nothing remains but a few letters upon a broken pedestal.

" In the church in Huntingdonshire, dedicated to our saint, there is a chapel called JESUS CHAPEL, which about forty [now sixty] years ago was laid open to the church. In it were the remains of a monument, supposed to have once contained such bones of St. Neot, as were carried thither from the monastery in Cornwall. A regal crown, carved in stone (denoting the royal birth of the person to whose memory the monument was erected), and underneath it the letters OBTHERSOV, are still preserved."—Some account, 55—58). These "remains" of the monument, seem to be fairly appropriated to St. Neot, by the

But what was this "interior tunic" of St. Neot? It was "made," we find, "of cloth of hair in the Irish fashion." The reference to Ireland seems to carry us up to that extraordinary kind of drapery, which Lady Moira has lately attempted to illustrate in a set dissertation on the subject.¹ Speaking of a skeleton found in a bog in Ireland, with clothes upon it, and "striving to ascertain of what materials the clothing was made," she notes that "much of them is evidently of hair, and I suspect they will all be found to be composed of that material."² They thus agree exactly with the "cloth of hair" in the tunic of St. Neot. But of what sort of hair was the cloathing of the skeleton

"position," derived undoubtedly from tradition, and by the "regal crown carved in stone." But as no "bones" of St. Neot were ever there, as only his comb and his tunic were, this monument of stone could be merely a pedestal to a chest containing these remains. The very shrine of Becket stood just in this manner, being a structure of wood upon a pedestal of stone. (*Monasticon*, i. 18—19). That chest is actually noticed by John Tynmouth in his *Historia Aurea*, so early as the fourteenth century, and denominated the *shrine* expressly. "Diebus—nostris," he says, "in monasterio S. Neoti, à fratribus monasterii Beccensis occupato, *Scrinium* satis pretiosum adventantibus ostenditur." (*Monasticon*, i. 369). And the letters upon the monument, but immediately under the crown, I suppose to have been these, very similar to what we now see at our St. Neot's:

OB THESAURUM in cœlo

"Coronam tradidit

"Fratri suo juniori."

¹ Arch. vii. 90—110.

² Arch. vii. 108.

made? It "appears," as our lady critic informs us, and ladies surely are our best critics and our best informants concerning dress, "to be composed of the hair of different animals."¹ Yet what were the animals that produced it? A cap had "a border—of *camel*; but "the full herring-bone-troil in which it [the cap] is woven, is a "proof that the works of the loom were not in their "infancy with a people thus clothed."² A sash or scarf had one part "tufted, resembling *ermine*— "exceedingly curious," and another "of *mohair* "—perfect and rich of its kind."³ The "troiled "piece of two colours, that woven like a coarse "gauze, and the lining in a diaper pattern, present "samples which prove, that the art of weaving was "far advanced at that period."⁴ The respectable writer, therefore, in the present spirit of the Irish antiquaries around her, takes wing for the moon at once, mounting up to the Phœnicians *there*, as the fabricators of this cloth of hair, and the introducers of it into Ireland.⁵ "If the Irish moose-deer," she adds however concerning the cloth found, "has "contributed his spoils towards their fabrication, "to what a remote period would it carry them, "since there remains no tradition of those animals "having existed in this island."⁶ The last assertion is not true, moose-deer having been noticed in Ireland as late as the twelfth century. "Ireland,"

¹ Arch. vii 95.² Ibid. 97.³ Ibid. 98.⁴ Ibid. 99.⁵ Ibid. *ibid.*⁶ Ibid. 103.

says one who actually wrote a topography of the country in the reign of our Second Henry, "has within it stags not able to fly for their too great fatness; and, in proportion as they are inferior in size of body, so much more highly are they exalted in dignity of head and horns."¹ Bede accordingly describes Ireland, so early as the eighth century, and in a very brief account of its most extraordinary peculiarities, as remarkable for the hunting of "stags and does."² Nor was this reputed moose-deer unknown to our own island. This the frequency of the horns found here, as well as in Ireland, proves demonstrably.³ "The horns have been supposed by some," notes a writer, "and are asserted by the tradition of Ireland, to be those of an elk."⁴ "The Irish moose-deer," notes Lady Moira accordingly,—"Mr. Kalm, in his travels, says, is the elk."⁵ And the elk it certainly is, being actually known as the elk only a few centuries ago in these isles. This assertion, however, will seem surprising to most of my readers, because little has been done to ascertain the continuance of our wild beasts among us. Thus at what time even that

¹ Giraldus's *Topographia Hiberniæ*, c. xix. p. 709. Camden, 1609. "Habet enim cervos præ nimia pinguedine minus fugere prævalentes; quantoque minores sunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentius adornantur capitis et cornuum dignitate."

² Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* i. 1. Smith. "Cervorum caprearumque venatu insignis."

³ *Hist. of Manchester*, ii. 92—93, octavo.

⁴ *Ibid.* 93.

⁵ *Arch.* vii. 103.

well-known native of our woods once, the *wild-boar*, became extirpated from them, no one has endeavoured to ascertain.

It therefore roamed in our woods very late, even so late—*could one think it?*—as the *sixteenth century*. In the same woods roamed that much more astonishing animal, the moose-deer or elk. Of this fact I can produce an evidence, that is very obvious, but has never been noticed, that is incontestable in its nature, and that actually demonstrates the animal to have been an inhabitant of *our own isle*, to have been currently denominated an elk among us, to have even continued under *that* denomination so late as the *middle of the sixteenth century*. To our astonishment we find the breed mentioned by one of our *first game-laws*, as the 33 Henry VIII. c. 6. section 33, kindly extends its protecting arm to the last remains of the *wild-boars* and the *wild-elks* of our country. It allows the inhabitants of certain places to use their guns, “so that it be at no manner of deer, heron, shoveld, pheasant, partridge, “WILD-SWINE, OR WILD-ELK, or any of them.” This extraordinary intimation from so respectable an authority, I am happy to call out into public notice. It forms a very important addition to the history of our original beasts. It compleats particularly the accounts which have been formerly given by myself of our boars and moose-deers,”¹ the latter of which are either contending still with incredulity

¹ Hist. of Manchester, ii. 92—99.

for their very existence, or have this existence thrown back, as here it is by Lady Moira, into the morning twilight of antiquity into a "remote period" beyond the reach of all "written tradition." They are now shown to have existed among us, and to have been universally known to exist, even within
A COUPLE OF CENTURIES FROM OUR OWN TIMES.

Even if all this had not been so plainly demonstrated to be true, if the moose-deer of the British isles had existed only in the ages of Irish romance, and if it had contributed its hair towards the fabrication of the cloth found in a bog, how could it contribute *singly* to a cloth, which "appears to be composed of the hair of different animals?" How could it contribute to "camlet," which appears from its name to have been originally formed of camel's hair, and has been since formed of the hair of a goat? How could it contribute to "mohair?" How could it contribute to "ermine?" The very use of these in the composition of the cloth, of *ermine* in resemblance, but of *mohair* and *camlet* in reality, unites with "the full herring-bone-troil, in which it [the cap] is woven,"—as "a proof that the works of the loom were not in their infancy with a people thus clothed," and that "the art of weaving was far advanced at that period;" to give the cloth *no* such vast antiquity, as Lady Moira presumes to show it *not* descended from the clouds with the Milesians, *not* even wafted on the wings

of the wind with the Phœnicians, but merely modern in its fabrication.

The "interior tunic" of St. Neot, was his clerical cassock, denominated the "interior," because the Roman gown was then (as it is still) the "exterior;" and worn by clergymen, as early as the year 303.¹ It then carried the appellation of a *CARACALLA*, in the language of that country which fabricated it, and from which it was first introduced to the imperial court at Rome, there diffused itself among all ranks of people, but was peculiarly retained by the clergy.² This we incidentally know to have been like the "interior tunic" of St. Neot, "made of cloth of hair." During the continuance of the Danish ravages, and when the monks of St. Alban's were trembling for their fate, they sent off to the Isle of Ely, as a place of security, "many ornaments of their church," and what they justly considered as the most valuable ornament, the remains of St. Alban himself. The monks of Ely afterwards kept the remains, and the monks of St. Alban's then said they had not sent the real, as, fearing the dishonesty

¹ My Survey of the Cathedral of Cornwall, vi. 1.

² The meaning seems to have been in Gaulish; not (as Baillet in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, ii. 276, explains it) *car*, a head, and *cal*, a covering, from the hood attached to it, because *calla* is a cowl given to a monk, or a veil given to a nun, and is plainly the Latin *cucullus* shortened into *cowl* (English), and *calla* or *caille*; but *cara* a leg, and *cal* to keep safe, to preserve, to surround, or to comprehend, from its hanging down to the ancles, and wrapping round the legs.

of their brethren, as sending the pretended for a feint to the coming Danes, and secretly immuring the real in the church of St. Alban's. We thus see frauds apprehended, and felony committed, even about relics, whatever the human mind makes valuable to itself, becoming, therefore, the subject of property, and object of dishonesty.

Yet the monks of St. Alban's acknowledged, that, "in order to give a semblance of very certain truth" "to their transportation, of the blessed martyr's remains thither, they transported a CERTAIN CLOTH OF HAIR—with the bones" of another saint *wrapped up in it*; "relating for the greater cautiousness, that" "this cloth was THAT VERY CARACALLA OF AMPHIBALUS," the clergyman who, as the converter to Christianity, was "the master of the blessed Albanus," with which St. Alban dressed himself as a clergyman, and in which he presented himself to death as Amphibalus himself.¹ And what seemingly shows the monks of St. Alban's to have thought of no guard against fraud in their brethren; at the moment of danger from the Danes, but to have really, as well as pretendedly, sent the body of the saint in the repository of cloth, the very historian who sug-

¹ M. Paris, 997. "Multa Ecclesie Sancti Albani ornamenta, etc. ut verum videretur quod reliquie Beati martyris illuc certissime transportarentur, quendam panniculum villosum—Abbas—cum memoratis ossibus involutis in ipso, fecit transportari; asserens ad cautelam, ipsam fuisse Beati Amphibali, Beati Albani magistri caracallam."

gests the guard to have been made, "owns the
 " monks of Ely to have kept the said bones in THE
 " CLOTH OF HAIR, which they call a CARACALLA.¹
 We are soon beat out of this conviction; however,
 and find the facts to be as the monks of St. Alban's
 have represented it, and find it from an open, a formal,
 even a royal examination of these points. As the bones
 were actually left by Offa, "reposed in
 " a coffin," and "wrapt up in a pall,"² so were
 the pall and the coffin inspected by Edward the
 Second. "When the King had seen the nails drawn
 "out of the shrine," says the historian of the fact,
 "he went up to the shrine in order to open it,
 "and lifted the cover with his own hand. Then
 "lo! they see the coffin from the top even to the
 "bottom so filled with a certain CLOTH OF HAIR,
 "that nothing more could be contained within it."
 So large was the cloth originally! So bulky did it
 remain at present! "But on the upper part of the
 "vestment," what met the eye, and was alone in-
 spected, "they beheld drops of blood thickly
 "sprinkled, so new, so recent, as if they had been
 "sprinkled the day before. This garment appears
 "to have been the CARACALLA which St. Alban re-
 "ceived at his conversion from St. Amphibalus his
 "master, and IN WHICH HE SUFFERED HIS SENTENCE

¹ M. Paris, 997. "Elyenses verò ossa sæpedicta in villosò pan-
 "niculo quem *caracallam* vocant sibi reservârunt."

² Ibid. 984. "In eòdem locello, reliquiis ordinatè depositis,
 "et pallio involutis."

“OF DEATH.”¹ The manufacture of this kind of cloth, therefore, was originally set up in France. In France it accordingly continued for ages afterwards. We find it there so late as the thirteenth century, from a slight hint which is given us by an author of this century, M. Paris, in mentioning the transportation of the remains to Ely, speaks of “THE CLOTH OF HAIR” in which they were wrapped, as a French fabrication with a Roman title to it, as being denominated “VILLUSE,” *villosa*, or hairy “IN FRENCH.”² Hence the cloth found in a bog of Ireland is all FOREIGN, being a mixture of ermine seemingly, of mohair and of camlet certainly, all manufactured into cloth by a nation that have always, *under their monarchs*, stood forth as the arbiters of elegance, and the dictators of dress to western Europe. And hence Lady Moira herself informs us from Aubrey’s *Miscellanies*, “of a tomb,” or

¹ Walsingham 104, in Camden’s *Anglica*, &c. “Rex vero, cùm vidisset cunctos clavos extractos, et feretrum patefaciendum, accessit,” or, “ad feretrum patefaciendum accessit,” as the sense requires, and Warton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 184, reads, “et levavit operculum manu suâ. Et ecce! vident locellum illum a summo usque deorsum, quòdam panno villosa ita occupatum, ut nihil posset aliud continere. In superiori verò parte vestimenti, conspiciunt cruoris coagula densè respersa, ita nova, ita recentia, quasi pridè fuissent effusa. Constat planè vestem fuisse caracallam, quam Sanctus Albanus in conversione accepit a Sancto Amphibalo magistro suo—in qua idem martyr sententiam subiit capitalem.”

² P. 997. “Quendam panniculum villosum, qui Gallicè *villuse* dicitur.

stone coffin found deep under ground in "the year
 "1674," at laying the foundations of a house within
 "Alfred's isle of Athelney," upon the site undoubtedly of his own conventual church-yard, because in
 the middle of graves, and in the grave probably of
 one of his first abbots, "were found a scull and
 "some other bones, earth, dust, and *some cloathing,*"
 the very *caracalla* of the clergyman assuredly; "and
 "that he [Mr. Pascall] sent him [Mr. Aubrey] a
 "fragment of the latter, but that he cannot imagine
 "what it can be made of, unless of some FOREIGN
 "FINE HAIR." Yet the manufacture had evidently
 been discontinued in France, and begun in
 Ireland before the days of Leland; because he speaks
 of St. Neot's "interior tunic," as made of cloth of
 hair IN THE IRISH FASHION. The very use of the
 cloth was then confined with the fabrication of it, to
 the Irish. One Good, therefore, who was a school-
 master at Limerick about 1566, and has had his ob-
 servations recorded by Camden, says the native Irish
 "wear shirts of woollen, and those very full, with
 "sleeves remarkably wide, and falling down to the
 "very knees, which they usually stain with saffron:
 "jackets they have very short, but woollen, breeches
 "very plain, but very tight," the successors of the
 ancient trowsers; "and over all they wear hat"

¹ Arch. vii. 103. and Gaugh's Camden, i. 70. Mr. Gough
 speaks of "carved stones at the church of Athelney," but as the
 church had no stones in it, being all of timber, the stones must
 have belonged to the sepulchre.

“ mantles or cloaks of hair, with their border-fring-
 “ ed, but elegantly variegated,” the evident succes-
 sors of their plaided mantles, as now plaided only
 in the fringes, “ in which they wrap themselves up
 “ at night, and sleep sweetly on the ground,” as
 the highlanders long afterwards did in their plaids.
 “ THESE MANTLES OF HAIR, even the women, throw
 “ over the garment, which they wear down to their
 “ ankles.” Nor was this dress the common and the
 vulgar. It was universal, and extended afterwards
 from the peasant to the prince. Accordingly “Shan
 “ O’Neal,” king of Ulster, as Camden himself in-
 forms us under the earlier year 1562, “ came from
 “ Ireland, as he had promised to come the year be-
 “ fore, attended by a train of Galloglasses arm-
 “ ed with axes, uncovered on their heads, having
 “ their crisped locks hanging down, wearing wide-
 “ sleeved shirts yellow with saffron, or dyed with
 “ human urine, jackets short, and MANTLES HAIRY,
 “ whom the English at the time *surveyed with*

¹ Camden’s *Britannia*, 793. “ *Indusiis utuntur lineis, laneis,*
 “ *et illis quidem amplissimis, manicis largioribus et ad genua us-*
 “ *que fluentibus, quæ croco inficere solebant. Tunicellas habent*
 “ *laneas admodum breves, femoralia simplicissima et arctissima ;*
 “ *superinducunt autem lacernas sive saga villosa—limbo jubato et*
 “ *eleganter variegato, quibus noctu involuti suaviter humi dor-*
 “ *miunt. Cujusmodi etiam mulieres talari quam gerunt vesti su-*
 “ *perinjiciunt.*” Camden observes of these hairy mantles, that
 “ *Heteromallas Isidorus vocare videtur.*” Isidorus speaking of
 the mantles on the continent, and noting them as hairy upon one
 side alone.

“ as much admiration as they afterwards surveyed
 “ the inhabitants of China, or the natives of Ameri-
 “ ca.” So long did the *caracalla* of Gaul remain
 in use among us, even nearly to our own times ! So
 long did the dress introduced by an emperor at
 Rome, and even lending its own appellation to him,
 prevail all over the empire, and even extend beyond
 the bounds of it, remaining down to these later ages !
 Yet neither the use nor the manufacture of this
cloth of hair prevailed in Ireland, till many centu-
 ries after the Milesians, many after the Phœnicians,
 and many after the Romans. The use was actually
 introduced into Ireland by us English upon our
 own reduction of the isle, and from our own ward-
 robe of fashions. This is plain, however strange it
 may appear to some: The very cloth that in the
 hands of Lady Moira is to prove the highest anti-
 quity, and the greatest perfection of the arts of
 weaving among the Irish, *if woven in Ireland*, could
 not be as old as the reign of our Second Henry. In
 this reign, says an eye-witness, “ the Irish SEL-
 “ DOM use garments of WOOL, and almost all that
 “ they use is black in colour (as their sheep are

¹ Annales Elizabethæ, 78. “ Ex Hiberniâ jam venerat Shanus
 “ O’Neal, ut quod ante annum promiserat præstaret, cum se curi-
 “ gero Galloglassorum satellitio, capitibus nudis, crispatis cincin-
 “ nis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humanâ urinâ infec-
 “ tis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus, et lacernis villosis :
 “ quos Angli non minori tunc admiratione, quàm hodiè Chineses
 “ et Americanos, prosequabantur.”

“black), PUT TOGETHER IN THE MANNER OF BAR-
 “BARIANS. For they are accustomed to *hoods*
 “*small and tight*, thrown down over their shoul-
 “ders as low as their elbows, and two *variously*
 “*coloured patches* mostly SEWED TOGETHER,” the
 plaids of our own day, “under which they wear
 “also tunics of wool for waistcoats, and other
 “stocken-breeches or breeches-stockens, and these
 “generally dyed with some colour.”¹ Thus does
 the “interior tunic” of St. Neot, made as it was
 of cloth of hair, appear to have been his clerical
 cassoc; a tunic first invented in Gaul, and a
 cassoc once adopted by an emperor; thence
 adopted by all the empire, but still manufactured
 in Gaul alone: retained in dress and preserved in

¹ Topographia Hiberniæ by Giraldus Cambrensis, 738 of Cam-
 den’s Anglica, &c. “*Laneis*—tenuiter utuntur, et his omnibus
 “*fermè nigris* (quia terræ istius oves nigræ sunt) et barbaro ritu
 “*compositis*. Caputiis namque modicis assueti sunt et arctis,
 “*trans humeros deorsum cubito tenus protensis, variisque colorum*
 “*generibus panniculorumque plerunque consutis*; sub quibus
 “*phalingis laneis* quoque palliorum vice utuntur, [et] seu brac-
 “*cis caligatis seu caligis braccatis, et his plerunque colore fuca-*
 “*tis.*” I have supplied the *et* between hooks, as necessary to the
 construction of the sentence. And the strange word “*phalingis*”
 I take to be an Irish word Latinized; *Fallin* or *Fallain* (I)
 being a mantle or cloak, and answering to the Latin *pallium*.
 I only remark additionally, that the *woollen* “*phalingæ*” and the
woollen “*tunicellæ*” prove “*camisiæ*” or “*indusia*” to be, as
 staining them with human urine or with saffron suggests, and as
 all views of the state of Ireland at the time confirm, equally
 woollen with the others.

fabrication, however, for ages after the empire vanished; but finally retained in its original appearance, among the Irish only; yet just showing its form, while it has lost its appearance upon the backs of our clergymen at present!

How even these remains were conveyed out of Cornwall, is very evident. Barius is reported by Tinmouth, to have removed a *part* of "Neotus's" "relics into Huntingdonshire." This *part* now appears to have been the cassoc and the comb of the saint; though Tinmouth was reduced by his own account of the bones discovered at Croyland, to believe it a part of his body. Barius is accordingly found to have *died* and been *buried*, at *St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire*.¹ Those therefore were *his* bones assuredly, which were conveyed to Croyland, which are noticed by Ingulphus, and were discovered by abbot Henry as the bones of Neotus himself; the abbot breaking open a tomb, that is not pretended to have carried any designation for Neotus, either within or without; the memory of tradition being confounded by the mention of Barius, as the attendant of Neotus; and the tongue of tradition at last losing the slightly-known name of the attendant, in the well-known appellation of the master.

There Barius too, I believe, wrote that very life of St. Neot, which Asser cites so early as 893, in

¹ Leland's Coll. iv. 13. "Barius, Neoti servus, ibidem sepultus."

his Life of Alfred. *There* Leland read it. And *there* Asser equally read it, I believe, so many ages before all; the only manuscript of his own Annals of Alfred, being found equally by Leland *there*.¹ All these little incidents unite to form an useful whole in history, like a number of atoms combining into a world. But I can add one atom more to my world of history. At that St. Neot's was likewise found by Leland another Life of our saint, "written partly in prose, and partly also in verse," but "exhibiting I know not what affectation of "eloquence, rather than the honest fidelity of "history." This is that very Life of St. Neot, which was written in prose generally by William Ramsay abbot of Croyland, and on which I have rested so much before. But the same abbot had previously written a poetical Life of the saint, of which I have made occasional use before, but on which I have fixed a brand of reprobation, as the repository of all the fables that disgrace the biography of the saint in Tinmouth or in Capgrave. Was this then the account, which acted backwards upon Cornwall, and produced all the miraculous tales in the painted window of our church?

This window indeed has been conjectured, though with much dubiousness of mind, by the ingenious

¹ Coll. iii. 214. "Chronicon Fani Neoti incerto autore," or (as he had previously and more properly written) "ex libro Annalium auctoris incerti nominis," over these words "Asserionis," and "sed quem constat familiarem fuisse Alfredo, sive Alurede, regi."

author to whom I have so frequently referred, to have been painted from Capgrave's biography of the saint, as published in 1516.¹ The conjecture also seems to be strongly confirmed, by the two dates which have been since discovered upon two windows adjoining to each other, 1529 and 1530. Yet the window was painted only from the same fund of fable, from which his biography of the saint was written.

That the window was *not* painted from Capgrave's Life of St. Neot, is evident from the variations in the Life from the window. There are several in the *manner*, even when there is a sameness in the *matter*. Thus the anecdote concerning the hind, that "broke from the wood adjoining, and "fell at St. Neot's feet," while "the dogs advancing towards it in full cry," but "checked and "reproved by Neotus, immediately fled;" and "the huntsman, beholding this wonder, fell prostrate before the saint, and took upon him the "habit of a monk in the priory of St. Petroc, in "which priory his horn is preserved as a memorial of "this adventure;" an anecdote so exactly repeated in the window, as that we see the hind, the huntsman, and the horn; is yet the *first* of the legendary incidents in the painting, and the *last* in the narration.² The *first* in the narration too is the *second* in the painting, and differs in the legend

¹ Some Account, 13.

² Ibid. 20-21, 18, and No. 2.

circumstantially from the inscription ; *this saying* " here he had found three fishes in the well by the " *revelation of an angel,*" and *that declaring,* " in " *it this man of God perceived,*" *without any angelic revelation,* " there were three fishes, but, not " *presuming to touch them till it should be revealed* " *to him, for what purpose they were placed there,* " *an angel appeared to acquaint him.*"¹ A link also in the chain of history at St. Neot's, which is the *first* in Capgrave, the journey of St. Neot to Rome, and the pope's permission to him for building a monastery ; is the *very last* in the paintings.² But we may mount to a still stronger proof, an actual variation in matter. The window exhibits one incident, even in the *very first* compartment, even in the *very entrance* upon the history of St. Neot, *totally unknown to Capgrave* ; St. Neot's resignation of the crown to his younger brother.³ This is acknowledged by the very writer, who suggested the window to be painted from Capgrave. He saw, but he did not apply.⁴ All combines to prove, that the paintings are not the adopted tales of Capgrave, even in this very window concerning St. Neot ; though (as I have already shown from a date) this was painted in 1528, just twelve years after Capgrave's work had been published.

¹ Some Account, 13. No. 4. " Hic tres pisces in fonte inveni-
nerat revelatione Angelicâ," and 17, 18.

² Ibid. 13. No. 12.

³ Ibid. 18.

⁴ Ibid. *ibid.*

Thus "the storied window," so "richly dight" with the real or the fabulous adventures of St. Neot, derives not its intelligence from Capgrave. Does it then ascend much higher than Capgrave for it, even to the very source of all Capgrave's intelligence, Ramsay's poetical Life of St. Neot; either as this stands in all its umbrageous luxury of language, or as usefully opened and enlightened by the pen of Tinmouth? Yet even these writings do not accord with the paintings. The tales concerning the fishes, the oxen, and the hind, thus succeeding each other in Tinmouth and in Ramsay, are ranged after another order upon the window, the hind, the fishes, and the oxen. The journey to Rome too, so wildly placed by Ramsay and by Tinmouth at the head of all their Cornish fables concerning the *hermit*, is fixed by the paintings, with a judicious revolt to chronological propriety, at the end of them all. And the saint's resignation of his crown to his younger brother, is an incident unknown to Tinmouth, unknown to Ramsay, yet told by the window.

Was the window then painted merely, by the pencil of tradition? Several circumstances combine, to show it was not. The saint, however represented by tradition as a dwarf, and however fancied at first by those surveyors of the window, who see more from memory than from vision, to be represented as a dwarf in the paintings; is certainly exhibited in as full dimensions, as the other per-

sons, and is confessed to be so by the late surveyor of them.¹ Accordingly that traditionary tale, which describes St. Neot mounting a stone still opposite to the church-door, in order to enter the church, and thence quoining the key of the church with such a miraculous dexterity into the lock, as to pass through the wards and unlock the door with the impulse so given; is totally omitted in the painting, though loudly reported by the people. Even that other report of the people, concerning the saint's banishing the crows from all the tillage-lands of the college, and confining them within the remaining crow-pound upon the downs; is equally omitted in the painting. The painter, therefore, did not dip his pencil in the colours of tradition.

Whence then did he borrow his colours? When neither tradition, nor Tinmouth, nor Ramsay, furnished them; what could furnish? Written biography furnished all. Yet, what biography?

“On searching the library of this monastery,” let me repeat from Leland again concerning St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, “I found two not elegant but “small manuscripts on the Life of St. Neot, without the name of the author to either. One was “used in the liturgic services of that church. The “other, which was written partly in prose and “partly also in verse, exhibited I know not what “affectation of eloquence, rather than the honest

¹ Some Account, 15.

“fidelity of history.”¹ The latter work I have noted before, to be Ramsay’s prosaical Life of the saint, from which Leland has given us so many extracts in his Itinerary; and the former that better work, from which he gives us some in his Collectanea.² This was “used in the liturgic services “of that church” within Huntingdonshire, and was therefore used equally, we may be sure, in those of our own St. Neot’s. From *this* might be taken that grand circumstance in the painting, Neotus’s *fraternal* relationship to Alfred. And from *this* did the vicar certainly take that intimation, which he has recorded upon the tablet in the church, concerning Alfred’s erection of the university of Oxford at the instigation of Neotus.

Yet whence did he borrow for the painter, as the painter undoubtedly was prompted by the vicar, that still more remarkable circumstance, that incident of more secret history; Neotus’s resignation of the crown to his eldest brother? This the Life cited by Leland could not give him. Whence then could he have it? Whence, but from that other Life of Neotus, which was written by Barrius probably, is cited certainly by Asser, and was seen by Asser assuredly at St. Neot’s in Huntingdonshire? The plain tablet of Barrius’s biography there, had been slightly embossed since his death, with the legend concerning the un-

¹ Chap. i. Sect. 2, before.

² Ibid. *ibid.*

versity of Oxford; and the old was then superseded "in the liturgic services of the church," by the new.

But Ramsay's prosaical biography was also found by Leland. The original of it was left at Croyland, where it was written; had great marks of antiquity about it, when it was inspected by Leland there, and was even mutilated of the last six chapters. Huntingdonshire, therefore, had only a copy. And Cornwall assuredly had a copy too.

With that, in all probability, both Huntingdonshire and Cornwall had equally the *poetical* Life of St. Neot by Ramsay. Croyland was at no great distance from the Huntingdonshire St. Neot's. A considerable intercourse was maintained between them, when the lady of the manor was sister to the abbot of the monastery, and carried the remains of Barrius probably for Neotus's from that to this. In the monastery of that manor was certainly the *prosaical*; and the *poetical* would be sure to follow it. The prosaical rejected the miraculous adventures of the poetical; but these adventures would be more keenly relished than the rejection. Those delighted the fond mind with incidents of a more impressive nature, than deeds of devoutness and habits of humility. We accordingly see them carefully copied by Tinmouth, while the rejection is rejected

¹ See Appendix, No. II. Notes.

itself. Both the biographies, but especially the latter, were probably struggling with violence in Huntingdonshire, and in Cornwall, to supersede what had previously superseded Barrius's biography of St. Neot. The human mind, if not kept erect by exercise and vigour, has always a natural tendency to bend more and more into the decrepitude of fondness for romance. And all the romances of Ramsay, except one that was not sufficiently romantic, and was therefore omitted by Tinmouth, were actually selected by the vicar for the painter, with a change in their position occasionally; and actually delineated in full form upon the church window, at *our* St. Neot's. The genius of Cornwall, I fear, has in all ages preferred the visions of romance to the realities of history. She certainly preferred them, at that period. And she seems even now to be preferring them, wherever she can; in the British, in the Roman, in the Saxon periods of our Cornish annals.

We thus see the windows of the north aisle, painted as late as the *sixteenth* century; but the window of the south aisle formed, and the church new constructed, in the *twelfth*, near the *conclusion* of this, and near the *commencement* of the reign of John. Previously to his being king, John was earl of Mortaigne and Cornwall; his brother Richard the First, on the death of Reinald without issue,

¹ M. Westm. 75.

and upon the devolution of his property with his titles to the crown, conferring both upon John.¹ As earl or as king, John had the sense to conceive, and the spirit to execute, such a construction in such a manner.²

¹ Carew, 78.

² The inscriptions, so broken in Some Account, 10, may be completed or supplied from real authority or sure conjecture. No. 3, "hic sedens — — — cervam liberam — — — — —," was thus in full a few years ago, "hic sedens in fonte cervam liberam fecit," as a manuscript in the hands of the church-clerk evinces. No. 5, "hic jubebat — — — — — pisces afferrē," was in the manuscript "hic jubebat Barr pisces afferre de fonte." Nos. 6, and 7, have suffered a transposition, as No. 7 is prior in order with its inscription, "hic barius portabat duos pisces in disco," and as No. 6, called "New Glass" in Some Account, 13, as having lost its inscription, exhibits Barius broiling one fish upon a gridiron, but boiling another in a kettle of water, while the third is swimming about in a well that sends forth a stream from it. No. 9, called equally "New Glass," as having equally lost its inscription, delineates another part of the fabulous biography of St. Neot, a thief driving away four oxen that belong to the monastery. No. 10 had probably these supplied words, "[hic cervi se subdiderunt jugo more] jument-[orum];" No. 11, these, "hic fures [reportant] boves [quos rapuerunt reli]qui isto[rum]; and No. 12, these, "hic romæ [bullam condendi monasterium] accepit." The term *bullæ* was early transferred as an appellation, from the pendent ornament on the breast, to what must therefore have been somewhat similar in form originally, the leaden seal pendent from a diploma of the emperor. There is one of these *bullas* preserved, with the head of *Marcus Aurelius* upon one side, and that of *Lucius Verus* on the other (Montfaucon, iii. part 2, i. 12.) Then the name naturally passed with the power, from

I have thus laid open the whole history of St. Neot, have shown *who* he was, have explained *why* and *whence* he came into Cornwall, and ascertained *what* befel him or his afterward. By all this I have endeavoured to do justice to a Saxon saint, whose settlement in our county seems so strange at the first view, whose reputation is so considerable among us even at present, but whose real history was little understood, even by ourselves or our Saxon neighbours. And I have equally endeavour-

the emperor to the pope; and lent that appellation to the fulminated anathemas from the prince prelate of Rome, which once gave them such a formidability as *bulls*.

The French Revolution originated in the grossest profligacy of principles, grew up into a horrible enormity of practices, and ended in a renunciation of Christianity, a renunciation of all religion, a renunciation of God himself. The French tree of liberty, therefore, may be justly said to have sprung up out of a rank bed of dunghill filth, to have borne apples of Sodom upon its branches, and to have shot its roots down to the depths of hell itself. And this revolutionary madness of liberty, by the permission of Providence, let loose a nation of fiends and furies upon Europe; beings actuated with all the possible malignity, therefore glorying in all the permitted exertions, of very devils, and carrying the principles with the practices of very devils over a great part of the continent. But this island stood peculiarly distinguished all the while, Britons fighting the battles of God with peculiar spirit, and God accordingly crowning the exertions of Britons with peculiar glory. In such a period I glory to have written, detesting what I saw or what I heard about me, and looking forward to the future, even in a time as much superior in itself.

ed as I proceeded, to catch every call that judgment would allow, for occasional migrations from a local subject, to turn aside into the open ground of general history, and to settle doubts of moment, or to correct errors of importance, in the annals of the nation at large.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

“THE Magdalen MS. which you mention,” says a learned and ingenious friend, whom I desired to transcribe this LIFE OF ST. NEOT from (1) the original in the library of Magdalen College, at Oxford, “I found and obtained without the least trouble. I only fear you will find some difficulty in decyphering my ill-written transcript; not however more, I trust, than I experienced in decyphering the original. I look upon it to be of considerable antiquity: it is written in a small hand, and full of abbreviations, and bound with several pieces of prose, chiefly historical. At the top of the first page is written in very small characters, by an ancient, but probably a different hand, ‘par Guilhelmum Rameseye, Monachum Crolandensem.’ I am sorry I do not send it you so correct or so complete as I wish; but I assure you its defects are not owing to any want of pains.—The MS. is in some places, I am convinced, incorrectly transcribed.” (1)

“Incipit vita Sancti Neoti abatis.
Anglia, quæ tota nunc regi militat uni,
Quondam partita pluribus una fuit.
Quatuor in primis reges habuisse refertur,
“Partem quisque suam regis honore regit.

(1) St. Neot's Life, written by William Ramsay, is in the library at Magdalen College, in Oxford. 'Tis in verse; but of so low a strain (vid. note in *Ælfred. M. vit.* p. 108), that the author seems to have failed here of that spirit which Leland observed in his Guthlac. The matter likewise is as fulsome as the composure is flat (*Nicolson's Eng. Hist. lib. part ii. p. 56—57*). Cum in scripto illo neque historię veritatem, nec poematis elegantiam, nec doctrinę religiosę (quam tamen unice videtur affectare) dignitatem est assequutus; non tanti illud estimamus, ut lucem conspiciat. Sir John Spelman's *Ælfredi Magni, Vita* p. 183. a note, Oxon. 1678. I publish it, however, as the oldest Life of St. Neot now known.

Sufficit cuique sua pars, nec plura petebat,
 Alter in alterius nil sibi jure petit.
 Pax stabilis, vitâ concors, discordia nulla,
 Inter eos, regnat gratia, livor abest.
 A simili sibi subjecti cum pace morantur,
 Non scio capite cætera membra vigent: 10
 Temporis illius felicia secula rerum,
 Copia magna, salus maxima, terra ferax.
 Sic successive regnant per tempora multa,
 Nati post patres, tempore quisque suo.
 Cincia tunc habuit regem cui nomen Adolphus,
 Quæ pars una fuit, regis honore fruens.
 Felix pars illa quæ tanto rege posita,
 Pro bonitate suâ cætera regna præsit.
 Felices alii reges, felix iste
 Non vi sed vitâ, moribus, atque fide. 20
 Namque Dei cultor fuit hic devotus in omni
 Actu, se vallans sponte timore Dei.
 Non opus est ejus laudes extollere, cujus
 Tota fuit vita gloria, laus, et honor.
 Hic habuit sponsam, regum de stemmate natam;
 Totum—serma suum præterit illa tamen
 Moribus et vitâ, felix conjugio tali;
 Vir felix sponsæ, sponsa beata viro.
 Ambo Christicolæ justique sanctique videntur,
 Fervet in ambobus religionis amor. 30
 Ecclesiam sanotam pedibus precibusque frequentant;
 Ima terunt pedibus, ætheris alta prece.
 Pauperibus patres se præbent, pauper ab illis
 Nullus discedit, sit nisi plena manus.
 Notis, ignotis sua sunt communia quæque;
 Quo plus quavis eget, plus pietatis habent.

- (1) Quum sic florere tantis virtutibus, unum
 Deflent, quod longo tempore prole carent.

(1) I have formed this and the other divisions of the poem with the enumeration of the lines.

Non quod eis placeat hæc delectatio carnis,
 Sed quo succedat in sua regna puer, 40
 De se progenitus; ne forte sit advena fortis
 Illis successor, qui male regna regat.
 Unde preces fundunt, lacrimisque preces geminantur,
 Vinique Deo faciunt de prece, de lacrimis.
 Nec mora, non frustra Dominum rogitando fatigant,
 Nam concessit eis prolis honore frui.
 Nascitur means et marcas, (1) atque Neotus
 Nomen ei donant; gaudet uterque parens.
 Paucis tunc notus, multis noscendus in orbe;
 Nam, quo plus crevit, notus in orbe magis. 50
 Et quia sæpe solet proles concessa precati
 Carius amplecti, plusque placere Deo;
 Amplectuntur eum de toto corde parentes:
 Utque Deo placeat, fundit uterque preces.
 Cum tempus foret infantum baptismate sacro
 Mundari faciunt; mundus et ipse manet:
 Nam nihil immundum gessit, cum tempus adesset
 Quo scivit mundum, quid fuit atque sacrum.
 Quam primum potuit discernere, littera quid sit;
 Traditur ut discat; littera visa placet. 60
 Discit de facili, quæcunque legenda Magistri
 Apponunt, intus cuncta docente Deo.
 Qui cernens, purus quantum foret ipse futurus,
 Jam voluit juvenem sensibus esse senem.

Cum foret ipse puer, puerilis noluit esse,
 Sed studet in cunctis se similare seni.
 Tempore sub parvo septem transmissus ad artes,
 Qualibus instructus sufficienter erat.
 Sed cum sentiret quod in his foret utilitatis
 Exiguum, scripta discere sancta sitit. 70

(1) From the letters here, I suppose the line to have been this:
 Nascitur hic minuens et marceus, atque Neotus, &c.

Discit et illa legit ; relegit sibi mente revolvens ;
 Retro, lecta semel, sæpe relecta juvant.
 Et quæ non salvant animas quasi nulla recensens ;
 Quæ salvare queunt mente retentatura,
 Dogmata Sancta tenet, et varia poemata vitat ;
 Hæc quasi Sancta tenens, hæc quasi vana cavens.
 Et cum conjugio foret aptus temporis ævo,
 Tradere conjugio certat uterque parens.
 Vinculis conjugii sed noluit ille ligari,
 Liber ut in cœlum mente volare queat.
 Cumque foret tanto regum de stemmate natus,
 Noluit ille tamen regis honore frui.
 Nec voluit fieri miles, armisque vacare ;
 Immo magis monachus, sicque vacare Deo.

80

Cœnobium Glastense fuit tunc temporis, alti
 Nominis ; et magnæ religionis erat.
 Illic deponit juvenis sua tegmina, sumit
 Quæ fuerant monachi, tactus amore loci.
 Et sic mutatur habitu, mutatur in actu,
 Nam nunc conversus corpore, corde prius.

Illi cœnobio sub tempore præfuit illo
 Sanctus Dunstanus, plenus et ipse Deo.
 Vir manibus sanctus, in religione probatus,
 Ordinis incentor, juris amator idem.
 Pro bonitate suâ qui post hæc Cantuariensis
 Archiepiscopus est factus, agente Deo.
 Sed factus præsul, abbas non destitit esse,
 Officii pondus ejusque onus (1) agens.
 Tali patrono se subdidit ille Neotus,
 Serviat ut sancto filius ipse patri.
 Sed qualis fuerit et quantus vir venerandus,
 Cum fuit in claustro, lingua referre nequit.

100

(1) Ejus onusque agens.

Mitis, pacificus, dulcis fuit, atque benignus,
 Pacificus sociis, profususque sibi.
 Religione notus, vita fuit inveteratus;
 Ordinis exemplar, vir bene doctus eo.
 Sic puer atque senex sociis appareret uterque
 Et brevitate puer et gravitate senex.
 In sociis quas bona (1) vidit, sectatur; et illas
 Diligit ex corde, qui sapienter agunt. 110
 Si quis sit qui mala (2) faciat, declinat ab illo,
 Si non spernando, dissimulando tamen.
 Nec sic dissimulans, quam corripit facientem;
 Si non emendet, corrigit ille statim.
 Quem jejunare nimium videt et vigilare,
 Plus reliquis sociis, plus reveretur eum.
 Virtutes aliquas cum quisque laboret habere,
 Ille simul cunctas solus habere studet.
 Intus et exterius sic se gerit actibus, ut sit
 Dignus amore Dei, dignus honore patrum. 120
 Ut paucis multa concludam, parvulus iste
 Odit ut omne malum, sic amat omne bonum.
 Unus erat frater sibi notus, religione
 Fervens plus reliquis; plusque placebat ei;
 Dicitur Adelwoldus fuit hic, post Wintoniensis
 Præsul promotus pro bonitate sua.
 Huic sua secreta communicat omnia; secum,
 Quod sapiens loquitur, sæpe retractat ita:
 ' Sit de mille vitiis tibi consiliarius unus;
 Sic Sapiens dicit; sic sapienter agam.' 130
 Illi se jungit, illum sectatur et ejus
 Dulcia colloquia, cum valet, aure cepit.
 Dicit Adelwoldus, et percipit aure Neotus;
 Sæpe Neotus idem dicit, et ille tenet.
 Et se sic amantur sunt sollicita multa,
 Alter ab altero sic sibi sumit opem;

(1) In sociis bona, quas vidit.

(2) Si quis sit, mala qui faciat.

Non auri, non argenti, non tegminis immo,
 Religionis opes et pietatis opus.
 Certant mente pari præ cunctis plus adamari
 Moribus et vitâ si fore posset ita. 140
 Nec tunc invidiâ sedem sibi ponit in illis,
 Nam quod habent aliis participare volunt.
 Dixit Athelwoldo sanctus persæpe Neotus,
 Solus cum solo cum potère loqui :
 Frater amande, vides, animum discernere si des,
 Vita quid hæc valeat, cum mala tot faciat.
 Regnat ubique malum, nullus locus est bonitati,
 Militat impietas, exulat et pietas.
 Vita brevis, casusque levis ; sed vita futura
 Longa nimis, nullus casus oberrat ibi. 150
 Ergo spernamus istam, de corde petamus
 Illam, quæ nobis sola valere potest.
 Pluribus intentus, animus non percipit ista ;
 Uno contentus, ista videre potest.
 Hoc unum Deus est, et nos tendamus ad unum,
 Quod Deus est, qui nos sanctificare valet.
 Martha, Maria duæ sunt vitæ, quæque beata ;
 Una laboris opus, altera vult requiem.
 Martha laboris opus, vult ipsa Maria quietem ;
 Et tamen hæc et ea complacuere Deo. 160
 Martha ministrabat, residensque Maria vacabat,
 Sed plus laudis habet quæ vacat, illa minus
 Quæ servit sudore gravi ; nos ergo sequamur
 Illam, cujus laus prodit ab ore Dei.
 Plurima vitemus, unum constanter amemus ;
 Martha beata nimis, grata Maria magis.
 Talia devotus cum diceret ipse Neotus,
 Quod monuit fecit, et vacat ipse sibi.
 Ex tunc contempsit labentia cuncta ; laborem
 Non tamen evitat quem scit amare Deum. 170
 Nam labor est carnem macerare ; laborat, ut illam
 Fortiter exsuperet, ne dominetur ei.

Spiritui servire facit, ne spiritus illi

Serviat, et pereant insimul hic et ea.

Utque magis valeat illam substernere, sumit

Arma magis dura, quo juguletur ea;

Et plus jejunat solito, vigilat, magis orat,

Ut triplici telo corruat una caro.

Sed cum non posset palam sua tela parare,

Occulte studuit illa parare sibi.

180

Et non sufficere credens communia quædam,

Corpore de proprio fabricat ipse sibi:

Nam cum dormirent fratres, habitum sibi mutat,

Liber in ecclesiâ quo vigilare queat.

Et sic pernoctans orat, nullusque sciebat,

Quod fecit furta talia latro pius.

Cum nimis orasset, sua vestimenta resumit,

Sicque facit longo tempore, teste carens.

Sed Deus ignotum plus noluit esse Neotum;

Sed magis ut pateat pluribus ipse facit;

190

Ut non sub modis lateat plus tanta lucerna,

Multa sed accendat lumina luce suâ.

Ex tunc cœperunt multis suâ facta patere,

Hæc (1) occultet ille, latere volens.

Nam morbos curat, et virtutes operatur

Innumeras, precibus auxiliante Deo.

Omni morbosa, (2) morbo quocunque laboret,

Auxilium præstat, quisque (3) precatur eum.

Nec tunc extollunt illum sua facta; sed extat

Tanto plus humilis, quo magis illa facit.

200

Fama volat tantæ patris; pertingit ad aures

Pontificis, qui mox hunc vocitare facit.

(1) Word illegible, but plainly "licet," from the context.

(2) Omni morboso.

(3) "Quisque," used for "quicunque."

Cum secum loquitur, sic delectatur in illo,
Ac si colloquutum prodit ab ore Dei.

Ordinibus sacris vult sublimare, Levitam
Hunc facit; Invitus suscipit ille gradum.

Ordine suscepto se se gerit, ut fere dignum
Ordine majori quisque reclamatur eum.

Jam velut in Veteri Testamento perhibetur,
Vasa Dei circum-ferre Levita solet;

210

Sic sanctus Vasa Domini vas ipse sacramentum
Fert, mundus munda (1) ea.

Ordinibus sacris se tunc formare laborat,
Derogat officio ne sua vita suo.

Nec mora longa fuit; ceteris populisque precatur,
Presbiter ut fiat, dignus honore frui.

Præsul consentit congratulans, Presbiterumque
Ordinat; Invitus suscipit ille decus.

Nam lacrimas fundit, se clamat non fore dignum
Presbiterum fieri, quem mala multa gravant.

220

'Sum peccator,' ait; 'peccator Presbiter esse
Non debet; mundum penitus esse decet.

Non sum mundus,' ait; 'non ergo debeo fungi
Officio mundi; parcite, quæso, mihi.'

Se satis excusat, et nil valet; ordinat illum,
Ut dixi, Præsul: stinet ille dolens.

Presbiter ut factus sanctus fuit, alter ab illo

Qui fuit, esse studet, sic sibi mente loquens:

'Sacra volunt sacrum; non sum sacer, immo sacratus;

Ut sacer esse queam, sacrificare decet;

130

Quid nisi me? nihil: ergo me sacrificabo,

Ut, sacer effectus, tangere sacra queam.'

Sic secum cogitat, et hæc meditatio prodit;

Et, sibi non parceas, ut meditatur agit.

(1) "The word," says my friend, "ends in *arat*, and looks like *mandrat*."
Yet another word is wanting immediately before."

Facta præterita quia nulla deputat, actus.
 Innovat; ex sancto sanctior esse studet.
 Cum propriam curam prius egerit, amodo duplam.
 Sanctus agit propriam, sed magis alterius.
 Presbiter hoc nomen signat præbens iter, ergo
 Præbit iter populo Presbiter ipse suo; 240
 Presbiter et monachus; sic vivit, ut ejus et hujus.
 Officium peragat, fortiter absque notâ.
 In speculâ positus, speculum sanctus fuit; in quo,
 Ut placeat Domino, se speculetur homo.
 Exemplarque fuit cernentibus, ut sua facta,
 Si fuerint torta, reddere recta queant.
 Sacrum hanc signat nomen commune sacerdoti;
 Ut sacrum donet, se studet esse sacrum.
 Quid referam plura de sancto? sanctior ille,
 Tempore quo vixit, rarus in orbe fuit. 250
 Magnus virtutum titulus; sed corpore parvus.
 Alter Zacchæus pro brevitate suâ.
 Moles corporea brevis extitit; at brevitate
 Tacturum, redimit, religionis honor.
 Sic parvus fuerat, quod cum cantare volebat.
 Missam, sub pedibus semper habere solet,
 Scamnum de ferro factum; tum sustinet illum,
 Quod pro reliquiis permanet usque modo.
 Nec mora sacrista factus [fuit], (1) officiumque
 Sumit (2), susceptum et reverenter agit, 260
 Quæ sibi commissa fuerant, custodit honeste;
 Est hoc proficiens in bonitate suâ.
 Ex tunc plus solito produnt miracula, namque
 Ejus ad officium pertinet illud opus.

(1) I have supplied the word between crotchets as requisite at once to the sense, and the metre.

(2) The M. S. notes my friend, has been altered in this word, and by another hand to *suscipit*; it was probably *sumit*. I have therefore restored *sumit*.

De quibus, ut plura taceamus, scribimus unum

Tanto plus placitum, quo magis insolitum.

Forte die quâdam vir quidam nominis alti,

Tempore pausandi, venit ad ecclesiam.

Nam mos est mōnachis sub tempore meridiano

Ostia, dum pausant, clausa tenere sibi.

270

Ostia clausa videns, aperiri postulat ; intus

Nullus respondet, perstat et ille petens.

Cernens quod nullus respondeat, ostia pulsat

Fortiter ; ut subito frangere velle putes.

Audivit tandem sonitum sacrista Neotus,

Et nimis accelerat mox aperire volens ;

Conspiciensque seram nimis altam, corpore parvus,

Tangere non potuit præ brevitate suâ.

Restitit ille foris, intus nil perficit iste,

Nec quod sub pedibus ponat habere potest.

280

Anxius efficitur nimis, et mirabile visu !

Se sera de summo tollit, et ima petit,

Per se descendens sic, quod cinctoria sancti

Tangit, et ad libitum sic aperire valet.

Sic sera deposita multo sub tempore mansit,

Tanti miraculi tēstis ut esse queat.

Ut plebs audivit quod tam miranda fiebant,

Undique concurrat facta videre viri.

Infirmi veniunt, sani simul, illa videre ;

Et quod quisque petit, percipit absque morâ.

290

Sanis doctrinam fert, infirmis medicinaam,

Œrda fovet verbis, corpora subsidiis.

Sed metuens sanctus, ne gloria possit inania

Ex hōc surripere, cedere sponte parat ;

Sic secum certans : ' populus me multus honorat,

[At] (1) scio quod non sum dignus honore suo ;

Consciens ipse mihi sum ; non ergo tolerare

Debeo, quod populus amplius hoc faciat ;

(1) I have supplied this word.

Sicque sibi, sēlique Deo, de corde vacando,
 Sæpius Angelicis pascitur alloquiis,
 Septenis annis sic vivit, in anteriora.
 Se semper tradens, posteriora cavens.

Illis transactis, Romam proponit adire,
 Ut loca sancta videns, sanctor hinc redeat. 340
 Scire volens etiam de Papâ, si sua vita,
 Quam nunc delegit, sit sibi proficua.
 Ivit, pervenit Romam, Papamque videndo
 Nōmine Martinum, pronus adorat eum.
 Papa videns illum vultus fulgore ninentem,
 Adventus causam quærit; et ille docet.
 Auditâ causâ, sanctum consurgere jussit,
 Oscula dans illi; post residere facit.
 Dulcibus alloquiis mutuo se pascit uterque,
 Alterutri placitum pandit uterque suum. 350
 Papa viri verba tanquam divina recenset,
 Et sicut patrem sic veneratur eum.
 Ejus propositum sanctum commendat, eumque
 Admonet, ut sancto fine perornet idem.
 A simili sanctus Papæ documenta beata
 Percipit, et toto corde retentat ea.
 Postque dies paucos jubet illum Papa redire,
 In patriam, populo spargere verba Dei;
 Et benedicit eum, dans oscula plura, precando,
 Pro se, pro populo, fundat ut ille preces. 360
 Regreditur pater in patriam; sed plurima signa
 In reditu per eum perficit ipse Deus.
 Infirmos sanat, leprosos mundat, et omnem
 Languorem pellit, demonis arma terit.
 Scismata sedavit, hereses (1) dampnavit, in omni
 Tempore seu (2) loco semina cuncta serit.

(1) "Hereses" in M. S.

(2) So in M. S.

Ad patriam tandem veniens, deserta petiit
 Quæ prius incoluit, advena, quam fuerit,
 Erigit inde domos, aptatas religionis,
 Ecclesiamque novam, construit ille, Deo. 370
 Atque volens alios secum salvare, requirit
 Fratres, qui secum sponte manere velint.
 Ejus adortata, multi, contempnere mundum
 Proponunt; veniant; semina sancta petunt.
 Sanctus eos recipit, heremeticæ sectæ adonatus,
 Vestitos format religione novâ
 Barbara namque prius gens, extitit undique, vitans
 Totam deducens, absque timore, Dei.
 Inque brevi spatio per sanctum grecæ monachorum
 Grandis, adunatur, sic operante, Deo. 380
 Ex tunc cœperunt sancti miracula scribi.
 De quibus innumeris pauca referre libet.

In quôdam fonte quem sanctus habebat in orto,*
 Tres sibi pisciculos Gratia Summa dedit.
 Sed sanctus illos contingere noluit ante,
 Quam fieret certus, quid velit inde Deus.
 Angelico mox sibi dicitur, ut sibi sumas
 Unum cotidie, sufficiatque sibi,
 Intactos reliquos permittat; et ille reservat
 Hoc sibi permissum, nec violare sinit. 390
 Cotidie cœpit unum, consumere; sed tres
 Non minus, in mane pisciculos habuit.
 Contigit, ut sanctus morbo cogente jaceret.
 Languidus, atque cibum sumere vix poterat.
 Cernens hæc Barius, de quo jam diximus, ante,
 Qui sancti, fidus, asseda (1) primus erat,
 Indoluit nimium, præ morbo patris, cumque
 Vult recreare oibis, talia corde loquens :

* Horto.

(1) "A. scio" in M.S.

' Binos pisciculos sumam de fonte, parabo
 ' Horum unum torrens, ampne coquens alium ; 400
 ' Ut si non possit ex uno sumere, sumat
 ' Ex alio pisce ; forte valebit ei.'
 Sic facit et portat coram patre. Cum pater illos
 Cernit, turbatur corde, dolore gemit,
 Sic dicens : ' ut quid (1) sic fecisti, (2) miser ? ecce,
 ' Tollitur a nobis gratia sancta Dei ;
 ' Perge celer, pisces istos in fonte repone,
 ' Ne veniens in nos sæviat ira Dei.'
 Currit et in fontem jactat : mirabile dictu !
 Quam cito sunt mersi, piscis uterque nata 410
 Ad patrem redit, narrat quod vidit, et ille
 Dixit, ' Sit Domino gloria, laus, et honor.'
 Tunc unum sumi jussit et more parari,
 Quem cum gustasset illico convahuit !
 Hic duo concurrunt miranda, sed et veneranda,
 Reddita pisciculis vita, salusque viro.
 Ex tunc servivit Domino devotius, illi
 Grates pro tanto munere semper agens.

Non multo post adveniunt de nocte latrones,
 Furanturque boves patris, et effugiunt. 420
 Et cum jam mane fratres de more volebant
 Jungere carrucas, bos ibi nullus erat.
 Furtum commissum patri narratur, et ille
 Hortatur fratres ne sua furta fleant.
 Grex prope cervorum magnus fuit, et pater illos
 Jussit carrucis jungere, more boam.
 Patris ad imperium cuncti sua pascua linquunt,
 Et veniunt prompti jungere colla jugo.
 Junguntur, constanter arant sub luce diei,
 Vespere disjuncti pascua grata petunt. 430

(1) "Ecquid" is meant.

(1) "Fecisti" in M.S.

Tempore sic longo faciunt, sub luce laborant,
Vespere pascuntur, nec labor angit eos.
Fama rei tantæ furum pervenit ad aures,
Qui, male vi dictos diripuere boves.
Cordeque compuncti, simul et terrore coacti,
Ad patrem redeunt, et sua furta gemunt,
Et furto veniam poscunt; mutare malignam
Vitam promittunt, parcit et ille reis.
Post habitum poscunt monachorum, qui datur illis;
Et fiunt monachi, nominis ante mali. 440
Vitam deducunt in religione probatam,
Morteque felici regna superna petunt.
Sic qui prædones fuerant prædantur, et illi
Sunt [sibi] (1) subtracti, nil mala præda placet.
Inde boves sanctus proprio servire labori
Præcipit, et cervos vivere more suo.
De quibus hoc mirum fertur, quod tota propago
Ex illis veniens signa laboris habet;
Nam circum colla, juga qua portare solebant,
Albor inest quidam, qui jugo (2) consimilat. 450
Mirum jocundum, gratum satis, atque jocosum,
Quod cervus fit bos, ejus agendo vices.
Nec minus hoc mirum, quod quæ fecere parentes
Monstrat adhuc proles, signa ferendo boum.
Sed, foret ut notus per secula cuncta Neotus,
Hoc voluit fieri qui bona cuncta facit.

Forte die quâdam psalmos psallente Neoto,
In quodam fonte, quo sibi moris erat,
Quædam cervâ tremens, fugiens per devia saltus,
Dumos transiliens, invia nulla timens, 460
Ante pedes sancti prosternitur, auxiliumque
Quod prece non potuit anxietate petit.

(1) I have supplied this word.

(2) So in M.S.

Sanctus eam cernens tanto terrore subactam,
 Numine (1) quo poterat spondet ei requiem.
 Sectantesque canes illam lacerare volebant,
 Latratuque suo signa furoris habent ;
 Sed postquam cervam cernebant ante Neptum,
 Protracti fugiunt et sua lustra petunt,
 Ac si percussi telo vel fuste fuissent ;
 Illesamque feram sanctus abire jubet, 470
 Cernens venater tantum mirabile, currit,
 Ante pedes sancti mox sua tela jacet,
 Et se prostravit, [precibus] (2) sanctumque rogavit,
 Ut de commissis det sibi consilium ;
 Consilio sancti, mundum de corde relinquit,
 Et monachus factus est in honore Dei.
 Ejus adhuc cornu, quod circumferre solebat,
 Est facti testis, nam manet usque modo ;
 Ex dono sancti missum jure (3) reliquiarum,
 Sancti Petroci pendet in ecclesia, 480
 Sancti mira fides et virtus maxima, quod sic
 Vult salvare feras, quæ ratione carent,
 Sed, dum salvat eas, quæ sunt ratione carentes,
 Salvat in his homines qui ratione vigent.

 Dives erat vicinus ei, sed corde superbus,
 Atque Neotenses sponte gravare student,
 Obsequium sibi non licitum detorsit ab illis,
 Obsequium præstant viribus atque minis.
 Contigit, ut carros ejus de farre repletos
 More suo traherent, ad loca jussa sibi. 490

(1) As "the word in M.S." says my friend, "begins with *ne* or *ni*, while the rest is scratched out; was then written in the margin, but has since been cut off on new-binding the book;" I conjecture the word to have been as I have written it.

(2) A word supplied by myself.

(3) If the *r* was not so distinct, we might suppose the word "*jura*" to be *vite*; for *ni*, *or*, *ni*, and *in* are just the same.

Vix iter arreptum fuit, et, mirabile visu!
 En! ventus vehemens irruit inter eos.
 Carros atque boves hominesque repente reverti
 Cogit retrogrados, vis sua tanta fait!
 Ad loca quæ sumpta fuerant simul omnia tendant,
 Ac si telorum jactibus acta forent,
 Dives, at ædudivit fieri sibi talia, totum
 Quod male commisit imputat ipse sibi.
 Ad sanctum properat, veniam deprecatur, et omnes
 Sancto subiectos munere perpetuo
 Liberat; obsequium nullum se spondet ab illis
 Post exacturum, dum sibi vita manet.
 Res nova, quod sanctus, in corpore sit licet absens,
 Corde tamen præsens, liberat ipse suos.
 Sic nova, quod ventus vehemens aquilo vocitatus,
 A quo (sic (1) fertur) panditur omne malum,
 Obsequium præstare viro voluit valuitque, (2) sed ille
 Qui ventos fecit sic fieri voluit,
 Ut sancti merita sibi sancta fuisse, loquantur
 Res etiam mutæ quæ ratione carent.

500

510

His aliisque magis crebrescit fama Neoti,
 Et quo plus vivit plus sua vita placet.
 Magnus, parvus, dives, pauper, sexus uterque, (3)
 Posse viri precibus participare petunt.
 Ut rex Æloredus audivit tanta referri
 De sancto; gaudet, et reveretur eum.
 Nam fuit ex ipso quò sanctus sanguine natus,
 Sed fuit illorum dissona vita nimis.
 Nam sancti sancta, stabilis fuit, atque pudica,
 Lubrica sed regis, sæva, superba, gravis.

520

(1) M.S. "sicut."

(2) "This appears altered thus by a later hand."

(3) "Utriusque" in M.S. but "an alteration, made by a second hand."

- Sed cum ad sanctum persæpe requirit, (1) ab ipso
 Ut benedicatur, et benedicit eum,
 Sanctus et hortatur ut vitam mutet, honestos
 Actus assumat, nam sua vita brevis.
 De David exemplum proponit, quod fuit ipse
 De parvo factus rex, quia mitis erat;
 Atque Saül, quia sævus erat nimiumque superbus,
 Regno privatus, sic operante Deo.
 Sæpius hic replicans sua facta redarguit, et rex
 Se correcturum spondet, agitque nihil; 530
 Sed magis accumulata mala facta, [tyrannide citus (2)]
 Deque malo peior fit tolerante Deo.
 Ad sanctum tandem veniens, audivit ab illo
 Verba nimis dura, nam pater inquit ei:
 ' Moribus in pravis erransque vagansque (3) fuisti;
 ' Dogmata sana dedi plurima, nulla tenes;
 ' Actibus in fœdis tua gloria tota; sed esto
 ' Certus, quod tandem te mala multa ruent;
 ' Nam tua prosperitas brevis est et lacrima longa;
 ' Si sapias, redimes crimina de lacrimis; 540
 ' Post modicum tempus gentes tibi bella movebunt,
 ' Vis tua deficiet, vis sua grandis erit,
 ' Et te de regno, pro quo male tutus oberras,
 ' Pellent, et parvo tempore solus eris;
 ' Sed constans esto, quia regno restitueris
 ' Pro precibus nostris, te miserante Deo;
 ' Si, cum pœniteat de peccatis, mala facta
 ' Emendes, veniet quod tibi dico modo;
 ' Ast ego dum vivo, tibi non venient mala dicta.
 ' Sed cum de vitâ tollar habebis ea; 550

(1) "This part of the M.S. for several lines, is the least easy to be made out; I may say, it is the most faulty, the ink being different, and some alterations evident."

(2) I have supplied the words, as in the next Life, vii. we have "debauchando tyrannidem exerces."

(3) "A word ending in *ensque*."

- ' Quod citius fiet, nam me meus ipse Redemptor
 ' De vitâ tollet, ut meliore fruatur;
 ' Post modicum tempus persolvam debita morti,
 ' Ac tunc, non dubito, regna superna petam;
 ' Tunc pro te Dominum totâ virtute rogabo,
 ' Ut tibi restituat perdita regna tua;
 ' Nunc ergo mittas Romam, Papamque rogato,
 ' Pro te, pro regno fundat ut ipse preces;
 ' Et simul hoc petito, quod Romæ cœpta censu (1)
 ' Anglica doctrina libera permaneat.

560

Talibus auditis, de toto corde tremiscit
 Rex, et tristatur duplici tristitiâ,
 De Sancti morte sibi dictâ, deque pudore
 Quem jam percipiet cum sua facta luet.
 Pectus contundit, lacrimarum flumina fundit,
 A patre discedit non rediturus ad hunc.
 Mox Romam mittit, transmittens munera multa,
 Et sic consequitur omnia quæ (2) petiit.
 Insuper et partem Crucis almæ Papa remittit
 Regi, qui (3) tanto munere tutus erat.

570

Cum rex a sancto discessit, sanctus ab illo
 Tempore mox cœpit febribus esse gravis.
 Sed quo debilius fit corpus febribus ipsis,
 Tanto plus fortis spiritus intus erat.
 Et carni nihil intendens, hoc cogitat unum,
 Qualiter ad Dominum tutius ire queat;
 Non quod de meritis diffidat, set timet unum
 Ne via turbetur si caro convaleat.
 Non, velut infirmis mos est, medicamina quærit,
 Sufficit immo sibi sola medela Deus.
 Tempore continuo grandescit fibris in illo;
 Sed quo plus crescit, lætior inde pater;

580

(1) M.S. "cein" for "censu."

(2) M.S. "quod."

(3) M.S. "pro."

Nam, postquam primo cepit febrescere sanctitas,
 Plus solito superis fugitur alloquiis.
 Cogitat et gaudet lecto decumbere; fratres
 Convocat inde suos, sacra docere volens.
 Fratres conveniunt flentes nimis, atque gementes,
 Nam pro patre timent ne rapiatur eis,
 Ille videns fratres flentes, compescuit illos
 A fletu, dicens, ' Non ita flere docet;
 ' Non morior vobis sed mundo, mortuus ibo
 ' Ad Dominum, quem jam sereno spercupio (1)] ;
 ' Pro vobis orabo Deum, (2) vos posse venire
 ' Post me, cum Domino vivere perpetuo;
 ' Unanimes estote, Deum de corde timete,
 ' Illi servite, mortis habete metam;
 ' Sit pax inter vos, discordia nulla subintret,
 ' In vobis regnet jus, pietas, tot amor;
 ' Carni ne sitis intenti, Spiritus est qui
 ' Vivificat, caro non proficit, immus nec est;
 ' Ordinis excessus timeatis, set unicus inter
 ' Vos maneat constans religionis amor;
 ' Semper in extremis oculos intendite vestros,
 ' In Dominique Dei corde tenete rato;
 ' De me, si sapitis, speculum retinere potestis;
 ' Nunc sum vivus habeo, jam cito pulvis ero,
 ' Nec mortem timeo, sed, sicut apostolus inquit,
 ' Dissolvi cupio, jungar ut ipse Deo.'
 Hoc cum dixisset et plura satis, properabat
 Mors nullis parvens nec resillire (3) valens.
 Ac gaudens Sanctus Corpus Domini sibi ferri
 Jussit, et accepit: fortior inde fuit;
 Et psalmos patiens aures ad summam levavit,
 Audivitque choros psallere dulces metes;

690

600

610

(1) Supplied by conjecture; and in next Life, paragraph 1st, we have "per-cupiebat."

(2) M.S. "Dominum."

(3) "Resilire" in M.S.

Extenditque manus ad cæli summa, Deoque
 Commendans animam tradidit ipse suam.
 Tunc dolor et gemitus in fratribus undique surgunt,
 Ablatumque sibi quilibet esse dolet.
 Plorant et psallunt, ploratus vincit, et illos
 Cantus dimidiat, sic dolor angit eos ! 620
 Ut populus scivit quod sanctus morte quievit,
 Undique concurrit funera flere volens.
 Clerus cum populo ; dives cum paupere, curruunt,
 Ut faciant sancti corporis exequias.
 Inveniunt corpus tanto splendore coruscum,
 Quod vix humanus sustinet intuitus ;
 Hoc, quia cum carne conflictum semper habebat,
 Ut mundaret eam, totaque munda fuit.
 Dulcis odor multusque nimis de corpore prodit,
 Naribus infundens, aëris alta replens ; 630
 Hoc, quia dum vixit sanctum diffudit odorem,
 De prope (1) de longe, pro bonitate suâ.
 Sani, morbos, concurrunt undique multi,
 Gaudent infirmi ferre salutis opem.
 Quilibet infirmus, morbo quocunq; laboret.
 Corporis attactu dona salutis habet.
 Et qui non poterant corpus attingere, solo
 Visu percipiunt id quod habere petent.
 Corporis exequias clerus devotus adimplet
 Ympris et psalmis, cantibus atque sacris. 640
 Fratres interdum plorant fodiuntque sepulcrum,
 Infra Basilicam quam pater instituit.
 Commendant animam Domino, corpusque sepulcro,
 Cum populo clerus, ordine quisque suo ;
 Et donec cuncta complent de corpore sacro,
 Ut priùs, exit odor corpore continuo ;

(1) "De spe" or "prece," says my friend, but the word is "prope," I assure myself, as the next word, adds my friend, is "lôge" or longe.

Cujus odoratus (1) sanis recreatio dulcis
 Extat, et infirmis fit medicina potens.
 Corpore sacro sanctorum more sepulto,
 Finibus a multis sexus uterque venit ;
 Cotidie crescit populus, veniens in honorem
 Sancti, sic quod eos non capit ipse locus.
 Tunc in (2) statuunt confringere parvam
 Ecclesiam, citius edificare novam.
 Fit sicut statuunt opus amplum, mirificeque
 Crescit, et in parvo tempore perficitur ;
 Nam plebs adveniens offert ibi munera tanta,
 Quod satis ad fabricam sufficit et superest.
 Nec frustra facit hoc ; quod quisque petita reportat,
 Hoc solum videat postulat in Domino. 660
 Ecclesiâ factâ varioque decore dicatâ,
 Tollitur a terrâ sanctus amore pio ;
 Et super altare manibus distollitur, et sic
 Crescit honor sancto, gloria lausque Deo.
 Post modicum tempus patuit quod vera fuerunt,
 Quæ sanctus dixit, namque propheta fuit.
 Elvredo de rege, suum quod perdere regnum
 Debuit ad tempus ; sio, quia pravus erat.
 Anglica gens cum rege suo peccare frequenter
 Non timuit ; quare digna perire fuit. 670
 Sed potius solus rex sic peccavit inique,
 Quod pro se solo gens sua tota perit.
 Cum peccavit Adam, cuncti periêre parentes. (3).

(1) " Adoratus" in M.S.

(2) Illegible, but probably " momento."

(3) So abruptly does the poem end, if we can call that a poem, which is as creeping as the merest prose, which Latinized as it is in terms, is all anglicized in idioms, and has almost as many violations of prosody, of quantity, as it contains single lines within it. But poetical or prosaic, both or neither, the Life was evidently intended to run on into an account of Alfred's distresses, Alfred's recovering from them, and Neot's appearance to Alfred.

No. II.

“ Cod. M.S. in Bibl. Bodl. 379, olim N.E.F. ii. 18. Taken out of a manuscript copy of Leyland's own hand-writing, in the hands of Sir Henry St. George, Clarenceaux king at arms, procured by Robert Plot, L. L. D. Univ. Coll. Oxon. A. D. 1682.—N. B. The following extract of *THE LIFE OF SAINT NEOT* is supplied from Stow's Transcript.” (Leland's Itin. iv. 135.) “ I found,” saies my ingenious and learned friend above, “ the Life of St. Neot, which you refer me to in the Bodleian, quite different” from the Life preceding. “ The former, you perceive, is wholly written in hexameter and pentameter verse ; but this is in prose, interspersed with verses ; and, if I had Leland by me, I suppose I should find it the same as he quotes. It is by no means, however, what it is said,” by his Editor, “ to be, a copy in the hand-writing of Leland. It was evidently transcribed at a much earlier age ; and what is tormenting to the reader, the copyist did not understand his business, and committed many manifest and gross blunders,” as I shall note in the margin, though many (as I shall also note) must be ascribed equally to the original author. “ A much more ~~more~~ modern hand, at the top of the first page, attributes it to RAMSAY,” the writer of the other Life. (1)

“ Incipit prologus de vitâ Sancti Neoti presbiteri et confessoris.

“ Beati Neoti confessoris vitam compendioso aggrediens obedientiæ titulo, Omnipotentis Dei misericordiarum fontem expostulo, quatinus qui eundem sanctum celesti adjunxit contubernio, mihi hujusmodi opere indigno, ac merciarum sarcinis aggravato,

(1) “ Ex libro incerti auctoris, sed monachi, de vitâ S. Neoti.” (Leland, in Itin. iv. 135.)

suâ exuberanti dignetur pietate attribuere, de tam venerabili viro quæ fidelibus haud ambigua tradita sint res relatione dignæ, (1) pro viribus depromere, et pomposæ jactantiæ fomitem evitare, ac pariter hunc contra cuncta adversantia suffragatorem habitare [habere].

“ Incipit vita.

“ Sanctus igitur Neotus fœcundæ Britanniæ, quæ nunc Anglia dicitur, Eois traditur parentibus cretus ; (2) qui usque adeo quippe carnali viguère stemmate, quod etiam orientalium Britonum regno regali succederent sorte. (3) Non minus autem egregii in Catholici Fidei exitière confessione. Horum Deus diligentem assignans ex summo devotionem, in nullo fere dissimilem eis attulit heredem. Editus, saluberrimo mox renascendus traditur lavacro. Qui accuratâ accuratoremque reverendâ parentum enutritus attentione, ab ipsâ tenellâ ætate literarum applicatur doctrinæ. Sancto autem mentis capacitatem spiritu infundente, memorialis intelligentiæ refulsit nitore. Divina siquidem dispositio, quæ quos vocat hos et justificat, jam in eo non modicum scientiæ suæ providebat ecclesiæ lucrum affuturum. Quem admodum ejus vitæ evidens manifestabit tyrocinium. In quantum enim carnis prosapiæ claruit nobilitate, in tantum interioris mentis liberalitate deliberavit ante Domini conspectum non decenerare. In ætate namque puerili adhuc positus, puerorum lascivias mundanis cum omnibus neniis (4) spernens penitus, comptis moribus crescebat et actibus. Adhuc quoque adolescentulus, cunctis parentum expositis rebus, mundum nondum vir ætate, viriliter tamen, cum omnibus pompis suis abegit; sanctumque religionis habitum devotus expetiit, quem mox, rebus pariter et actibus, sese [sibi] induit.

“ I. Erat in illis temporibus famosum in Britannicæ Anglicæ partibus coenebium, urbs Glæstingæ nominatum, quod in maxi-

(1) So in M.S.

(2) “ Neotus Eois, ut fertur, Britannicæ, quæ nunc Anglia, partibus ortus,” (Itin. iv. 135.)

(3) “ Parentes Neoti de genere regum orientalium Anglorum,” (Itin. iv. 135.)

(4) M.S. “ Nemiis.”

mâ veneratione atque frequentîâ ab incolis omnibus fuit habitum. In quo venerandorum maxima commorabatur caterva fratrum, arctiori et spirituali normâ degentium. Qui, quippe nil aliud agitabant nisi divinum, nihil aliud exercebant nisi sanctorum exper-tissimorum ritum. Nil noverant mundani, præter quod Superno placuisset obtutui. Hunc igitur locum Domini Omnipotentis, adolescens toto mentis enisu amplexatus est, tanquam munitissimum asilum contra callidi Hostis multimodum jaculum. Jam vero florem attingens juventutis, quasi quibusdam virtutis gradibus, cælestibus sese ferventius premancipavit actibus. (1) Ubi-cunque enim sollers Dei famulos quoslibet cohabitare concipiebat, sese ipsis illico mædium associabat, ut magis magisque corroboraretur in fide, eorum multiplici conformatus admonitione, bonorum-que operum affectione; Agonitarum et Campidoctorum videlicet sibi proponens studium, quorum mos est contra obvertentes diversorum ictuum novum inicere modum, (2) Malignus etenim namentis, sic necesse est repellatur sibi contrariis ac innumeris Hostis, sicut plurimis et versutis invadit fidelium machinamentis sic necesse est ut repellatur sibi contrariis ac innumeris operibus bonis. Solet siquidem apes multiplicium florum componere favos, ne simplex et nimius dulcedinis sapor gustantes reddat ingratos. Vir igitur sanctus singulorum gratias, veluti sibi proprias, exhauriebat; atque diversas habenarum virtutes, sibi comparabat; ne ullum inimicus in eo repperiret aditum, unde totum ditioni suæ vendicaret habitaculum per unum immoderantiæ lapsus. Sectabatur ergo continentiam hujus, jocunditati gratulabatur illius. Istius approbat lenitatem, alterius cum misericordiâ emulabatur severitatem, alius explorando experiebat psalmodiarum vigiliis. Hunc lectiones exercitantem imitabatur divinas: istum jejunantem, illum exsequi (3) nitebatur in pulvere cilicioque quiescentem. Unius patientiam mirabatur; alterius mansuetudinem prædicando amplectebatur. Omnium itaque vica-

(1) "Neotus monachus factus est Glastyngey." (Itin. iv. 135.)

(2) The construction is, *novum inicere modum diversorum ictuum contra obvertentes*; but the author loves to lose himself and his reader in the labyrinth of his entangled language.

(3) M.S. "exequi."

riam intra se continens caritatem, omnibus se præbebat humilem, eloquio affabilem, actuali negotio mitem, venerandum aspectu, serenum vultu, ipso modificatum incessu, sinceritate morumque probitate tranquillum, omni castitate ab ipsis quoque cunabulis egregium. Practica, nec non præpollens vita! Tanta circa quoslibet pauperes exarserat cura, ut quicquid præter simplicem vestem cibumque habere posset, eis in dilate erogaret. Hunc tamen favor humanus pro bonis, quæ in eo divinitus excreverant opibus non attraxit, nec conscientiæ puritatem saltem leviter contaminavit. Pii enim dictum Magistri intimo recondens pectori, toto effigebat (1) animo, ne quovismodo dinosceret sinistra quid bonæ spei peregisset dextera. Siquidem se inter utrumque tenens, ut et bonis operibus assiduus vacaret, nec tamen caritatis opera popularis aura com-macularet. Specialiter autem frequenti erat incumbens orationi, illius non immemor verbi Domini, 'orate ne intretis in temptationem,' et Apostoli, 'Sine' inquit 'intermissione orate.' Sæpenumero quoque adeo furtivis intempestæ noctis silentio vigilabat applicationibus, ut quis esset mutatis penitus dissimularet vestibus. Inermium enim penitentium assumens tegumenta, in Dei Omnipotentis laudibus pervigili pernoctabat curâ. Hæc ideo Dei summa erat opera, ne cui forte investigatori ejus perpatesceret notitia. Fomes etiam sic ab eo prudenter vitabatur jactantiæ. (2) Mox autem imminebant crepuscula lucis; assuetis resumptis indumentis, regularibus totâ die inserviebat obsequiis, cœnæ intentus exeniis aliisque curis. Sæpe etiam lectioni vacabat divinæ, sanctissimorum jam præcedentium patrum cupiens adhærere doctrinæ. Tali tamen vitâ degens, se omnibus inferiorem æstimabat, singulorumque servitio attentis auribus sub (3) inerat. Ad hoc, mollioris esæ blandimenta nunquam est sectatus, nec pro variis et delicatis et quibuslibet aliis gulæ irritamentis suis unquam fuit tædiosus. (4) Immo [fuit ille] (5) cui competenter familiaria (6)

(1) For "effigabat,"

(2) "Fomitis" and "Jactantia" in M.S.

(3) "Sub," over "inerat" in M.S.

(4) M.S. "tædiosis."

(5) Supplied by me.

(6) M.S. "familia."

erant jejunia, ne corpus quâcunque intumesceret insolentiâ, largiori delibutum effluentia. Indigentibus quoque propriam clanculo elargiens impensam, sera (1) ventri dicebat (2) jejunia, mentis vero suæ cælestia administrans fercula. Non surdus divinæ legîs auditor, totis mentis corporisque viribus fieri Domini percipiebat imitator. 'Non in solo,' inquit, 'pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei.' Miranda etiam et amplectenda, quædam in eo specialis eminebat continentia, quod in re aliquâ corpori necessariâ nequaquam aliquando alicui extitit querulus, immo nec queribundus; his tantum quæ dabantur, egregiâ humilitate contentus. Quippe, quamdiu supradictæ co-usus est congregationis vitâ, sic speculativâ perstuduit semitâ, ut neminem agnosceret et [a nemine] (3) agnosceretur præter spirituales fratres et venerandam eorum familiam. Tanta denique super eum divino nutu enituit gratia, quatinus inestimabili ab omnibus veneretur amoris diligentia, absque ullâ alicujus invidia maculâ.

“ II. Fertur siquidem de eodem sancto Dei viro (ut rigoris habenas aliquantisper laxaret), ædificationis hujuscemodi ludis co-usum esse aliquando, coram reverentissimo valde viro, qui postea Wintoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus delectus nomine Helphago. 'Conquiniscamus,' inquit, 'con-frater, invicem, ut dulciorem cælestis vitæ exprimamus inde liquorem.' Conquiniscentibus ergo de prioris jussu illis, inquit Sanctus: 'Sic, frater rarissime, a rectitudinis normâ conquiniscente mente aliquando deviamus, [et] (4) cum quâlibet fragilitate deprimimur mundana. Non enim est homo carne degens, qui faciat bonum et non peccet. Quocirca cum opitulantis Dei adminiculo enitendum nobis summopere est, eternæ vitæ tramitem quærere, corporisque necessitates æquanimiter tolerare, in bono usque in finem proposito perseverare, ac exhyllarando mentes in Dei laudibus elevare; ut si quis in terrenis superfluisque conquiniscit, Spiritu Superno suffragante flammæ surgat.' Talibus Domini Iesu Christi servus socios informabat documentis, ne se in eis fraus ingereret temptatoris.

(1) "Serra" in M.S.

(2) "Dicabat" in M.S.

(3) Supplied by me.

(4) Equally supplied by me.

“ III. Vivam divinæ dispositionis autor magis nolens lucernam sub modio latere, quatinus omnibus qui in domo Dei sint luceret, hunc suum vere famulum tantâ et tam nobis innumerâ (1) virtutum gloriâ sublimavit, ut ejus Neoti fama urbes per vicinas crebresceret, et ad eum multitudo utriusque sexûs populi conflueret. Quos de nostræ religionis fide suscitantes (2) non solum ad Christianitatis salutem convertebat, verum etiam eternæ vitæ institutionibus imbuebat. Claruit quoque apud urbis episcopum, cujus diocesi (3) in quo degebat suberat cœnobium ; a quo tantâ venerationis acceptione est habitus, ut cum eo nonnullis evolutis diebus honori (4) hunc præferret Diaconatûs. Post non multum vero temporis præfatus præsul multo plus Neoti conversionem suspiciens, pariterque ejus admirans apud cunctos industriam, nec non hujus (5) ubertatem silentii prævidens sagax, (6) quodque ita magnanimis (7) et tolerans esse [soluit] cunctis in adversis, ac pariter nichil tumens in prosperis, obedientiæ etiam sedulitate sese præferens cunctis, miseratione identidem ultro occurrens venientibus miseris ; ad Sacerdotii gradum disposuit jam factum promoveri Dei famulum. Astubi famulus Domini sic affore cognovit, tali se haud dignum honore judicans, usque adeo declinavit. Mox autem non minus raptus quam electus pari clericorum ac civium voto, attrahitur, presentatur, dein presbiter consecratur. Tam denique sumpto presbiterio, qualiter se omni constantiâ, abstinentiâ, omnique humilitate, ac mirâ vestum viiitate, modificaverit ; operis non est nostri digerere, Constantior enim quam prius perseverabat. Virtutis namque quasi ab Heliâ in Heliseum, sic ab episcopo in Neotum, geminabatur gratia ; ut et presbiterii dignitatem sedulus adimpleret, et primævæ religionis propositum

(1) M.S. “ tam in nobis numera.”

(2) M.S. “ sciscitantibus.”

(3) M.S. “ diocesis.”

(4) M.S. “ honore.”

(5) *Hujus* has been altered, perhaps, from *humilis*. I think *hujus*, however altered, to be right.

(6) M.S. “ sagacem.”

(7) M.S. “ tamagna nimis.”

non amitteret. Quis enī unquam eum tristis adiit, et solamine lætus non ab eo rediit? Quis paupertatis querulus hunc quæsi- vit, et divitiis, suâ contentus (1) inopiâ, Domino dives mox non discessit ab ipso? Quis mœrore affectus luctum in gaudium non mutavit? Quis iracundiæ face succensus, verbis ejus non est con- versus, pacis amore ratus? Quis a diabolo vexatus, suis mox fuis ad Dominum precibus, interdum quoque orationibus,

“ Non rediit sospes, quem Sævus desiit Hospes ?

“ Et, ut proemate (2) sive epylogo utar,

“ Omnia factus erat, quo cunctos lucrificaret.

“ Eorum infortunia sua credebat, eorumque prospera et incolumbia sua compensabat. Nonnullos etiam Gentilium errores sæpius, Deo patrocinate, ad nostram coaptavit Catholicam Fidem. De- mum peritum Divina Majestas Neotum, tam animarum quam corporum, contulit medicum; cujus magna excellentiâ meæ exiguitatis excedit eloquia.

“ Sed quoque quæ sciero depromam vera Neoto.

“ Quum in Christi mandatis omnibus indeficiens Dei servus an- helaret Neotus, superno admonitus oraculo, ut virtutum novalia alio excoleret Domino Deo, Occidentalium partes gentis Anglorum Britannicorum (natio enim illa a Romanis affertur Cornu Galliæ vocabulata) perlustrare disposuit, locique mox (3) penetralia deserti interiora expetiit. (4) Mox ubi quod percupiebat comperit videli- cet aptum solitudinis recessum, arduam virtutis austerioremque vitam ducere constituit. A sancti autem Petroci monasterio hæc distat heremus decem fere lapidibus. Tracto vero ab ipso beato viro nomine, NEOTESTOCE a (5) loci incolis est appellatus. Qui locus nemorosis undique vallatur arboribus, perspicuisque emanat

(1) M.S. “ contemptus.”

(2) M.S. “ porimate.”

(3) M.S. “ vix.”

(4) “ Occidentalium partes gentis Anglorum Britannicorum natio, enim illa Romanis Cornugallia vocabulata, perlustrare disposuit, locique mox penetralia deserti interiora expetiit.” (Itin. iv. 135.)

(5) M.S. “ ad.”

fluminibus, maris quoque superstat affinitate contiguus. (1) Hunc igitur locum, ut diximus, Dei servus fidei constamine roboratus, ut a Deo provisoro sibi oblatum est amplexatus, vitamque Anachoreticam veluti modo Neophitus (2) aggrediens, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, cæterisque operosis justitiæ laboribus, suum ibi attenuabat corpus.

“ IV. Solitarie igitur in Dei Omnipotentis servitio, uno integro lustro annisque duobus, paucis admodum notus permanens, pii laboris desiderio amoreque exignitus divino, Romæ Principum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli visitare proposuit limina. Quod exoptato percurrens animo, cum honore maximo a Domino susceptus est Apostolico. Ibiq̄ sanctorum apostolorum sanctione, ac spiritualis dulcedinis dilectione, aliquandiu cum religiosissimo Papâ spaciens, vinculis haud modice amoris sese apud eum astrinxerat. Dein benedictione fretus Apostolicâ, divinique ab eo verbi suscipiens jussa, dum reverteretur ad propria, multos ad Christi Iesu fidem conduxit obiter populos, affixitq̄ credulitati devotos. Diversos etiã per eum Dominus in itinere curavit languores, plurimosque immoderato sibi odio dissidentes stabili applicuit paci concordēs. Præelectum denique capiens locum, iterum puriori vitæ se cœlitus studuit mancipandum; ubi siquidem frequentissime *Angelicâ meruit perfrui visitatione.*

“ V. Multi præterea seculo nobiles, mundum suis cum illecebris abdicantes, veræque religionis habitum quærentes, suis ardecebant, instrui disciplinis, imbuique (3) salutaribus regulis. Nonnulli vero, ejus bonitatis famâ citati ad imbuendum ei proprios in Dei Omnipotentis servitio deferebant filios. Jam Patrem jam

(1) “ A S. autem Petroci monasterio hæc distat eremus decem fere *millibus*. Tracto vero ab ipso beato Neoto nomine, Neotestoke a loci incolis est appellatus. Qui locus nemorosis undique vallatur arboribus, perspicuisque emanat flaminibus, maris quoque superstat affinitate contiguus.” (Itin. iv. 135.)

(2) “ Hic vitam duxit anachoreticam Neotus,” as if (without minding the veluti modo) he had read the “ Neoptolenus” of M.S. which is only a mistake for “ Neophitus,” used in sect. xv, into “ Neotus.”

(3) M.S. “ imbuitque.”

Dominum, jam Patriæ auctorem, occidentales nuncupabant. In eodem igitur loco, co-edificatore fidens Deo, cœnobium cœpit edificare, fratrum. quod divino disposito celerique attentione est ad unguem perductum. (1) In quo, innumeris ad Domino famulandum aggregatis fratribus, regularibus accuravit comparare institutionibus. Ipse vero omnia mundi jam quasi totus coelo positus calcans, solique Deo Omnipotenti morigerari desiderans, orationibus et vigiliis incumbere, sequæ suæque Domino sedulo commendabat, cui jam primo ævo (2) omnem spem suam contulerat.

“ VI. Eadem itaque tempestate, Dei famuli Neoti famam rex Anglorum concipiens Hælvredus, utrum quæ de sancto ferebatur vera essent, caute perquisivit; at ita esse cuncta comperit. Mox Dei servum devotus adiens, totoque se corpore pronus ante eum advolvens more sub antiquo, benedictionem sibi dari exposulavit. Adjunxit etiam se in eo cernere, unde apud Omnipotentis Dei clementiam eum suis valeret precibus adjuvare; quod et non designatetur peragere. Domini autem miles Neotus, sicut semper piis aderat (3) moribus regi (ut exposulaverat) benedicens, atque (ut etiam sibi consanguinitate proximum carnis) honorifice suscipiens, multa eum in divinis edocuit, atque deinde ex suis pravis actionibus correxit, et [quæ (4)] Christianissimo pertinebant regi disseruit. Denique iterum benedictione acceptâ, ad suos se cum timore recepit. Ex hęc deinceps tempore, sæpius idem rex Dei alumnum requirebat Neotum, suisque interdum utebatur consiliis, quia plurimis eum Domini Iesu Christi omnimodis esse servum experiebatur signorum indiciiis.

“ VII. Quâdam siquidem die, rex præfatus, de more familiariter cum adeo paucis ad Dei hominem accessit. Quem Dei famulus Neotus, inter alia plerima, acriter iterum de suis nequissimis actionibus increpuit, etiam ignis pœnas apposuit, potentes po-

(1) “ Postea in eodem loco cœpit edificare cœnobium, quod celeri attentione est ad unguem perductum.” (Itin. iv. 135.)

(2) M.S. “ primævo.”

(3) M.S. “ adherat.”

(4) Supplied by me.

tenter tormenta pati demonstravit, et, præter hæc, omnia fere quæ ei affutura erant præsgo spiritu protulit. ‘Tanta,’ inquit, ‘Rex, ab adversantibus infortunia pateris; atqui tam multa adhuc patieris. Namque regno quo tumas, quo immoderatam debacchando tyrannidem exerces, unde ante Divinæ Majestatis intuitum humilis et pauper cum Davide, quondam rege pariterque prophætâ, apparere deberes, privaberis; a gentibus exteris Christum ignorantibus invadêris; vix solus ab adversariis evades, profugus latitabis divinitus, sicque peccato cogente aliquibus diebus manebis. Optinui tamen apud Omnipotentem Deum precibus, quod si te a suis sævis retraxeris iniquitatibus, adhuc misericordiæ suæ vultum super te prætendat, septroque pristino prosperitatique restituit. Pro tui igitur regni salute ac statu, sanioribus usus consiliis, legatos Romam cum muneribus reverendissimo Papæ Marino dirige; hunc obnixius deprecare, quatinus Anglorum Scolis Romæ libertatem dignetur concedere. Ego enim universæ carnis viam ingrediens, Domino meo Jesu Christo mihi hoc revelante, meque de hõc seculo vocante, in proximo concedam naturæ. Cum vero Divina quod disposuit prudentia super te adimpleverit, teque digne pro commissis co-angustaverit; esto forti animo [et] (1) spe credulâ, Gubernantis omnia auxilium protinus invoca, et Dominus meus Omnipotens Deus, per me famulum suum, tibi optatum ex sponso (sicut ei assidet) præstabit subsidium, priorisque culminis statum.’ Quibus rex auditis, vehementer ex intimis pavefactus medullis, oratione pariter et benedictione petitâ, largis diutius perfusus lacrimis, abiit tristis. Apparatis tamen ex famuli Omnipotentis Dei jussu magnifice legatis, Romam (quemadmodum edoctus fuerat) misit; quodque petiit, ex voto absque ullâ intercapedine ab venerabili Papâ impetravit. (2) Præterea, celsitudo Romana innumeris prædictum muneribus Anglorum Principem donavit. Ob æternæ enim memoriæ signum, pretiosissimi ligni salutiferæ crucis partem, in quâ vita et salus orbis penali morte pependit, a summo

(1) Supplied by me.

(2) “Aluredus rex familiariter usus est Neoto, plurimum ejus tribuens consiliis. Aluredus rex, a Neoto admonitus, scholas Anglorum Romæ reparavit.” (Itin. iv. 135.)

Pontifice sedis Romanæ suscepit; nec non et alia præcipua opitulatorum Sanctorum pignora. Unde mordacibus curis rex aliquantulum est relevatus. Usque adeo tamen servi Dei Neoti vaticinio mansit suspectus; dum, quemadmodum pronunciatum ab eo fuerat, rei probaret exitus. O virum per omnia in Deo verum, cujus quippe propheticum perstitit irrevocabile verbum.

“ VIII. Non multo post igitur vir Dei Neotus, corporis attactus languore, et hęc perendies ingravescente, frequenti consolabatur Divinā pariter Angelicāque visitatione. Postquam antem se Dominici corporis ac sanguinis participatione munivit, pacem propriis commendans oviculis, ac multis (1) quibus animæ salus assequitur in communi exhortamine prolatis, suo in Omnipotentis Dei misericordiā contradito spiritu, inter ipsa psalmodiarum et oraminum verba sanctam cœlo animam reddidit. Dignis enim operibus vivendo promeruit, quod jam, securus de brabeio, (2) mortem lætus temporalem exceptit. Sepulturæ ergo tempore instante, finitimorum circumquaque populorum multitudines ut tantis interessent exequiis confluxêre. Variis et jam morborum generibus oppressi, pariter convenerunt infirmi; qui omnes Jesu Christo medente per sui famuli Neoti merita, peroptatâ sospitate recuperatâ, cum summâ exultatione et gratiâ per se repedarunt ad propria. Venerabile vero corpus ejus in suâ, cum omni diligentia, tumultatum est ecclesiâ. Fragrantissimus (3) autem dulcedinis odor, hujus humationis tempore, tam magnus loco in eodem perstitit, quod innumerata adventantium ex longinquis etiam regionibus turba se illo omnium pigmentariorum aromatico fateretur fragore (4) fuisse repleta. Nimirum quippe cum Christi bonus odor vivendo corporaliter spiritu mansit; suâ carne defunctus diversos suavitatis odores edidit. Hęc quoque spiraminis odore nonnulli pristinâ potiti sunt sanitate. Ejusdem præterea sanctissimi Neoti tumuli pulvis a fidelibus sumitur; et imbecillitatibus variis antiquantibus, (5) irrationalibus nec minus animalibus (6) in gustu

(1) M.S. “ Multa.” (2) “ beio.” (3) M.S. “ fraclantissimus.”

(4) M.S. “ fraglore.”

(5) M.S. “ antipendibus.”

(6) The construction is, “ nec minus animalibus irrationalibus.”

contribuitur; moxque cupitâ potiuntur ospitate, ex Dei famuli devotione.

“ Jam vero Phœbo Signorum tecta remenso,
Cursu biseno, revoluto septies anno,
Protinus in fabricâ majori condita templa,

religiosissimis amplificata sunt mortalibus. Unde res expectabatur (1) opportuna, servi Dei corpusculum alias in eadem ecclesiâ transferendum. Quod devotissime excubiis, orationibus, ac jejuniis est inde levatum; et eximie ad aquilonarem ejusdam ecclesiâ altaris partem, idoneo satis loco, constitit reconditum. Quo etiam tempore, instar Paradisi et Elysii florum toto loco illo redolente, multi salubritatis egentes propriam gavisi sunt se medelam recepisse. Ob confessoris quoque Christi Neotî præclara merita, plurimâ Omnipotens Deus adhuc inibi dignatur operari miracula, et fideliter corde puro petentium effectiva haud cessavit (2) exaudire precamina. Cui est honor, virtus, majestas, imperium, potestas, par gloria cum Filio et Spiritu Sancto per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

“ IX. Decursis exinde non adeo multis temporibus, quatinus Dei sacerdotis Neotî propheticus adimpleretur sermo veris assertionibus, anno videlicet ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi 878, tyrannus quidem Gytrum nomine, idolorum crudeliter irretitus errore, omni inhumanus condescensione, intolerabili sæviens, feritate, Epiphaniæ die sequente, scilicet 8 Idus Januarii, cum innumerabili Paganorum exercitu, Britannicæ Anglicæ insulam undique invasit. Qui innocentium Christianorumque stragem dedit, dein reliqua suæ nefandæ ditioni subjugavit, sancta omnia loca destruxit, conculcavit, quæque sibi eminentiora inhiata sunt concupiscibilia asportavit, cætera suis spolia proposuit. Locisque proinde opportunis ratâ sibi custodiâ stipendioque munitis, Saxones Anglicos zephiri sub vento morantes persequi attemptavit. A fugitivis enim didicerat, Anglorum regem Heloredum circum illa hyemare locz, ibique regni tuta totius esse sita, thesaurorum-

(1) M.S. “expectabat.”

(2) M.S. As far as I can read it, “creperunt.”

que locula custodiri locupletaria. Primo tamen quocumque exercitum promovebat, igni, gladio, famè, [promovebat] (1). Quo majorem incuteret formidinem, nonnulla solo coequebat sic ille in tempore profanus, nemine obstante, tyrannidem exercebat. Rex enim Anglorum, dolore attactus cordis intrinsecus, cum a sancto Dei viro præmonitus, tum divinis ista præsciens fieri nitibus (simulque maxima exercitûs pars trans fretum coacta fugere a barbaris erat, reliqua derepente interierat aut tyrannorum dextras petiverat; præterea, idem crudelis quæque naturâ (2) loca munita sibi anticipaverat); quo se quidem verteret penitus ignorans, in præsentiarum cessit, quandoque melius affore sperans (3).

“ X. Est locus in ultimis Anglorum Britannicæ partibus ad occidentem situs, cui nomen linguâ Saxonum est ÆTHELINGAIGE, quod apud nos sonat Clitonum Insula; immensis salis paludibus circumseptus, quantulâ in medio planitie retentus. Ibi ex insperato rex Heloredus exul intercidit solus. (4) Ut post tamen comperit cuiusdam tuguriolum ignoti prospiciens subulci, apud illum divertit, (5) quietis hospitium petiit, accepit, ut hospes et pauper atque subditus et minimis contentus per dies aliquot cohabitavit. Cum patientiâ tamen ex Dei justis iudicio talia sibi fieri pensans, ejus misericordiam famuli Neoti interventu manebat. Ab ipso enim conceperat, memori quod pectore credens tenebat; ‘Quem,’ namque inquit apostolus, ‘Dominus diligit, castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.’ Adhuc viri justis Job miram ante oculos cotidie præfigebat patientiæ fidem. Fortuito ergo quâdam contigit die, subulco ad solita suum pascua gregem de more ducente, regem solum cum subulci con-

(1) Supplied by me.

(2) M.S. “nata.”

(3) “Anno Domini 878, Gutrun tyrannus cum innumerabili Paganorum exercitu Britannicæ Anglicæ insulam undique invasit.” (Itin. iv. 136.)

(4) Est locus in ultimis Britannicæ Anglorum partibus ad occidentem situs, cui nomen linguâ Saxonum Ethelinggaige, quod apud nos sonat Clitonum Insula, immensis salis paludibus circum circa septus, quantulâ in medio planitie retentus. Ibi ex insperato rex Aluredus exul intercidit solus.” (Itin. iv. 136.)

(5) M.S. “devertit.”

juge domi remansisse. Quæ viri adventu sollicita sui telesinæ merito Veneris (1) solidam ad coquendum commiserat farinam. Ruricularibus autem (ut apud rusticas mos est) aliis intenta negotiis, dum panes Vulcano requirit, alterâ ex parte ardere conspicit. Mox indignata regi ignoto, 'Heus homo,' inquit,

'Urere quos cernis panes girare moraris,
Cum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes.'

"At ille tam depressis contumeliatus conviciis, supernis ista reputans pensis, mulierculæ obtemperans laccessitus jurgiis, non modo panes giravit, verum servavit, dum apparatus de more reddidit."

"XI. Eâdem ingruente tempestate stragis, huc illucque ob barbarorum sævitiam Gentilium palantibus, a quibusdam suis Heloredus est compertus pariter et cognitus. Sicque paucis et delectis conceptis militibus, munitionis arcem aliquot perfecit diebus. Dein bellum, primo siquidem debile, post vero validum contra alienigenas quasi ex integro sumpsit. Ac quemadmodum ubique dispersus sibi residuus et afflictus cohærebat exercitus, diurnatim receptis pugnandi viribus pugnare, hostium copiam explorare, repente invadere, suos cavere, modo superari, interdum superare; casum belli pro tempore pati. Spe tamen fretus divinâ et confessoris Christi confidentiâ, adversariorum sæpe sustinebat impetum et eorum impatientem comprimebat fastum. Inque suis cœptis, Christi Jesu almique Neoti ex intimis suspiriis expetebat suffragium.

"Nox erat, et curæ mordaces pectora regis
Vallabant, poterat nec somnum nosse quietis;
Ecce! Neotus adest, Domini miserantis alumnus,
Coram quem verbis primum sic fatur amicis.
'Quid, rex, comprimeris turbarum tot modo curis?'

'An ignoras, quam cogitationes hominum vanæ sint? Nove-

(1) For "thalassinæ Veneris," I suppose, as meaning 'the sea-born Venus.'

ris, inquam, noveris, quàm qui sperant in Domino mutabant fortitudinem, assumunt pennas ut aquilæ, volabunt et non deficient.

‘Sis memor, advenio solamen ferre laborum.’

“Cumque obstupefactus luminum in eo figeret intuitum, et quis esset sæpe requireret, (1) ob nimix claritatis vultum perspicuumque nitorem vestium; addidit sanctus, ‘sum,’ inquam, ‘Jesu Christi Omnipotentis Dei servus Neotus; qui tibi, adhuc carne vigenens, ex ejus jussu hos affuturus tibi vaticinatus sum casus. Nunc igitur, si ex toto ad Dominum corde conversus fueris, si pacis emulator, si justitiæ, si veritatis, si pudicitix et honestatis, si magnificentix et humilitatis, si veræ innocentix et caritatis sector, ex præcedentium sanctissimorum regum more, usque in finem perstiteris, de tibi obviantibus superior triumphabis inimicis, ac demum regni proavorum jure possessi apice sublimaberis. Ad hoc, ipsum tyrannum execrabilem Omnipotenti Deo tuo reddes exemplo Christianæ regem devotioni fidelem. Septimâ enim post Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab inferis resurrectionem ebdomadâ errabundo qui sparsim exulaverat a te exercitu congregato in Eois partibus præero, teque tuosque ducabo (2) atque ex superni regis virtute, ipse, vobiscum contra prophanos dimicans, de cælo victoriam adminiistrabo.’

“ XII. Matuta demum roseo surgente cubili,
Rex pariter surgit, grates et strenuus egit
Victori summo præductorique Neoto. (3)

(1) M.S. “saparet cæperum.”

(2) So in M.S.

(3) Postea, adventantibus suis, munitionis arcem ibidem paucis perfecit diebus.

Nox erat, et curæ mordaces pectora regis
Vallabant, poterat nec somnum nosse quietis.
Ecce Neotus adest, Domini miserantis alumnus,
Coram quo verbis primum sic fatur amicis.

“et,” Neotus’s speech, “est ibidem prosâ oratione: et sequitur sis memor advenio solamen ferre laborum; et paulo inferius,

“Matutâ demum roseo surgente cubili,
Rex pariter surgit, grates et strenuus egit
Victori Summo Præductorique Neoto.

Itin. iv. 136.

“ Ac exinde statutis diebus jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, et supplicationibus, præmonitum arripuit tempus. Et contra Gytrum ubique conari, omnia rapere, nemini parcere, nil posteris residui facere, fas nefasque communia habere, et cuncti potentem Deum pariterque cuncti-creatorem atque Rectorem, cunctaque sanctæ, blasphemare. Quippe animo ad perpetuum festinanti interitura nulla lupatorum retinacula immittere libidini (1) queunt continentię modum. Sic profanus Gytrum !

“ Jamque dies aderat, quem sanctus ab ore notarat,
 Providus ac verus, demissus ab arce Neotus.
 Cum rex ad patrias armatus tendit Eoas ;

“ ibique non adeo, maghã manu regis regum famulique sui Neoti, hand dubium præstolabatur suffragium ; loco videlicet in illo, qui *Lapis* cognominatur *Etgbrithi*. Quod minime latuit quondam suos. Dinoto enim a pæleariis (2) et veredariis suorum armorum modo, sonoque lituorum notorum concepto, haud facile memoratum est, quam innumerabilem tempore modico peditum pariter ac equitum comparaverit manum. Non modo enim qui passim in Paganorum primo invasionis aditu exercitus dispersus fuerat, ad eum lætus convenit ; verum qui interea totius coaluerat patriæ populus. Expeditione denique maximã pro re et tempore comparatã, priora digrediens loca, propter loci campestem amoenitatem promovit castra juxta silvam *Sæalwudu* (3) cognominatam Anglorum linguã. Deinde biduo transacto, quendam aptum adversariis montem, *Ethendunum* nomine, exercitu præ-anticipavit suo. Ibiq̃ue commanens hostes, suis stipatim confertis in

“ Hic,” adds Leland, “ fint [finitur] vetus exemplar Croilandensis monasterii mutilum, quare quod reliquum erat de rebus Neoticis desiderabatur.” So much of that M.S. was lost, and so evidently was *Leland's M.S. different from the present ! Out of twenty-one chapters, the whole nearly of ten was lost to Leland.*

(1) M.S. “ libidinum.”

(2) The author means (I presume) those who were winnowing corn from chaff in the open fields, as corn is now winnowed generally by the Cornish

(3) M.S. *Sæalpuu.*”

uum, Sanctissimi Christi vatis Neoti pro sponsione manebat adventum (1).

“ XIII. Interea Gytrum ex insperati rûmore facinoris perculsus, maximâ tamen suorum manu usque adeo fidus, tribunos cum omnibus turmis atque centuriones majoresque cæteros convocat suos, homines quidem omni facetiarum lepore rudes et incultos, bellicis tamen rebus fortes ac duros, jaculorum turbine cultos, sævos barbaræ mentis; misericordiæ expertes, æque vitam mortemque gerentes, qui nullam quippe aliam prætur hanc existimarent vitam. Quos, habitâ oratione, exhortâri præcipue, pretiosa eorum facinora laudare, nominatim singulos ostentare, immensa eis (si fidis et magnanimibus (2) decertarent viribus) munere dispensare, maximas spoliolum merces præmonstrare. Ad hoc aiebat, ‘ fortunam (3) eorum principiis satis ex libidine favisse; nec existimarent eos Christicolas modo solertiores quam primo, verum multo imbecilliores: ad id quoque rem esse deventam, videlicet, semel tantum illos pugnâtos; hâc prælio omnia, quoad viverent, reliqua fore tranquilla.’ Hæc et alia multa suos pro tempore edocens deinde suam omnem pèr legiones disponens multitudinem, contra Catholicum castra movet populum.

“ XIV. Nocte itaque, quam tyrannicidis retropellebat (4) habenis, vergente, duceque Hælvredo Omnipotentis Dei patrocinia implorante, Christi Jesu servus Neotus astitit, venerandâ canicie, vestium perspicuus nitore, vultus et habitus egregiâ specie,

“ Arma ferens manibus, regemque est protinus orsus:

‘ Surge celer, meque prævio Deique comite adminiculo: ex quo enim es hucce progressus, prædux semper extiti tuus; teque tu-

(1) “ Aluredus exercitum congregavit in loco qui lapis cognominatur Egbriþhi,” Egbritstane (adds the margin). “ Deinde propter loci compertrem amœnitatem promovit castra juxta silvam Sealwudi. Deinde biduo transacto quendam aptum adversariis montem Ethendun nomine cum omni exercitu suo anticipavit. (Itin. iv. 136.)

(2) M.S. has “ magnanimis” written over the word.

(3) M.S. “ fortunæ,

(4) “ Rettopellebat.” strangely used for “ propellebat.”

osque viriliter dimicaturus accinge. Uti etenim prædixi, præsto est in manibus palma victoriæ.' Denique, primo mane jam exorto, ad invicem non multo emimus utraque paulatim acies sunt visæ. Tum Helyredus rex, paucis exhortatus fideles, addidit: 'Commilitones mei, immo Omnipotentis Dei estote tandem viri, ac nolite terreri; neque enim hæc multitudo irreligiosorum est metianda, quam mox videbitis spem totam ponere in fugam, Domini eos persequente dexterâ. Rex enim Immensus, Deus, cujus esse milites cupimus, Neoti meritis sui almi confessoris, istos hodie cum dominis eorum alienigenas a facie nostrâ conteret, et ipsorum robur deante suam presentiam disperdet; ut cognoscant, quia solus et verus Deus noster est qui liberet.' Ex utraque igitur parte gradatim motis legionibus, mox ubi clarissime se conspexere luminibus; magis utrimque clamor exoritur. Dein hinc inde concurritur; ac jactis primo sagittis, exinde hastis, jam comminus res agitur gladiis. Christi autem confessor Neotus undique adversarios pellit ac proterit fugâ et abjicit: (1)

Cum rex Helyredus sociis hinc taliter infit:
 'Egregii pugnando viri, vos nonne videtis
 Coram splendiferum nobis bellare Neotum?
 Fundite vesanos, faciunt quos Idola vanos'

"Dixit, et ense resecto

"Tendit in hostiles feriendo forte (2) phalanges.

"Tandem Gythrum, secus ac ratus est, suorum fugam pariterque passim stragem videns, terga vertit. Ast Fideles instare, hos sauciare, illos jugulare, quosdam semineces sternere, plures necare. Postremo reliquos fugientes cum principe tyranno, quique pro se tuendis munitionem primum firmaverant, acriter insecuti sunt. Verum Christicolæ, illis contra nitentibus, municipium circum obsedere. Denique Pagani, miserandâ lege profani, sere tam graviter multatos esse videntes, nec contra stare valentes.

"Viribus exhaustis clamârunt, 'Parcite nostris.'

(1) M.S. "abicit."

(2) "Forte" for "fortiter."

“ **Demum** illis dextras petentibus, rex annuntiavit Helvredus. Ad hoc ex regis voto obsides dederunt, ac jurejurando spondederunt, eorum principem Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis fore cultorem, et perinde ad propria unde adhuc appulerant se transfretaturos. In his autem sic gestis rebus omnibus, Omnipotenti Domino atque suo Neoto famulo grates procul dubio debitas rex referebat Helvredus. Post trium igitur septimanarum curricula, Gythrum crudeli tyrannide abdicatâ, gloriosum regem Helvredum expetiit, apud Æthelingeige novum municipium reperit, atque veteri abjecto homine, prorsus abrenuncians Diabolo suâ cum omni pompâ, sanctum sibi expostulavit conferri baptismum. Rex autem, quasi alter Stephanus pro suis exorans Dominum lapidatoribus, cujus etiam precatibus (1). Saulus commutatus est Paulus, laudes pariterque gratiarum actiones misericordissimo Deo retulit; et aliquando tyrannum, nunc vero de salutari (2) lavacro regem levavit Catholicum. Triginta quoque primates sui, ejusque totius potentiores (3) regni, cum eo renati sunt lavacro perenni, in nomine Patris et Filii et Sancti Spiritûs, meritis confessoris ejusdem Individuæ Trinitatis Neoti.

XV. In Domino ergo Deo Gystrum factus Neophitus, ab Anglorum rege maxime Catholicâ in fide est roboratus. Decursus autem gloriose cum eo paucis diebus, innumeris ab venerando rege sublimatus muneribus pretiosissimisque sanctorum pignoribus, ad propria transfretavit regna cum sociis, laudans et credens Omnipotentem Deum, qui semper est gloriosus super omnes cunctis in operibus suis. Rex denique Helvredus, regni solio cum pace et gloriâ decoratus, reliquum vitæ suæ tempus dignis percurrit operibus, immortalem benedicens Regem Regum, qui deponit potentes de sede, devotosque exaltat humilitate, atque palmificum suum Neotum, qui eum a pravis correxit operibus, justisque affecit verberibus, et deinceps culmine regni claris firmabat fascibus.

“ O Domini servum recolendum jure Neotum,
Ob meritum cujus cepit baptismum tyrannus,
Et libertatem patriæ dedit atque quietem.

(1) So in M.S. (2) M.S. “salutaris.” (3) M.S. “potentioris.”

“ Omne vero tempus regni gloriosi regis Helvredi sunt anni viginti octo et semis. Sceptri enim apice, ante excidium (1) patriæ, potitus est bis ter annis; post triumphum vero quo triumphavit, beato per Dominum favente Neoto, anni constant bis deni et duo.

“ Coniunctique simul, bis deni dantur et octo :

Si ponis semis, memoratam tempus habebis.

“ Obiit igitur Helvredus rex 8 Kal. Novembrium, anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi octingentesimo. Cujus etiam tempestate, libertates, Romæ consequutæ sunt Anglorum Scholæ, ipso optinente et famulo Omnipotentis Dei Neoto jubante; ad laudem et gloriam ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine manet per secula cuncta. Amen. (1)

“ XVI. Evolutis proinde nonnullis temporum curriculis, plurimisque indigenarum (3) præpedientibus peccatis, et quia apud Omnipotentem Deum incommutabiliter præerat fixum, quatinus, ad reverendi confessoris sui Neoti augmentum, alio meritorum more (4) ampliaretur oraculum; ad hoc, ut fideles haberent quod venerarentur et amarent, infideles vero unde inexcusabiles essent et timerent; venerandus Christi confessor Neotus visu apparuit manifesto,

“ Intuitusque suum custodem, talia fatur :

‘ Annuo te servum Domini, nunc concipe verbum ;

Hinc me tranfer, abi, custos, nolito morari ;

Elegi loculum, Christus quem jussit habendum ;

Ne dubites jubeo, supero modo missus Olympo ;

En comitor tecum, dum sit quod gestio plenum ;

(1) “ excidium.”

(2) Here ended the manuscript, which Leland notices in *Itin. iv. 135—186*. The extracts made from it, terminate with Alfred’s *commencing attack upon the Danes at “ Ethandun.”* Leland says Alfred from the manuscript, “ *quendam aptum adversariis montem, Ethandun nomine, cum omni exercitu suo anticipavit ;*” and then adds, “ *hic fuit [finitur] exemplar—mutilum.*”

(3) M.S. “ indigetum,” but “ indigenarum below”

(4) M.S. “ morum.”

Non hunc dimitto, duo sed mihi condere glisco ;
Ossa licet sumas, doceo quo limite tendas.'

“ Diu tamen famulo custode hæsitante, et usque adeo differente secumque sæpius multa, item alia et alia cogitante ; proponebat enim sibi itineris difficultatem, furto cognito indigenarum insectionem, nullam loci quo tenderet notionem ;

“ Denuo commisit. (1) Sed terque quaterque coactus,
Esse ratum sperans, nulli secreta revelans,
Tandem inde ex jussu correpto pignore, primo

“ quidem delituit ; ac dein, sancto comite fugitivo iter quantocius arripuit. Erat in Aquilonarium partium axe quidem præpotens ac dives valde, cum suâ reverentissimâ conjuge, quem fama volebat (2) haud modica Christianæ devotionis esse cultorem per omnia.

“ Hunc celeri gressu famulus temptavit adire,
Hospitiumque petit, quod mox optando recepit.

“ Quæ autem itineris causa esset, a patre-familias quo et tendere et unde sæpenumero sciscitatus, rem dissimulanter secretam tenuit, ac tantum Domini quoddam sui famulum se aggressum perhibuit. Divitis tamen supradicti tecto, uti assecla domûs, cum communi familiâ est ex voto potitus. Scientis enim et videntis omnia talis pendebat providentia, ut et servum discipulus moraretur, et Dei famuli Neoti pignus hic perpetuo conservaturum, alias nimine transferretur.

“ XVII. Et Neotestences (3) accolæ famulum custodem conciperates abesse, et tunc siquidem haud frustra suspecti, deinde suum adeo præcipuum requirentes thesaurum, atque invenientes sublatum ; nimio multati dolore, nimioque consternati rancore, ipsi suam redarguunt incuriam, ubi ubi directis veredis maximam armatorum compellant copiam. Ad hoc, custodem famulum per se subsequi indice nacto deliberant. Tam itinera incassum pluri-

(1) So the M.S. seems to be. (2) So in M.S. (3) So in M.S.

ma consumpserant ; jam montes, valles, semitas, calles, flumina, paludes, lustraverant ; cum tandem eodem quo famulus progredientes itinere, unde iter ceperant reperere summo eum sudore. Cur talia præsumpserit, exhortantur edere servum, limis intuiti eum. Ac nunc blanditiis, nunc vero terroribus et minis, hunc invadere moliuntur ; venerumque furoris ei incutiunt. Impropriis etiam conviciantur,

“ Vimque inferre parant, et Sanctum tollere temptant.
Mox pavefactus adit dominum cum conjuge carâ
Profert in medium se sanctum ferre Neotum,
Denique rem famulus veluti fuit ordine pandit.

“ Ad hoc, sibi nil esse querendum dicit, si domini sui jussis morigeratus sit. Hæc et ad hunc modum alia famulus dicebat multa, cum dominus domûs quæ ferebantur addi dicit omnia. (1) Quocirca maximo exhilaratus gaudio, simul divino hoc asserens effectum judicio, sese medium optulit ;

“ Litigiumque premens, sapientis verba refudit.

‘ Haud censeo,’ inquam ; ‘ vos tali rixandos negotio. Qui enim hujus sancti, ut dicitis, confessoris Neoti reliquias, Dispositor Rerum summus omnium, nostras ad plagas accedere, jussit ; si quoque terrarum sit hinc re-gerandus, nobis in eo sperantibus (ut fideliter credimus) demonstrabit. Producantur igitur, si sedet, (2) Dei Omnipotentis servi Neoti pignora. Ex intimis dentur Deo præcordiis precavina, quatinus qui suis in sanctis gloriosus est ipse Deus nobis in se demonstrare dignetur credentibus, si sancti sui Neoti patrocina huc allata divinitus, hinc sint amplius removenda.’ Quod satis (3) admodum eis visum est idoneum. Supplicationibus itaque peractis, senior inquit eis : ‘ Jam vestrum est, unde rixabamini prendere, et pariter (si fas est) abire. Illis igitur attingere temptantibus vires deficiunt ; nec prorsus amovere sanctissimi corpus Neoti queunt’ Tunc multo plus obstupefacti capi-

(1) Meaning thus : “ the master of the house orders all which was said to be rehearsed to him.”

(2) So in M.S.

(3) M.S. “satis.

te, sæviunt, turbantur, et fremunt; furor eis tantum verba ministratos. 'Vos,' inquit, 'ossa solummodo nuda, nos vero loci venerandi habemus sepulcra; vos terram factam, nos spiritus virtutem egregiam; vos mortem, nos vero vitam.' Ad hæc pater-familias conjuge cum venerandâ.

“ Neotus et iratus citius discedere jussit;
 Ni faciant, dampnum cum corpore ferre minatus,
 Insuper Anglorum rex, causis conceitus hortum,
 Talia concipiens, assecclas ilico misit;
 Præcipit hospellant aut nectant aut quoque cædant,
 Sanctum thesaurum nolens hunc esse relatam.
 Namque furor regis tam sævus canduit inde,
 Illis quod dentum vix copia mansit eundi.
 Celitus allatum dat (1) nobis esse quietum;
 Mittunt (2) egregii pignus fugiendo Neoti;
 Heros probavit, (3) conjunx probat et veneratur.

“ XIX. Eodem itaque temporis articulo, quatinus cunctis innotesceret cujus iste Dei famulus Neotus meriti esset quædam manerandi patris-familias puellula, nobilissimæ vero conjugis suæ sanguinis affinitate propinqua, primitiva adventus sui signorum implorabat eleemosynaria; (4) quæ quidem paralisi membrorum officio suorum per non modica dierum volumina, adeo graviter fuerat destituta. Efflagitant igitur auctores puellulæ fidi, venerandi per Dominum virtutem Neoti. Subito itaque sanctissimi Neoti. puellula celitus persensit adesse virtutis auxilia. Reverentibus enim atque consolidatis compagibus, membrorum (uti prius) integrum recuperavit officium. Reverendus autem pater-familias, uberrimis amplificatus gaudiis, Domini Jesu propalabat magnalia venerationibus dignis: 'Vere,' inquit, 'Omnipotens Dominus nostram suscepit deprecationem, qui propriæ alumne inopinam, per sancti sui præclara Neoti merita, attribuere dignatus est sospitatem; in conspectu enim Divinitatis suæ sic assedit perplacitum,

(1) M.S. "sit." (2) For "linquunt." (3) M.S. "probatum."

(4) M.S. "etom. luntia." The construction is, "implorabat primitiva" for prima "eleemosynaria" for eleemosynam "signorum adventus sui.

ut quæ per servum conferebantur suum Neotum, (1) rata persisterent in adventûs ejus primordio. Ad hanc itaque famam innumeri citati populi; quosque brachio (2) bajulando fideliter deferrebant infirmos, eos (3) redeundo quam validos domus propria excipiebat sanitate jocundos. Multi quoque immundorum invasione Spirituum gravissime conquassati, in ipso etiam initio, priusquam in quo Dei Omnipotentis famuli servabantur exuviæ attingerent locum, (4) obiter emundati sancti confessoris Christi Neoti meritis ab omni vexatione Demoniorum. Ad hoc, diversorum debilitante (5) morborum infestatione nonnulli aggravati, dem ad sancti pignora spe fidissimâ pro posse maturarent, in ipso sunt itinere asciti incolumitati.

“XX. Christianæ ergo professionis temporis processu multiplicatâ numerositate, sacras ibi excubias celebrare immortale laudis sacrificium Deo Omnipotenti persolvere, ceteraque supplicationum munia horis canonicis reddere; unde multo perspicacius signorum eximia inibi coruscare. Cæci namque visum recipere, gressûs officium claudi priscum habere, obstrictæ aurium januæ auditum resumere, atque quibus-quibus morborum generibus obsessi integerrimâ restitutâ medelâ gaudere.

“Denique vir clarus, bonitatis dogmate (6) gnarus,
 Cogitat ecclesiam sancto componere dignam,
 Conjuge cum carâ, virtutum robore clarâ.
 Est quidam fluvius vario sinuamine tensus,
 Tractibus obliquus, quosdam relegens comitatus,
 Fertilitate gravis glebæ patriæ quoque lautis, (7)
 Hunc Austri-zephyri fons gignit ab ore riganti;
 Ast alio de fonte satus, dat abunde meatus;
 Heblus et Ousa sui prisci dixere coloni.
 Hos fontes ambos grato sub amore meritos,

(1) M.S. “Utque par servo conferebant suo Neoto.”

(2) M.S. “b suo.”

(3) M.S. “quos.”

(4) The construction is, “exuviæ attingerent locum in quo servabantur.”

(5) M.S. “debilitate.”

(6) M.S. “dogmine.”

(7) M.S. “deba,” “patris,” “lautis,” refersto “tractibus.”

Qui generant fluvium propriâ de voce parentum,
 His Heblus, Ousa sitûs spatiosum dat sibi litus,
 Indeque torrentum vires confert sociantum ;
 Ac nunquam steriles cursu properante paludes
 Aileci lustrat, quæ nobilis insula constat ;
 Moxque petit Guellam, (1) cujus nectens quoque dextrum,
 Concidit in vasras Neptuni gurgitis undas,
 Hocque sub Oylandâ, (2) nymphis tellure dicatâ.

“ Supra ergo assignâti fluvii ripam, ex provisu (quod credi fas est) divino, sæpe jam dictus familias-pater pari conjugis voto cepit templum edificare, competenti satis (3) litoris loco,

“ Nomine sub Domini confessorisque Neoti ;

“ Quod (4) devoto perficiens opere, curavit etiam eximio contradito cultu condecorare. Religionis quoque sanctissimæ habitos apposuit famulos, qui Omnipotenti Deo sanctoque suo Neoto congruentes devotius persolverent hymnos. Ad hoc, sumptus lautifice eis præ-sanxit necessarios ; locique ipsius nomen, ad perpetuam Sancti Dei, Neoti, memoriam, Neotesberia cognominavit ad præsentem diem, usque sat ex debito jure, Qui profecto locus a Bedfordensi (5) distat fere ter tribus consulata (6) lapidibus. Item alteri bis duobus addito uno miliaris, scilicet Haintendonæ propinquat comitatui. (7) Inter utraque tamen venerandus situs locus utrisque perpatet contiguus. Quia igitur ibi specialiter tanti viri Dei excoluntur pignora, tam circum adjacentes populi, quam longuis remoti, ejus profecto piissima ex eorum

(1) *Wells* by mistake for *Lynn*.

(2) Freebridge Marshland, then (as appears from this) denominated Holland, like North and South Holland in the adjoining Lincolnshire, the *Hoyland* of Hist. Croyl. Contin. 450. and of Ingulphus 513.

(3) M.S. “ satius.” (4) M.S. “ quem.” (5) M.S. “ ad Edefordensi.”

(6) “ Mr. Blomfield does not find the chief magistrate” of Thetford “ was called *Consul*.—But in Domesday we read, that the king had two parts, and the *consulate* one-third. (Gough’s Camden, ii. 101.)

(7) Blomfield translates him, “ the consul, *earl*, though *consulatus* and *comitatus* are plainly distinguished” here in Domesday Book (ibid. ii. 102.)

devotis supplicationibus sentiunt solamina. Nec non procul dubio, quocunque in loco Dei Omnipotentis Neoti corde tenus exequitur memoria, sive consistunt oracula, quæcunque [sint] fide illum expetentium, corda mox exoptata experiuntur levamina. (1) Si enim electorum caput Christus est, et ejus membra Fideles sint, cum Apostolus dicat, 'multi unum corpus sumus in Christo;' profecto mirandum non est, si quæ (2) adhæreant capiti membra, ab eodem accipiant capite quarundem virtutem incrementa. Unde ipsa veritas dicit, 'qui manet in me, et ego in eo.' Mansit et Jesus Christi servus Neotus in eo, cujus etiam mandata incessanter in præsentī perficere studuit vitā, timore casto atque prefecto. Manet autem Christus in Neoto, cum et eum coruscare miraculis facit hoc incississimo labili sectulo, etiam æternum secum regnare gloriā in enarrabili laudis tripudio. (3)

"XXI. Alio quōdam tempore, quædam ejusdem patris-familias vernacula infirmitate laborabat gravissimā. Quæ, dominis diffisis et amicis, nil aliud præstolabatur nisi extrēma. In spiritu tamen, viri Dei Neoti virtutum adhuc vigeant suffragamina. Mox confessor Dei almus Neotus vernaculæ, jam obeunti, visione apparuit manifestā. 'Scito te,' inquit, 'ex Domini mei Jesu Christi virtute pristinæ incolumitatī restitutam esse.' Dixit,

" Ac citius dicto surrexit femina lecto,
Officiūque suum jocundis actibus egit,
Et laudes Christo retulit Sanctoque Neoto.

" Ipse quoque pater-familias, nec minus devotissima conjux, exuberantibus replebantur gaudiis, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi servique sui Neoti gratulabantur magnificentiis; qui, etiam illis diffidentibus, par sanctissima Neoti merita, in vernaculæ morte affuit piissimæ.

" Spira flabat bicorps, (4) brumali frigore fervens,
Cum nive seu pluviis jam membris (5) ipse Decembris;

(1) The construction is, "sive" for si "consistunt oracula," for orationes "quæcunque [sint] expetentium illum fide corda mox experiuntur levamina exoptata."

(2) M.S. "si que."

(3) So in M.S.

(4) So in M.S.

(5) M.S. "membris et ipse."

Septem quippe dies dederat, brevetudine prepes ;
 Hôc simul octavæ celebrantur tempore sacræ
 Andree, Simonis Petri dubio sine fratris,
 Idus cum septem festo numerantur eodem,
 Istius mensis vocitati jure Decembris : (1)

“Cum de quo prædiximus cunctatus (2) (famulus beati confessoris Neoti a Cornu Gallie corpus aquilonaribus detulit Anglis, divinitus. Qui videlicet custos famulus, veluti fidelis servus, domini sui nutibus attentus, mentis exequens (quæ sola vera (3) libertas est) nobilitatem, usque ad suæ ultimam vitæ finem sinceritatis exhibuit devotionem. Quem celicas (4) ad auras, perpetuâ coronandam gloriâ, delatum, cum sanctissimo Dei viro Neoto habitare credimus posteris annis. (5) Cujus etiam fidelis discipuli ossa in eadem sancti vixi ecclesiâ diligenter asseruntur recondita. Innumera quoque de eodem sancto Dei viro Neoto a scientibus apponuntur signorum insignia, quæ non hic (6) certificassimus (7) de causâ, quâ nobis hæc censeantur ambigua aut incredibilia. Ipse enim qui profecto veritas est, Deus, in evangelicis verbis inquit, “ Qui in me credit, opera quæ ego facio et ipse faciet, et majora horum faciet.” Verum de maximis quasi pauca et minima adjudicamus ponere, quatinus his fidem adhibeat ; ne, dum maxima, vel ita nulla colligit, incredibilitate torpescat, ac desidâ pariter et tedio deficiat. Hunc denuo igitur, de quo compendiosus egimus tractatibus, dignis (in quantum possumus) imitari conemur operibus ; ut et, ejus in præsentiarum adminiculis, ab omnibus eripiamur peccatis et periculis, atque custodiam optineamus de futuris, (7) ejus depatrocinantibus (8) meritis, et Fidelium consortio aggregemur perpetuo in cælis : ipso favente, qui pro nobis dignatus est nasci, mori, et resurgere, Jesu Christo Domino nostro, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo Patre, in Sancti Spiritûs unitate, in cuncto seculorum tempore, prorsus nescio metæ. (9) Amen.”

(1) “ St. Andrew's day, now the 30th of November, seems from this intimation to have been 811, Id. Dec. or the 7th of December.

(2) M.S. “ cunctos.”

(3) M.S. “ veræ.”

(4) So M.S. for “ coelites,” or “ coelestes. (5) M.S. “ postî onia.”

(6) M.S. “ hæc.” (7) M.S. “ citicissim ?” (8) M.S. “ de futis.”

(9) M.S. “ de patrocinantibus.” (10) M.S. “ metæ.”

No. III.

FROM JOHANNES TINMOUTHENSIS COTTON M.S. TIBERIUS E. 1.

“THE M.S.” in which this LIFE OF ST. NEOT is contained, says my friend, the procurer of the transcript, “is one of those in the Cotton Library, which were unfortunately damaged, and almost destroyed by fire. It is a mass almost entirely solid, a few leaves, however, proved capable of being opened; and among them, by great hazard, I discovered the Life of St. Neot; and the whole, except, perhaps, a few words, proved to be legible. A search, made by Mr. Ayscough amongst the printed books, showed this accidental recovery of a document almost annihilated, to be of less consequence than might be thought. For he found a printed book, now also before me, containing the same matter under the title of *Nova Legenda Angliæ*. It is a curious old book, and the colophon is in these words: ‘Explicit nova legenda angliæ. Impressa Londonias in domo Winandi de Worde: commorantis ad signum solis: in vico nuncupato (the Flete-strete.) Anno dñi mccccxvi. xxvii die Februarii. ¶ Itaque omnes historie hic collecte: merito dicuntur nove: quia licet quedam de istis etiam reperiuntur apud plures: non tamen ita emendate et correcte sicut in hoc volumine continentur.’” Unknown to my friend, this new author is CAPGRAVE, reciting only Tinmouth’s Lives of the Saints, yet asserting the originality of his own, and founding his assertion on his correctness. But, as my friend proceeds in the same letter, these “Lives are placed in alphabetical order; and that of St. Neot, as far as I have yet compared them, agrees word for word with the Life in the old damaged M.S. And, as my friend added afterwards, “I now send you the transcript, carefully collated and corrected by Mr. Planta and myself; the

differences between the M.S. and the printed copy are so *inconsiderable*, that we did not mark them; but, from the words *De In cidentia*, the remainder is peculiar to the M.S.

“ De Sancto Neoto Abbate et Confessore.

“ Fuit quidam rex Occidentalium Anglorum ac Cantiae, nomine Edulphus, egregiae magis liberalitati studens quam mundanae serviens cupiditati. Multa enim de facultatibus ecclesiis atque pauperibus erogabat. Cunctis ecclesiam oppugnantibus scutum defensionis libere opponebat. Dominus autem, cum sit excelsus humilia respiciens, et alta a longe cognoscens, ejus opera respexit, ei que filium dedit nomine Neotum. Hic itaque Neotus regali prosapia ortus, transactis infanciae annis, literis ac moribus traditur informandus. Non enim a studiis virtutum divinisque disciplinis carnis delectatio, non petulantia, vel mentis elatio. Non pompae secularis revocabat ambicio. Nitorem et gloriam vestium preciosarum, omnemque luxum, penitus abhorrebat. Cum enim militares tetigisset annos, seculari militiae implicari noluit; sed (1) potius temperaliter eligens abjectus esse in domo Dei sui, quam in regio gloriari palacio. In Glastoniensi cenobio monachus sub Dunstano abbate effectus est. Ad tantae religionis in brevi fastigium ascendit, quod nichil ei virtutis et gratiae desse crederetur. Jejuniorum enim et parsimoniae observatione, vigiliis, orationibus, spiritum roborabat et carnis superbiam edomabat. Sicientibus verbi Dei pocula propinabat. Ab obsessis corporibus Demones fugabat, languidis debilibusque medelam salutis conferebat. Catervatim turbae ad eum confluebat, alii corporalem, alii spiritualem curationem flagitantes. Erat autem virtutibus et moribus clarus. Linguam facundus, verbo discretus, scientiam laudabilis, doctrinam mirabilis, consilio utilis, et omnibus factus amabilis, aspectu Angelicus, et corporis brevitate alter Zacheus. Scabello namque ferreo supposito, missas celebravit. Factus autem Sacrista, cum quidam potens instantes ad hostium pulsaret, festinanter accessit, ut pulsanti celeriter

(1) M.S. “ set. ”

aperiret. Nec tamen ad seram in sublimi positam, pro staturæ brevitatem poterat attingere, et ecce sera, divinâ virtute demissa, usque ad succinctorium deposita est. Sicque intrare volenti aperuit, glorificans Dominum qui aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit; qui suis in operibus, semper est ab omnibus et ubique glorificandus. (1)

Populi tandem frequentiam ac favorem declinare affectans, divino præmonitis oraculo, intra Cornubiæ confinia remota solitudinis loca quæsit; unius clientis, nomine Barrii, quem sui fecerat secreti consciunt, comitatu contentus; qui eum nec in vita nec in morte, fidelis semper perseverans, non deseruit. Et, ipso ducente quo præmonente, ad locum sibi a Deo preparatum devenit. Distat enim heremus illa a sancti Petroci in Cornubiâ monasterio, miliaribus fere decem; et, tracto ab ipso viro Dei nomine, ab incolis locus ille Neotstoke appellatur. Erat autem locus ille nemorosus, fluviis perspicuus, et mari affinis. Transactis autem in loco illo, in magnâ vitæ perfectione, septem annis; Romam profectus, a Papâ Martino honorifice suscipitur, utrôque alterius recreato solamine. Postulata cum benedictione assecutus, domum rediit: et, constructo monasterio, monachos congregavit, et frequenti Angelorum visitatione censolari meruit.

“ Erat enim in illo loco fons irriguus, in quo vir Dei tres pisciculos inveniens, tangere non presumpsit, donec revelatione divinâ quid de eis agendum foret agnosceret. Accepit namque ab Angelo divinitus responsum et admonitionem, ut singulis diebus vel quociens expediens foret unum accipiens, reliquos duos semper conservaret intactos. Cumque uno sublato, semper duo illibati permansissent; in crastino, divinâ virtute, piscicularum numerus reperiebatur præfatus. Acçidit enim, ut vir Dei, molestiâ corporis detentus, vix aliquo vesceretur edulio; famulus provide ejus Barrius, condolens et compatiens, duos de fonte auferens pisciculos, unum assatum, alterum elixum, domino suo in disco obtulit; rogans eum et excitans, ut inde comederet. Cumque vir Dei unde pisces allati fuissent requisisset, Barrius simplex et inno-

(1) I have formed all the paragraphs here and hereafter.

cens quod simpliciter fuerat factum recognoscens ostendit. 'Ideo,' inquit, 'Pater, duos de fonte pisciculos sustuli, et diverso modo tibi in edulium preparavi, ut, si forte uno vesci non poteris, ab altero saltem reficiaris.' Tunc Sanctus dixit: 'Quare hoc fecisti? Quare victum, nobis divinitus allatum, temere auferens, contra nutum Dei atque sententiam agere presumpsisti?' Et, piscibus imperio ejus in fonte repositis, pronus solo incumbens ab oratione nequaquam surrexit, donec ei nunciatum fuisset, pisciculos more solito in fonte natare viventes. Tunc unum denuo jussit afferri, et paratum in usum sibi apponi. Et cum ex eo modicum gustasset, illico sanus effectus convaluit.

"Cum viri sancti boves furto sublatis essent, et pro tali periturâ fratres, ad agros egressi, laboribus [frustra] (1) insisterent; ecce! cervi complures, de nemore gregatim advenientes, ad eos mansuetissimi applaudendo preparabant. (2) Quo viso, Neotus colla eorum jugo submitti et aratri apponi jussit; et, longo tempore, bovm vices invisio more suppleverunt. Fures autem, hoc audientes, ablata restituunt; et veniam humiliter implorantes, de cetero ejus consilio adhærentes, vitam emendarunt. Asserunt enim nonnulli cervos illos, et omnes de stirpe eorum prodeuntes, in hujus rei memoriam usque hodie albedinem, circa loca ubi lora tetigerunt, apparentem præterundere. Hoc enim nec asserere contendo, nec de Dei potentiâ diffidens abnegare præsumo.

"Factum est autem, ut idem Domini servus more solito staret in fonte, in quo solitus erat totum ex integro Psalterium persolvere. Cervâ quædam, per nemorum devia canes insequentes fugiens, immoderatis ad eum saltibus accelerabat, supra fontem secus pedes viri Dei corruens, tam diu prostrata jacuit donec liberam ibi abire jussit. Sed et canes, quasi morsus vel ictus afflicti vulnere, retro passim omnes fugam dedere. Venator vero, hoc videns, in terram prostratus sanctum adoravit Neotum; et novum hominem indutus, sacram ab eo habitum suscepit; et in ecclesiâ Sancti Patroci, vice reliquiarum, cornu ejus repositum est.

(1) Supplied by me as necessary to the sense.

(2) So in M.S.

Venit aliquando ad virum Dei frater suus Alfredus rex West-Saxonum, corpore humiliatus, et mente benedictionem ejus ex-postulans. Quem benedicens, edocuit et eruditum eum, scientiâ viam prudentiæ ostendens illi. Prævos ejus redarguens actus, jussit in melius converti, et tanto securius quanto propinquius de sanguinæ ejus tractus. Alio quoque tempore regem eundem de tyrannidis improbitate, de superbâ regiminis austeritate, acriter sanctus increpavit Neotus. Apponebat ei Sanctum David, quem ad regendum de post fetantes Dominus acceperat, (1) mansuetum, et omnibus humilitatis exemplar humilitati electum et approbatum, Asserebat et Saulem superbiâ reprobatum, qui cum parvulus esset in oculis suis, caput constitutus fuerat in tribubus Israel. 'Quid gloriaris,' inquit, 'maliciâ, qui potens es in iniquitate? Elevatus es ad modicum, et non subsistes, et sicut summitates spicarum contereris. Ubi est gloriatio tua? Et, si nondum exclusa est, aliquando tamen excludetur. Ipso enim regiminis principatu, cujus inani gloriatio te ipsum excedendo superbis, in proximo privaberis. Irrumpentibus quippe intra regionem istam barbaris, atque Dei permissione triumphantibus, vix solus evadens vagus et per fugus eris, super terram. Sicque pauper et egenus aliquandiu latitabis, timens, ne omnis qui invenerit te occidat te. Cum autem hujusmodi infortunii cognoveris effectum, confortare et esto robustus; viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum. In omnibus Dei misericordiæ memor eris, qui cum iratus fuerit misericordiæ recordabitur. Noveris enim me devotis apud Dominum intercessionibus optinuisse, ut suppressâ quanquam (2) tantæ adversitatis importunitate, pristinae iterum prosperitatis jocunditate et plenâ gaudebis regiminis restitutione; si tamen agere perversè quieveris, et dignâ penitueris satisfactione. Nunc igitur quantocius Romam legatos dirigens, Martinum Papam magnis ampliare muneribus ne tardes; suppliciter rogans, ut Anglicam scholam, in eadem urbe sitam, libertati non deneget applicare; ut,

(1) Psalm lxxvii. Vulgate "de post fetantes accepit eum," lxxviii. 71, Engl. Transl. "from following the ewes great with young." &c.

(2) M.S. "Quamque."

per hoc beneficium, gratias tibi præstetur inter incommoda subsidium. Ego vero post modicum viam universæ carnis ingrediar, et, quæ tibi prædico futurum tibi, credere ne differas.' Missis itaque Romam nunciis, quod petebat impetravit; misitque ei Papa, cum multis sanctorum reliquiis, crucis sanctæ non modicam portionem.

“ Sanctus tandem Domini confessor, Angelis (1) in sublime plaudentibus, debitum humano generi resolutus in mortem, cælo gaudenter susceptus est pridie calendas Augusti. Tanta (2) enim tamque delectabilis (3) longe lateque totam aeris temperiem odoris reddidit fragrantia, ut advenientes ac remoti se subito faterentur renovari dulcedine, et ægroti quique sanari. Terra quippe sepulturæ illius, cum piâ veneratione languentibus tradita, multis medicinaliter noscitur profuisse. Gustata quippe pro quolibet invaliditudinis genere, tam homines quam jumenta (4) convalescere faciebat. Cum autem secundum prophetiam viri Dei Anglia Barbaris irrupentibus vexaretur, Alfredusque rex (ut in gestis ejus clarius elucescit) vagus, profugus, et humiliatus factus fuisset; noctis profunditate, cum idem rex, totius expertus quietis, curis vallaretur mordacibus, affuit confessor Dei, Sanctus Neotus, vultus et habitus nitore locum irradians. Ille vero erectis in sanctum luminibus et immobiliter defixis, ut quis esset certius agnosceret; talibus ab eo sciscitatus est alloquiis. ‘ Quod, rex,’ inquit, ‘ tot deprimeris angustiis, an ignoras quam cogitationes hominum vanæ sunt, et qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem, assumunt pennas ut aquilæ, volabunt et non deficient? Cur, unum oblitus necessarium, tot et tantis perturbationibus mente exagitaris? Securus esto, quod si bona egisti bona procul dubio recipies, si vero mala [egisti mala recipies. (5)] Jam judicium pertulisti; neque enim judicabit Dominus bis in id ipsum. Pone igitur modum tristitiæ, ac de cætero desideratâ perfruere jocunditate. Ad hoc enim me misit Dominus de supernâ sanctorum quiete, ut tua jam terminetur miseria, si tamen juste vivendo meis consiliis acquiescas. Si igitur continentiæ, pacis, pietatis, innocentiae sectator

(1) M.S. “Anglis.”

(2) M.S. “tantam.”

(3) M.S. “delectabilem.”

(4) M.S. “juventa.”

(5) Supplied by me.

fuēris, ac exemplo ante te regnantium patrum totius emulatores
iustitiæ; in solio regali post modicum restitueris. Et ne visionem
hanc illusoriam arbitreris, ego sum ille Neotus Dei cultor et
amicus, qui tuis exigentibus culpis hos infœruntis casus tibi futuros
præcinnuit. Semper tamen tui inemor incommodi, nunquam pro
te Dominum Interpellare quievi. Ipse autem in modico quasi de-
reliquit te, ut in miserationibus suis assuñat te. (1) Non solum
de tyrannicâ rabie victoriosus triumphabis, sed et ipsam tyrannum,
Christianum effectum, Christo assignabis, et univēsa ejus arma in
quibus confidebat auferens, spolia ejus ut placet distribues. Sep-
timâ itaque post Dominicam Resurrectionem hebdomadâ congregato
contra eos exercitu, in prævio gaudebis et protectore donec
omnia quæ polliceor feliciter compleantur. His dictis, sanctis
terum receptus in gloriâ (2) disparuit. Cum autem Alfredus rex
cum Guthrun rege Danorum se pararet ad prælium, ecce! in
nocte Sanctus Neotus Angelicâ specie, niveâ canitie, vestibus
fulgidis et odoriferis, regi Alfredo visibiliter apparuit, arma secum
belligeta deferens. Rex quippe, sollicitus ac devotus, sancto præ-
missum adventum ac præsidium desiderabat; cui et ait: 'Sar-
gens tolle moras, ad palmam præparatus victoriæ. Sicut enim in
angustiis præmonitor, sic in itinere nichilominus tuus ero ductor.
Nunc igitur, ut viri fortes et ad bella doctissimi, cras egrediemini
et Dominus erit vobiscum. Dominus enim fortis et potens, Do-
minus potens in prælio, qui dat salutem regibus, per me famulum
suum optato vos triumpho ditabit cum salute. Ego autem vos fœ-
et gloriosos ac superbos humiliabo. Et in conspectu meo inimici
vestri cadent gladio.' Commisso itaque prælio, rex Alfredus sanc-
tum Neotum inimicos conterentem et inep̄tos reddentem vidit et
agnovit, et brevi sermone, conversus ad suos, in hæc verba pro-
rupit. 'Commilitones,' inquit, 'mei bellatores incliti, nomen
videtis eum qui nostros hostes conficit? Si nosse desideratis,
ipse est procul dubio Neotus, Christi miles invictissimus, per

(1) Isaiah, liv. 7. Vulgate "ad modicum dereliqui te, et in miserationibus
magnis diligētiabo te."

(2) So in M.S.

quem hodie presto est in manibus nostris palma victoriae. Devicto itaque rege Danico, et in loco quodam cum suis obsesso, cum viginti primatibus suis ac aliis quasi innumeris, seitate deposita Alfredum regem mansuetus audivit, et in fide Christi instructus baptismam suscepit, et cum suis ad propria rediit. Rex autem Alfredus, in solio denuo regali sublimatus, sectando justitiam a culpâ jejunavit, et reliquum vitæ suæ tempus sanctissimis venustavit commerciis pie regens sub rege piissimo a quo pie regebatur. O quam pia recordatio, quam attollenda laudatio, quam pium est sancti Neoti præconium! Per eum rex in melius corrigitur, in regnum restituitur; tyrannica rabies in mansuetudinem convertitur: cultus Dæmonum evacuatur; grex Catholicus augmentatur.

Venerabilis quædam matrona, nomine Lewina, Encloesbiri quæ nunc villa Sancti Neoti dicitur Domina, ubi quondam ejusdem sancti corporis glebam sive reliquias discipulus ejus Barri, divinitus admonitus, detulerat; ad monasterium Croulandiæ, cui frater suus Osketellus præfuit, barbarorum metuens hostilitatem, amore fraterno compulsa, reliquias Sancti Neoti adduxit, sicut scriptum in eodem monasterio palam ostenditur. Unde postea, dubitantibus de hâc quibusdam fratribus, abbas cum devotione accensis cereis loculum cum timore frangens, invenit testam capitis, ossa de collo, de scapulis, de thorace, nonnulla ossa tibiæ et coxarum. Has enim [partes] secum Domina præfata attulit, in priori loco ossibus quibusdam cum cineribus dimissis. Translata enim fuerunt ossa illa ab abbate Henrico, et juxta altare in honore ejus constructum collocata, Anno Domini millesimo ducesimo tertio decimo. (1)

“ De incidentiâ venerabilis Stephanus Valeriæ provinciæ presbyter, cum quâdam die de itinere domum regressus fuisset, mancipio suo negligenter loquens præcepit dicens, ‘Veni, Diabole, discalcia me.’ Ad cujus vocem mox cœperunt se caligarum

(1) Here Capgrave ends his transcript, and leaves Tinmouth to go on with his concluding foolery by himself, not as foolery indeed, but as impertinence in a Life of St. Neot. Even Capgrave could feel this.

corrigiæ in summâ velocitate solvere; ut aperte constaret, quod ei ipse qui nominatus fuerat ad extrahendas caligas, Diabolus, obedisset. Quod mox ut presbyter vidit, vehementer expavit, magnisque vocibus clamare cœpit, dicens; ‘recede, miser recede, non enim tibi sed mancipio meo sum locutus.’ Ad cujus vocem protinus recessit. Quâ in re colligi potest antiquus hostis, qui tam presto est factis corporalibus, quam nimiis insidiis nostris cogitationibus insistat.

“Neote, dilecte Deo, vitâ eras et animo consecratus Domino; nunc exultas in fulgido Angelorum consortio. Recedebas a sæculo, semper vacans soli Deo; qui te junxit sidereo Angelorum contubernio. Ibi nostri memor esto. Ora pro nobis.

“Præstra, quæsumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut qui glóriosi confessoris tui atque abbatis commemorationem agimus piam apud (1) Majestatis tuæ clementiam in nostrâ intercessionem sentiamus, per,” &c.

(1) M.S. “apud piam.”

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