agreed to coordinate the British fundraising with the help of other British colleagues. One way or another, we have every expectation of enjoying our new quarters and producing new records collections for many years to come.

The REED Executive Committee met in May and approved several new collections including two involving the records of great households. We feel this is a significant new departure for us but one we have found necessary if we hope to be able to track the travelling players in all their venues. The Executive also approved changes in my title and that of Sally-Beth MacLean. Dr MacLean has become the Executive Editor of the project while I have been designated Director. The change in titles now properly represents the roles we have come to play in the life of REED. It is Dr MacLean who carries the day-to-day editorial responsibility for the project and directs the ongoing research.

At a meeting of the British fundraising group in Manchester in July, it was agreed that one of the first steps in raising REED’s profile in the UK is to establish a Records of Early English Drama Society. There will be more news of this development in the next issue of the Newsletter.

WILLIAM G. COOKE

Lexicographic gleanings from the Cambridge records

While every REED volume has yielded lexicographic fruit, the harvest from Cambridge has been unusually plentiful and varied. This is due chiefly to the large size of the collection, the unusually large amount of continuous prose as against inventories and accounts, and the way that documents relating to the university are peppered with its peculiar usages and terminology.

Not a little of the linguistically interesting material, however, comes from college inventories, namely those listing church vestments and furnishings. These come within REED’s purview because aging robes and hangings tended to be passed on for use in plays; and while that seems to have been usual even before the Reformation, the drastic simplification of outward forms of worship following the promulgation of the second Prayerbook of Edward VI in 1552 markedly accelerated the process, while the return of the old practices under Mary I actually led to some reconversion of costumes into vestments. These vicissitudes are clearly illustrated in a series of college inventories surviving from the 1540s and 50s, and printed in the REED collection (1.152-4, 159-62, 169-72, 180-3, 189-90).¹

In all these lists, terms appear that have now passed out of use or (more dangerous still) changed their meaning; and to ensure that users of Cambridge were presented with the facts, the REED glossarians had to devote considerable study to such works as The Ornaments of the Rubric by J.T. Micklethwaite and the surviving printed inventories of the vestments that King Edward’s commissioners confiscated from parish churches. These works convinced us, for instance, that altar clothe in these records (153/32 etc) means not the white linen cloth spread on the top of an altar (as it would today) but the embroidered frontal hung across its front; that vestment (159/29 etc) means specifically the priest’s chasuble; and that the ij tunacles and a vestyment of 152/37, like the sute of 152/35, were a matching set of vestments for the three ministers at high mass, of which only the subdeacon’s garment would be called a tunicle now. Some terms appeared in rare or previously unrecorded forms; thus fanons (embroidered bands worn hanging from the wrist, now more usually called maniples) appear as fanelles

¹
(153/18), and orphreys (ornamental bands on mass-vestments) as orphas (181/20), while apparels (pieces of coloured cloth attached to alb and changed with the liturgical season) appear as par(r)antes (153/7, 154/4). Cassoke (169/24 etc) turned out not to be an ecclesiastical term at all; for according to the OED, the word was not restricted to the clerical garment until Restoration times, and in the period of the records it meant a tunic of varying length, worn by both sexes.

A few puzzles remain unsolved. Croyser (80/2) derives historically from or croisier from a Latin type *cruciarius, and so ought to mean 'cross-bearer'; but since the croyser in the records attended a boy-bishop, it seems more likely that here as often the word has supplanted the historically correct crocer ((Lat crociarius) and means one who carried a bishop's crook for him. The seroscyn clothed mentioned at 153/31 should from its form be a searing-cloth, ie, a straining cloth (OED 'Searce' v); but that is not a known church utensil, and the inventory specifies the material as velvet, which seems ill adapted for straining. This black velvet cloth marked with a white satin cross was more likely a subcingulum, a bishop's belt, though if so the records form must have been influenced by surcingle.

Two more ecclesiastical terms unrelated to costume deserved mention. Fastingham, found both alone (178/39) and in the phrase festyngham Tuesday (99/33), must be a corruption of the common late Middle and early Modern English Fastingong 'Shrove Tuesday', itself thought to have been distorted from an original *fasten-gang 'spell of fasting', meaning Lent. Washe wensdaie for Ash Wednesday (194/35) is a peculiar development, curiously reminiscent of the Victorian anecdote about a Tractarian clergyman who wrote a letter dated 'St Luke's Day' to his Evangelical bishop and received an answer dated 'Washing-day'.

The Cambridge records bear ample testimony to the details of university life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for elucidating these the glossarians received much welcome help from Mark H. Curtis's Oxford and Cambridge in Transition (Oxford, 1959). Disputacions appears (230/15 etc) as the name for the formal academic debates in which students had to take part to qualify for their degrees. Questionist, the technical term for the man who propounded and defended the proposition to be debated, appears only in Latin dress (questionistarum, 309/3); in the English records he is called the answerer (508/25 etc), while those who spoke after him, trying to criticize or impugn his arguments, are called repliars (508/24 and 26). Undergraduates who had entered upon these exercises were called sophisters (626/7); a by-form of this, sophimer, is the original of modern sophomore. We find the regents (502/14 etc), junior masters of arts who presided over these exercises as moderators (508/27, 33; 509/8), distinguished from the non-regents (504/21 etc) who had served their five years at this probably tedious duty and were thenceforth excused. An account of a visit to Cambridge by Charles I, then Prince of Wales, and his brother-in-law the Count Palatine Frederick V furnishes a fairly detailed description of these contests, and also of the congregacion (507/21) of masters and doctors in which an answerer who had acquitted himself well received his degree. The motion granting this was a grace, as a favour that the university could bestow or withhold at pleasure (507/22). Each candidate, called a son, was individually presented by a sponsor called his father (508/21) - usually his tutor, as the recognized scholar best able to vouch for the neophyte's competence. Thus the ceremony bore a marked resemblance to a baptismal rite, and contrasts favourably with its attenuated and perfunctory descendant as practised in most universities now.

Another contrast is presented by the unquestioning acceptance of social and academic distinctions in Tudor and Stuart Cambridge. Undergraduates were divided into rigid classes. Scholars (288/35 etc) lived in the colleges and shared a modest part of the endowment revenues with the fellows (108/9 etc), the qualified graduates for whose maintenance those foundations were chiefly intended. Pensioners (pensionarij, 567/29) lived in a pensionary (485/19), a building attached to but distinct from their college;
they paid for their room and board, or *commons* (149/3), and also for their tuition. A select group of them, possessed of ample means and usually of distinguished birth, had the privilege of eating at the fellows’ table in hall, where the fare was then as now considerably better than below the dais; these were styled *fellow-commoners* (561/17–18) or said to be ‘in the fellows’ commons’ (271/13–14). Sizars were at the opposite end of the undergraduate social scale; they earned their tuition by waiting on their betters and doing chores about their college. In the records they are never mentioned by that name, but do appear at times as *poor scholars* 191/1, 634/13).

Strict regulations ensured that every man’s place in the university could be told at once from his dress, and to understand allusions to this we had recourse to W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley’s *History of Academical Dress in Europe* (Oxford, 1963). In the testimony surviving from an inquiry into a riotous brawl that broke out over the Trinity College play in 1611, for instance, it was noted as a fact of some importance whether a particular rioter was wearing the ‘square cap’ of a graduate or scholar, from which the modern mortarboard derives, or a pensioner’s round one (461/27, 467/18); and when a master of arts from St John’s claimed admission to the play by right of his degree, he was rudely asked ‘where was his hood & habitt’ (447/2), the latter being the cape-like garment that *mas* were expected to wear at all times.

University government was equally hierarchial, and to understand references to that we had to read Searle and Clark’s introduction to their edition of *Cambridge Grace Book* (Cambridge, 1908). The records contain many references to the *heads* (349/32 etc), the council of chief officers of the colleges and halls who in the time of Elizabeth had acquired most of the governing-powers originally exercised by all the *mas* together, although the *Regent House* where the junior masters assembled still figures as a place where formal decrees were passed and higher degrees conferred (509/37 etc). Then as now, *master* was the normal title of the head of a college, and only the head of King’s was styled *Provost* (243/37); but with *President* older and modern Cambridge usage seem to differ. This title is now given only to the head of Queen’s, and the Latin equivalent duly appears in the Records as *praeses* and *praesidens* (145/9, 147/8). The records, however, also mention a president at Christ’s in 1544 (131/25 etc) and again in 1613–14 (516/35), and at St John’s in 1563 (220/35), and again in 1611 (442/15). The context of the 1544 examples, and a set of orders and monitions promulgated by the university in 1636 ‘to be published by the Masters or their presidents’ (666/10) show that these presidents were not heads of colleges but some kind of deputies to the masters with special responsibility for disciplining junior members, equivalent to modern deans. The statutes of Christ Church College, Oxford explicitly empower the fellows to elect such a president from among themselves, and the references in *Cambridge* suggest that this practice may once have been common in both universities. It will be interesting to see whether the *reed* Oxford collection provides any corroboration.

Of many other university terms in the records ‘salting’ deserves particular notice. It is well known that this meant initiating freshmen with mock ceremonies, the equivalent and direct ancestor of modern hazing. But Alan Nelson has been able to identify the rites more specifically and lay to rest the belief, perpetuated in the *OED*, that the name arose from a custom of making the victims drink salted beer (see *Cambridge*, Appendix 8).

The vocabulary of performing and staging is well represented in *Cambridge* but affords few surprises. Perhaps the most notable addition to our stock of knowledge in this field are the clear examples of *repeate* and *repeating chamber* to mean ‘rehearse’ and ‘rehearsal-room’ (530/6, 519/41), a usage hitherto much better attested for French *répéter* and its derivations than for their English counterparts. And whereas the only theatrical sense of *stager* given in the *OED* is ‘actor’, *Cambridge* provides clear examples of a sense ‘stage usher’ (456/5, 460/8, etc). The *oed* does list this sense for *stagekeeper*, but only with a query; *Cambridge* provides a wealth of undoubted examples (309/14–15 etc), which
should be welcome to any future editor of Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*.

More Jacobean staging-terms appear in the account of the royal visit of 1612, when Great St Mary's church was fitted up for the degree ceremony. We learn that 'ye Princes seat getted [ie, jutted] out before ye Noblemens Gallery' (508/9-10), which in turn was provided with a 'deske': probably a bench with a rail in front, perhaps fitted with a sloping shelf for books and other small portable objects, like the permanent desks of the clergy and choir. The *ascends* (507/36, 39) provided at the west end for fellow-commoners were probably tiered seats resembling modern bleachers. What was the *staple* made for the Trinity College plays on the same occasion (497/34)? It was surely more than a U-shaped metal cleat, since a carpenter was paid 5 shillings for the making of it, then a considerable sum. *Staple* meaning some kind of wooden post or column is attested in the *oED* from *Beowulf* down to the fourteenth-century writer Trevisa; the records passage seems to show that it survived for another two hundred years and more.

Most of us talk at one time or another of being on tenterhooks; how many of us known that they were right-angled nails, mainly used for securing cloth to a stretcher or frame? They are mentioned several times in the records as *tainterhookes* or *teyternayles* (93/23; 208/30, 33; 211/24). We wish we knew as much about the *trashe nayle* that were also bought for plays at Trinity College in 1559–60 (208/32). The *stigs* used along with nails in setting up for the 1612 Trinity plays (498/38) were fairly certainly wooden dowels; what is uncertain is whether this is merely an old spelling of *stiches* or some variant of the word entered as 'Stag' sb4 in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.

A Queens' College document of 1638 furnishes a complete description of a dismantlable 'stage', meaning not only the acting-platform but also the 'stage-houses' where the properties were kept (677/12 etc) and the galleries where the spectators were seated. The word *iace*, occurring frequently in this text (689/34 etc), occasioned no little puzzlement until it was recognized as a phonetic spelling of *jeast*, a known variant of *join*, carelessly pronounced without its *i*.

Costumes, properties, accessories, and tools raised some fascinating questions. John Holles owned a set of 'barrier hose' that his son Denzel might have had to act in at Cambridge (536/12); were these hose that the elder Holles had actually worn to tilt at the barriers? What was the 'golden carele for a queene' that St John's College owned in 1563 (220/19)? *Carrel* has occurred elsewhere in *REED* texts as the name of a fabric, but that meaning seems to make little sense here; *carol* is attested meaning a ring of dancers or standing stones, but not a ring as a piece of jewellery. The only promising analogue in English seems to be *The Seven Sages of Rome* 2885-8: 'Scho putte ilke resche in other / And made a karole in a stounde. / The ton hende touched to grounde, / And the othir scho helde on heygh.' Here the *karole* is apparently some kind of chain or braid, a sense for which the *oED* editors found parallels in Old French. This is the most likely meaning for *carele* in the St John's inventory.

An earlier St John's inventory of 1556/7 includes 'a great Long Cofer with Jackes & splentes': that is, jackets, probably of leather, with metal accessories to cover the elbows and perhaps other vulnerable points, to guard the wearers against blows. But what was the *sacke* that the senior bursar of Trinity lent or gave 'to chamberes my pore scoler' in connection with a play there (191/1-2)? Was this another such jacket, a jug or tankard of liquor, or a joint of mutton or other meat? The *oED* records *jack* in all these senses.

At St John's in 1549 a smith was paid for mending the locks, key and 'gymnaws' of another chest used to hold 'the playeres gere' (159/14–15). After much throwing about of brains, one of the glossarians identified 'gymnaws' as an eccentric spelling of *gemels* meaning 'hinges'.

In 1564, when the students of King's played for Queen Elizabeth, 'the Lord Robert [Dudley], Steward to the Universitie, and Mr. Secretarie Cecil,... vouchsafed to hold both books on the scaffold themselves' (231/24–5). It seems unlikely that men of such
consequence would have acted as prompters; but if not, what were they doing?

The only notable addition to the vocabulary of music seems to be *staplers* (203/29), appearing in an inventory of the goods of a dead wait. These have nothing to do with the staple discussed above, but are mandrels for making the brass tubes connecting the reeds of reed-instruments to the wooden shaft.²

Terms for performers are almost as sparse. At Trinity College the head of the Christmas revels was called not 'Lord of Misrule' but 'emperor' (155/24); John Dee, our informant, tells us he invented the term himself. A more puzzling figure is the Lord of the Taps or Lord Taps appointed annually for the Sturbridge Fair. Although he carried taps for beer-kegs on his belt and was concerned with the retailing of drink, these seem to have been secondary developments; his main job was to signal the beginning and end of each day of the fair by playing some instrument. While two Jacobean Lords Taps clearly used a trumpet to do this, the name itself argues that the original instrument must have been a drum; no one, surely, would ever have called horn-toots 'taps'? Hence we just may have evidence here of the origin of 'Taps' as the name for the signal marking the end of the work-day in the American army, which lexicographers had until now been unable to trace any earlier than 1824 (*A Dictionary of Americanisms*, (ed) Mitford Matthews, 2 vols, Chicago, 1951).

Dialect words are rare in the Cambridge records, as might be expected when so many of them issued from one of the nurseries of standard English. But in the account of the 1611 riot, taken down directly from oral testimony, we find the rare *poate* meaning push or thrust (437/35), and the elder Holles, writing from his country house, used *cossed* (536/22), a form displaying the same early loss of *r* in provincial speech as the surviving *ass, cuss, and hoss* for *arse, curse, and horse*. The older form was *corses*, and the word means 'swapped' or 'traded off', with the implication of getting rid of a bad piece of goods. It was mostly used of horses; students of the Elizabethan drama may remember the horse-corser who gets both duped and drenched in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Another odd term to do with horses is *horsing up* in the Trinity College accounts for 1612–13 (498/29), apparently meaning 'mounting (men) on horses for a journey'; this sense is not recorded in the *oed*. *Carefully* (537/8) for 'carefully' is a curious form; either it has been influenced by *charily* or it derives from *oed* *cearu*, a West-Saxon form that one would not expect to find surviving in East Anglia. *Sweake* in 'to sweake a Iohnian wit' (Ap 2) cannot be Golding's word meaning 'sweep' (*Ovid's Metamorphoses* viii. 108). If related to Barnfield's noun *sweake* meaning 'trap' (*Affected Shepherd* 13), the verb must mean 'ensnare'; but it may be a dialectal development of *oe swican*, ME *sweike*, 'betray'.

Very intriguing is the verb *link*, used repeatedly in the riot depositions of 1611 (426/32–3 etc) but apparently nowhere else. The corresponding noun is the well-known word meaning a torch, and from the context it is clear that the Trinity College ushers used unlighted torches as batons for crowd control; the verb evidently means to strike someone with one of these. While it could easily have been formed from the noun, another source could have been a dialect variant of the verb recorded as 'Linge' in the *oed* and 'Linch' in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* meaning 'beat' or 'thrash'; we should perhaps postulate OE verbs *lencan* and *lyncan*, parallel to *bencan* and *byncan*.

The records contain several references to 'the howse' (291/22), 'the howesse' (292/16) and 'howis greene' (491/10) as a place where games were held or projected. Alan Nelson's researches established that this was a site by the Huntingdon Road about a mile northwest of the centre of Cambridge; the name is in fact 'the Hows' and must refer to a group of small hills or mounds (probably ancient barrows), although none are visible there now. *Cambridge* thus adds to the evidence that this word, now restricted to the North of England, was once used much more widely.

The records have further enhanced our knowledge of the history of English by providing earlier examples of words than the *oed* editors could find. *Scoffyinge* (468/4)
seems to be an eccentric spelling of *scuffing* meaning ‘trading light blows’. Modern *scuffling* displays the same stem with a frequentative suffix, but the *OED* cites the simple form only from Scottish writers of the nineteenth century. If *overly* (139/24) is an error for *overly* meaning ‘excessively’, then Stephen Gardiner’s use of this word in 1544 helps to establish its continuity; the *OED* editors could not find this sense exemplified between 1014 and 1827. Gardiner also used *exhibition* to mean ‘submission for inspection’ (139/11), a sense that the *OED* does not record before 1701.

A passage by Thomas Nashe printed in Appendix 3 provides examples of the bold coinages and nonce-uses that characterized his style. For instance, he used *vnico* (848/32), evidently as a borrowed Italian or Spanish word, six years before the *OED* can find evidence of the naturalized form *unique*. He called a dunce ignorant of the rudiments of Latin grammar a ‘qui quae codshead’ (849/2), a coinage whose aptness will strike anyone remembering Sir Hugh’s examination of William in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (iv.i), and which incidentally provides corroborative evidence for the pronunciation of Latin *qu* as *c* in Elizabethan England, on which the puns in the Shakespeare passage depend. Nashe pillories the chief character of *Pedantius* as a ‘firking finicaldo fine Schoolmaster’ (849/17–18); and while *firking* meaning ‘thrusting’ is well attested as an Elizabethan term of reproach, *finicaldo* appears nowhere else and seems to be Nashe’s own splice of a Spanish ending to an English root of which he must have been particularly fond, since he was also the first writer to use *finical* and *finicality*. *Buffianisme* (849/20) is another typical Nashe coinage, made from the verb *buff* ‘go phut’ on the analogy of *ruffian*. The *OED* cites *collachrymate* ‘mingled with tears’ only from Nashe’s *Christ’s Tears*, but the records provide a second example from *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (849/26); evidently no else has ever wanted the word. *Dodrans*, the Latin for three fourths, becomes in Nashe’s hands a disparaging epithet for the younger brother of his adversary Gabriel Harvey: *Dodrans Dicke* is ‘Dick Half-Pint’ as it were (849/2).

Another writer responsible for some peculiar usages was James Tabor, the University Registrary, whose record of the Count Palatine’s visit displays several Germanisms. When listing the Palatine’s followers, Tabor styles two of them ‘Amptman’ (512/28, 32), a German word for a bailiff, steward, or similar officer that English writers of this period occasionally picked up. *President* appears in its continental sense ‘governor of a town’ (512/11), and the Palatine’s Master of the Horse is styled ‘Stallmaster’ (513/30), a literal rendering of German *Stallmeister* not otherwise attested. In ‘vicedominus of Newstadt’ (512/7) the first word is apparently Latin *vice-dominus*, a back-formation from French *vidame* meaning a secular lord who held territory from a bishop and acted for him in secular matters; either Tabor used this as more intelligible to English readers than the German equivalent *Vogt* or else the French term actually enjoyed some vogue in the Rhineland, where French cultural influence was stronger than in other parts of the Empire. Was the Palatine’s ‘Tymekeeper’ (514/1) an official who made sure the retinue performed their duties at the proper times, or one who reminded his master of his own appointments like a modern equerry?

When James I himself came to Cambridge in 1615, the antiquarian Wickstede noted the visit and recorded a tip of 20s ‘to the waymaker’ (532/28). This was apparently the official usually styled the Surveyor of the Ways, who went ahead of the sovereign’s retinue as it travelled to ensure that the intended route was passable.

A few odds and ends remain, casting welcome sidelights on the everyday life of the period. We find Pryne disparaging ‘such as reckon no more of their studies, than spend-all Gentlemen of their cast-suites’ (856/28): that is, of the clothes they passed on to their menservants as soon as they went out of fashion. Like everyone else, the REED glossarians thought ‘sea coale’ (530/20–1) was coal that reached London by sea; but on turning up the phrase in the *OED*, they found a cogent argument that that derivation cannot account for early instances of *carbo maris* in documents from the coal-producing regions themselves, which argue instead for a meaning ‘coal exposed by the sea’s washing
the coasts'. *Burnt wine* (489/30) turned out to be a similar case. Knowing that the equivalent in other Germanic languages meant brandy, the glossarians and everyone they consulted assumed that the English phrase meant the same; but the quotations in the *OED* and some instances of 'burned beere' in other *REED* collections have convinced them that 'scalded or heated wine' is the true meaning. What was the *tarrat* from which Thomas Hickson witnessed the riot of 1611 (470/31)? The context suggests a garden terrace, but for that *tarrat* is an inexplicable and otherwise unattested form.

Samuel Johnson's definition of a lexicographer as 'a harmless drudge' was a characteristic piece of self-deprecation. *REED* lexicographers may be harmless as doves but must also be wise as serpents – if it be wisdom to possess a word-hoard of antiquarian trivia and a talent for applying it to the solution of scholarly conundrums. And if drudgical at times, the job has its rewards every now and again when it produces a genuine addition to our stock of knowlege: not only of philology and dialectology but also of history – social, ecclesiastical, and topographical – and of the classies of the English drama.

**NOTES**

1 Cambridge being in proof as this article was written, the page and line references supplied may not turn out in all cases to be exact. When the collection is published, however, the reader will be able to find all words discussed here by using the glossary.

2 This was explained to the glossarians by Dr David Klausner, editor of *REED*’s forthcoming Hereford and Worcester collection, and himself a professional performer on early wind-instruments.

3 The judgements and opinions expressed in this piece are the writer’s own, and he assumes full responsibility for them. He would like, however, to record his thanks to Professor Nelson for agreeing to its publication in advance of his volume.

**MARK C. PILKINTON**

**Pageants in Bristol**

The word 'pageant' in the pre-1642 Bristol records seems to have had three meanings: (1) a scripted performance which told a story or made a point through performer's speeches, songs, or mimed action; (2) a set or backdrop used visually to support the performance of a play; and (3) a device or object with theological connotations that was carried, held, or pulled ('borne') through the city streets on holidays.

The earliest direct reference to the word 'pageant' in the Bristol records occurs with the 22–26 May 1486 visit of Henry VII. In the manuscript which survives (BL Cotton Julius B xii ff 18v–21), the five pageants mentioned are clearly scripted and rehearsed performances. The first pageant took place at the town gate through which the King entered the City and was 'A pageaunt with great melodie and singing' with speeches by King Bremmius, the legendary founder of Bristol. The second pageant occurred at the High Cross and was 'a pageaunt ful of maydyn Childern Richely besene' with speeches by Prudence. Pageant 3, at St John's gate, was 'A Nother pageaunt of many Mayden Childern Richely beseue with girdelles bedes & ouches' with speeches by