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The Scottish Text Society

The Chronicles of Scotland

Compiled by Hector Boece

The Chronicles of Scotland

Compiled by Hector Boece

Translated into Scots by

JOHN BELLENDEN

1531

EDITED

*IN CONTINUATION OF THE WORK OF THE
LATE WALTER SETON*

BY

R. W. CHAMBERS AND EDITH C. BATHO

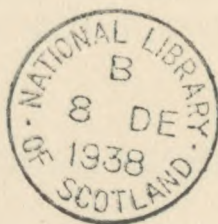
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EDITORS' PREFACE.

THIS edition of the Pierpont Morgan MS. of Bellenden's translation of the *History* of Hector Boece was planned and begun through the energy of the late Walter Seton. His death in 1927 must always be lamented by scholars and more particularly by his colleagues, and it is in part as a tribute to his memory that the present editors reprint below, the article¹ in which he and one of them explained the grounds on which they decided on editing the Pierpont Morgan in preference to other MSS.

BELLENDEN'S TRANSLATION OF THE HISTORY OF HECTOR BOECE.

In October 1919 the present writers published in the *Scottish Historical Review* (xvii. 12) an article dealing with some features of the *Translation of the History of Hector Boece*, by John Bellenden, Canon of Ross, and called attention to an important Manuscript of Bellenden, the Auchinleck Manuscript, now in the Library of University College, London. In particular, attention was directed to the important and significant differences between the Auchinleck text and the printed text of c. 1540, reprinted in 1821-22.

One result of the former article was an invitation from the Scottish Text Society to the present writers to prepare an edition of Bellenden for that Society. The invitation was accepted, as it appeared highly desirable that a new

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xix., April 1922, pp. 196-201.

and more accurate edition of Bellenden's *Chronicle* should be attempted, in the hope that it might be a not altogether unfitting sequel to Professor Craigie's admirable edition of Bellenden's *Livy* for that Society. The new edition is now in course of preparation; but as some time must elapse before the first volume can appear, it may be of interest to students of Scottish history to have now some additional information which has come to light.

The further result of the article was to bring from various sources valuable information as to other Manuscripts of Bellenden which were unknown to Thomas Maitland, the editor of the printed edition of 1821-22. Altogether nine Manuscripts of Bellenden's *Chronicle* are now known to exist.

1. PIERPONT MORGAN. The finest, most accurate, and probably most primitive MS. of Bellenden at present known is in the wonderful private collection of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan of New York. It was prepared for King James V. of Scotland and has a beautifully illuminated title-page, containing the arms of King James V. impaled with those of his Queen, Madeline. It is a large folio of 312 leaves, many with fine borders or capitals. It is complete in every respect. It was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Lauderdale and has an autograph inscription by him on the first page.

The text has been compared with that of the other Manuscripts and with the printed text: also with the original Latin version of Boece. Its general superiority is so marked that the editors have decided—with Mr Morgan's permission—to make this Manuscript the basis of the definitive text, adding, of course, notes on collation with other MSS. For brevity this MS. will be referred to below as M.

At this point reference may appropriately be made to the great courtesy and generosity of Mr Pierpont Morgan, who has sent the MS. to London and deposited it in the British Museum on loan for the editors' use; and further, has contributed to the funds of the Scottish Text Society, to pay for the cost of transcription, the cost of rotographing the whole Manuscript (in itself, a most important point, so that in future years there will be a complete record of this interesting document in this country, when the original has returned to America), and the cost of reproducing two of the best pages in colour and eight in collotype.

2. AUCHINLECK. In the Library of University College,

London. This was described to some extent in our former article. One point may, however, be added. Mr James F. Kellar¹ Johnstone of Aberdeen, who has examined the binding, believes that this MS., before it passed into the Boswell collection, must have belonged to one of the Maitland family, either to John Maitland, 1st Viscount Lauderdale, or Richard Maitland, the antiquary and biographer. It is possible that Viscount Lauderdale, if it was his, got it from his father-in-law, Alexander Seton, 1st Lord Fyvie and 1st Earl of Dunfermline, the Chancellor of Scotland. It will be called A.

3. REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH. A sixteenth century MS. of 173 leaves. Defective—it begins in the middle of Book I., Chapter ii., and breaks off in the middle of Book XVI., Chapter ii. It will be called R.

4. TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. 1193. Marked G 25. No. 310. Folio, early sixteenth century. Defective in the table of contents at the beginning: also at the end, where it breaks off in the middle of Book XVII., Chapter v. At the end of the *Ballate* it contains a note: *liber cronicarum Regum et gestorum Scotorum pro domino Johanne Roull, Priore de Pettinweym, alias maizo (?)*.

It will be called C. It has not yet been examined in detail by the editors.

5. BATH. A fine folio in the Library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat. It appears to be perfect and complete: it is on 246 leaves. Its previous history is explained by the following note: 'Found in Edinburgh at the wyninge and burninge thareof the 7th of May being Wednesday the xxxvith yeir of the Reyn of our Soverayn Lord King Henry the eight per John Thynne.'

It has been placed on loan at the British Museum, for the use of the editors, by the courtesy of the Marquis of Bath. It will be called B.

6. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, EDINBURGH. The Catalogue of the Laing MSS. contains the following entry:

p. 16, 205. Translation of Boetius *Chronicles of Scotland*, by Mr John Bellentyne, Canon of Ross. Sixteenth century. Arms of Gordon of Earlston inside of cover.

This MS. also has not yet been examined by the editors.¹ It will be called L.

¹ [Mr L. W. Sharp, Keeper of MSS. in the University Library, has kindly sent us a description of the manuscript. He tells us that a note in the hand of David Laing on the cover says: "Bo^t at the sale of Dr Jamieson's Library, January 1839."]

7. ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH. This Library possesses a seventeenth century Manuscript, which appears to be closely similar to the printed text. It will be called E.

8 and 9. Manuscripts rather similar to E and, as far as can be judged from a somewhat cursory examination, possessing much the same characteristics as the printed text, are in the possession of Dr George Neilson and Dr J. T. T. Brown, of Glasgow, who were good enough to show them to one of the editors. These will be called respectively N and Br.

Probably other Manuscripts of Bellenden will come to light before the proposed edition is ready.

Summarising then to this point, the investigation has resulted in locating eight more MSS., besides Auchinleck—the starting point. Of these four, viz. M, A, B, and L, are complete: two, viz. R and C, are incomplete: three, viz. E, N, and Br, are too late to be of much importance.

The present article is only an interim statement, and the editors are not in a position to offer an exact and accurate genealogical tree of the MSS., showing their interrelation. They can only at this stage suggest some general principles.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* (xvii. 12) attention was called to the striking differences between the text of A and the printed text; and to the fact that Bellenden, having in October 1531 received £30 for his 'translating of the Croniclis,' received in July 1533 £12 for 'ane new Cronikle.'

The work already done in examining and comparing the various MS. texts and the printed text serves to demonstrate that while the differences between one MS. and another are numerous and sometimes important, they are few compared to the differences between the MSS. generally and the printed text. It would be no exaggeration to say that the printed text is a version in which almost every sentence has been rewritten. It would be difficult to find a single line of the printed text which agreed absolutely with the corresponding passage of any of the MSS., except, of course, E, N, and Br. We have in the printed text essentially 'ane new Cronikle.'

The more interesting, as naturally the more difficult, problem is the interrelation of the more important MSS. In our previous article some characteristic passages were given, illustrating the differences between A and the first

printed text of c. 1540. It is proposed to give the passages in M, B, and R corresponding to some of these. Points of comparison are italicised.

Book XIV. cap. 5 [See *S.H.R.*, xvii. 12].

M.	B.	R.
Robert Bruse quhilck <i>was</i> þis tyme with þe army of Ingland, thyn- kand nocht eneuch to invaid þe Scottis with batall <i>bot als</i> to eik his iniure with mair tres- oun come on þe bakkis of Scottis. . . .	<i>was</i> [A. reads <i>wes</i>]	<i>was</i>
For þou sall nocht faill ane <i>myschevous</i> <i>end</i> be punicioun of God, quhen þou belevis lest, for þe frequent iniuris done sa oft- tymes aganis þi native cuntre. <i>I compt</i> na payne <i>nor deth</i> in de- fence of my countre, and sall ceß nothir nychtis nor dayis for defence þairof.	<i>bot</i> [A. omits]	omits <i>bot als</i>
	<i>mishevus dede</i> [A. <i>mischevis</i> <i>deid</i>]	<i>miserable deid</i>
	<i>certifyng þe þat</i> before <i>I compte</i> [A. also] <i>nor displessour</i> [A. <i>displeseir</i>]	<i>certifyng þe þat</i> before <i>I compte</i> <i>nor displeseir</i>

Book XIV. cap. 5.

It is sayid þat Robert Bruse <i>was</i> þe cauß of þe disconn- fitoure of þis last feild at Dunbar, for in þe begynnyng of þe batall he promittit to king Edward to cum <i>fra</i> <i>Ballioll</i> with all his freyndis & kynnys- men quhilkis wald assist to him . . . þai tynt curage and	<i>was</i> [A. <i>wes</i>] <i>þis</i> [A. <i>þe</i>]	<i>wes</i> <i>þe</i>
	<i>fra Ballioll</i> [A. <i>fra king</i> <i>Ballioll</i>]	<i>fra Ballioll</i>

M.	B.	R.
war slayn lyke <i>schepe</i>	<i>miserabil</i>	<i>miserable</i>
but only defence. Eftir	<i>creaturis</i>	<i>creaturis</i>
þis disconnfitoure	[A. ditto]	
Robert Bruse come to		
king Edward desyring		
þe revard of his		
tresoun, quhilk (as he		
belevit) suld haif bene		
þe realme of <i>Scotland</i> .	<i>Scottis</i> [A. ditto]	<i>Scottis</i>

Admittedly these are only small verbal variants, but they have some significance in determining relationship. The words 'lyke schepe' above are a translation of Boece's *veluti pecora*, wrongly spelled 'peiora' in the Latin text of 1526. M is thus slightly nearer to the Latin original than the other MSS.

Book XIV. cap. 7.

Attention was called in 1919 to A's mistake about the meeting of Bruce with his brother. Boece's Latin text says Bruce met *Fratrem Davidem cum Roberto Flemein*. A gives this as 'Dauid Bruse and Dauid Flemyn': while M, B, and R all give 'Dauid Bruse and Robert Flemyng.' All three are thus more accurate than A, or rather more faithful to their original, for as a matter of historical fact Boece and all the Bellenden MSS. are wrong, since Bruce's brother was Edward, not David.

Book XIII. cap. 15.

Reference was also made in 1919 to the comments on S. Gilbert, as showing the growing tendency towards advanced ideas in religion. B is interesting in one detail. M and R agree with A in admitting that miracles were being wrought by his body 'to our dais': but the scribe of B, either intentionally or accidentally omits the words 'to our dais,' possibly being in some doubt whether the miracles were still being wrought. B is in this point a half-way house towards the rationalistic printed text, which has omitted the whole sentence about the miracles.

From these and a good many other variants which have been studied, the editors have come to the following provisional opinions:

(1) That M is the best text and the one nearest to the Latin original.

(2) That M is at present in a class by itself, possessing certain quite characteristic features.

(3) That B, R, and A are closely allied—more closely than any one of them is to M.

(4) That the printed text represents a fresh recension, probably based upon the common ancestor of B, R, and A.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

WALTER SETON.

To this article the present editors would add certain observations.

The collation with other MSS. proved to involve far more than had been supposed at first, and it was decided to print only from the Pierpont Morgan MS., with occasional footnotes in doubtful places giving the reading of the excellent Auchinleck MS. The final, definitive text of Bellenden, constructed by collation of all the MSS., remains a labour for some scholar, or more probably for some group of scholars, in the future. The editors have done their best to produce a correct version of the finest manuscript of Bellenden's *Boece*, which at the same time, owing to its being on the other side of the Atlantic, has been the least accessible to Scottish students.

The editors have of necessity worked in the first place from the rotographs so generously supplied by Mr Pierpont Morgan. But they also are indebted to him for having sent the manuscript to London, and left it, over a long period, on deposit in the British Museum, as well as for his having defrayed the cost of a transcription from the rotographs made by Miss Isabella Butchart Hutchen.

Miss Hutchen's transcript was collated, either with the manuscript or (after its return to America) with the rotograph; at the time of his death Dr Walter Seton had made some progress with this collation, which was completed by one of the editors. They wish to express their

thanks to Miss Hutchen for the care and accuracy of her work. The text of this edition was then again read in proof by the editors against the rotograph.

Two visits to New York have been utilised to examine the manuscript in Mr Pierpont Morgan's library in passages which still remained obscure.

To facilitate reference both to the manuscript and to the printed edition of 1821-22, paginal numbers have been added in the margin in italics, those of the 1821-22 edition being within brackets. The punctuation and capitalization are due to the editors, who have, however, in other respects followed the manuscript.¹

The editors wish to express their thanks to Sir William Craigie and Miss E. A. Sheppard for their help in certain doubtful passages, to Miss H. W. Husbands for her help in correcting the proofs, and above all to Mr Pierpont Morgan for the generous help mentioned above.

¹ See "Note on Transcription," p. xv.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION.

IN this edition contractions are expanded and indicated by italics. So far as possible we have been consistent and at the same time attempted to follow the intentions of the scribe, but there have been some difficulties. Thus *ſ* is normally expanded '*ser*' (e.g., '*seruant*,' '*obserue*'); the form '*Schir*' is found in full, and we have therefore expanded to '*Schir*' rather than '*Serr*' (e.g., '*Schir* James Douglas,' where the first word is written '*ſſ*'); but as '*gudeserr*' is found in full, we have transcribed '*gudeſſ*' as '*gudeserr*.'

In one matter we have been, it is possible, consistently wrong. It is impossible to distinguish between the scribe's *c* and *t*: *c* may be elongated to the dimensions of *t*, *t* contracted to those of *c*. In proper names the Latin gives some help, and such a form as '*eleccioun*' is as likely to represent the scribe's intention as '*election*.' The real difficulty arises over such words as '*nocht*.' We have expanded '*no^t*' as '*nocht*,' and have read what might be either '*noch*' or '*noth*' as '*noch*'; but it is possible that we should have read '*noth*' and expanded the contraction as '*noth*' on the analogy of '*hundreth*.' The scribe may even have intended '*nocht*' by the contracted and '*noth*' by the uncontracted form. So, too, with '*richt*' (perhaps better '*rith*'), '*nicht*' (perhaps '*nith*'), and similar words. But our practice has at least been consistent, and the alterations may be made by any reader who cares to make them.

Here begynnis the Tabill of þe First Buke, contenand
nyne cheptouris, as eftir followis :

PAGE

<i>I. lxxv)</i>	How Gahelus, oure first progenitoure, lefte þe land of Grece, and come in Egipt, and marijt Scotta, dochter to King Pharo; and of his <i>cumin</i> to Spanze Ca j	1
	How Gahelus beiditt þe cite of Brigance, and namitt all his pepill Scottis, and how he send his twa <i>sonnis</i> to conques þat ile that is now clippitt Ireland; and of his decese; and of his <i>sonnis</i> gouernance Ca ij	3
	How eftir þe deceß of Hemecus þe Scottis and þe auld inhabitantis of Ireland war deviditt in sindry opinionis, contending for þe superiorite of þe samyn; how Symon Brek was chosin king of þe said ile; of his empire and successioun; and how þe Scottis war brocht in þe ile of Albion Ca iij	5
	Off þe first cuming of þe Pichtis in Albioun; off þair maneris, polecy, & alliance maid with Scottis Ca iiij	7
	How þe Britonis, be quent slychtis, dissoluit þe band of amite betuix Scottis & Pichtis, and of þe displeseiris & slauchter following <i>perupoun</i> Ca v	9
	How Ferquharde, King of Ireland, send Fergus his son with ane strang army in support of þe Scottis of Albioun; and how þe said Ferguse was chosin king abone þe Scottis in Albion Ca vj	11
<i>(I. lxxvi)</i>	How þe Scottis and Pichtis, arrayitt in vther sycht, herand þe slycht of Britonis devisitt for þe perdicioun of þame baith, tuke trewis and war aggreit apoun all debaittis Ca vij	12
	How Coilus, King of Britonis, come with ane strang army in Scotland; and how eftir mony extorsionis and cruelteis done be him, he was slayne, and his army disconfist; off þe wisdome manhede and orisone of King Fergus eftir his returnyng in Ergle Ca viij	15
	How King Fergus, eftir þe parting of þe landis of Scotland among þe capitanis of þe tribis and <i>vþeris</i> þe wourthiest personis for þat tyme, was chosin ane frendfull compositoure apon certane hye debaittis fallin among þe princes of Ireland; and how he pereist, returnyng be þe Ireland seyis Ca ix	19

¹ The page-numbers here printed are those of the MS., which are also given in the margin of the body of the work. The *bracketed and italicised* numbers also given in the margin are those of the printed edition of c. 1536 as re-issued in 1821. These can often be only approximately indicated, owing to differences of text.

Here followis þe Tabule of the Secound Buke, contenand
xij cheptouris

How eftir King Fergus deth raif ane strang debaitt, quha suld be king; and how it was forbiddin, þat childering in þair minorite suld be kingis	Ca j	22
How Ferithais was maid king and eftir slane be Ferlegus his nepott; and how þe said Ferlegus was banyst, and his 3oungest bruder Maynus maid king	Ca ij	25
Off King Dorvidilla and his lawis, maner and deces	Ca iij	29
Off þe tyran King Nathacus, and of his deth: and how Reuther, ane 3ong childe, was maid king contrair þe lawis; how Ferquhard, Prince of Lorn, was chesit be Dovall in þe Ilis; and of his orisoun made to þe pepill	Ca iiij	30
ii How Ferquhard and Dowall, recountring vther be civill batall, war slayn with all þe nobilite of Scottis and Pichtis; how þe King of Pichtis was slayn and þe King of Scottis takin; how Scottis & Pichtis war dongin oute of Albioun	Ca v	33
How þe Scottis and Pichtis recoveritt þair landis fra þe Britonis; and how þe King of Britonis was disconnfist; off þe deth of King Reuther, and how Rutha was maid king	Ca vj	35
How King Thereus was bannyst for his tyranny; and how his bruther Iosyne was maid king; of þe experience and preching of twa philosophouris	Ca vij	37
Off King Fynnanus and his lawis; and of þe College of Clerkis in þe Ile of Man	Ca viij	40
How King Durstus slew his nobillis vnder traist, and was eftir slayn for þe samyn cruelte	C ix	41
How eftir þe deth of Durstus fell grete contencioun amang þe nobillis for þe croun; and how Ewyn, first of þat name, was maid king	C x	44
How Gillus slew twa sonnys and twa nepottis of Durstus to mak him self king; and how Ederus, þe thrid nepott, eschapitt; how Gillus was eftir banyst, and Ewyn þe Secound maid king	C xj	47
How Cadall, beand soroufull of þe tynsale of his army was confortitt and revarditt be Ewyne, and of þe gude counsale gevin to Edeir	Ca xij	51

(I. lxviii) Here followis þe Tabill of þe Thrid Buke, contenand
xv cheptouris

How Edere revengitt þe herschip of þe Ilis	Ca j p.	54
How the Britonis send ambassatouris to Edere, desyring support aganis Iulius Cesar; off Ederus ansuere; and how þe said Iulius was dongin oute of Albion, be support of Scottis	C ij	54
How Iulius returnit in Britan and maid it tributare to Romane Empire off his message send to þe Scottis and Pichtis; and of þair ansuere	C iij	57

How tratoure Murkett and his complicis war puneist for þair cruelteis ; of þe deth of King Edere ; of þe vicious King Ewin, and of his lawis and decef)	C iij	61
Off þe happy King Metallane ; and of þe Natiuite of Criste ; and how Caratake wes maid king	C v	63
How Caratak pecifijt his realme ; how þe Britonis, rebelland aganis þe Romanis, war disconnfist ; and how þai send to þe Scottis for supportt	C vj	64
Off þe ansuere maid to þe Britonis be Caratak ; and how þe Britonis war disconnfist agane	C vij	66
How Claudius Empriour, cumand in Britan, tuke þe Britonis to his mercy, and subdewitt þe realme of Orknaye to his empire ; off þe cumin of Sanct Petir in Italye ; and of þe Assumpcioun of Our Lady	C viij	69
How þe princes of Walis, conspirand aganis Aruiragus, was dis- connfist ; how Caratak & Congestus come with ane grete army to support þe nobillis of ¹ Britane aganis þe Romanis	Ca ix	71
iii Off þe message send to Caratak be Plancius, and of his ansuere ; off Aruiragus rebelloun aganis þe Romanis ; and how Wespasiane was send in Britan	C x	74
(I. lxi) How þe kingis of Albion, movand were aganis Waspasiane, war disconnfist ; and how Aruiragus was ressaut agane be Was- pasiane to his mercy and his landis maid ² tributare to þe Romane Empire	C xj	75
How Waspasiane wan þe toun of Camelon, and disconnfist Caratak ; and of Caratakis ansuere.	Ca xij	78
How Caratak, cumand with ane new army aganis þe Romanis, was disconnfist ; how eftir þe decef) of Plancius Ostorius was send in Britane, and dantitt þe Britonis	Ca xij	80
How Caratak, fechtand aganis Ostorius, was disconnfist and his army defayitt ; how he was randeritt to þe said Ostorius be tressoun of Cartumandia, his gude moder	Ca xiiij	81
How Caratak was brocht to Rome and send be Claudius in ³ Scotland ; off vncouth marwellis sene in Albione	C xv	83

Here followis the Tabill of þe Ferde Buke, contenand
xix cheptouris

How Corbrede was maid king of Scottis ; how þe Pichtis rebellit aganis the Romanis and slew Ostorius þair capitane	Ca j	p. 85
How þe Pichtis slew iij ^m Romanis with þair capitane Manlius Valence ; how Didius was send in his place ; and how þe Pichtis desyritt support fra Corbrede, King of Scottis, and of his ansuere	Ca ij	86
How Scottis and Pichtis faucht aganis Romanis with vncertane victory ; and how þai war constrainitt on all sydis to haif peace	Ca iij	87

¹ The page has been damaged and repaired, but the reading is certain.

² MS. *and*.

³ MS. *agin*.

- How Verannius was send in Scotland ; and how eftir his deth
 Paulus Swetonius come and put þe Ile of Man to sak ; how þe
 Britonis rebellit aganis þe Romanis ; and of vncouth merwellis
 sene in Albione Ca iiij 90
- (I. lxx) Off þe complant maid be Voada to hir bruþer Corbrede, and of
 his message send to Cattus, Romane procuratoure ; off Cattus
 ansuere ; off sindry herschippis done be þe Scottis on Romanis ;
 of þe first cuming of Murrayis in Scotland C v 91
- How þe confideratt kingis come in Britan, and be support of
 vailzeantt Qwene Voada and hir ladeis disconfist þe Romanis ;
 how þe Albanis was disconfist eftir be Paulus Swetonius ; of
 þe deth of Voada, and how hir dochteris war takin presoneris
 C vj 93
- How Corbrede, returnyng in Scottlannd, revarditt þe Murrayis ;
 and of his deth ; how Dardannus, þe tyran king, was slayn be þe
 wailzeannt Galdus Ca vij 95
- How mony Romane capitanis for þair febill curage war inter-
 changitt in Britane ; how Galdus, King of Scottis, pacifijt his
 realme, and was disconnfist be Petulius Ca viij 97
- iv | How Vodicia slew ane grete novmer of Romanis, and was slane be
 Petulius and hir army disconnfist ; of þe message send be
 Iulius Frontinus to þe Pichtis, and of þair ansuere Ca ix 101
- How Agricola was send in Albion ; and how he wan sindry
 victorijs on þe Pichtis, and subdewitt sindry partis of Scott-
 lannd to Romane Empire Ca x 103
- How þe King of Pichtis desyritt support of Galdus aganis þe
 Romanis ; how Agricola invaditt þe Scottis baith be sey and
 land ; and how þe King of Pichtis was slayne be sedicioun¹ of
 his army Ca xj 105
- How þe Pichtis war aggreitt of all debaitis amang þame self ;
 how ane grete company of Ireland men come in defence of
 Scottis ; and how Galdus, cumand aganis Agricola with all þe
 pissance of Scottis and Pichtis, war disconfist C xij 107
- How þe Pichtis brynt Inchtuthill at þe cuming of þe Romanis to
 þe Watter of Taye ; how ane company of Almanis and Danys
 come in support of Scottis and Pichtis ; and how þe Romane
 navy pereist C xiiij 108
- How Agricola beidit ane brig oure Taye, and brocht his army be
 þe samyn in þe Pichtis landis ; how Galdus come in defence of
 þe Pichtis with xlm Scottis ; and of his orisoun maid to þe
 army eftir his cuming C xiiij 110
- (I. lxxi) Off þe orison maid be Agricola to his army ; and how þe con-
 sideratt pepill war disconnfist with incredibill slauchter maid
 on þaime Ca xv 112
- How Agricola send ane new flott aboute þe Ilis of Albion, and
 brynt þe navy of Danys ; of vncouth merwellis sene in Albion ;
 of þe deth of Agricola ; and how þe Romanis war disconnfist
 be waillzeand Galdus C xvj 115

¹ MS. *sediciom*.

- How þe Romanis war dongin oute of Anguse, Fiffe and vther partis
of Scotlannd, and sindry tymeȝ disconfist be wailȝeant
Galdus C xvij 117
- Off þe message send be Romanis to þe confideratt kingis; of þair
ansuere; and how þai gaif peace to þe Romanis . . . Ca xvij 119
- How Scottis and Pichtis recoueritt þair landis be condicioun of
peace; and of þe remanent of Galdus life Ca xix 120

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe Fifte Buke, conte-
nand xiiij cheptouris

- Off þe vicious King Lugtacus and his deth Ca j 121
- How King Mogallus assemblitt ane grete army of Scottis and
Pichtis aganis þe Romanis; off þe orisoun maid to sepulture
of Galdus; and of sindry iniuris done to þame be Romanis
Ca ij 122
- Off þe orisonis maid be Mogallus and Anthonius¹ to þair armyis;
and how þe Romanis was disconnfist Ca iij 123
- (I. lxxii) How Adriane Empriour biggitt ane wall betuix þe Scottis &
Britonis; of þe corrupitt life of Mogallus and his vnhappy
end Ca iiij 126
- Off nobill clerkis; how þe vicious King Conarus was degraditt of
autorite, and his seruandis for þair evill counsale put to deth]
v on iebaittis C v 128
- How Ergadus was maid gouernour of Scotlannd during þe tyme of
Conarus in presoun, and gouernit þe realme in grete iustice
Ca vj 130
- How King Ethodius pacifijt þe Ilis; how þe Scottis and Pichtis
brak doun þe Wall of Adriane, and faucht aganis þe Romanis;
of grete iniuris done be Calphurnius Agricola in Merß &
Loutheane Ca vij 131
- How Calphurneus reparitt þe Wall of Adriane, and returnit to
Rome; how Trebellius was send in his place, and was dis-
connfist be Scottis & Pichtis Ca viij 133
- How the Britonis rebelling aganis Tribellius war disconfist; how
Pertinax, send in Trebellius place, maid grete herschippis on
Scottis & Pichtis, and was maid empriour C ix 134
- How Ergadus, cumand with ane grete novmer of men in þe Ilis,
was slayne and his army disconnfist; how King Ethodius
revengit þe samyn, and was slayne be ane menstrail of þe
Ilis C x 135
- Off sindry clerkis; how Britan tuke þe faith of Criste; how þe
King Satrahell was slayne be ane of his familiaris; how King
Donald come with ane grete army of Scottis and Pichtis in
support of Fulgencius and þe Britonis aganis Romanis . . . Ca xj 138
- How Seuerus Empriour come in Britane, revengeing þe iniuris
done to Romanis; and how Scottis & Pichtis, fechtand aganis
him in support, war disconnfist C xij 140

¹ MS. *Trebellius*; the correction is made from A.

- How Seuerus Emprioure come in Scotland ; how Anthonius his
son reparitt þe Wall of Adriane ; of þe Empriouris deth ; how
Anthonius slew his bruther to be emprioure ; how Scotland
tuke þe faith of Criste, and prentit money . . . C xiiij 141
- (I. lxxiii) How þe nobillis, fynding Ethodius vnabill to gyde þe realme,
governit þe samyn be þair autorite in grete iustice . . . C xiiiij 144

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe Sext Buke, contenand
xvj cheptouris

- How þe vicious King Athirco slew him self be disperacioun . . . Cj 145
- How Nathalacus vsurpit þe croun, and did sindry cruelteis aganis
þe lynnage of Athirco ; and how he was be his awin seruand
slayn C ij 146
- How King Fyndocus dantit þe Ilis, and was slayne be twa Ilis men
subornatt be Donald of þe Ilis and Carancius . . . C iij 149
- How King Donald was slayn be Donald of þe Ilis ; how mony
haly creaturis war martiritt for þe faith of Criste ; how Donald
of þe Ilis vsurpitt þe croun, and was slayn eftir be Crathlinthus
. C iiij 151
- How King Crathlinthus slew sindry freyndis of Donald of þe Ilis ;
how Scottis and Pychtis fell in grete debaitt for þair hunting ;
off message send be Pichtis to Scottis ; and how certane trewis
was takin betuix þame C v 152
- How Carancius for his manhede and provis was send be þe
Empriour to defend þe costis of þe occeane seyis ; how he wan
grete riches be þe samyn, and conquest Westmureland, and
maid peace betuix Scottis & Pichtis C vj 155
- How Carancius slew Bassianus and tuke þe croun of Britan ; and
how he was slayne at last be Allectus, quihilk was eftir him
King of Britonis C vij 157
- (I. lxxiv) How grete cruelteis war done be Dioclesiane Empriour ; how
þe Empriour Constantyne wyncust Coeill, King of Britonis, and
vi tuke his dochter in | mariage ; how King Crathlinthus dotatt
þe Kirk of Scotlannd ; and of his deth C viij 158
- Off King Fyncormacus ; how King Octavius slew Herculeus, and
was disconnfist be Traherus ; and how Traherus was wincust
be Fyncormacus & Octavius ; how þe Britonis, brekand þair
faith to Scottis, war disconnfist be Traherus C ix 160
- How þe heresijs of Arrius was condampnitt ; how Ireland tuke þe
faith of Criste ; how Romanus, Angusiane, and Fethelmacus
contenditt for þe croun of Scotlannd ; and of þe troubill þat
fell throw þe samyn C x 163
- How Angusiane was maid king ; how þe Britonis¹ war subdewitt
be Maximus ; how þe King of Pichtis come with ane grete army
aganis Angusiane, to revenge þe slauchter of Romachus ; how
baith pir kingis war slayn, and þe Scottis disconnfist . . . C xj 165

¹ MS. omits *þe Britonis*.

- How Fethelmacus, King of Scottis, slew Nectanus, King of Pichtis ;
 how Sanct Reule brocht Sanctandrois arme in Albion ; and
 how þe kirk of Sanctandrois was dotaitt be liberalite of þe
 King of Pichtis C xij 167
- Off King Eugenius ; how Pichtis war confideratt with Romanis
 to distroye Scottis ; off þe message send be Maximus to
 Eugenius ; and of his ansuer ; how þe Scottis sufferitt grete
 iniuris be Romanis, and war disconnfist ; and how þai re-
 coueritt victory be support of men of Ergile Ca xiiij 168
- How Maximus returnitt in Gallowaye to revenge þe iniuris done
 be Scottis aganis Pichtis ; how Eugenius come with 1^m men to
 resist þe Romanis, Pichtis and Britonis ; how he was slayne,
 his bruper takin, & his army disconfist Ca xiiij 170
- How all Scottis war exilitt oute of Albion except Cartandis,
 Eugenius wiffe ; how certane religious personis, banyst oute
 of Albion, biggitt þe Abbay of Icolmkill C xv 173
- (I. lxxv) Off sindry merwellis sene in Albion ; how þe Scottis quhilkis fled
 in Ireland and Ilis, returnyng in Scotland with ane grete powere,
 war slayne, and þe remanent put to flycht C xvj 175

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe vij Buke, conte-
 nand xj cheptouris

- How Maximus conquest þe croun of Britane ; of his familiarite
 to Pichtis ; how he slew Graciane Empriour, and was slayne
 eftir be Theodosius Ca j 177
- How Marcius and Victoryne war send in Albion to hald þe samyn
 at Romane opinioun ; how þe King of Pichtis slew him self for
 displeurr off sindry iniuris done be Romanis to his pepill ;
 off þe Dyke of Abircorn ; off Ethodius successioun ; how Rome
 was takin be Gotthis ; and how sindry spoulzeis pairof fell to
 Fergus þe Secound C ij 179
- How sindry ordouris of religious men war institute ; how Pichtis
 desyritt Scottis to cum in Albion ; how Graciane & Marcius war
 slayne ; how Constantyne was slayne be Constancius ; how
 Scottis & Pichtis war confideratt to giddir ; and how Fergus
 recoueritt his realme C iij 182

- vii | How Romanis, fechtand aganis Scottis and Pichtis with vncertane
 victory, war scheveeritt be ane schoure of hayill ; how þe
 Pichtis remanit in Athole ; how Grahame slew þe Britonis &
 Romanis at Abercorn ; how Fergus was disconfist at Carrik ;
 how Victoryne was slayne for his rebellioun aganis þe Empriour
 C iij 184

- (I. lxxvi) How Placidus and þe Romane army war disconnfist be Scottis &
 Pichtis ; how þe Scottis recoueritt pair landis be condicioun
 of peace ; of þe polecy & religioun of Fergus ; how Castius, þe
 second capitane, was slayne be Fergus, and þe Romanis putt
 to flycht C v 187

- How Maximiane was send in Britane with ane strang cumpany
 aganis Dyoneth, King of Britonis, and confideratt pepill;
 off þe orisoun maid be Fergus to his army; how Fergus, King
 of Scottis, and Durstus, King of Pichtis, *with* all nobilite of
 baith pair realmes, war slayne be Romanis & Britonis, and
 how Diometth, Prince of Valis, eschapitt be ane baitt C vj 189
- How grete iniuris war done to Scottis & Pichtis be Romanis;
 how Maximiane marijt þe dochter eldast of Diometth, and was
 confiderat *with* him aganis þe Romanis; how Eugenius, King of
 Scottis, translatt þe banys of his fader to Colmkill; how
 Maximiane tuke þe croun of Britan and conquest Bertanze;
 how Vrsula *with* hir fallowis war martiritt . . . C vij 192
- How Scottis and Pichtis come with ane grete army aganis þe
 Britonis; of Ewgenius orisoun; off þe grete herschip maid on
 þe Britonis; how Gallio Ravennas, send in Britan be Valen-
 tiniane Empriour, chasitt þe Scottis to þe Watter of Forth;
 and how he reparitt þe Dyke of Abircorne . . . C viij 194
- How Scottis and Pichtis kest down þe Dyke of Abircorn and
 wrocht grete cruelteis on þe Britonis; of þe message send be
 Britonis to Etius, and of his repulse; how Conanus, exhorting
 þame to peace, was slayne; and of þe debaitt þat come
 þerthrow Ca ix 196
- How Grahame kest down þe Wall of Abircorne and Adriane;
 how þe Scottis conquest all þe landis betuix Taye and Humbir;
 off þe epistill send be Britonis to Etius, and of his ansuere Ca x 198
- How þe Britonis war disconnfist and maid tributare to Scottis
 and Pichtis; how Palladius was send to þe Scottis, and of his
 dedis; of mony *merwellis* sene in Albion; and of Fynlay
 Mackcoule Ca xj 200

(I. lxxvii) Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe viij Buke, contenand
 xv cheptouris

- How þe realme of France first began, and of þair first king;
 how sindry realmez war reft fra Romanis; how Conanus
 desyritt þe Britonis to rebell aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis,
 and of þair sindry opinionis Ca j 203
- How Scottis and Pichtis send ambassatouris to þe Britonis *with*
 new chargis; how þe nobillis & commonis of Britonis faucht
 amang þame self; how þe commonis war disconnfist; of
 sindry plagis þat come on Britonis for þair corrupitt life;
 and of Eugenius deth C ij 204
- viii How Dongard, King of Scottis, governit his realme *with* civil &
 religious | maneris; how þe Britonis regratit þair *seruitude*;
 and how Romanis exhortitt þame to recovere pair honouris and
 liberte Ca iij 206

How Conanús and Guitelyne send to þe King of Bertanze for support aganis Scottis and Pichtis, and of þe deceþ of Conanús; off þe orisoun maid be Guitelane; how Constantyne was send in Britan, and maid king þerof; and of his ordinance aganis Scottis and Pichtis C iiij 208

How þe Scottis and Pichtis slew þe pleggis of Britonis for þair rebelloun; off þe orison maid be King Dongarde to his army; how Constantyne, King of Britonis, faucht aganis Scottis and Pichtis, and was disconnfist, and King Dongard slayne C v 210

Of Constantyne, þe vicious King of Scottis; how troubill rysand in Scottland was mesitt be prudence of Dongall; how Constantyne, King of Britonis, was slayn be slycht of Pichtis, and Constantyne, King of Scottis, slayne for his tyranny Ca vj 213

How Congallus governit his realme in gude iustice; how Constantcius, King of Britonis, was slayn be tresoun of Wortigern; how Wortigern tuke þe croun of Britain, and did grete cruelteis to certan Scottis and Pichtis; how Guitellus, Prince of Walis, send be Wortigern aganis Scottis and Pichtis, was slayn with xx^m Britonis C vij 214

(I. lxxviii) How Hengest and Orsus come with x^m Saxonis in support of Britonis be desyre of Wortigern; of þair cruelteis done aganis Scottis and Pichtis; how Pichtis send to Scottis for support aganis Saxonis, and war disconnfyst; and how Congallus, King of Scottis, was disconnfist be Saxonis on þe samyn maner C viij 217

How xv^m Britonis, send to þe bordouris fornentis Scottlannd, war distroyitt be þe weeris of Scottis & Pichtis; how Engest brocht ane new army of Saxonis in Britan, and faucht aganis þe Scottis & Pichtis; and of sindry chances of bataill following þerupoun C ix 220

How Hengest brocht his son Occa with x^m Saxonis in Britan to resist þe army of Ambroß and Vter; how King Wortigern come to ane bankett with Hengest and marijt Roxena his dochter C x 223

How Vodyn, Bischop of Lundoun, with mony vther Britonis war slayn be cruele of Saxonis; how Hengest maid him self king of Kent, and did grete iniuris to þe inhabitantis þerof; how Wortigern was deprivitt of his autorite, and his son Wortimere maid king C xj 225

How Scottis and Pichtis, confideratt with King Wortimer aganis þe Saxonis, disconnfist Occa in Northumberland; how Hengest & Occa war vincust in Kent and dongin oute of Britan; how King Wortimer was slayn be poysoun, and Wortigern restoritt to þe croun Ca xij 227

ix How Hengest and Occa, returnyng in Britan with ane huge multitude of Saxonis, slew mony of þe nobillis of þe samyn be tresoun, and tuke King | Wortigern presonere; how Wortigern was banneist in Walis, and Hengest maid king of Britane; and of grete cruelteis done be Saxonis to Britonis C xij 230

- (I. lxxix) How Wortigern demanditt Marlyne of þe end of his empire ; off Merlynis ansuere ; how Ambrose and Vtter come in Walis and brynt Wortigern with his son and his richis ; and of sindry illusionis of devillis C xiiij 223
- How Scottis and Pichtis war confideratt with Ambrose, King of Britonis, aganis Saxonis ; how Hengest was slayne and þe Saxonis dongin oute of Britan ; off þe triumphe of Britonis ; off þe new peace & mariage maid amang þe princes of Albion ; how Congallus decessitt, and Conanus maid king of Scottis C xv 236

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe Nynte Buke,
 contenand xxix cheptouris

- Off sindry lawis maid be Conrannus to puneifþ extorsionis ; how Occa and Passensius returnit in Ingland, and war disconnfist be King Ambrose ; of trewis takin betuix Ambrose & Occa ; how Passensius brocht ane army oute of Ireland in support of Occa ; and how Ambrose was poysonit be Coppa C j 239
- Off grete cruelteis done be Occa to Britonis ; how Scottis and Pichtis war frustrait of þair wayagis ; of grete merwellis sene in Britan, and how þai war interprete be Merlyne ; how King Vtter was disconfist be Saxonis, and was aggreit with þame be peace Ca ij 241
- How Vtter slew þe Prince of Cornwell, and gatt Arthure on his wife ; how Lothus, King of Pichtis, clamytt þe croun of Britan ; how Britonis war purgitt of þair heresijs ; how Terdix and Kenrik come to Occa with ane new powere of Saxonis, and how þe Saxonis wer wyncust be mirakill C iij 243
- How Occa and Nathaliadus war slayn, and þe Britonis disconnfist ; how ȝoung Occa was maid king of Ingland, and come with grete army aganis Scottis and Pichtis ; off þair orisoun, and how þai war disconnfist ; how Britonis war doungin in Walis, and Vtter poysonytt C iiij 246
- (I. lxxx) Of sindry haly martiris and sanctis in Albione ; how Lothus, King of Pichtis, clamytt þe croun of Britan, and how he gatt repulse pairoff C v 248
- How þe Saxonis war sindry tymeȝ wincust, and maid tributar to King Arthure ; how Occa arryvitt with ane grete powere in Northumberland ; how Arthure fled in Walis, and gat eftir sindry victorijs on Saxonis ; how þe surfett chere of ȝule was evill institute ; how peace was maid betuix Britonis & Pichtis Ca vj 249
- How Scottis and Pichtis war confideratt with King Arthure aganis þe Saxonis ; how þe Saxonis war disconfist be þe Albanis, and doungin oute of Ingland Ca vij 251
- How Eugenius and Modrede come in supportt of King Arthure aganis þe Saxonis ; how Modrede and Govolane war chasitt to King Arthuris campe Ca viij 252

- How Tonsett was slayne for his wrangwis administracioun of iustice; of þe deth of King Conrannus; of Iustiniane Em-
 prioure, and of his | prudent constitucionis, fame and chevelry;
 x off sindry rwynis and captiuiteis of Rome Ca ix 254
- Off King Eugenius and his lawis; how Conrannus wiffe fled with
 hir sonnys in Ireland; of King Arthuris fayme and chevelry,
 and his Round Tabill; how Britonis, contrare þair promys(),
 maid Constantyne prince of Britan C x 255
- Off the message send be þe Pichtis to þe Britonis, and of þair
 ansuere; how King Arthure was slayne with mony nobillis
 of Britane be Scottis and Pichtis; how Gwanora, Arthuris
 wife, was takin with sindry nobillis and brocht in Anguse;
 off hir sepulture; and of calamite þat come to Albianis be þis
 batall C xj 257
- How Constantyne, King of Britonis, slew þe sonnys of Modrede;
 of vncouth merwellis sene in Albion; how Eugenius gaif
 sindry landis with armys to nobill men of his realme; how
 Iurmyrnrik, Duk of Saxonis, subdewitt þe Britonis; how King
 Constantyne was maid ane monk in Ireland; and of Eugenys
 deth Ca xij 260
- Off King Convallus, his lawis and deth; off þe cuming of Sanct
 Columbe in Scotland; and of Sanct Mongo Ca xiiij 260
- (I. lxxxvi) How¹ King Connatill resignit þe crown of Scotland to Aydone; off
 þe orisoun maid be Sanct Columbe; how Scottis and Pichtis
 faucht amang þaim self, and was aggreit be Sanct Columbe
 Ca xiiij 262
- How þe Saxonis deuiditt Ingland in sevin sindry kingdomez, &
 Saxonis war consideratt to giddir and disconnfist, be Scottis
 and Pichtis; off þe orison maid be King Aydane to his army;
 how þe said Aydane was wincust be Saxonis and his son
 slayn C xv 264
- How Saxonis and Pichtis war disconnfist in Northumberland be
 Scottis and Britonis; off þe deth of Sanct Columbe and
 King Aydane; off þe vengeance þat come on Inglismen for
 þe dyngin of Sanct Augustyne; and of sindry haly men
 Ca xvj 266
- Off þe schort empire of King Kenneth; of King Eugenius þe
 Ferd and his maneris; how þe King of Britonis was dongin
 oute of his realme be Saxonis, and recoueritt þe samyn; how
 Ethelfrede, King of Northumberland, was slayne; and of
 sindry haly men C xvij 268
- How þe vicious tiran, King Ferquharde, was put in presoun be his
 nobillis, and how he slew him self; and of þe haly man
 Fiacre C xviii 270
- Off Doneuald, King of Scottis; off þe detth of Edwyne, King of
 Northumberland; how Eufrede and Osrik of Northumberland
 did grete tyrannyis to Cristin pepill, and war takin presoneris
 be vther princes of Albioun; how King Oiswald brocht þe
 Saxonis to þe Cristin faith Ca xix 272

¹ MS. *Off*.

- Off the vnhappy prophete Machomete and his fals lawis; off
sindry haly men; of King Ferquharde and his extorsionis
done aganis þe pepill, and of his miserabill end . . . C xx 275
- How King Maldwyne was slayne be his wife for suspicioun of
adultery, and how scho was eftir bryntt; off generall pest,
xi and hou Scottis | war preservitt fra þe samyn . . . Ca xxi 278
- Off the message send be King Ewgenius þe Fyfte to King Egfrede
of Northumberland, and þe peace takin þaireftir; how King
Egfrede was slayne with xx^m Saxonis; of þe haly man Sanct
Cuthbertt . . . C xxij 279
- (I. lxxxii) Off grete iniuris done be Saracenis to Cristin pepill; of King
Eugenius þe vj and his actis; of vncouth merwellis in Albion
. . . C xxiiij 281
- Off þe vicious tiran Amberkeleth, and of his deth; of King
Eugenius þe Sevynt; how þe Scottis and Pichtis war con-
fideratt agane be affinite; how Spontana, Eugenius wiffe,
was slayne; off vij haly virgynnis dotatt be þe King of Pichtis
in Abirnethy . . . C xxiiij 282
- Off ¹ King Mordack, his werkis and deth; of foure sindry pepill
in Albion; off Sanct Niniane and Sanct Bede . . . C xxv 284
- How King Ethfyne maid foure regentis to governe his realme; of
grete cruelteis done be Donald of þe Ilis; and of þe deth of
King Ethfyne . . . C xxvj 285
- How Eugenius þe viij King did grete iustice in þe begynnynge of
his regne, and become eftir ane odious tyran, and was slayne
for þe samyn, and his counsalouris hyngitt on iebaittis
. . . C xxvij 286
- Off þe vicious King Ferguse þe Thrid, and how he was slayn be
his wiffe; off hir orison maid to þe counsale, and how scho
slew hir self . . . C xxviij 287
- Off King Soluathius; how he dantit sindry grete lymmaris of his
realme; off his deth; and of sindry haly men . . . Ca xxix 289

¹ MS. *How*.

Heir begynnys the Cronikillis of Scotland, compylit be the richt reuerend clerk, Maister Hectour Boece, and translatit in oure *commoun* langage be Maister Iohnne Bellantyne, Channon of Rosß, at the desyre of the richt hye, richt excellent, nobill and mighty Prince, Iames þe Fyft of that name, King of Scottis.²

¹ Pages xii-xxiii inclusive contain the index to the remaining books, and will be printed in Vol. II. Then follows a blank page.

² Blank page follows in MS.

The preface of Maister Iohnne Bellantyne, Translatour of this present History, direct vnto the richt hie, *rycht* excellennt, richt nobill and potent Prince, Iames the Fyfte of that name, Kyng of Scottis.

(II. 513) **E**rasmus Roterodamus schawis, maist nobill Prince, na thing in moir admiracioun to the pepill than werkis of kingis, for thair lyvis has sa public sycht that euery pepill has the samyn in mouth, to thair commendacioun or repreif; and thairfor na thing bene sa fructi-full to repreß the common errouris of pepill as cleyn lyfe of princis. For the maneris of priuat estatis nocht bene sa patent as of publik personis; throu quhilk þe life of princes impellis thair subdittis to imitacioun of þair werkis, wourthy and vnworthy, quhilkis finalie cumis to licht be impulsoun of fortoun, that na thing sufferis to be hid. And sen na thing is that the pepill followis with moir imitacioun, or kepis in moir recent memorie, than werkis of nobill men, (II. 514) of reassoun thair besynes suld be moir respondent to vertew than of ony vther estatis, quhen moir triumphant glorye and preeminence bene randrit to publik þan priuatt personis. Amang all princelie behavingis and werkis of nobill men I fynd no thing moir fructuous, or moir respondent to knychtly besynes, then reding of historijs; for nobill men sall nocht fynd onlie in thame marciall dedis, bot als mony documentis concernyng thair fayme, thair honour, and perpetuall memory, seand euery stait apprisit eftir thair merittis and demerittis. Attoure, the froute of history bene sa necessair that, but it, the wailzeand dedis of forsy campionis

¹ This preface is printed at the end of the 1821 edition.

suddandly evanis. Be contrar, the effect thairof causis thai thingis quhilkis ar mony 3eris goyne appere als recent in oure memory as thai war instantlie done. Thairfor sayid Marcus Cicero, "He that is ignorant of sik thingis as bene done afoir his tyme, for lak of experience, is bot ane barn." For thir reassonis, maist nobill Prince, I, that bene pi native and humyll *servitour* sen thi first infance, be impulsoun of luff and vehement affeccoun quhilk I bere vnto the samyn, has translatit "The History of Scotland" sen þe first begynnyng þerof in wlgair langage; and þocht the charge was importabill throw tedious laboure and feire of this huge volume, quhilk has impeschitt my febill ingyne, havand na crafty witt nor pregnant eloquence to decoir the samyn, 3ite I am constrainit for schort tyme to bring this my translacioun to licht, nakit of perfeccioun and rethory, siklike as implvme birdis to flicht. Nochþeles, I lawlie beseik Thi Magnificence to accept my labouris with sik beneuolus wult

xxviii as thai bene dedicatt to Thi Grace; | in quhilkis ar contenit nocht only the nobill feetis of thi wailþeannt anticessouris, bot als be quhat industry and wisdom this realme bene gournit thir xviii^e & lx 3eris, quhilk was nevir subdewitt to vncouth empire, bot onlye to þe native princis thairof, howbeit the samyn has sustenit grete affliccioun be Romanis, Inglis & Danys, be sindry chancis of fortoun. Thi Hienes sall fynd in this present history mony grave sentence, na leß plesand than proffittabill, quhairthrow Thi Hienes may haif sikkir experience to knaw how this realme salbe gournit in iustice, and quhat personis ar necessair to bere autorite or office within this realme, and sall fynd how illustir princis bene degeneratt fra vertew, becaus þai wer accompanijt with auaricious pepill and vayn flattorarais, moir sett for conquest of gudis than princelie reuerence; throcht quhais corruppit counsale thi nobill anticessouris sum tymes wer abusit, and brocht to sik miserie þat thai tynt nocht onlye thair lyiff and triumphand dominioun, bot remanis in memory to thair lamentabill regraitt. I doute nocht, maist nobill Prince, bot on the samyn maner ar now mony personis depend-

ing on Thie Hienes, moir affekkit to thair singular proffitt than to the priuatt or *commoun* wele, havand thair perpetuall besynes gevin to na thing sa mekill as perticulare advantage; quhilk thing was occasioun to thi nobill eldaris, quhen þai declynit fra vertew throw parcialite of suspicious personis, as mair cleirly sall appere in reding of this volume. Nochþeles, be moist excellennt prorogative of nature Thi Hienes sall haif schortlye perfite cognoscence quha bene presentlie abusaris and quha bene luffaris of thi *commoun* wele, sen Thi Maieste, be na les manhede than prowes, has dantit this regioun and brocht thi subdittis to sikker peace, gude rest, and tranquillite, howbeit the samyn couth nocht be done be febill corage of thi nobillis and baronis during thi tendir (II. 515) aige. Thairfor apperis thi triumphant werkis, proceeding moir be naturall inclinacioun and active curage than ony gudely persuasioun of assistaris. And sen Thi Hienes is dotit be infusioun of grace with moo giftis of nature than has bene sene afoir with ony erdlie prince, haif perfite knowlege, gif sik preeminent giftis of nature be vnvarly abusit, na werkis sall follow wourthy to haif memory. Thairfor, my Souerane, I dar baldelye afferme, na vther besynes salbe moir fructifull to Thi Hyenes than frequent reding of thir and vther historijs. For sik doyngeis impellis the redaris nocht onlie to conquess faym and doo werkis wourthy to haif apprising, bot als infoundis na less experience and wysidome than þe redaris war travailit throcht the warld, or aigit be lang process of 3eris, seand sa mony exempillis of vertewis and vicious leving, with sik illuster dedis of armys, that gif thi eldaris had possedit prudence equivalent to thair innative manhede, no pepill of reassoun mycht be preferrit to thame in *merci*all gloir; and 3ite mony of þame ar foundin baith prudent and wailzeant aganis thair fais, as salbe patent in the reding of this history. Here sall Thi Hyenes vnderstand how inuiolaitlie the faith of Criste has bene

xxix observatt be thi | anticessouris, nevir aberrant fra sikkir religioun and piete. Here sall the huge difference be knawin betuix kingis and tyrannis, for, as Seneca sayis in his tragedis,

All personis ar noch kingis, pocht thai bene clothit with purpure & dyademe, bot onlie thai that sekis na singulare proffitt in dammage of þe commoun wele, havand moir sycht to the eyis of thair subdittis and commodite of commoun wele þan to singulair dominioun, gudis or lyvis, that iustice may be exercit in sik wise that trew pepill may leiff but fere of tyrannis to invaid thame in þair lyvis or gudis; quhilkis thingis makis iust princes to be na lesß reuerence to nobill and trew pepill than in terrour to misdoaris. Thairfor said Arestotill in his Ethikis, The proffit of kingis and of commoun wele, be inseuerabill connexioun to vther, dependis iustlie vnto ane fyne; as apperit wele be the nobill Romane, Marcus Regulus. Quhen he be aduersair chance of fortoun was takin presonair in the Punyk weeris, eftir mony wailþeant actis done be him aganis the Cartagianis, he was brocht to Cartage, and send eftir apoun his faith to Rome. Quhen þe Romane senatouris had ressaut him with grete honouris, and decernit lx presonaris of Cartage, quhilkis war takin afoir be Romanis, to be interchangit for his only redempcioun, this Regulus had sik affeccioun to the commoun wele of Rome that he chesit erar, na thing regarding his lyiff, to return amang his inimijs, quhair he with huge torment was eftir slayn, than to suffer sa mony wailþeant men to be gevin for his singulair wele, quhilkis mycht be foundin eftir cruell and scharpe inimijs aganis the commoun wele of (II. 516) Rome. Bot I will return to this history, quhilk sall nocht fail, with Goddis grace, to succede to thi felicite, gif thi eeris be sum tyme gevin thairto, quhen na hear besynes occurris. For quhatt thing may be moir plesand than to se in this present volume, as in ane cleyn mirrour, all the variance of tyme bigane, the sindry chancis of fortoun, the bludy fechting and terribill berganys, sa mony 3eris continewitt in defence of the realme and liberte quhilk is fallin to Thi Hienes with grete felicite, howbeit the samyn had bene oft tymes ransonijtt with maist nobill blude of thi antecessouris; quhilkis sall movee the nobillis of thi realme to defend the samyn, quhen dangere occurris, as thair eldaris has done sa mony 3eris afoir. Quhat is he that will nocht

reioiſs to heyre the marciall factis of thai forsy campionys, King Robert Bruyſs and Williame Wallais? The first be innative desyre to recovere his realme was brocht to sik calamite, that mony dayis he mycht *nocht* appere in sicht of pepill, bot amangis desertis, levand on rwittis and herbis, in esperance of bettir fortoun, bot at last be manhede and prowes come to sik preeminent glory, throw huge victory of Inglismen, that he is now reputt maist wailzeant and nobill prince that was eftir or afoir his empire. This tothir of small begynnyng be ferſs courage and corporall strenth noch only expellit the Inglismen oute of Scotland, bot als be fere of his illustir visage put Edwarde, King of Ingland, to flycht, and held all the bordouris formentis Scottland
xxx waist; quhais | thonderand swerd and raige of fury was sa awfull that na Inglismen war foundin with hardement to repreſs his inuasioun. Siklyke mony vther wailzeant princes has bene in this realme, as Caratak, Galdus, Gregoure, Fergus the Secund, with mony vtheris, as may be knawin in the reding of this history. And pocht sum of thi nobill progenitouris war degeneraitt fra vertew, 3ite followis litill admiracioun thairof. For sindry Romane Empriouris bene vicious, as Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, Domicius, Commodus, Vitellius, with vthir mony, quhilkis I latt for ouree prolixite pas. And pocht thair detestabill lyvis bene abhominabill to thair posterite, 3ite the deploracioun of thair miserie sall move the redaris to imitacioun of vertew. For it was nevir hard bot ane man of vicious lyfe has ane vicious ending, and noch onlye kingis and princes bene deiekkit fra thair imperiall estaitt, quhen thai war abusit fra vertewis disciplyne, bot als all nobill baronis on þat ¹ samyn maner, quhen thai be (II. 517) proude insolence war repugnant to thair superiour. Exhorting heirfor Thi Hienes to be accunpanyitt with personis quhilkis sall cause the to increas with sik illuster werkis that Thi Hienes may be comparit iustlie to thi maist nobill and wailzeant antecessouris, for as þou leiffis now in þis present lyiff, sa sall thi fayme be knawin be thi posterite, emprising thi impire only as it deseruit for the tyme: beseking the mercifull and

¹ MS. *þai*.

omnipotent Lord to geif Thi Hienes sic effusioun of grace that tirannis may be dantit and gude men autorist, and pat this realme may be governit with sik felicite that we, thi subdittis, may haif sufficient motive to desire Thi Hienes lang on lyve, the quhilk mott grant the gracious God. At Edinburgh, the last day of September, in þe 3ere of God j^m v^e xxxj 3ere.

(I. 1)

How Gathelus, oure first progenitoure, left þe land of Grece, and come in Egipt, and marijt Scota, dochter to King Pharo ; & of his cummyng to Spanʒe.
Ca j

Eftir the maner of vther pepill, the Scottis, desirande to schew the anciant blude of thair lang begynnynge, schewis thame, be this present History, descendit of the Grekis and Egipcianys. For, als auld cornikillis beris, þair was ane Greyk, callit Gathelus, son of vmquhile Cecrops of Athenis, vtherwayis of Argus, King of Argives, quhilke be raige of ʒouth maid diuerʒ extorciouns in þe land of Macedone and vther partis of Grece. And becauʒ he couth *nocht* suffer correccioun of his frendis, he left his native cuntre of Grece, and come in Egipt, with ane strang company of siklike ʒoung vndantit men, quhilke left þair cuntre in þe samyn wise. In this tyme rang in Egipt Pharo, þe scourge of þe pepill of Israell : quhais son, followand his faderis inquite, be the punicioun of God was eftir drownit in þe Rede seyis with all his army. The king Pharo ressauit Gathelus the mair plesandlye, that he apperit to support hym aganis the Moris and pepill of Ynde, quhilke with continewall battellis waistit his towns and landis of Egipt to Menphis, þe principall ciete of his realme ; quhairthrocht Pharo had sene suddandlye ane miserabill rewyne of all his land, war *nocht* he cheangit the gouernance of þe impyre of Egipt be the commande of Moyses, to quhom be commande of God the army of Pharo wes committit. Pharo, be supple of Gathelus, wan ane scharp battell agane þe Moris, and brocht þaim to so hye rewyne, that he tuke thair principall ciete callit Meroye. Gathelus,

(I. 2)

eftir this happy victory, returnyt in Egipt ; and, becauſſ he was ane lusty persoun *with* grete sperit and strenth of body, he gat first þe fauouris of þe Kingis familiaris and eftir of the Kingis selff. Bot ȝite this plesand victory generit mair displeſſer & inwy than glore to Moyses amang Egipcians ; for thai hatit all þe blude of Israell, as apperit eftir. For þe said Moyses, returnand hayme, wes accusit befor King Pharo of diuerſſ crymez, and þerfor to sauff his luffe fled furth of Egipt. Gathelus, for the victorious and wailȝeand dedis done be him, was maid generall luftenent to all King Pharois army. Sone eftir, becaus he was ane lusty persoun, seymlic, & of hye blude riall of Grece, with prudent ingyne, King Pharo gaif him his dochter, callit Scota, in mariage, with part of landis in heretage quhilkis was takyn be force of batall fra the pepill of Israell. For thir causſſ the Grekis began to reioiſſ, seand thair capitane of sik familiarite *with* þe prince ; traistand þerthrow sum tyme to haif ane sikker duelling place in Egipte.

Schort ȝeris eftir this, Pharo beand decessit, his son, Bochoris Pharo ressauiſſ the crowne of Egipt, quhilk opprest þe pepill of Israell with mair *seruitude* than did his fader. Quhairthrow na esperance of liberte apperit to þe said pepill, quhill Moyses |
 2 returnyt furth of Ynde, quhair he was bannyst, to schaw the commande of God to þis Bochoris Pharo, for deliuering of the said pepill oute of *seruitude*. Eftir þis, Egipt was pwneist *with* vncouth plagis, becaus þai held þe prophecy of Moyses in derisioun ; quhilk maid the Egipcians sa estonyst, þat þai went to inquiryre *per* goddis of remede. It was ansuerit, that the present plagis in Egipt was of small effect in respect of þe grevous
 (I. 3) calamiteis that was to cum upon thaym. Gathelus, na leſſ astonyst be þe present plagis þan be þe *terribill* response of the goddis, tuke ferm purpos to lefe Egipt, and erar to assalȝe extreme danger for sum vther duelling, þan to abyde þe manifest wengeance of goddis. Ane schort tyme eftir he maid prouisioun of all thingis necessair to saling : and come owte of the mouth of þe ryver of Nyle, *with* his wyiff, frendis, & seruandis, Grekis and Egipcianys, for fere of the saidis plagis, the ȝere fra the begynnyng of the warld, iij^m vj & xliij ; quhilk,

eftir mekill wilsum travale be þe seyis callit Mediterrane, arrayvit in þe land of Numydy; quhair he was stoppit be the inhabitantis to land. Eftir lang tyme he landit in ane part of Spanȝe, callit Lusitan, quhilk was eftir callit Portingall, þat is to say, the port of Gathele. In the quhilk land Gathelus was passand furth *with* his folkis to seyke wittalis and vther necessaris to recomfort his wery folkis, quhilkis had bene lang irkit *with* dangeris of seyis, havand no thing to refresche þame. The inhabitantis of þat regeoun, seand the said Gathelus with his cunpany within þair landis, drew þame to harnez & wapiunis, to repreß þair violence, and met þe said Gathelus and his cumpany be scharp battell. In þe quhilk bergane Gathelus was victorious, quhairthro his folkis tuke grete curage *with* sikkyr hoype to put ane fynall end to þair wilsum travale, and to haif ane stabill and permanent abynd in þe said regeoun.

Eftir this victory, the Spaynȝeartis maid ane band of pece with Gathelus, and assignit him certane landis, quhair he suld big his townis. Sone eftir he biggit ane town apon þe ryver of Mvnde, callit þan Brachara, now Barsale. The inhabitantis, dredand thir new pepill of vncouth blude till increas haistlye in riches and strenth besyde þame, was penitent of þe band of pece maid laitlye *with* thame; and þerfor, be assistance of þair nychtbouris, arrayit þame in battell aganis Gathelos; and first send ane certane of armyt men to interrup þair biggingis; syne maid thair self redde to cum in þe stayll. Gathelus, wele aduerteist that þe present battell movit aganis hym wes sa suddand that he mycht nocht haif lang avisement to resist þe samyn, arrayit his folkis and past forthwert to meit his innimeis, to end that mater be force of bataill, and exhortit his men to doo waillȝeandlie for þair lyiff and honour, havand sickyr esperance of victorie, becaus þe battell was to be led be þame, quhilkis was victorious aganis thair vyncust innimeis, havand no exercicioun nor knowlege of cheuailry. The inhabitantis, seand thir

3 (I. 4) strangearis cum in battell *with* gret curage | and audacite, in ane vncouth land, dred, gif thai war vyncust in þe said battell, þat thai suld be brocht to perpetuall subiectioun and serui-

tude ; heirfor desyrit Gathelus to ane commonyng, in þe quhilk thai gaif him be new band of pece ane part of lanndis in þe north part of Spanȝe, callit now Galycia ; becaus þai had in prophecy, that ane strange pepill suld cum sumtyme to duell thair ; and commandit him to pas thair with his pepill, quhilkis suld be broukit be him but ony impedimentis in tymes cumyng ; promittand als to support him aganis all pepill that happinnit to invaid him be battall.

How Gathelus beildit the ciete of Brigance, and namyt all his pepill Scottis, and how he send his two sons to conquess that ile that is now clippit Irelannd ; and of his deceß ; and of his sonnys gouernance. Ca ij

EFTIR the new band of pece maid betuix Gathelus and the Spaynȝeartis, Gathelus maid sacrifice to his goddis for the victory grantit to him ; syne past to the north partis of Spanȝe, and thair, with amyte confiderit with the inhabitantis, beildit ane town callit than Brygance, now callit Compestella ; quhair he, resident in princelye dignite, maid lawis to cauß his subdittis leif to giddir in iustice. Eftir this callit all his subdittis Scottis, in honour and affeccoun of his wyiff, quhilk was callit Scota ; on quhom he gat twa sonnys, Hyber and Hemecus. The Spaynȝeartis, na thing reiosit of the brudy spreding of þe Scottis, dred þe samyn to ryiß sum tyme to *per displeser* ; for this cauß tuke ferm purpos to distroy þame aluterlie. Gathelus, nocht vnknawing thair ordinance, brocht furth his pepill arrayit in batall and set on his innimeis, throcht quhilk was ane scharp bergane cruelly fochtin. Nochttheles, þe victory succedit to þe Scottis with na litill slauchter on athir syde, throcht quhilk peace was plesand to þame baith vnder thir condicions : that fra thens (I. 5) furth thir pepill suld put ane end to all þair weeris, and nane of þame invaid vther : the Scottis to leif on þair avne lawis, siklyke as þe Spaynȝearttis did of þairis, reiosing thair landis but impediment, quhilkis þai possedit afoir þe battell, but

any forthir persecucioun. Throcht quhilk happinnit, ane certane of thir pepill, be proceß of tyme, to be eftir send in Ireland.

Syckyr peace following thus among the pepill, Gathelus sittand in his chair of *merbell* within his chymmeis¹ of Brygance, gouernit his pepill in iustice. This chaire of *merbell* had sik fortoun & weird, þat quhair it was fundin in ony land the samyn land sall pertene as natyve to Scottis, as *per versis schewis* :

The Scottis sall ioys and brouke the landis hail
Quhair þai fynd it, bot gif weirdis fail.²

- 4 | Throw quhilk happinnit, that the said chair of *merbill* was eftir brocht owte of Spanze in Ireland ; and furth of Ireland to Scotland. In the quhilk chair all kingis of Scotlannd war ay crownyt, quhill the tyme of King Robert Bruse. In quhilk tyme, besyde mony vther cruelteis done be Edward Langschankis of England, the said chaire of *merbill* was takyn and brocht oute of Scoyn to Lundone, and eftir put in Westminster, quhair it remanis.

Gathelus, seand þe multitude of his pepill increasing in Brigance thocht mair expedient to bring his pepill to sum vther part, quhair þai may be sustenit in peace, than to violatt his band of faith ; heirfor, be counsale of prudent men, send exploratouris to serche gif any desert lanndis war *within* þe oceane seyis, quhair he mycht bring ane part of his pepill to be nurist. Becauß the faym was at that tyme, þat north fra Spanze was ane ile, inhabit *with* rude pepill, havand na lawis nor maneris. Sic thingis knawin to Gathelus, he brocht all þe schippis he mycht gett to the nixt port, in þe quhilkis he put baith his *sonnis* Hiber & Hemecus, with marineris, were men, and all vther thingis necessaris for þe samyn ; and *commandit* Hiber, as Admirall, to pas to þe said ile. This done, þai pullit vp salis, and, with fortunatt wyndis, arryvit þe v day eftir in þe said ile, and put thair men on land, with tentis and palzeouns, affixit on

¹ Deleted, and *citie* written on right-hand margin, by a later hand.

² The Latin original of these verses is added by a later hand at the foot of the page.

þe nixt strenthis. The rude pepill of þis ile, astonyst be cummyng of thir weir men, fled *with* thair bestiall & gudis (I. 6) to the nixt cavernis. Hiber, eftir his cuming, send ane certane of armyt men to se quhat pepill inhabit this ile. The weermen, send for this effect, happinnit be aventour to cum on þe said pepill, fleand, as said is, with thair gudis; and be suddand bergane ane part of þame slew, and vtheris brocht to thair admirall as presoneris. Hiber, knowing be sindry signis þe land plentewis, commandit þe pepill to be sauffet but ony forthir violence, gif þai wald be subdewit. The inhabitantis, fyndand him propiciant, randerit baith þair gudis and þame self to him. Hiber, ressavng thame with beneuolence, sufferit þame to increß with his pepill vnder a naym and lawis; and left his bruther Hemecus abone þe pepill, commandand thame to be obedient to hyme.

Sik thingis done, he maid sacrifice in þe honour of his goddis, to send felicite to his pepill, syne returnyt in Spanze, levand behynd him ane strang garison of soudjouris, with wiffis and barnis, to inhabit this land, and to keip the samyn vnder obey-sance of his bruther Hemecus. At his returnyng in Spaynze, his fader was decessit, and thairfor þe pepill chesit him king. Hiber, maid king in þis maner, began to eyk þe boundis of his empyre with mair ferocite þan his fader did afor him, and conquest be iuperdy of battale mony diuerß townis fra þe empyre of Spaynzeartis; havand *with* him all tyme ane strang gard of men; be quhais pussance & chevelrye he dantit þe pepill of sik maner, that he was baith honorit and dred with þe pepill, quhairthrow þe pepill was constrenyt to seyke his peace. Eftir this last band of pece, the Scottis grew in Spanze, quhilk was namyt 5 than Hyberia | fra Hiber, with sik amite, that baith the pepill grew vnder ane name & blude, ilk persoun debating his nychtbouris fra all inimite, baith at hame and feild, as thair bruther and fader. Eftir this descendit of Hiber ane lang posterite¹ succedand continewallie in Spanze, amang quhom was mony nobill and famous men, as Metellius, Hermoneus Ptolomeus, Hibertus and Symon Brek, as we sall eftir schaw. (I. 7) Sic thingis done in Spaynze, Hemecus, quhilk was left behynd

¹ MS. *prosterite*.

his bruther, as said is, namyt þe said ile Hibernia, fra Hiber, þat is to say Ireland. And sa this ile was inhabit be twa pepill, the Scottis, and the ald inhabitantis of it, quhilkis was gottin, as sum auctor sayis, be gyantis. Hemecus gournit baith thir pepill in grete iustice, havand na leß respect to the sesoun, as the tyme occurrit, than to the maneris of þe pepill vnder his obeisance; becaus na thingis mycht bryng the pepill somnar vnder a frendschip and band þan sic doyngis; nochtwithstanding, he mycht nocht bring thame to þat effect.

How eftir the deceß of Hemecus the Scottis and the ald inhabitantis of Ireland war devidit in sindry opinions, contending for the superiorite of the samyn; how Symon Brek was chosin king of þe said ile; of his empyre and successioun; and how þe Scottis war brocht in þe ile of Albyonn.

Ca iij

Ane schort tyme eftir Hemecus decessit; eftir quhais deceß raisß ane odious debait, quha suld be gournour, ilk nacioun contending to haif þair lord of thair avne blude, quhill at the last thai creatt twa gournouris; betuix quhom raisß perpetuall weeris with huge slauchter on athir syde, throw birmand desyre to be gournour of the said ile. Eftir lang batellis, thir twa pepill, brokyn with sindry displesouris, war constrenyt to tak peace. Nochttheles, the samyn indurit nocht lang throw ferß persute maid be ilkane of þame on vther. Nochþeles, mony 3eris eftir þai duelt to giddir be interchange of were and pece. Quhill at last the Scottis, brokyn ilk daye with mair iniuris, send thair ambassiadouris to Metellius, regnand in Span3e than abone þe Scottis, to schew thair lamentabill regraitt, and to desyre his support aganis the auld inhabitantis of Ireland, quhilkis war ane wylde pepill, and impacient to suffir ony dominion abone þame; throu quhilk þe Scottis mycht haif na tranquillite, without þe said pepill war repressit. The message of the

Scottis was the moir acceptabill to Metellius, þat it concernit ¹
 þe *commounwele* of baith þe Scottis of Spaynþe and Ireland,
 (I. 8) quhil^{kis} war *cummyn* of ane blude. And becauþ he traistit
 þis besynes na leþ to þe honour and gloir of him self, þan to
 þe proffit of his frendis, he send his thre sonnis Hermoneus,
 6 Ptolomeus, and Hybert, *with* ane | grete army of wailþeant
 men in Ireland; quhair þai *with* gret difficulte dantit all
 þe ald inhabitantis of the said ile. Sic thingis peceabilly
 dressit in Ireland, Hermoneus, þe eldast bruther, returnyt
 agane in Spaynþe, and left behynd him his twa brethir,
 Ptolomeus and Hibert, quhil^{kis} gouernit the pepill of þat
 land mony ȝeris eftir in iustice, and maid lawis and institu-
 ciounis according to þe rite of þai dayis, and instruct preistis
 to þe religioun and sacrifice of thair goddis, as þe Egipcianys
 vsit. Quhairthrou þe pepill inressit mony ȝeris *efter* in riches
 and pussance. Nochttheles, as þe nature of man is, owre
 grete prosperite ingeneris evill condiciouns, with corruppit
 maneris, and makis men to vindicat frequent displesouris
 on þame self, quhen þai fynd na inimeis at hayme to invaid
 þame. Thir pepill, eftir lang felice, war devidit in two
 opiniouns, betuix quhom was ithand battallis, contending
 for administracioun of the realme. Sua that ilk party had
 distroyit vther aluterlie, war nocht þai war reconsalit be ane
 nobill man callit Thanaus, quhil^k was send afoir as ambas-
 siadour in þe said ile for *certain* hie materis concernyng the
 felice *perof*. This Thanaus, be his prudens, desirit thame
 to remoif all contenciouns quhil^{kis} war þe cause of grete
 slauchteris following amang thame, and to cheiþ þat man
 king, quhil^k had maist wisdome to governe thame, to quhom
 þai aucht to be obedient; becaus na thing mycht be in erd
 sa gude as þe impyre of a gude king. Throw his persuasioun
 þe pepill tuke sic feruent desyre to haif ane king, that, all
 iniuris beand exterminat, thai *commandit* Thanaus to cheiþ
 that man king quhil^k he thocht maist expedient. Than
 said Thanaus: "I think him maist wourthy to be ȝoure
 king, quhil^k is vnsuspect and nocht perticipant with ane of
 ȝoure opinions. I know in Spanþe ane man of grete soberite

¹ MS. *concentit*.

and iustice, namyt Symon Brek, discending of ȝoure blude and wele accustomyt *with ȝour lawis*, and linealie cumin (I. 9) of Metellius ; quhais sonis supportit ȝow maist in ȝoure grete neid, and gouernit this realme mony ȝeris eftir ; quhais posterite ȝit remanis. And thairfor I think him maist abill to be ȝour king." The partiis, herand þe name of Symon Brek, war glad to haif him king, becaus the name of Symon was richt plesand in þai dayis. Sone eftir ambassiadouris war send in Spaynȝe, to bring Symon Brek in Ireland. Quhen Symon herd the mynde of thir ambassiadouris, he providit ane grete navyn of schippis ; and, with plesand wyndis, arryvit in Ireland, quhair he was ressaut in grete solempnite, and eftir crownit with princelie dignite in þe chyar of merbill, quhilk he brocht with him furth of Spanȝe, as maist riche iowell in þai dais. This Symon was þe first king that rang abone þe Scottis in Ireland ; fra the begynnyng of þe warld iiij^m v^c & iiij ȝeris ; 7 fra | the flude of Noye, ij^m ij^c and viij ȝeris ; fra þe begynnyng of Rome, lx ȝeris ; eftir the impyre of Brutus in Albioun, iiij^c lxxij ȝeris ; before þe Incarnacioun of God, vj^c lxxxxv ȝeris. This Symon Brek gouernit Ireland in grete tranquillite and iustice, specialie be consultacioun of Thanaus ; quhom he maid ay maist tendir on his counsale, quhen hiest materis occurrit for þe tyme ; and eftir gaif hym grete landis liand in þe south partis of Irelannd, besyde the ryvere of Birsus, quhilkis landis ar now callit Dowdaill ; quhair the said Thanaus duelt eftir, with þe pepill quhilk he brocht with him oute of Brigance, the famous ciete of Spanȝe. Thir pepill war callit Brigandis ; of quhom eftir, be proceß of tyme, descendit mony nobill and walȝeand men, quhilkis come eftir with Fergus, the first king of Scottis in Albioun : be quhom þe lanndis of Scotland war callit Brigance, quhilkis ar now callit Gallowaye ; quhais pepill war maist wailȝeand and full of chevelry and maist inimeis of Romans and Britons,¹ as we sall eftir here. Bot now I will return agane to my first mater.

Symon Brek gouernit Ireland xl ȝeris. Eftir quhais deceß (I. 10) succedit his son Fandufius. Eftir him rang Ethiom. Eftir

¹ MS. *Brutus*.

Ethion rang Glaucus. Eftir Glaucus succedit Nathasilus. Eftir Nathasilus rang Rothesaus, quhilk was þe first of þe Scottis blude that send exploratouris to serche the ilis of Albion, eftir that the Scottis had rounge in Ireland j^c & xvj 3eris. Eftir this tyme the Scottis vsit to pas oft tyme with thair bestiall, quhilkis war þair maist tresoure in þai dayis, in Albion, becaus þai fand naturall gerfs in þe samyn for þe nuresing of thair bestis. The Scottis, brocht be this maner in þe ilis of Albion, spred richt aboundandly throw all þe waist partis of the samyn, liand to the grete north, and deuidit þame self in sindry tribis. The first ile þai come to was namyt Argaeill, fra Gathelus; quhilk now, be corrupcioun of langage, is callit Argile. The Scottis, deuidit this maner in sindry tribis, chesit certane capitans to euery tribe, to govern thame baith in tyme of were and peace; havand þe name of thair capitane in sic reuerence, þat quha euer tuke the samyn in wane wer na lefs puneist than þai had mayn sworn þe goddis; and als, quhen maist danger apperit, þai vsit to mak invocacioun on thair capitane, as sum diuinite war hid in þe samyn, quhilk consuetude remanit mony 3eris eftir in þai ilis.

Off the first cumyng of the Pychtis in Albyon; of
þair maneris, polecy, and alliance maid with the
Scottis. C iij

A schort tyme eftir this, ane banneist pepill come owte of þai partis of Almanay, quhilkis ar now callit Denmark, sekand ane duelling in France and Britane. And becauþ þai war stoppit to aryve in þai partis, þai landit finalie in Ireland; and thair nocht sufferit to remane, come in Albion. For, as part of cornikillis beris, þai come first in Orknaye; and, sone (I. 11) eftir, in Cathanes, Roß, Murraie, Mernis, and Anguse. At last þai come in Fyiff and Lowtheane, and expellit all þe rude pepill þat inhabit þat regioun afore þair cumyng. Thir pepill war callit Pichtis be þair seymly persone & honest

abilzeamentis, or ellis be the Pichtis namyt Agathirsanis,
 8 thair ancient faderis. In witnes heirof, | Orknay was callit
 the ald realme of Pichtis. Siclike, the seyis betuix Cathanez
 & Orknay war namyt Pentland Fyrth. Sum autouris sayis,
 thir Pichtis war the residew of Hunnys, banneist be Flemynge's,
 and come first in Britan to seyk ane duelling, quhair thai,
 be scharp battell, lest Hunber, thair king, be Locrynus &
 Camber, the sons of Brutus, quhilk first began the impyre of
 Britane. This opinioun is plesand, war *nocht* the dait of 3eris
 is discordand to þe history; for Brutus and his sons war
 mony 3eris afor thair cuming. Off thir Pichtis writis mony
 ald and recent autouris, to quhom applaudis Cornelius Tacitus,
 in þe Lyiff of þe Roman Agricola; quhair he namys þe Scottis
 cumin of Spanzeartis, and þe Pychtis, of Almanys. Nochpeles,
 quhair of þat euer þai be descendit, certane is, eftir þair cuming
 in Albion, thai war ane civill pepill, richt ingenious and crafty
 in were and in peace. Sone eftir þair cuming in Albion,
 quhilk was fra þe begynnyng of þe warld iij^m viij^o & lx 3eris,
 thai creatt ane king to gouern þame in iustice, and began to
 mak polley in bigging of municions, townis & castellis.
*Nocht*theles, seand all pepill but successioun abill to pereifis,
 thai send thair ambassiadouris to þe Scottis, desyring be
 affinite to haif þair dochteris in mariage; and schew, thocht
 þai war of vncouth blude, 3ite þai suld be vilipendit *with* na
 pepill, sen þai *with* na lefs prudence than manhede has oursett
 incredibill dangeris baith be sey and land; and now laitlie
 conquest, be beneuolence of goddis, richt plentewis landis
 with sik peace & tranquillite, that na vther pepill mycht haif
 reassoun to clame þe samyn; havand *perfor* *perfite* esperance,
 gif þe goddis perseuerit to þame propiciant, to be sa industrius,
 þat þai mycht be comparit to ony þair *nychtbouris*. Attour,
 gif þe Scottis condescendit to thair honourabill desyris, it
 mycht fall, þe twa pepill increas to giddir sa strang vnder ane
 blude, that þai mycht þe bettir repres þe fury of inimeis,
 (I. 12) quhen euer it happinnit þame to be invadit. The Scottis
 thocht first þis message vnpleasand, and thair dochteris *nocht*
 to be gevin to sa strange blude; *nochtwithstanding*, be
 mature deliuerance, vnderstude þair common wele *nocht* of

þat pussance, as ȝite, to resist þe Britons, quhilkis persewit þam¹ be continewall haitrent sen þair first begynnynge. Heirfor, to augment thair strenthis aganis þe Britons, þai war profoundly resoluit to haif alliance with þe Pichis, and to geif þair dochteris in mariage, vnder þir condiciouns : that ilkane of thame suld reioið, in tyme cuming, all þai landis quhilkis þai reiosit afore þe mariage ; and assembl ay to giddir with thair hale pussance, to withstand thair inimeis, quhen euir it happinnit þame to be invadit. He þat did offence to ony ane of thame, suld be reput as inimye to þame baith ; and, als oft as the croun of Pichis come in pley, to be chosin of the nerrest of þe womanis blude. Thir condiciouns plesand on all sydis, the Scottis gaif thair dochteris in mariage to þe Pichis.

The Britons tuke na litill suspicioun of this mariage, dredand, gif thir twa pepill inccressit to giddir vnder ane blude be affinite, to be sa strang in schort tyme, that nothir thai for þe tyme present, nor ȝite þair posterite, mycht be sufficient to resist þe pussance of þir two pepill ; and | thairfor, be exorbitant hattrent, tuke purpos to distroye thame baith. Nochttheles, thai thocht bettir to invaid the two pepill be fraudefull slychtis, than be force of bataill, and, to bring þair purpos to effect, devisit to raið ane sedicioun amangis thame, sua that the tane of thame beand distroyit, the tothir, brokin with þe samyn weeris, mycht be the sonnar opprest.

(I. 13) Bot ȝite, to cover þer slichtis mair secretlye, þai supersedit thair intencioun for thre ȝeris, to avise gif ony proces of tyme mycht geif thame bettir occasioun to move battaill. The samyn tyme, be affinite afoir contract, the Pichtis multipliȝt with ane brudy successioun. The twa pepill grew in equale beneuolence ; the Pichtis gevand þair industry to pollecy & laboure of thair landis, settand thair felicite to beild muni-ciounis and townis for defence and augmentacioun of thair commoun wele ; the Scottis exercit thame in craft of hunting, halking, and nuresing of thair stoir and bestiall, havand thair tresoure and riches in þe samyn ; quhais abilȝementis war vsit dalie of abirjoun of mailȝe, with bow and arrowis,

¹ MS. þan.

in ythand exercicioun ; reddy at all tymes to defend thair lyvis, landis, & liberte, as thair inimijs war to invaid thame in sett battall.

How the Britonis, be quent slichtis, dissoluit the band of amite betuix Scottis and Pichtis, and of the displesouris¹ and slauchter following thairupon. Ca v

The samyn tyme the Britonis send thair ambassatouris to Pichtis, havand grete wonder quhy thai preferrit þe Scottis to thame, sen thai war ane pepill full of riches and gloir, quhais famous chevelry was nocht onlie knawin in France, bot als in Almany and vther sindry regionis be seyis and landis : havand ane riche realme, replaitt of all myndis of mettall, rycht plentewis of euery froittis to vse of mortall pepill, quhairthrow þai mycht doo ane hye plesour to þair nychtbouris, als wele in tyme of were as peace. Be contrair, þe Scottis war ane vndantit pepill, with wilde maneris, but ony humanite ; havand mair traist in thair audacite, þan þair vertew ; duelling amang strait & barratt montanis, and wer ane cruell pepill, reiosing in na thing mair þan in murdir of men & bestis. Attour, þai had be prophecy, that Pichtis sum tyme suld be exterminatt be Scottis, withoute þai socht haisty remede þerfor. For thir cauß, desirit þe Pichtis to mak ane new band of amite with Britonis, to that effect, that Scottis suld finaly be drevin furth of Albion be preß of batall, or ellis brocht to extreme desolacioun ; throw quhilk, þai mycht haif incredibill commodite, reiosing baith þair realmes but ony fere, in tymes cuming. And, to geif thame the moir prouocacioun to attempt this besynis, þai promittit to support thame with ane strang army at thair plesoure. This message had þe moir creditt, that Pichtis had afoir ane vehementt suspicioun, that þe fast spreading of Scottis suld sum tyme fall to hye dammage of thair posterite ; for (I. 14) na thing mycht impell thaym moir to move battall aganis Scottis, þan þe response of goddis concurrand to þair avne

¹ MS. *dispesouris*.

suspicioun At last þe Pichtis gaif ansuere, sayand thai
 10 contrakit affinite | with þe Scottis mair of necessite than ony
 hartlie frendschip, becaus thair corrupitt maneris wer richt
 vnplesand to thame. Nochtpeles, sik oportunitie maye cum
 be proces of tyme, that þai mycht haif sufficient occasioun
 to move weere aganis the Scottis as þai desyrit; becaus
 na thing mycht be sa acceptabill to thame as the amite and
 fallowschip of Britonis; provyding all wayis, that the said
 Britonis maid thame sufficient help quhen tyme requirit,
 aganis þe Scottis. Sik besynes done, as occurrit than, the
 ambassatouris war depeschitt.

Ane schort tyme eftir, the Pichtis, sekand occasioun to move
 bataill aganis the Scottis, commandit be generall edictis that
 nane of Scottis blude be fundin within þair municionis & townis
 eftir ane certane prefixitt daye. Quhilk day birunnyn, thai slew
 all Scottis foundin within þair rowmes, as brekaris and vilipen-
 daris of thair maieste. The Scottis, richt impacient of this hye
 iniure, maid thame haistlye to revenge the samyn, and cessit
 nocht quhill þai had slan als mony of Pichtis as wes afoir slayn
 of Scottis. Incontinent, be haisty troubill rysing in þis maner,
 was na litill murdir on athir syde, sua that ilkane of thame
 slew vther at thair countering, regarding nothir reassoun,
 (I. 15) tyme, nor place. The peace dissoluit in this sort, the Pichtis
 denunciit were to Scottis; eftir quhilk followitt continewall
 herschip on athir syde. Attour, that euery thing suld be done
 erar be consultacioun than be immoderatt hattrent, the
 Pichtis cessit nocht to provyde all thingis necessair for muni-
 cionis & ordinance of battell; syne be experience of aigit
 men tuke aviseament, be quhatt capitanis and ordoure of
 chevelrye thair batellis suld be dressit, quhethir thai suld
 abyde the cuming of thair inimeis, or invaid thame within
 thair avne boundis. The samyn tyme, þe Scottis convenit
 to giddir in Argile, quhare the capitanis wer dividit in sindry
 opinionis concernyng the batellis. Sum accusit the tresonabill
 slychtis of Pichtis, desyring to pas on thame haistly, as
 wrangwis and maynsworn brekaris of thair faith, becaus þe
 iniure was sa grete that it mycht suffer na delaye. Vtheris
 thocht mair expedient, sen the mater wes sa grete, to invaid

thair inymijs moir be slycht of ingyne then preß of armys. Than sayid ane aigit man of grete autorite in this maner : " I knaw wele, my hartlie freyndis, this iniure of Pichtis is sa importabill and odious, that we suld but ony tary revenge þe samyn. Nochþeles, all besynes bene wele done that procedis be gude aviseament. And, sen hattrent avalis nochť but puyssance, knaw wele, this battell that 3e intend to move salbe na leß aganis the Britonis than Pichtis ; howbeit 3e haif nochť that craft of chevelry nor puyssance to resist thame baith. For thir causis, I think na besynes sa proffittabill, as to send ambassatouris to oure ancyant progenitouris of Ireland, to haif supportt in this extreme dangere. And becaus multitude of capitanis is sedicious, best is to cheifß ane of ws to haiff autorite abone the laiff ; vnder quhais counsale and impire wee schall fecht for oure lyvis and liberteis, aganis (I. 16) ane fals and maynsworn pepill, quhilkis has invadit ws with importabill iniuris eftir oure grete humanite done to thame." |

II How Ferquhard, King of Ireland, send Fergus his son with ane strang army in support of þe Scottis of Albion ; and how þe said Fergus was chosin king abone the Scottis in Albione. Ca vj.

This last opinioun was maist apprisit to the Scottis, and þerfor ambassatouris war send in Ireland, to complene of the treasson and iniuris done be Pichtis, and to desyre support aganis thame. Ferquhard, quhilk was that tyme king of Scottis in Ireland, movit for displesoure done to his freyndis the Scottis in Albion, send his son Fergus, ane wise and wailþeant prince, to thair support ; and to mak þaime haif the mair esperance of permanent weird, send with thame the fataill chayre of merbyll. Fergus was the moir plesandlie ressauit be þe Scottis, that þair commoun wele was approcheand to hie dangere, be ane maist perrellus batall. Eftir his cuming, ane counsale was sett in Argyille, in the quhilk Fergus sayid in this sort : " Maist wailþeand pepill, 3e see ane galþeart cumpany of wailþeand men, as 3e desyre,

cumin in this 3oure regeoun to repress the fury of 3oure inymijs. As we þat regardis the iniuris done too 3ow na leß than to ws, wee ar reuthfull faderis to 3ow oure childerin with sik affection, that euery iniuris done to 3ow, returnis to oure dishonour. And sen we ar sa propiciant faderis, schaw 3ow as oure obeisand childeryn, that we may sa wiselie concur to giddir, be amite & frendschip, that gloir and honour maye redounde to ws and proffitte vnto 3ow. 3ite ane thing bene richt necesserr to avise : quhethir þe impyre of ane or mony be moir proffittabill for 3oure commoun wele ? And quhilk of thame 3e think maist proffittabill schalbe plesand to ws, sen we, be the beneuolence of goddis, ar happely arryvit in this regioun, and *cumin* onlie for 3oure singulair wele and support." Quhen endit was this orison of Fergus, the counsale thocht pluralite of capitaneis wes vnprofitable, and condescendit with ane consent to haif ane king, quhilk sall haif autorite abone thame all, to govern thame, in this present troubill. To remove all suspicioun of hattrent, & becaus ilk tribe desirit ane king of pair avne lynage, thai chesit Fergus, for his nobill blude & vther his excellent vertewis, to be king. Attour, he was sa provin in manhede and iustice, þat na captane of tribis mycht be comparit to him. Fergus, chosin king in this maner, wes crovnit in þe fatail chier of marbil, quhilk he brocht with him be response of goddis, to stabill his realme in Albione ; (I. 17) and was þe first king þat rang abone þe Scottis in that regioun ; fra þe begynnyng of þe warld, iiij^m viij^c lxix 3eris ; afoir þe Incarnacioun of God, iii^c xxx 3eris ; fra þe begynnyng of Rome, iiij^c xx 3eris ; fra the impire of Brutus in Britan, viij & xxxvij 3eris.

The realme of Scottis rysing in this maner in Albione, King Fergus kest extreme deligence to withstand his inymijs, and to that effect commandit þe capitaneis of þe tribis to meitt him, day and place affixitt, with xl dayis vittalls, arrayit in thair maist weerly ordinance. Quhen þe daye assignit wes *cumin*, King Fergus, knawing na thing moir displeand than sedicion amang weirmen, maid afald acord amang his pepill, and commandit þame to be obeisand to thair capitaneis, with sik ordoure that nane of thame evaig fra thair fallowis,

12 in dreid thai fall as | pray to thair fais. Sik thingis done, he maid sacrifice in the honour of his godis, according to þe vse was than, and prayit thame to tak vengeance of the party that gaif first occasioun of bataill aganis vther ; and to grant him sik felicitie in his iust defence, that victory maye succede to him but hevy damage of his pepill.

How the Scottis and Pichtis, arrayitt in vther sycht, herand the slycht of Britonis devisit for the perdicious of thame baith, tuke trewis and wer aggreit apoun all debaittis. Ca^m vij

Sik thingis done be Scottis in Argile, the Pichtis assemblitt Sane strang army with na litill garesonis of Britonis concurrand to thair support ; throw quhilk apperit ane wikit and vnnaturall bergane betuix twa pepill, freyndis & citesouris, faderis and somnis. The Pichtis come first in the Scottis landis ; aganis quhom, *with* na less curage than manhede, (1. 18) went Fergus, with anciant armys displayitt in forme of banner, in the quhilk was ane rede lioun rampand in ane feild of gold, with thonderand steir, maist aufull, rysing on his bak, as is the vse of gentill lyon, quhen he inforsis him to wraith. Fergus was the first that bure thir armez in Albione ; and eftir him thai war the armys of all kingis, descending of his lynage. The Scottis and Pichtis beand arrayit in vtheris sycht, the army of Britonis stude arrayit adreich, noch far fra thame baith, devisand be quhat slichtis thai mycht distroy thame bottht ; with ferme purpos, quhen þe Scottis and Pichtis war iunytt to giddir, and the tane of þame disconnfist, than þe party victorious suld finalye be distroyitt be thair fresche army ; and finaly thir two pepill beand distroyitt be this slycht, the Britonis mycht reiois baith thair realmez in Albioun, but ony fere, in tymes *cummynge*. Nochþeles, pis subtill slycht wes discoveritt to Fergus be ane bannyst Britonn ; quhairthrow trewis wer takin for certane dayis betuix thir twa kingis. And in the samyn tyme Fergus desyring ane *commonyng* *with* the king of Pichtis apoun hie matiris concernyng naleis

the wele of Pictis than of Scottis, the king of Pichtis refusing *nocht* appontment of *commonyng*, *accumpanijt* *with* ane few novmer of his nobillis, mett king Fergus : to quhom Fergus sayid on this maner : " Offt tymes riche townys and pepill contending¹ for the superiorite has brocht thame self to ane miserabill rewyn and thair nychtbouris to hie *commoditeis* ; quhilkis thingis sall *nocht* fail to cum on ws, gif we happin too fecht this daye. The occasioun of batall, quhilk 3e movit first aganis ws, desyris *nocht* at this tyme to be discusset, lauchfull or iniust ; howbeit, the Scottis has sustenit of 3oure pepill importabill iniuris but ony redres or assyithmentis. Nochpeles, the slycht of Britonis desyring oure landis has movitt 3ow mair aganis ws than ony oure offence ; knowing na thing bettir that 3e supponit neuer to invaid ws, 3oure

13 faderis, war *nocht* the Britonis, quhilkis | ar baith oure inimeis, has devisit þe samyn be thair quent slychtis to baith oure exterminacioun. Gif sic thingis be of verete, 3e may amang 3oure self sone discuß ; howbeit na ressoun may impell me to beleif *nocht* this battell finalie to cum to irremediabill damage of ws both. For gif we fecht, victory salbe vncertain.

(I. 19) And suppose we be wyncust, quhilk may *nocht* succeid but vndemys murdir of 3ow, than sall 3e be bot ane pray to 3our inimeis, bringing þame als fast to triumphe & honour as 3oure self to insufferabill miserie. Heirfor, sen no thing is mair detestabill than the sons to invaid thair faderis be battell, (we ar faderis, 3e *our* childerin, and 3oure childerin oure nepotis), 3e may na way wynkuß ws nor be ourethrawn be ws, bot gif 3e degraid 3oure self with maist detestabill felonyis and pollute 3oure self in 3oure blude. Thairfor, latt ws sett on syde all iniust occasioun of hattrent and trete peace, as *nychtbouris* and tendir frendis of allya, sen na leß *commodite* sall follow be this battell to oure inimeis than displeser to ws. Attoure, that nane of 3oure pepill may haif occasioun of debait aganis ws, we promyt here in name of princelie maieste to redres all enormeteis, quhair ony 3oure liegis may iustlie complene ; to that fyne, that we, quhilkis ar of ane blude, may evaid þe qwent slychtis devidit to oure perdicoun be the

¹ MS. *contendng*.

Britonis, and turn the samyn on þame; that reassoun & iustice may seme mair pussant amangis ws, than hatrent or invy. For, I beleif, na vther way is sa sovir to stabill oure pepill in pis Ile of Albyon." Eftir þis orisoun the King of Pichtis ansuerit, that he mycht noch, be his priuatt autorite, dissolue the thingis done be public consale of his baronis. Nochttheles, he suld glaidlye avise with the samyn, quhiddir þai list haif were or peace, and suld schaw him þe nixt day quhat his pepill thocht maist expedient.

Sone eftir this the twa kings returnyt to thair armyis. The King of Pichtis rehersit clerely all þe mynde of Fergus afoir his counsale, schewing how that samyn day behuffit thame nocht onlye to haif fochin aganis þe Scottis, bot als aganis the tresoun of Britonis, and, to preif his intent, (I. 20) brocht certane Britonis as witness for þe nanis. Attoure, þe inoportun sollicitacioun of Britonis, desyring the said battaill aganis þe Scottis, maid þe slycht moir credibill and suspect to þe Pichtis. At last þe Pichtis, avising vnprudentlye in þis mater, war devidit in twa opiniounis. Sum allegit the amite of Scottis was aluterly to be refusit, saying pair iniuris war sa odious and intollerabill, that the samyn mycht na maner be redressit, quhairthrow all vther bandis & condicions of pece suld be contemptnit; becauð the samyn mycht noch indure, specialie quhair refe and extorsioun ar mair apprisit, þan faith & iustice; or quhair lust or invy has mair dominacioun, þan reassoun and schayme. Vtheris allegit the kyndniss & fallowschip of Scottis baith honest and necessar 14 for sindry humaniteis done be þame afore, and | invading neuer thame, quhill þai war first iniurit. Attour, sen þe Britonis ar baith thair inimeis, force constrennys þame othyr to renew frendship with the Scottis, or ellis to seyk ane new duelling. And maist of all the affinite of blude rysing betuix thame suld put ane finall¹ end to all pair weris; sen na thing is mair detestabill to the goddis, and abhominabill to naturall creaturis, than pepill to move battale aganis vtheris, quhair thai ar vnder ane commixtioun of blude. Throw quhilk apperit na thing sa gude to the Pichtis as to haif þe frendship of Scottis;

¹ MS. repeats *ane fynall*.

les þan þe Pichtis war of purpos, to rander falsett, hatrent, and evill dedis, for faith, lufe, and gude thankis. Apperit throw þis last opinioun mony of þe Pichis myndis inclinand to peace, war *nocht* ane grete man amang þame, quhais bruther was slayn in þe weris afoir betuix þe two pepill, quhilk said in þis maner : “ Maist wailþeant men, how is þis blind contencioun rissin amang þow ? Haif þe *nocht* sufficient experience of þe cruelty of Scottis ? Haif ye delyte to be bundin in fallowschip *with* ane pepill havand no faith ? Remembre þe *nocht*, how oure goddis has schewin that þis vnmercyfull and wikkyt pepill is born to oure distruccioun ? Traist þe that þe response of goddis be wayn ? Sall we nureiß þis *perualous* vennom to oure vndowtit myschevis, quhilk sall *nocht* fayll, gif þe goddis schewis þe verite, to bring ws to vtter rewyn ? ” To this maliuolus man ansuerit ane nothir of Pichis, saying, thai aucht *nocht* to geif attendance to þe responsis of goddis ; “ For gif þai be of determyt verite, na mortale creature may eschew þame ; and gif þai be fals, thai suld *nocht* be dred. For thir causis all iniuris, slycht, and tresoun suld be removit ; to sauff oure honeste, latt *neuer* oure faith be brokyn in oure default, sen vengeance bene takyn of sa mony and wailþeant men, quhen þai had *nocht* pair faith and goddis in reuerence. Heirefor, latt ws return agane to the band of Scottis, sen þe samyn may *nocht* be dissoluit but displeasur of þe goddis, nor ȝite but oure incredible schaym ; quhairthrow we may *persever* in kyndnes plesand to þe goddis and euery creatur. Attoure Nature, moder of euery thingis, constrennis ws to luff oure faderis, quhilkis has ws and oure nepottis in equale affeccioun. And *perfor* apperis na occasioun of battell amangis ws.”

Thir wourdis beand said, the wiffis of þe Pichtis, quhilkis war assembillit to giddir þat tyme for luff of þair husbandis, fell on kneis *with* lamentabill teris, and prayit þame *nocht* to entir in battell aganis thair faderis, desyring erar to dee ony maner of dede, than to leif seand thair husbandis distroy pair faderis. The Pichtis, movit with thir and siklyke wourdis of þair wyiffis, condescendit to haif pece with þe Scottis, vnder þir condiciounis : that iniuris be redrest on all sydis ; and the Britonis, quhilkis gaif occasioun of bataill betuix thame,

suld be haldin as perpetuall inimeis : all vther chargis to be at
 15 þe pleserr of þe two kingis, quethir þai list | to strenth peace
 vnder þe auld conditiouns or new ; and, gif thir conditiouns
 war nocht sufficient, to roboratt þe peace, with quhat vther
 conditiouns þe two princes thocht ganand. Eftir þis ane daye
 was affixt to renew þe peace, as said is. The Britons, quhilkis
 come afore in support of Pichtis, herand of þis concord,
 returnitt hayme, dredand þe samyn to succeid to þair litill
 proffitt. The daye affixitt beand cumin, the Scottis and
 Pichtis war aggreitt on all debaittis eftir þe tennour of the
 auld band, with þir new conditiouns : that ilkane of þir two
 pepill leiff content of þair awne rowmez ; supporting vther,
 als wele in honour as proffitt, quhen hie and difficill chargis
 occurris, aganis þair inimeis ; and all iniuris done to ony of
 þame suld be reputt as done to thame baith.

(I. 22)

How Coilus, King of Britonis, come with ane strang
 army in Scotland ; and how eftir mony extorsiouns
 & crewelteis done be him, he was slayn, and his
 army disconnfist ; of þe wisdom, manheid, and
 orisone of King Fergus eftir his returnyng in Argile.

Ca viij

Coilus, King of Britonis, herand thir tythingis at 3ork,
 wes richt trist and sorowfull, dredand thir two pepill
 sum tyme to ryse to his hie displeserr. Astonyst heirfor,
 and nocht knawand be quhat ingyne he mycht distroye þame
 baith, for his slychtis afore deuisitt come to litill effect, tuke
 ferme purpos to haue experience, gif þe Scottis, quhilkis
 war ane wagabund pepill banneist of wncouth blude, as he
 allegitt, and strang in murdir of beistis, durst fecht aganis
 his pepill, full of glorie and chewelrye ; nochtþeles, superseditt
 þis mater for two 3eris, to awise gif ony proude insolence
 mycht gener new diuisioun amang þame, quhairthrou he
 mycht fynd sum occasioun of battell ; for it was nocht vn-
 knawin to him na sikkir tranquillite nor peace mycht be had
 amang his Britonis during þe fallouschip of Scottis and Pichtis

vnder ane concord and blude. Heirfor, to rais sum occasioun of batell betuix þir two pepill, send¹ ane few novmer of Britonis to invaid þe bordouris of Pichtis *with* rubberris and herschippis. Nochtwithstanding, quhen þe samyn, be reassoun of trewis, was desirit be Pichtis to be reparitt, ansuer was gevin be Britonis, schewing þame neuer inhantid *with* sik corruppit dedis of thift or rubberris, and said, þe samyn was done be Scottis alanerlye. Nochtþeles, þe ground of pis detestabill slycht was so examinatt and brocht to lycht, that the samyn was provin cleirlye on Britonis; throu quhilk þe two confiderat pepill tuke sik haitred aganis þe Britonis foirsaid that, eftir incredibill slauchtir of thair pepill was maid, thai inwaditt thair realme, and brocht ane huge multitude of bestiall oute of þe samyn. King Coilus, richt commovitt of pis insufferabil outrage, maid him to wirk that thing be force of armys, quhilk he mycht nocht do afoir be slicht of ingyne; and assemblitt a schort tyme eftir ane innumerabil
 16 | pepill, with all maner of ordinance pertenyng to battell, and enterit in þe Scottis landis fornent Ireland seys, namyt now
 (I. 23) the west bordouris, quhair þai affixit thair palviljouns and tentis besyde þe rivere of Dwne; and maid crewell herschip of þe samyn with fyre and swerd. Sone eftir þair cumin send¹ furtht skurreouris to serche all Scottis and Pichtis, þat mycht be apprehenditt, to þe deyd. The samyn tyme Fergus, wele aduerteist of thair cuming and doynge in his realme, commanditt all the gudis and bestiall to be drevin to þe strait montanis, and *with* þame þe wifis, barnis, and vther febill persouns, to remane in þe strenthis of þe said montanis, to evaid þe fury of þair inmyis. Sik thyngis done, he commanditt, be generall proclamatiouns, all fensable men to be reddy, in þair scharpest maneir, to resist þair inmyis, quhen þai war warnitt. Howbeit he desiritt na thing mair than to prolong þe batell; that, be lang tary and penurite of wittalis, his inymeis mycht be wery and faschitt and abill to be ourthravin.

That samyn tyme, ane Scott fled to king Coilus, discover-
 ing him all the secretis of Fergus; be quhais impulsoun

¹ he send, A.

Coilus send v^m Britonis to subtray þe said pray of beistis fra þe Scottis montanis. Attour, þat he, be wntraist suddante, mycht þe moir creweltye exerce, he maid his army reddy to inwaid þe Scottis on þe nixt morrow follovyng. Sic thingis schewin to Scottis and Pichtis be þair skurreouris, approvit na litill effray in þair army. Nochtpeles, Fergus in þat extreme besynes tuke consultacioun quhat was best to be done be his nobillis. Sum of thame, astunytt be huge multitude and curage of Britonis, dissentit all ways to battell. Nochtpeles, vther exhortit him rycht proudely to assailþe þe chance of batell, sayng þai war ane sufficient army, and determytt to fecht for defence of þair wifis, barnis and liberteis, to þe deth, gif he wald assist to thame. Attour, it was na leß necessar than honorabill to submitt þame to þe chance of armys. Vectoris succedis moir be manhede and prudence, than ony multitude. Eftir sindry opinions, it was concluditt, þat King Fergus suld invaid that samyn nycht þe waiche of Britonis; and the King of Pichtis, with all his folkis, to paß oure þe watter of Dwne, quhair þe army of Britonis lay, and to cum on þair bakkis, als sone as þai hard þe noys of Scottis invading þe samyn afore. Sik thingis done, in ordour to submitt þame to chance of fortoun, the samyn nycht Fergus, as was devisit, slew þe Britonis waiche, and brak þair trynschis with sik force, þat he enterit within the army of Britonis, or Coilus was aduertist. Incontinent vpraiß ane terribill schout and clamour amang þe Britonis, dressyng þame to withstand þe wiolence of Scottis; and sone þe Pichtis come on þair bakkis,

- 17 quhilkis suspect na thing les þan þer cumin in þat | maner.
 (I. 24) The Britonis, noch wele awalkynnytt of thair sleip, war invadit of all sidis in þis maner, and finalie disconnfist or thai mycht cum to arraye. Amang quhom King Coilus, vnvarlie kepit be his nobillis, was slayne with all the nobillis of Briton. In memorye thairof, þe place quhair he was slayn and his army disconnfist, was namyt eftir Kyle; quhilk regioun remanis 3ite vnder þe samyn name. The morrow following the confideratt kingis displayit þair baneris on the nixt moitt. The residew of Britonis, quhilkis war eschakit afor be þair fleynge vnder covert of nycht, herand thair king slayn and

thair army disconnfist, send ane herald to desyre peace. The Scottis and Pichtis, mair insolent eftir this victory þan afoir, rebutit þe Britonis and denyitt peace. Nochtþeles, þe twa kingis, quhilkis knew wele þe grete pyssance of Britonis, condiscendit to gefe peace.

Efter this victory, the spoulzeis being equalie devidit amang þe twa pepill be custum of armyis, the King of Pichtis returnit in Lowthiane, and King Fergus past to Ergile, quhair he convenit his nobillis to ane counsale and sayid in this maner: "ȝe know now, maist tendir freyndis, how we, nocht but propiciant favoure of goddis, has wyncust oure inymyis and brocht oure lanndis, be na leß manhede than wisdom, to sover peace. And þocht we war of few novmer and pyssance, in compair of oure inymyis, ȝite the goddis bene sa beneuolus that we haif ourethrawin the invasoure of oure commoun wele and dantit his army be force of batall; and the spoulzeis thair of suceding to ws with sik felicite, that þai, quhilkis eschapid be schamfull flycht, has rewthfullye desyritt oure peace, mair necessair than honest to þame; quhairthrow þai, quhilkis war maist proude afoir, haldand ȝow as febill, and vnarmytt pepill in contempcioun, ar fallin at ȝoure feitt, humylie desyring ȝoure mercy and grace; to be perpetuall exempill, how vnsikkir is to confide in ony vayn pissance of man, sen the grete wysdome and riches of

(I. 25) Britonis, nochtwithstanding thair pyssance be sey and land, ar now wyncust be ȝoure manhede, throw quhilk na leß pre-eminent gloir redoundis to ws than schamfull displeseir to oure fayis, quhen thai bene disconnfeist be ws, quhom þai held maist wyle and febill pepill. Attoure, eftir oure triumphant victory we haif nocht schawin ws to cruell, bot be onlie compassioun of thair sorowfull miserie gevand þame peace, to schaw that wee ar na leß dantouris of oure innative ferocite and ire than victouris of oure aduersaris; to that fyne, that þe goddis, quhilkis has gevin ws sa proude victory, sall nocht fynd be oure perversst insolence ony occasioun to bring ws sum vther tyme in derisioun of inymyis, quhen we haif

18 nocht | schawin oure hattrennt on thir disconnfist Britonis, fleyng oure furye be dyrknes of nycht, bot sufferit thame to

departt with oure peace and beneuolence. Thir wourdis ar sayid to that fyne, þat wee maye profoundlie knaw oure wyiffis, childerin, landis and liberteis, quhilkis oure inmyis intendit to haiff reft fra ws, alanerlie sauffitt fra myschevis enormiteis be the favoure of goddis. Heirfor, avise now be quhatt prudence 3e may leiff, evading sik displeseiris in tymes cumyng. Quhilkis thingis sall follow the bettir, gif we haif the goddis in reuerence, and continew the governance of 3oure realme efter þe maner of 3oure first devise, removing all sedicioun, scurrilite, and auaricius leving, with all vther sik thingis as may induce hattrent amang 3ow. Forthir, to mak ilk persoun leiff on his awyne, it war best to part all the landis of this regioun be generall consent ; sua that euary ane of ws, content of his awyne, may haif na occasioun to iniure his nychtboure ; quhairthrow wee sall increß in gloir and honoure to oure freyndis and extreme dredoure to oure fayis. And wald God I mycht see 3ow, my deire pepill, rysing in sik honoure and vertu afoir my deth, thatt I with sikkir esperance mycht schaw to 3oure eldaris eftir my decese the wele appering to þair posterite." Quhen Fergus had endit this orisoun, the pepill promittit faithfullye never to be governit in tymes cumyng, bot be þe impyre of ane king, and sall never admitt ony persoun regne abone þame bot onlie the lynnage and blude of Fergus ; and, fail3eing pairof, prayitt the goddis to send sik vengeance on thame and þair posterite, as fell sum tyme on thair eldaris in Egipt and Spayn3e, for þe transgressioun of þe commande of goddis. King Fergus gatt charteris and eidentis of the crowne of Scottlannd to him and his successouris in this sort ; quhilkis charteris war gravin in merbill, with ymagis of bestis in forme of letteris, (I. 26) as wer vsit in thai dayis ; syne gaif þe samyn to maist religious preistis, to be obseruit in þair tempillis.

How King Fergus, efter the parting of the landis of Scotland among the capitanis of the tribis and vther þe wourthiast personis for that tyme, wes chosin ane frendfull compositoure apon certane hye debaittis fallin among þe princes of Ireland; and how he pereist, returnyng be þe Ireland seyis. Ca ix

19 **A**ne litill tyme eftir this, quhen þe Scottis had refreschett thame with hunting, halking, and vther merynes, Fergus conuenit his nobillis to ane counsale and said: "Now is þe tyme, sen oure realme is stabullit in gude peace, to part the landis of this realme, quhilkis ȝe brouke now vndiscreitlie, among the wourthiest of ȝow, and vtheris that come with me oute of Ireland in this regioun, and to be chosin vij persouns to doo this besynes the moir plesandlie, quhilkis of ws beand maist prudent to divide þis realme with sik reassoun and prudence, that quhair the landis ar maist fertill and plentewis, salbe gevin þe leß; and quhare the samyn ar barratt, to be gevin þe mair." The pepill, wele applesit of this counsale, chesit haistlie sevin nobill men, quhilkis considerit þe boundis of Scotlannd, and diuidit the samyn, with equale¹ marchis reserving thairto. The fourt moneth eftir, þai returnit agane to Ergile, quhair King Fergus was; in quhais presence all þe landis of Scotland wer cassin in sort and cavill among þe nobillis. And first of all to Carnauth, ane nobill capitane, fell þe landis of Cathanez, quhilkis wer callit that tyme Carnana. The secund sort fell to Lutork, ane nobill man, quhilk come with King Fergus oute of Ireland with mony nobill men, to quhom wer gevin þe landis of Rosß, liand betuix the watter of Neß and Tayne. The thrid cavill fell to Waroch, to quhom wes gevin þe landis of Murraye, liand betuix Spey and Neß, fra þe Almane seyis to the Ireland (I. 27) seyis. The ferd cavill fell to Taalis, to quhom war gevin þe landis of Bogewail, Gariouth and Buchane. The v cauill fell to Martach, to quhom wer gevin all þe landis of Mar, Badzenoch, and Lowchquhabir. The vj cavill fell to þe

¹ MS. *equalie*.

capitane of Novance, to quhom wer gevin the landis of Lorn, with all þe hillis & montanis liand fra Mar to þe Ireland seyis. The vii cavill fell to Atholus, to quhom wer gevin þe landis of Athole; for he was cumin of þe Scottis of Spanze, and come oute of Spanze in Ireland, and eftir oute of Ireland come *with* Fergus in Scotland & wes ane richt wailzeand man¹ and wele provin in feattis of armys. The viij cavill fell to Creones and Epidithis, twa capitanis of tribis, to quhom war gevin the landis of Strachtbrawin and Braid Albane, liand west fra Dunkeld. The nynt cavill fell to Argatelis, quhilkis pepill come first in þe landis of Albioun, havand thair name fra Gathelus, pair first progenitour, to quhom war gevin þe landis of Ergile. The tent cavill fell to Lolgonas, to quhom wer gevin þe landis of Levinox and Cliddisdale. The xj cavill fell to Siburgh, to quhom wer gevin þe landis callit now Kyle, Carrik, and Cunynghame, quhais pepill wer richt ingenious
 20 and ferð | at all assalzeis. The xij cavill fell to chifteane of Brigandis, to quhom war gevin all þe landis of Brigance, quhilkis ar now Gallowaye, as we sall eftir schew, quhais pepill wer als callit Brigandis, richt wailzeand & full of man-hede; and thairfor war devisit to remane in þe samyn boandis, nyxt þe Britonis, to resist þe samyn. Of thir Brigandis wer ane *certain* banneist eftir for pair sedicious fechting; quhilkis assemblit *with* ane outragious and wikkitt cumpany of sik lymmaris of þe Pichtis and duelt in þai boundis, quhilkis ar now callit Annandirdale, and dang the Britonis be force of batell oute of þe samyn; quhais posterite grew sa displeand, that þai sparit na maner of cruelteis vnwrocht on þair nychtbouris. The wemen vsit to pas in sett batell, and faucht mair cruellie þan þe men; havand na mercy, quhare þai war victorious. Thai eschamyt to be takyn in batell, and reioisit to dee wechtand *perintill*. Also quhen þai saw thair frendis wexit with irrecoverabill maledyis, to eschew wile dede of
 (I. 28) pair beddis, thai slew þame be þe sward. This land of Annandail has ane strait enteres, and circulit on euery syde othir *with* seyis, mossis, or synkand sandis; throu quhais difficill enteres happynnit, that þe inhabitantis *perof* duelt in cauernis,

¹ MS. *men*.

levand on pair rubberreis and thiftis, regarding nocht þe impyre of Scottis, Pichtis, nor Britonis ; and had continewall wachis, als wele be nycht as daye ; and quhen þai war aduer-teist of ony invasouris, drew þame pertlie to thair wapynnis, on sik maner that quha abstenit, or cowerthlie absentit thame, quhen sik chargis occurrit, wer eftir slayn be pair wyiffis at pair returnyng. And þai quhilkis sufferit þame self to be takin as presonaris with thair inymyis, war haldin euer as sklavis to pair wyiffis, quhill þai, be sum merciall dedis, recouerit pair honour. Thair wyiffis war commoun amangis þame, and þerfor ilk barn was haldin his son, to quhom he was maist lyke in visage. All vther landis of Scotland wer than in þe Pichtis handis, as þe Mernys, Anguþ, Gowry, the waill of Erne, Perth, Fiffe, Striueling, Cawderwod, Lowdeane, Merþ, Tevidale, with vther remanent dalis, and þe schirref-dome of Bervyk.

Quhen Fergus had dividit the landis of Scotlannd in þis maner, and brocht þe samyn to sikkyr pece, he tuke ferm purpoþ to nureiþ his pepill in gude maneris ; and, to doo all thing þe bettir, he began at iustice, but quhilk na pepill may leiff to giddir ; and for that cauþ maid certane lawis to pwneis thift, slauchter, herschippis, & rubbery, quhairthrow all þe gudis of Scotlannd were sauþly kepit in þe feildis, als wele be nycht as day, but ony troublis. Eftir þis he beildit þe castell of Berigone in Lochquhabbir, quhilk
 21 standis | in þe west partis of Scotlannd, fornent þe Illis ; quhair he exercit his lawis, that this pepill mycht be drawin pair þe moir esely, for exercicioun of iustice, and past þe remanent of his dayis in sikker pece with the Britonis & Pichtis ; gevand
 (I. 29) his ingyne to cauþ his pepill increas to giddir vnder ane beneuolence and concord ; quhill, at þe last, he was chosin ane iuge arbitrall, to discuþ certane hie debattis falling amang his frendis of Ireland. Throw quhilk þe said Fergus, accompanyit with ane grete novmer of his nobillis, past in Ireland, and pecefijt thame of all debaittis ; quhilk was þe last act he did ; for eftir this aggreance, this nobill prince, returnyng hayme throw þe Ireland seyis, be ane vnmercifull tempest was drevin apon ane crag, quhair he pereist, with all his

nobillis, the xxv 3ere of his regne. In quhais memorie, the crag quhair he pereist is namyt 3it Cragfergus.

In his tyme rang Esdaill, King of Britonis, and Cruthneus, King of Pichtis, quhilk biggit eftir, apoun þe watter of Carron, the ciete of Camelon, the principale chymmeis of Pichtis; quhair sum tyme was ane gude havin, to ressait schippis contrar þe wynter stormys, thocht it be alterit now, be neglegence of pepill, and turnyt in ane medou. This ciete of Camelon resistit, mony 3eris eftir, þe Britonis & Romanis; quhill, at þe last, Kennetus, King of Scottis, quhilk put þe Pichtis oute of Albion, brocht it to subuersioun. This Cruthneus biggit þe toun and castell of Edinburgh, namyt sum tyme þe Madyn Castell, becaus all þe nobillis dochteris of Pichtis wer nureist in þe samyn in crafty labouris and gude occupacioun of thair handis, quhill þai war reddy to mary. And sa endis þe first buke of thir cornikillis, in þe quhilkis we haif sene, how þe Scottis first begouth; and how Fergus was þair first King, bringand iustice and lawis amang thame. Now we will schew þe residew of þe kingis succeding eftir him.

And sa endis the First Buke.

Rex Iacobus quintus multa virtute decorus
Viuat in etate tenera et felicibus annis.

Liber Secundus.

(I. 30) Heir begynnys the Secund Buke of þir Cornikillis.

Hou eftir King Fergus deth rais ane strang debait,
quha suld be king ; and how it was forbiddin, that
childerin in thair minorite suld be kingis. Ca i

Fergus eftir this maner pereist, ane day was affixt be the counsale to cheiſ ane king. Quhilk day rais ane ſcharp contencioun amang the nobillis be contrarius opinions ; for Fergus had two ſons of tendir age ; and thairfor ſum persouns allegit ane richt odious thing, baith to God & man, to defraude þe airis of King Fergus, ſen þai war pupillis, of þair faderis heretage, putting his hous to ſik vtter diſhonour and ſkaith, he doying, in his tyme, ſa mony nobill actis for thair commoun wele. Vther wyſe counſalouris ſaid, bairnis mycht *nocht* gouern þame, for ane king ſuld be ane prudent man, havand baith wiſedome and manhede to reſiſt þe fury of þair inmyis, and to puneis the cryme of treſpaſſouris be his autorite and iuſtice ; vthir wayis na pepill mycht leif to giddir. Attour, the fame of ane nobill and wailþeant prince is na les ſtrenth to his pepill than dredour to his fais.

(I. 31) To this anſuerit ane nobill man namyt Senbathis¹ : “ My tendir frendis, nane is amangis ws all, þat ſuld drefſ his mynde to ony vther fyne bot to defend the hous of Fergus, for þe hie humanite done to ws in his tyme ; for he, be incredibill luff, brocht to ws, in oure extreme neid, ane ſtrang army, throu quhilk he deliuerit ws of maiſt dangerous batell, and maid of oure inmyis frendis, and of this land ane realme ; ſyne

¹ MS. *Sonbathis*.

dantit be force of armys the pussant Britonis, ane pepill full of riches and cheuelry, and dang þame boith oute of oure boundis and Pichtis; gevand to ws sik instituciouns and lawis, pat we may leiff, as vther *nichtbouris*, but feir of inymeis, gif we haif no discensioun amangis ws. Quha sall think than ws wordy to haue kyndnes, gif we defraude thir his bairnys of his iust heretage? Quhat iniuris sall we doo till oure inymeis, gif we doo sik importabill schayme to oure tendir prince? Thairfor, latt Fergus knaw ws as nobill and vertewis men, havand sik kyndnes, as he belevit, to his posterite. And
 23 ressaif þerfor þis | his eldast son to the crovun, for the reuerence þe haif to him and þour inviolatt faith; vtherwayis, for þoure detestabill iniuris þe salbe haldin maist odious to the goddis and all mortale creaturis."

The nobillis be þir wourdis war astonyst, nocht knawing quhat was to be done, quhill at þe last Franchaus, chiftane of Brigandis, sayid in this manere: "Richt belouit frendis, I see þow contending here, quethir it be mair expedient to haif Fergus þyoung son and vnabill to regnne for his minorite, or ane vther prudent man of wisdom and experience, to be king. I think Sembatis mynde suld be apprisit, gif na thing bot kyndenes and piete suld be considerit, in chesing of kingis. Nane is amangis ws all vnknawand, how vnplesand is, and als detestabill, to defraude þe ayiris of Fergus of thair kyndelye heretage. Howbeit, na sik cruelteis nor dispituous outerages, as I beleiff, be in þoure myndis. Heirfor occurris nocht at this tyme to decern gif Fergus sonnes suld immediatlie succede, bot onlie to se how þe crovn maye be kepitt hail to þair perfite aige, to eschew the irrecoverabill dammage and displeseris, quhilkis maye fall on ws be the samyn. Quhatt vengeance and myscheiff sall follow on ws and oure commoun wele, gif wee, according to Sembaitis mynde, suffir ane bairn to be oure king? First sall ryis ane byrnand occasioun of hattrent, becaus we ar neir equale in autorite and rentis, contending amang oure selff, quha salbe governoure of this realme during the kingis minorite. And þite the governance thairof mon be gevin finalye to ane of ws. This man, of quhatsumeir lynnage he be, salbe king abone ws for the

(I. 32) tyme, and thairfor nane is amangis ws, that will nocht contend witht wtter powere to haiff that honoure. Nochtpeles, suppose be convencioun wee geif that office to ane of ws, this man sall ryche him self, his kyn, and freyndis on sik maner, that quhen ony thing occuris to be done for the commoun wele, as ambassatouris of grete realmes to be re-wardit, or armyis to be send apoun oure fayis, than sall this kepair turn him alanerlie to oure gere, and constrene ws to nureiß ane auaricius cunpany of corruppit lymmaris with him, nothir for the wele of the king, nor 3ite his realme. Als it is nocht ane thing to haiff admiracioun, gif ane man appeir gude and plesand, quhen he is but autorite, þocht he altere his condicionis, quhen he montis to honour. For prosperite

24 and gude | manerisarseildin grantit at anys to levand creaturis. And finalie, quhen þis 3oung king is cumin to mannis aige, takand on him the governance of the realme, than be gredy counsale of his familiaris he will mak him to amend all wrangis done to his liegis in his tendir aige, and to doo all sik besynes as is requyrit for the commoun wele, howbeit he can doo na thing that tyme for lak of wisdome and experience. Than, quhen he has maist neyd of ane tutoure, to refrene his insolence and lere him vertu, hee sall suffer nane to remane with him, bot sa mony as will assist to his foly, and nureiß him in wice and insolent maneris. Than sall we mak reuerence to ane myschevous cunpany of corruppit rwtouris, as thai war kingis; than sall wee be constrenit to haif that abhominabill sicht of vicious rebaldis, havand vnbridillit lust and insaciabill auarice to devoir oure substance, in princely dredoure. And þocht þai myschevous pepill doo than quhat thai pleß, 3ite na man salbe fundin of audacite, to puneiß or correct þair publik extorsionis, throw assistance and autorite of this insolentt prince. Mair attoure, to haiff ane 3oung prince regnand abone ony realme, is siklyke as quhai wald behald the commoun wele passand to vttir rewyne. For than sall we haiff thevis and oppressouris, takand oure gudis baith in burgh and land withoute pwnicioun; than, for lak of iustice, salbe frequent slauchter, reffe and murdir, with sindry intollerabill cruelteis to the commoun pepill; than sall the realme be

deviditt, and, for laik of iustice, na pepill maye leiff to giddir. Thairfor sayid the wise Salomon, ' Vengeance and sorow sall the pepill haiff, that has ane 3oung king.' For thir reassonis, I think the bairnys of Fergus suld be gevin now to wise preceptouris, to lern lawis, gude havingis, and maneris, quhairthrow thai may be abill to governe the realme at thair perfite aige, and the governance of þe realme to be gevin now to
 (I. 33) Ferithais, thair eme, or to ony vther abill man, quhome 3e think expediennt, to govern ws for the tyme, and to hald the pepill in peace and iustice withoute oppressionis or ony vther iniuris; provyding all wayis that þe crowne be his autorite may remane haill, to be gevin to thame at *per* perfite
 25 aige, quhen þe King deis; | and during þe Kingis lyiff, thir childern to be honorit as princes, and pas to the crowne, but impediment, eftir the Kingis deth. Be this way, 3e may sauff þe bairnis of Fergus vndefraudit of þair kyndlie heretage; for gif we desyre to eschew the sproute of sedicioun, with innomerabill inconuenientis, to defend and eik the bondis of our realme, bringing oure self & commoun wele to proffitt, this eleccioun of princis suld be obseruit, for it is conforme to þe mynde of Fergus, quhilk neuir socht nor desyrit ony proffit to him self, in damage of oure common wele."

Quhen Franchaus had endit this grave orisoun, the counsale assentit haill to his opinions, and *perfor*, be plane consent of Parliament, maid actis. Quhen it happinnit thair king to deceß, levand behynd him 3oung children gottin of his body, the nerrest of þe Kingis blude, and abillaist to do iustice, sall reiois þe crowne for his tyme. Eftir his deth, the Kingis son sall succede to þe crowne but pley, gif he war habill thairto. It was defendit be þat samyn act, that na 3oung childerin suld be kingis. This consuetude was kepit mony 3eris eftir; throw quhilk raiß mekle troubill in þis realme; for oft tyme 3e fader bruper, regnand in þe minorite of his nevo, kest extreme besynes to distroye the samyn; siklike þe nevo to his fader bruther, for ambicioun of þe crowne; quhairthrou occurrit continewall slauchteris of kingis & nobillis, to the grete troubill of þe realme and damage of þe common wele.

(I. 34)

How Ferithais wes maid king, and eftir slayne be
 Ferlegus, his nepott; and how the said Ferlegus
 was bannyst, and his 3oungar bruther Maynus maid
 King. Ca ij

Eftir this act Ferithais, bruther to Fergus, ane liberall
 prince and na leß wailzeant than Fergus, wes maid
 king. This prince, eftir his eleccioun, declarit that he wald
 nocht tak þe crowne for riches and digniteis, bot onlie to
 support his nepottis, quhill ane of þame war abill to succede;
 and becaus he was left tutour testamentair to þame be thair
 fader, he wald lefe na thing that he mycht for þe commoun
 wele in tyme of were and pece, havand sik affeccioun to his
 nevois, as þai war his naturall children; and desyrit þe nobillis
 to stand propiciant faderis to thame, havand in perpetuall
 remembrance the honorabill actis done be thair nobill fader,
 26 King Fergus. Attoure, he desirit grave & | wise preceptouris
 to be chosin to his nevois, that þai mycht increas als wele in
 vertew and science as in gude maneris, providing all wayis
 thair maist nobill persons fra damage of inymyis; and thair-
 for he wald accept na labouris on him, quhill sic besynes war
 plesandlie afoir addressit. The pepill, reioisit of Ferithais
 gude mynde, crownit him in þe fataill chair of merbill and gaif
 him the kingis armys; in quhilkis war ane scherand swerd,
 with scheptoure and crowne of gold, in forme of ane werelie
 trynche, in defence of his realme and liberte and for punicioun
 of trespassouris be administracioun of iustice. Fra thens thir
 war ay the nobill armys of Scotland, but ony variance, quhill
 þe tyme of king Achaus, quhilk maid þe first band of con-
 fideracioun betuix Scotlannd and France with Charlis þe Magne,
 quhilk was King of France and Romane Emprour for þe
 tyme: be quhilk confideracioun was ekit to the tressoure,
 foure goldin lilleis with foure goldin crocis, set in equale
 ordoure aboute þe tressoure; quhilk signifieis þe inviolatt
 keping of the faith of Criste, but heresy, amangis þe Scottis,
 sen þair first begynnyng in þe samyn.

Ane schort tyme eftir war chosin wise preceptouris and

keparis to Fergus sonnys, to lern þame vertew, as was devisit. Eftir this ane comuentioun was betuix Ferithais and Cruthueus, King of Pichtis, quhair sindry vtiliteis war devisit for the
 (I. 35) wele of þe two pepill, new peace ratifijt, and punicioun maid on trespassouris and brekaris of þe peace, and iniuris redressit on all sydis for obseruacioun of peace in tymeze cuning. Syne returnit hayme.

Sone eftir, Ferlegus, the eldast son of Fergus, movit be counsale of his familiaris and vther corruppit men, quhilkis mycht nocht suffir iustice, tuke full purpos to distroy the King. Nochttheles, fra he knew that his wikkit ymaginacioun was discoverit, he past to Ferithais and askit pertlie fra him þe crowne. Ferithais, dredand to be invadit be his seruandis, gif he gaif plane repulse, ansuerit with plesant wlt, he suld glaidly exoner him of þe crowne in þe nyxt counsale, on þat maner as he ressaif it, and was neuer of purpoß to bere autorite langar than ony of his bruper sonnys war habill to succede; desyring na thingis mair than see ane of þame reioiße þe empyre, that he mycht schew eftir his dede to Fergus the sikkir wele appering to his posterite. And þerfor he suld assemblie the nobillis to ane counsale, quhair he suld glaidlie deprive him of all princelye digniteis, and doo all thingis according to þe honour and wele of þe said Ferlegus. This plesand ansuere of Ferithais mesit the mynde of Ferlegus in sik maner, that all hatrent for that tyme was sett asyde. Thai enterit baith to giddir in counsale, quhair King Ferithais said in this maner :
 27 “ Maist wise faderis, it is | nocht vnknawin, quhen it was dis-
 putt amang 3ow, how þis realme suld be gournit in þe minorite of Fergus sons; 3e gaif me the crowne, þocht I was vnwourthy, nocht only to gourn it by iustice, bot als that the samyn suld remane haill, quhill þe sonnys of Fergus war abill to regne. 3e know quhat travaill and cummyr I haif sustenit for 3oure commoun wele and the felicite of þis 3oung prince, quhilk I will pretermytt, in dreid men deme me arrogant. I war richt inhumane, gif I wald defraude þe airis of Fergus, or transfer þe crown in ony vther blude, sen I haif na successioun of my body. Nochttheles, my cousing Ferlegus, now wailzeant and of perfite age, desyris þe crown of gude reassoun;

(I. 36) for he is ȝoung, lusty, of qwyk ingyne, of strang body, richt potent to sustene labouris, and salbe euery day moir abill to govern this realme ; be contrair, I am febillit be aige, and desyris to be relevit of hevy curis, and to gif ȝe administracioun of this realme, quhilk I ressaut be ȝoure autorite, to my said cousing, sen he is ȝiabill, and I nocht ganand for the samyn. Quhairthrow na thing may be sa plesand for me, as ane priuatt lyiff in tymeȝ cuming, but ony public chargis. Thairfor ressaue the autorite, *with* mair glaidnes than I ressaut ȝe samyn."

The Counsale, na thing applauding to Ferithais opinioun, requirit him to bere ȝe charge of ȝe realme, as he did afoir, havand ȝe damage of aige in na dreid ; sen realmez ar gournit mair be wisdom and autorite of agit persouns, ȝan be ony corporall strenth. For thai wald nocht abrogat ȝe lawis maid laitlie afoir aganis ȝe impire of ȝoung children ; and tuke also na litill indignacioun aganis Ferlegus, and, ȝochȝt ȝai ressaut him in ȝair counsale with reuerence and honouris, ȝit seuerit him fra ȝe pepill ; and scharply¹ reprevit him, quhy he ȝeid fra ȝe keping of his wise nobillis, desyring ȝe croune without ȝair avise ; to mak it knawin, that he suld obey ȝe counsale of his wise lordis. Than Ferlegus, nakit of counsale, with hevy chere maid him to depart with ane certane of his opinioun. Nochttheles, he was haldin on force be ȝe counsale, and all ȝai quhilkis wer of his opinioun cassin in presoun ; amang quhom ane certane, in beleif to eschaip thair tressonabill counsale, schew the King in quhat maner his deth was deuisit. The commouns, herand this tresoun, war sa commovit, that ȝai had slayn Ferlegus amang ȝe nobillis, war nocht the King repressit ȝair ferocite. And ȝochȝt ȝe King was aduerteist of thir iniuris, ȝite, to schew him
 28 mair ruthfull ȝan rigorous | prince, kest his mynde to sauff ȝis Ferlegus fra all displeour of ȝis pepill, and gaif him in new keping of his nobillis, synè causit his familiaris to be puneist for ȝair assistance.

Sik thingis done, the King kest his mynde to ȝe gouernance of the realme, for equale iustice to be gevin to his liegis ;

¹ MS. *schaiply*.

(I. 37) quhill at last he was slayn, within þe nycht, be his nepote Ferlegus, thre monethis eftir þe first conspiracioun, þe xv 3er of his regne.

Eftir this murdir, Ferlegus fled, with sa mony as war guilty of þe cryme, to þe Pichtis ; and þair finding na securite of his lyiff, fled to the Britonis, quhair he endit schaymfully þe residew of his dayis. The King slayne in þis maner, ane counsale was sett in þe castell of Enconnell in Argile for eleccioun of þe king. Quhilk day the counsale, movit of kyndnes to King Fergus, chesit Maynus, his 3ongest son, þe xxiiij 3ere of his aige, to be king ; quhilk was ane nobill prince, and richt different fra his bruperis maneris, havand all vicious men at indignacioun ; and exercit iustice equalye in his realme. He gaif licence to his liegis to convene amangis þame self, to disput on all debaittis, to þat fyne, that þai mycht be pecifiȝt þerof be thame self. And gif ony hye or difficill materis occurrit, the samyn war discussitt be him self anys ilk 3ere ; passing throw þe realme in his iustice airis, for redress of wrangis and punicioun of trespassouris.

In þe samyn tyme, Crynus, King of Pichtis, send his ambassiadouris to King Maynus, schawing him reiosit of his felicite, and desyring þe band of pece, maid afoir betuix his pepill and Fergus, to be renewit ; quhilk was plesandly grantit, quhairthrow the Scottis began to burgeoun in sikkir peace and tranquillite.

Nochttheles, þe King, knowing wele na pepill may increß but iustice, piete, and religioun, seyng realmez and every thing in erd vnder þe power of goddis, and na devise nor ingyne of man availl, bot gif the goddis war propiciant, quhais beneuolence bene sikkir gard and proteccioun to all pepill ;

(I. 38) thairfor, to move his liegis to religion, he ekit certane new¹ cerymonis, to be maid in þe honour of goddis within þair tempillis ; havand ane huge stane to þe grete south of þe said tempillis, on quhilkis þair sacrifice was maid. In memorie heirof remanis 3ite in our dayis mony huge stanys, drawin to
29 giddir in forme of circulis, namyt | be the pepill the anciant tempillis of goddis. It is na litill admiracioun, be quhat ingyne

¹ MS. now.

and strenth sa huge stanyis bene brocht to giddir. The sacrifice vsit in thai dayis was ane porcioun of cornez, catellis, or vther froittis come of þe erd, and mair than was sufficient to sustene the kirkmen, quhilk was offerit to thair goddis. This king foundit als ane sacrifice, to be maid ilk moneth in þe 3ere in honour of Diane the goddes, becaus scho was the principale goddes of woddis & huntaris; in thai dais þe pepill maid thair adoracioun to þe new mone. Quhilk supersticioun was lang vsit amang oure anciant faderis, with mony vther vane ceromonys eftir þe rite of þe Egipcianis.

And quhen Maynus had gouernit þe pepill in gude iustice, and institute thame with thir cerimonis, he resignit the crovne to his son Dorvidilla, and decessit þe xxix 3ere of his regne; King Elgane regnand abone þe Britonis, and King Thaar abone þe Pichtis.

Off King Dorvidilla and his lawis, maneris, and
deceß. Ca iij

Dorvidilla, maid king in this maner, send his ambassiatouris to þe Britonis and Pichtis, and renewit peace with þe samyn. He was þe nuresair of peace, havand all thing at hatrent that mycht mak occasioun to batell. He tuke grete delite in hunting, rachis and houndis; and maid
(I. 39) lawis, that grew-quhelpis suld nocht lyne thair moderis, fyndind be experience houndis gottin in þat maner vnprofitabill for hunting. He ordanit als, that ilk nobill suld nureiß twa rachis and ane hound to his hunting; and quhen þe houndis war men3eit be auenture of chais, to be sustenit on þe common gude. He ordanit als, þe slayar of ane wolf to haif ane ox to his revarde, for oure eldaris persewit this best maist scharplie, for the grete murdir of bestis done be the samyn.

In this ilk tyme the Scottis, havand na occasioun of civil nor of vncouth weris, sett þair ingyne too precell all vther

pepill in craft of hunting, and for that effect maid diuerſ lawis of hunting. In the first, *commandit* that quhais dog first bait þe dere, suld haif the hyde of þe samyn; quhais dog nixt bait, suld haif þe hede and þe hornis; the body curit at þe plesour of þe maister of þe huntis; the residew to be
 30 for þe houndis. Als gif ony pley raiſ amang | the huntaris, to cheis ane iuge *with* all þair consentis, in þe tempill of Diane, to aggre thame. Thir lawis war maid be generall consent of the pepill, to nureiſ thame in *commoun plesouris*, drawing fra þame all occasioun of iniuris and hatrent. Quhilkis war kepit mony ȝeris eftir.

Thir constituciouns, and vtheris devisit afoir be king Fergus, war collekkit to giddir in tabullis, and gevin in keping to the wisest and maist profounde clerk for the tyme, to schew baith to the iuge and to the persouns quhilkis war to be accusit, the punicioun conforme to the demerittis; to cauſ þe pepill vnderstand, the iuge past *nocht* fra his boundis of iustice in punicioun of crymis: attoure, the counsale wald condemp na faltis in þai dayis, quhill þe lawis war schewin, according to þe falt. Throu quhilk it come in vse, that all cryminabill persons, seand þame be iust sentence iustifijt, tuke thair dede in pacience; and gif ony punicioun was maid on thame abone the lawis, thai *murmur*it, as opprest be the iugis. This maner of iustice remanis ȝite amang the Ilis of Scotlannd, and may na way be abrogat; for thair bene certane interpretouris of the lawis, but quhom thai can geif na richtwis iugement. Bot now I will return to my first purpoſ.

Quhen Dorvidilla had rounȝin xxviiȝ ȝeris, he decessit at Berigone; and left be hynd him ane ȝoung cheild, namyt Rewther, quhilk mycht *nocht* succede, for þe lawis maid afoir aganis ȝoung children.

(I. 40)

Off þe tyrant King Nathacus, and of his deth ; and how Rewther, ane 3ounge child, was maid king, contrar the lawis ; how Ferquhard, Prince of Lorn, was chasit be Dovall in þe Iiis ; and of his orisoun maid to the pepill.

Ca iiij

Dorvidilla in this maner decessit, his bruther germane Nathacus, ane lusty persoun and habill, as apperit, for administracioun of iustice, wes maid king. Nochttheleß, quhen he had roungein two 3eris, he left all princelie maneris, and become ane outragious oppressoure of þe pepill with sik seruitude that he was reput as ane tyrane, distroying þe lawis and invading the commouns with reiffis and iniuris, and þe nobillis with slauchter & banissing. Throu quhilk he become richt odious to his liegis, and, thocht he was counsalit be his freindis to decist fra sik enormiteis, 3ite he mendit na thing of his maneris, and grew ay þe moir in vice that he incressit
 31 in 3eris, lyke ane bludy | monstir, but schaym and mercy. Quhais cruelteis wer nocht lang vnpuneist, for sone eftir Dovall, chiftane of Brigandis, quhom the king thocht afoir to haif slayn for his oure grete pussance, be assistance of mony vther nobillis of that samyn opinioun, conspirit aganis him ; and, to bring his purpoß the sonar to effect, maid Rewther, the son of Dorvidilla, to be king ; to that fyne, gif ony hie attemptatis war committit, the charge thair of suld alanerlie redounde to Rewther. Eftir this, to fynd occasioun that he mycht bring his purpoß to effect, brocht this 3ounge Rewther, with ane cunpany of armyt men, in þe samyn place quhare King Nathacus remanit ; and quhen he schaw the mater dressit in this maner, to haif occasioun of debait, gaif scharp wourdis to king Nathacus, saying he wes full of falsett and but schayme, havand mynde to defraude Rewther of his iust crowne ; attoure, was ane cruell tyrane, exerting wrangis, oppressioun, and slauchter to the damage baith of þe nobillis and the commoun pepill. Nathacus ansuerit agane in his fury, that he was king be ordoure of iustice, and suld perfor ryng in tymis cuming contrair his mynde, in sik maner þat

(I. 41) he suld neur fynd vnder him mair fauour & grace than he had fundin afoir; and suld puneiß him and all vtheris of his opinioun in the scharpest sort that mycht be devisit, for þe attemptaris. Dovall, movit with thir dispyitfull wourdis, ruschit furthwart with all his men on Nathacus, and slew him thare with mony nobillis present for the tyme; incon-
 tinent crownit Rewther in the chair of merbill.

Thir doings of Dovall war richt displesand to the nobillis, havand grete indignacioun, that baith thair king was slayne, and the lawis of eleccioun of thair prince abrogatt be priuatt autorite, and ane 3young child maid king, aganis thair honorabill actis laitlie maid. For thir cauß ane counsale was sett, quhair Ferquharde, Prince of Kyntyre and Lorne, maich to King Nathacus, ane man of subtill ingyne, havand grete ambicioun to þe crowne, thocht þat tyme expedient to conquest the samyn. Heirfor, with dissimulit mynde, as he wald debait the accioun of the common wele, complenit baith þe slauchter of Nathacus be the cruell Dovall, and ane barn maid king, to the damage of þe pepill and common wele; exhorting, heirfor, the counsale to provyde ane haisty remede to resist þe tyranny of Dovall, intending to vsurp þe crowne in name of Rewther; vtherwayis, within schort tyme, sik sedicioun and ciuill weeris suld ryiß amangis þe princis of the realme, that the samyn suld fynd ane haisty subuersioun.

(I. 42) Skairsly war thir wourdis sayid, quhen Dovall enterit, with ane grete band of men, and slew sindry of the nobillis in þe counsale, with ane part of the capitaneis of the tribis; bot Ferquhard, evill woundit,¹ eschapit with a certane of frendis,
 32 and fled in þe Ilis. | Sone eftir his cuming he gaderit þe pepill to ane counsale and said in this maner: "Maist wail3eand men, had we kepit the lawis concernyng þe eleccioun of oure kingis, it war nocht necessair to me to mak this orisoun; for we mycht haif levitt in gret eyiß vnder þe impyre of Nathacus, oure wise and wail3eant prince, now laitlie slane be the cruell tyrane, Dovall. Attoure, to aggrege this cruelte, he, in mair damage of oure commoun wele, has nocht onlie slayne the King, bot intrusit ane 3young child in his place,

¹ MS: *womdit*.

in plane derogacioun of oure lawis ; intending thairthrou to bring baith ws and oure *commoun* wele to subuersioun. I fynd na thing may seme ws leß, than to lurk schaymfullie, as effeminatt pepill, eschewing the wraith of oure inymyis, regarding nothir oure honour nor proffit ; sen þair is na vther way sa plesand to strenth oure inymyis, and febill oure self. This maist cruell tyran has *nocht* onlie slayne the nobill blude of this realme, bot als the preistis and religious men ; and that na esperance suld remane in ws to withstand his cruelte, he has be tresoun put down all the nobill and wailzeant men of Albioun, and haldis the aigit men, quhais prudence mycht haif proffit ws maist, in sik captiuite, that þai ar na bettir reput than dede. Attour, to oppreß ws the moir strenthlie, he has marijt 3oung Rewthar, quhilk he namys king, on the dochtir of Gethus, King of Pichtis. Throw quhilk this vnmercifull tyran hes devisit, as we ar wele aduerteist be his secrete familiaris, quhen he has wincust ws be force of batell, quhilk God forbeid, to demembre ws of oure een, oure erys, and vþir our nobill menbris, syne keip ws in perpetuall derisioun. *Nocht*theles, maist wailzeant men, traist wele to eschew sik cruelteis be fauour of goddis, and puneis him conforme to his demerittis ; with ferm beleving, that all thingis sall succeid to ws with hie felicity, gif we, *with* na leß curage than wisdom, defend oure richt, liberte, & faith ; seying oft tymys richt wailzeant princes deiekkkit fra thair honour and digniteis, quhen (I. 43) thai applaudit to tresoun and falset. Heirfor, gif we be men, and wourthy to be callit þe posterite of oure nobill *progenitouris*, quhilkis neuer refusit to assailze maist dangerous batellis in þair iust defence, lat ws defend oure richt, oure lawis, wyiffis, and children, aganis this maist odius tyran ; and erar assalze all auenture of batall, than to leif in perpetuall schayme. For but dowte, the goddis salbe propiciant to ws for oure iust persute, and salbe repugnant to oure inymyis for thair tyranny. Thairfor lat ws othir dee maist wailzeandle, or
33 ellis haif victory, | revengeand the murdir off the king and his nobillis, recentlie maid be þis tiran."

How Ferquhard and Dowall, recountering vther be
civill batall, wer slayn, with all þe nobilite of Scottis
and Pichtis; how þe King of Pichtis was slayne and
the King of Scottis takin ¹; how Scottis and Pichtis
wer doungin oute of Albion. Ca v

The capitanis of the tribis, *commovit* be thir wourd*is*,
turnit all dreid in maist ragius fury; and bathit þair
hand*is* with manis blude, as þe ryte wes þat tyme; and maid
thair aithis, to revenge þe slauchter of Nathacus, and his
nobillis, in þe scharpest maner þai mycht; sone eftir gaderit
ane strang cunpany owte of Ireland, Ergile, Lorne, Kyntyre,
and vther partis adiacent; syne landit, with mony galzeonis
and langfaddis, in Albion. Ferquhard, returnyng in this wise,
drew mony of the pepill to his opinion, and tuke thair aithis,
othir to revenge þe slauchter of Nathacus, or ellis all to dee at
anys. Dowall, knawing his *cuning*, mett him at Berigon with
sett batall cruelly fochtin; bot at þe last Dowall was dis-
connfist, and viij^m men of his army slayne; and mair slauchter
had bene maid, wer nocht the nycht severitt pame. The
nixt morrow, Dowall, with maist furious hattrent, colleckit
þe remanent of his army to giddir, amang quhom was Gethus,
(I. 44) King of Pichtis, and Rewther, King of Scottis, with mony
of all the nobillis of Albioun. On the army aduersair war
with Ferquhard the inhabitantis of Cathanes, Ergile, Murraye,
with mony vtheris of þe Ilis. Finalie thir twa armyis mett to
giddir in mair fury þan afoir, and faucht with incredibill
hattrent on all sydis.

In this batall Gethus, King of Pichtis, was slayn with
mony of all his nobillis and *commonis*; and with him baith
the chiftanis, Dowall and Ferquhard, with all þe nobilite of
Scottis. For this batall wes sa cruelly fochtin, that alanerly
remanit viij^c men onslayne ² on baith the sydis. The remanent
of Ferquhard*is* army, to quhom þis vnpleisand victory succedit,
seyng þe feild left eftir sa huge murdir, followitt on the chais*ß*, and
tuke ane large novmer thairoff, amang quhom King Rewthir was

¹ MS. *taking*.

² MS. *on slayne*.

takin. Throw this vnhappy battall was maid sa miserable slauchter on all syde, that mony ȝeris nothir Scottis nor Pichtis war left on live, sufficient to inhabitt ȝe realme, nor ȝite to withstand ȝair inmyis.

The Britonis, quhilkis wer ay oure inmyis, herand ȝis lamentabill murdir of Scottis and Pichtis *cumin* be thair awin foly & civill weeris, traistit ȝe tyme wes *cumin* to mak ȝame reioiſ the haill empire of Albion; and thairfor rasit ȝair army with all ordinance of batall, and enterit in ȝe Pichtis landis *with* insufferabill herschippis and slauchter maid on ȝaim. Throw quhilk Pichtis tuke na leſſ displeseir and disparacioun than of | the huge calamite falling to ȝame laitlie be slauchter of ȝair nobillis. Nochȝeles, quhen thai saw thame self noch of pissance to withstand thair inmyis, becaus ȝai wer brokin with continewall weeris sa mony ȝeris afoir, thai gaderit all thair bestiall and gudis to giddir, syne come away with the samyn, with thair wyffis, bairnis, and frendis, be mony wilsum gait to Orknaye, quhair thai chesit¹ Gethus, bruther to the King of Pichtis afoir slayne, to be ȝair king, and duelt in ȝe samyn region mony ȝeris eftir with the auld inhabitantis thairof in gude iustice and peace. And ȝairfor Orknaye was namit ay ȝe auld realme of ȝe Pichtis.

(I. 45) The Britonis, herand of thair departing, enterit sone in ȝe Merſ, Loudiane and Tevidaill, and plenist all municionis and vther boundis of ȝe countre with ȝair soidiouris and gudis; and quhen thai had pecifyiit the landis of Pichtis, thai passit in ȝe boundis of Scottis, quhilkis wer richt effrayitt of thair *cuming*; nochȝeles, seing na vther remedy, drew ȝame to thair harnes and wappynnys, finalie mett thame be sett batall at Caldorwode; quhair ȝe Scottis was disconnfist, and ij^m of thame slayn. Eftir this victory the Britonis wer aduertist, that ȝe residew of Scottis wer na leſſ disparit throw this vnhappy batall, than all the nobill blude of Fergus had bene endit that daye in Albioun. In verifeing hereof ane huge novmer of thame war fled in ȝe ilis, and thair king Rewther with all vther his nobillis fled to Berigon. The Britonis, knowing this grete effray among the Scottis, come with all

¹ MS. *chasit*.

thair army to Berigon, and laid ane strang sege aboute the samyn. The Scottis, quhilkis war within þe castell, maid incredibill debaitt, quhill at last þair vittalis failzeitt, throw quhilkis þai war drevin to sik penurite, that þai kest cavillis, quhai suld be first eittin, to sustene þe remanent within þe house. Bot quhen þai saw the nobill men, quhilkis war within the houß, fall to be slayn, thai devisit þe samyn nycht to ische on thair inmyis, and erar to revenge sum displeseir on thame, than miserabillye to dee in þat sort. And, that the King mycht ische þe mair eselie wit his nobillis, it was devisit, that Colane, chiftane of Lorn, suld ische with ane hundreth men to the nixt moitt, quhair he, fechtand for defence of his prince, wes slayne with his folkis. And quhen þai war fechtand maist beselie, King Rewther ischitt at ane qwyette posterum with his nobillis, and come haistelie to the seysis, quhair schippis war reddy abyding his cumyng. Reuther, eschapitt on this maner, pullit vp salis and arryvitt in the Ilis, and, disparitt thair of securite, passit in Ireland. The wyiffis of the tribe of Lorne, seyng þair husbandis reuthfullie slayne, as said is, slew thame self, that thai suld noch cum in thair inmyis handis.

- 35 Quhen the Britonis | knew the eschaiping of Ruther and his nobillis, thai maid cruell murdir on the remanent Scottis, (I. 46) that mycht be apprehendit ; eftir this be ingyne & force of armys tuke all the municions and strenthis of the cuntre. The Scottis, quhilkis war sauffit be fleying, seyng thame noch of pussance to resist the said Britonis, fled to the montanis, and debait thair miserabill lyvis with strait grounde, with skars and hard fude ; levand in þe summer on mylknes, ruttis of herbis, and beryis ; and in þe wynter, of wylde flesche of þe montanis ; and sum tyme draiff grete prayis of gudis, be dyrknes of nycht, fra the Britonis, and leiffit *per* upoun.

How the Scottis and Pichis recouerit thair landis fra þe Britonis ; and how þe King of Britonis was disconnfite ; of þe deth of King Reuther, and how Reutha wes maid king, & of his lawis. Ca vj

The nobilite of Scottis and Pichtis exilit on this maner oute of Albioun, the commons leiffit xij ȝeris, as said is, vnder seruitude and thirlage, makand herschippis on the Britonis ; quhill at last Rewther had, in Ireland, of his wyiff ane son namyt Thereus ; and was sone eftir desyrit be the King of Pichis to return agane in Albioun. The nixt summer he providit schippis with sik support as he mycht obtene, and arryvit with the samyn in þe ilis of Albion, and eftir that, be daylie companyis of Scottis cumin to him, arryvit at Lochbrowne in Ross. At thair cuming the Scottis, be ald ryte & custum, slew þe first man thai met, and baithit thair mouth and swerdis with the blude of the samyn, praying thair goddis to grant pame sic felicite, that þai maye revenge þe grete slauchteris of thair progenitouris and oppressionis done to thame be thair inymeis. And quhen þai war passand fortwert, thai wer aduertist of the cuming of Gethtus, King of Pichtis, within xxx^{ti} mylis, havand ane grete army of Almanys, quhilkis war send from þair native cuntre to recouer thair landis. The thrid daye eftir, baith þair armyis assemblit to giddir with grete triumphe & merynes on all sydis ; and sone eftir past forthwart to the south, quhare thai met all the Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis war in Albion þe ȝeris afoir vnder seruitude, quhairthrou thai war ane grete army.

Sisillus, King of Britonis, herand thir tythingis, assemblit ane grete army of his pepill to meit his inmyis. The confiderat pepill, havand na sycht to þe strenthis nor to the commonys of the land for that tyme, enterit pertlie in Britan, and maid grete herschippis in the samyn be swerd & fyre. King Sisillus, desyring to revenge thir displesouris done to his liegis, assailȝeit þe Scottis & Pichtis be batell, bot at last, be grete manhede of King Rewther, he was disconnfijt. In memorye heirop the place, quhair the said Britonis war diffayit,

is callit ȝite Reddirdale. This batell was sa cruelly fochin on
 36 all sydis, that baith þe armyis wer | constrennyt to return
 hayme, and sone eftir tuke peace vnder thir condicionis :
 the Britonis sall geif oure all strenthis, townis, and municions,
 pertenynge to the Scottis and Pichtis, als fre as þai had afoir.

Sik thingis done, the peace stude mony ȝeris eftir inuiolat
 betuix þe Britonis, Scottis, & Pichtis. The ȝere that King
 Reuther was restorit to his realme, was, fra the begynnynge
 of þe warld, iiij^m ix^c lxxxxv ȝeris ; befoir þe incarnation of
 God, ij^c & iiij ȝeris ; fra the begynnynge of Rome, v^c xlvj
 ȝeris. Eftir this Reuther had na vncouth nor ciuill weeris
 in his realme, and gouernit his pepill in gude peace and tran-
 quillite, quhill at last he decessit at Berigon, the xxvj ȝere of
 his regnne, fra the begynnynge of þe warlde iiij^m ix^c nynte &
 sevin.

Eftir quhais deceß, Rutha, nepot to Dorvidilla of his bruther,
 was maid king, becaus Thereus, the son of Reuther afoir
 decessit, wes nocht of x ȝeris in aige. This Rutha was þe
 first king that fand ingyne to put nobill men for thair wail-
 ȝeant dedis, in memorye, and maid riche sepulturis for thair
 bodeis, quhilkis war slayn with Britonis in defence of this
 (I. 48) realme. Alsua he commandit als mony hye stans to be sett
 aboute the sepulture of ony nobill man, as wer slayn be him
 of Britonis. In witnes heirof, sindry remanis ȝitt in þe hie
 landis, to mak the pepill knaw, sik men wer wailȝeant in
 þair dayis ; quhairthrow it come in vse, that the sepulturis
 of nobill men wer haldin in reuerence. On þe quhilkis wer
 engravit ymagerijs of dragonis, wolffis and vther bestis,
 becaus na inuencioun of *lettere* was in þai dayis, to put the
 dedis of nobill men in memory.

The common pepill was gevin in thai dayis to stoir of bestis
 and laboure of þair handis, havand litill experience of ony
 craftis, quhill at last this King Rutha send in diuerß realmez
 for all maner of craftis men, and sparpellit thame throw
 diuerß schyris *with* feis & deviteis gevin to þame on the
 common purß, that thai mycht the moir eselye leif in his realme,
 inducing his pepill to labour & verteu. For thir cauß it was
 ordanit, quhen ony ox was slayn, the hede of the samyn to

be gevin to the smyth of þat schyre ; the crag, to þe forester of þe wod ; the towng, to þe man of law ; half ane cost, to þe sercheouris of thevis ; alß mekill, to þe wricht ; twa ribbis of þe cost, to the medicinar ; alsmekle, to þe schereurgeon ; and besyde this, was gevin to þame certane mesouris of aittis & beir, becaus na chaynge of money was in þai dayis. Throu parting of þe ox in this wise, raifß vp the annuell rentis in this land.

Quhen King Rutha had brocht craftismen on þis maner in Scotland, he fand be nerracioun of pepill grete damage falling to þame, be ignorance of evill medicinaris ; and þerfor he inhibitt, vnder payn of dede, ony men to exerce the art
 37 of medicine, without thai wer | fundin richt expert with lang experience of the samyn. Afoir this tyme, na medicinar was vsit in this cuntre ; for all persouns, quhilkis war troubillit with infirmiteis, wer brocht to þe merkett or ony vther commoun place, quhair the pepill mycht se thame, and geif thame counsale to vse sik remedis, as þai vsit quhen þai conualeseit of thair maledейis. And þerfor it was haldin richt odious, gif ony persouns went by thame that war seyke, nocht gevand thair counsale, gif thai had experience, in sik infirmiteis.

The samyn tyme come certane oratouris fra King Ptholomye of Egipt, to exploir the maneris and situacioun of euery pepill and region. Quhom Rutha ressaut with na leß humanite than beneuolence, becauß thai war descendit of þe Egipcianis,
 (I. 49) his forbearis ; and þerfor maid thame to be convoyit maist reuerendlie throw this realme and Pichis, according to thair desyris. Thir oratouris wrait in thair bukis the situacioun of hillis, firthis, ilis, townis, lochtis, castellis & municionis, within þis regioun ; with the lenth of dayis and nyctis of the samyn ; as thai wer commandit be King Ptolomye, quhilke gaif his ingyne to discribe the situacioun of the erd, in euery regeoun and ilis, quhair ony men vsit to haif passage ; with discripcioun of þe montanis, firthis, and cieteis of þe samyn, be diuersß instrumentis of astronomy : be quhais deligence & laboure remanis now ane richt crafty and proffittabill werk, namyt, þe cosmography & Tabellis of Ptolomey, richt expert in methamatik, completit in þe tyme of Adriane, the Empriour.

And quhen thir oratouris had sene and degestelie considerit this regioun, thai persavit the samyn havingis, rytis & cerimonis, as wer vsit amang the Egipcianis, quhilk maid thame the moir richelie to be revardit, and depeschit of this realm. King Rutha gouernit his realme mony ȝeris eftir this in grete iustice, but ony vncouth or civill weeris; and at last dredand eftir sa lang prosperite sum displesour to fall, brocht Thereus, the son of Reuther afoir rehersit, in counsale, schawing him richt wise prince and maist wourthy to regnne eftir him, becauð he was febillit be lang aige, and mycht noch govern the realme, and thairfor resignit þe crowne to the said Thereus, the xvij ȝere of his regnne; and eftir he leiffit ane quyett lyffe.

How King Thereus was banyst for his tyranny, and hou his bruther Iosyne was maid king; of the experience and preching of two philosophouris.

Ca vij

38 **T**hereus resaving the crowne in maner forsaide, apperit in
 | the begynnynge of his impire richt vertewis. Bot sone
 eftir, he become vicious & sa inuoluit with sensuall pleassouris,
 that he had na regard to iustice, and was namyt amang the
 (I. 50) pepill the skornare of religioun. Be quhais insolence the pepill
 grew in wilde and corruppit maneris, quhairthrow followit
 grete herschippis and slauchter amang thame, in sik maner
 that strangest thevis and oppressouris wer haldin in maist
 honour & autorite. The commonis war sa disparit for the
 irrecouarabill skaithtis done to thame, that thai traistit noch
 possibill ony prince moir vicius mycht cum to regnne abone
 thame. The capitans of þe tribis, movit be lamentabill regrait
 of the pepill, conspirit aganis the King, thinkand vnworthy
 that nobill men suld obey to sik ane corruppit monstour;
 and sett ane counsale baith to degraid him of autorite, and to
 pvneish his myschevous dedis. Thereus, herand the con-
 spiracioun maid aganis him, to sauff his lyiff fled to the
 Britonis, and warijt the counsale of his corruppit seruitouris,
 moir sett for his lust and plesour, than for his honour. Fynalie,

quhen he had socht support lang tyme of Britonis to recover his realme, frustratt *perof*, endit þe residew of his dayis at 3ork, eftir that he had rounge abone the Scottis xij zeris.

Thereus, the vicius king & tyran degradit of the crowne on this maner, Conane, ane nobill and wailþeant man, capitane of Brigandis, was be consent of þe nobillis maid *gouvernour* to lede þe pepill in iustice during þe proscriptioun of Thereus ; and *perfor* the said Conane *gouvernour*, be extreme deligence and laboure tuke away all rute and occasioun of dissencioun, quhilkis was spred afoir maist aboundandlie for lak of iustice amang the pepill, and brocht the samyn to sik tranquillite and pece, that nothir thift nor reiffis wer herd in his tyme, and the gudis and bestiall kepit on the feildis, but ony damage following.

- (I. 51) Eftir the deth of Thereus, his bruther Iosyne wes maid king. This Iosyne, eftir his coronacioun, renewit þe band of peace with Britonis and Pichtis ; and held suriugianis and medicinaris in grete reuerence, becaus he was nureist in Ireland amang thame, and was also ane medicinar, havand na litill experience of herbis. For oure forbearis vsit na thing in curacioun of woundis or infirmiteis, bot onlye herbis ; becauþ in þai dayis war *nocht* sene sa mony diuerþ sortis of maladeis as now apperis in oure dayis for few infirmiteis war sene, bot gravellis, caterris, and siklyke maladeis, *cuming* throw distemperance of cauld and waik *humouris* abone þe iust proporcioun of *manis* blude. The pepill than past thair tyme with skairþ and naturall fude, but ony superflew excessivis, quhairthrow thai had lang dayis, and war preservit fra all maner of malideis. Nochtþeles, fra the abstinence of oure forbearis wes sett aside, and vncouth and delicious coursis began to multiply amang ws, with vncouth & straynege metis, 39 come vncouth and strainge infirmiteis. And becauþ | the vnþeamentis and drogarijs of oure forbearis mycht noch cure þe said new infirmiteis, the doloure incressing thairthrow constrenit þame to seyke new remedis *with* new ingyne and craftis. And becaus oure tyme is now sa *vennomitt*, with vncouth and superflew metis and drinkis, we thocht sum thing necessair to reherþ þe temperance of oure forbearis in þair

leving, with thair maladijs and remedis for thair dayis ; of quhilkis salbe schawin mair largelie eftir, quhen tyme occurris mair expedient.

In the tyme of King Iosyne come to Berigon twa venerabil clerkis of fair visage, bot thai war nakitt and schipbrokin, and war brocht to þe king. It is writin, that þai war preistis (I. 52) of Spanze ; and, passing oute of Portingail to Athenis, be vnmercifull tempest of seyis wer schipbrokin at Rosß, thair schip and remanent pepill pereist, and þai only sauffit. And becaus þai wer philosiphouris, þai war wele tretit, and commandit to haif necessaris and lugeing within þe Kingis palace. And quhen þai wer refreschitt certane dayis eftir thair wery travall and troubill of seyis, thai war brocht agane to the Kingis presence, and inquirit be him to schaw quhat thai vnderstude of þe nature of þe grounde of Scotland, and of þe maneris and religioun of þe pepill þerof. Thir philosiphouris ansuerit to þe King, thai mycht nocht saye perfitleye to thir questionis, becaus þai had nocht lang tyme experience þerof, and als wer sum part febillit in þair fantasijs, for the calamite laitlie fallin to thame be storme of seyis. Nochþeles, sa far as thai mycht coniectoure in thair myndis, the ground of Scotland was mair gevin to myndys and metallis, than to produccioun of cornys, and mair riches to be wonnyn vnder erde, than abone ; quhilk þai knew wele be influence of þe heivin. As to the maneris and religioun of the pepill, thai declarit thair religioun nocht to ¹ be commendit, becaus thai adorit the ymagis of brutell beistis, in forme of levand goddis, as the Egipcianis vsit ; quhilk suld nocht be, for God was that thing, that contenit landis, seyis and euery creature ; quhais perfytt and werraye ymage can nocht be pantit nor devisit be ingyne of man. And thairfor thai suld leefte thair ydolatrijs, and adoir the levand God, movair of hevynnis, with sacrifice and prayeris in þair tempillis, but ony ymagerijs alanerlye ; and finalie, to leiff in hoipe of revarde, gif thai levitt with clene lyffe and iustice ; vther wayis noch was devisit for thame bot doloure and torment.

Thir philosiphouris, preching on this maner, inducit þe

¹ MS. *ito*.

pepill to lefe pair ydolatrijs ; makand pair sacrifice and prayeris alanerlye to the movar of hevin, þe eternall God ; and brocht the pepill to that waye, þat the sacrifice, quhilke was wount to be gevin¹ to Isis and Apis, the goddis of Egip, 40 sett asyde, thai levit in na leß religioun þan peace. | Howbeit, sum of thame war sa induratt in thair awyne errouris, that þai couth noch omytt thair auld supersticionis ; alsua nane was amang þame, that mycht be inducit to trow *nocht* the son, moyne, sternys, and vtheris, the lanternis of the hevin, (I. 53) to be goddis ; for thai war dissaut in þe auld errouris of Gentyllis with sik pertinacite that quhen þai saw na thing in erde mair plesand and bricht than þe son, mone, and vther lychtis of the hevin, thai belevitt fermlye sum diuinite in þe samyn, adoring thame as goddis.

This history, safer as we haif writin, is colleckitt oute of Veremounde, Iohnne Campbell, and Cornelius Ireland ; quhom we haif determitt to follow, as maist attentik autouris, to the end of this oure werk

King Iosyne was ane vertewis prince, and decessit finalie at Berigon, the xxiiij 3ere of his regnne, leiffand the crowne to his son Fynnanus, quhilke was declaritt king afoir his decese.

Off King Fynnanus, and his lawis ; and of the College of Clerkis in the Ile of Man. Ca viij

The empire of Fynnanus was plesand and thankfull to his liegis, and set safer to iustice, that all þe nobillis and capitanis of the tribis, quhom he fand luffaris of þe commoun wele, war be him richelie revardit. Eftir this gevand his mynde to the commoun wele, tuke esperance in na thing mair, than in lufe & beneuolence of his nobillis, doing na thing in exercicioun of his realme but pair avise. And that þe ordoure of iustice suld be mair proffittabill to his liegis, he ekit þe sete of his counsale with maa assessouris þan wes afoir ; and to schaw him mair affeckitt to þe commoun wele, þan his avne singulair proffitt, he maid lawis, þat þe king for

¹ MS. *to to gevin.*

þe tyme suld doo na thing concernyng publik materis be privatt counsale, and þat na thing concernyng the samyn suld be dressit but avise of his nobillis. Siklike, that þe King suld nothir mak were on his inmyis, nor ȝite haif trewis with thame, but thair avise. Throw quhilk he conquest incredibill beneuolence of þe pepill, inressing euery day in mair ryches and strenth. Eftir this he kest his mynde to repair þe religion of goddis, quhilk wes neir distroyit in his faderis dayis. And first he *commandit* þe ymagis of þair goddis to be restorit to þe tempillis, quhair þai war adorit afoir, þat þe pepill mycht haif þe samyn in adoracioun. Nocht-
 (I. 54) withstanding, he wald nocht inhibitt þe pepill to adoir þe levand God, movair of hevin, quhilk wes institute be þe philosophouris, and gaif fre licence to his pepill to adoir quhat
 41 god thai plesit. | He was the first king that institute prelaittis and clerkis to be in this realme; and, that the samyn suld remane to giddir, he gaif þame þe Ile of Man, liand betuix Ireland and Brittain,¹ fornentis Brigance, that þai mycht haif þair principaill sete in þe samyn, and to convene ilk ȝere, anys, at þe *commande* of þe grete maister and bischop, quhen ony materis occurrit concernyng the defence of thair religioun or *commoun* wele. Thir preistis war institute in this Ile, be avise of the King and his nobillis, to mak sacrifice in honour of thair goddis, and to lern the sonnis of nobill men in vertew and science, siklyke as thai war lernit at Athenis. It was *commandit*, that ane suld be as bischop and maister *with* iuridiccioun abone þe residew; before quhom was borne ane birnand gleibe of fyre, in signe of his honour and divinite; eftir quhais deth, ane vther, maist appocheand to vertew and *cunnyng*, was chosin to þe samyn. Throw quhilkis clerkis inressit sone eftir richt expert in morall and naturall philosoquhy; and was haldin *perfor* be the pepill as maist iust and halye creaturis. Thai maid the lawis, to discufþ þe douttis of all publik materis and singular acciouns; and devisit punicioun for all maner of crymis, and condigne revardis to be gevin for gude dedis. Thai curst þame quhilk war repugnant to thair autorite. This pvnicioun was euer most

¹ MS. *brittain*.

odious amang oure forbearis ; for the cursit pepill wer, in þai dayis, resecatt fra all gude cunpany, and *nocht* participant with the revard of honouris or digniteis, bot novmerit amang the cunpany of evill and wikkit mysdoaris. Off thir preistis writis mony authoris ; affermyng thair ordour and religioun first fundin in Britan be *cuming* of thir two philosophouris, and eftir brocht in France. Bot now we will return to *our* history.

Fynanus was ane vertewis prince, and na leß honorit for his civill maneris than religious ; and marijt his son Durstus with Agasia, the King of Britonis dochter, quhairthrow he conquest na litill beneuolence and glore amang thame. At (I. 55) last, to geif consolacioun to the King of Pichtis, quhilk was that tyme in vehement fevir, he past to Camelon, quhare he decessit þe xxx 3ere of his regnne ; quhais bodye wes eftir brocht to Berigon, and berijt amang the anciant sepulturis of kingis his forbearis.

How King Durstus slew his nobillis vnder traist, and
was eftir slayn for the samyn cruelte. Ca ix

Durstus maid king, as said is, be insolentt 3outh wes gevin to vnbridillit lust of his body and intemperance of his
42 mowith. This king wes richt different fra his faderis | maneris, havand all thame quhom his fader luffit in maist hatrent ; and brak the ordoure of law, quhilk was institutt afoir in his faderis tyme, be his privatt autorite, and sufferit nane to drefß the public materis bot sa mony as fauourit his corruppit maneris, and cowth induce him to new kynde of vicious lustis. Eftir this invadit his nobillis in sik maner, that all thai, quhilkis wer afoir luffit be his fader and on his secrete counsale, wer othir slayne, banyst or ellis be fenzeit cauß had thair gudis confiskatt. And, finalie, wes brocht to sik myschevous cruelty, that *nocht* onlie he slew thame quhilk war odius to him, bot als all vtheris quhilkis apperit riche, to haif thair gudis. To the mair aggrauacioun of his abhominabill cruelteis, he repudiatt his nobill qwene Agasia, and causit

his myschevous ruttouris to defoule hir, regarding nothir hir nobill blude nor princelie havingis. Eftir this gaderit ane prophane cunpany of concubynis, to that fyne, that he mycht pas his abhominabill lyfe amang the samyn. The nobillis, movit ilk day more with his vntellabill tyranny, convenit to giddir *with* ane grete powere of þe Ilis, Lorne, Argile, Roß with mony assistouris, and conspirit aganis him, seand his cruelteis sa importabill that the samyn mycht na langare be sustenit. Nochþeles, to coloure thair conspiracioun, schew thame be oppin proclamacioun *nocht* assemblit to invaid the King, bot onlie to pvneis his vicious counsalouris, be quhom the realme wes brocht to sik enormiteis, that, withoute remede wer haistlie providit, the samyn suld pas to vtir rewyne.

(I. 56) Quhill the chiftianis of tribis and vther the nobillis wer makand thair ordinance in pair scharpest maner, to pvneiß this tiran king and his counsalouris, the pepill, richt desirous to revenge the displesouris sufferit be thame, come in thair best maner to mak assistance to the said capitanis. Nochþeles sindry of the *commouns* withdrew thame fra this army, traisting the samyn assemblit moir to vsurpe the crowne be *percialite*, than to wyrk ony thing *commodius* for thair *commoun* wele.

Durstus, na litill effrayit of thir tythingis, & knowing him richt gilty of thir detestabill crymis, maid him to fle; bot quhen he saw na place sufficient to ressaif him, he send to the Britonis for his qwene Agasia, promittand to amend the dishonour done agane hir maieste, safer as ingyne of man mycht
43 | devise, and desyrit thame to support him, aganis certane conspiratouris rying aganis him. Nochþeles, seyng na support ¹ abill to cum, kest his maist cruell mynde to tresonabill slycht, and devisit to slay all thir nobillis, quhilkis war conspirit aganis him, be the samyn cauß he mycht eschew the apperand danger be na vther way. Heirfor, to bring his purpos to effect, send his oratouris to the capitanis and nobillis confiderat aganis him, and fenzeit him penitent, and set to reform all wrangis done aganis the *commoun* wele; promittand *nocht* onlie to govern the realme in tymeze cuming at thair will, bot als to pvneiß his corruppit counsalouris, quhilkis war occa-

¹ MS. repeats *na support*.

sioun of all displeouris done in his realme. Als it wes richt odius to him to fecht aganis his subdittis, and moir odius to þame to move batell aganis him, sen his purpos was to redres all wrangis and displeouris done to his pepill, gif he war *nocht* degradit of his autorite. And for the obseruacioun of thir poyntis, he wald bynd him, in þe tempill of Dyane, vnder quhat astricciouns thai plesit; & gif that mycht *nocht* be sufficient, he suld cum but assouerance, and submyt him to thair correccioun. Attour, to mak his wourdis haif the moir credite, he kest ane certane of his counsalouris in presoun, as thai war to be iustijft incontinent for thair perverse counsale and assistance to his vice, and vtheris, quhilkis wer of small estimacioun, arrayit in precious abilþeamentis, and send thame to the said capitane to be pvneist at þair plesour.

The nobillis, quhilkis wer than confideratt to giddir, gevand ferme credence to his wourdis, send Doron, Capitane of þe tribe of Lorn, to tak his aithtis eftir his promys; and sone eftir this Durstus, brocht in þe tempill of Dyane, sweir before þe preist of the samyn, with all aithis quhilkis couth be devisit, to ressaue þe nobillis, quhilkis wer confideratt agane him, to maist tendir frendship, remitting þe rancor of his mynde, with all maner of cryme that mycht be ony tyme imput to thame; and to haif thame in tyme *cuming* among his maist tendir frendis, and neuir to govern the realme in tyme *cuming* bot be thair avise.

- (I, 57) Sik thingis done, the capitaneis forsaide come to him throw wane confidence, quhilkis he ressaue sa plesandlie, that baith his wourdis, visage, and continance apperit but ony dissimulation. Throw quhilk was maid triumphe on all sydis. And, that þe moir frendship suld seym in him, callit thame all
 44 | within his castell of Berigon. And quhen þai war enterit in the samyn, vnder traist, this vnmercifull tyran ȝeid to ane strang toure of the castell; and, incontinent, ane grete band of armyt men ruschit on thir nobillis, and slew thame with all vtheris quhilkis enterit *with* þame. The ladijs and wiffis, quhilkis followit thair husbandis to þis terribill bankett, evill hurt and woundit in debait of the samyn, past oute of Berigon with revin hair and dolorous spraichis, crying vengeance on

this curst tiran, and returnit hayme *with* mair displeour than *pai* had bene slayn *with* thair husbandis.

Nochþeles, this cruelty and treassoun was *nocht* lang vnpu-neist : for the remanent of thair frendis, quhilkis war murdris be this tresoun, assemblit agane ane new army of men and wemen sufficient to bere wappinnis, sa haistely, that thai laid ane sege aboute the castell of Berigon, or he was aduerteist. Eftir thair *cuming* the pepill past to the wallis, and desirit to haif him furth to be puneist for his tresoun, saying thai suld haif sone experience, quhiddir he was moir crafty in tresoun or fechting. Durstus, disparit of help, come oute of þe castell in his maist fury, with ane certane of his opinioun, but ony array ; quhair he was haistelie wincust & degradit baith at anys of his lyiff and croun, the ix 3ere of his regnne ; and was beryid in Berigon amang þe anciant sepulturis of his forbearis, nochtwithstanding his vicius lyiff.

(I. 58) How eftir the deth of Durstus fell grete contencion
amang the nobillis for the crowne ; and how Ewyne,
first of that name, was maid king. Ca x

Durstus slayn in this maner, his sonnys fled in Ireland for fere of thair lyiffis ; and sone eftir thair departing, ane counsale wes sett amang the capitanis to cheis the king. Quhilk daye the nobillis, movit be the cruelteis done to thame be þe said Durstus, war determit of ane mynde to suffir nane of his blude to regne abone thame, in aventure sum of thame suld revenge his slauchter ; and thairfor tuke lang consul-tacioun, of quhat lynnage and blude the king suld be chosin. Sum desyrit Ragaon, chiftane of Brigandis, to be king ; vtheris desirit Cornall, chiftane of Ilis, becauþ he conspirt first aganis Durstus. Nochþeles, becauþ he fauorit brokin men, he was repellit. Vtheris desyrit Cormanus, capitane of Lorn. Thus wer the Tribis diuidit in sindry votis, quhairthrou apperit grete trouble, quhill at last Caron, chiftane of Argile, said in
45 this maner : | “ Maist nobill men, 3e haue perfite experi-
ence be the ciuill weris of Dowall and Ferquhard, and now

moir recentlye be the impire of wikkit Durstus, how dangerous and vnthankfull is to all þe pepill to haif ane cruell tyran abone thame; for be thai samyn weris, this nobill realme, quhilk has bene sa mony ȝeris with na les difficulte than corage debatit, was neir brocht to finall exterminacioun; for throu thai weris, oure nobillis wer banyst and slayn, and oure commouns brocht to sa wile seruitude, that, gif the samyn had continewit, oure name and lynage suld haif bene put doun in Albion but memory. Quhat miserye sustenit oure faderis in Berigon, segit be the Britonis, quhen thai wer constrenit, be vrgent necessite, to sauff thair miserabill lyvis on the fude of thair bowellis! Quhat danger sustenit oure king Reuther, evading his inymyis be maist perrellous ischeing, quhen his realme wes neir lost, and the maist wailȝeant Colane with sa mony chosin wereouris slayn, onlie for þe Kingis wele! Quhat fury was in þai ladeis & wiffis, quhilkis saw thair maist wailȝeant husbandis slayn for defence of thair prince, to murdir thame self, desiring erar to dee at liberte then leif in (I. 59) seruitude! Quhat has brocht sik miserye amang ws, bot ciuill weris? For the riche and pussant Britonis nicht neuir haif brocht ws to ony thirlage, war nochȝt we maid ane gait to thame be oure dissencioun. Heirfor, maist wailȝeant men, provide at this dissencioun now rysing amang ȝou incres nochȝt to the damage of ȝoure commoun wele. And sen þe countre is now deliuerit of the tyranny of Durstus, and þe murdir of oure nobillis revengit be his deth, provide be ȝoure wisdom and autorite, that þe victory gottin afoir with grete difficulte abone our inymeis þe Britonis be nochȝt lost be oure fuliche dissencioun. The pepill, reiosing of the slauchter of Durstus, desiris to haif ane king be ȝoure eleccioun. Vthirwais, na thing salbe amang ws bot ciuill weeris, herschippis, diuisioun and murdir of nobillis. And in þat menetyme sall ryfȝ sum frendis of Durstus, to vsurpe þe crowne and puneifȝ ȝou for the slauchter of the samyn."

Quhen this orisoun was endit, the chiftanis apprisit his counsale, and gaif him autorite to cheis quhom he thocht maist ganand to be king. Nochȝeles, Caron, degestlie avisit with the nobillis that the crowne suld remane in þe samyn

blude, declarit Ewyne, the first of that name, to be king ; for Durstus & Ewyn wer brethir sonnys. Ewyne, declarit king in þis maner, was brocht oute of Pentlannd with hye triumphe, and crownit at Berigon. The castell wes haldin aganis him be frendis of Durstus a schort tyme. Nochttheles, seing sa grete multetude of pepill in continewall sege aboute þame, randerit þe castell.

King Ewyne, ressaut in Berigon on this sort, desyrit the nobillis to geif him þair aith of fidelite, and was þe first king of Scotland þat socht ony athtis of his subdittis. Quhairthrow it come in vse, mony ȝeris eftir, that all the capitanis of tribis
 46 at thair | eleccioun constrennyt þair subdittis to gif thair aithis of fidelite ; quhilk rite is ȝite obseruit : for the pepill duelling in þe Hieland and Ilis, at þe eleccioun of thair capitane, pass to ane commoun place, and defendis, vnder pane of dede, that nane of þame nem þair capitane with ony vther slogorn, than þe auld name of þat tribe ; and, quhen þai here his name, to bek and discovir thair hede, *with* na les reuerence
 (I. 60) than he war ane god. For thir causis the pepill forsaid vsit to swere in þair hiest besynes be thair capitanis fute, hand, or name, as sum diuinite wer in þe samyn. Bot now we will return to oure history.

Ewyne, seyng his realme stabillit, to cauß his subdittis incres in vertew, commandit all þe ȝoungkeris of his realme to be nureist in thair ȝowith with scharpnes, and to sleip on herd burdis, erar than on plumes or coddys, quhilkis mycht effeminatt thame. He ordanit also thame to be excercit in swift rynnyng & wersling, to mak thame þe moir habill to debait his realm, quhen tyme requirit ; and to mak his subdittis incres *with* moir tranquillite, he past throw his realme and puneist trespassouris with sindry puniciouns, as thai deseruit ; sum brynt in þe face, sum puneist to þe deth.

The samyn tyme come the ambassiadouris of Pichtis, desyring be the tenour of confideracioun to haif support aganis thair inymeis the Britonis, quhilkis wer laitlie cumin in þe Merß, makand insufferabill herschippis in the samyn, and war in purpos to procede farthar in þair realme *with* mair displesouris. Ewyne, grantand to thair desyris, assemblit ane grete army,

and past forthwert with his confideratt frendis, the Pichtis, aganis the said Britonis, *with* na leß corage than victory had bene sikkir to thame, to revenge þe iniuris done to thame afoir. Nochþeles, the Britonis come als ferß in þair contrar, quhairthrow was ane bergane sa cruellie fochtin on all sydis, that victory was lang tyme vncertan; quhill at last nycht severit thame, with vntelland murdir on athir syde. The Scottis and Pichtis, knawing thame brokin be þair inymeis, fled with þe residew of thair army to Pentland Hillis; and the Britonis, elikewise disparit of new support, fled hayme; bot quhen þe confideratt pepill vnderstude the fle yng of the Britonis, thai returnit to þe campe quhair thai faucht afoir, and partit þe cattell and riche spulze left behynd the said Britonis amang thame be ryte of armys.

Sik thingis done, the Pychtis returnyt to Loudeane, and King Ewyn to Berigon, quhair he maist richelie revardit þe frendis of þame quhilkis wer slayn in þis batell. And tuke purpoß in tymis cwnying to detest all weeris, and govern his
 47 realme in tranquillite; and | chesit ane certane of prudent men to abyde in sindry schyris for the moir esy iustice of his
 (I. 61) liegis. Siklyke he commandit ane certane spyis to remane in euery schyre, to serche all mysdoaris, and bring thame to his lawis. In probacioun hereof ar sene to oure dayis mony infetmentis of auld baronis, quhais landis war gevin be vertewis princes for the samyn cauß. Howbeit thai exerce nocht the effect, that the land was gevin for.

This king Ewyne biggit ane castell nocht far fra Berigon, callit than Ewyn eftir his name, quhilk wes callit eftir Dounstaffage; and gydit the realme mony 3eris eftir in gude peace, and decessit þe xxix 3ere of his regne.

How Gillus slew two sonnys & two nepotis of Durstus,
to mak him self king ; and how Ederous, the thrid
nepot, eschapit ; how Gillus was eftir banyst, and
Ewyne þe Secund maid king. Ca xj

Ewyne, in this maner decessit, was beryd in Dunstaffage ;
aboute quhais sepulture war rasis mony hie pillaris in
memory of his nobill dedis. At his funerall obsequeis come
two sonnys of Durstus, namyt Dothane & Dorgall, quhilkis
war laitlie recounsailit and wele tretit be þe nobillis, for the
croun pertenit to thame be iust titill. Nochttheles, becauð
thai war twa twynnis, born at anys, the law couth nocht determ
in þai dayis, quhilk of thame had maist titill to þe croun.
Quhairthrow raið na litill contencioun betuix thame ; ilkane
sett in murdir of vther. Ewyn, decessit, as said is, had ane
bastard son namyt Gillus, ane man of subtill ingyne ; quhilk,
sekand occasioun to conquess the crowne, eekit þe hatrent of
þir two brethir be mony slychtis, and armyt ilkane of þame in
vtheris slauchter. At last, it was appoyntit be this Gillus,
that thir twa brethir suld tak frendis to aggre thame of all
debaittis, and ane of þame to be maid king. Nochttheles, thai
war sa extreme on all sydis at thair meting, that þai pertit
war frendis than þai mett ; quhairthrow þe hatrent inressit
ilk day sa grete, that na thing was pretermittit quhilk mycht
be devisit in athir slauchter. Nochttheles, be menis of Gillus
(I. 62) thai war brocht to giddir in ane secrete houß but frendis, to
be aggreit be him on all debaittis ; bot he kendillit thair
hatrent mair than he mesit ; throw quhilk raið scharp wourdis
betuix þame. Incontinent ane novmer of armyt men, devisit
afoir be Gillus, ruschit owte of ane qwyett place, and slew
þame baith. Eftir this Gillus went out of þe hous, quhair
this murdir wes done, cryand peteouslye how he had eschapit
ane maist perrellous auenture be tressoun of the kingis sonnys,
quhare ilkane of þame has slayne vther be thair avne tresoun
and hatrent ; and thairfor desyrit his frendis to haif him
to sum strang place, quhair he mycht be sauffit, quhill þe fury
of thair frendis was past. The sempill pepill, be oure mekill

credence, ressaut him, *with* sindry nobillis & gentil men
 48 following him, to knaw þe maner, in þe | castell of Doun-
 staffage. Gillus, enterit in þis maner, tuke the castell, and
 arrayit all his men, quhilkis war armyt in that tyme in sindry
 abulzeamentis, to slaa all that gaynstude his desyris. And
 than callit the capitanis to ane counsale, in the quhilk he
 detestit be lang orison the cruelteis of Durstus and the *peruerst*
 insolence of his *sonnis*, quhilkis had slayn thame self be thair
 wilfull hatrent, schawing thame be mony reassouns vnhabill
 for the croun ; and gaif thankis *perfore* to the goddis, sen þe
 realme was deliuerit of thair tyranny and auarice, and causit
 the tresoun to fall on thame self, quhilk pai devisit for him,
 eschaping narouly with his lyiff, howbeit he tuke besynes
 diuerß wayis to bring þame to concord. Quhen he had purgit
 him thus of thair slauchter, he schew that his fader, King
 Ewyn, left him þe croun be his testament, and ordanit his
 tresoure to be partit amang the capitanis, quhilk he was reddy
 to doo, to haif thair beneuolence ; and thairfor desyrit to be
 king, quhill it war determyt, quha had maist richt thairto,
 that the *commoun* wele tuke na skaith be civill contencioun.
 The capitanis, quhilkis wer within þe castell, knawing wele
 his mynde and tresoun, and havand na pussance to resist
 for the tyme, maid him king.

Gillus, maid king in þis maner, tuke thair aithtis of fidelite,
 (I. 63) and sone eftir partit the gudis of Ewyn amang thame, quhair-
 throw he wan thair *fauouris*. Nochþeles, the samyn ambicioun
 and auarice that movit him to seyke the croun, remanit with
 him eftir : settand his ingyne with all slychtis he mycht to
 distroye the lynage & blude of Durstus, that he mycht reioiß
 the croun but clame of vtheris. And becaus he wes aduerteist,
 that Dothayn, the son of Durstus, afoir slayn, had thre *sonnis*
 nureist in þe Ile of Man, vnder þe wise clerkis thair of ; of
 quhilkis the eldest, Lismorus, had xij 3eris in aige ; and
 the secund Cormacus, x 3eris ; and the thrid son, Edeir,
 nochthre 3ere of aige ; he went þe nerrest way he mycht to
 the said Ile of Man, with dissimulatt mynde, as he wald haif
 brocht thir chyldren to his castell of Dounstaffage, to be nureist
 thair *with* vtheris siklyke princes *sonnis* of the realme. The

eldest two, cled in þair best maner, be avise of thair preceptouris, mett King Gillus; quhom he resauit maist tendirly in his armis; bot þe ȝoungest son, Ederus, was in sik infirmite, that na man belevit his lyiff, and thairfor mycht noch cum to presence. And quhen he was recouerit of his maledy, he was brocht in Argyle be his nureiſ, becaus scho tuke suspicioun of his remanent brethre, quhilk war deliuerit in King Gillus handis; and nureist him þair amang þe desertis of that land on skairſ fude. And quhen Gillus had vesijt the maneris and instituciouns of wyse clerkis in þe Ile of Man,

49 he pullit vp salis | and arryvit at Dunstaffage, havand with him the two eldast sonnys of ¹ Dothane, with thair foster fader and brethir; for, in þai dayis, the pepill had na leſs affeccoun to thair fostir brethir and fader, than to þair avne naturall fader or brethir. Eftir his returnyng he slew þe two eldast sonnys of Dothane, in the armis of thair foster fader and brethir. And, becaus he was aduerteist that the thrid son, Edere, was eschaepit fra the handis of thame quhilkis he left behynd him for that samyn cauſ, he grew in sik fury, that he slew the men at thair returnyng; and, fra þat furth, sett his vtter deligence to seyke the said Ederus to the dede, and

(I. 64) cessit noch, quhill he wes aduerteist of his fleynge in Irelannd.

Eftir this sett ane counsale at Dunstaffage; in the quhilk he schew, be mony wane wourdis, how he had gournit the realme in sik iustice, religioun and vertew, that he deseruit to haif thair thankis, and his gouernance to be apprisit, sen he was gevin to magnify his realme with honouris, and nureis his pepill but civill weeris and sedicions, throw quhilkis bene oftymis grete troubill in this realme; desyring that nane haif him in suspicioun; howbeit the sonnys of Dothane wer haistlie decessit, as apperit, alanerlie be the beneuolence of goddis, quhilkis thocht expedient, sen þai maid realmez to be, that na childryn, bot alanerlie prudent men, suld be kingis. Noch-þeles, certane sedicious persons war amang thame, quhilkis maid the pepill to haif him in suspicioun of the slauchter of the said childryn, quhairthrow it wes necessair to draw thame fra þe laif.

¹ MS. of *þe Dothane*.

Eftir this consale he slew all the frendis pertenying to Durstus, quhilkis wer convenit at his request, and sparit nothir wyffis nor barnis that belangit to that blude; throw þe quhilk the remanent pepill tuke grete fere and dreid, trasting to bene murdurit in the samyn maner. Gillus, seand thame effrayit, bad thame be of gude confort; and, gif þai wald stand at his opinioun, he suld be moir gracious to thame, than euir he was afoir. Nochþeles, he kest his wikkit mynde ilk day to moir cruelty, that he nicht distroy aluterly all the blude of Durstus; quhill at last his terribill dedis wer sa diwlgatt in all partis, that all the nobillis thocht him vnvourthy to be king, and thairfor gaderit ane strang army of chosin
 (I. 65) men fra sindry partis of the realme, and conspirit aganis him with sik prudence, that this tyran wist *nocht* thairfor, quhill þai wer arrayit in batell afoir him at Dunstaffage. Gillus than, destitute of all support, havand nane with him bot sa mony as wer othir haldin aganis thair will or coft *with* his money, gat ane fischare bait, and fled in Ireland.

Eftir his fleyng, his men war all 3oldin to Cadall, chiftane of Brigandis, and baith his castellis, Berigon and Dunstaffage,
 50 takyn. The nobillis, avisit | how this tiran Gillus suld be best haldin owte of þe realme, maid Cadall to be *gouvernour*. Cadall, maid *gouvernour*, kest his extreme besynes to persew Gillus, and serchit him quhair *euer* he war; throu quhilk it happinnit him to arryve in þe Ilis, quhair he met with Ederus, the thrid son of Dothane, quhilk wes sauffit afoir fra the tresoun of Gillus be his nureis, as said is. And becaus the said Ederus was destitute of all frendis at that tyme be the cruell murdir maid on thame be Gillus, he was send be Cadall to Epiok, quhilk was sum tyme the principale ciete of Brigance, to be kept thair, quhill he wer of perfite aige.

Gillus, banist oute of Scotlannd in this maner, complenit lamentabilly to the princes of Ireland, of the hye iniuris and displesouris done to him be the capitanis of tribis, throw menis of Cadall, quhairthrow na place wes sikkir to him to remane in Scotland; desyring thame to mak him support, and promittit, gif thai wald restoir him till his croun, to geif the Ilis of Scotlannd perpetuallie fra the impyre of the

samyn to thair dominion. The Princes of Ireland, glaid of his promys, assemblit ane strang army, and maid þame redde to cum in Scotland for the samyn effect.

Cadall, aduerteist heirof, returnit haistlie oute of þe Ilis, and tuke consultacioun of the nobillis, how the said Gillus suld be resistit. At last it wes concludit that Ewyne, the secund of that name, suld be king; quhilk was exilit be Gillus the tyran, and bot laitlie cumin in Scotlannd; becaus he was nevo to Fynnanus afoir rehersit, gottin be Dowall, bruther germane to the said Fynnanus. Ewyn, maid king in this maner, stuffit the sey campis to resist Gillus; and quhen Gillus vnderstude na part sikkir to arrive in Albion, he landit at last in þe Ilis, and brocht awaye with him all the gudis of that countre, sa fer as thai mycht be carijt, and the remanent brynt. Ewyne, aduertist of thir hye iniuris, assemblit ane grete army with the schippis & galzeonis that mycht be gottin for the tyme, and send thame with Cadall, his admirall, in Ireland to revenge the iniuris done to his liegis. Sone eftir, Cadall pullit vp salis, with conspir wyndis, and landit his
 (I. 66) men in Ireland. At quhais cuming went sik confluence to him of pepill, that he semyt na less to ourethraw all Ireland than Gillus. Nochttheles, Gillus, knowing his cuming, arrayit his folkis, quhairthrow the armyis mett to giddir with grete cruelteis on all sydis. The Scottis, quhilkis war with Gillus, astonist to fecht aganis thair native pepill, be affeccioun to thair countre, sonzeit and faucht noch with sik curage as Gillus requirit, and past finalie to Cadall. Than Gillus, disparit of victory, raif of his coitt armour and fled in ane thik wod besyde. The residew of his army war randrit haistlie
 51 than to Cadall, | quhom he ressaut with fauouris. Eftir this victory, ane certane of armyt men wer send furth to seyke Gillus, quhilkis at last fand him in ane coif of the wode, neir famest of hungir; quhair thai slew him, and brocht his hede to Cadall. This miserabill end maid Gillus, the secund zere of his regnne; confiding ay mair in his fraudefull slychtis than ony knychtlie wassallage.

How Cadall, beand sorofull of the tynsale of his army, wes confortit and reuardit be Ewyn, and of þe gude counsale gevin to Edeir. Ca xij

Gyllus slayn in this maner, Cadall wes returnyng hayme with triumphand victorijs, riches, and spulzeis. Nochþeles, be tempest of seyis he tynt þe maist part of his army; throw quhilk his irrcuverabill skaithis passit all the proffitt and gloir of victory. For the miserabill moderis and wyiffis, knowing thair husbandis & sonnys pereist in þe seyis, convenit to the schippis with hiddeous sprachtis and schowtis. In þat mene tyme Cadall come to land in dolorous array, berand his handis to the hevin, and warijt fortoun and the goddis, quhilkis had distroyit sa mony nobill and wailzeant men, conuerting thair gloir of victory in supreme misery; quhais dolorous havingis wer sa petuus, that euery man had reuth thairof.

In the samyn tyme come King Ewyne, richt soroufull of his calamite, & to ¹ mak him *consolacioun* said in þis maner :
 (I. 67) "Maist wailzeant Cadall, thou has brocht to me and my realme na litill glaidnes, that has brocht þi folkis victorious in Albion, and vnbrokin be iniuris of inymeis. Thou hes vincust my inimeis in ane vncouth regeoun, fechtand maist wailzeantlye aganis thame with displayit baner, for the tranquillite of my realme, and vincust þe tyran Gillus, the pompe of cruelte, quhilk mycht na waye be his schaymfull fleyng eschew þi swerde, quhais hede, schorn fra his body, is brocht in þis region to his perpetuall schaym and punicioun of his detestabill dedis. Be þi grete manhede my inimeis ar vincust and brocht to my opinioun. Thou has defendit my army aganis my strangest fais, withoute reproche to þi honour; throw quhilk apperis na thing left vndone, that pertenit to ane forsy campion. Heirfor, na caus occurris to reclame aganis þe goddis; for, thocht ane grete part of thi army be pereist be seyis, ȝite þou art savitt, to the hie honour of this realme, be thair beneuolence; and be thair fauour thou arryvit in Ireland, and wan the riche spulzeis of thi inimeis,

¹ MS. *calamite to mak*.

but ony iniure. And, thocht þi inimeis reiose of the calamiteis falling on thy army, ȝite na gloir may succeid to þaim þairfor, 52 becaus na thing þerof is cumin be thair | manhede or swerde, bot onlie be chance of violent seyis, quhairthrow na thing bot instabilite of fortoun remanis to be accusit. For the stait of erdlie creaturis has this condicioun, eftir moist prosperite cumis hiest aduersite, and eftir hiest aduersite cumis gretest prosperite ; proceding be influence of weirdis, quhais effect may nocht be alterit fra thair determinacioun, nor ȝite eschewit be prudence of mortale creaturis. Thairfor, þou has na cauß to lament, bot erar to haif thy aduersite in pacience, and sauf the to ane bettir fortoun. And sen na creaturis may remede thir displesouris bot the goddis, quhilkis gouernis þe impire of men at thair plesour, schaw now ane plesand wlt with ws ; that thi frendis and inimeis may knaw the, be serine constance, na mair brokin in aduersite, than proude in prosperite ; and that thi curage may appere als invincibill as þi body."

Cadall, herand this consolacioun of his nobill prince, fenȝeit all the blyithnes he mycht ; howbeit, he repentit na thing mair than to be left on lyiff, behynd sa mony nobill men quhilkis wer pereist, as said is. This calamite of Cadall is sum part rehersit be the poete Claudiane.

(I. 68) Eftir this Ewyne, havand this realme wele stabillit, past throw the samyn, exercing iustice to his pepill ; syne went to vesy Cadall, to quhom he gaif the toun of Epiak in fre regalite with mony vther lordschippis and townis in Brigance, for the faithfull besynes obseruit to him and the commoun wele. Sik thingis done, accunpanyit with his nobillis, met Gethus, King of Pichis, on the bordouris of Brigance, and þer, eftir mony consultaciouns for the wele of baith the realmis, he renewit pece, and marijt his dochter, namit Syora, with grete solempnite and cerymonis of the bischop & ¹ clergy of the Ile of Man ; syne returnit to Dunstaffage. At his cuming he wes aduerteist that Balus, King of Orknay, wes cuming, with ane grete multitude of pepill, oute of Pentland Fyrth, and invadit Cathanes and Roß with grete herschippis and slauchter. For the quhilk cauß he assemblit ane cunpany

¹ MS. of.

of chosin men with sik deligence, that Balus wist *nocht*, quhill he was arrayvit thair with all his army. The Orknay men, abasit of his suddand cuming, war drevin on force to batell, be quhilk þai wer finalie disconnfist and put to flycht be continewall chaifs, quhill þai wer drevin to þe seyis, quhair ane part of þame eschapit be fischar bairtis, and the residew of thame vincust and slayn, Balus, *per* king, seyng na way to eschaip, slew him self. Ewyne, throw þis victory, conquest na litill fauouris of his pepill. Eftir this returnyng hame be þe Ireland seyis, arrayvit in þe mouth of Lochtay, quhair

- 53 he biggit | ane toun callit Inuerlochte; and maid thair ane sikkir refuge, in the honour of goddis, and defendit, vnder payn of dede, that na criminall persons be abstrakkit owte of the samyn, *nocht*withstanding ony crymis be thame committit.
- (I. 69) This toun wes eftir ane commoun port till all merchandis of France or Spanze, for the incredibill fertilite of fische swommand in þai seyis. Off this toun remanis na thing now bot the brokin wallis, brocht to rewyn be the weris of Danys. Ewyne, gevin this to polecy, foundit ane nothir toun on the ryver of Ness, quhilk is 3ite namyt Inuernes; quhair sum tyme wes grete repair of merchandis and strayngearis, cumand owte of Almany to seyk riche furringis: as *mer*trikis, beveris, and vther riche skynnys, quhilkis aboundis in that regioun. This toun remanis vnder the auld name; howbeit it sustenis importabill *dammage* be perpetuall weerris of vndantit pepill lyand aboute the samyn.

King Ewyne, richt illuster in polecy and fatis of armys, passit the remanent of his dayis but ony domestik or vncouth weerris; and repressit all dissencionis rising amang his liegis be grete craft. Ane schort tyme afoir his deceß, he past to Epiak for the weill of Cadall, quhilk wes laitlie decessit, and his sonnys contending for his riches. Nochþeles, þis nobill prince aggreit thame on all debaittis eftir the mynde of Cadall. And eftir þe funerall obsequies done in his honour, he rasit ane grete ymage of stayn gravin to his similitude, commanding the pepill to offer him wyne & senß: for oure forbearis wer dissaut in þe samyn errouris of gentilis, as vther pepill wer.

Eftir this Ewyn, be hevy mynde and displesour for the dede of Cadall, fell in ane irremediabill infirmite, and, sa disparit of his hele, resignit the croun to Edere, quhilk had maist richt to the samyn, as we haif said afoir, and to mak him þe moir wise and gracious prince, counsalit him to defend his liegis fra iniuris; and to doo thame na extorsiouns be him self; and suffir na men haif office or autorite, that haittis iustice; als to doo all hye chargis be him self, and cauß all small materis to be dressit be his nobillis; and govern him ay in sik maner, that he may be wourthy to regne abone his subdittis; moving na were aganis his inimeis, bot gif he may na vther wayis doo; and, quhen it was necessair to haif batell, to irk of na chargis pertenyng to weirlie ordinance; and devoide him neuir of piete, becauß that vertew semys (I. 70) maist in ane prince; commanding him finaly, abon all vþer besynes, to haue his goddis in reuerence, quhais fauour is ane grete proteccioun to all realmis. Quhen he had gevin þis consale to Edere, he decessit þe xiiii 3ere of his regne. Eftir quhais decess was rasit ane crafty ymage, maid to his similitude; quhilk was haldin mony 3eris eftir in grete veneracioun amang the pepill.

Here endis the Secund Buke and begynnis the Thrid Buke of thir cornikillis.

(I. 71) How Edeir revengit the herschippis of the Ilis.

Ca j

E dere, maid king on this maner, tuke purpoß to vesy all the boundis of his realme ; quhais passage wes the moir plesand to his nobillis, that he was sa exercit in hunting, that na thing mycht be moir plesand to him than chais of wolffis and of vther wylde or ravenus beistis with swyft houndis, for wolffis haboundis in oure regioun, richt cruell & furious, throu þe cald humouris of the samyn. Sik tranquillite wes in his dayis, that the pepill reioisit sikkir peace but ony oppressioun or iniuris throw the seveir iustice of this prince. Quhill at last Bredus of þe Ilis, cousing to Gillus slan afoir be Cadall in Ireland, come with mony langfaddis in Ergile, to revenge the slauchter of Gillus, and vtheris his frendis, slayn with him for that tyme. The pepill, movit (I. 72) be extorsions and herschippis maid on thame be the said Bredus, complenit reuthfully to King Edeir, quhilk wes than at his gaym on the nixt montanis. King Edeir, herand thir tythingis, past that samyn nycht with ane cunpany of chosin men, and brynt first thair langfaddis, that þai mycht haif na refuge to fle in Ireland. And þe nixt morrow he sett on þis Bredus and the residew of his complicis, quhilkis wer finalie takin and put to deth. Eftir this he past in þe Ilis and puneist certane brokin men, quhilkis followit the opinioun of Gillus & Bredus.

How the Britonis send ambassiadouris to Edeir, desiring support aganis Iulius Cesar; of Ederus ansuere; and how the said Iulius was doungein oute of Albion, be support of Scottis. Ca ij

The countre pacifijt in this maner, Edeir returnit to Dunstaffage; and son eftir his returnyng come ambassiadouris of Cassibillane, King of Britonis, desiring support aganis Julius Cesare, the Romane counsalour, quhais army wes reddy, with maist auffle ordinance, to cum in Albion. Thir ambassiadouris wer ressaut with grete humanite, and commandit the next day to propone thair erandis. The morow following Androgeus, a man of grete blude and autorite, said in this maner: ¹ "Nobill prince Edeir, I will say na thing this day
 55 before þis famous auditour, | bot it that sall pertene to the wele of thi realme and liegis. Nature, the propiciant moder of all creaturis, has put in this Ile of Albione thre richt wailzeant pepill; nocht to that behuffe, that be sedicious hatrent ilkane of thame suld vther invaid, lyke ravennous bestis havand no ressoun; bot to incres to giddir with sikkir frendschip, quhairthrow thai may be moir strang to resist thair inimeis, quhen it happinns þame to be invadit. Quhat is he of ressoun, that may beleif or traist ony tranquillite in þi realme, quhen þe
 (I. 73) Britonis ar distroyit be Romanis? Bot gif ane man of wayn foly wald traist the Romanis, quhilkis reiffis scheptouris fra kingis, to be the moir reuthfull to 3ow that we ar distroyit, thou may haif cognoscence be damage of vther pepill, at this vayn opininion is nocht to be apprisit. The Romanis, quhilkis namis thame be proude insolence lordis of the world, now maist odious to all pepill for thair extorsiouns, ar determyt to cum haistlie in Albion, to subdew the samyn to thair empire. Thairfor quhat sall 3e beleif, quhen the Romanis has subdewit ws Britonis, bot with siklyke auarice & tyranny to reif fra 3ow Scottis and Pichtis 3oure landis, lawis, & liberteis? Quhat is thair desyre, bot to sitt doun perpetuallie in oure rowmis, and othir to thirle ws to schaymfull seruitude, or banis

¹ MS. *in this*.

oure maist nobill blude oute of Albion? Thair furious dedis schawis thair tyranny, as may be wele provin to ws be the rewyne of Cartage, sum tyme þe riche ciete, brocht finaly to *nocht*, quhen it was thirlit to Romane empire. And gif sa vncouth history may *nocht* move ȝow, behald the Franche men, ȝoure nyctbouris, quhilkis ar thirlit to *perpetuall* *seruitude*, thair municions & wappinns takin fra thame, sen þai war subdewit. It is *nocht* to be traistit that Romanis salbe moir propiciant to ws Albions, gif we be wincust, than þai haif bene to *vperis* afoir; becauſ þe mair incresſ þair hie pussance, thair tyranny is the mair. Heirfor, lat ws resist thair *commoun* displesouris with all oure pussance, sen the samyn invadis ws equalye. For thir resons belt þe, maist invincibill prince, with vertew and manhede, to support ws be thir þi wailȝeant pepill aganis oure inimeis. Defend oure ald liberte, and haif ferme esperance of victory; sen oure *common* inimeis, but occasioun of iniuris, be insaciabill auarice

(I. 74) intendis to subdew this regioun. Attour, gif we, be beniuolence of goddis, vincus *our* inimeis, we sall conquest *þerby* infinit riches, immortale laude, with *perpetuall* liberte to oure pepill."

Quhen Androgeus had endit this orisoun, he was removit asyde, quhill þe nobillis had avisit quhat was to be done. Eftir mature deliberacioun it wes concludit to send support to Britonis, to resist the hye danger appering to baith þair realmez. And than King Edere maid ansuer in þis maner:

56 | "Welebelout Britonis, ȝe desyre ane thing richt *commenda-*
bill and profitabill to oure *common* wele; moving ws to defend this oure realme fra extreme dangere appering to the samyn. The auarice, riches, and prydefull empire of Romanis ar patent to ws, knawing na thing better, gif þai subdew ȝou be force of armis, but faill to invaid ws nixt, and othir thirle ws to maist wile *seruitude*, or expell ws oute of Albioun. The importabill *dammage* done to Franche men and Spanȝeartis, oure anciant faderis, persuadis ws to haif cognoscence of Romane tyranny. Howbeit it had bene mair honeste to thame, be oure opinioun, to haif fochtin mast stranglie to dede in defence of thair liberte, than to haif reservit thair miserabill lyvis to sik schamfull *seruitude*. Attoure, we knaw, the

Britonis will *nocht* tyne thair liberte, realme, and lawis, but strang bergane ; and, becauss oure common wele may suffir na danger, sa lang as 3e stand in sikkir peace, we ar, be degest counsale, resolut to iupperd oure lyiffis in batell with 3ow, and erar dee maist wail3eantlye in þat maner, gif sik thingis be the pleser of goddis, than to leif in schaym, suffering 3ow, oure tendir frendis, to be reft fra 3oure landis & liberteis ; and, finalie, haif oure native gudis, wiffis and barnis thirlit in our inimeis handis. Heirfor, wee sall cau3 oure army to be send with deligence to Londoun for 3oure support ; and sall requyre Gethus, our confiderat bruther of Pichtis, to doo (I. 75) siklyke, for the naturall affeccioun of oure common wele enforcis ws to the samyn." Eftir this ansuere the ambassidouris wer depescht, and sone eftir returnit to Cassibillane.

Belive, be command of King Edere, war send to Londoun twa nobill men, Cadalane of Brigandis and Dowall of Lorn, with x^m chosin men, quhilkis war plesandlye ressaut be Cassibillane, for þai semyt to support his pepill aganis þe Romanis. In þe mene tyme tythingis come to Cassibillane, schewing how Iulius was arrivit within his seyis, and had slayn ane grete novmer of thame quhilkis war put on þe sey campis to resist his cuming, quhairthrow the pepill was fled, and the said Iulius baner pertlie displayit on þe sey costis. Cassibillane, na litill effrayit of the tythingis, exhortit his folkis to defend thair realme, liberte, wyiffis, and children, quhilkis ar sa deir to mortall pepill, that but thame the lyiff of man is nothir plesand nor sikker ; promittand sikkir victory, becau3 thair inimeis invadit thame but occasioun of iniuris, only be thair insaciabill auarice. The Britonis tuke grete corage be the cuming of Scottis and Pychtis, for þai had grete traist in þair manhede and pussance. Than Cassibillane, but ony moir delay, rasit his camp, and come fordwert aganis his inimeis ; bot first he send ane novmer of hor3men, with certane were cairtis, to brek the ordinance of Romanis ; throw quhilk happin3it twa litill skarmusingis be indifferent victory.

57 And sone eftir baith þe armyis iunytt, | quhairthrow followit ane doutesum bergane, be fer3 fecchting on all sydis ; quhill at last, be cuming of new cunpanijs with the princes of Walis

and Cornwall, with huge noyis and sound of bellis hyngand on the bardingis, the Romanis war astunyst, and finalie put to flicht. On quhom followit þe Albianis in sik fury, but array, that pai tuk moir skaith than thai did to thair inimeis; for the Romanis wer sa crafty in þair fleying, that oftymis thai resistit þe chais and renewit bergane; throu quhilk was (I. 76) vntelland murdir on all sydis, and cessit nochȝt quhill þe nycht severit thame.

Cesar, brokin of his ordinance in þis maner, collekkit the residew of his army, and causit his woundit men to be brocht to þe schippis, with purpoß the nixt morow to revenge the displesoure done be the Albyanis. Nochtttheles, herand that ane grete part of his navy was brokin be violence of seyis, he dred that the tynsale of his schippis suld be na leß disconnfort to his folkis than corage to his fais; heirfoir supersedit his intent, quhill a tyme apperit moir according to his desyris, and tuke purpos to repair his navy. Sone eftir brocht þe residew of his army to ane grete strenth, quhair na pepill mycht invaid him, and þe nixt nycht pullit vp salis with the schippis quhilkis wer reddy, and arryvit in France; levand behynd him a huge tresoure and riches, quhilkis mycht nochȝt be tursit with him for penurite of schippis. The first cuming of Iulius in Albion was fra þe begynnynge of þe warld ^{v^m} j^c xxxix ȝeris, befor the Incarnacioun lx ȝeris, and in the iiij ȝere ¹ of the regne of King Edere.

How Iulius returnit in Britan and maid it tributar to Romane empyre; off his message send to þe Scottis and Pichtis; and of thair ansuere.

Ca iij

Iulius dungin oute of Albioun in this maner, the Albionis partit the spulȝeis amang thame be ryte of armis, gretelie reiosing of this victory, and maid sacrifice in the honour of goddis, havand confidence to be deliuerit perpetuallie of Romane iniuris, and neuer to be invaidit agane be ony vncouth

¹ MS. *ȝeris*.

weris. Cadallane & Dowall, richelie revardit be Cassibillane, returnit with the army of Scottis to King Edeir, and schew him how Cesar, wincust, had lost ane large part of his army, and dungin be force of batell in France ; the Albanis be huge spulzeis, falling to thame be chance of victory, wer richit, and conquest sik gloir, that the Romanis suld be litill estemyt tymis cuming amang þe Albanis ; attour, schew how the Scottis be merciall dedis had conquest sik indeficient kyndnes of Britonis, that na pepill suld be mair dere to thame in tymis cuming. Edeir, reiosit of thir tythingis, commandit generall processionns and sacrifice to be maid in the honour of goddis. Eftir this followit sa incredibill blyithnes amangis the Scottis, (I. 77) Britonis & Pichtis, that thai apperit to leif in tymes cuming in perpetuall peace.

The nixt 3ere following King Edere past to Inuernes, quhair he be merchandis of France was aduerteist that Iulius had pacifijt France to his impyre, and was providing ane new army to return in Britan, to revenge the iniuris done to him in the 3ere afoir. Edeir, hering thir tythingis, send his ambassiadouris to Cassibillane, to schew þe hye dangeris apperand to his realme, and promittit x^m chosin men to support him, as 58 he did afoir. Thir ambassiadouris | cumin to Lundoun, schew thir offeris to Cassibillane. Nochþeles, the Britonis, movit be vayn arrogance, that the gloir of victory suld noch be takin fra þame, refusit to haif supple of Scottis or Pichtis, and ansuerit, þai war noch brocht to sik febilnes, to haif support of nychtbouris all tyme quhen inimeis list invaid thame, and thairfor had the samyn pussance that 3ere as þai had afoir, quhen thai dantit the Romanis. Edeir and his nobillis had na litill admiracioun of the arrogance of Britonis refusing his support aganis the Romanis, dantaris of the warld, and iugit þerfor the nobill realme of Britan, be pryde of ane small victory, to sustene sum tyme grete displesour ; quhilk was wele sene in þe end of thir weeris. For Iulius within schort tyme returnyt in thir landis ; at quhais cuming the pepill quhilk war left to resist him, effrayit be infinit multitude of schippis, fled awaye. Nochþeles Cassibillane sett on his army, and thre sindry tyme put þe Romanis abak ; bot at

last he was disconnfist, and his maist wailjeant capitanis takin or slayn. Finalie this Cassibillane, brokin ilk daye with new displesouris, disparit of help, throw irrecoouerabill skaithis randrit him to Iulius, and gaif plegis for his realme to remane tributar, as Romane province, to þe said Iulius. Cassibillane, ʒoldin in this maner, was commandit to pay ʒerely iij^m li sterling to Iulius in maner of tribute.

- (I. 78) Sik thingis done, Iulius *with* all his nobillis enterit in London, and remanit thair quhill his ordinance was refrescht to pas on the Scottis and Pichtis. The motive of Iulius weris, movit aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis, wes the support maid be thame aganis his weeris in þe ʒere afoir. *Nochtwith*standing, he thoct best to assailþe thair myndis first, quhethir thai list haif were or pece : peace, gif þai wald be subdewit to þe Romane impire, and were, gif thai wald rebell aganis þe samyn. Sik thingis done, he send his ambassiadouris to the confideratt kingis, declarand how all realmez in erd war subdewit to Romane empire be favour of goddis, quhilkis gaif þe impire of erd to sindry naciouns : sum tyme to the Assirianis, to the Medis, to þe Persanis, and sum tyme to the Grekis, bot now instantlye to the Romanis. “ For few placis bene in erd, quhar the Romane swerd *nocht* bene victorious ; for thai haif subdewit to thame all Affrik, Egipt, Araby, Iowry, Parthia, Troy, Thebes, Asia, Macedon, all Greece, France, Spanʒe, and now laitlie Britan. All regions inviround with þe oceane seyis bene obeysant to the Romane Empire. All pepill knawis thair pussance ; na honeste nor sikkirnes in erd, bot quhair the Romanis bene masteris ; for thai ar the port & sikkir refuge of all pepill ; quhais gloir is to defend thair subdittis and frendis in iustice and faith. For thir causis it wer na litill honour to Scottis & Pichtis to be confideratt in frend-
- (I. 79) schip and amite *with* Romanis, quhilkis has sa mony realmez and kingis vnder thair obeisance. This is þe commande of Iulius for the singulare commodite of baith þe Scottis and Pichtis, leß þan thai, be *perverst* mynde, wald be repugnant
- 59 to þe goddis, quhilkis has | determyt to bring the world vnder Roman empire.”

Edeir and his counsale, herand this message, vnderstude

the colourit dissait of Romanis, and ansuerit *perfor*, thai wald defend thair children, wiffis, landis and liberteis to thair vtter pussance, and erar iupart thame to maist dangerous *perrell* than to leif in *seruitude*. For the fayme of Romanis was *nocht* knawin to thame, bot in safer as thai war repute, abone ingyne of man, maist auaricius thevis and reffaris of realmez, depyryng kingis be fenzeit causis and slychtis, subdewing fre pepill be manifest tyranny to *seruitude*. *Nochtwithstanding*, gif the Romanis, movit but occasioun of iniuris, bot onlie of corruppit malice, happinitt to invaid thame be iniust batall, pai tuke the goddis, quhilkis ar pvnesaris of all wrangis extersiouns on the innocentis, in witnes, to fecht to þe deth for the defence of thair landis and liberte, quhill ane of þame war on lyiff. The ambassiadouris, havand sik ansuere of the Pichtis, wer depeschit, and returnit to Iulius.

Quhen Iulius had herd this ansuere of Scottis and Pichtis, he send to thame his secund message, with mair dispitfull chargis, as eftir followis: "The grete Cesar, Romane counsulour, commandis þou, King Edere, with thir þoure subditis, to submytt þow to the maist pussant Romanis, dantaris of the warld, in auenture þe bring þoure self be imprudent weeris to vtter rwyne. Behald þe irrecoverabill skaithis of vther pepill. Considdir the fayme & pussance of Roman maieste. Dar þe assailþe thame be chance of armys, as þoure *nychtbouris* the Britonis has done, quhilkis ar be fulich bergane slayn, takin, and brocht to *perpetuall seruitude*? Quhatt pussance maye þe haif aganis the dantaris of þe warld? Haif þe that vane confidence that Romanis may be þoure febill strenthis be wyncust? Or traist þe that þe warld may be deliuerit owte of the Romane *seruitude* be þou, barbour pepill, (I. 80) duelling in þe end of þe warld? Haif þe *nocht* cognoscence how þair bene mony Romanis champions, na leß active than Cesar in wisdome, manhede, and cheualry, quhais illuster dedis has decorit all regiouns quhare þe son schynis? And þit is moir difficill to wincuß Cesar him allane, than to conquess or subdew þe vniuersall warld. How is this presumptuous foly cumin to þow in contempcioun of þe goddis, quhilkis, be

propiciant fauour, hes determyt to subdew all realmez to Romane *seruitude*? Traist 3e to mak þe Romanis wery and fatigatt be straitnes of 3oure craggis, montanis, or marressis? Or belief 3e, be penurite of vittalis, that Romanis may be constrennyt to mak na residence in 3oure realme? 3e be dissavit, gif sik confidence be in 3ow, for certan sik *impedimentis* sall
 60 move na mair the Romanis | fra thair purpos, than 3oure regeouns wer plentewis of all maner of froittis and necessaris to sustene thir weris. For the Romanis has experience abone the ingyne of all vther pepill, and maist crafty in cheualry, richt agill of body, swyft to chais, and habill for all maner of iuppardeis, rycht laborious, of litill mete or sleip, and daylie exercit in batell, with sik providence þat vittalis salbe brocht to þame owte of all regeouns adiacent, gif neid beis, for Cesar has ane ripe witt for euery cais that may happin. Tharfor, gif 3e be prudent men, havand miseracioun of 3oure lyvis, provyde now maist profoundlie that 3e bring *nocht* importabill skathis to 3our self be 3oure fulich weeris, and finalie drevin be force of armys to wile *seruitude* and vtter exterminacioun of 3oure wiffis and bairnis. Howbeit, 3e maye haif now moir honest condicionis of peace afor his victory than eftir. And be sover, gif 3e, be perverst mynde, be repugnant to thir Romane chargis, 3e salbe reft baith of 3oure landis and liberteis, and finaly brocht to sik disperacioun, that 3e sall neuer haif esperance to recouer 3oure liberte."

Eftir thir wourdis sik fury & noyis rais amangis the Scottis, sa impacient to here þame self put to *seruitude*, that thir ambassiadouris had bene slayn fra hand, wer *nocht* þe law of nature, quhilk oure forbearis had ay in solempnit reuerence, sauffit þaim. *Nocht*theles ansuere was gevin to thame be Cadallane in þe Kingis name as followis: "Suppois the Scottis
 (I. 81) be sum opinions ar repute *nocht* suspect, bot of dull ingyne, 3ite þe dissaitfull and plesand wourdis of Cesare may persuaid þame na mair than his maist grevous boist to tyne thair liberte, but extreme iuppardy of batell. For thai bene in vse to obey pair native kingis, and to na revaris of vncouth realmez. And perfor be lang consultacioun thai ar profoundlie resolut to haif na frendship nor amite with Romanis, havand thair

dispite and tiranneis in perpetuall defiance, and committis thair iust cauß to the goddis."

Iulius, aduertist of the ansuer of Scottis & Pichtis, become richt furious & wod, and maid his ordinance incontinent to repres thair rebellioun. The samyn tyme Iulius was aduerteist, be writingis of Labienus his admirall, that Normandis & Pykardis, quhilkis war pacifijt at his departing, wer new rebellit. Als Cornutus had rasit grete trouble in France, and slayn Transgerius, quhilk wes chosin be Romanis to be king thair of to hald þe samyn vnder þer empire. Iulius, herand thir tythingis, left his cuming in Scotlannd. Attour, becaus vittalis war skant in his army, and als amang the Britonis, havand na hoip that ony vther vittalis suld cum in thair realme, becauß it was in þe winter sesoun, quhen tempestius violence of seyis makis impedimentis to all passingeris: for thir cauß Iulius gaderit þe residew of his army to giddir, and returnit with þe samyn in France, levand behynd him Britan tributar to his empire, and þe Scottis litill abasit of his weeris.

- 61 This history of þe cuming of Cesar and | his army in Britan and subdewing of it to his empire, nocht far discordand fra the wourdis of Cesar in his *Commentaris*, ar drawin oute of Verimond, Campbell and vtheris autouris. Nochttheles, it is said in oure wlgare cornikillis that Iulius come to the Callendar Wode, and kest down Camelon, the principale ciete of Pichtis, eftir that the samyn was randrit to him; syne left behynd him, nocht far fra Carroun, ane round houß of square stanis, xx elns of hycht & xij elns of breid, in perpetuall memory of his cuming to that place. Vtheris sayis he vsit that houß as his tent in all his wayage, havand it ay tursit with him, and was callit Iulius Hoyff. Nochttheles, becauß na historianis rehervis the weris maid be Iulius aganis the Scottis (I. 82) and Pichtis, we latt þame pas, and will inseyr na thing in this oure werk, bot sa mekill as we maye preif be famous and attentik autouris. As to this hous, it is rownd, as we may se 3ite, havand na wyndoys bot abone, in maner of þe anciant tempillis quhilkis ar 3ite sene in Rome, with benkis of stayn gangand rowynd abowte within. The flure of it has bene of squair stanis, and þe herne, quhilk is þe Romane ansen3e,

ingravit in þe samyn ; bot now be rowist of ȝeris is worn awaye. In it was ane huge stayn, standand to the sowth ; on the quhilkis the Gentilis maid thair sacrifice. Thairfor vtheris famous autouris writis this tempill was biggit be Wespasian, in honour of Claudius the empriour and of Victory ; and was bett doun be Edward Langschankis, quhen he ourraid mekle of Scotland, as we sall eftir schaw.

How the tratoure Murkete and his complicis war punyst for thair cruelteis ; of the deth of King Edere ; of the vicious King Ewyn, and of his lawis and deceß.

C iiij

Eftir the diffyance send to Iulius, as said is, Edere assemblit ane strang army of chosin men fra all boundis of his realme to resist the said Iulius, knawing na thing the impedimentis of Iulius weris. And quhen his army was gaderit in maner forsaid, Murkett, quhilk was nepott to Gillus afoir slayn, arryvit in þe Ilis with ane grete cunpany of Ireland theiffis, knawand wele the pepill drawin oute of all partis be Edeir to resist the Romanis, and thair slew ane grete novmer of wiffis, barnis, and agit persons, quhilkis war left at hayme for impotent peple. Aganis quhom was send Cadallane with ane novmer of chosin men, quhilkis come with sik deligence on him and his cunpany that he tuke thair schippis and restorit the gudis and presonaris takin be thame ; sone eftir apprehendit the said Murkett with his complicis, and put thame to deth. Quhen King Edere had pacifijt the realme in þis maner, he had þe residew of his realme but ony domestik or vncowth weris, and decessit þe xlvij ȝere of his regne, in 62 þe xxvj ȝere of þe empire of August, fra the begyn- | nyng of
(I. 83) the world v^m j^clxxxiiij ȝeris. His body was beryt in Dunstaffage, aboute quhom war rasis mony hye pillaris in memorie of his nobill dedis.

This Edere mycht haif bene callit ane happy prince, baith levand and dede, for his singular vertew, war noch he left ane vicious prince, his son, Ewyn, the thrid of that name, to

succeid eftir him. This Ewyn, eftir the deth of his fader, was maid king, quhom þe pepill traistit to haif bene ane nobill king. Bot the first ȝere of his empire he was gevin to sik vnbridillit lust that he past abone the common insolence of ȝowth as maist effeminate persoun, havand with him to satisfy his vndantit lust ane hundreth concubynis, chosin of the nobillest matronis and virginis of the countre; and þocht he wes irkit of sa surfett novmer, ȝite he couth neuer be saciatt, as ane diffamyt creature. Eftir this, be impulsoun of corruppit harlottis and lownys, quhilkis wer promovit fra povert to grete riches be assistance to his vice, he banyst ane certane of his nobillis, and vtheris slew be tresoun, that he mycht þe moir esily inclyne to his lustis; finalie settand his mynde to murdir all thame be fenȝeit causis quhilkis hatit or abhorrit his corruppit maneris. This corruppit tiran, gevin to maist abhominabill cruelteis & vice, envennomit the countre vj ȝeris, with na leß infelicite than schayme, be counsale of ane vykkit cunpany applauding to his vices, havand na sicht to his honour & schaym, bot only to pair singular advantage. Sone eftir, this tiran become sa auaricius that, but ony reuerence to the law of God, or man, he spulȝeit sindry his subdittis, be fenȝeit occasioun, of thair landis & gudis, and grew in sic fury that he nureist with him self common theiffis, to reffe þe commons, participant with thame in pair pelff. With mony vther dedis nocht wourthy to be rehersit, he maid lawis that his liegis sall haif als mony wyiffis as thai may sustene eftir thair faculte: that þe wiffis of commons suld be fre to the nobillis: and the lord of þe ground sall haif the madinhede of all virgynnis duelling on the samyn. And þocht the first twa lawis was reuokit schort tyme eftir be the Counsale, ȝit þis last law was sa plesand to the nobillis, beand ȝoung, that it couth nocht be abrogatt; quhill at last King Malcolm Canmoir and his blissit quene Sanct Margarete (I. 84) thoct the samyn iniurious baith to God & man, and sollistit the lordis to adnull the samyn, gevand þerfor ane goldin penny, callit merchetis, quhilk is ȝite payit to þe lord of þe ground, quhen virginis ar to be marijt, in redempcioun of thair honour & chastite.



Bot I will return agane till Ewyne, quhais horribill wices, drevin in euey manis eyir, maid the nobillis to detest his abhominabill lyiff, thynkand vnwourthy that sik ane effiminate monstour suld be prince to thame, and *perfor* conspyrit aganis
 63 him. Ewyne, knawing the | conspiracioun, accompanyit with ane few novmer of his opinioun, enterit in feild aganis his nobillis, quhair he was sone takyn and put in ward. Eftir this ane counsale was sett, in the quhilk wes decernyt that Cadallane suld be *gouernour* during *pe* lyiff of Ewyn, and the said Ewyne, deprivit of princely honouris, to remane in *perpetuall* ward. Nochpeles the first nycht that he was put in *pe* samyn he was slayn be ane 3oung childe, belevand to haif revarde for the samyn, quhilk was iustifijt eftir. This end maid Ewyn. but airis of his body, the vij 3ere of his regnne, in *pe* xxxij 3ere of the empire of August.

Off the happy King Metallane ; and of *pe* Natiuite of Cryist ; and how Caratak was maid king.

Ca v

(I. 85) Ewyne slayn in this maner, Metallane, nevo to Edeir of his bruther Carron, was maid king, maist humyll prince that was in to his dayis, havand this realme during his tyme but troubill. This prince was beneuolus to his pepill, and richt deuote eftir the ryte of religioun in *pai* dais. He maid grete labouris to abrogatt the curst lawis of Ewyne ; *nocht* theles, at the instance of 3oung nobillis, quhilkis war gevin to thair sensualite, he desistit fra his purpos.

The samyn tyme come the Roman ambassiadouris to Kymbalyne, King of Britonis, thankand him that he *perseuerit* in pece & amite *with* the senatt and pepill of Rome ; schewing als that *pe* erd was pecifijt that tyme, vnder the empire of August, with moir tranquillite than euir was sene in ony tyme afor ; exhorting the Britonis, be exempill of vther pepill, to keip pece and concord amang thame, but ony occasioun of debaittis, quhilkis doyngis suld pertene na less to the felicite of all pepill than to *perpetuall* memory of August the Roman

Empriour. Ane schort tyme eftir, the samyn ambassiatouris come to Metallane, desyring siklyke thingis of him. King Metallane, herand be thame that all pepill was brocht to tranquillite vnder the empire of August, send mony riche iowellis to be offerit to August and his Romane goddis ; throw quhilk Metellane gat perpetuall amite and kyndnes of Romanis, quhilk indurit mony 3eris eftir. Off this message send be August to the Britonis writtis Strabo in his buke of geocraphy callit The Discripcioun of þe Erdis, in quhilk is schawin þe situacioun of Britan, with þe maneris of þe inhabitantis þerof.

The world beand thus in peace, Criste Oure Saluoure was borne of the Virgyn Mary, dochter of Anna and Ioachim, in Bethlem, ciete of Iowry, the tyme quhen the scheip hirdis, herand the sound of angellis, and thre kingis, gydit be the stern, come to the place quhair Oure Saluour was born. Mony vncouth and straynge miraculis apperit in þe tyme of Cristis birth, as Haly Write schawis, quhilk fell in þe x 3ere
64 of þe regne of Metellan, | and in xliij 3ere of þe empire of August, fra the begynnyng of Scotland iij^e xxx, fra the begynnyng of the world, v^m j^e lxxxxix 3eris.

King Metellane rang mony 3eris eftir in grete pece, richt thankfull & plesand to his liegis, with sik felicite that his faym was patent throw all boundis of Albion, and decessit
(I. 86) þe xxxix 3ere of his regnne, and the xiiij 3ere of Tiberius, fra the natiuite of Criste xxix 3eris. The samyn tyme flurist in Rome the prince of Latyn poetis, Virgill, with Horace, Ovide, Tullius Cicero, Marcus Varro, Strabo, Titus Liuius, Salustius, with mony vther naturall and morall philosiphouris. Sik fouth of vertew and *lettere*z multiplijt in þai dayis, be felicite of þe birth of Criste, the gevar of science & grace, for apperandlye was neuir sene sa mony eloquent poetis and profound clerkis levand at anys as wes that tyme, quhen God maid cunpany with man in erd. Bot we will return to oure history. Metellane, in this maner decessit, had na airis gottin of his body, throw quhilk þe croun come to Karatak, son of þe vailzeant Cadallane afoir rehersit, quhilk was nepott to Metellan of his sister Europea.

How Caratak pecifijt his realme ; how the Britonis,
 rebelland aganis þe Romanis, wer disconfit ; and
 how þai send to the Scottis for support. Ca vj

Caratacus, declarit king in this maner, resaut the huge
 tresoure and riches gaderit be Metallane, quhen he was
 agit, quhair throw he excedit all the pepill of Albioun in riches.
 Eftir his coronacioun past with ane certane of his nobillis
 throw all the boundis of his realme. And becauſs he was
 admonist that the capitane of Ilis wer rebellet aganis him, he
 passit in þe samyn, quhare he with grete labour and difficulte
 dantit the wilde myndis of the samyn, and put the principale
 movaris of that conspiracioun to deth. The countre pacifijt
 in this maner, he returnit to Carrik, quhar sum tyme was ane
 riche ciete of that samyn name, in the quhilk Caratak maid
 his speciall residence, for he was nureist in þe samyn.

Sik thingis done in Scotlannd, decessit Kymbalyne, King of
 Britonis, quhilk was in ȝowth *with* sik familiarite *with* August
 that he held þe Britonis ay vnder þe Roman opinioun. Eftir
 (I. 87) quhom succedit Giderius, quhilk, seying his realme stabillit,
 thocht hevy to be thirlit to Romane *seruitude*. Movit heirfor
 be vane esperance to recover his liberte, convenit all his
 nobillis to ane counsale, quhair he, be lang orison, complenit
 how his realme and liegis, be tiranny of Romanis, wes haldin
 vnder vyle *seruitude*, and nocht onlie his mvnicionis & strang
 townis war garnist aganis him with Romane sodiouris, bot
 als his rebellis war resett be thame, in damage of the com-
 moun wele of his realme. Attour, the nobillis *sonnis*, quhilkis
 war gevin to thame as pleggis, war constrennyt, abone þe
 condicionis of pece, to suffir incredibill iniuris and couth
 65 nocht be | deliuerit, quhill þai wer devorit in presoun. For
 sik cauſs he vnderstude thai *mycht* na weye recouer thair
 liberte, withoute þai rebellit and na langar sustenit the Romane
 ȝok. Quhen thir wourdis war said with grete maieste be
 Giderius, apperit in þe visage of his nobillis and *commonis*
 na leſs fury than desyre to recover thair liberte, and thairfor
 with ane consent concludit to suffer na langar the Romane

seruitude. Incontinent thai went to harnes, and slew all nobillis Romanis quhilkis war foundin or takin owte of thair municions or strenthis.

Sone eftir Gyderius assemblit ane strang army, and thocht be force of pepill and suddand assaltis to tak the strenthis and vtheris his townis, or þe senatt and pepill of Rome war aduerteist thair of. Nocthþeles, Claudius Empriour was sone admonist herof, and send twa Romane capitanis, callit Aulus Plancius and Gneus Sencius, in Britan *with* mony Roman liegeouns to repres thair rebellioun. Thir capitanis at thair cuming in Britan reparit the municions quhilkis war vnder the Romane obeisance with new vittalis, sodiouris, and vþeris siklyke ordinance to resist þe Britonis. And that þai suld *nocht* be segitt within thair strenthis, thai brocht thair army to þe planis, quhair þai percatt thame to be reddy for batell, quhen þair inimeis list invaid thame. *Nocht* lang eftir, Gyderius arrayit his folkis, and sett on þe Romanis with sa kene bergane that victory was lang vncertane, the Britonis fechtand for redempcioun of thair liberte, and the Romanis for þe maistry, bot at last þe victory succedit to the Romanis. The nixt summyr wes frequent and continewall skarmusching, with na litill slauchter on athir syde. The nixt wynter þe Romane army kepit þame within þair camp, and the sodiouris within þair municions.

The samyn tyme certane ambassiatouris wer send be Gyderius to Karatak, King of Scottis, quhilkis said to him in þis maner: "Richt nobill prince Karatak, we think it racionabill that þai quhilkis desyris support of vncowth realmez, as wee doo, gif na amite be deseruit, to schaw quhat thingis bene most proffittabill to baith þe realmez in thair desyris, that siklyke thankis failþe *nocht*, gif it be requyrit, in that samyn maner. For thir causis we, þe ambassiatouris (I. 88) of Britonis, opprest with importabill iniuris of Romanis, ar cumin here, humilie desyring þoure support. And þocht þe Romanis be ane pepill maist pussant in riches and chevelry, zite þai may be wincust, as we beleiff. For Cesar, the Romane Empriour, was doung oute of Albion be vertew & manhede of þoure eldaris, eftir that all France, Spanþe, Almany, Grece,

Asia, Egypt, and Aphrik was subdewit to him. And thir, quhilkis intendis now to invaid ws, ar bot þe refuse of Cesar army, and may be wincust to 3oure moir honour, gif þe goddis stand propiciant, that þai call thame self dantaris of þe warld, and 3ow bot last pepill of the samyn. To expell thir oure commoun inimeis oute of þe boundis of Albion, wee desyre 3oure support, sen þe samyn may noch be done be oure pussance. Quhilk thing, gif 3e haif sicht to auld amyte, and

66 support ws in þis | maist danger, sall noch onlie bring 3ow to honour and proffite, bot als to perpetuall faym: first, becauþ 3e help ws, 3oure ald frendis, quhilkis ar iniurit but ony occasioun of batell, fra this hie dayngear of oure inimeis, sen na thing may be in erd sa honest and plesand amang levand creaturis as defend ther commoun liberte and natyve goddis; secundlie, becaus 3e sall deliuer 3oure realme and pepill fra hie danger that may sum tyme fall on 3ow, for the Romanis, 3oure dedelie inimeis, intendis now to subdew ws, that thair passage may be the mair patent to 3ow. Latt ws thairfor expell thame owte of Albion with all oure pussance. Sen thir thingis ar trew, maist wailþeant men, 3oure part suld be to strenth þis 3oure realme with all maner of municious aganis the Romanis, gif 3e haif respect to 3oure lyiff or common wele; quhilk may be done with small difficulte, gif 3e and Pichtis concurris to ws equalie aganis oure common inimeis; quhilk sall pertene, as we dar wele afferm, na leþ to 3oure commoun wele than to ouris. For quhen þe Romanis has vincust and spulþeit ws of oure substance, and brocht Britan, as thair provynce, vnder tributt, 3e wilbe the moir habill to be subdewit to þair impyre. Heirfor, latt ws now assailþe oure inimeis be chance of batell, quhill we haif strenth, and may throw athir help be sufficient to withstand þaim. For certane, gif the Albanis concur to giddir with ane mynde & power, thai sall tak als mekill fra þe Romanis, as the Romanis

(I. 89) has wonnyn on ony vther pepill. Heirfor, latt þe pussance of Scottis, Britonis, and Pichtis equalie concur to giddir to defend the commoun liberte, and to eschew the dangere apperand. For gif it happinns ws to be wincust, quhilk God forbid, 3ite it may be na reproche to ws, becaus we ar noch

vincust than with ane pepill, bot with the pussance of the world. And gif we be victorius, as oure iust accioun fermlye belevis, the victory salbe na leß gloir and proffitt to 3ow than to ws ; throw quhilk we salbe perpetually avansit and estemyt with all pepill."

Off the ansuere maid to the Britonis be Karatak ;
and how the Britonis wer disconnfit agane. Ca vij

Quhen this orisoun wes endit in maner forsaid, Karatak maid ansuere as followis : " Had 3e Britonis nocht refusit oure support, offerit to 3ow frelie, quhen Iulius, the Romane counsalour, invadit 3ou afoir, it suld *nocht* be necessair to 3ou this day to seyke support at ws, nor 3it necessair to ws to move oure army aganis Romanis ; for we mycht than, with baith oure puyssance iunyt to giddir, diffyitt *our* inimeis in sik maner that we mycht bene deliuerit of all dedelie feir, and reiosit oure rowmis in Albion with perpetuall rest. *Nochttheles*,
67 as men sayis, | bettir laite than *neuer* thrive. Now is *nocht* to be devisit how we mycht haif dantit þe Romanis in tyme bygane, bot how we may now eschew þe hie danger appering. 3e complen 3ow, 3e ar invadit be ane maist riche & gredy pepill, be quhom 3e haif bene subdewit mony 3ere afoir in 3our avne defalt, and sa lang as 3e ar severit amang 3oure self be civill weeris, as I knaw wele 3e ar, 3oure *commoun* wele salbe ¹ thirlit to grete *dammmage*, and neur recouer 3oure liberte. 3oure principale municionis & townis ar stuffit with
(I. 90) Romane soidjouris, and 3oure planis ar garnyst *with* thair camp and ordinance. Attoure, we heir that Claudius Cesar and Vespasiane, his college, admonist of 3oure instant rebelloun, ar reddy within schort dayis to cum in 3oure realme *with* mony Roman legionis. Thairfor I think, sen 3e ar brokin with sa mony calamiteis and batellis, howbeit the hail powere of Albion wer concurrant *with* 3ow, 3e can *nocht* resist the Romanis for this tyme, leß than the goddis wer repugnant to thame. For thir causis best is to mitigatt all sedicionis

¹ MS. omits *salbe* ; insertion in text from A.

amang ȝoure self, and supersede ȝoure weris for ane tyme, settand ȝoure labour with maist crafty ingyne to transport this dangerus batell on France. And to wirk this prudentlie, ȝe mon sollist ȝe Normandis, Picardis, Bertineris, Almanis, with all vther pepill liand on the bordour of France, to rebell aganis the Romanis, in hoipe of recouering of thair liberte; promittand thame, gif ȝai will assist to ȝoure rebelloun, to geif thame schippis, weirmen, gold, and all vther necessaris pertenand to weerly ordinans; and consididir with all pepill that has the Romanis in hatrent. Gif this may be done, the Romanis sall haif occasioun to move thair army aganis France, throw quhilk we salbe this ȝere in tranquillite, and the moir habill the nixt ȝere to withstand oure said inimeis. Gif this may na way be wrocht, and na refuge, bot fecht aganis thame, than I think all ȝe pepill of Albion suld assembl to giddir to fecht for oure liberte to the dede, havand na respect to oure lyiff, bot onlie to oure gloir & honour, and erar dee vail-ȝeantlye and vindicatt oure hatrent on our inimeis, than to prolong our lyiff with miserabill seruitude."

The ambassiatouris, glaid of this ansuer, gaif thankis to Karatak and his nobillis, praying ȝe goddis to send thame victory, sen thai wer inflammyt safer for the commoun wele to refuse na chance of batell, and returnit syne to Gyderius. Gyderius,¹ instruct with ȝe wise counsale of Karatak, send his ambassiadouris to persuaid the Normandis, Picardis, Bertaners, and all vther pepill of ȝe sey costis to rebell aganis the

68 Romanis; saying na thing wes moir abhominabill | to fre
 pepill than seruitude, contrar thair native lawis, to be sub-
 dewit to Romanis, quhilkis wer ane proude and cruell pepill,
 daylie exerceing be thair tiranny new and importabill con-
 dicionis of seruitude on the plegis of subdewit realmis, quhilkis
 condicionis wer sa schaymfull that na maner of deth suld be
 refusit to recover thair liberte, for but ȝe samyn the lyif of

(I. 91) man is nocht. Heirfor, be strong rebelloun the Romanis
 suld be inuadit, and thair soidjouris slayn in all partis quhair
 thai may be apprehendit; schewing als, to supple thair
 rebelloun the kingis of Albion suld furnes thame all maner

¹ MS. omits.

of necessaris. And to move thame the moir thairto, schew how the Romanis quhilkis wer *cumin* laitlie with Plancius, wer be ythand skarmussingis sa invadit be Britonis that thair horsmen and maist wailzeant capitanis wer slayn, and the remanent doungin abak to the seyis and to thair strenthis, quhilkis wer segit than instantlie be force of Britonis, and reddy to be takin; quhairthrow all municionis vnder Romane dominioun salbe haistely randerit in þe Britonis handis, and the Romanis doungin oute of all partis of Britan and France, gif þe Franche men, Britonis, and vther pepill concurrith *with* thame.

The cetezanis of Tervana in Flandris, to quhom þir ambassiatouris come first, richt desyrus to recover thair liberte, refusit *nocht* thair offeris. *Nocht*theles, þe charge was sa hye that þai couth *nocht* ansuer, quhill þai wer avisit *with* thair *nychtbouris*, and thairfor desyrit thame to mak thair secrete residence in Calice, quhill þai had explorit of ¹ thair *nychtbouris* myndis. The nixt day thir ambassiatouris past to Calice, quhair thai remanit, abyding þe ansuere of Franche men.

Sik thingis done in France, wes schewin to Gyderius how Aulus Plancius had rasit his camp, and maid grete herschippis be fyre and swerd on all the landis of Britan quhilkis leiffitt at his opinioun. Gyderius, admonist herof, arrayit his folkis, and past fordwert to meit the said Plancius. And quhen he come in his inimeis sycht, he dividit his army in sindry batellis, and closit the samyn with weire cairtis and wanyis on all sydis, except þe part formentis thair inimeis, to that fyne that his folkis suld haif na place to fle; and maid thair wyiffis to be sett in þe samyn, to geif thair husbandis corage to fecht, and to schaym thame quhilkis fled. Plancius, dividing his army in thre batellis, likewise sett on þe Britonis, and be blast of trumpett come sa ferslie on thame that þai had na laser to schute þair arrowis. Throw quhilk þai war constrenyt onlie to fecht with suerdis in sycht of thair wyiffis, quhilkis exhortit þame to prove þair manhede in sik maner þat þai
69 | mycht be deliuerit of Romane *servitude*. Eftir followit ane maist furius batell, bot finalie the Romanis, be multitude of

¹ MS. of is blurred as if for cancellation, but not certainly cancelled.

pepill and craft of weirfar, become victorius, and the Britonis put to flycht ; amang quhom Gyderius thair king wes slayn, and huge novmer of wemen smorit in þe cairtis be preiſſ of diſconnfiſt flearis. The chaiſſ eftir this victory ceſſit noch (I. 92) quhill the Britonis war drevin be continewall flicht to þe ryver of Garieme, quhilk wes ſex mylis fra the place quhair the campe wes diffayit. This victory was noch richt plesand to Romanis, for Gneus Censius, þe college of Plancius, with mony vther Roman nobillis wer ſlan in þe ſamyn.

This vnhappy batell ſchawin in France, all the pepill thairof began diſparit of ony recouering of thair liberte ; throw quhilk thir ambassiatouris, quhilkis wer afoir abyding in Calice on þe Franche menis anſuere, returnit agane in Britan, but ony expedicioun of thair message.

How Claudius Empriour, cumand in Britan, tuke the Britonis to his mercy, and ſubdewit the realme of Orknaye to his empire ; of the cumin of Sanct Petir in Italie ; & of þe Aſſumpcioun of Our Ladye.

Ca viij

A ne ſchort tyme eftir, Claudius the Empriour and Vaspasiane arrivit with ane grete army in Britan. The Britonis, herand of thir tythingis, wer aſtuneist. Nochththeles, thai ſend thair oratouris to excuse thame, ſaying pair offence aganis the Romane maieste wes committit be evill counſale, and for that cauſſ thai war reddy to repair the ſamyn and be obeisand to thair lawis in tyme cuming. Claudius, herand thair excuse, commandit certane pleggis of the beſt and wourthieſt of thair realme to be brocht to him at ane prefixt day, with intimacioun, gif thai wer repugnant, he ſuld perſew thame to thair vtter exterminacion. The nobillis, knowing na reſuſe, gaif pleggis and come to Londoun at the day assignit ; & becauſe thai couth noch excuse thair offence, thai fell on kneis, deſyring grace vnder quhat condicioun of ſeruitude he pleaſit, and ſweir be thair godis, quhilkis had ſufficientlye pvneist pair offence, neuir to rebell aganis him in tyme

(I. 93) *cuming*, and gif þai failzeit, all vengeance in erd to fall on thame & thair posterite. Eftir þir petuous wourdis, ane part of Romanis counsalit þe Empriour to pvneis thair tresonabill conspiracioun, slayand the principall movaris of the samyn, or ellis the Britonis couth neuir be haldin at thair opinioun. Be the contrair, Vespasiane, for mony ressonis, exhortit him to ressaif þame to his mercy, becaus ane prince but mercy may wele be dred, bot neuir luffit. Als it pertenit to þe Romane maieste to haif miseracioun on thair subdittis, defending thame fra all inimeis, quhen þai wer brocht to Roman
70 empire, | quhilkis thingis maid the Romanis to haif lang dominion. Thir wordis of Vespasian mesit the fury of the Empriour in sik maner that he chesit erar to be namyt ane mercifull prince than ane vengeabill tiran, and tuke thame to his beneuolence. Eftir this tuke avisement be quhat way the Empire of Britan mycht be gouernit, and, to haif the amite of Britonis, maid Aruiragus, þe Prince of Walis, quhilk was bruther to Gyderius afoir slayn, King of Britonis, that the crovne suld remane in native blude; and ordanit Plancius to remane still as *gouvernour* of his army, and Marius Terebellus to be thesaurar to ressaif the tribute; *commanding* thame to hald þe Britonis in tranquillite, and defend þame fra thair inimeis, specialie fra the Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis wer ane pepill full of chevelry and impacient of seruitude; als to seyke na occasioun of were aganis thame, and gif tha movit batell to haif ane strang waiche, baith at hayme and on feild, for þe felicite of Roman impire; havand na les respect to keip þe Britonis at thair opinioun þan to augment thair empyr. Eftir this he exhortit the nobillis of Britan to haif þe affliction falling afoir be thair rebellioun in remembrance, and to keip thair faith in tymes *cuming* to Romanis, quhilkis suld be foundin *nocht* onelye gude maisteris to þame in tyme *cuming*, bot als thair defendouris, gif thai wer obedient to *per* empire. Sik thingis done, the Britonis returnit hayme, and gaif large thankis to Wespasiane for his humanite schawin to þame, throw quhilk thai *coniecturit* supreme felicite to cum sum tyme to him.

Eftir this Claudius Cesar, desyring triumphe of honouris

afoir his returnyng to Rome, *thocht* expedient to vesy Orknay, the est ilis within þe occeane seyis. The motive of his weeris aganis thame was that thai supportit the Albanis in þe batell afoir rehersit aganis þe Romanis. Schort tyme eftir, havand provisioun of all thingis necessair, pullit vp salis with prosper wynd, and arryvit in Orknaye with ane grete army, and
 (I. 94) was neyr pereist in Pentland Fyrth. The inhabitantis of the first ile quhair he arryvit, seand sik huge navy, wer astonyst, and hid thame in covis. Than Claudius, traistand the samyn as desert, past to ane nothir ile, namyt Kirkwall, quhair he landit his men; and quhen þai war passand furthwart, thai persauit certane men of the countre, cumand oute of thair covis, quhair þai had lyin all nycht, and passand to the hillis. The Orknay men wes astoneist for the grete multitude of Romanis. Nochpeles, seand na refuge, thai sett on þe Romanis in þair maist fury, and faucht rycht cruelly ane quhile, bot at last þai wer all takin & slayn. The Romanis, reioisit of þis victory, passit forthwert, and laid ane strait sege to the castell, in the quhilk was Ganus, King of Orknaye, *with* his wyiff, children, and subdittis. Nochpeles, quhen þe said Ganus had debatit lang, and saw na recours, he randrit
 71 | the castell, and was brocht presonair with his wyiff and children to Claudius. Sik thingis done, Claudius pullit vp salis with prospir wyndis, and arryvit at Calice, quhair he abaid certane tyme, quhill his army was refreschit; sone eftir returnit to Rome, and maid his triumphe, havand Gainys with his wyiff, barnis, and vther captivis, and als the plegis of Britonis, led in triumphe.

The samyn tyme Sanct Petir the Apostill come oute of Anthioce to Itale, eftir that he had erekkit mony kirkis in Asia, prechand the ewangell of Criste in Rome, and makand fundacionis of the Cristin faith. In the samyn tyme wes the glorious and blissit Virgyn Mary takin in body and saule with inestimabill gloire to heivin, and sett abuf the ordoure of angellis, in the fyft zere of the empire of Claudius, eftir the Incarnacioun xlvij zedis.

(I. 95)

How the princes of Walis, conspirand aganis Aruiragus, war disconnfyst ; how Caratak and Congestus come with ane grete army to support þe nobillis of Britan aganis the Romanis. Ca ix

Aruiragus, maid king on this maner, repudiat his lauchfull Aqwene Voadas sister to Caratak, and put hir in presoun, eftir that scho had born to him two dochteris and ane son ; syne marijt ane Romane lady, namyt Genissa, be menis of Plancius, to that fyne, that, the affinite cessing betuix Aruiragus and Caratak, the Britanis suld haif na esperance of support fra Scottis, gif it happymit thame to rebell aganis þe Romanis. The nobillis of Walis, richt commovit of sik doingis, persuadit him be mony ressons to devoid him of the Romane adulterar, and adhere to his wyiff, quhilkis had bene with him sa mony ȝeris, and born him plesand childern, to quhilk na thing in erd mycht be comparit ; als schew him quhat proffitt mycht be had of Scottis, gif it happiunit his inimeis to invaid his commoun wele. Nochpeles, quhen thai had assalȝeit him lang tyme with thir & mony vther ressonis in vayn, thai couth fynd noch be his wourdis and havingis, bot his reasson schaymfully blyndit with new lust. The nycht following, thai went to the presonis quhair Voadas wes incarceratt, and tuke hir oute of the samyn with hir childern, and brocht hir with þame in Walis. Aruiragus, knawing this, wrait to þe remanent nobillis of Britan, that his frendis of Walis, in quhom he had maist confidence, tuke indignacioun that he had preferrit ane Romane lady to his first wyiff, as it had bene vnlefull to him to haif sindry wiffis at his plesour ; howbeit nothir the lawis nor consuetude of Britan maid derogacioun thairto ; affermyng eyk the said mareage wes noch maid be raig of insolence, bot that Britonis and Romanis suld increse to giddir vnder ane blude & amite ; and thairfor desirit þame, 72 gif the princes | of Walis happynnyt to conspire aganis him, to defend the realme and faith promittit to Romanis. It was ansuerit that it wes vnlefull to him all wayis to prefer ony woman to his wyiff, and thairfor the iniuris done to his wyiff

wer vnplesand to thame. Aruiragus, knawing be thir wourdis that his nobillis war *nocht* of his opinioun, thocht best, but ony forthir tary, to pas on þame ; sone eftir, be consultacioun of Plancius, assemblit ane grete army of Romanis & Britonis adherand to him, and went in Walis. The princes of Walis met him *with* ane grete power. *Nochttheles*, thai wer finaly wincust and put to flycht. The nixt morow Aruiragus and Plancius wer aduerteist that Derby, Longcastell, 3ork, and vtheris schyris wer rebellit aganis thame. Dredand thairfor that thair inimeis suld invaid the est partis of Britan, thai returnit to Londoun. Fra thens Plancius, havand litill confidence in þe Britonis, send in France for twa new legionis of weir men to support his army ; syne garnist þe Romane strenthis *with* new soidjouris & vittalis, and parkit þe remanent army on the planis.

Sik thingis done be Plancius, the princes of Walis convenit at Schrewisberry to tak consultacioun quhat was to be done in this maist dangerous mater. At last it was concludit that all the pepill of Walis and vther landis adiacent suld assemblit to giddir *with* haill puyssance aganis the Romanis, and othir expell þame be force of armys oute of Britan, or than all at anys dee. Als be the samyn counsale wer decernit ambassatouris to be send to sollist the princes of Carlile, Kendell, and Durehaym to the samyn effect. The hervist following, thir princes forsaid convenit at Schrewisberry, and thair, eftir lang regrait of Roman iniuris, complenit of fekilnes of Aruiragus, quhilk in contempcioun of his pepill had moir desyre to be *seruand* to Romanis than King of Britonis ; *nochtwithstanding*, *with* hale mynde & pussance concludit to recouer thair anciant honouris and liberte. Bot than began ane grete debait quhai suld bere the charge of this army, quhill at last Comus, ane nobill man of Walis, said in this maner : " Maist wailzeant men, we may assemblit ane greter army of oure subdittis and adherantis than mycht be resistit, sa thatt all thingis wer gouernit be craft of werefair, in quhilk standis all victory and gloir of battell. *Nochttheles*, diuisioun and dissensioun ar sa repugnant to the samyn, that (I. 97) quhair thai sproute, na ordour nor craft of chevelry may haif

place, nor 3ite victory may be had of inimeis. Thairfor all ambicioun is to be drawin away, and all dissensionis expyrit, and finaly ane man to be chosin, to quhom the remanent pepill salbe obeysant, be quhais autorite this batell salbe led, gif we intend to haif victory of inimeis. Bot sen nane of ws is habill to be obeysant to v^peris, throw equale rentis & power, best wer to send oratouris to Caratak, the King of Scottis, quhilk is maist cruell inimy to Romanis, desyring him to concur with ws to vindicatt þe contempcioun done to his sister Voada, and to defend his nevo, quhom þe Romanis
 73 intendis | to defraude of the croun ; praying him, sen thir iniuris has movit pame to rebell aganis Aruiragus, to tak the gouernance of thair realme, quhill his nevo war of perfite aige, and thai suld obtempir to him in all chargis as occurrit ; for the moir affecciou to haif to his sister and nevo, þe sonnair may this mater be sollistit."

Be this counsale of Comus oratouris wer direct to Caratak, and schew to him, as said is. It wes ansuerit be Caratak that he was mair commovit that Aruiragus had marijt ane Romane lady in destruccioun of him self and his realme, than of ony iniuris done to his sister or nevo, knawing wele how Romanis be wayn fallouschip and gyle has subdewit imprudent kingis to thair dominioun. Nochtttheles, he promittit to cum þe nixt were with all his ordinance, to concur with thame in all chargis, as thai thocht expedient. The ambassiatouris, depeschit in pis maner, returnit to Schrewisberry.

The nixt sommer the forsaid princes of Britan be generall edict assemblit all men that mycht bere wappynnis to ane certane day, to defend thair commoun liberte, at 3ork, to the novmer of lxxx^m men. Quhilk day come Caratak and Congestus, the confideratt Kingis of Scottis and Pichtis, with ane grete powere to recouere the commoun liberte. Quhais cuming maid the Britonis sa reiosit that thai belevit na thing bot victory of thair inimeis, and gaif the charge of batell, as it wes afoir devisit, to Caratak, quhilk maid sindry capitanis vnder him, commandand the remanent pepill to be obedient thairto ; eftir this exhort ilk man to haif sik respect to his singular & common wele that nane of thame suffer thame self

(I. 98) to be randrit to inimeis, to haif wilfull misery ; als prayit thame to haif þe manhede of thair eldaris in remembrance, quhilkis sum tyme dang þe maist wailzeant Iulius oute of Albioun. The Albanis, reiosit be this hortacioun, full of hoipe of victory, rasit thair camp, and past fordwert on thair inimeis.

Plancius & Aruiragus, aduerteist wele þerof, arrayit thair pepill with maist deligence. Nochtwithstanding, thai concludit erar to irk thame with lang tary, walking, labour, and penurite of vittalis, than to iupperd thame aganis sa grete multitude, beand than in extreme fury, throw quhilk the bergane mycht nocht eschaip but vntelland murther on all sydis. For thir causis Plancius and Aruiragus kest þair vtter deligence to eschew batell safer as þai mycht ; throw quhilk it happynit that þe Albanis, be superflew multitude of pepill, mycht nocht be gouernit to giddir, nor 3ite sustenit with vittalis. Sone raisd ane huge derth in þair army, with sik hungir that sindry of thame departit fra the camp to seyk vittalis, quhilkis wer eftir takin and brocht to Plancius, schewand in quhat estait the Britonis wer in till. Plancius, aduerteist thairof, commandit þe nixt daye to pas forthwert on thame but ony tary. Caratak, aduerteist in that samyn maner of thair
 74 doyngis, arrayit | his folkis, and mett the Romanis with scharp batell, quhilk was cruelly fochtin on all sydis, quhill at last the nycht severit thame, and causit baith the armyis to fle quhair thai thocht maist refuge. The nixt morow Plancius, seyng he mycht nocht renew his army, returnit to Londoun, havand the maist part of his hors men tynt. Caratak brokin in þat samyn maner, gaderit the remanent of his army to giddir, and returnit to 3ork ; syne commandit all his men to pas hayme, quhill thai gatt new warnyng.

(I. 99) Of the message send to Caratak be Plancius, and of his
ansuere; of Aruiragus rebellious aganis the Romanis;
and how Vespasiane was send in Britan. Ca x

Eftir this vnhappy batell, Plancius send his ambassiatouris
to Caratak, havand grete admiracioun that he, but ony
occasioun of iniuris, suld *nocht* only support the iniuris of
the senatt and pepill of Rome, bot als invaid the Roman
prouince with herschippis and slauchter, *nocht* regarding the
beniuolence and thankis of Claudius Empriour done to him
& his realm, quhen he with litill difficulte mycht haif subdewit
the samyn; howbeit he wald *nocht*, bot exercit his wraith
on Orknaye; desyring him *perfor* to repair all iniuris done,
and absteyn fra the samyn in tyme cuming, vtherwais he
suld be repute as inimy to the empire of Rome.

It was ansuerit be Caratak, na thing was to haif admiracioun,
howbeit he supportit the Britonis with his vtter puyssance,
that Gyderius his nepott suld *nocht* be defraudit of the crowne;
bot it was moir wourthy to haif admiracioun that Plancius
persuadit Aruiragus, his gude bruther, to repudiatt his lauch-
full qweyn, and pollute his bed with ane Romane adulterar,
and to defraude his nevo of the crown of Britan, as all vtheris
Romanis dois, quhilkis be insaciabill auarice has reft *pe*
realme of Britonis, and now intendis to invaid the remanent
boundis of Albion. To the nixt article, he said that he invadit
nocht the Romane province, howbeit he maid him to defend
the accioun of his sister and nepott, certifeand him, *pocht* na
mortale creaturis wald vindicatt the iniuris done to thame,
the richtfull goddis wald pvneiß the samyn. Too thir vther
poyntis ansuerit, that Claudius Empriour for na beneuolence
he had to him left his realme *nocht* persewit, bot only becaus
he knew his realme *nocht* possibill to be conquest, but extreme
iupparty of armys, and for that causß past on the rude and
inarmyt pepill of Orkney, knowing thame as fatell pray to be
subdewit, to that fyne that he, the glorious & wailzeant
Empriour amang febill creaturis, mycht haif the samyn with
fengeit gloir in his triumphe. For thir causß the Romanis

aucht to redress baith the new & auld iniuris done to Scottis and Pichtis, and pas, but tary, oute of Albion *with* all thair cunpany. Vtherwayis *nocht* wes to be traistit, bot Scottis, Pichtis & Britonis, quhom þai hald in maist contempcioun, suld be thair perpetuall inimeis for defence of thair realme, liberte, and native goddis.

Plancius, *commovit* be this ansuere, that ane pepill nothir potent in riches nor chevelry suld sa pertlie contempn the
(I. 100) Romane maieste, maid his aith to cum *with* all ordinance to revenge þis proude contempcioun done be Caratak. Mony vther Romanis maid thair aithis in that samyn manere.

The samyn tyme Aruiragus, King of Britonis, seying the constance of Caratak, tuke ferm beleiff, gif his puyssance wer concurrand with þe remanent Albanis, that Romanis mycht
75 be | drevin be force of armis oute of Albion ; heirfor desiring to recover his anciant honouris and liberte, left Plancius, and past *with* all that was of his opinioun to the remanent princes of Britonis, convenit for the tyme in Schrewisberry, quhar he was ressauit *with* na less fauour than beneuolence. Genissa, þe Roman lady quhom Aruiragus tuke in place of his lauchfull wyiff, knowing hir self mokkyt, tuke sik hevynes and displesour that scho partit with child, and sone eftir decessit.

Than Aulus Plancius, ilk day havand less confidence in Britonis, becaus thair faith was sa oft brokin, began to garnes the municions, strenthis, and Romane townis with new soidjouris, vittalis, & ordinancis, and send incontinent writingis to Claudius, complenyng of the tresoun of Britonis, quhilkis mycht na way be haldin vnder þe Romane lawis, and now maid plane rebelloun aganis Romanis, bringand with thame Scottis & Pichtis, ane pepill full of cruelte, quhilkis had laitlie fochtin aganis thame *with* huge slauchter on all sydis ; throw quhilk thair battell mon be led in tymez cuming *nocht* onlie aganis the Britonis, bot aganis all the Albanis. And þerfor necesserr wer to send support to the Romanis in extreme neyd, that thai be *nocht* opprest be multitude and malapart audacite of barbour pepill, regarding nothir thair faith, honeste, nor reuerence of goddis.

Quhen thir writingis come to Claudius, he send Vespasiane,

the Romane counsalour, to repreß the rebellion of Britonis. Ane schort tyme eftir, Vespasiane come in Britan with ane strang army, and wes ressaut with grete reuerence amang þe Romanis, for his hie & singular vertew was traistit sum tyme to reioið þe diademe imperiall. Wespaseane at his cuning, knawing the dangerus stait that Romanis wer in till, thocht to repair the samyn with maist prudence, and first callit before him the said Plancius, to exploir sikkirly gif þe damage & slauchter of Romanis in þe feild laitlie committit was be his imprudence and lak of chevelry. Plancius to that purgacioun maid few wourdis, bot sufferit his crafty dedis to testify þe samyn, quhair þe municionis and townis, quhilkis wer vnder Romane obeisance, war garnyst with wallis, trynschis, bastelliis, eftir the Romane manere, as thai war to be segitt but delaye; quhairthrow Vespasiane and vther wailzeant capitanis with him tuke na litill admiracioun, and traistit he wes sufficient, howbeit na vthere powere had cumin to him, to haif subdewit all þe Albanis.

(I. 101)

How the thre kingis of Albion, movand were aganis Vespasiane, war disconnfist; and how Aruiragus wes ressaut agane be Vespasiane to his mercy, and his landis maid tributar to the Romane Empire.

Ca xj

76 | Ane schort tyme eftir, Vespasiane maid his ordinance to pas on Aruiragus and the Britonis for thair rebelloun aganis thair promyß and faith. Aruiragus, admonist thairof, conuenit his nobillis at 3ork, becaus he vnderstude the Scottis and Pichtis wer to cum thair be thair writingis. In þis counsale it was nocht devisit, as of befor, that euery man sufficient to bere armour suld convene to expell þe Romanis owte of Albion, bot alanerly ane certane of euery schyir, that thair vittalis mycht be provydit the moir eselie. And finalie at the prefixit daye the Britonis gaderit with certane novmer of ilk schyre wer lxv thousand chosin men, and conuenit at

ȝork with twa monethtis vittalis, to abyde the cuming of Caratak and Congestus, Kingis of Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis come sone eftir *with* lx^m chosin men.

The Albanis, assemblit to giddir in þis maner, arrayit thame in sindry batellis *with* capitanis devisit to hald þame in gude ordour and arraye. On the tothir syde, Vespasiane rasis his campe, and was convoyit be certane tressonabill spyis of Britan quhair the Albanis wer, *nocht* knowing his cuming. Followit sone ane richt cruell and bludy bergane, for the Albanis stude at ane grete strenth, besyde ane moß, *nocht* xij mylis fra ȝork, throw quhilk þe Romanis mycht *nocht* invaid thame as thai desyrit. The Romanis quhilkis faucht in þe richt wyng, wer neir disconnfist, for Vespasiane supportit thame with ane new legioun, be quhais cuming þair corage wes sa erekkit that the woundit knychtis renewit agane the batell. The Albion capitanis exhortit thair folkis ferslye to fecht, and othir to haif victory or ellis perpetuall *seruitude*. On the tothir syde, Vespasiane bad his men haif remembrance of Romane vertew to ouresett thair inimeis, quhilkis war bot ane nakit and barbour pepill. The Albanis perseuerit in sa keyn bergan this day that quhair the formest wer slayn in þe bront the remanent faucht abuf the dede bodeis. Sum, persit *throcht* the body, cessit *nocht* quhill þai had slayn thair aduersaris formentis thame. Vtheris, quhen þair hand & swerdis was doungein awaye, fell abuff thair inimeis, ryvand thame *with* thair teyth, quhairthrow semyt wele þai faucht *with* na leß hatrent than will. Nochtþeles the fatall necessite couth *nocht* be wincust that daye *throcht* multitude, manhede, or lang perseuerance, be repugnance of goddis, quhilkis had (I. 102) determyt to subdew all realmez to the Romanis. For the Albanis, howbeit thai left na thing vndone that mycht pertene to wailjeant campiouns, ȝite þai wer finaly all disconnfist and slayn, except ane few novmer quhilk was eschagit be flycht. Aruiragus, vincust in þis maner, thocht for hie calamite to haif slayn him self, bot he was brocht to ȝork bee his frendis in hoip of bettir fortun. Caratak *with* ane few novmer of Scottis come oute of þe feild, and returnit in Brigance. Illithara, King of Pichtis, desyring *nocht* to leif behynd his

tendir frendis, raif of his coit armour, and was slayn eftir, vnknawin quhat he was.

The Britonis eftir this vnhappy batell send ane herald to Vespaseane to haif peace, schawing sa huge calamite falling to thame, that of lxx^m Britonis war left onlie v^c men on lyiff, throw quhilk apperit the manifest favour of godis to Romanis, and thair extreme hatrent aganis Britonis, brocht ¹ to moir calamite than thair inimeis wald desyre, and mycht nothir
 77 be sufficient in tymis | cuming to defend thair realme, nor zite mak seruice to Romanis; for thir causis humilie prayit him of mercy, sen þe iust vengeance takin on thame ellis may be sufficient exempill to all pepill to violate thair faith and promys. Vespasian, herand thir reuthfull wourdis be the herald, said he wald gif na condicionis of peace, quhill Aruiragus war brocht to his presence. Aruiragus, knawand na refuge, comperit in his humill ² maner, quhilk movit Vespasiane to grete rewth, seying be chance of fortoun that he, quhilk was that day maist prowde with strang army and pussance, was than destitute of frendis, desyring mercy of his inimeis. At last Vespasiane said: "Quhat movit the, King Aruirage, to rebell agane the Romanis, sen þai decorit the in to thair blude and princely honouris?" Than Aruiragus fell on kneis, humily desyring grace, for the goddis had takin sa rigoros punicioun on him and his pepill that he cuvett noch to leif abone sa hie calamite; nochttheles desyrit grace to his son and wyiff, quhilkis he had afoir wrangwislie exilit but ony falt. Vespasiane, herand thir wourdis, was noch only strikin *with* mercy, bot eik *with* teris, and sone eftir tuke consultacioun quhat was best to be done. Sum gaif counsale that he suld be send with his wyiff, childern, & gudis to Rome, as lauchfull pray, to abyde þe iugement of Romane senatouris, to be exempill to all pepill quhat frute *procedis* of rebelloun aganis þe Romane maieste. Vtheris, havand sycht to chance of fortoun, counsalit him to haif reuth, and noch travale the said Aruiragus to Rome, sen he was noch thair lauchfull pray, bot *cumin* vnder assurance of Romanis, quhais empire

¹ MS. crosses out *brocht* by error, but A. reads *quhilkis war brocht*.

² MS. *humilie*, but cf. A. *his humyll maner*.

was ekit be inuiolatt faith, and be na slychtis on thair subdittis. Vespasiane, movit be this last counsale and be innative piete, tuke Aruiragus to his mercy, and continewit him still in his regne.

Eftir this he commandit all citeis quhilkis rebellit afor
(I. 103) aganis the Romanis to be randerit to his capitanis, and new plegis to be gevin, amang quhom was Gyderius, the son of Aruiragus, wes gevin in plege, quhilk eftir, passand to Rome, decessit. Than Vespasian distroyit þe Britonis lawis, and brocht in þe Roman lawis, commandand na man suld haif commissioun of blude bot Plancius or his deputtis, and maid certane men to doo iustice to the said Britonis, to hald þame vnder Roman *seruitude*. Throw faym of this vnhappy batell the remanent Britonis, disparit of help, wer randerit to Vespasiane, and maid tributar agane to Romane empire, *with* mair tribute and exacciouns than euir thai payit afor. And sone eftir Vespasiane returnit to ȝork *with* Aruiragus, and remanit thair, quhill þe nixt summer, to pas on þe Scottis and Pychtis.

How Vespasiane wan þe toun of Camelon, and disconnfist Caratak ; and of his message send to Caratak, and of Caratakis ansuere. Ca xij

78 **T**he nixt summyr, Vespasiane rasit his army fra the wynter schelis to cum on the Scottis and Pichtis, and come sone eftir within þe boundis of Merß and Berwyk, quhilkis wer vnder dominioun of Pichtis, quhais inhabitantis wes ay maist keyn and strangest inimeis to Britonis. Howbeit, þai wer than sa brokin with the batell afor rehersit that þai wer randerit, *with* mony *vþeris* thair *nychtbouris*, to Romanis. Vtheris, quhilkis wer mair nobill, fled to Cameloun, belevand the Romanis suld *nocht* cum thair for difficill and strait passage. Bot quhen Vespasiane wes aduerteist thairof, he beltit the said toun with ane strang sege, and tuke it finalye. Amang mony vther riche and precious iowellis gottin in þe said toun wer fundin the armys of the Kingis of Pichtis, quhilkis wer ane croun of gold sett aboute *with* precious

stanis of vareant colouris. Thair was fundin ane swerde with heft of gold, maist curiously wrocht, within ane purpure (I. 104) scheith, quhilk was worn mony 3eris eftir be Vespasiane in all his weeris. The Pichtis quhilkis wer takin in þe toun wer licent to return hayme on thair plegis. Vespasiane, resident ane certane tyme eftir in Camelon, brocht diuerß ald capitanis to inhabit the samyn, to leif vnder Romane lawis, and to instruk the rude pepill in civill maneris. Eftir that he biggit ane tempill *nocht* far fra þe said toun, apoun the Watter of Carron, in honour of Claudius and Victory, commanding the samyn to be adorit be the pepill.

Quhyll Vespasiane wes gevin on this maner to polecy and vane religioun of Gentilis, tythingis wer schawin be exploratouris that Caratak, King of Scottis, wes cumand fra Brigance with ane strang army, to revenge the iniuris done to him afoir be the Romanis. Vespasiane, litill effrayit thair of, abaid still in Camelon, and send Plancius with ane grete part of Romane ordinance to meit him. Bot Plancius wes *nocht* far gone in his vayage, quhen he was certifiȝt of Caratakis *cuming* with ane grete cunpany of Britonis, Scottis, and Pichtis in his army; incontinent, be subteill gyll and craft of weirfair, maid him to repres his wayage, as he war astonyst to procede forthir, quhill the *cuming* of Vespasiane, and parkit his army on the nixt moitt. *Nocht*theles, he rasit his campe agane within þe nycht, and sett on Caratak, quhen he belevit na thing leß than his *cuming*. The waiche, effrayit be his *cuming*, gaif ane huge clamour, and *withstude* the Romanis, quhill the Albanis wer aduerteist; quhairthrow thai wer all finaly slayn. Sone eftir followit the iunyng of baith thir armyis, maist terribill berganis with athir murdir. *Nocht*withstanding, quhen þai had fochtin fra the dawing to mydday, the victory succedit to Romanis, *with* na litill slauchter of thair pepill. The remanent Albanis quhilkis wer eschapit fra this bergane fled to the montanis. Caratak, evill wondit, wes brocht oute of the campe *with* grete difficulte, and returnit eftir to Dunstaffage.

Throw faym of this vnhappy batell grete novmer of pepill wer 3oldin to Romanis. *Noch*peleß, the inhabitantis of

79 Brigance fled *with þair wyiffis* | children and gudis to the montanis. The fourt day eftir, Plancius tuke the toun of Carrik, and partit the riche iowellis and tresoure of King Caratak amang his army; eftir this send to Vespasiane, and schew him all þe maner of his victory, and how Brigance, þe cheif province of Scottlannd, was to be randerit to Romanis. Vespasiane, reiosing of thir thythingis, went to the toun of Carrik, quhair he ressauit mony of the pepill randrit to his opinioun. Eftir this, havand compassioun of the lamentabill chance fallin to Caratak, fechtand to the vtter exterminioun of his pepill for his liberte, send messingeris to him, saying it was *nocht* semand him to be ony forther repugnant to the goddis, be quhom all victory, empire, & autorite procedis in erde, quhais deliuerit sentence has *commandit* all regionis to be subdewit to Romanis, and thairfor desirit him to be obeisant to þaim, sen þe goddis has takin sa manifest pvnishment on him and his pepill for thair rebelloun; attoure, promittit, gif he wald be obedient to Romane empire, to remane in honouris as afoir, and to be repute as frend to þe senate and pepill of Rome; vther wayis, gif he wald be repugnant and persevere be imprudent hatrent aganis thame, he suld be degradit of his autorite, and all his pepill put to vtter wraik.

(I. 105)

It was ansuerit be Caratak that it wes na les fury than imprudence to mortale pepill to presume, as þai war familiare *with* godis, to haif cognoscence of thingis to cum. His landis wer gevin alanerly be beneuolence of goddis, and wer als fre to him as ony landis war to þe Empriour. Attour, he traistit the godis *nocht* sa iniust to geif victory to his inimeis, inuading him but occasioun of iniuris. Als, it semyt þe Romanis suld *nocht* defend him in his realme, sen thai haif socht sa mony wais to refe the samyn. *Nocht*theles, the amite of Romanis wes to be desyrit, gif the samyn mycht doo him ony *commodite*, bot as þan it was to be refusit, becaus grete *dammage* suld follow eftir the samyn to his realme & subdittis; and sen euery pepill quhilkis will *nocht* defend thair avne, ar reput na leß detestabill than þai quhilkis *reiffis* vther menis realmez, he suld persevere in batell aganis

the Romanis to þe finall end of his lyiff, in defence of his realme and liberte.

(I. 106) Be this ansuere Vespasiane tuke grete admiracioun, seying þe hie corage and spreit of Caratak, quhen all the remanent princis of Albion wes subdewit, and he only determyt to fecht aganis Romanis; *nochtwithstanding*, for his contempcioun tuke purpos to put him to vtter exterminioun. Ȝite, becaus the passage wes difficill, and vittalis mycht *nocht* be transportit in þe samyn, but dammage of his pepill, he chayngit his mynde, and maid him redde to pas in þe Ile of Man, quhilk lyis betuix Ireland and Albion; and for expedicioun heirow, brocht all schippis and galzeonis mycht be gottin in þe nixt port, redde to pass in þe samyn. In the ilk tyme come tythingis that Kentschyre and the est partis of Britan wer rebellit aganis þe Romanis, and vnderstode *nocht* gif the
80 samyn rais be persuasion | of France or *nocht*. Vespasiane, traisting best to meit this present danger or the samyn forthir proceid, supersedit his passage in þe Ile of Man, and past in Britan, leiffand behynd him the strenthis of Brigance garnist with strang soidjouris, and the residew of his army with Plancius. At his cuming in Britan the pepill with facill laboure wer repressit, and the principall movaris of rebelloun pvnyst. Sone eftir, be *commande* of Claudius, he returnit to Rome, quhair he was ressauit with grete triumphe.

How Caratak, cumand *with* ane new army aganis the Romanis, wes disconnfist; how eftir deceß of Plancius, Ostorius wes send in Britan, and dantit þe Britonis. Ca xiiij

Caratak, herand þat Vespasiane was returnit to Rome, set his extreme besynes to recouer the landis of Scottis & Pichtis quhilkis wer reft afoir be tyranny of Romanis, and assemblit ane strang army fra sindry boundis of Albion, with all pepill haitting þe Romanis or desyring to revenge the iniuris done be the samyn. Bot the Romanis, wele certifiȝt thairoff, met thame *with* na les deligence than

(I. 107) audacite, quhairthrow followit ane terribill bergane *with* birnand hatrent on all sydis, the Scottis desyring to recouer thair liberte, and the Romanis contending to defend the land conquest be difficulte of lang weris afoir. Nochttheles, the Romanis, be lang craft of weirfair & experience, wes finaly victorius, and the Scottis put to flicht.

Caratak, brokin *with* importabill skaithtis sindry tymes in pis sort, fled to Dunstaffage, and pair sett ane counsale, to haif avisement how þe Romanis mycht be resistit, and desyrit ane new army to be gaderit oute of all boundis vnder his dominion, with all support¹ that mycht be gottin fra þe princis of Irelannd, pair anciant faderis, to expell the Romanis oute of Scotland, or than at anys dee. The counsale, riply avisit with the *present* calamiteis falling on thame be frequent victory of Romanis, thocht nocht proffittabill to put the realme to extreme iupparty vnder chance of ane batell, bot erar suffir pair pepill vayik sum tyme fra batell, to recover sum strenthis, quhilkis has bene sa oft diffayit afoir. Be the samyn counsale it wes devisit that certane chosin men suld ly on þe bordoure of Brigance, to stop þe Romanis fra invasioun of the remanent boundis of Scotland, be frequent skarmusyng erar than playn batell. Throwquhilk þe batell wes prolonngit twa 3eris eftir, but ony grete slauchter.

The samyn tyme Plancius, the gouvrenour of Roman army, fell in irremediabill infirmite of fluxe, and quhen he vnderstude cleirlye he mycht nocht conuales be support of nature, nor 3ite of medicyn, disparing of his lyiff, desirit Claudius the Empriour, sen he mycht nocht labour forthir for the common wele of Rome, to send ane prudent capitane in his place to hald þe Albianis vnder Romane lawis, that þe landis conquest *with* sa grete difficulte war nocht tynt. Claudius incontinent send in Britan ane wailzeant knycht, namytt Ostorius Scapula. Sone eftir his cuming, Plancius decessit, quhais body wes brynt, eftir þe Romane consuetude,

81 | and consecrait in þe tempill of Claudius and Victory ; thro quhilk rais a consuetude, mony 3eris eftir observatt amangis the Scottis and Pichtis, to burn the dede bodijs,

¹ MS. *supporit*.

of quhilkis mony signis apperis 3ite in thir dais. For in þe 3ere of God 1^m v^c and xxj 3eris in Fyndone, ane toun of þe Mernys, v mylis fra Abirdene, wes fundin ane anciant sepulture, (I. 108) in quhilk 'war twa laym piggis, craftely maid, with letterz ingravit, and full of brynt powdir, quhilkis, sone eftir þai wer handillit, fell in droß. Siklyke in Kenbothen, ane toun of Marre, x mylis fra Aberden, wer fundin twa sepulturis on the samyn maner, full of brynt powder, with mony vtheris in þe samyn sort in sindry partis of Albioun. Bot I will return to my history.

The Britonis, eftir þe cuming of Ostorius Scapula traisting to recover þair liberte, becaus he knew *nocht* thair maneris nor countre, rebellit. Ostorius, desiring no thing moir than to haif occasioun of rebellioun, quhairthrow he mycht schaw his prowes and manhede, rasit his campe, and sett on þe Welche men and vtheris sindry Britonis in þe west partis of Britan, and finaly be chaunce of Victory put thame to vtter wraik and disconnfitour. Eftir this victory he went on the Est Britonis fornentis þe Franche seyis, quhilkis wer þe principale movaris of rebellioun. Nochtheles, quhen þai persavit þame self drevin be force, but ony vther refuge, to batell, thai arrayit thame self on ane strait feild with ane nerrow enteres, quhair the Romanis mycht *nocht* invaid thame bot on a parte. The Romanis be force of armys brak þair arraye and trynschis with sik prudens and manhede that few of Britonis, fechtand in perseuerant haitrent to the dede, eschapid. Throw fame of this vnhappy batell the remanent Britonis wer randrit & subdewit to Ostorius.

How Caratak, fechtand aganis Ostorius, wes disconnfist and his army defait ; how he was randrit to the said Ostorius be treson of Cartumandia, his gude moder.

Ca xiiij

Sic thingis done in Britan, Ostorius maid his army reddy to pas apon the confiderat kingis, and tuke the toun of Carlile in his wayage, syne partit the spulze *perof* amang his

men. Sone eftir come in Brigance, and puneist certane capitans of þe samyn quhilk gaif occasioun to the Brigandis to haif rebelloun aganis Romanis. Eftir this come in Kyle, Carrik, Cwnynghame, wirkand insufferabill iniuris on the samyn, in dispite of Caratak, quhom he knew wele to cum in arrayit batell aganis him, gif ony occasioun of iniuris occurrit; and for thir causis first brynt þe cornis of þe countre, and eftir slew the children, wemen, and vther febill creaturis, quhilkis had na pussance to resist. Caratak, nocht sufferand thir recent displesouris, thocht þe samyn sa importabill that he suld othir revenge þe samyn or dee. Mony vther Albianis come to him on the samyn mynde, throw quhilk he assemblit ane army of xl^m men, quhais ordinance was arrayit in sik
 82 maner | that all thair bakkis war sett contrair ane deip rever, but ony furd, that thai mycht haif na esperance to flee. And becaus thair convenit ane huge confluence of wemen to this
 (I. 109) batell, to se the chance & finall end of þe samyn, he put thame apoun ilk syde of þe batell, to raiß þe spreittis of thair husbandis to fecht, to cast stanis on thair inimeis, and to slay þame, quhen þai fell. And vþeris wemen, quhilkis wer wycht, havand manis hardiment, war arrayit amang the men. Eftir this, capitans of the army went with Caratak, to exhort thame to doo wailþeandlye, sayand that day and batell wes othir the begynnynge of thair liberte, or ellis of irrecoverabill seruitude; and maid inuocacion to the dyvyne spreit of thair eldaris, quhais manhede and gloir of chevelry nocht only causit Iulius to be expellit oute of Albion, bot als maid the Albionis and thair posterite exoneratt fra tribute and Roman seruitude. Eftir thir wourdis followit huge clamour¹ and noyis in þe army, sa that euery man in the samyn promittit, nochtwithstanding ony fere of dede, to fecht for thair realme and liberte. Ostorius was² na litill astonyst throw grete multitude, corage, and vncouth desyre of batell be the Albianis, knowand wele how dangerous it was to fecht with disparit men, quhilkis hes na forthir refuge. Caratak, zite to mak more hortacion to his men, sayid perpetuall liberte wes in þat feild for the wynnynge to thame. And Ostorius wes na les

¹ MS. *clanour*.² MS. omits *was*.

prudent in hortacioun of his men, desyring thame be lang orisoun to remembre how thai wer Romanis, the dantaris of all pepill, and be contrar thair inimeis wer bot rude and barbour pepill, withoute humanite, and for that cauß cassin be nature, the crafty moder, in þe remoit nuke of the world. Incontinent the armyis iunytt, and faucht *with* mair cruelte than euir was herd in ony warld afoir. Nochttheles, lang experience of weirfair maid þe Romanis to haif victory. In þis batell was takyn Caratakis wyiff, his dochter and brethir.

Caratak, ofttimez disconnfist þus be herd chance, fled to Cartumandia, Qwene of Scottis, his gude moder, quhilk eftir the deceß of his fader Cadavall had marijt ane wailjeant knycht, namit Venvsius. Cartumandia, seying him destitute of all frendis, becaus few frendis ar sene in aduersite, scho tresonabilly randrit him in þe Romane handis, the nynt 3ere eftir þe batell wes begunnyn be þame in Albion. Ostorius, seying Caratak brocht afoir him, and reft fra imperiall dignite, had sik compassioun that he tuke him be the hand, and sayid :
 “ O Caratak, this myschance suld be sufferit *with* pacience,
 (I. 110) for pocht þou be destitute of gude fortoun, 3ite þou art *nocht* *cumin* in oure handis destitute of vertew. Thairfor eschaym *nocht* to be þe praye of Romanis, quhilkis has subdewit sa mony riche & wailjeand kingis, and led thame in triumphe.”
 83 To this ansuerit Caratak, sighting | *with* hevy chere: “ I mon now haif pacience of þis calamite, bot 3it na thing is sa grevous to me as the myschance of Fortoun, quhilk has deieckit me at thi feit to be exempill of hir mutabilite, and maid me presoner moir be tresoun than force of armis. Quhill my pussance indurit, I maid impediment, bot now be tresoun of my step moder Cartumandia, in quhom my confidence wes maist, I am *cumin* in þi handis ; quhair throu my part is now to obtempir thi will and iugement, bot thi part is to haue the office of ane victorius capitane, be quhilk convikkit and disparitt pepill may haue sum esperance of grace.” Sone eftir Caratak was brocht to þe Romane campe, and *com-* mandit to be tretit *with* princely reuerence amang þe army.

How Caratak was brocht to Rome, and send be
 Claudius agane in Scotlannd ; of vncouth mervellis
 sene in Albion. C xv

A ne schort tyme eftir, Caratak was brocht throw the
 boundis of Italy with his wyiff, dochter, and brethir to
 Rome. The faym of his *cuming* maid the pepill to cum fra
 all partis to se that wailzeand king, quhilk had focht in sa
 mony 3eris aganis þe Roman maieste. At quhais *cuming* stude
 arrayit in þe stretis of Rome the band of weer men in grete
 ordour. First was schewin his harnes, barding, and the
 riche spulzeis quhilkis war gottin in þe feild aganis him. Eftir
 that his bruther, his wyiff and dochter followit, and last of
 all him self. Caratak, brocht before the Empriour in þis
 maner, seyng his frendis quhilkis come *with* him sum part
 astonyst, to schaw his curage na thing deieckit in this calamite,
 (I. 111) said in this maner : " Had prosper fortoun bene correspondent
 to my nobilite and blude, I mycht haif *cumin* erar frend than
 presonar in þis toun, and was *nocht* vnwourthy throw my
 nobill blude and grete dominion to haif bene confideratt with
 the, Cesair Empriour. This my present calamite is na les
 honorabill to the than vnplesand to me. I had sum tyme
 hors, harnes, men, & riches. Na admiracioun followis that
 I vnplesandly hes þame lost. Gif 3e Romanis will haif empire
 abon all pepill, it followis that all pepill mon be thirlit to
 3oure seruitude. Had I bene randerit too Romanis sone eftir
 thair *cuming* in Albion, nothir had the Romane gloir nor my
 calamite bene sa patent. And þocht þou put me to dede, the
 memory of me sall sone evanis ; bot 3ite, will þou suffer me
 return agane to my realme, it salbe ane perpetuall exempill
 of Romane *mercy*."

The Empriour, movit be thir wourdis, tuke him & þe
 remanent his frendis in grace, and deliuerit thame of bondage.
 This humanite done be Claudius to Caratak wes na leß apprisit
 than þe mercy done sum tyme be Scipio to Siphax, or be
 Lucius Paulus to Perses, or quhen ony *mercifull* grace was
 gevin be anciant Romanis to thair wincust pepill. The

senaturis decernit than þe gloir of triumphe to be gevin to Ostorius for his *merc*iall victory, and Caratak to return in
 84 | Scotland, leiffand his eldest bruther and dochter in hostage for his faith to persevere in gude frendship with Romanis in tymes cuming.

Mony *merwellis* & straynge signis wer sene in Albion the 3ere afoir the last batell þat Caratak faucht with Romanis. Ane grete cunpany of horß men wer sene in arrayit batell, and eftir iune to giddir with huge noyis and murdir on athir syde, and suddanlie evanist, sa that na maner of signe apperit in þe campe quhair þai wer sene. Als, þe nycht afoir the batell apperit to þe waiche ane hidduus multitude of wolffis, and within þe nycht sett on þe said waiche, and tuke ane of the samyn awaye be force to þe nixt wod; *nocht*peles, brocht him agane þe nixt morrow, but only harme of his body. In the toun of Carrik wes ane child born *with* ane ravyn hede. Thir wounderfull signis gaif grete terroure to þe pepill, for the spa men interprett þaim to signify grete damage appering to Caratak, the hede of þe realme. Bot quhen þai saw him
 (I. 112) return agane in þe samyn, thai began to interpret þir signis to ane vther face.

The pepill, reiosit of his returnyng, ressaut him with incredible honouris and reuerence to the toun of Carrik, quhilke toun was restorit to him, with Brygance, Kyle, and Cwnyng-hayme, be *commande* of the Empriour. Eftir this he past þe remanent of his lyiff in tendir amite *with* Romanis, havand na vncouth nor domestik weris, bot detesting perpetuallye the damage *perof*. Claudius, herand of his beneuolus mynde to Romanis, send hayme his bruther and dochter in Scotlannd, quhilke war left in hostage in Rome, as said is. Caratak leiffitt twa 3eris eftir þis in gude pece, and decessit þe xxj 3ere of his regnne, brokin mair with importabill labour than ony *proceß* of 3eris, namyt ane prince mair wail3eant than fortunatt, and ane of þe maist nobill kingis that was afoir him, maist puyssant in chevelry, gevand his ingyne all þe tyme of his life na less to institute his pepill in gude maneris, than to debait þame fra Romane *seruitude*.

In this tyme war mony clerkis in Rome, as Persius, Iuuenale,

baith satirik poietis, Seneca, Lucan, baith slayn be Nero. The samyn tyme the pepill began to ryis in þe sikkir faith of Criste, throw quhilk ydolatryis and vayn religioun began to fall.

Heir endis the Thrid Buke, and begynnis the Ferde Buke.

Liber Quartus.

- (I. 113) How Corbreid was maid king of Scottis ; how þe Pichtis rebellit aganis þe Romanis and slew Ostorius þair capitan. Ca primum

Caratak decessit, as said is, and berijt with funerall triumphe in the campe of Carrik, ane riche and precious sepulture was maid for him, with hear pillaris rying aboute the samyn than euir was afoir, to his eternall glory. This prince had bot only ane dochter to succede as air to his realme, and wes cruciatt *with* sik irremediabill seyknis þat scho wes als vnabill to leyff, as to mary, and decessit as virgyn. Eftir quhais deth ane counsale was sett, be the quhilk Corbrede, 3ongest bruther to Caratak, was maid king, for his eldest bruther, returnyng oute of Rome, decessit in Italy be intollerabill hetis of that region. This Corbreid was of hye ingyne, *nocht* vnlyke Caratak in his havingis, and becaus he knew the miserijs of batell, he perseuerit mony 3eris in Romane frendschip. In the begynnyng of his empire he went in þe Ilis, quhair he dantit certane insolent thevis quhilkis maid afoir sindry extorsionis in þe tyme of Caratakis deth ; syne, returnyng to Dunstaffage, began to repair the strenthis of his realme and the religioun of goddⁱs, quhilkis war dekayit afoir be frequent weris. Sone eftir he went in Cathnes & Roß, the oute partis of Albion, quhair he maid pvnicioun on all faltouris, and revardit thame quhom he fand defendouris of the *common* wele with large *commoditeis* and proffite.

- (I. 114) Quhill Corbrede wes gevin on this maner to iustice, the Romanis began to suffir ourethrawis in Britan, for the Pichtis,

eftir the creacioun of thair new king, callit Congestus, in hoipe to recover thair liberte, set on þe Romanis, quhilkis wer that tyme skalit throw þe countre and oute of ordour, throu quhilk þai had bene all slayn, war nocht þai happinnit moir haistely to be reskewit be þe soidjouris of the Romane strenthis, bot ȝite mony of thair principaill capitanis war slayn; and eftir this slew ane grete cunpany of Romanis, quhilkis war sekand vittalis and horß mete throw þe countre. Ostorius, richt *commovit* for thir iniuris, rasit his army and come aganis the Pichtis, and thai with na leß fury, mett him in þe samyn maner, quhairthrow followit sa incredibill slauchter that þe Romanis wer neir disconnfist. Ostorius, seyng thame in sa hye dangere, ruschit sa ferslye to mak þame support that he eschapit nerrowly vntakyn. Nochttheles he was finaly woundit to the deth. Sone eftir, throw þe cuming of þe nycht, baith the armyis severit with lamentabill murdir on athir syde. At last come to Pichtis mony vther pepill of Albion, desyrus to revenge the iniuris done be Romanis, throw quhilk þai wer ane richt pussant army, and passit forthwert with the samyn on þe Romanis. Bot quhen þai

86 saw thair inimeis approcheand in sycht, þai maid | be slicht and craft of polecy to fle, to brek þe Romanis of arraye and bring thame within þair strenthis, as it happinnit eftir; for the Romanis, trasting the Pichtis disconnfist, followit be lang chaifß sa ferslye quhill þai wer cumin within þe Pichtis strenthis, quhair þai war mudrist¹ finaly & slayn. Ostorius na litill astonyst, fled to þe Roman campe, and wrait haistelie to Claudius that the Pichtis, be new rebelloun, wer cumin in sik outragius fury þat þai mycht be haldin na wayis vnder Roman lawis. Claudius, richt grevit at sik tythingis, maid aithis to put þe Pichtis to sik dispitfull wrayk þat þair lynnage and posterite suld faill but ony memory in Albion, and, to put his purpos to execucioun, send in Britan twa Roman legionis to support his army in þe samyn. Nochpeles, þe Pichtis inressit ilk daye moir insolent be assistance of þe pepill þat wer inimeis to Romanis, and be suddand auenture happinnit þame to meit the two strang cunpanyis of Romanis

¹ MS. *mudrist*.

soldiouris, quhilkis wer assemblit to mak plane forray in the countre, and draif thame be force of armys to flycht, and partit þe spuljee amangis þair nychtbouris quhilkis wer concurring with thame in the said bergane. Ostorius than, cruciatt *with* insufferabill dolour of the woundis gottin in þe feild afoir rehersit, and throw hevy curis ilk day moir disples-and, decessit, to the grete blyithnes of his inimeis.

(I. 115)

How the Pichtis slew iij^m Romanis *with* thair capitane Manlius Valens ; how Didius was send in his place ; and how þe Pichtis desirit support fra Corbreid, King of Scottis, and of his ansuere. Ca ij

Quhen Ostorius was decessit, as said is, Claudius send in his place ane Romane knycht, callit Manlius Walens, to dant the rebellioun of Pichtis ; and thai, wele certifijt of þe Empriouris indignacioun toward thame, mett this Manlius Valens in thair maist aufull maner throu ane terribill bergane. Quhyll þe Pichtis war fechtand thus in þair maist cruell teyn, iiij^e horß men of Kendell come to thame in gude tyme, throw quhilk Romanis war put to flycht. In this batell was slayn Manlius Valens *with* iij^m Romanis & ij^m Pichtis. Claudius, herand of this vnhappy chance, send Didius *with* twa Romane legionis to succede in his place. This new capitane at his cuming in Albion fand þe Romanis in litill prosperite, and began *perfor* to revenge þe iniuris done to thame, persewing þe Pichtis to the dede, quhair euer þai mycht be apprehendit. Sik thingis done, he callit þe residew of Romanis to ane counsale, quhair he with vehement regrait detestit þair slak corage and decaying fra þe vassallage of thair eldaris, noch *provyding* quhat was to be done, in sik hie dangere as occurrit, aganis thair inimeis ; and had *perfor* na litill admiracioun how þai
 87 wer safer degenerat fra | the Romane gloir, to be ourthrawin be thair febill inimeis, quhilkis wer sa oft afoir defait. And quhen he had finaly armyt þame with mony ressonis to recouer thair honouris, he exhortit thame to haif na respect to the

calamite bigane, and the samyn to be imput moir to þair fuliche negligence than to þe manhede of thair inimeis, and to be obedient to thair capitaneis with sik mesure and temperance þat þair capitaneis haue na occasioun to defayk curage throu thame. Be this hortacioun of Aulus Didius the Romanis grew in sik spreit that thai maid solempn voittis, na leß to vindicatt the iniuris done be thair inimeis, than to recouer thair honouris.

Quhen thir thythingis wer diwlgatt to the Pichtis, thai become richt agast : nochtheles, spretit be the victorijs quhilkis þai had afoir on the said Romanis, send ambassiadouris to Corbreid, (I. 116) King of Scottis, schawing him, þocht þai had laitlie put þe Romanis to flycht and slayn sindry of thair capitaneis, 3ite þe Romanis be moir hatrent than afoir intendit othir to bannys þame oute of Albion, or than to put thame to vtter exterminioun, and wes in purpos be the samyn fury to cum in Brigance and vther boundis of Scotland ; and thairfor desyrit him to send support in tyme, to occur þe present ¹ dangere afoir þair pussance wer brokin, erar þan quhen his landis wer waistit and his pepill subdewit, quhen it wer impossibill to mak resistance. It was ansuerit be Corbreid that he vnderstude wele how Didius wes cumin in Albion with na gude mynde to him & his realme, and noch onlie to keip the landis conquest afoir be Romanis, bot als to augment þe samyn with new regionis to Romane empire. Nochþeles, he was confideratt sa with Romanis that he wald na wayis invaid thame *with* batell, bot gif thai first invadit him, becaus he wes oblist *perto* be contract of Caratak maid with the said Romanis. Bot for defence of his realme and pepill he suld cum within ane certane day with all his power, erar to mak impediment to Romanis, þan to invaid þame with ony iniuris.

¹ MS. *present*.

How Scottis and Pichtis faucht aganis the Romanis
with incertane victory, and how þai wer constranit
on all sydis to haif peace. Ca iij

Thir oratouris depeschit in þis maner, Corbreid went to Brigance. Didius, knowing his cuning, chargit him be ane herrald to pas oute of the samyn, becauſ it was þe Romane province, grantit onlie to Caratak during his lyfe, certifeyng gif he wer rebelland to his charge, he salbe doungin oute of all boundis of his realm, and repute as inimy to Romanis. Skairslie wer thir wourdis rehersit, quhen Cesium Nasica, luftennent to Didius, wes interit in Brigance *with* a strang (I. 117) army. Corbreid, aduerteist þerof, gaderit his army to ane grete strenth, traisting na les honour to keip his subdittis fra perrell, than to wirk dammage on his inimeis, and eftir this went to Epiak to be consultit in þis maist dangerus mater *with* Venusius, the husband of Cartumandia, his gude modir. This Venusius wes ane man of hie ingyne & wisdome, lang tyme defendit fra iniure of nychtbouris be autorite of
88 Romanis, ȝite for þair importabill tyranny | and proude dominion rebellit, and come to þe opinioun of his native prince. Cartumandia his wyiff, quhilk afoir tresonabillly randrit Caratak in Romane handis, wes sa commovit at thir doyngis that scho put hir said husband Venusius *with* his brethir and frendis in presoun. Nochþeles, Corbreid deliuerit thame at his cuning, and gart this Cartumandia for hir tresonabill dedis be berijt qwyk.

The samyn tyme a cunpany of Scottis chasit certane Romanis sa imprudently, quhill þai happinnit amang the Romanis strenthis, and wer finaly slayn ; quhilk thing abasit þe remanent Scottis sa mekill that thai mycht *nocht* be haldin, but grete difficulte, in arraye. The fyift day eftir Cesium Nasica send certane horſmen to brek þe municions quhair the Scottis lay. The municion wes ane moit, with ane moſ circulit on euery syde, quhair na horſmen mycht cum, havand na gait to þe samyn bot ane, quhilk was maid be the Scottis with flakis and treis. Bot quhen þe Romanis vnderstude

be thair spyis that þe Scottis wes within thre mylis to þair army, thai left þair purpos and arrayit thame, abyding the *cuming* of Scottis. Sone eftir the Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis war assemblit, as said is, on thair strenthis, rasit þair camp and ran on thair inimeis with sik fury and preß that þai war heindles or thai mycht entir. *Nocht*theles, þai iunytt to giddir at þe son ganging to, and faucht continewally *with* incredibill hatrent on athir syde quhill þe nycht severit þame, throw quhilk þe Romanis fled to þair campe, and þe Scottis & Pichtis to the montanis.

(I. 118) The nixt daye Aulus Didius wrait to Cesium Nasica, his luftennent, schawing how the Britonis war laitlye rebellit, commanding him *þerfor* to mak sum honest waye of peace *with* þe Scottis and Pichtis, that the landis laitlie conquest afoir *with* sa huge difficulte wer *nocht* tynt. This tythingis maid Cesium to defaik sum parte of his curage. The morrow following the confideratt kingis, brokin with this recent bergan, send thair ambassiatouris to Cesium to desyre peace, schawing quhat murdir & calamite wes fallin to baith thair armyis be the last batell, throw quhilk apperit sufficient to Romanis to haif thame in tymes *cuming* thair frendis, sen na thing mycht vyncuß þame during þair lyfe. Cesium & vther Romane capitaneis, havand honest occasioun to trete peace *with* þe confideratt pepill, refusit *nocht* thair offeris, becaus thai had gottin na proffitt of þe batell afoir past, bot importabill *dammage*; *nochþeles* ansuerit, thai suld avise haistely with Didius thair capitane, and quhat he thocht best in þis mater to doo *þereftir*. Didius, knawing wele in quhat danger the Romanis stude, sett a place of *commonyng* betuix the confideratt pepill and him, with x hors on þe syde alanerlie.

89 | The thrid day thai convenit on the boundis of Brigance, to *commoun* on all materis. And first Didius began to reherce the tendir amite done be Romanis to Caratak, quhen þai *nocht* onlie restorit him to his realme, bot als send him and his pliegis with mony riche tresoure and iowellis in Scotlannd. Heirfor Corbreid mycht haif na iust cauß to invaid þe Romanis with batell, sen thai did sa mony humaniteis

to his bruthir Caratak. *Nocht*peles, gif he wald reioiſ his realme in peace, but offence of Romanis, he suld be repute perpetually as thair tendir frend. Vthirwayis, gif he list to invaid thame, it suld *nocht* fayll to redound na les to his vtter wraik than dishonour.

Than ansuerit Corbreid as followis: "It is richt patent to the goddis how I neur invadit þe Romanis with iniuris, bot content only to reiose my empire in pece. And poch Cesium invadit my landis with insufferabill herschippis, contrar þe bandis of Romanis maid with Caratak, ȝite it was my deliuerit sentence erar to defend my subdittis fra iniuris than persew the Romanis with batell; and salbe fundin eur ane thankfull frend to Romanis, for the humaniteis done to my bruther Caratak, desyring na thing mair than to haif my realme but ony weris in tymeȝ cuming."

Than Didius demandit the Pichtis quhat movit thame to rebelloun, considering the Romanis *nocht* thirlyt thame to *seruitude*, as thai did vther þair subdewit pepill, bot only takand ane sobir tribute in signe of Roman victory. *Nocht*-withstanding, þai suld haif sone experience quhethir it wer better to sustene þe Romane indignacioun, or to leif at thair frendship, certifeyng gif þai wald perseuere aganis Romanis with imprudent batell, the Romanis suld neur haif pece with þame, quhill þai wer othir doungin oute of Albion, or than brocht to perpetuall *seruitude*. *Nocht*peles, gif thai perseuerit at Romane opinioun, thai suld haif peace vnder plesand condicionis. Thir offeris plesit þe Pichtis, and *perfor* peace was maid in þis wise. The Romanis sall keip þe landis conquest afoir the peace, and persew na forthir. Als þai suld *nocht* invaid the Scottis nor Pichtis, bot gif þai be *persewit* first. The Pichtis sall leif on thair avne lawis, paying the auld tribute to the soidjouris of Camelon. The iurisdiction of blude salbe alanerly *with* Romanis. Als na Franche men nor Britonis, gif it happinnit thame to rebell aganis the Romanis, salbe ressaut amang the Scottis or Pichtis. The Scottis sall reioiſ Brigance with all vther boundis pertenyng to thame, vsing thair avne lawis, bot thai sall *nocht* support the pepill duelling in þe Ile of Man, becauſ þai did iniuris

afoir to þe Romanis. Als thai sall *nocht* support þe Pichtis nor Britonis, gif it happinnit þame to rebell aganis þe Romanis, *with* ony plesouris, nor 3ite invaid þame be batell, sa lang as þai remane at þe Roman opinioun. Quhen þe peace was confermyt in þis sort, all partijs returnit hayme. Eftir quhilk sikkyr rest followit mony 3eris amang the Albanis, quhill at last Didius decessit at Londoun.

- (I. 119) How Verannius was send in Scotlannd; and how eftir his deth Paulus Suetonius come and put þe Ile of Man to sak; how the Britonis rebellit aganis þe Romanis; and of vncouth mervalis sene in Albion. Ca iiij

90 **D**idius decessit, as said is, be commande of Nero Empriour wes send in Britan ane gloriuis man, namyt Verannius, quhilk eftir his cuming past throw mony prouinces subieckit to Romane dominion, and eftir that come to Camelon, and maid solempn sacrifice in the honour of Victory and Claudius, quhilk was laitlye decessit. Eftir this, desyring to haif na les gloir þan his *predicessouris* had afoir, sett his besynes to fynd occasioun of batall aganis the Scottis and Pichtis. Than be auenture happinnit a certane Hieland thevis of Scotland to tak ane pray of gudis oute of the Pychtis boundis. Throw quhilk the said Verannius fand occasioun of bataill

- (I. 120) aganis the Scottis, and wald *nocht* deden3e to seyke redres, bot withoute ony forthir consultacioun come in þe Scottis landis, and brocht ane large pray of men and gudis oute of thair boundis to Loudiane. The Scottis, movit *with* thir iniuris, cessit *nocht* quhill þai recompensit the samyn with siklike pray, quhairthrow followit frequent herschip on athir syde. The samyn tyme happinnit Verannius to deceß, quhais last wourdis wer sa full of arrogance, as writis Cornelius Tacitus, that he belevit him self sufficient to haif subdewit all þe boundis of Albioun to Roman empire, gif he had levit two 3eris moir than he did.

Eftir his deth Paulus Suetonius was maid successoure,

ane man of peace and meiknes, quhilk sone eftir his cuming renewit þe band of pece with Albanis, and redressit all iniuris quhair þai complenit ; eftir this maid his army reddy to pas on þe Ile of Man, quhilk ile was full of wailzeant men, and generall ressett of all pepill that rebellit or haittit þe Romanis. At his cuming in þe said ile he fand ane strayne gyise of bataill arrayit aganis him. First stude ane huge cunpany of furius wemen, arrayit in wilde habit, on þe sandis, with thair hayir hingand doun *our* thair een, and fyre brandis in þair handis. Eftir that stude þe preistis, huffand thair handis to þe heyvin, and makand terribill execraciouns and cursingis on þe Romanis. Bot in þe myddis of þame stude ane grete multitude of armyt men, reddy to fecht aganis þair inimeis. The Romanis wer mair astonist throw þe vncouth sight of þir furius wemen and preistis þan throw þe terror of armyt men. *Nocht*theles, be hortacioun of thair capitane þai went forthwert with displayit banner, and put thir furius wemen & preistis to vtter exterminioun, syne tuke þair municions and garnyst þame with Roman soidiouris, and maid playn euersioun of thair woddis, quhair thai vsit thair terribill sacrifice to thair goddis.

Sik thingis done, Paulus Suetonius was aduerteist that France rebellit, and þerfor to repres the samyn he pullit vp salis, and come first in Walis, and belive arrivit in Bertanþe. The Britonis, herand his departing, thocht þe tyme ganand to recover þair liberte, and rebellit aganis þe Romanis. The motive of thair rebellioun was that Aruiragus thair king, quhilk wes laitlie decessit, had left be testament þe Empriour
91 & his twa dochteris to be aire | to his croun, riches, and mobillis, traisting thairthrow to sauff the samyn fra all iniuris
(I. 121) to cum. Bot 3ite na thing succedit to his opinioun ; for his realme wes gouernit be Romane capitanis, his hous put to seruitude, his wyiff Voadā daly iniurit with insufferabill strakis, and his twa dochteris deflorit. The Britonis, movit with thir iniuris, and dredand moir thirlage apperand, maid plane rebellioun aganis Romanis, and socht support of all partis quhair thay mycht haif the samyn. The samyn tyme apperit mony vncouthtis & *mervellis* in Albion. The seysis

apperit rede & bludy, with mony dede bodijs cassin to þe brayis, and furius wemen declarit terribill thingis to cum. The ymage of Claudius besyde Camelon fell down in droß, and the ymage of Victory fell down fra þe altere on hir bak, as scho had bene vincust. The spaymen said all thir merwellis signifijt grete damage appering to Romanis. The Pichtis quhilkis wer in Camelon and vther municionis thair besyde, herand this ansuere, grew in esperance of better fortoun, and maid privatt bandis aganis þe Romanis, and slew mony of þame or thai vnderstude thair rebelloun. Thai chasit als þe agit capitanis owte of all boundis quhilkis war gevin to thame for thair lang seruice, throw quhilk the said capitanis wer slayn eftir be Pichtis duelling in Merß and Berwyk. Petus Cerealis, quhilk was luftenent to Paulus Suetonius, desyryng thir agit capitanis to be supportit, come with ane legioun of Romanis and ane band of horß men, bot he was put to flycht, and all his cunpany disconnfist.

(I. 122)

Of the conplante maid be Voada to hir bruther Corbreid, & of his message send to Cattus, Romane procuratoure; of Cattus ansuere; of sindry herschippis done be þe Scottis on Romanis; of the first cuming of Murrayis in Scotland.

Ca v

The samyn tyme Voada send ane secrete seruand to hir bruther Corbrede, King of Scottis, schawing þe incredibill iniuris done to hir be Romanis, hir dochteris brocht to sik calamite that pacience is bot place to mair displesour. Sum tyme was in Britane, bot ane king, bot than wer two, the Romane capitane and the procuratour, the first havand autorite to distroye þair blude, and þe nixt to devoir thair substance. That man wes repute maist nobill þat mycht fulze monyest ladyis, and mak maist herschippis on the pepill, throw quhilk na thing mycht suffice to satisfy þair insaciabill lust and auarice. Heirfor requyrit hir bruther to suffer noch hir, his onlie sister, to be invadit with sik detestabill wrangis. For he mycht haif moir oportunitie that tyme to revenge the

iniuris done be Romanis than ony *vper* tyme, be rebelloun of Britonis aganis the Romanis, quhairthrow *pe* Albionis mycht *nocht* onlie recover *pair* liberte, gif the goddis wer *propiciant*, bot als expell the Romanis oute of Albion. For *pe* vncouth *merwalis* laitlie sene in Albion has put *pe* Albanis in sikkir confidence of *pair* liberte. Corbreid, herand *pis* pieteous regrait, was movit with na leß miseracioun than displesour,
 92 | and thairfor send ane herrald to Cattus, the Romane procuratoure, quhilk wes laitlye returnit in Britan, *commanding* him to redres all iniuris done to his sister, and failzeing thairof he declarit him to be inymy to Romanis in tyme *z cuming*. It wes ansuerit be Cattus that na thing pertenit to Corbreid quhethir rycht or wrang wer done to Voada. Als it wes ane vane foly to Corbreid, sen he wes bot ane rude and barbour man, to seme curious in Romane materis pertenyng na thing to his charge; and gif ony iniuris wer done to Voada, the samyn suld be redressit with doubill als mekill, becaus the
 (I. 123) Romanis wald *nocht* dedenze thair maieste to satisfy *pe* desyre of barbour pepill in ony vther kynde, regarding na thing quhethir he wer frend or faa, or quhat he mycht doo.

Corbreid, movit be this outetradius ansuere, renewit the band of pece, and wes confideratt *with* the Pichtis to expell *pe* Romanis oute of *pair* rowmis. Ane schort tyme eftir the confideratt kingis rasit ane grete army of all fensabill men within thair realmez, with mony Ireland men, and maid grete slauchter on all Romanis within *pe* Merß, Berwik, Kendell, and vther partis quhair thai mycht apprehend thame, havand miseracioun of na maner of aige pertenyng to Romane blude, and throw huge hattrent aganis the Romanis brynt Bervik, and bet it down to the ground, and slew all the Romanis soidiouris gottin in *pe* samyn, *with* mony vther inhabitantis of it. Quhen *pir* tythingis wer diwlgatt in *pe* Ile of Man, the pepill thairof recouerit all thair strenthis, and slew the Romane soidiouris in the samyn. Throw quhilk all pepill of Brigandis, Carrik, Kyle, and Cwynnghame come to thame at anys, and passit with ane strang army thro mony Romane provinces, exercing all maner of crueltis that micht be divisit on the said Romanis. At last thai went to Carlile, quhilk was than

kepit with mony Roman soidiouris, and put the samyn to rewyne. In the subuersioun of þis toun the Scottis wer so kendillit in hatrent to revenge þe iniuris done be Romanis, that þe wemen cessit fra na maner of cruelty that mycht be devisit aganis thame.

The samyn tyme ane pepill namyt Murrayis, discending of Alman blude, and doungin oute of thair native region be Roman weeris, come to þe mouth of Ryne, quhair þai pullit vp salis, *with* thair capitane Rodorik, to seyk ane new duelling. And quhen þai had bene lang travellit on þe wilsum seyis, and inhybit to land in France & Britan, þai arryvit in Forth, quhilk is ane arm of seyis deviding Fyffe fra Lotheane. The Pichtis ressaut thame plesandlye, becaus thai apperit strang and habill to support thame in that dangerous batell aganis Romanis, traisting be thair corage and strang bodeis to recouer thair liberte. Rodorik, brocht in Lotheane with þe Murrayis on þis maner, hard tell that the confideratt kingis wer within xx mylis; incontinent rasit his band of

93 Murrais, | and went to the confideratt kingis, quhair he be lang orison lament the tyranny of Romanis, quhilkis had

(I. 124) subdewit mekill of Almany, throw quhilk himself and frendis thair present wer sa impacient of seruitude that thai chesit erar to seyk ane new duelling, than to leif vnder Romane lawis. Nochþeles, þai wer reiosit of na thing sa mekill as that fortoun had grantit thame to cum in þai landis, quhair thai mycht revenge þe iniuris be Romanis, and thairfor desyrit þe confideratt kingis to suffer thame pas in batall aganis þe Romanis *with* the Scottis and Pichtis, to schaw thair manhede and chevelry; and gif it happinnit thame to ding þe Romanis oute of Scotlannd, to grant þame wiffis, that þai mycht increas vnder ane blude with þe Scottis & Pichtis; and gif it happinnit þame to be slayn, þai curit nocht, sua thai had revengit þe iniuris done be þair proude inimeis. Thir desyris of the Murrayis wer the moir acceptabill to þe confideratt kingis, that thai vnderstude þair maist cruell hatrent aganis þe Romanis, and thairfor condiscendit to all þair petitions, traisting be thair incredibill manhede and strenth to wirk sum hie displesoure to thair inimeis.

How the confideratt kingis come in Britan, and be support of vailzeant Quene Voada and hir ladijs disconnfist þe Romanis ; how the Albianis war disconfist eftir be Paulus Suetonius ; of þe deth of Voada, and how hir dochteris wer takin presonaris.

Ca vj

The confideratt kingis, reiosing thus of the cuming of Murrais, procedit fordwart with all deligence to Voada, Quene of Britan, quhilk wes than abyding the cuming of hir
 (I. 125) bruther Corbreid with nobillis of hir realme, and, eftir tender embrasing, sayid to him in this maner : “ Had the goddis fortunytt me to bene ane man, I mycht *nocht* haue sustenit sa mony importabill iniuris done be Romanis. Nochpeles, in quhatsumeuir ymage Nature has devisit me, gif 3e assist to my opinioun, the proude Romanis sall knaw quhat vassallage ladyis maye doo quhen extreme danger occurris. And thocht I may na wais devoid me of wyifly ymage, 3ite sall I *nocht* wantt *manis* hardement, bot armytt formest in the bront, quhair maist danger apperis, *with* v^m Britan ladyis, quhilkis wer all sworne to vindicatt þer iniuris, we sall procede formest in batall, but fere of deth, or bludy woundis, *nocht* regarding þe terribill slauchter of oure self or inimeis ; for I can haif na miseracioun on thame quhilkis hes persewit my tendre frendis with sik cruelteis, as þai wer *nocht* gottin on wemen, defloring sa mony virgyns and matronis be effeminatt lust, putting sa mony riche cieteis and townis to subuersioun, and innocent
 94 pepill to murthir. Heirfor, maist | wailzeant princis, arme 3ow aganis 3oure *commoun* inimeis with sik curage as 3e sall se ladyis afoir 3ow, throw quhilk 3e sall haif sikker victory, for þe Romanis ar sa abasit þat þai traist in na thing mair at this tyme þan in fleyng. And haist 3oure army with all deligence, that new army cum *nocht* with Cattus, the Romane procuratour, quhairthrow 3e sall haif the moir difficulte to resist. Bot I beseyk 3ow, maist wailzeant men, to rander *nocht* 3oure self, 3oure wiffis and barnis, but scharpe bergan,

to Romanis." Quhen Voada had endit this orisoun, the confideratt kingis apprisit hir wisdome and corage.

Cattus, herand thir tythingis, come with ane huge army to resist þe Albanis, and finaly baith the armyis iunytt with fervent ire on all sydis, quhill at last þe Romanis wer put to flycht, thair horßmen slayn, and Cattus, evill woundit, chasit in France. The Albanis, proude of þis victory and riches (I. 126) gottin in þe campe, slew all Romanis, quhair euir thai mycht be apprehendit. In this batal! was slayn, as writis Cornelius Tacitus, lxx^m Romanis and xxx^m Albanis. Be this cruell slauchter þe Romanis wer brocht to sik calamite that, had *nocht* Paulus Suetonius come þe moir haistlie to þair support, the Albanis had *ben* perpetuallye deliuerit of thair iniuris. This Paulus, returnand in Britan, as said is, with twa Romane legionis and x^m men of vther nacionis, ressaute þe residew of Romanis in Britan, and maid thame in his best maner to revenge þe iniuris done to þame.

Voada, herand þe returnyng of Paulus Suetonius in Britan, send to þe Britonis to cum to hir but ony tary. The day prefixt Voada gadderit ane huge novmer of Britonis, with mony ladyis clothit *with* manis corage in bricht harnes. Than come to hir Scottis, Pichtis, and Murrays, in sindry buschementis, arrayit *with* gude ordoure, reiosing of na thing moir than to haif occasioun to distroy þair inimeis. Thair wyiffis, quhilkis thai had brocht with thame eftir thair anciant custome, wer sett in cairtis on the oute bordoure of the campe, to bere witnes quhai did maist wassallage. Quhen þe Romanis & Albanis wer arrayit in vther sycht, Quene Voada, *nocht* vnwourthy to be novmerit amang maist dochty chiftanis, ruschit aboute þe army with hir twa armytt dochteris, *nocht* only to defend hir realme, bot als to recover hir liberte, and vindicatt þe iniuris done be Romanis, & *commovit* at þe Romanis wer falling in sa insaciabill lust that na estait wes had in reuerence. Attoure, the godis, iust pvnisaris of iniuris, was *cumin* to bere witnes of Romane iniquite, quhais wraith had pvnyst laitlye mony of þame with recent slauchter, becaus thai invadit fre pepill *with* wrangus batall. Alß na extreme danger, as than, occurrit, sen þai wer to fecht only aganis

þair disconnfist inimeis, quhais slak corage mycht be restorit
 be na hortacioun of new capitanis. Heirfor, gif thai intendit
 95 to fecht aganis | thair vincust and abasit inimeis, na thing
 (I. 127) was mair to be apprisit than othir to haif victory, or than to
 de anys, for nobill men suld erar cheis honestlye to dee than cow-
 artlie to leiff. On this vther syde Paulus, þe Roman capitane,
 cessit nocht in this extreme danger to exhort his were men
 to batall, howbeit he had litill confidence in thair manhede,
 requiring þame na thing to regarde þe vane mannissing of
 barbour pepill, quhair moir puyssance wes of wemen than of
 men. Attoure, all thai quhilkis apperit in sicht wer bot 3oung,
 nakit pepill, but cognosce of chevelry, and thairfor the
 moir abill to be disconnfist, quhen thai haif provin þe Romane
 vertew and manhede. And thocht þai wer bot few in novmer, þe
 moir glory suld follow, quhen þai with sa few & sufficient
 pepill disconnfist sa huge multitude of barbour inimeis; ex-
 horting þame þerfor to weild thair swerdis and dairtis þe
 moir ferslye to the murdir of thair inimeis & fais, havand na
 sicht to spulzeis quhill victory wer gottin, eftir quhilk all sall
 succede at þair plesour. The aigit knychtis throw lang vse
 & experience of bataill had na leß confidence in þair manhede
 & vertew than victory had bene sikkir in thair handis. On
 the syde aduersair the Albanis, confiding in þe huge multitude
 of armyt men, iunyt be sounde of trumpaitt, eftir quhilk
 followit ane bludy bergane, bot at last the Albanis wer put
 to flycht with vndemois murthir maid on thame, and the
 moir that þer army wes closit¹ aboute with cairtis, throw
 quhilk þe disconnfist pepill had na place to fle, and the wemen
 slayn but ony mercy of Romanis. And thocht in þis bataill
 þe Romanis wer victorius, 3ite þe victory wes nocht gottin
 but slauchter of thair vailzeant capitanis and the maist part
 of thair army. In this vnhappy bataill war slayn lxxx^m
 Albanis, with Rodorik, capitane, and mony of all þe Murrayis.
 Quene Voada, knawing na place to eschew hir inimeis, slew
 hir self. Hir dochteris wer brocht armyt, as þai faucht, to
 Paulus Suetonius; of the quhilk þe eldest was gevin in mariage
 to ane wailzeant Roman namyt Marius, quhilk bereft hir

¹ MS. *clothit*.

virginite afoir, and wes maid king of Britonis, that the Romanis & Britonis be affinite suld haif the moir sikkir peace. Eftir this Marius went in a part of Kendaill quhilk lyis foirnentis Brigance and Annandirdaill, quhair he remanit ane certane tyme in hunting, and namit the samyn eftir his name, West-
(I. 128) maria, þat is to say, Westmuirland.

How Corbreid, returnyng in Scotland, reuardit the Murrais; and of his deth; how Dardannus, þe tiran King, wes slayn by the wailzeant Galdus.

Ca vij

Corbreid, brokin þus with grete displesoure, returnit in Scotland with þe residew of his army, and gaif to the Murrayis quhilkis wer eschapit oute of þe feild, for thair manhede provin in þis last bataill, all þe landis liand betuix Speye & Inuernes, quhilk landis wer callit eftir þame Murraye
96 Land. The | auld inhabitantis of thir landis wer expellit, becaus thai war ane sedicious pepill, and mair gevin to domestik than ony fensabill weeris for the wele of the realme. Eftir this thai war marijt on Scottis virginis, and grew within schort tyme vnder ane blude & amite with the Scottis.

Corbreid past þe remanent of his dayis but ony weris, for þe Romanis, impeschit with civill batallis, had sik difficulte to hald þe south partis of Britan at thair opinioun, that mony 3eris eftir þai persewit *nocht* þe Scottis nor Pichtis. At last þis nobill prince deceßsit at Dunstaffage, þe xvij 3ere of his regnne, quhair he was berijt eftir þe honorabill *custom* of his antecessouris, the 3ere fra the incarnacioun of God lxxj; aboute quhais sepulture wer rasis mony hie stanyis, eftir þe anciant ryte that was vsit in þai dayis. In þe tyme of Corbreid flurist in Italy nobill poeittis and historicianis, as Statius, Persius, Lucianius, & Plutarcus. The samyn tyme the faith of Criste began fast to sprede in all partis, throw preching of the haly Apostolis Petir and Paule, quhilkis tuke na regarde of thair lyiffis nor of riches of the warld, to instruct þe pepill in þe sikker faith, quhill at last thai wer baith slayn in Rome

be wykkit Nero. Sanct Petir was hyngit be þe feit in ane place of Rome callit Monte Auri and Sainctt¹ Paule heddit be the swerde. Bot we will return to oure history.

- (I. 129) Corbreid decessit, as said is, had thre sonnys, bot nane of thame mycht succede for tendir aige. Thair namys wer Corbreid, Tulcane, & Brekus. The first of thir wes norist with his ant Voada, vmquhile Qwene of Britonis, with sik courtelie maneris & havingis that he was callit Corbredus Galdus, that is to say, Galzeart, for 3ite amang ws all pepill þat is componit and honest is callit galzeart. The nobillis maid Dardannus king, quhilk was nepott to King Metellane, that þe croun mycht remane haill to Galdus at his perfite aige. This Dardannus wes of sa large stature that he was callit the grosß king, and was richt plesand to the nobillis or he wes maid king, richt tendre to Corbreid baith in were and in peace, richt obeisand to all his chargis for the commoun wele, quhairthrow ilk man traistit him to follow the gouernance of vther nobill kingis passit afoir him, and becaus he wes ane lusty persoun, of fair visage and body, the commons had him in incredibill luff and affeccioun. Nochþeles, his mynde was gevin to maist effeminatt vices, as apperit in þe end of his lyiff. In þe begynnyng of his empire he vsit þe counsale of his nobillis, and was þerfor nocht far discordant fra þe maneris of ane gude prince. Within thre 3eris eftir he omittit all thingis pertenyng to iustice, and fell in all kynde of vices. He sufferit na prudent nor nobill men vse ony office or autorite concernyng þe gouernance of his realme. Be contrar, be counsale of his familiaris, certane vicious & wyle personis, quhilkis war cumin vp of nocht, war cled with publik autorite, throw quhais coun-
97 sale he inressit ilk daye | in moir schamfull lust, havand all nobill and vertewis personis in na leß hattrent than suspicioun. At last, quhen he had waistit his substance & tresour be assistance of sik myschevous lymmaris, quhilkis had na sycht to his honour, bot alanerlye to thair singulair advantage, he become maist avaricius, desyring vther menis gudis but conscience and ressoun, and slew be tresoun ane nobill man namyt Cardorus, quhilk wes Grete Iustice to Corbreid, havand

¹ MS. *Saictt.*

na cauþ bot onlye that he reprevit him of vicis. Mony vther nobillis & innocent men wer slayn be him in þat samyn maner, quhilkis doynge brocht him in maist odious hattrent to his nobillis and commonis. Sone eftir he kest his extreme besynes to distroy Galdus and his two brethir, becaus the croun per-
 (I. 130) tenit to thame eftir his deceß, traisting perthrow to haif þe realme in quyete to him and his airis. To the samyn effect send ane callit Carmonacus, quhilk was corruppit with his money, to slaye Galdus and his brethir in þe Ile of Man. Carmonacus,¹ cumand finalye in þe said ile, and sekand dew tyme to slay Galdus, wes takin at last with ane nakit swerde vating in ane secrete place, quhair he belevit Galdus to cum, and wes brocht befor þe Grete Iustice of this ile, and accusit of sik thingis, quhill at last he finalie reuelit in quhat sort he wes instruct to slaye Galdus and his brethre, for þe quhilkis he wes put finalye to deth. The nobillis, herand this tresoun, conspirit aganis Dardannus, and slew all that wer apprehendit of his opinioun. The samyn tyme Conanus, ane man of vile and obscure lynnage, & maid riche for assistance to the terribill dedis of Dardannus, gaderit ane grete cunpany to support this tiran king aganis þe nobillis. Nochþeles, he wes takin and hangit on a iebaitt. Sik thingis done, þe nobillis rasis ane army to pas on this tiran king, and maid Galdus to be thair capitane. Dardannus, aduertist hereof, and seand na refuge, wald hait slayn him self, bot he was stoppit be his familiaris in hoipe of bettir fortoun. At last he was brocht befor Galdus be force of armys, and cruelly slayn. His hede wes born on a stayk throw all þe army, to his grete schaym, and his body cassin in a maist vile cloissatt. This end maid Dardannus, þe iiij 3ere of his regne, in þe vj 3ere of Vespasiane, fra þe Incarnacioun lxxv 3eris.

¹ MS. *Cormacus*.

(I. 131)

How mony Romane capitanis for thair febill corage
wer interchangit in Britan ; how Galdus, King of
Scottis, pacefyitt his realme, and wes disconnfist
be Petulius. Ca viij

The samyn tyme the Romanis began to decaye in Albion
throw neglegence of febill capitanis and damage of
civill weeris, for Paulus Suetonius, quhilk wes gouvernour of
98 Britan, for his | arrogance and cruelte vsit on the Britonis
wes dischargit, and Petranius Turpilianus, as moir mercifull
capitane, send in his place. This new capitane at his cuning
desyrit *nocht* to eik the Romanis provinces, bot to keip the
samyn in gude peace, and quhen he had brocht þe Romane
landis to tranquillite, he deliuerit the samyn to ane vther
capitane, namyt Trebellius¹ Maximus, quhilk wes of moir
slaw corage, havand litill experience of cheuelry, and gouernit
the Britonis with mair beneuolence than feir of armis. Bot
quhen he vnderstude grete hattrent and sedicioun rying in
his army throw oure lang pece, he deliuerit the samyn to ane
vther capitane, namyt Vectius Velanus, quhilk on the samyn
maner dantit þe Britonis mair with cherite than ony violence,
and wes in þe tyme of Galdus, of quhom we will schaw sum
thing following.

Quhen Dardannus wes slayn, as said is, the nobillis sett
ane counsale, and fand the said Galdus *nocht* only richtwis
aire to þe croun, bot als ane maist excellennt person, with
sindrie vertewis & hie prerogativis following him, and wes
perfor crovnit in þe fataill chiar of marbell. Eftir his corona-
cioun gaif first thankis to the goddis, syne to his nobillis
and remanent pepill, and promittit to govern his realme
be the consultacioun of þe maist prudent and nobill men of
the samyn, quhilk thing maid him rycht dere & beneuolus
to his pepill with thair incredibill favour, namelie becaus
he wes *nocht* vnlike to Corbreid, his wailzeant fader, and
wes of nobill and ancyant blude of baith his parentis, for
his moder wes the King of Pichtis dochter, discending be

¹ MS. *toebellius*.

lang lynnage of kingis, quhairthrow na thing failzeit to him that mycht obtene favour of ony pepill. In þe beginnyng (I. 132) of his empire he sett his besynes to puneis þe wikkit counsallouris of Dardannus, be quhom þe realme wes mysgouernit and brocht to grete troubill. Eftir this he went in þe Ilis, and pecifyit the samyn of all troubill þat wes rysing thair be the wikkit gouernance of Dardannus, and eftir that went in þe Skye & Lewis, quhair he puneist certane conspiratouris aganis his lawis. Sik thingis done be him, he returnit in Roß, and pacifeijt þe samyn of all troubill falling þan amang þe inhabitantis þerof. Eftir his cumin in Roß the Murrayis come to him, reiosing þat Dardannus, the invasour of þe common wele, wes distroyit. The cuming of þe Murrayis wes þe moir acceptabill to þe King, that thai brocht sindry oppressouris and thevis to his iustice, quhilkis wer sone efter iustifijt, quhairthrow the land was brocht in gude peace. The thrid þere following ane counsale wes sett in Dounstaffage, quhair mony nobill actis wer devisit for þe common wele, and þe wikkit law of Ewyn annullit, quhair the wyiffis of þe commonis wer fre to þe nobillis, bot he mycht noch purches þe remanent cursit lawis to be rescyndit for þe multitude of þoung nobillis, quhilkis wer repugnant to þe samyn.

99 Quhyll Galdus wes gevin | to sik besynes, tythingis come that ane new capitane, namyt Petulius Cerealis,¹ with ane huge army was send be Vespasiane in Britan, to recover the landis tynt afoir be negligence of febill capitanis, and to cum sone eftir in Annandirdale & Brigance. Galdus, heryng thir tythingis, was astonyst. Nochþeles, he wald proclam na weeris, quhill he hard moir sikkirnes þerof. Incontinent wer send certane spyis to exploir the counsale of Romanis, quhilkis returnyng agane with deligence schew how þe Romane army wes enterit in Merß and Berwik, þe Pichtis landis, with mair aufull ordinance than euir was sene afoir in Albioun, thair bestiall drevin awaye, thair cornis and insicht brynt, and ane grete novmer of Pichtis, quhilkis had sett on þe Romanis in defence of thair gudis, slayn. Attoure, the Romanis intendit, eftir subdewing of Pichtis, to cum on

¹ MS. *corealis*.

Scottis. The Scottis, *rycht* effrayit be thir tythingis, *thocht* the Britonis vnkynde, quhilkis wald *nocht* certify thame of the *cumin* of Romanis, for thair sindry humaniteis done afoir to Britonis. *Nocht*withstanding, Galdus, settand his besynes to meit þe Romane fury afoir thair *cuming* in his realme, assemblit ane strang cunpany of chosin men within his realme, to þe novmer of *l^m*, for all Scottis that mycht bere wapinnis comperit to his army. Quhill Galdus wes passand forthwert þus on þe Romanis, mony vncouth *mervellis* wer
 (I. 133) sene. Ane ern flew all daye with grete labour abone his army, to the hye terrour of the samyn, for it wes interprete þat þe Scottis suld be distroyit be þe ern, quhilk is þe Roman ansenȝe. *Nocht*theles, Galdus bad thame haue gude esperance, for he interprete that samyn day suld put þe Romanis to grete labour. Ane armyt knyght wes sene fleyng in þe aire, and quhen he had flowin abuf the army he evanyst sone oute of sycht. Also diuerß fowlis fell oute of þe air, full of blude, in þe place quhair the bataillis eftir iunytt. Bot Galdus, allegeand thame for grete felicite *cumin* till his army, rasit þair spreittis with na les corage than hoipe of victory, and maid thame to pas forthwert with displayit ansenȝeis on thair inimeis. Quhill thir *mervellis* wer sene in þe air, tythingis come to Galdus that þe Romanis wer enterit in Brigance with mair puyssance and ordoure of chevelry than euir thai come afoir, and *nocht* onlie to invaid þe Scottis, bot to mak perpetuall residence in thair boundis, havand sik confidence in þair manhede that na puyssance of erdlie creaturis mycht withstand þame. Galdus, na thing effrait thairof, *thocht* to meit þe Romanis with sik rude cheuelry as he wes lernit be his eldaris, traisting, eftir sa mony happy chancis falling to Romanis be Forton, þe instabill gydar of mortale creaturis, sum tyme calamite to fall, and to geif þe Scottis sum tyme victory, for þe godis oftymes ar sene propiciant to innocent pepill, quhen þai defend thame self fra wrangwis extorsioun. Ane parte of Scottis *thocht* *nocht* profitabill to invaid haistly
 100 thair inimeis, bot erar to tary with | few pepill at thair advantage, quhill þe Romanis be skarß vittalis or sum vther displesouris wer constranit to pas oute of Brigance. This

counsale wes apprisit be þe nobillis, bot þai dreid þair wailþeant pepill to faik of corage be lang tary, becaus the Scottis at thair first conuencioun has maist ferocite, and brokin *with* na thing mair than lang tary. For this reasson na thing semyt sa gude as invaid thair inimeis, quhill thair fury indurit.

Galdus & his nobillis, following this last opinioun, rasit thair campe and brocht þe samyn the thrid day eftir in sicht (I. 134) of Romanis, bot þe multitude of Romanis and thair manþede sa oft assailþeit *with* frequent victorijs maid þe Scottis sa estonyst at thair esperance wes turnit in dreiry sollicitude. Nochþeles, be prudent hortacioun of thair capitanis thai wer recounsalit to þair corage, and maid prayer to thair goddis to send thame happy victory. Incontinent thai iunyt *with* incredibill fury & hattrent. The pepill of Carrik, Kyle, & Cwynghame, in quhilk Galdus faucht, at thair first iunyng assailþeit þair inimeis *with* sik ferocite that þai disconnfist the rycht wyng of Romanis. Petulius, aduertist thairof, send ane legioun of Romanis in þair support, throw quhilk þe Romanis renewitt bataill, and put þe Carrik and Kyle men to flycht. Than followit ane maist terribill bergan, with vntelland murdir on euery syde. Quhill baith the armyis wer fechtand in sik ragious fury, the capitanis pretermittit na thing þat mycht pertene to thair devore, for Petulius, þe Romane capitane, ruschit aboute þe Romanis, fechtand with ardent besynes, and supportit thame with new puyssance quhair þai apperit wakest, bot quhen he saw Galdus fechtand *with* na les hattrent þan will, he sett his besynes othir to tak him be force of strenth, or than, magre his puyssance, to put him to flycht. Bot þan þair raiß ane mair keyn bergane þan afoir, quhair þe maist wailþeant Scottis, na thing omitting þat pertenit to forsy campionis, wer slayn fechtand to þe dede in defence of Galdus. Nochþeles, Galdus, evill woundit in þe faice, wes horsit and brocht be force of Scottis oute of þe campe. Than the residew of Scottis, deiekkit of corage, gaif bakkis, and fled throw planys and difficill passage to thair best refuge. The chaisß followit be þe Romanis in sik properant ire þat all Scottis, quhair þai mycht be apprehendit, war put to wraikis. The residew quhilkis wer eschapit debatit þame

self *with*in ane moß quhill þe nixt morow. In this bataill wer slayne xij^m Scottis and vj^m Romanis. The nixt morow Galdus, evill woundit, collekkit þe residew of his army, and returnit to ane strang castell of þe Levinox. The Romanis abaid þe remanent of þat 3ere in Apiak ane tovne of Brigance, but ony mair troubill of bataill.

(I. 135)

How Vodicia slew ane grete novmer of Rōmanis, and wes slayn be Petulius and hir army disconnfist ; off the message be Iulius Frontinus to þe Pichtis, and of thair ansuere ; off grete displesouris done be Romanis.

Ca ix

101 **T**he nixt summer Petulius, desyring na les to eik þe Romane empire þan to succeid in equale gloir to his anti-cessouris, rasit his campe, and brocht þe samyn in Brigance, to subdew it to Romane empire. The Brigandis maid resistance certane tyme be frequent skarmusingis, for it wes defendit be decrete of parliament, eftir slauchter of sa mony vail3eant Scottis, to feild þe Romanis with plane battaill, or to iupperd þe realme vnder ane chance of bergane.

Quhill þe Romanis wer makand sik herschippis in Brigance, Vodicia, 3oungest dochter of Aruiragus, quhilk wes deflorit be Romanis afoir, and exilit be wraith of Marius hir gude bruthre, to revenge the pollucioun of hir body, and iniuris done to hir moder Voada, assemblit ane grete novmer of Scottis, Britonis, & vtheris quhilkis haittit þe Romanis, and sett apoun thame, beleving na thing leß than hir *cuming*. The Romanis wer effrayit be huge noyis and clamour of hir army, bot moir the thoundrand schowir of dartis, gayn3eis, and arrowis cumand on þaim be preß of hir army, throw quhill þe Romanis wer sa astunyst that þai wist *nocht* quhat wes to be done in þis suddand dangere, for þai *mycht nocht* eschew þair inimeis, nor 3ite had audacite to repres sa grete multitude of vncouth & strang pepill cumand on thame within þe nycht. Quhill the Romanis wer in þis sollicitude, Vodicia *with* forcy hardiment brak þe Roman trynschis, and put þair strang capitanis

(I. 136) to deth *with* sik rage and fury that þe Romane army had bene vtterly disconfist, and þe Brigandis deliuerit of thair seruitude, wer *nocht* Petulius mett þis extreme danger *with* mair prudence. For he with birnand flammys of pik, rosett, and bryntstayn, quhilkis he had preparatt aganis sik occurring iupperdijs, *with*stude his fais, quhair maist noyis wes harde, and dang thame be force of ardent gleid fra his campe. Bot Vodicia exhortit hir army sa aganis Petulius that scho renewit þe bergane. Than was þe fecht sa cruell that þe nycht was *nocht* sufficient to testify þe end of þair labouris. *Nocht*theles, at the spring of þe day Vodicia wes disconnfist, and hir army put to flicht. Petulius eftir this victory inhibit his men to follow þe chais, dredand sum latent *perrell* occurring. Vodicia, provokit ilk daye *with* moir iniuris, passit *with* manlie courage to Epiak, and brynt it *with* all Romane soidjouris and agit knychtis in þe samyn. Petulius, to revenge thir iniuris, send ane Roman legion, be quhilk hir army wes put to flycht, and hir self brocht befor Petulius, quhilk accusit hir quhy scho durst pretend sik thingis abone þe spreitt and curage of wemen. Scho ansuerit *nocht*, bot at scho wes inimye to Romanis, and wald haif put þame to vtter exterminioun, and lakkit na gude will *perto*, houbet hir puyssance failzeit, havand na thing in moir displesour than felicite of Romanis for thair cruelteis done to frendis. Incontinent scho wes slayn be Romanis.

Eftir this, tythingis come to Petulius that þe Ile of Wicht and Kentschire wes rebellit aganis þe Romanis, and Marius chasit, throu quhilk apperit playn rebellioun of all þe Britonis,
 102 withoute þis troubill wer | the moir haistlye dantit. Thir tythingis movit Petulius to return to Kent, quhar he with na litill difficulte dantit þair rebellioun. The Romanis quhilkis wer left in Brigance behind ¹ Petulius wer gevin more to keip þe landis afoir conquest than to conquest ony forthair. The nixt
 (I. 137) 3ere Petulius decessit in þe fluxe, eftir quhais deth wes send in Albion ane wailzeant capitane, namyt Iulius Frontinus, with twa legionis, quhilk Marius ressaut with benyng affecioun. Eftir his cuming in Britan he went throw all Romane

¹ MS. *behnd*.

provinces, exhorting Britonis to persever at þe Romanis lawis ; and quhen þai war pacifijt of all debaittis, he sett him to conquest sik honour as his antecessouris did afoir, and come to Callenderwod, to subdew þe last partis of Albion, quhilkis wer oftymis afoir assailzeit, bot neuer subdewit to Romanis. Ane schort tyme eftir he left Marius in Kent to hald þe Britonis vnder þe Romane lawis, syne come in Brigance, makand na invasioun of Pichtis, becaus he traistit thame sone ourethrawn, quhen Scottis wer wyncust.

Iulius Frontinus, cumand on this maner in Brigance, maid þe Scottis richt astonyst throw faym of his excellennt name. First he vesijt the municionis, quhair þe Romane soidiouris lay within þair inimeis, and gaif þame na litill loving perfor, becaus thair labouris succedit na leß to the felicite of commoun wele than to þe glour of Romane maieste, syne exhortit þame to persevere in gude corage, throw quhilk Albion mycht happin to cum haill vnder Romane obeisance. Eftir this he send to þe Pichtis, desyring þame to renew þe band of peace, that Romanis and Pichtis mycht increas vnder a fallowschip & amyte. Als he desyrit thame to remembre the huge calamiteis falling on þame be thair weeris maid afoir aganis þe Romanis, to haif na cumpany with Scottis, becaus he wes commandit be þe Empriour othir to distroy þame, or ellis to bring þame (I. 138) to ¹ perpetuall servitude. Thir desiris wer suspicious to þe Pichtis, and perfor it wes ansuerit, thai had grete admiracioun how þe Romanis mycht haif iust occasioun of bataill aganis Scottis, or quhat suld move thame, nocht contentit of þe empire of þe warld, to seyke þe last ilis of the oceane, to refe þe Albanis thair native liberte, bot gif it wer be thair insaciabill auarice, sett to refe fre realmez, but ony reassoun, nocht dredand to be pvneist be þe vengeance of goddis for insofferabill iniquiteis. For thir causis thai wald cum in bataill aganis þe Romanis with all thair pepill in support of thair confideratt frendis, for defence of þair realme & liberte, sen na thing wes moir proffittabill for þe commoun wele, and was bundin to the samyn be contract that mycht nocht be dissoluit be na condicioun. Iulius Frontinus in contempcioun of þis ansuer

¹ MS. *to be*.

wes þe moir properant aganis þe Scottis, and come in Kile & Cwnynghame, quhais pepill wer moir strang than ony pepill þat faucht afoir aganis Romanis. Galdus, effrayit be this new army, nochtwithstanding his hevy woundis gottin in þis last bataill, gaderit his folkis oute of all boundis vnder his dominion to defend his realme. Than followit continewall skarmusingis with lycht hors, but ony | grete slauchter, for
 103 Galdus, be noy of his woundis, thocht erar to irk þe Romanis be lang tary þan to invaid thame be bataill, throw quhilk happinnit sindry chancis of fortoun. Sum tyme the Romanis wer victorius, and sum tyme vincust, quhill at last the Scottis be frequent prikking & slauchter on the bordouris wer brokin, and commandit to return hayme for þe defence of Carrik, Kile, & Cwnyngham. Galdus, havand na leß displesour in his mynde than body, was brocht on ane hors litter to Ergile. Nocht lang eftir this þe Romanis come in Carrik, and slew iij^m Scottis quhilkis war left be Galdus for defence perof. The remanent Scottis of þai partis, disparit of support, war randrit to þe Romanis.

How Agricola wes send in Albion ; and how he wan sindry victorijs on the Pichtis, and subdewit sindry partis of Scotland to Roman empire. Ca x

(I. 139) Eftir this victory the Romanis returnit to pair campe. The nixt wynter Iulius Frontinus fell in grete infirmite throw inmoderatt fluxe of caterre and vther waik humours haboundand in þis region, for the grete hicht of montanis and multitude of lochtis & fludis in þe samyn. This infirmite incessit ilk daye mair be vncouth calde, with quhilk þe said Iulius wes nocht accustomed, and mycht nocht be curit be ony medicyne of this countre, throw quhilk he wes commandit be Domician þe Empriour to return in Italy to seyke his hele, and Agricola, ane of þe maist wailzeant capitanis þat come afoir him, wes send in Britan. That samyn tyme the men of Annandale slew ane grete novmer of Romanis in þe bordouris of Brigance, and throw this victory persuadit þe Pichtis &

Brigandis, with þe men of Kyle & Carrik, to rebell aganis þe Romanis. Agricola, aduerteist heirof, come with mony legionis in Lowtheane *with* moir deligence than ony man belevit, and tuke þe municionis of þe cuntre, syne garnyst þame with Romane soidiouris, eftir this rasit his army, and come fordwert to Camelon. Karanath, King of Pichtis, come aganis him with ane strang cunpany. Nochttheles, his army wes sone wincust, and him self chasit to þe tovn. The thrid day eftir the Pichtis renewit thair army, and sett on Agricola, bot þai war disconnfist on the samyn maner, thair strangest men slayn, and Camelon takin. Karamathus, disconnfist on this wise, fled in Fyffe, quhilk wes than vnder dominion of Pichtis, ane plentewous regioun, liand betuix twa firthis, Taya and Forthe, full of lesuris, woddis & valis, to grete proffitte of bestiall, with mony lochtis full of sindry fysche. This regeoun is now bair of woddis, for þe thevis wer sum tyme sa frequent in þe samyn that þai mycht na way be dantit, quhill þe woddis war bett down.

Agricola eftir þis passit with his victorius army in Annandale. The inhabitantis *perof*, knawing his cuming, met him (I. 140) in þair scharpest maner. Nochttheles, þai wer put to flicht and slayn. The residew of þame quhilk eschapit þe fury of Romanis, returnyng hayme, wer slayn be þair wyiffis, 104 | as custome wes. Agricola, proude of þis victory, past to þe Ile of Man, quhilk rebellit mony 3eris afoir aganis þe Romanis, and tuke þe samyn with litill labour. Quhen he had stuffit þe municionis thairof with Roman soidjouris, he past in Brigance, levand his army in wynter scheelis. The nixt summer he rasit his campe, and past *with* the samyn throw þe boundis of Brigance, Carrik, Kyle, & Cwynnghame, quhais passage maid the pepill sa estonyist that þai left thair townis desertt, and fled to þe montanis. The nixt summer he send for ane certane of nobillest men in Albion, quhilkis wer obeisand to Romanis, and exhortit þame to polecy and civill maneris, that þai mycht haif templis and biggingis on þe Roman fassoon, putting þair sonnys to expert preceptouris, that eftir þe end of Roman weeris þai mycht ryis in vertew, eloquence, and gude havingis.

Thus past Agricola þe wyntir sessoun, instrukkand the princes of Albion with sik thingis as apperit for þe commoun wele ; the thrid ȝere following maid his army reddy to pas on Striueling, Fyffe, and vther partis of Scotland quhilk was neuer assailzeit be Romanis. Agricola, bringand his army on þis maner to Striueling, callit in þai dayis þe dolorus montane, becaus þe inhabitantis þerof hard sindry tymes ane dolorous and lamentabill crying, quhilk come be illusioun of wikkit spretis, dissaving þe pepill with vane supersticioun : Agricola, seyng þe castell of Striueling, quhilk wes than desert and falling down, sett on sa strang place, thocht þe samyn vnwinabill, gif it wer reparit with litill cost. Eftir this he biggit ane brig oure Forth, and brocht all his army our the samyn. The nixt daye he laid ane seige abowte þe castell of Mont Bennart, traisting to haif foundin þe King of Pichtis in þe samyn, bot þe Pichtis, astunyst afoir of cuming of Romanis, left þe castell, and come with grete deligence vnder nycht to cast down þe brig laitlie biggit be Romanis, to that fyne þat Romanis suld be intercludit betuix Tay and Forth, havand na refuge. Agricola, wele aduerteist heirop, returnit fra þe seige of Mount Bennart, and followit with grete deligence on the said Pichtis. The Pichtis, stoppit be certane Romanis quhilkis wer left to keip þe brig, returnyng agane within þe land, happinnit be auenture to meit Agricola, throw quhilk þai wer constrennytt to fecht, bot þai war finaly wyncust, and thair King Karamathus chasit, quhill he was put oure Forth in ane baitt. The remanent Pichtis, for fere of this victory, war randerit to þe Romanis with all thair strenthis & municions. Eftir this Agricola passit throw all þe boundis of Fiffe, Fothrik, and Erne, and biggit, quhair he thocht expedient, sindry municions to hald þe samyn vnder Roman empyre, and kest down sindry vther castellis, quhair he thocht his soidiours mycht nocht ische at *perplesour*. This he past þe wynter session, bigging & casting down castellis in Fiffe and vther¹ partis *perabout*e, as he thocht best for þe tyme.

¹ MS. *vthe*.

(I. 141) 105 How the King of Pichtis desiryt support of Galdus aganis the Romanis; how Agricola inuadit þe Scottis baith be sey and land; and how þe King of Pichtis wes slayn be sedicioun of his army.

Ca xj

The samyn tyme Karamathus, King of Pichtis, fled to Dundee, quhair sum tyme wes ane strang castell, bot it was cassin doun be King Robert Bruyse, becaus it mycht *nocht* be kepit fra Britonis, as we schall eftir schaw. The remanent Pichtis, quhilkis war eschapit fra this bataill, convenit to þe said castell, quhair þai exhortit Karamathus to haif na disperacioun of his realme, becauþ grete novmer of Pychtis war ȝite on lyve, vnbrokin with weeris, and sufficient, gif þe goddis wer propiciant, to expell þe Romanis oute of Albion. For it mycht happin that the Romanis, proude of sa mony hie victorijs, may fall in sum invy to Fortoun, quhen þai belevit na thing moir than permanent felicite, eftir sa mony tirannyis done to innocent pepill to be finaly vincust be the last pepill of the warld, for this ilk goddes turnis þe chance of levand creaturis *with* sa haisty wyndis that scho has rasit mony realmez to hie and proude feliciteis, and suddanlie brocht þame vnto rewyne. Thairfor it wes *nocht* to be traistit that þe Romane empire, begunnyn with mortale puyssance, suld perpetuallye indure, bot necesserr to fall. Pocht thir and siklike persuasions of Pichtis wer commendit be thair King, ȝit þai mycht *nocht* raiþ his corage in gude esperance aganis Romanis, bot traisting thair maieste and puyssance sa montit abone þe hycht of naturall chance (I. 142) that na puyssance mycht resist þe samyn. Finalye, eftir lang consultacioun, it wes concludit to send ambassiatouris to Galdus, King of Scottis, to complene þe iniuris done be Romanis, and to haif support aganis þe samyn, that þe extreme danger apperand to baith þair realmez may be þe mair eselye eschewit, according to the band sa mony ȝeris continewit betuix Scottis and Pichtis. Galdus grantit þair desyris, for he had na les indignacioun aganis Romanis for thair wrangwis

conqueß maid on þe Pichtis þan on þe Scottis, and *perfor* determyt erar to put his realme to extreme ieoparde than ilk daye to leif in moir displesour, and at last to be subdewit to schaymfull *seruitude*.

Quhill the confideratt kingis wer gevin in þis sort to resist pair inimeis, the inhabitantis of Carrik, Kyle, & Cwynghame, quhilkis afoir war randerit for fere of Romane maieste, maid plane rebelloun, and slew all Romanis quhair þai mycht be apprehendit, syne tuke pair municionis, and brynt all pair cornez and vittalis, except sa mekill as mycht be carijt *with* thame. Agricola, herand this outrage done be Scottis, maid sik deligence that he come on thame, or þai mycht be aduerteist, throw quhilk sindry of þame wer takin and put to deth; syne reparit þe municions, and garnyst þame *with* mony
 106 soidiouris, bringand vittallis to *per* sustentacioun | oute of Britan; sone eftir, knawing his inimeis gaderit *nocht* far fra his army, come *with* sik brag that he chasit thame *our* Clyde. This river *rynnis* in þe Ireland seyis, *nocht* far devidit fra Levin, quhair besyde is ane castell moir strang be strenth of ane crag than ony artificiall labour, namit be þe pepill All Clewth, bot now it is callit Dounbretan. This castell wes sa garnyst with men and vittalis that it *mycht* na waye be takin.

Agricola, occupijt with thir and siklyk besynes, oure past þe fourt wynter, and in þe spring of þe nixt 3ere he causit þe Romane navy, quhilk abaid his ordinance in þe Ile of Wycht, to cum to Louchfyne besyde Ergile, that his inimeis mycht knaw na landis nor seyis mycht be exemit fra Roman dominioun. Quhen Agricola had brocht his army *our* Clyde, he fand ane pepill thair vnknawin to Romanis, and maid him *with* soft batellis to wincuf þame; and in þe menetym he wes aduerteist be his soidiouris of Camelon that þe Pichtis wer rebellit, and *perfor* left his purpos, dredand grete troubill
 (I. 143) to ryif, bot gif þe samyn wer moir haistly repressit, and come in Loudeane with ane legion of Romanis, levand þe residew of his campe beside Clyde. Eftir his *cuming* in Loudeane he dantit þe Pichtis, and returnit agane to his campe, quhair he abaid the remanent of that wynter. The nixt summer

he began to serche all þe havinnis and portis of Ergile and vther ilis þair aboute with his schippis, and come land gait oure þe river of Leyvin to tak þe municionis and strenthis of þe cuntre. The Romanis wer first irkit with scharp and difficill passage, full of breris & thornis, to thair grete impediment. Bot quhen þai considerit the Roman vertew and manhede of thair anciant faderis, na thing apperitt difficill to þame, and sa with corage ay moir incressing þai dantit na les þe difficill passage than þe pepill þerof, syne brocht awaye ane huge praye of gudis oute of þe cuntre, eftir þat þai had cassin doun all þe municionis of the samyn.

Sik thingis done be Agricola, ane convencioun wes maid in Atholl of all pepill vnder Galdus' empire, abyding þe King of Pichtis and his army to resist þe Romanis. The Pichtis war cumand than oure þe montanis of Granzeben, quhilk rynnys fra the fute of Dee to Dounbritan, and wer noch t mylis fra þe army of Scottis quhen þai be vnhappy chance war devidit in twa faccions, thro quhilk thai ruschit to harnes, and faucht to þe grete murdir of baith þe sydis for ane vane cauß. The King of Pichtis, seying this lamentabill caiß, ran ferslye, but his coit of armour, amang the grete preß quhair þai wer maist keynly fechtand, to haif put þame
 107 sindry, and wes slayn thair, | vnknawin quhat he was. The residew of the Pichtis quhilkis wer left on lyve fra this vnhappy fecht, knawing þe slauchter of thair King, skalit and returnit hayme.

(I. 144) How þe Pichtis wer aggreit of all debaittis amang thame self; how ane grete cunpany of Ireland men come in defence of Scottis; and how Galdus, cumand aganis Agricola with all the puyssance of Scottis and Pichtis, wes disconnfist. Ca xij

Galdus, aduertist of this vnhappy slauchter of his tendir Gfrend, the King of Pichtis, become richt sorowfull, for it constrennytt him to supersede his army aganis þe Romanis; syne callit his nobillis to ane counsale, quhair he, detestand

the vntymus sedicioun rysing amang the Pichtis, prayit thame to riply avise how his realme mycht be debaittit in sa hye dangere aganis his inimeis. Eftir diuerß opinionis it wes finaly decretit to resist þe Romanis erar be skarmusyng þan sett bataill, and to stop that na forthar conquest wer maid on thame. Als it wes devisit that prudent men sall pas to þe Pichtis to repres all sedicioun amang thame, and to send ambassiatouris in Ireland, Orknay, Norvaye, and Denmark, and all vther partis quhair thai mycht haif ony supple, throw quhilk it mycht happin that þe Romanis be lang tary and strait grond nicht othir be distroyit, or ellis be force of hungir doungin oute of þair realme. This counsale was apprisit, and sone eftir ambassiatouris wer send to the Pichtis, schawand quhatt damage and affliccioun procedis of civill weeris, and na realmez sikkir during þe samyn. At last be wise and prudent counsale thai aggreit þe Pichtis of all debaittis, and to mak thame þe moir habill to debait thair liberte, causit Garnardus to be chosin king in þe place of Karanathus afoir decessit. On the samyn maner war send ambassatouris to Norvaye, Denmark, & Ireland, thair auld progenitouris, to the effect forsaid. And in þe menetye Galdus gaderit ane strong army oute of all partis of his realme, and dividit þame in diuerß cunpanyis with prudent capitanis to invaid þe Romanis in sindry partis, throw quhilk þe Romanis wer stoppit all þe summer following, moir be brut ¹ of his army than be ony puyssance, fra forthar conquest on Scottis. The nixt winter wes sa tempestius that na weris mycht be led, and in þe summer following, quhilk was þe vij zere of þe weeris maid be Agricola, come ane grete cunpany of Ireland men to Galdus in Athoill, quhair all þe nobilite of Scottis wer assemblit, and with þame Garnardus, King of Pichtis. All thir with ane consent gaif þe charge of bataill to Galdus, and he, but moir delaye, rasit his campe to meit þe Romanis, quhilkis wer enterit in Cawder Wode, and come with pertt corage, na thing astunyst of his inimeis, for he had fyfty thousand men in his army. On þe tothir syde Agricola, knowing wele all þe ordinance | and huge multitude of Scottis and Pichtis, dividit

¹ MS. *bewte* ; corrected from A.

his army in iij batallis, and come forthwert in þat samyn
(I. 145) maner. Galdus, knawing this, changit purpoß haistelie, and
sett on ane strang legeoun of Romanis, quhilk was *nocht* far
fra his army. *Nochttheles*, quhen þe Scottis and Pichtis wer
fechtand within þe nycht aganis þis legionis of Romanis,
Agricola come with spedy hors and deliuer men to support
þe samyn with ane huge noyis & clamour. The Scottis and
Pichtis, herand this clamour and noyis, wes moir rasit with
mychty corage than astonyst. *Nochttheles*, þai gatt na les
skaith than þai did to þair inimeis. This batall wes cruelly
fochin on all sydis to the spring of þe daye, quhen þe licht,
inccessing ay moir, schew þe Romane ansenßeis and haill
army with Agricola. The confideratt pepill, abasit be þe
suddand cuming of þe Romanis abone þair traist, gaif bakkis
and fled to thik woddis and mosis, quhair þai traistit best
refuge.

How þe Pichtis brynt Inchtuthill at þe cuming of
Romanis to the Watter of Tay; how ane cunpany
of Almanis and Danys come in support of Scottis and
Pichtis; and how þe Roman navy pereist in þe
Orknaye seyis. Ca xiiij

Throw this vnhappy batall the confideratt pepill wer sa
brokin that þai defendit thair landis and gudis the nixt
summer moir be skarmusing than ony plane bataill, abyding
the cuming of Danys and vther frendis to thair support. Bot
þe Romanis, ilk day moir insolent be frequent victorijs, traistit
na thing vnvincibill to thame, and past throw þe Callendair
Wode with purpos to serche all the last boundis of Albion,
and becaus thai war stoppit be the strait ground *perof*, thai
come *our* the watter of Awmonnd and sett down þair campe
nocht far fra Dunkeld, quhair Taye rynnis rycht profounde
with seyndill furdiss in þe Almane seyis besyde Dundee, sum
tyme is twa myle braid, quhen it dividis Fyffe fra Anguse.
The Pichtis, effrayit be cuming of Romanis safer within þair
landis, brynt ane riche toun callit Inchetuthill, quhilk stude

apoun þe river of Taya, that þe samyn suld be na refuge to þair inimeis, and fled with thair wyiffis, children, and gudis (I. 146) to þe Montanis of Granzeben.

The samyn tyme arrivit in Forth ane cunpany of Almanis, namyt Vsipiamis, banist oute of þair natyve lanndis for þe slauchter of ane Roman capitane and his band, and becaus þai bure extreme hattrent aganis Romanis, thai wer ressaut and ordanit to haif thair residence with þe Murrayis, quhilkis wer of þe samyn blude. Sone eftir thame arryvit siklike in Forth ane vailzeant capitane, namyt Gildo, with x^m Danys to support the Scottis and Pichtis aganis þe Romanis, quhilkis wer þe moir plesand ressaut be þe Pichtis that thair commoun wele wes approaching to hie danger. And quhen Garnardus had festit him with maist danteis, he assignit þam to sindry
109 | townis, quhair his army suld remane, and refreschitt þame eftir þe travell and seyis. Galdus, richt reiosit of the cuming of Gildo, come haistlye to Dundee, and thankit him of his grete kyndnes schawin to þe confideratt pepill in þair maist neid, and said in þis maner: "Maist vailzeant Gildo, I haif na litill caus of glaidnes, seyng þe with sa mony forcy and gailzeart pepill brocht hail in Albion for defence of Pichtis, thi frendis of anciant lynnage, and ws, thi confideratt brethir, standand now in sik vrgent extremite, throw quhilk we ar moir reiosit than ingyne of man may schaw, gevand to the þerior infinit thankis, for be thi cuming sik esperance is rasit in oure corage that we beleif na thing moir than victory of oure inimeis, and to expell þame oute of our boundis. And þerfor, quhen I beheld þe and this þi strang ordinance, semys that victory is now present in oure handis."

Gildo said agane he was cumin to fecht for defence of his tendir frendis aganis þe Romanis, and to persever in þair opinion to his end, of the quhilk þai sulde haif sone experience.

Ane schort tyme eftir the confideratt Kingis with Capitane Gildo went to Forfair, quhair sum tyme was ane strang castell within ane loch, quhair sindry Kingis of Scottis maid residence, eftir proscriptioun of þe Pichtis, þocht it be now ane popill tovn. Eftir thair cuming to Forfair thai tuke lang consulta-

cioun be quhat ingyne the Romanis mycht be resistit. At last it was concludit to ceß, quhill þe wynter sesoun wer passit, to eschew vehement stormys, quhilkis haboundis in this regioun, and to mak thair ordinance aganis the nixt summer ; als ordanit ane band of chosin men to be vigilant in sindry (I. 147) partis to stop vittalis cuming to Romanis, and that nane of thame suld ische to invaid þe countre, and to stop that na brig wer maid oure Taye, þat Romanis come nocht be the samyn within þair landis. Eftir this counsale Galdus returnit to Athoill, quhair he remanit þe winter following with Ireland men that come to his supportt, and the King of Pichtis in Anguse with þe Danis.

The nixt summer Agricola returnit to his navy, liand that tyme on Ireland seyis, and commandit thame to pas aboute all boundis of Scotland, to that fyne that na part of Albioun suld be vnknawin to Romanis in his tyme. The marinaris, as he commandit, pullit vp salis, and brocht þe Roman navy aboute þe oute boundis of Albioun, be quhilk waaige þai saw all þe ilis of þe samyn, with Orknaye, Skye, and Lewis. Bot quhen þai wer cumin neir Pentland Firth, quhilk divydis Caithnes fra Orknaye, þai wer aduerteist of þe dangerus flude rynnand *per* with quhirland & contrarius tyde, quhilk na schippis may pass but extreme danger. Nochttheles, thai conducit certane fischaris, quhilkis had *per*fyte cognoscence of þe saidis *per*rellis, promittand large proffitt, to gide þaim
 110 | throw¹ the samyn. The fischaris and vther landwart pepill, quhom thai conducit to effect forsaid, thocht þai mycht revenge þair deth na way bettir than to caus sa mony wailzeant were men and crafty marynaris dee at anys with thame, and to þe samyn fyne led the Romanis quhair maist danger occurritt, throw quhilk mony of *per* navy wes drevin to craggis and sand beddis be force of streme and contrarious fludis. Few of thame come to land, and thay wer eftir takin be þe pepill of þe cuntre, and slayn as thevis. The residew of þair navy, seyng þair marrowis peryiß, drew abak, and returnyt but *per*rell the samyn waye thai come.

¹ MS. *thame* before *throw*, repeating last word of preceding page.

(I. 148)

How Agricola beldit ane brig oure Tay, and brocht
 his army be þe samyn in þe Pichtis landis; how
 Galdus come in defence of the Pichtis with x^l^m
 Scottis; and of his orisoun maid to þe army eftir
 his cuming. Ca xiiij

Agricola, na thing knawing of þe calamite falling to his
 Navy, beildit ane brig of tre oure Tay with moir ex-
 pedicioun than ingyne of man mycht traist, and transportit
 his army be þe samyn nocht far fra þe fute of Granzeben,
 levand behynd him mony strang weermen to keip þe said brig
 vnnett doun be gyle or violence of inimeis. The Pichtis,
 richt effrayit of his cuming, send thair ambassatouris to
 Galdus to schaw him þe appering danger to baith pair realmez,
 and desyrit him to cum with all his powere to revenge þe
 iniuris done be Romanis. Bot Galdus gaderit atoir thair cuming
 x^l^m chosin & rank men oute of all boundis vnder his empire,
 vnbrokin with ony calamiteis afoir passit, and abyding na
 thing bot othir perpetuall *seruitude* or þan recouering of pair
 liberte be extreme ieparde and force of manhede; and sone
 eftir brocht his army with huge labour oure þe montanis of
 Granzeben, quhar he mett þe remanent army of Pichtis and
 Danys, quhilkis wer assemblit in þat samyn maner. To quhom
 Galdus said in þis maner: " Als oft as I behald oure necessite
 and cause of bataill, my spreit and corage inressis, traisting
 this day sall begyn to recover the liberte of Albion. We ar
 3ite vnthirlit to *seruitude*, howbeit na land nor seyis apperis
 sikkir to ws in tymes cuming, for mannissing of Roman navy.
 The preß of armyis and force of chevelry ar na les refuge to
 febill creaturis than honour to wailzeant campionis. The
 batallis afoir past, quhair sindry chancis of fortoun hes pro-
 currit, wer ay led be oure onlie manhede, strenth, & corage,
 and we, as maist wailzeant pepill of Albion, duelling in þe
 plentuus bosum of þe samyn, hes kepit ws evir vnthirlit to
 Roman dominioun, throw strait ground and remoitt situacioun
 of ws in þe | oute partis of þe warld. Now ar þe Romanis
 cumin to þe last boundis of þis regioun, traisting to schaw

(I. 149) thair magnificence in na thing moir than in subdewing of vnknawin and outmest regionis to þair empire. Be þond ws ar na pepill nor refuge, bot only desert rowkis and streme of seyis; and *within* ws ar oure inimeis, garnist in oure municionis, quhais proude tyrannyis can be eschewit be na beneuolence nor humyll *seruice*. The revaris of þe warld, quhen na vther boundis ar left vnspulzeit be þame, now invadis oure landis and seyis. Gif thair inimeis be riche, þai ar full of auarice; gif þair inimeis be pure, thai ar ambicius, and desiris gloir in þair subdewing. Þai ar only pepill of þe warld that regardis pouerte & riches be equaill affeccioun, and makis reyiff, slauchter, and conquest on fre pepill be fenzeit cause, *nocht* cessing fra þair wrangwis bataill, bot quhen þai desyre to be solliter. The children, quhilkis natur hes ordanit maist dere to euery parentis, ar constrennyt be force of thair *tiranny* to *seruitude*. Oure wyiffis, virginis, & matronis, quhilkis detestit thair vnbridillit lust, ar deflorit, othir be thair fenzeit amite, or ellis be thair dispitefull feid. The froittis quhilkis nature has *product* of our ground, ar expendit be þame in maner of tribute. Oure bodijs & handis ar worn with thair surfett labouris, and sustenis be þame richt displeand wourdis and strakis, beand moir thirlit than brutall bestis to laboure. For all bestis þat ar born to *seruitude* ar coft and nureist be þe byar, bot we ilk daye byis oure avne *seruitude*, and fedis þe samyn; and as new seruandis ar in derisioun amangis þe quent houfshald, siklyke we, as vile and last pepill of þe warld in þair sycht, ar daylie invadit to þe deth. Bot now restis na kynde of labour, *seruice*, nor punycioun to sauff ws fra þair tyranny, for all pepill ar þe moir suspek to Romanis, the moir ferocite & manhede be knawin with þame. Thairfor, maist vailzeant men, sen hoip is nane to haif Romanez beneuolence, tak heirof corage, and haif na les respect to þoure eternall gloir þan to þoure fragill lyiffis. For gif Vodicia, þe wailzeant lady, mycht birne ane toun quhen it wes strangest with Romane soidiouris, and deliuer þe Brigandis *perpetuallie* of *seruitude*, gif fortun had bene *propiciant*, it is *nocht* to be trastit, bot we, quhilkis ar moir vailzeant, sall recover oure liberte at oure first meting. And

traist *nocht* bot Romanis may be wincust, for quhat novmer of þame bene slayn be the inhabitantis of Cawderwod? (I. 150) Beleif ȝe that Romanis be als puyssant in chevelry as in corruppit lust, quhilk *neuer* had victory of ws bot be oure avne dissencioun and civill weris? Thai turn þe vices of þair inimeis to þe gloir of thair army, quhilk is | gaderit of diuerß pepill and diuerß myndis, and sall skail als fast sindry, quhen *aduersite* occurris, as þai assemblit to giddir in þair maist prosperite. Traist ȝe that Franche men, Almanis, and Britonis, quhilkis ar ane grete part of þair army, sall haif ony vther affeccoun and faith to inimeis, bot invaid the samyn quhen þai see occasioun? Traist na thing vther bot dreid and terroure ar sa vnsikker bandis of luff, that quhen þai begyn to fail, extreme hattrent sprowttis in þair place. Mony persuasionis apperis to ws to haif victory; for þe Romanis hes *nocht* thair wyiffis present to exhort þame in corage, nor ȝite þair aigit faderis to reproche þame of schaymfull fleynge, and hes na sikker duelling bot quhilk þai reiff be wrangwis rubbery, for quhilkis þe godis hes takin laitlye vengeance, and causit ws haue victory on certane of þaim, quhilkis war vagabound within oure landis. Exhorting heirfor ȝow, my wailȝeant frendis, to be *nocht* effrayit of this vane glance of goldin stremerß and schynnyng armour amang ȝoure fais, quhilkis may nothir gif ȝow woundis nor cleith ȝow fra cald, latt ws kyith oure manhede and strenth apon oure inimeis, quhilk sall *nocht* be of puyssance to resist ws, for all pepill of vncouth nacioun quhilkis ar within þair army sall lefe þame at oure first iunyng. Na thing *perfor* restis to astonis ȝow, for þair municionis ar desert, and thair tovnis, quhair thair agit capitanis duelt, be evill obeysance and wrangwis empire, ar brocht to thirlage. Heyr ar ȝoure capitane and army to wyn gloir and riches. ȝounder ar ȝoure inimeis to put ȝou to tribute, or ellis condamp ȝow to wynnyng of metallis, or sum vther kynde of punicioun, quhilk salbe perpetuall to ȝou and ȝoure posterite, bot gif þe samyn be now recouerit. Thairfor, quhen ȝe pas in brout of ȝoure inimeis, remenbir baith the manhede of ȝoure anciant faderis and þe wele of ȝoure successouris."

(I. 151) Off the orisoun maid be Agricola to his army ; and
how the confideratt pepill wer disconnfist with
incredibill slauchter maid on thame. Ca xv

Eftir this orison of Galdus followit in þe army grete
blythnes *with* noyis and huge clamour be ardent desyre
of bataill. On the tothir syde, *pocht* Agricola beheld his
army richt impacient of lang tary, 3ite he said to þame as
followis : “ Now is þe viij 3ere, my hartlie compan3eonis,
sen 3e be felice of Roman maieste with trew and faithfull
labouris hes conquest Annandaill, þe Ile of Man, Carrik, Kyle,
113 Cwnynghame, with mony | vther regionis quhilkis wer
neuir subdewit nor knawin afoir to Roman empire. And
pocht na les fortitude occurrit aganis 3oure strang inimeis,
than pacience aganis 3oure surfett labouris, 3ite 3e haif sub-
dewit moir boundis of Albion than ony *vþer* armyis did afoir,
be quhilk redoundis mair honour to me than to ony my ante-
cessouris, quhairthrou 3e haif na caus to be penitent of me,
3our capitane, nor I of 3ow, my wail3eant knychtis. We
haif *nocht* socht þe last boundis of Albion be reherß and fame
of vtheris, bot persit þe samyn be strang army and campe.
Quhen 3e, my gude conpan3eonis, wer oft tyme3 mad and
wery oure passing þe difficill montanis, mossis, and fludis of
this regioun, I had sik compassioun that I knew euery ane
of 3ow be 3oure voce, criand “ Quhen sall oure inimeis meit
ws ? Quhen sall þai ieoperd þair lyvis aganis ws ? ” And
now ar 3oure inimeis cumin to geif 3ow feild, as 3e desyrit,
now may 3oure *manhede* be *provin*, and 3oure vertew haif
loving. Eftir bataill ilk thing plesand to þe victouris salbe
displesant to þe wincust cativis ; and, as na litill honour
apperis to ws, has oureseit þe strait montanis, woddis, and
all *vþeris* dangerus firthis of þis regioun, siklyke apperis moir
honour and lawde, quhen we with pert corage has put oure
inimeis to flycht. We haif na cognoscence of þis regioun
to fle, and skaris wittalis to mak lang tary. *Nocht*theles,
(I. 152) we laik na *manhede* nor corage, in quhilk lyis all froit and
gloir of armis, sen heill & honour has equale place *with* nobill

men, and honest deth preferrit to schaymfull lyiff. I am profoundly resolut, in safer as pertenis to me, neuer to flee, and knawis na place appering sikker be þe samyn to 3ow. Albeit it wer na reproche to oure honour, þocht we war defeat here in þe last boundis of þe warld, gif 3e war now to be assailzeit of vther vail3eant pepill, bot, sen nocht þerof occurris, I will desyre 3ow to nathing moir than to haif sycht to honour. And knaw that thir quhilkis ar now arrayit afoir 3oure eeyn, ar bot þe refuse of þai febill bodijs quhilkis war wincust be 3oure only cry within nycht, and remanis lang on lyive becauþ þai ar þe maist cowart pepill of þis regioun. For as ferþ and strangest bestis rynnis most swyiftlie to þair deth, and cowarttis eschapis best, siklyke þe wail3eant Albanis be frequent ieopardijs ar slayn, and nocht remanis bot þai quhilkis be cowart flycht hes debaittit þair lyvis, and wald pretend na resistance, wer nocht þai ar constremnyt but refuge þerto. Now, sen þai ar takin in þis last and extreme dredour with face arrayit aganis 3ow, haif victory, and pas throw 3our inimeis, my gude compan3eonis, and fynys þe fyfty 3eris weris with þis solempn day, that it may be put in
 114 kalendare as end of | all¹ 3oure weeris, be quhilk nothir lang tary nor rebelloun may be impute to 3our negligence."

This orisoun was skairsly brocht to end, quhen birnand desyre of bataill with huge blyithnes followit in his army, and maid baith þe armyis to iune. Agricola, nochtwithstanding þe huge multitude of Albanis, 3it arrayit his folkis with sik craft þat þai suld be oursett on na partis. And Galdus with na les prouidence arrayit þe formest part of his army on ane hye moitt, to disconnfyþ þe weyngis of Roman army, and exhortit þame with ane schill voce to persevere in keyne fechtynge, and othir to haif immortall honour or² perpetuall seruitude.

At thair first meting þe Albanis and thair frendis quhilkis come to thair support faucht adreich, and schott ane innoverabill flycht of arrowis and gan3eis, bot þe Romanis be lang exercicioun and craft of weirfair eschewit þe samyn with

¹ MS. of before *all*, repeating last word of preceding page.

² MS. *and*.

(I. 153) thair tergis. Eftir flicht of arrowis the confideratt pepill faucht *with* swerdis and buklaris, mair semand for *nycht* boure weeris than defence of realmez, as we doo 3ite in *our* dayis, throw quhilk oure pepill has grete dammage, quhen þai meit *with* þair inimeis. The ordinance of speris, seying þair marrowis with schort swerdis defeat, ruschit forthwert, and bure ane grete novmer of Romanis on þair bakkis. Eftir this followit billis, aaxis, lang swerdis, and ledin mellis, and maid sa huge murthir on þe Romanis that þai had bene vtterly disconnfist, wer *nocht* ane grete band of Almanis come haistly in þair support, quhilk was send afoir in Britan be þe Empriour. Agricola beheld quhair maist danger occurrit, and stuffit ay his army with þe said Almanis, throw quhilk he maid vntelland slauchter of his inimeis. The Albanis, seand the huge murdyr maid on þame, wer astonyst, bot quhen þai considerit na refuge bot in þair handis, thai ruschitt all to giddir in ane knoit, but ony fere of deth or woundis, *with* deliuerit mynde to fecht quhill ane was of live. *Nocht*peles, þai faucht moir be force than be ony craft of weirfair with incredibill fury to þe deth, throw quhilk followit ane miserabill sycht, for mony of þe confideratt pepill, sloppit throw þe body, fell abone þair inimeis, vtheris offerit þame willfully to strakis, and vtheris slew þame self, for dolour, eftir þat þai had eschapit þair inimeis. The ground was full of blude, with leggis, armys, wappinns, liand on all boundis of þe feild, bot 3ite baith þe armyis faucht, quhill þe *nycht* severit þame.

The confideratt pepill and vþeris þair frendis, quhilkis wer left on live eftir þis vnhappy feyld, fled to þe nixt montanis, quhair þai biggit huge fyris to ourepas þe *nycht*. Than come
 115 to þame inovmerabill | cunpanyis of men and wemen, sekand thair frendis, bot quhen þai knew sa vndemus novmer of þair tendir and dere frendis slayn, thai rasit sik ane 3ammyr and 3ell vnto þe hevin that na thing wes sene bot murnyng and teris. Than Galdus, þat þe drery chere in his army suld *nocht* be patent to his inimeis, gif ony of þame wer lurkand besyde as spyis, gart his men schowte with schill noyis, and sang with sik fere as þai war all reiosit of sum hie felicitie falling to thame, and causit thame to continew in þe samyn,

quhill þe wemen war removit fra his army. At þe spring of daye, quhen it was knawin þat þai mycht nochȝ renew bataill to revenge þe cruelty done be þair inimeis, it wes concludit that ilk man suld return hayme the nerrest way þai mycht. Galdus & Garnardus, þe confideratt kingis, returnit to Athoill with þe residew of Danis and Norvay men, quhilkis wer eschapit, levand behynd þame richt curious fyris, that þair (I. 154) inimeis suld nochȝ be aduerteist of þair departing. In this vnhappy bataill wer slayn xij^m Romanis and xx^m Scottis and Pychtis, with vtheris quhilkis come to thair supple, amang quhom Gildo, the vailzeant capitane of Danis, rynnand oure ferslie on his inimeis, wes slayn with certane vþeris of his cunpany.

How Agricola send ane new flott aboute þe Ilis of Albion, and brynt þe navy of Danys; of vncouth mervellis sene in Albion; of the deth of Agricola; and how þe Romanis wer disconfist be vailzeant Galdus.
Ca xvj

The day following this vnhappy nycht maid þe flicht of Scottis patent, for the campe wes woyid and plenyst with nochȝ bot dede bodeis, but ony wispering on þe montanis, quhair maist gilde afoir wes hard. Mony Romanis trastit this to succede be pollecy, and commandit na chais to be maid on thair inimeis. Vther, mair proude eftir this victory, commandit chosin men to serche þe woddis and strenthis for thair inimeis, gif þai war fled thairto. Be this counsale ane certane insolent and 3oung Romanis followit sa imprudentlye thair inimeis þat þai wer ourehalit be þe gait and slayn. The nixt morrow Agricola, seand his army sa brokin that he mycht nochȝ renew þe samyn, nor 3ite pas oure þe montanis of Granzeben but extreme dangere, brocht his ordinance in Anguse, and quhen he had subdewit þe samyn with incredibill laboure, maid his ordinance to reman thair all þe nixt wynter. The samyn tyme tythingis come to him that þe maist part

of his navy wes pereist be gyle of certane marinaris, and þe residew arrivit in Ergile, brokin *with* infinitt troubill; Agricola changeing na thing his contenance for thir tythingis, bot traistit his army deliuerit of all vther troubill that was appering to þe samyn, eftir sa lang prosperite and victorijs, be desait
 116 of fortoun, and maid incontinent ane new flott, | *with* marinaris and vþeris that had sikkir knowlege þerof, commanding thame to pas þe samyn waye þai ȝeid afoir, as he
 (I. 155) suld fecht aganis all chance of fortoun. This navy be prosper wyndis arrivitt finaly in þe mouth of Taye, quhair þai brynt þe flott of Danys, quhilk had lyin in þe firth all þe wynter afoir.

Mony merwellis wer sene in Albion afoir þe last bergane that Galdus faucht *with* Romanis. Mony birnand speris apperit, schottand in þe air. Ane grete part of Callendair Wode semyt birnand all nycht, and na thing appering þerof in þe daye. Ane grete novmer of schippis wer sene in þe air. Mony schouris of stanis ranyt in Athoill, siklyke in Anguse wes ane huge schower of paddokkis. Ane monstour was sene in Inchtuthill with doubill membris of man & woman, with sa abhominabill figure that it was distroyit be þe pepill. Thir vncouth merwellis maid þe pepill astonyst, for þai wer interprete to sindry facis.

The Empriour Domician, herand thir hye & wailzeant dedis of Agricola, was¹ richt sorowfull and trist, havand na litill indignacioun that þe faym of ane privatt man suld obscure his imperiall estait. Heirfor, eftir grete honouris devisit be þe senatouris to þe said Agricola for his merciall dedis, Domician send haisty writingis, chargeing him to cum, all excusacioun cessing, to Rome, to ressaif þe gouernance of ane new province, namit Siria, becaus þe capitane þerof was laitlye decessit. Agricola sone eftir his cuming to Rome was poisonit be invy of the said Domician Empriour.

The samyn tyme wes send in Britan ane wailzeant knycht, namyt Trebellius, to ressaif þe Romane ordinance, quhilk stude at that tyme in grete felicite, bot sone eftir it decayit be wanting of Agricola. Than raiß ane grete contencioun

¹ MS. *began*, probably for *becom*; corrected to *was* from A.

betuix þis new capitane Trabellius and Trebellianus, quhilk of þame twa suld haif maist autorite. Trebellianus wes (I. 156) autorist be þe army, and luffit for Agricolais sayk, becaus he was his tendir cousing and full of liberalite, bot Trebellius wes autorist be Domician, *nocht* havand sa plesand condicionis as this vther Trabellianus, and was haittit thairfor be þe Roman army. Eftir lang debaittis Trabelliane tuke sik displeour that he *departit* in France with ane grete novmer of men quhilkis wer of his opinioun. Eftir his departing þe Romanis stude *nocht* in felicite lang, for Galdus, knawing thair sedicioun, come with ane grete army of Scottis and Pichtis in Angus, quhair þe Romane camp wes liand for þe tyme. Trebellius, astonyst be his suddand cuming, *thocht* all thing wes to be done than, erar be manhede and gude werkis than ony counsale, and, *nochtwithstanding* þe hattrent of his army aganis him, went forthwert with displayit banner to meit his inimeis. At last þe Romanis, seand him *nocht* doing þe chargis of ane wailþeant capitane, dischargit him of autorite, and ordanit Sisynnus, quhilk was bruther to Trabelianus afoir rehersit, to be generall capitane of thair army, to govern thame in þat maist dangerous auentur; bot Sysynnus refusit þe charge, saying þe samyn wald raiß grete diuision 117 | in thair army to thair vtter *dammage*. Quhill þe Romanis wer at this debait, Galdus with all his army come in sycht. The Romanis, be suddand cuming of Galdus *nocht* wele arrayit, passit forthwart and mett him, throu quhilk followit ane strang bataill with birnand fury on all sydis, quhill at last Sysynnus was woundit to þe deth, and tuke þe flycht, efter quhom þe remanent army gaif bakkis, on quhom þe Albianis followit with lang chase, and maid incredibill slauchter on thame. Bot Galdus, dredand sum danger be þair continewall fersnes, callit þame be sound of trumpett to cum to his standert, bot þai, rageand with maist furius hatrent aganis Romanis, couth *nocht* be brocht fra murdir and ithand chase of Romanis, quhill nycht bereft þame þe lycht. The consideratt pepill passit þe nycht following with innoverabill blithnes of dansing, singing, and playing, siklike as was in þai dayis. The nixt morrow the preistis come with processiou

in þair maist reuerent habittis, gevand thankis to þe goddis, quhilkis eftir sa mony calamiteis and slauchter sustenit be thame fyfty þeris in continewall weris had grantit victory of þair inimeis.

(I. 157)

How the Romanis wer doungin oute of Anguse, Fife, and vther partis of Scotland, and sindry tymes disconnfist be the vailþeant Galdus. Ca xvij

The Romanis, brokin of thair campe, and destitute of prudent capitanis on this maner, and seying thair residence nocht sikker in Anguse aganis sa ferß and cruell inimeis, rasit þair campe, and come within þe nycht to Inchtuthill, syne passit oure Tay, and brak doun þe brig, þat þair inimeis suld nocht follow thame. Galdus, knawing this, tuke þe riche spoulþeis of thair campe, and partit þe samyn amang his army, referring to thair manhede and wassalege provin in the said bataill; the nixt morrow tuke consultacioun quhat was best to be done aganis his inimeis, and finaly it wes concludit with deliuerit mynde to invaid þe Romanis to thair vtter exterminioun; and sone eftir þai went to harnes with all þe army of Pichtis concurrand to thair opinioun, that þe extorsionis done to thame suld be na langar vnpunyst. And quhen þai fand þe brig doun at thair cuming to Inchtuthill, thai returnit to Dunkeld, quhair thai transportitt all þair army be ane brig of tre. The Romanis, herand thair cuming, arrait thame to bataill, and becaus thai wer to fecht aganis thair victorius inimeis, Trebellius beand in boundage and Sysynnus woundit to the deth, thai maid Celius þair capitane to govern thame in þis maist dangerus bataill; and sone eftir baith þe armyis iunytt to giddir, with birnand fury and incredibill hattrent. Nochtheles eftir lang bergane the Romanis wer vyncust, and þe Scottis following on þame quhill þai war drevin to Callender Wode. In this bataill wer slayn v^m Romanis & ij^m Albanis. Eftir this victory grete cunpanyis of Britonis come to Galdus. The Britonis, herand thir tythingis in Waalis, maid rebellion, and slew all þe Romanis quhilkis

(I. 158) wer apprehendit within þame, and send mony riche iowellis to Galdus, reiosing that he began to recover his liberte eftir sa lang raige of thrawart Fortoun aganis him.

118 Sik thingis done | the Romanis send thair ambassiatouris to Marius, King of Britonis, regrating the intollerabill iniuris done be Scottis and Pichtis, and requiring him *þerfor* of support in haist, or ellis þai mycht *nocht* resist forthir the preß of Albionis, bot constranit be force of Armys to pas oute of þe boundis conquest afoir with sa grete difficulte be Romanis. Marius ansuerit, throw rebellioun of Britonis in sindry partis aganis him he stude in sic dalie fere of his lyiff that he mycht support thame litill for that tyme: the 3oung wenchis, menstralis, and commonis of Britan sang ballattis in contempcioun of Romanis: sik ciuill weeris wer ryssin in Rome, for cruell slauchteris maid be Domician Empriour on þe senatouris, that na support mycht cum fra thame in Britan: and *þerfor* he wald sett him erar to keip his avne realme vnder þe empire of Romanis than to tyne all. The Romanis herand this ansuere, wer astonyst, and tuke sollicitude of na thing mair than to sauff thair army.

In þe menetyme wes schawin that Galdus wes, *with* ane huge army, noch x mylis fra thair campe, havand *nocht* only all fensabill men, bot als all rank women, to expell þe Romanis oute of Albioun. The Romanis, herand of this cuming, left Cawdor Wode, and fled in Brigance. Galdus, knowing all thair waage, thocht na thing sa respondent to the *commoun* wele of Albion as to invaid thame but delay, bringand thame to vtter rewyn, afoir thai gatt ony support fra Rome, and *þerfor* left þe segeing of trynschis and municionis, quhilkis stude *þat* tyme vnder Roman soidjouris, and come with all deligence in Brigance. At quhais cuming come sindry pepill that hattit the Romanis, reiosing that he wes *nocht* disparit efter sa mony calamiteis, bot ay reseruand him to ane bettir fortoun. Galdus resaut thame with grete beneuolence, and bad thame be of gude confort, for his inimeis wer sa brokin at that tyme that he was sover of na thing mair than of victory, and als the hard fortoun, regnand sa mony 3eris aganis him (I. 159) and his pepill, wes brokin, and thairfor traistit, behynd sa

mony cruell extorsioun done be his inimeis, to haif sum tyme ane hie triumphant day of þame.

The Romanis, seying þe confideratt pepill cumin in Brigance with sa hye corage and spreit, war effrait ; *nocht*theles, confiding in na thing mair surely than in thair handis, arrait thame, and 3eid forthwarttis *with* displayit ansen3eis, saing, that day was þe gait to thair triumphant gloir or than perpetuall schaym, exhorting þame *þerfor* to haif hoipe of victory, sen thai wer to fecht aganis ane vane and barboure pepill, and to haif in memory the grete manhede and verteu of thair eldaris, with moir respek to þair common than singular wele, and to fecht to the deth, gif þai mycht na vther waye haif victory. Quhill þe Romanis wer arraying thame in þis maner, ane thondrand schowir of arrowis and gan3eis come on thame, be fard of thair inimeis, and sone eftir ane grete band of Britonis, quhilkis war send be Marius in support of Romanis, come to þe Scottis and Pichtis, quhilk thing maid the corage of Romanis deiekkit. Bot vtheris, seyng na remede, tuke þe mair spreit, and with huge murdir and preß ouresett þe left weyng, quhair the wemen faucht. Galdus, seying that, send ane fresche cunpany of men in þair support, throw quhilk Romanis wer put abak. The wemen wer moir cruell than ony
 119 men, quhen þai saw þair inimeis put to flycht. | The Romanis had bene invadit on all sydis be the Scottis, war *nocht* þai had ane grete strenth at thair bakkis, quhair thair army wes campit. The confideratt pepill followit on thame with huge slauchter, bot þe Romanis dibatit thame self be þair fowseis and trynschis, quhill þe nycht severit þame.

(I. 160)

Off the message send be Romanis to the confideratt Kingis ; of thair ansuere ; and how thai gaif peace to the Romanis.

Ca xvijj

The nycht following the Scoittis, be commande of Galdus, passit to þe nixt wode, to bring treis to fill thair fowseis. Vtheris maid sindry instrumentis, to brek down thair dykis and trynschis. Vtheris wachit all nycht, to stop the Romanis

that þai 3eid nocht awaye, abidind with birnand desyre of bataill the cuming of þe day, to revenge þe iniuris done sa mony 3eris be thair inimeis. The Romanis, seyng þe nixt morrow all thingis redde to invaid thame, desyrit assouerance of the waiche, to send oratouris to the confideratt kingis to trete of peace. Part of Scottis thocht that na peace suld be takin with Romanis, bot victory be vsit on þame with sik cruelte that all vther pepill suld tak exempill to invaid realmez be wranguis querrell. Vtheris, of moir prudence, quhilkis knew þe instabilite of Fortoun, gaif counsale to vse victory with beneuolence. This last counsale wes apprisit, and þairfor assouerance was proclamit, vnder payn of deth, that na men invaid the Roman ambassiatouris with ony iniuris, quhill thai had sayid thair messaige and wer returnit agayn to thair campe.

Incontinent come oute of the Romane campe foure honorabill men with gudeli visage, clethit in thair manere with na les precious þan semand abil3eamentis. Thir ambassatouris, cumand afoir the confideratt kingis, fell on kneis; bot þai, rasit agayn, sayid in this manere: "The Roman army and capitaneis, dantouris of þe warld, desyring 3oure amite, maist invincibill kingis, requiris 3ow humelie of grace, quhom thai persewit mony 3eris with kene batall. Na thing mycht cum
(I. 161) be gloire of merciall dedis sa hie to 3oure honour, or mair wourthy to haif memory, than to haif the Roman ambassatouris falling at 3oure feit for grace, to quhom all kingis and pepill bene constrenytt to obeye. 3e haif wincust ws, we graunt, be manly proves. Our lyiff and deth is in 3oure handis be hattrent of godis, quhilkis ar commovit aganis ws for iniust bataill led aganis 3ow. Thairfor vse sik victory as 3e think respondent to 3oure honour, and wyncu3 3our ire, sen 3e haif wyncust ws, dantaris of the warld; and gif 3e can nocht repre3 3our ire, than slay ws all at 3oure plesour, as we haif wele deseruyt. Nochtpeles, sen 3e, quhilkis ar heyr in þe remoit nvke of the warld, precellis all mortall pepill in manhede and verteu, abuff the hycht of ony chevelry, na thing may schew 3oure humanite mair than to schaw 3ow mercifull

eftir sa huge victory falling to 3ow. We haif na leß experience of þe hattrent of godis than of 3oure chevelry, and thairfor humilie desiris peace vnder quhat condicioun 3e pleiß." Quhen thir wourdis wer sayid, thai fell agane on kneis, with hevy teeris desyryng grace, becaus þe godis had puneist þame sufficientlie for thair offence.

Galdus ansuerit that Scottis and Pichtis, þe last pepill of þe warld, sen þair first begynnynge desyrit na landis, bot quhilkis wer gevin to thame be the beneuolence of godis, 120 neuir fechtand bot in þair pure defence. The Romanis | wer knawin to thame first as revaris of realmes, quhen þai maid ware on Britonis j^c & l 3ere with sindry chance of fortoun. Nochþeles, eftir that þai had subdewit þe warld, and the maist part of Albion, to the grete dammage of the pepill thairroff, thai ar wyncust be the pepill quhom þai held maist rude and vyle, and finaly drevin, but esperance of bettir fortoun, to thair last refuge within þair campe, desyryng mercy fra thair inimeis, to be ane notabill exempill in tymeze cuming, how vnsikker bene the chance of fortoun. And þocht sindry nobill men in his army decernit victory to be vsit on thame with maist rigoure, traisting þair iniuris na vther wais to be eschewit, 3ite he wald be moir propiciant, thinkand sufficient for þe tyme present and to cum that ambassatouris of Romanis, dantouris of þe warld, war deiekkit at his feitt, desyryng mercy. And thairfor, be deliuerit mynde of his nobillis, he walde geif peace vnder thir condicionis, that Romanis sall pass oute of all boundis of Scottis and Pichtis, and sall rander all thair (I. 162) municionis & plegis, with the gudis reft fra thame, and sall geif thair grete aithis neuir to invaid Scottis nor Pichtis in tymes cuming, bot euir to stand þair gude frendis. The Romanis ressaut peace in this maner, and wer assurit to departt bag sauff.

How the Scottis and Pichtis recouerit thair landis be
condicioun of peace ; and of the remanent of Galdus
lyiff. Ca xix

The residew of Romane army wes brocht to Marius in Kent be Trebellius, quhilk was laitlie deliuerit of bondage. This army contenit, quhen Agricola left it, lx^m men, bot at this tyme, throw frequent victorijs maid on thame, war skairslie xx^m left on lyiff. Eftir thair departing all the boundis of Scotland, quhilkis wer garnyst afoir be Romanis, war randerit to Scottis and Pichtis.

Sik thingis done, Galdus returnit to Epiak, quhilk was ane toun of Brigance, and principale chymmeis to all Scottis kingis for pai dais, quhair Galdus maid residence, inducing his subdittis, to increas in civill maneris, and, that nane of thame be idilnes suld fynd occasionis to reiff þe countre, send mony of þame to be soidiouris to Romanis, and revardit his nobillis, ilkane of þame effering to thair vasealage provin in þis last bataill, syne wennt to vesy all boundis of his realme. At quhais cuming þe pepill assemblit oute of all partis, nocht only to see this nobill prince, bot als to doo him honour and reuerence, as maist wailzeant prince and recouerar of his realme. At his enteres in all tovnis the pepill mett him with sounde of clarionis, singing, caroling, and dansing, maid in his honour & faym. Quhill þe pepill wer gevin to sik besynes, ane contencioun raiß amang þe borderaris, contending for þe merchis betuix Scottis & Pichtis, be industry of evill myndit men, quhilkis luffit na pece. Galdus, knawing this, passit to Cawder Wod, quhair he mett Garnardus, King of Pichtis, and aggreit apon all debaittis. Sik thingis done, þe confideratt kingis returnit hayme.

Eftir this Galdus levitt mony 3eris in grete felicite, and, that his commoun wele suld be þe more riche and puyssant, gaif his labouris to institute his pepill in gude maneris and wertew. Finalie this nobill prince, brokin with lang infirmite, the maist wailzeant king that euir was afoir him, decessit at Epiak, þe xxxv 3ere of his regne, fra þe begynnynge of þe

(I. 163) warld v^m iij^c & ij ʒeris, fra þe Incarnacioun of God j^c & iij ʒeris, quhais body wes berijtt beside Epiak with funerall pompe and grete lament of pepill. To quhom ane maist precious
 121 sepulture | wes rasit, in the quhilk was ingravin how he recouerit his realme be force of armys fra the Romanis. Mony huge pillaris wer rasit aboute his sepulture, in testimoniall of his maist precellent vertew and gloir of chevelrye. And that his memory sall neuir pereifß oute of oure myndis nor oure posterite, be decrete of parliament wes commandit that þe landis, quhilkis wer callit Brigance, suld be callit Galdia, quhilk is callit Gallowaye, becaus this nobill prince maid ane end of all his weris in þai partis. In oure dayis that regioun is callit Gallwidia be corrupcioun of langage, that is to say Gallowaye.

This history that I haif schewin of Caratak, Corbreid, and Galdus, Kingis of Scottis, is drawin sum part oute of oure wlgair cornikillis, bot maist is drawin oute of Cornelius Tacitus, and hes insertit nocht only his sentence, bot oftymes his wourdis, that it may be patent to þaim that redis baith oure historijs and the Romanis sall fynd þe sentence nocht far discordand, and knaw¹ be testimoniall of oure inimeis how wailþeantlie oure nobill eldaris has foichin for this realme aganis Romanis; and to þe moir prove heirof, we haif inserit the eloquent orisonnis of Galdus and Agricola, maid to þair army, wourde in wourde, as Cornelius Tacitus rehersis, in þis oure quhatsumeuir werk. And sua endis here the Fourte Buke of þir cornikillis,

and begynnis the Fyift Buke.

¹ A. reads *þat it may be patent to þe reder^s bayth of our storyis and of romanis þat þe sentence is nocht fer discordant fra uther and þat þai ma knaw.*

Liber Quintus.

(I. 164) Off the vicious King Lugtacus and of his deth. Ca j

The empire of the wailzeant Galdus endit in maner foir-said, his son Lugtacus wes maid king, quhais corruppit maneris was na les odius to þe pepill þan his faderis dedis wer lovit. For he was different fra his fader in maneris, and his ingyne gevin to slewth and lust, and slew the riche men of his realme, and confiskaitt thair gudis, sekand vayn cause of tresoun. He put thame quhilk he knew maist wrangwis and auaricius in his autorite, throw þe quhilk followit continewall reiff and murdir, but punicioun, in all partis of his realme, vicious harlettis maist autorist, and vertewis personis maist ourethrawin. This vicious tiran
 (I. 165) persewit his nobillis be vane causis, sum of thame banneist and vtheris slew, that he mycht haif thair landis & gudis. He had sik affeccoun to revaris & oppressouris that he namyt þame in his writingis and counsale for his brethir, and reiosit in na thing mair wourthy than to fynd ane new ingyne to reiff his subdittis. The remanent dedis of his vnhappy lyiff ar sa detestabill that þai ar mair worthy to be hyd þan drevin in ony mannis eeris, for he with vnbridillit lust fulzeit his antis, his dochteris, his sisteris, & sisterdochteris, and wes penitent of na thing, bot only that he mycht noch suffice to complete his lust with þame all. His horribill dedis wes sufferit ij 3eris be his nobillis, bot na thing mevit þame sa mekill as his skornfull detraccioun, calland þaim ald dottand & wode fwlis. He had nane sa familiar to him as fydlaris,
 122 rutouris, huremasteris, & sportouris, | traisting all thingis to succede wele be gouernance of sik vyle creaturis. Nocht-

peles his cruelteis and foly war *nocht* lang vnpuneist, for sone eftir ane counsale wes sett be him in Dunstaffage, to puneis̃ sindry of his nobillis, quhilkis had reprevit his vicious lyiff. In þe meyntyme rais̃ ane debait betuix him and his nobillis, throw quhilk he was slayne with all his mischevous cunpany in quhom he traistit maist, the thrid ȝere of his regnne. His body wes berijt with funerall triumphe, bot þe bodijs of his vnhappy counsalouris wer cassin to þe hovndis.

(I. 166)

How King Mogallus assemblit ane grete army of Scottis and Pichtis aganis the Romanis; of his orisoun maid to þe sepulture of Galdus; and of sindry iniuris done be thame to Romanis. Ca ij

Lugtacus put down as said is, Mogallus, nepott to Galdus, wes maid king. He sett him to follow the lyiff and maneris of his gudeserr Galdus, and to leiff in pece with þe Romanis and Britonis, eftir þe band of peace contrakkit with thame. And to hald his pepill in quyett, but ony sedicioun, he reparit all thing that was mysgydit be his eme Lugtacus. He restorit the religioun of goddis with þe samyn cerymonyis as þai wer first institute, traisting fra he had gottin the beneuolence of his goddis, quhilkis war inimeis to his pepill for the abhominabill lyiff of Lugtacus, that all thing suld succeid þe bettir. For thir causis the Scottis began to ryis̃ in esperance of gude fortoun, seyng thair king follow the havingis of Galdus, and reformand all enormiteis of his realme, throw quhilk þai had na les affeccioun to him than to his gudeserr Galdus, quhen he deliuerit thame fra thirlage of Romanis.

The samyn tyme ambassatouris of Pichis come to Mogallus with hevvy chere, desyring support aganis Romanis & Britonis, quhilkis had laitlie invadit Loudeane with suerde & fyre, and slayn ane grete novmer of þair pepill in defence of thair avne gere. Siklyke þe men of Galloway and Annandale complenit that ane huge pray of gudis wer drevin be force of Romanis oute of þair landis. Mogallus, na les gevin to

polecy and peace than to chevelry, movit be gloir of his wailjeant antecessouris, was reiosit to haif iust occasioun of bataill aganis his inimeis, *nochttheles*, to mak his accioun þe moir iust, send his ambassatouris to Romanis, desyryng iniuris done be þame to be redressit. Thir ambassatouris gat *nocht* bot ansuer full of derisioun, saying that the Scottis and Pichtis wer of litill reputacioun afoir thame, and *nocht* wourthy to be sufferit on lyve, bot gif it wer to keip þe Romane bestiall, and to bring þair wyiffis and dochteris to saciatt þe lust of thair army. *Nochttheles*, gif þe Scottis wer repugnant to thir desyris, thai suld fynd haistely moir scharp chargis, and haif experience quhat dammage is to fecht aganis the lordis of þe warld.

Mogallus, movit with thir iniuris, tuke þe goddis in witnes that þe Romanis had brokin þair band & faith to him, and sone eftir come in Galloway with ane multitude of pepill gaderit oute of all boundis vnder his empire; syne ȝeid to
 (I. 167) vesy þe sepulture of his gudeserr Galdus. And quhen he had maid certane cerymonis, eftir þe custum of þai dayis, he fell on kneis, and said as followis: "Maist wailjeant
 123 Galdus, quhilk eftir sa grete | aduersite recoveritt be fauour of godis the realmez of Scottis and Pichtis *with* huge difficulte fra Romanis, and dang thi strang fais, dantaris of the warld, oute of thir boundis, with na leß honour than manhede, wee, thi native pepill, quhilkis wirschippit the on lyve with mair reuerence and luff than may be tald, fallis now on kneis with lamentabill voce befor this, thi eternall sepulture, the last refuge of ws in extreme nedis; beseking humilie thi dedely goist to be oure help aganis oure inimeis, quhom þou sum tyme disconnfist in thir boundis; and prayis the, gif þou has ony autorite afoir the godis for thi singular vertew sum tyme in erd, to suffer *nocht* ws, thi posterite, to be oure-thrawin with thir dispitefull inimeis, quhilkis invadis ws but titill of bataill; and suffir *nocht* þi self to be wincust with þi iniust inimeis, quhilkis wer sa oft wyncust be the, and constrennyt but moir refuge to seyke thi mercy and grace; quhair throu thi name may neuir empair, bot euir endure in terror of thi fais."

Quhen Mogallus had endit his orisoun in this maner, all his army embrasit his ymage, quhilk wes maid in honour of Galdus, and maid thair prayeris to the samyn to send thame ane happy wayage on thair inimeis. Than þe preistis and wemen, quhilkis kepit þe templis, maid abhominabill cursingis on the Romanis, becaus þai brak thair faith and invadit þe Scottis but iust titill of bataill.

(I. 168) Sik thingis done, Mogallus past in Annandale, quhair he mett with Vnipanus, King of Pichtis, quhilk wes abyding him in þe samyn place with all his army. Sone eftir þair cuming thai past to giddir in Westmureland and Cummyr, and brocht ane huge praye of gudis oute of the samyn, and the remanent, quhilkis mycht noch be tursitt, put in fire. The pepill, effrait be thir cruelteis, fled to 3ork, and complenit to Lucius Anthonius, the Romane capitane, of the iniuris done be Scottis and Pichtis. Lucius than assemblit ane strang army, and went forthwert to meit his inimeis.

Off the orisounis maid be Mogallus and Anthonius¹
to thair armyis; and how the Romanis wer dis-
connfist. Ca iij

Mogallus, seying his inimeis in sicht, callit his men be sound of trumpett to the standdert, and said in this maner: "Maist wailzeant frendis, I fynd na thing bringand nobill men sonnar to loving and gloir than to resist iniure of inimeis, and to sauff thame self vnthirlit to schaymfull seruitude, gevand thair vtter puyssance in defence of thair realme and liberte, quhilk may be provin noch onlie be exempill of vncouth pepill, bot als be singular vertew of oure vailzeant antecessouris. Remembre be quhat manhede & wisdom King Ederus supportit Cassibilane, King of Britonis, quhen Iulius, þe Romane capitane, was doungin oute of Albion be the samyn, throu quhilk he conquest na leß honour to him
124 self than to his posterite. Siklyke nobill Caratak wes | ² na

¹ MS. *Trebellius*; the correction is made from A.

² MS. repeats *was*, from *wes* of preceding page.

les decorit be his vertew in gloir of loving, quhen he, fechtand sa oft tymes, be sindry chance of fortoun, mycht neur be wyncust be his inimeis; and þocht he had ane hard fortoun, and brocht as presonair to Rome be tresoun of Cartumandia, 3ite he had ane invincibill spreit, and defendit his realme to his last dais, and was haldin *þerfor* in sik reuerence and dredour (I. 169) amang his inimeis that he finalie wes restorit baith to his realme & honour, to be exempill to all vther eftir him to haif excellent fortitude aganis all troubill. Siklyke Corbreid, his bruther, in defence of his liberte faucht sa cruellie¹ aganis the proude Romanis, howbeit thai did insufferabill iniuris to his realme, that thai for huge murdir maid on thame mycht neuer invaid this realme during his lyiff. Remenbir als my gudeserr, the nobill, wail3eant Galdus, howbeit he was invadit with perpetuall troubill, fechtand *nocht* onlie aganis Romanis bot aganis fortoun, sa oft vincust and chasit, his army brokin, and ilk calamite incressing abone vther, 3ite with mychty corage perseuerit ay in hoip of bettir fortoun, quhill at last be marciall proves & manhede he conquest ane huge victory on his inimeis, and put thame to sik thirlage that thai, quhilkis war afoir *nocht* content of þe haill monarchy, mycht *nocht* that tyme debait thame within þair strenthis. Throu quhilke he gatt þe excellent gloir that neur afoir succedit to levand creature, havand þe ambassatouris of Romanis, be quhom all kingis & realmez bene subdewit, deiekkit at his feitt, desyring grace. In moir witnes heirop, the place quhair þe Romanis wer defeat is callit Gallowaye, that the faym of his illustir werkis sall evir reman in memory, for þe moir & strang that his fais wer, the moir gloir succedis to him and his pepill. Heirfor, 3e, my hartlie conpan3eonis, quhilkis ar þe posterite of thai forsy campionis quhilkis sum tyme faucht aganis þe Romanis with þe said Galdus, remembre þat 3oure bataill is pis daye only aganis þame quhilkis wer sa oft afoir wincust, levand only be 3our tollerance. Know 3oure self as victorius with vnbrokin corage, as defendouris of 3oure liberte, wyiffis, landis, and gudis, and *nocht* movit to invaid vther realmez be corruppit auarice, bot alanerly to debait 3oure awin. Con-

¹ MS. *cruelle*.

sidder eik quhat schayme, quhat calamite, sall follow, gif
 3e be ourethrawin with Romanis. Traist *nocht* bot the samyn
 (I. 170) manhede is in 3our handis as wes in 3oure eldaris. Heirfor,
 pas forthwart, my wail3eant campions, sen victory is in 3oure
 handis, and put 3oure wincust fais to flicht, for all thingis
 sall follow as 3e desire, gif 3e haue corage."

Mogallus be thir wourdis inflammyt 3e myndis of his army
 to bataill. On the tothir syde Lucius Anthonius wes na les
 deligent to exhort 3e Romanis, besekande thame to remembre
 be quhat laboure and manhede 3ayre wail3eant eldaris ouresett
 3e preß of inimeis, and how 3ai wer to fecht presently with
 125 barbour and | ¹ vnvertewis pepill, quhais violence brekis
 thair resoun and body, movand thame to batall aganis thair
 pussance, and 3erfor, quhen maist danger occurrit, thai war
 sonnest brokin; desyring his army 3erfor to haif confidence
 in Roman corage, but ony fere of thair furious inimeis, quhilkis
 luffis ay in perpetuall sedicioun, quhen 3ai want batall, and
 gaderit to giddir moir for Roman hatrent than 3air avne
 wele; amang quhom war sa odius contensionis 3at thair
 inimeis mycht haif sikkir victory, and wyn grete honour but
 ony debait, throw quhilk thaj mycht recover the landis tynt
 afoir be slewth of Trebellius.

Quhen 3ir wourdis wer said, baith 3e armyis iunit to giddir
 with mair hardent ire than may be told. The Romanis schott
 3air dartis, and the confideratt pepill schott arrowis, gan3eis,
 and stanys. Quhen 3e wemen, of quhilkis ane huge novmer
 wes in 3is army, had cassin incredibill novmer of stanys
 aganis thair inimeis, tuke maist afull wappy3nis, and faucht
 abone 3e cruelete of men, ruschand on thair fais but ony fere
 of woundis or deth. The strenth of 3e ground was grete
 support to our folkis and huge impediment to oure fais, for
 thai fell oft tymes amang mossis, myris, and craggis, throw
 quhilk 3air army wer oft tymes sloppit, nocht knawing 3e
 ground. Noch3eles, 3e bataill was keynlie fochtin in all
 partis, bot maist cruelly in 3e myddill ward, quhair 3e grete
 multitude of baith 3e armyis faucht, the Romanis contending
 to sauff 3ame fra thirlage of barboure pepill, and 3e Scottis

¹ MS. repeats *and*, last word of preceding page.

to keip þe victory gottin be manhede of thair eldaris. Eftir lang and maist cruell bergan the armyt knychtis left þair swerdis, and faucht aganis vther with dagaris, and *pocht* (I. 171) innovmerabill of þame wer slayn on all sydis, ȝite nane of þe armyis apperit to geif place to vther. The capitanis, seand sa cruell murdir on athir syde, were penitent that thair army iunytt that daye.

At last þe Scottis and Pichtis be innative ferocite began to put thair inimeis abak, *nocht* as disconnfist, bot eschewing sum thing þe bergan, becaus þai mycht *nocht* resist forthir the multitide & preß of þair inimeis. Lucius, knawing this, exhortit his men with ane huge clamour to renew þe battell, and to geif *nocht* thair bakkis to thair barbour inimeis, to be degeneratt fra þe gloir of Romane maieste. Lucius, makand this hortacioun in þis maner, was woundit with ane arrow, and fled sone eftir oute of þe feild. The residew of his army fled haistlye to þe nixt woddis, bot ane cunpany of þame, stoppit to cum to þair marrowis, and, *nocht* knawing quhair to fle, wer slayn be Scottis, becaus þai wald *nocht* be takin as presonaris.

How Adriane Emprioure biggit ane wall betuix the Scottis and Britonis; off the corruppit lyiff of Mogallus, and his vnhappy end. Ca iiij

126 **B**e than Phebus begouth to declyne vnder oure emispery, quhen the confideratt pepill assemblit thair army to giddir be sound of trumpett fra the chaisß of thair inimeis, and passit þe remanent nycht with incredibill blithnes and noyis of singing and karoling. At the spring of the day thai gaderit the riche spoulȝeis of thair inimeis, and tuke consulta-cioun quhat was best to be done for þe wele of thair army, and maid sacrifice in honour of *þer* godis for the victory gevin to thame, and eftir this tuke sikker examinacioun quhat (I. 172) personis did maist wassallage in þis last battaill, and revardit þame *pereftir*.

Lucius Anthonius, wincust in þis maner, send to þe Empriour

Adriane, schawin quhat iniuris wer laitlie done be Scottis and Pichtis, desyring support *perfor* to be send haistlye in Britan, but quhilk *pe* Romanis suld be othir schaymfully doungin oute of the samyn, or than thirlit to seruitude of barbour pepill. Adriane, aduerteist in *pis* maner, come with ane huge army in Albione to revenge *pe* cruelteis done be Scottis and Pichtis. Eftir his *cuming* he was aduerteist how *pai* with moir cruelte than afoir war *cumin* in *pe* Romane landis, cessing fra na maner of cruelteis that mycht be devisit on the inhabitantis thair of. Adriane, astonist for thir importabill iniuris, and richt desirous to recover the samyn, come to zork, quhair he remanit *with* the remanent army of Britan, quhill he was providit with twa monethis vittalis to pas on *pe* Scottis & Pichtis. Eftir this he rasit his campe, and with grete difficulte brocht *pe* samyn oure Tyne. The fourte day he come in *pe* landis quhilkis wer waistit be *pe* Scottis, and becaus he fand euery thing *pat* mycht nureiß his army destroyit, he began to inquire of quhat lyiff and condicioun *pir* pepill bene that maid sik extorsionis in Roman landis. It wes schawin, thai wer ane ruyd and vndantit pepill, kepend thair campe but howsis, *nocht*withstanding ony winter stormes or cauld, and lay be sik strenth of ground that *pai* mycht *nocht* be invadit, but extreme damage of *pe* Romane army. For thir causß he left purpos to pas ony forthir, and thocht sufficient to him for that iornay to repres *pe* troubill amang *pe* Britonis; and, to deliuer thame fra perpetuall infestacioun in tyme *z* *cuming* of all inymeijs, he beildit ane huge wall of faill and devaitt, rycht braid and hye, fra the mowth of Tyne, formentis the Almane seysis, to *pe* flude of Esk, formentis *pe* Ireland seysis. This wall wes lxxx mylis of lenth. It is sayid in oure cornikillis that *pis* dyk wes begunnyn be Adriane, and endit be Seveir *pe* Empriour, and *perfor* callit *pe* Wall of Severe, bot we follow Veremound, and callis it *perfor* the Wall of Adrian, fra *pe* first fundour. Sone eftir Adriane passit in Westmuirland & Walis, quhair he was aduerteist of rebellion maid aganis him be the inhabitantis of¹ *pe* saidis landis. *Nocht*peles, the principall movaris *perof* wer puneist, and *pe*

¹ MS. omits *of*.

countre restorit agane to Romane opinion. Eftir this he
(I. 173) come to Londoun and Kent, and revardit þe nobillis of Britan
for thair obeisance to Romane empire.

127 Sik thingis | done, he returnit in France with Lucius
Anthonius, quhilk wes troubillit with infirmite, and left
Victorinus in his place. This Victorinus, eftir þe departing
of Adriane, stuffitt all the municionis and castellis quhilkis
wer nerrest þe said Wall with strang garisoun of soidiouris,
to resist þe violence of Scottis and Pichtis, throw quhilk
happinnit mony 3eris eftir grete tranquillite amang the
Britonis. The Scottis and Pichtis partit amang thame all
the landis of Britan liand be 3ond þe Wall of Adriane: the
landis formentis Ireland seyis wer gevin to Scottis, and þe
landis fornens the Almane seyis to Pichtis. The municionis
liand nixt þe Wall of Adriane wer garnyst, with strong soid-
iouris, to keip the countre fra iniure of Romanis.

The residew of Mogallus lyiff wes in qwielt, but ony vncouth
or domestik weris. Nochþeles, eftir this huge victory of
Romanis he degenerit fra vertew in maist detestabill vicis,
and become sa greedy and lichorus in his eild that he eschamyt
of na maner of wyce nor oppression aganis his liegis, defloring
þe wyiffis of his nobillis and commonis, but ony schaym or
respect to thair estait, and ofttymes fuyl3eit virginis & matronis
aganis þair will, makand derogacioun to þe lawis maid contrar
the samyn. He gaif licence to thevis and revaris to tak gere
of þair nychtbouris, gif þai wanttit, but punysioun, and slew
all þe riche men of þe cuntre for vayn cau3s. He was þe first
king þat devisit þe gudis of banyst or condampnit personis
to be confiskatt to þe Kingis vse, but ony respect to þair
(I. 174) wyiffis, childern, or dettouris. Befoir that tyme the gudis,
landis, and possessionis of all condampnit personis come, but
ony pley, to fre disposicioun of þair wyiffis and childern.
This law, quhilkis schawis wele the curst auarice of Mogall,
is 3ite observit, bot ony reuocacioun, in þis regioun.

Bot his vnhappy dedis wer noch lang vnpuneist, for þe
nobillis and commonis, commovit be sik innovmerabill iniuris,
conspyrit aganis him, and instruct certan men to waitt ganand
place and tyme for his slauchter. Mogallus, knowing þis

conspiracioun be counsale of iuglouris, quhilkis wer ryght frequent in þai dayis, maid him to fle in þe Ilis; and, to dissimill his passage, went to his bed sonnar than he was wonntt, as he had bene strikkin *with* suddand infirmite. Sone eftir he armit him with his hallcrik, bow, and arrowis, and fled with twa seruandis to þe nixt wode, levand behynd him þe residew of his curst cunpany, like a tiran, quhilk confidis in na creature. The nobillis quhilkis wer conspirit aganis him, aduerteist of his fleyng, followit in sindry partis, throu quhilk he was at last takin, þe xxxvj 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun of God, j^e xlvij 3eris. His hede wes
 128 schorn | fra his body, and borne on ane staik to the nixt toun, quhair ane multitude of pepill wer gaderit, to his perpetuall schaym. It wes devisit be þe pepill to cast his body to wilde beistis, that the samyn mycht be devorit be þame. Nochpeles, þe nobillis, movit be þe nobill dedis of Galdus, his gudeserr, commandit his hede and body to be burijt amang þe anciant sepulturis of his forbearis. This schamfull and vnhappy end had Mogallus, degeneratt fra þe honeste of his nobill antecessouris.

(I. 175)

Off nobill clerkis; how þe vicius King Conarus wes degradit of autorite, and his servandis for thair evill counsale put to deth on iebaittis. Ca v

Eftir þe deth of Dardanus in to thir dayis wer mony excellent clerkis in sindry partis of þe world: as Quintiliane, oratour; Serapio, medicinar; Philo Iew, philosophoure & oratour; Cayus Plenius Secundus, that wrait the Historie Naturall; Cornelius Tacitus, historian, quhom we haif followitt in this werk; Cecilius Plenius Secundus, oratour; Suetonius Tranquillius Ptolomeus, maist excellennt in methamatik, quhilk brocht þe Cosmografy of Ptolomeey afair rehersit to ane bettir knowlege with mony addicionis. And in thai dayis wer excellent poeittis: as Iuuenail, Silius Italicus, Marcialis, with mony vperis. The samyn tyme þe Roman empriouris persewit cruelly all Cristin pepill, and

brocht ane huge novmer of þame to martirdome, noch knowing þe constance of Cristin faith, quhilk inressit ay þe moir strenthy that it wes persewit be tyranny, and augmentit with na thing sa mekill as be scharp persecucioun maid on þe samyn. Bot we will return to oure history.

Mogallus mycht wele haif bene novmerit in the begynnyng of his empire amang þe maist nobill princis in erd, bot in þe end he was nothir wourthy to be king, nor ȝite ane levand creature, deseruing ¹ wele þe end þat he gatt. And Conarus, his son, quhilk succedit eftir him, had litill bettir fortoun or maneris, for he was ane grete persuasour of his faderis slauchter, and sa be vnnaturall cruelte succedit to þe crowne. ȝite in þe begynnyng of his empire he abstenit fra vices quhilkis he wes inclynit to, bot quhen þe realme wes stabillit ² to (I. 176) him in sikkir peace, he began to waist all þe rentis & tresoure pertenand to þe crowne in his infamyt lust, and maid vp certane vicius personis, quhilkis commendit his abhominabill maneris; throw quhilk he dispitit all vertew, and gouernit þe realme be counsale of corruppit lymmaris, but ony sicht to his nobillis, castand him to bring vp surfett and ryottis banketting, contrar þe temporance of his anticessouris. And quhen he had waistit all his tresoure and substance in mony schaymfull wayis, he convenit his nobillis to ane counsale, 129 in þe quhilk he | schew be orisoun the honest and triumphant cheir of his houß, as na litill gloir suld be gevin to him þerfor; and becaus his rentis and tresoure wer noch sufficient to sustene the samyn as he vsit, he desyrit ane generall stent to be takin throw the realme of ilk persoun eftir his faculte to his proffitt. It wes ansuerit be his nobillis, thai mycht noch geif ane haisty deliuerance in sa grete ane mater, sen þe samyn wes neuir afoir desirit be ony prince in tymes bigane. Nochttheles, thai suld tak consultacioun, and convene þe nixt day with þair ansuer.

The nycht following the nobillis ȝeid to þair counsale, quhair þai concludit to put þe King in presoun, and degraid

¹ MS. *desiring*. A later hand underlines, without crossing out, *siring*, and interlines *seruing*. The correction in the text is made from A.

² MS. *stobillit*, corrected from A.

him of all autorite and honouris for his demerittis. The nixt daye þai assemblit to ane counsale, and sayid to þe King, thai had na litill wounder þat þe rentis pertenand to þe crowne may nocht suffice to Conarus þair King, havand his realme in peace but ony troubill, considering sa mony wailzeant & nobill princes, baith in tyme of weire and peace, wes contentit with þe samyn. Quhen maist frequent and dangerous batall occurrit for þe nobill Galdus, quhilk recouert his realme, desirit neuir stent of his nobillis for na maner of charge that he sustenit aganis his inymeis, knowing wele how odius it wes to þe commonis to ask ony exaccionis fra þame. And ȝit þe gouernance of Conarus wes vnlike to Galdus. For þe nobill Galdus, be counsale of prudent men, removit all prouocacioun of lustis fra his army, with all vther thingis that mycht mak thame effaminate, gevand his labouris to defend his subdittis and resist his inimeis. Be contrair, Conarus wes drownit in lust, passing his lyiff amang vicious harlottis, hure maisteris, rutouris, and vtheris wile and abhominabill creaturis, gydand þe realme, quhen hiest besynes occurrit, (I. 177) be thair counsale, distroing þe nobillis of his realm to mak vp his myschevous lymmaris, and finaly, eftir mony importabill iniuris done be him, had socht ane thing richt vncouth and odius to all Scottis, to lere þair king in tymes cuming to desyre exacionis of þe pepill, quhairthrou þair riches and gudis may cum finaly in his handis. Nochtheles, his vnhappy counsalouris suld be dissauit of þair intencionis, quhilkis had mysgydit þe realme mony ȝeris bigane, and suld be brocht to sik estait that þai suld mystere litill exaccioun in tyme cuming. And þerfor thai war deliuerit, be lang consultacioun, to deprive him of all autorite, and to punyſ his myschevous cunpany to þe deth, to be exempill to all pepill in tyme cuming quhat danger and perrell followis to men of vile & obscure lynnage, makand þame to abuse realmis, and kingis ; als that kingis may vnderstand quhat danger is to thame to be iniurious tirannis to thair subdittis.

Conarus, herand thir wourdis, sayid : " How dar ȝe, proude and schaymfull fwlis, pretend sik thingis aganis me and my seruandis ? This tresoun that ȝe haif devisit aganis me sall

return in *dammage* of þoure self, and salbe punyst in maist
 cruell manere þat may be devisit." The nobillis ansuerit
 130 þat he wes vnworthy to be | king, suffering þe realme to be
 distroyit be his corruppit lust and consale of vicious rebaldis.
 The nobillis ruschit to giddir incontinent, and tuke him be
 force of armys to presoun, quhair he remanit to his deth.
 His seruandis, for thair assistance to his foly, war hangit
 on iebaittis, as thai deservit.

How Ergadus was maid *gouernour* of Scotland during
 þe tyme of Conarus in presoun, and *gouernit* the
 realme in grete iustice. Ca vj

Quhill Conarus was thus degradit of autorite and put in
 presoun, the nobillis maid Ergadus *gouernour* of the
 realme, to vse þe Kingis autorite quhill the counsale had
 providit sum vther weye for þe samyn. This Ergadus in þe
 (I. 178) begynnyng of his autorite gaif his laboure for the ornament
 of the *commoun* wele, and stanchit thift, refe, & slauchter,
 with vther exorbitant crymez, be na les ingyne than laboure,
 with sik moderacioun that he semytt nothir to slaw nor ȝite
 to cruell in administracioun of iustice, throw quhilk he was
 traistit to be ane *mirrou* of vertew till all nobill princes. Bot
 eftir, as oft happinnis, grete felice brekis men fra iustice:
 he left þe maneris quhilkis wer apprisit, and began to govern þe
 realme, quhen hiest chargis occurrit, be suspicious persons,
 & schew discord amangis his nobillis, to that fyne that
 þai mycht haif þe maa erandis adoo with him, throw quhilk
 he mycht be þe moir strang, gif ony sedicioun raisß amangis
 þame. He marijt þe Prince of Fiffis dochter, and be affinite
 thairof drew þe Pichtis to his frendschip. The nobillis, *nocht*
 contentit of his *gouernance*, callit him to ane counsale, quhair
 he was scharplie reprevit that he, chosin *gouernour* be þair
 autorite for vertew than appering in hym, suld mak him
nocht onlye to follow þe vicius lyiff of Conarus, quhom þai
 deprivitt for his detestabill dedis, bot als to mary with vncouth
 blude, but thair avise, and gyding þe realm be counsale of

suspicious personns, to the grete dammage of þe commoun wele, throw quhilk the gude name that he conquest afoir in the begynnyng of his empire, wes lost, and reputt maist vicious, throw cumpany of vnhappy rebaldis, quhilkis wer *nocht* wourthy to be levand. Argadus, confoundit with this repreif, prait þe lordis with peteous chere to haif him excusit for þat tyme be thair beneuolence, and *nocht* to puneifþ him according to his demerittis, for he suld emend all displesouris quhilkis war done to þe nobillis and *commonis* be his defalt in tymes cuming at thair sycht, submitting hym to þair correc-cioun in quhat sort þai plesit. The nobillis, movit na les with his pietius cheir than wourdis, continewit him still in autorite, and kest all his counsalouris in presoun.

Argadus, correkkit be his nobillis in þis maner, governit the realme in gude iustice, and did na thing concernyng public materis but consultacioun of his nobillis. And becaus diuerß tovnis and citeis of þe realme had oure large priuilege in administracioun of iustice, he maid derogacioun to the samyn, commanding þame to pvneifþ na thing bot small crymes, and all hie offensis to be replegit to his grete iustice. Als he maid
 131 grete deligence to serche thevis, revaris, | and oppressouris, quhilkis did grete troubill in Argile, Ilis, and vtheris landis þerabout, and quhair thai war apprehendit, thai war but mercy rasit on iebaittis. He commandit all personis quhilkis
 (I. 179) had office or autorite of him to absteyn fra sik thingis as mycht mak þame inebriatt, that þai mycht haif sum preeminent wisdome abone the *commonis*. He commandit all scudlaris, tabernaris, dronkottis, and vther siklik vile pepill, devisit moir for lust ¹ than ony necessair sustenance of men, to be banyst oute of þe realme, and thair gudis confiskatt, quhair thai mycht be apprehendit. Finaly the commoun pepill, sum part be beneuolence of Argadus, and sum be thir institucionis, wer re-formit in gude maneris, quhill at last Conarus, be lang seyknys and malancoly takin of presoun, decessit, þe xiiij 3ere eftir his coronacioun, throw quhilk the gouernance ² of Argadus cessit.

¹ MS. *luff*. Later hand underlines *luff*, and interlines *lust*. The correction in the text is made from A.

² MS. *governane*.

How king Ethodius pacifijt the Ilis ; how the Scottis and Pichtis brak down þe Wall of Adriane, and faucht aganis þe Romanis ; off grete iniuris done be Calphurnius Agricola in Merß & Loudian. Ca vij

Conarus decessit in presoun, as said is, Ethodius, nepott to King Mogoll, was maid king be assistance of Argadus, and for that cauß Argadus wes maist autorist during his tyme. Ethodius, maid king in þis maner, 3eid to vesy the boundis of his realme, and come in þe Ilis ; at quhais cuming wes schawin that certane grete men and capitanis of þe samyn, be sedicioun of lymmaris, had laitlie fochin amang thame self with mekill slauchter on all sydis. Ethodius, knawing this, send Argadus with ane grete power to serche þe causaris of debait. Argadus maid sik deligens that he brocht þe principale movaris of thir contenciouns to the Kingis iustice, quhair thai war puneist to þe deth, bot þe remanent commonis redemit thair liffis be composicioun of þair gudis, throw quhilk þe countre wes pacifijt of all debaittis.

Eftir this Ethodius returnit in Albion, and wes aduerteist of his cuming to Inverlochte that þe Romanis had brokin þe Wall of Adrian, and drevin ane huge praye of gudis fra þe landis of Scottis and Pichtis, throw quhilk mony of þe inhabitantis of þe countre, quhilkis come in defence of þair gudis, war slayn, and þe remanent put to flicht. Ethodius, herand thir tythingis, send ane herald to Aulus Victorinus, quhilk had þat tyme þe gouernance of Britan, desyring to haif redres within xv dayis of thir iniuris done to Scottis and Pichtis, and failþeing þerof, declarit him to cum within þe
(I. 180) Romane provynces, and revenge all iniuris be force of bataill. Victorinus ansuerit that Scottis and Pichtis tuke ane huge pray of gudis and bestiall oute of Romanis landis afoir, and becaus he couth obtene na redres þerof, he tuke þe said praye to recompenß the damage done to þame afoir. Als þe Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis ar ane sedicious pepill, and consideratt only for damage of þair nychtbouris, brak fyrst þe Wall of Adrian, contrar þe band of peace, and biggit strong

municionis in þe samyn to sustene þair soidjouris, throw
 132 quhilkis | thai maid diuerß herschippis in þe Romane landis.
 Ethodius, displesit of þis ansuere, send to þe King of Pichtis,
 desyring him to cum *with* his folkis to revenge the iniuris
 done be Romanis, and promittit to meit *him* at ane prefixit
 daye. The King of Pichtis promittit to þe harald to be reddy
 as he desyrit. The Romanis, herand gret prouisioun maid be
 Scottis and Pichtis aganis thame, maid thair ordinance in
 þe samyn *maner* to defend thair rowmys.

The confideratt pepill, assemblit at þe day prefixit, brak
 doun þe Wall of Adriane in sindry partis, and maid grete
 herschippis¹ and slauchter in þe Roman landis. The Romanys
 went within þe nycht in þe Pichtis landis, to cauß þe Scottis
 and Pichtis return oute of Romanis landis to the defence of
 þair avne rowmis. The confideratt pepill come, as þe Romanis
 devisit, *with* grete deligence þe nixt morrow to rescourß
 thair landis, throw quhilk followit ane cruell bergane, fochtin
 with sindry chancis of victory; for the wangard wes victorius
 on all sydis, and þe reirward disconnfist, bot þe myddilwerd
 perseuerit in continewall fechting, quhill þai seuerit be *cuming*
 of þe nycht, and fled on all sydis to þair best refuge. The nixt
 morrow the wemen, quhilkis followit þair husbandis to þe
 bataill, seyng *noþer* frende nor faa in þair sicht, gaderit vp
 all þe spoilzeis of þe feild at þair plesouris, and returnit *with*
 þe samyn in Scotlannd.² Be this vnhappy bataill baith þe
 armyis wer sa brokin þat þai abstenit mony 3eris eftir fra
 battaill.

(I. 181) Victorinus, seyng his army brokin in þis manere, wrait to
 Aurelius Emprour quhat iniuris bene done to Romanis in
 þis last batall, and schew, gif support war *nocht* haistly send
 in Britan, the cruelteis of Scottis and Pichtis mycht *nocht* be
 resistitt. The Emprour, traisting þir displesouris falling to
 þe Roman campe in Britane be febill corage of Victorinus,
 exonerit hym of all chargis, and send Calphurneus Agricola,
 quhilk wes nepott to Iulius Agricola eftir rehersit, in his
 place. Calphurneus at his *cuming* in Britan assemblit ane
 large powere of Britonis and Romanis at 3ork, to invaid þe

¹ MS. *heschippis*.

² MS. *Scotland*.

confideratt pepill, and maid sacrifice to þe goddis to send him victory; eftir this rasit his campe, and come be 3ond þe Wall of Adrian, quhar he fand be frequent weris the landis waist, but ony cornis or froittis, the townis brynt be Scottis, that na lugeingis suld remane to þair inimeis. Nochtwithstanding, he went forthwert *with* his army, quhill at last he come in þe Merß and Loutheane, quhare he maid irrecouerabill skathis & slauchter. Efter this he returnyt to 3ork, and remanit thair the wynter following with the residew of his army.

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How Calphurnius reparit the Wall of Adriane, and returnit to Rome; how Trebellius wes send in his place, and wes disconfist be Scottis and Pichtis.

Ca viij

(I. 182) Quhill Calphurnius wes providing to invaid the confideratt pepill agan the nixt summyr, tythingis come that þe Welche men, with mony vther Britonis, wer rebellit aganis the Romanis, and maid herschippis on sindry townis quhilkis stude vnder Roman empir, throw quhilk mony of thair soidiouris wer slayne, and þe remanent put to flicht. Calphurnius, dredand to tyne þe landis conquest afoir be sa huge difficulte in persute of new landis, left the Scottis and Pichtis, and maid hym with all deligence to renew þe Wall of Adriane, that the samyn mycht be ane targe in tyme cuming aganis þe violence of Scottis and Pichtis; sone eftir gatt sindry craftsmen to clenge þe fowseis & to repair the said Wall in all partis with new towris and bastalzeis, rising in þe strangest maner. And quhen þe Wall wes reparitt in all partis, he left ane band of weir men to debait the samyn fra violence of inimeis, and went with þe residew of his army on þe Welche men, bot þai with na leß deligence mett him in þair sharpest manere. Nochpeles, þai wer finaly wyncust and put to flycht. Eftir this victory followit ane vther battell aganis the Romanis, for the inhabitantis of ¹ þe Ile of Wicht, be persuasion of sindry nobillis of Britan adherand to thair opinioun, rebellit. Nocht-

¹ MS. omits *of*, which is inserted from A.

peles, þai wer wyncust be Trebellius on the samyn manere. The Scottis and Pichtis, seand þe Britonis dantit in þis wise, held þame in þair avne rowmis, but ony invasion of Romanis, dredand the samyn chance of victory in this Calphurnius Agricolayis dayis that wes afoir with Iulius Agricola, quhilk subdewit sa mony regionis of Scottis and Pichtis to Romane empire. Calphurneus, herand þat Scottis and Pichtis returnit hayme, and thair army skalit, wes reiosit, and sett his besynes to repreß all contencionis amang þe Britonis; and quhen he had pacifijt the samyn, he returnit to Rome, levand in his place, be commande of Anthonius Commodus Empriour, ane new capitane, namit Trebellius.

This Trebellius, desyring to follow the prudent governance of Calphurnius, gyding the countre in þe begynnynge of his autorite myd way, and to haif þe beneuolence of Britonis, did litill thing but avise of þe nobillis thairof, havand Lucius, þe King of Britonis, in reuerence, and schew to þe Empriour and
(I. 183) pepill of Rome that this Lucius had grete affeccioun to thair commoun wele and extrem hattrent aganis the inimeis of þe samyn, attour had takyn laitlye condigne punicioun on certane Britonis quhilkis maid rebelloun aganis þe Romanis. Lucius, commendit with thir and siklike wourdis be Trebellius, wes haldin richt tendir to þe Emprioure. Trebellius, confideratt in þis manere with Lucius, belevit na thing mycht succede to his damage in Britan, and þerfor began to schaw þe vicious
134 inclinacioun of his mynde, as man | of insaciabill auarice. Nocht lang eftir he slew sindry of þe Britonis be fenzeit causis, and vtheris banyst, confiskand thair gudis but schaym or reassoun, throu quhilk he become sa odious to þe pepill that, war nocht Lucius maid him the moir support, he had bene invadit to his hie displesour.

The confiderat pepill, knowing þe hattrent of Britonis aganis Trebellius, thocht þe tym expedient to revenge þe iniuris done be Romanis; syne gaderit ane grete army with all provisioun that mycht be devisit, and brak doun þe Wall of Adrian, quhilk was reparit afoir be Calphurnius, and maid importabil iniuris on þai Britonis quhilkis wer obeisant to Romanis. Trebellius, movit be þir iniuris, went with all his

army aganis Scottis & Pichtis. At his first iunyng þe Britonis and Franche men, quhilkis wer ane grete part of his army, left him ; throw quhilk þe residew of his army wes disconnfist, and hym self put to flycht. And þocht the victory succedit to Scottis and Pichtis in þis bataill, ȝite wes innovmerabill slauchter maid on thame, als wele as of Romanis. Trebellius collekkit þe residew of his army, and returnit to ȝork. Nochtttheles, the Scottis and Pichtis become richt insolent eftir þis victory, and to revenge þe slauchter maid on thame, slew all þe presoneris quhilkis war takin in þis last feild, and come with new army in Westmurland and Kendale, quhair þai cessit fra na maner of cruelte be fyre and swerde on þe inhabitantis of thai landis ; throw quhilk þe pepill wer sa astonyst that þai wer disparit of ony remede. And þoch Trebellius wes richt *commovit* be þir iniuris, ȝite he durst *nocht with* plane battaill cum aganis his inymeis, becaus he had na les suspicioun aganis Britonis þan aganis Scottis and Pichtis, thairfor be frequent ieoperdeis slew his inimeis, quhair he mycht apprehend þame.

How þe Britonis rebelling aganis Trebellius war disconnfist ; how Partinax, send in Trebellius place, maid grete herschippis on þe Scottis and Pichtis, and was maid emprioure. Ca ix

The samyn tyme raisȝ ane grete troubill in Britan, and maid the Romanis richt astonyst. For þe *commonis*, seyng þame self ilk day moir iniurit be Scottis and Pichtis, but ony esperance of redrefȝ, ruschit be plane rebelloun to harnes, and maid Caldorus, quhilk wes of Pichtis blude, to (I. 184) be þair capitan, becaus he wes mony ȝeris hantit with thair maneris, havand extreme hattrent aganis Romanis. Trebellius, knowing þis, wes rycht hevvy and trist, for this batall wes moir dangerous than þe battall aganis Scottis & Pichtis. Nochþeles, eftir lang avisment it was concludit to invaid þe 135 Britonis but ony tary, that þai mycht be dantit | be his army, or thai war assemblit to giddir. The Britonis, becaus

thair army wes collekkit of commonis, wer astonyst be his cuming. Nochþeles, be impulsoun of Caldorus, thair capitane, thai iunyt with maist hattrent; throu quhilk followit ane keyn bergane, lang tyme with vncertane victory, bot at last, be hie vassallage of Romanis, the Britonis wer put to flycht with huge slauchter on athir syde. Caldorus eschapit oute of þe feild with ane certane of his opinioun, and come in Pentland with incredibill blythnes that sa mony Romanis and Britonis wer slayn be his industry. Mony nobillis of Britan war in þis feilde, clothit vnder landwart and dissimulit habitt, bot quhen þai saw þe Romanis mak sa vnmercifull slauchter on þe commonis, thai discouerit þaim self to Romanis, desiring to be takin presoneris. Bot Trebellius, knowing þame þe cheif occasioun of þis rebelloun, gart hang þame all on iebaittis; quhilk thing maid hym richt odius to þe Britonis. And þerfor þe nixt nycht þai tuk als mony Romanis, and hangit þame on iebaittis on þe samyn maner.

Trebellius, seand than dangere appeir in all partis, complenit to þe Empriour of þe tresoun of Britonis and iniuris done be Scottis and Pichtis, desyring support to be send haistelye, or þe Romanis suld be doungin schaymfully oute of Britan. Commodius Anthonius Empriour, knowing in quhat danger þe Romanis wer in Britan, send ane wailzeant capitane, namit Partinax, to dresß all materis in Albioun. Partinax at his cuming in Britan schew him na les curteß than humane to þe pepill, and gaif large thankis to Lucius, the King of Britonis, and had him self in sik maner þat he dantit þe Britonis mair be beneuolence than ony force of armis, howbeit ane certane of þame, quhilkis wer of small reputacioun, wer puneist to the deth. Eftir this he rasit his camp, and come with þe samyn be 3ond þe Wall of Adrian, quhair he invadit þe Scottis and Pichtis with grete herschippis and slauchter. Bot quhen he suld haif procedit forthir, he gatt writingis that Commodus þe Empriour wes slayn, and (I. 185) wes desirit þerfor to return to Rome, quhair he wes chosin empriour, and Trebellius send, as he wes afoir, in Britan.

How Ergadus, cumand with ane grete novmer of men in þe Ilis, wes slayne and his army disconnfist ; how King Ethodius revengit the samyn, and wes slayn be ane menstrail of þe Ilis. Ca x

Sik thingis done in Britan, raisß grete troubill to Ethodius, for þe hedismen of þe Ilis, to revenge þe slauchter of þair frendis, quhilkis wer slayn afoir, as we haif schewin, be
 136 Argadus, | arryvit in Ergile with ane grete powere, and maid incredibill herschippis & slauchter in þe samyn, baith of 3ounge & agit personns. Ethodius, to repreß thir cruelteis, send Argadus with ane cunpany of chosin men in Ergile, and went him self to þe Wall of Adriane with ane army of Scottis and Pichtis, to resist þe Romanis & Britonis, gif þai list invaid him, quhen his realme wes in sik troubill. The Ilis men, admonist of this ordinance, arrait þame with thair capitane to meit Argadus, and left ij^m Ireland men, quhilkis wer cumin with þame for spulze, hid vnder craggis and cavis of that land, to tak Argadus at ane advantage, gif þai mycht. And quhen thir Ireland men persavit Argadus cumin by þame, þai sett apoun him with ane hiddious schowte. Argadus, seying hym invadit on all partis, turnit all dredour in maist raige of fury, throu quhilk followit ane kene bataill. Nochttheles, he mycht nocht resist þe grete multitude of his inimeis, bot wes slayn and ij^m men with him. The residew of his cunpany wer sauffit be þair fle yng.

Ethodius, to revenge þir iniuris, come within schort tyme with xx^m men in Ergile. The Ilis men, aduerteist of his cuming, pullit vp salis to haue passit in þe Ilis. Nochtwithstanding, be force of streme and contrair wyndis þai wer drevin agane in Ergile aganis thair will. Ethodius, knowing thame disparit men and nocht abill to be wincust but hie
 (I. 186) damage of his army, brak þaim with frequent skarmusyng and wisdomer moir than ony force of bataill. At last be penurite of vittalis and hunger thai wer constrenit to seyk peace, quhilk wes grantit to thame vnder thir condicionis : that þe principale capitane and ije, quhom þe King wald

cheiſſ, of thair cunpany¹ ſuld be deliuerit to vnderly þe will of him and his nobillis, and the remanent to leſe thair ſwerdis behynd þaim, and pas hayme in þe Ilis. The Ilis men, ſeyng na refuge, tuke peace on þe ſamyn condicioun, and deliuerit ſa mony as the King plesit, quhilkis was iuſtifiȝt and put to deth. The reſidew of þe Ilis men, ſeyng thair capitane and frendis ſlayn, as ſaid is, come with ane huge novmer of ſtanis, becaus þai wantit thair ſwerdis, on þe Kingis army, as rammyst and wode creaturis, to haif revengit þe ſlauchter of þair frendis. Nochttheles, ane grete end of þame with litill labour wes ſlayn, and þe remanent put to flycht.

The Ilis dantit on this maner, and the Britonis levand in ſeruitude vnder Romanis, Ethodius had his realme but ony vncouth or domistik weris mony ȝeris eftir. Throw quhilk he tuke purpos to vesy þe boundis of his realme, and maid ſindry prudent & expert men to be iugis for administracioun of iuſtice to his ſubdittis. And that he ſuld nocht dull be approaching of aige in ſlewth; he gaif his beſynes to hunting, 137 | to exerce þe ſamyn, ſiklike as he was lernit quhen he was of tendir aige, and for that cauſſ commandit þe lawis maid afor be his nobill anticeſſouris concernyng hunting to be obseruit. Eftir this he commandit þat na haris be ſlayn, quhen þai ar liand, with clubbis, arrowis, dartis, or ony vþer instrument, nor ȝite takin be nettis or girnīs, becaus haris wer oft tymes murderiſt be ſik maner; and quhen þe haris had forromyn the hondis be playn rynk, to be na forthar perſewit; ſiklike þat na man ſla ane baggit hynde with cawis, nor ȝite þe fownys; als þat na man ſall ſla ane hair with ony vther ingyne þan chaiſſ of houndis; and na hunting to be vſit the ſeſſoun of winter and vere, becaus in þat ſeſſoun þe erd is couerit with ſnawis and vther impressionis of the aire, throu quhilk the dere ar conſtrenit to diſcend fra þe montanis to þe planis to ſerch þair fude, and oft tymes murderiſt but ony game. Thir lawis wer maid be Ethodius, havand no thing moir odious and in mair² deteſtacioun than defrauding of the honorabill gam of chace.

¹ MS. *cunparny*.

² MS. omits *in mair*, but A reads *na thing in mair deſtacioun*.

(I. 187) And quhen this king vakit fra his hunting, he was gevin to vther honest pastyme, havand with him crafty menstralis, of quhom he tuke grete pleassour, quhill at last he wes slayn vnder nycht be ane menstraill of þe Ilis, quhom he had in grete delyte. Eftir the slauchter the noyisß raiß, throw *quhilk* the kingis gard tuke þis menstraill, and him accusit, quhy he slew þe nobill prince, havand sik tendir confidence in him, saying he suld be puneist with sa terribill torment for his abhominabill deid þat all vther pepill suld tak exempill, how detestabill is to sla ane king. It wes ansuerit be the menstraill, þat he slew him becaus he gart sla sa mony of his tendre frendis afoir in Ergile. Nochþeles, he thocht he had revengit þe samyn condingly be his slauchter, quhilk he wes determit to doo mony dayis afoir, be þe quhilk he was saciatt, and his vehement affeccioun repressit, be furius audacite, and þairfor desyrit to leif na langair, commanding thame to vindicate quhat cruelte þai list on him. For his corage wes na les reddy to tak deth in pacience þan to sla þe king, becaus na kynde of cruell deth mycht be devisit to mak him repent þe kingis slauchter, sen he be þe samyn had sa condingly revengit þe murdir of his deyr frendis. Thir wourdis wer skairsly rehersit quhen his body wes drawin sindry with wylde horß. Ethodius wes slayn in this maner, þe xxxiij 3ere of his empir, and wes berijt with funerall triumphis in þe campe of Donstaffage amang the anciant sepulturis of his eldaris. His regnne come to the empire of Seuerus, þe Romane Empriour.

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Off sindry clerkis ; how Britan tuke þe faith of Crist ;
 how the | tiran King Satrahell wes slayn be ane of
 his familiaris ; how King Donald come with ane
 grete army of Scottis and Pichtis in support of Ful-
 gencius and þe Britonis aganis the Romanis. Ca xj

The samyn tyme wer mony nobill clerkis in þe warlde,
 as Galiane and Hippocrates, medicinaris ; Apollonius,
 oratour, quhilk wes martiritt be þe Gentiles, becaus he maid
 ane orisoun of the Blissit Virgyn. That ilk tyme the Cristin

faith began to augment fast throw þe warld, but ony persute aganis the samyn. Mony pepill began to detest þe errouris of Gentiles, and turnit to the faith of Crist. Lucius, King of Britonis, herand be þe Romanis vnder Trebellius of the miraculis and religioun of Cristin faith, send writingis to Eleutherius, quhilk wes þe xiiij Paip fra Sanct Petir, to geif the Cristin faith to him and his pepill; throu quhilk wer send in Britan twa haly men, namyt Fugacius and Damianus, quhilkis brocht þe said Lucius and his pepill to þe sacrament of baptisyne, and expellit all þe errouris of Gentiles fra þame. The ȝere þat Britan tuke þe faith of Cryist wes fra His Incarnacioun *j^e lxxxvij ȝeris.*

Eftir þe deth of Ethodius Satrahell his bruther wes maid king, becaus Ethodius son mycht *nocht* succeid for þe lawis afor maid. This Satrahell was ane man of sle and fals ingyne. For sone eftir his realme wes stabillit, he wes gevin to sik cruelte and tresoun that he slew be fenȝeit causis mony of þe frendis of Ethodius, to defraude his airis of þe crowne, and was noch mair plesand to þe *commonis*, revand thame thair landis and gudis on þat samyn maner; throw quhilk he grew maist odius baith to þe *commonis* and nobillis, and sone eftir wes sa destitute of frendis that he was contempnit *with* all estat. Than followit discord, dissensioun, and domestik weris amang frendis and *nychtbouris*, with intellabill damage of þe pepill. Thir and mony vther dangeris appering aganis the *commoun* wele come throw slewth & imprudence of this tiran King, quhilk durst *nocht* pas furth for extreme hattrent of þe pepill aganis him, quhill at last he was slayn be ane of his familiaris within þe *nycht*, þe *iiij ȝere* of his regne.

Eftir deth of Satrahell ane nothir bruper of Ethodius wes maid king, namyt Donald, far discordant fra the maneris of the last tiran, and was gevin to iustice and humilite, but ony gile or slichtis, to repres all sedicionis and domestik weeris amang his pepill, knowing wele quhat damage and incredibill displesouris *cumis* to all pepill be the samyn. *Nochtþeles*, quhen he had stanchitt all debaittis with na leß beneuolence (*I. 189*) than laboure, he past throw his realme, makand his residence

oft tyme in his honorabill castellis with his nobillis, and doyng iustice to his subdittis, but ony respect of the colletigantis, and puneist all crymes with panys effering thairto; throw quhilk wylde pepill, that wes vndantit afoir be negligence of hedismen, wes brocht to civill maneris, and habill to
 139 withstand *per* inimeis, | for this nobill prince had ane cunpany of chosin men reddy to doo his devoir baith in tyme of pece and were.

The samyn tyme Lucius, King of Britonis, decessit, eftir quahais deth the Romanis, knawing þe Britan kingis ofttymes cauß of sedicioun and rebellioun aganis thame, to mak thame reioise þe moir peace, inhibitt be generall decrete that kingis suld be chosin in tymes cuming of Britan blude. Quhilk thing rasis grete displesouris, for Fulgencius, discending of the riall blude of Britan, richt *commovit* at sik doyingis, convenit þe nobillis of Britan to ane counsale; in þe quhilk he complenit the Britonis thirlit to seruitude be Romane digniteis, in derogacioun of thair liberte and native lawis; thair virginis, wedowis, and matronis fulzeit be insaciabill lust of þe Romanis; thair gudis eschaeittit, and new tribute & exaccionis ilk day desyrit; besyde mony vther infinitt iniuris; and last of all, the nobill blude disherisist of the crowne; and *perfor*, gif þe samyn wer *nocht* haistly remedit, na nobill blude, bot onlye *commonis*, suld be left in Britan. The Britonis, movit with thir reassouns, rebellit aganis þe Romanis, and assignit ane day to meit him in pair best maner, to invaid the said Romanis.

Sone eftir Fulgencius send ane herrald to Donald, King of Scottis, schawing þe Britonis rebellit aganis þe Romanis, and thairfor desyrit his supple to ding þame owte of Britan, quhilk mycht be done with litill besynes, becaus þe Empriour wes aigit and brokin with sa mony calamiteis that he wist *nocht* quhat wes to be done. Attoure, sa mony pepill wer rebellit aganis him in France, Almançe, and þe est partis of þe world that he mycht send na help in Britan to þe Romanis. Donald, reiosit of thir thythingis, and glaid to haif occasioun of weris aganis þe Romanis, promittit to cum *with* all his power to quhat day he desyrit, becaus his pepill mycht *nocht* leiff but civill weeris amang þaim selff, quhen þai wer *nocht* exercit

with weeris on vncouth pepill. The Pichtis ansuerit in þe samyn maner.

(I. 190) Fulgencius, knawing þe mynde of Scottis and Pichtis, assemblit all Britonis to giddir, armyt in þair best maner, and come with the samyn to þe Wall of Adriane fornentis þe Ireland seis, and brak down ane grete part of the samyn agane the cuming of Scottis and Pichtis. And thai *with* na leß deligence mett þe Britonis; throw *quhilk* thai war ane huge army, and maid sik deligence day and nycht that thai come schortlie to 3ork, with purpoß to tak the samyn with Trebellius and vther Romane capitanis, quhom þai belevit in þe samyn. Bot quhen þai knew þe Romanis war fled in Kent, þai left þe seyge, and maid infinite herschippis and slauchter on the pepill that wer obeisantt to þe Romanis. The *com-* monis, astonyst *with* this importabill skaith, and knawing
 140 þame self *nocht* of puyssance to | resist, oppinuit þe portis of þe toun, and ressaut þe Scottis, Pichtis, and Britonis *with* þame for þe tyme; bot þe residew of thair army remanit aboute 3ork sa lang as ony thing mycht be gottin to thair¹ sustentacioun, and eftir þai went to vther placis, ay makand siklyke herschippis as afoir, *nocht* cessing fra þe samyn, quhill þe intollerabill cald and stormys of winter constrenit þe army to skaill and return hayme.

How Seuerus Empriour come in Britan to revenge iniuris done to Romanis; and how þe Scottis and Pichtis, fechtand aganis him in support of Britonis, wer disconnfist.
 Ca xij

Trebellius, richt hevy for thir iniuris, wrait to Severus Empriour that Britonis wer rebellit, be support of Scottis & Pichtis, maid infinitt herschippis in þe Romane province, throw quhilk it wes *necesserr* him self to cum, or ellis ane grete capitane, with strang army in Britan. Severus Empriour reiosit of thir tythingis, becaus he wes desyrus of gloir, and traistit to wyn na les honour in Britan than he wan afoir in

¹ MS. *thai*.

(I. 191) subdewing of baith þe est and north partis of þe warld, and als thocht it wes sufficient occasioun to exerce his sonnys in chevelry, and abstrak þame fra sensuall plesouris. For thir causis, þoch he was agit, and troubillit with þe gut, ȝite he tuke his waaige on ane horß litter, with nā les corage than he had bene ȝoung. At last be continewall travale he come in Britan, and gaderit the residew of Romanis to giddir to dant þe Britonis.

Fulgencius and vther Britonis of his opinioun, astonyst throw cuming of þe Empriour with sa huge power, send oratouris to excuse þame, and desyrit peace. Nochþeles, þe Empriour send thair oratouris agane with plane repulse. Fulgencius, frustraith of his desyris, convenit þe nobillis to ane counsale, persuading þaim be lang orisoun to recover þair liberte, and restoir þe blude riall of Britan to þe crowne, revengeing þe ald iniuris done be Romanis; and declarit to þame that na thing mycht move hym to tak this maist dangerous mater on hand, bot onlie to recovere þe liberte of Britan, and to banneiß vncouth blude fra þe crowne; attoure, persuadit thame to bataill, becaus þe Roman army wes ane novmer of pepill gaderit of diuerß myndis, and for þat causß aucht noch to be dred, sen þe samyn nicht be oureset with litill labour at the cuming of Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis ar maist odious inimeis to þame; throw quhilk it mycht happin, gif þe goddis wer propiciant, that Britan mycht be perpetually deliuerit of Roman tiranny. The Britonis throw þir wourdis fauorit þe opinioun of Fulgencius, and sone eftir brocht þair gudis, with þair wyiffis, children, and vther fensabill creaturis, to the montanis be ȝond þe Wall of Adrian. Than Fulgencius
 141 gaderit ane cunpany of nobillest Britonis of his opinion, | with purpoß erar to debait thame self than to invaid thair inimeis, and sone eftir the Scottis and Pichtis come to him, reddy to assailȝe all maner of ieopardijs for the commoun wele.

Severus, knowing all þe wayis of Albianis, left na thing vndone that mycht pertene to þe prouisioun of his ordinance, and quhen all thingis wer providit as he desyrit, he left his ȝoungest son, namit Getas, to govern þe Britonis quhilkis stude obeysant to Romane lawis, and come with all his ordi-

nance to ȝork, havand with hym his eldast son, nanytt (I. 192) Anthonius. The nobillis of Britan within þai boundis ressaut him *with* hye triumphis and lovingis. Sone eftir his enteres in þe said toun he maid his salutacioun to þe goddis, and went to þe castell, quhair Trebellius wes with þe Romane soidiouris, and tuke consultacioun certan tyme in þe samyn, how þe barboure pepill mycht be subdewit, and sone eftir displayit his banner to pas on thame. The Britonis quhilkis followit Fulgencius opinioun, tuk full purpos to fecht with Romanis, and othir to dee wailþeantlie, or leiff with honour; and finalye iunytt in bataill with ardent desyre aganis þe Romanis, and faucht lang with vncertane victory. Nochþeles, þai wer finaly disconnfist. Fulgencius, seying than þe Britonis with him othir constrenyt to fle or to be slayn down, ruschit in amang þe gretast preß of his inimeis, othir to haif suppleit his men or than to haif deit with þame honestly. Bot his seruandis, knawing þe feild disconnfist, brocht him oute of þe feild be force, and incontinent þe remanent Britonis gaif bakkis, on quhom þe Romanis followit with lang chais. The Scottis and Pichtis diffaitt on this maner, and knawing na recover, fled be ȝond þe Wall of Adriane, and returnit hayme. In þis vnhappy bataill war slayn of Scottis, Pichtis, and Britonis xxx^m.

How Severus Empriour come in Scotland; how Anthonius his son reparit þe Wall of Adriane; of þe Empriouris deth; how Antonius slew his bruther to be empriour; how Scotlannd tuke þe faith of Cryist, and prentit moneye. Ca xiiij

The Scottis and Pichtis, brokin *with* this calamite, send in Ireland, Norvay, and Danys for support of frendis aganis þe Romanis, and Fulgencius cessit nocht to conduce all pepill he mycht gett for money.

Eftir this bataill Severus passit throw all the boundis of Britan vnder his empire, and slew all the nobillis of the samyn, quhair euir thai war apprehendit, havand miseracioun only

on þe commonis, becaus þai did nocht bot followit þair maisteris ;
 (I. 193) syne reparit all wrangis quhilkis was done be neglegence of
 his capitanis in defalt of iustice, and returnit to 3ork. The
 142 nixt summer the Scottis & Pichtis, frustrait of pair | support,
 wer determyt erar to debait thair awyn than to invaid þe
 Romanis, for the damage falling to thame be the last bataill.
 Fulgencius and þe Britonis of his opinioun, abyding ane
 bettir fortoun, drew þame within þe Scottis and Pichtis
 landis, to eschew thair inimeis. Sone efter Severus Empriour
 rasit his campe, and come be 3ond þe Wall of Adriane ; throw
 quhilk followit daylie skarmusing, be sindry chance of fortoun,
 sum tyme Scottis, sum tyme Romanis, beand victorius ;
 for þe strait montanis and mosis of þe cuntre war grete
 defence to the Scottis & Pichtis, fleyng in þe samyn in tyme
 of danger, and settiug on thair inimeis quhen þai thocht
 advantage. Be thir wayis þe Romanis wer lang tyme tarijt
 fra bataill.

Sone eftir the Empriour fell in grete infirmite, and wes
 constrenyt perthrow to return hame with Getus, his 3ongest
 son, levand Antonius, his eldest son, to govern Britan with
 all chargis pertinand thairto. Antonius, nocht mekill astonist
 of his inimeis, maid his residence with his campe nocht far
 fra Tyne, and commandit þe Wall of Adriane, quhilk was
 than brokin doun, to be beildit agane with mony strang
 towris & bastail3eis rying in þe samyn, ilk towir na farrar
 fra vther than þe sound of trumpett mycht be hard, and
 put trumpatouris in euery toure, be quhais sounde the cuntre
 suld be warnit to withstand thair inimeis, quhen thai saw
 dangere apperand. And quhen þis Wall wes reparit with
 sindry ingyn of craftismen, Anthonius sett his mynde to
 govern þe Roman army in sik maner þat thai suld knaw him,
 and noch his bruther Gethus, sen3our abone þame. Bot
 Gethus, movit be naturall piete, had sik compassioun of
 his faderis seyknis that he tuke litill sollicitude thair of, and
 becaus he saw his fader in daylie pyne, but ony recover, he
 sollistit þe medicinaris to haisty him to deth, erar þan to se
 him leiff in sik intollerabill payn.

(I. 194) At last þis Severus decessit ; eftir quhais deth Anthonius

persuadit þe capitanis of þe Romane army with huge revardis to cheiſ him empriour alanerlye, and devisit mony slychtis aganis his bruther. Nochþeles, þe Romane capitanis mycht be persuadit to na vther wayis þan to haif the sonnis of Severus in equaill affeccoun and beneuolence. Antonius, frustraith of his desyre in þis manere, tuke peace with Scottis, Pichtis, and the remanent Britonis of Fulgencius opinioun, syne returnit to his moder and bruther, quhilkis wer that tyme in Lundoun. His moder, desyring to bring hir sonnis to concord, tuke frendis to intercommoun on all debaithis, and brocht þame baith to equaill honour, devidind þe Romane empire betuix þame. Sik thingis dressit, þai pullit vp salis, and returnit to Rome, with þe powder of Severus body, gaderit in ane goldin poyk with mony vnþementis of aromatik odouris. Eftir thair cuming to Rome Anthonius, impacient
 143 to haif ane fallow equaill | with him in dominion, slew his bruther Gethus in presence of his moder ; throw quhilk he succedit to the haill empire. Bot I will return agane to my history.

Quhen Donald had reparit all faltis in his realme, and brocht the samyn in bettir estaitt, he passit þe remanent of his dayis in gude peace, be inspiracioun of Criste oure Saluour, Prince & Lord of Peace. For in þe tyme of Severus Empriour King Donald send his oratouris to Victor, quhilk wes þe xv paip fra Sanct Petir, and purchest to cum in Scotland certane deuoiitt and religious personis, to instruct him, his wiffe, & children in þe Cristyn faith, and to geif thame the sacrament of baptisyne ; and sone eftir the remanent pepill
 (I. 195) of Scotland tuke þe faith on the samyn wise. The þere that þe Scottis tuke þe faith of Cryist oure Saluoure, God and Man, wes fra His Incarnacioun ij^c & iij þeris, fra þe begynnyng of þe realme of Scotlannd v^cxxxiiij þeris, fra þe beginnyng of þe world v^mij^c lxxxxix þeris ; as þe verſſ sayis—

Fra Cristis birth, two hundreth þere, and thre
 The Scottis began in sikker faith to be.

And thocht þe Britonis tuke þe faith of Cryist afoir ws, 3ite pair has bene ay braid difference betuix ws and þame. For

eftir thai tuke þe faith, þai haif bene sindry tymes aberrant fra the samyn be persecucioun of Gentiles, bot wee bene evir sikkir, but ony roust of heresy, sen oure first beginnyng in þe samyn.

King Donald wes the first King of Scottis þat prentit ane penny of siluer and gold, on quhilk ane croce wes prentit on that ane syde, and his faice on the tothir syde. Oure pepill vsit na moneye bot *merchandice*, quhen þai interchangit with Britanis and Romanis, afoir thir dais, quhilk maye be previt be sindry auld hurdis and tresoure, fundin in diuerſ partis of Scotland, with vncouth counȝe. For in þe ȝere of God j^m v^c & xix ȝeris, in Fiffe, nocht far fra Leivin, sindry penneis wer fundin in ane brasin weschell, with vncouth counȝe. For sum of þame wer prentit *with* the doubill visage of Ianus, with the stam of ane schip. Vtheris had the figure of Mars, Venus, Mercurius, and siklike ydolis. On vtheris wer prentit Romulus and Remus sowkand ane wolff, on þe tothir syde war prentit S.P.Q.R., quhilkis signifijs, the Senaitt and Pepill of Rome. Siklike in Murrayland, besyde þe seye, in þe grounde of ane ald castell, wer fundin ane weschell of marbill full of money, þe ȝere of God j^m iiij^c & lx ȝeris, on quhilkis wer prentit twa gannerſ fechtand with edderis. This wescheall of *merbill* was in na les admiracioun to þe pepill þan þe vncouth counȝe, throu quhilk it previs that Romane money has bene amang ws. Bot we will return to oure history.

King Donald, richt illuster in civill & religious werkis, decessit at last þe xxj ȝere of his regne, and wes berijt be religious men and preistis in ane kirk, eftir þe maner of Cristin
 144 princes, | with deuoitt cerymonis, in þe tyme of Alexander Severus, the Romane Empriour. In þe tyme of King Donald wer mony nobill clerkis, quhilkis eftir be *commande* of Alexander Empriour maid civill lawis, of quhilkis ane namit Vlpianus wes haldin the floure of legistis in his dayis. The samyn tyme was Origenes, ane man of singulair lyiff and
 (I. 196) doctryn, with sa properant ingyne that he nicht dyte fastar than sevin practicianis mycht suffer to write. This Origenes

wes eftir brocht oute of Anthiochia be instance of Mammea, moder to Alexander þe Empriour, and turnit hir eftir to þe Cristin faith; throw quhilk the Empriour Alexander began nocht alanerly to fauour þe Cristin pepill, bot als maid inhibicioun that ony persecucioun be maid on thame, and had the ymage of Cryist in þe maist secrete partis of his chalmer. The samyn tyme the Scottis began to leir theologie & Haly Write be clerkis quhilkis wer send be Victor þe Paip for thair erudicioun.

How þe nobillis, fynding thair king Ethodius vnabill to gyde the realme, gouernit the samyn be thair autorite in grete iustice. Ca xiiij

Donald decessit in pis maner, Ethodius, son to Ethodius afoir rehersit, wes maid king. He was nureist in the Ile of Man vnder þe wise preceptouris of þe samyn. Howbeit it wes vncertane in quhat maneris he wald increas quhen he wes put in liberte, and thairfor, quhen he was declarit king and exoneratt of keping and feire of his preceptouris, he apperit of dull ingyne, mair abill to gadyr riches be his insaciable auarice than to governe ane realme. Nochþeles, fra the nobillis knew his maneris, thai gouernit the realme be thair prudent constitucionis; throw quhilk sic iustice followit that prudent men war put in euery schyre, to puneisþ criminabill personis, and to keip the pepill but ony extorsionis. Sik deligence wes maid that mysdoaris war dantit, and na man puneist bot according to the lawis. It was defendit be the lawis to speke for ony cryminabill personis in iugement. (I. 197) Gif ony sedicioun raisþ, the samyn was haistly repressit be the nobillis.

The Britonis leiffit this tyme in gude peace vnder Romane tribute, and durst pretend na maner of rebelloun aganis the Romanis. For Severus the Emprioure tuke sik plegis of thame, afoir his decess, that þai wer constrenyt to leif in peace.

Siklike þe Scottis and Pichtis, during the tyme of Ethodius, nothir tuke iniure of Romanis, nor ʒite invaditt thame with the samyn. Bot at last this king Ethodius was slayn be his awyn garde, the xvj ʒere of his regne, becaus he wes oure mekill gevin to auaricius gadering. And sa endis the Fifte Buke of thir cornikillis.

Liber Sextus.

(I. 198) Here begynnis the Sext Buke.

How the vicius tiran King Athirco slew him self be
disperacion. Ca : j

(I. 199) **E**thodius slane on this maner, his son Athirco wes maid king, dispensand be þe nobillis, *nocht*withstanding his tendir aige, and appering in þe begynnynge of his empire prudent and beneuolus to his subdittis, deliting in doctryn of litteraite men, quhilke vnderstode the history of his progenitouris. He wes also weill exercit in wersling and all vther corporall exercicioun, *cumin* be ingyne or strenth of bodye, and so liberall that he tystit the pepill to his favoure, throu quhilk he conquest within schort tyme ane gude name. *Nocht* peles he grew *nocht* in vertew as in aige, for þe viij þere of his empire he grew moir ferþ and displesand, ay þe moir vicius þat he wes aigit, and degeneratt fra all honest maneris, gevin to insaciabill auarice, doyng all thing moir be ire, þan counsale, and moir be dredour þan beneuolence, throwquhilk he tynt þe frendis that he conquest afoir with his liberalite. And noch onlye wes he inuoluit with thir felonyis, bot ledand his lyffe with euery kynde of lustis that *mycht* effeminatt his body, ilk day moir insolent, accompanyitt with waistouris, sportouris, dansaris, singlaris, hure maistris, and menstralis, quhairthrow he grew sa effeminatt that he eschamyt *nocht* to pas with thir maist vile creaturis afoir namytt, playing on ane flute. The nobillis, havand displesouris of thir vnsemand maneris in þair prince, thocht sik ane vicious monstoure *nocht* wourthy to be thair souerane, quhilk desyrit moir to schaw him as ane menstraill þan ane vertewis king ; and wes also

richt commovit þat ȝoung men, be his curst exempill, wer ilk day moir drownit in lust, to the damage of thair common wele, and laik of iustice, becaus thair king wes sa involuit *with* all maner of vices þat he regardit na thing of þe gouernance of his realme, to þe wele or damage *þerof*, quhilk euery day augmentit moir. For thir causis þe nobillis began to conspire aganis him.

The samyn tyme wes in Ergile ane gentill man, namit Natholocus, quhilk had two dochteris of maist excellennt bewte, bot thai war baith deflorit be effrenaitt lust of this tiran, and eftir fulȝeit be his corruppit rutouris. Natholocus, herand this petuus regraitt of his dochteris, serchit be his ingyne be quhat waye he mycht revenge thir iniuris done to his dochteris; nochwithstanding, maid thame consolacioun, knawing þair bodijs mair fulȝeitt þan þair myndis. The nixt daye he send for all his frendis, and complenit þe iniuris done to his dochteris. His frendis, movit *with* maist hattrent aganis Athirco, maid thair aithis to revenge þis offence, and to put him fra þe crowne. Incontinent thai ruschit to harnes with
 146 maist cruell | hattrent to puneis̃ the iniuris done be this tiran, and brocht þe remanent nobillis to thair opinioun. The xx day nixt following all þe nobillis met to giddir, arrayit in thair scharpest ordinance, and ȝeid forthwert to Dunstaffage, quhair the vicius King remanit for þe tyme. The noyis̃ and feir of armytt men maid the commonis na litill astonyst at thair first cuning; nochþeles, quhen þe cais̃ was manifest of thair assemblance, the pepill gaderit fast in all partis to invaid this tiran, becaus nane wes in þat cunpany bot thocht him *nocht* onlye wourthy to be deprivit of autorite, bot als to be puneist to the deth.

(I. 200) Thir tythingis schawin to Athirco, quhair he wes, *nocht* far fra Dounstaffage, drownit in detestabill vices amang his corruppit harlottis, maid him to be richt brym and sory; nochwithstanding, he gaderit the pepill that he mycht rais̃ for that tyme, and went forthwert with displayit banner aganis þe nobillis, traisting thame to geif bakkis, quhen þe samyn war displayit. Nochtheles, seand thame litill effrait, and his awne cunpany havand him in contempcioun for his

vnhappy dedis, he raif of his coitt armour, and maid him to fle in þe Ilis, to eschew þe *present* dangere. The pepill that wes arrait to fecht in his opinioun, seying him fle fra þame in sik hie dangere, wer randrit to Natholocus. Athirco, in þis maner disconnfist, gat ane bairt to pas in the Ilis, bot he wes drevin agane be contrarius wyndis to land quhair his inimeis wer, and quhen he saw na way to eschaip thame, he slew hym self, þe xij zere of his regne, and in þe fourte zere of Valeriane Empriour, quhilk maid ane miserabill end, howbeit he had na les experience in morall doctrin þan chevelrie; for he wes takin be myschance with Sapore, King of Perß, and his army disconnfist, and eildit in sa miserabill seruitude that quhen Sapore montit apoun horß bak, he maid ane stule of him. This vnhappy end maid Athirco, according to his vicius lyiff.

How Nathalacus vsurpit the crowne, and did sindry cruelteis aganis the lynnage of Athirco; and how he was be his awne seruand slayn. Ca: ij

A thirco slane, as said is, his bruther Doorus, havand litill confidence in þe nobillis for the conspiracioun aganis his bruther, fled in Loutheane with thre sonnys of Athirco, namit Fyndocus,¹ Carancius, and Donald, to abide ane bettir fortoun, dredand it þat followit eftir, to be invadit be Nathalacus. Nathalacus ² eftir deth of Athirco send his familiaris in Loutheane, to slay Doorus with þe sonnys of Athirco. Thir men quhilk tuke þis charge on hand, slew ane nothir man, *nocht* vnlike in habitt, visage, and zerys to Doorus, and returnit to Nathalocus, quhilk reiosit with incredibill blithnes of this doyngis.

Sone eftir he convenit þe nobillis to ane *consale*, havand ane
(I. 201) strang band of armytt men to fortefy his desyris, and sayid on this maner: "My hartlie frendis, I am na litill reiosit of þe recent slauchter of Athirco, takin be iust punicioun on hym
147 self. I beleif nane is amang þow | that knawis *nocht* the motive and iust occasioun of oure rebelloun aganis him. Thairfor

¹ The Latin here reads *Syndocus*, but elsewhere *Findocus*, as MS.

² MS. omits *Nathalacus*.

it suld be now ȝoure part to adhere to me, sen it is moir necessair to revenge the iniuris done be him, than to suffer ȝe samyn proceid ony forthair. And thoch the slauchter of him be detestabill, ȝite ȝe ar innocent thairof, and has victory withoute blude. The treasoun wrocht be this odious tiran wes na leß repugnant to ȝoure singulair than *commoun* wele. Nochpeles, the samyn is puneist condingly, as he *deseruit*, and wes fleschoure to him self moir schaymfully than we mycht devise. It is necessair to puneisß the invasoure of the *commoun* wele, for oure eldaris pvnyst the tresoun of Durstus and Ewyne effering thair demerittis, and the cruelteis of Lugtacus war *nocht* vnpunyst, with mony vtheris princes of Scotlannd, quhilkis wer distroyit quhen ȝe *commonis* persavitt ȝame iniurious to the *commoun* wele. Thairfor geif thankis to the gracious God that hes deliuerit ȝou, ȝoure wyiffis, and children fra his tirannyis, and tak now consultacioun with maist exact deligence, how ȝe remanent tyrannis of his opinioun may be eschewit, quhais furius werkis wer moir acceptabill to him on live þan ȝoure vertew. Thairfoir lat nane of his lynage regne abone ȝow, for extreme hattrent þat sall fall be ȝame to ȝe vtter distruccioun of ȝoure lyvis, landis, & gudis. Vther wais we maye haif na securite in ȝis regeoun, bot constrenytt to seyke new duelling, or ellis schamfully to dee."

Nathalocus be thir wourdis conquest ȝe favour of ȝe nobillis, bot ȝite ane certane of thame, knowing wele his slychtis, thocht hevy that ȝe sonnys of Athirco suld be disherist of ȝe crowne. Howbeit thair fader wes maist vicius, thai trespassit na thing aganis ȝe *commoun* wele, quhairthrow the crowne pertenit to thame be iust titill, and suld be gevin in keping to ane of thair maist tendir frendis, quhill ȝai war habill to succede, according to ȝe lawis afoir devisit, knowing Nathalocus bot ane dissimulitt and fenȝeit man, sett for his only advantage. Nochpeles, *vperis*, quhilkis war corruppit with large giftis, thoch expedient nane of Athircois lynnage to succede, for causß afoir rehersit, and declaritt all his sonnys rebellis and inimeis to ȝe *commoun* wele, syne ordanit Nathalocus to be king. The residew of ȝe nobillis, constrenyt moir be force than ony kyndnes, assentit to ȝe samyn.

(I. 202) Nathalocus, maid king in þis maner, tuke þe aithis of fidelite fra his nobillis in presence of þe messis,¹ and went to Dounstaf-fage. And to stabill þe realme in moir securite to him, he gaif his gudis largelye to þame quhom he suspekkit aganis him, throw quhilk he conquest thair beneuolence. He schew als quhat dangere mycht follow, gif ony of Athircois lynnage succedit abone thame. And quhen he had tretit þe nobillis certane dayis, he licent thame to return haym, and sett his mynde to be ilk daye moir plesant and gracios to his subdittis to haif þair beneuolence; syne pacifijt all civill debaittis, quhair ony wer amangis his nobillis, that na damage suld ryis be þe samyn aganis þe commoun wele. He schew him plesand & benyng to all creature, and spendit þe tresoure
 148 gaderit mony 3eris afoir | be vther kingis, to caus þe pepill applaude to his opinioun. He schew als how he tuke the charge of the empire for na proffitt to him, bot onlie to mak þe nobillis of the realme different fra þe commonis in honour and riches, and that men of vile and obscure lynnage maye know thame self as boyndis to nobillis. Nochþeles, sa lang as he governit the realme in honest constitucionis, few wer repugnant to his plesoure.

Bot at last vnstabill Fortoun brocht all his felice vnto ane drery fyne. For ane schort tyme eftir, he tuke ane woman be aenture, quhilk vsit to pas betuix þe nobillis of Scotland & Athircois sonnys, and fand sik writingis with hir that he knew be the samyn Doorus, quhom he traistit slayn, was 3ite on live with all the sonnys of Athirco; throw quhilk he wox sa teyn that he gart droun þis woman noch far fra þe place quhair scho was takin, and kepit þe writingis secrete quhill he saw his tyme, bot at last he slew all þe nobillis quhom he suspekkit be thir letteris. The frendis of thir nobillis, quhilkis wer slayn in þis wise, ruschitt to harnes, to revenge thair slauchter. Nathalocus, traisting in this sort to mak þe crovun sikkir to him and his airis be slauchter & tiranny, maid it be the samyn way maist vnsikker; nochþeles, knowing re-bellioun aganis him in all partis, be impulsoun of his familiaris

¹ So the MS., but the printed text reads *messe*, agreeing with the Latin *facta re divina*.

fled in Murraye, to gader thair ane power to dant his conspiratouris. Bot quhen he saw na thing succeid thair to his desyris, he turnit him to wicchis, divinouris & spa men, to inquire quhat suld be þe end of his lyiff, or gif ony danger wer approcheand to him be occult hattrent of his familiaris. And to drefß this mater with moir deligence, he send ane of his maist tendir and secrete seruandis, namyt Murraye, to Coymkill in þe Ilis, quhair ane crafty wiche wes duelland for the tyme.

This Murraye, eftir his cuming, demandit þe wiche of euery poynt in ordoure as he was devisit, and scho be craft of negromancy gatt knowlege thairof, and sayid: "The empire of Nathalocus sall haif ane miserabill end within schort tyme (I. 203) be ane of his maist familiaris." This Murraye, noch content of sa generall response, prayit hir to schaw his name in speciall that suld slay þe King. Scho ansuerit: "Þou sall sla him, and nane bot 3ow."

Than þis Murraye began to flytte with þe wiche, saying: "Þou can divyne noch, bot sayis as þow pleß be flattry or malice. Nochpeles, þou salbe fals, for I sall refuse na kynde of deth or I attempt sik thing."

This Murray, astonyst with this ansuer, maid him to return to the King. Bot or he come myd gaitt, he changit purpos, revolving in his mynde quhat danger mycht follow, gif he revelit this ansuer to þe King; and þerfor began to muse quhat best wes to be done in þis maist dangerus caisß, knowing þe huge cruelte of Nathalocus, gif he tuke suspicioun of him
149 be | trew reherß of the wiches ansuere; attoure, dred, gif he dissimulit, that þe King suld send vther persouns, throw quhilkis he suld be surelie aduerteist of hir ansuer, and haif moir suspicioun of him. Eftir lang musing he was finally resoluitt erar to sla the King, as þe wiche said, than to leiff in danger ay of his lyiff. Heirfor, quhen he was brocht in þe Kingis secrete chalmer allane with the King, he began be lang circumstance to schaw the King the doyngis of þe wiche be hir art of necromancy. In þe menetye the King wes sum part troubillit be flux of wayme, throw quhilk he wes constrenit haistlie to pas to his eyiß; and quhen he

was sittand on the samyn, this Murray followit him, as apperit, to doo him *seruice*; nochpeles, seyng na personis with the King, pullit oute his dagare, and draiff the King to þe hart, suspekand na thing leß þan sik tresoun. Incontinent he kest his body down in þe closett, syne stall awaye be ane privatt postrom, and was þe first man that schew þe deth of þe King to his conspiratouris. This end maid Nathalocus, þe xj 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacion ij^e lij 3eris, in þe tyme of Galienus Empriour, quhilk wes þe maist febill em-priour that was afoir him, for in his tyme xxx tirannis invadit the commoun wele of Rome with insufferabill displesour.

(I. 204) How King Fyndocus dantit the Ilis, and was slayne
be twa Ilis men subornatt be Donald of the Ilis
and Carancius. Ca iij

Nathalocus slane in þis maner, the nobillis quhilkis wer conspirit aganis him send this Murraye in Loutheane, to bring þe thre sonnys of Athirco to Dunstaffage, quhair þe eldest of þame, namit Fyndocus, wes maid king, quhom þe pepill traistit, as it wes eftir *provin*, for his lustynes & plesant maneris to be ane nobill prince. He keptit peace with Romanis & Britonis, and conquest frendis moir be beneuolence than ony fere of mynassing. Bot, as oft fallis amangis ws, lang peace intertenit *with* vncouth pepill generis civill contencionis amang *our* pepill. Donald of þe Ilis, to revenge þe slauchter of Nathalocus, come with a large power in Roß and Murraye, becaus þe inhabitantis *perof* favorit *paim* quhilkis slew Nathalocus, and quhen þai had maid cruelteis & herschippis in þe samyn, thai returnit in þe Ilis. Fyndocus, movit *with* thir iniuris, come with ane grete cunpany in þe Ilis, quhair he faucht *with* Donald and put him to flycht. Donald, disconnfist in þis maner, fled to þe seyis, quhair he fand ane baitt, in the quhilk he enterit with sa mony pepill that þe samyn sank within ane myle to land, throw quhilk all þe pepill that war in þe samyn perissit.

Fyndocus eftir þis victory returnit in Albion. And thoch

þe Ilis men war brokin in þis bataill, 3ite þai cessit *nocht*
 fra þair vndantit malice, bot maid Donald, quhilk¹ wes
 150 | son to Donald afoir perissit, thair capitane, and invadit
 þe cuntre *with* moir troubill þan afoir. Fyndocus, herand
 þis, come agane in þe Ilis, and slew all that war apprehendit
 of thair opinioun, syne kest down thair strenthis and castellis.
 Donald, knawing the Kingis cuming, fled in Ireland, and
 remanit thair quhill þe King was departit, and eftir his de-
 parting returnit agane in þe Ilis. Bot quhen he saw the cuntre
 heryitt of bestiall and cornis, and mony of his frendis slayn,
 he kest him to doo þe thing be slycht quhilk he mycht *nocht*
 doo be force, and send thairfor ane messinger to Fyndocus,
 schawin him penitent for his offence, and desyrit grace. The
 King condescendit to tak him in grace, sa that he wald cum
 (I. 205) with þe principale móvaris of his rebellioun, but wappinnis,
 to Dounstaffage, to vnderly his will. Donald, *nocht* content
 to haif peace in this maner, chesit erar to vnderly þe chance
 of fortoun than þe Kingis will, and þerfor, to compleit his
 slychtis afoir devisit, send twa men of subtile ingyne to
 Dounstaffage, to avaitt sum ganand tyme to sla þe King,
 quhilkis fenzeit þame gentill men of þe Ilis and inimeis to
 Donald. Thir men at thair first cuming gat litill credence,
 bot at last, be mene of Carancius, the Kingis bruther, thai
 wer admittit to the Kingis presence, and maid sa familiar
 that the King vsit thair counsale abone all vther men. And
 becaus þai knew Carancius haif ane grete sycht to þe croun,
 þai discouerit thair counsale concernyng þe slauchter of þe
 King, and he na thing suspendit þair purpoß, bot with large
 promys tyistit thame moir to þe samyn.

Ane schort tyme eftir, the King went to ane hunting besyde
 Dounstaffage, to slaa ane wolf, and satt down on ane moitt,
nocht knawing how thir lymmaris wer instrukkit to sla him.
 And quhen þe faid had brocht the wolf afoir þe houndis, þe
 skry arraisß, and ilk man went to his gamyn, throw quhilk
 þe King wes nakit of all cunpany except thir twa Ilismen.
 Than ane of thame began to hald him in talk, quhill þe tothir
 come behynd him, and draif him throw þe body with ane

¹ MS. *quhill*.

iedward staff, and for fersnes to fle left þe staff stikkand throw his body. The huntaris, returnyng fra thair gamyn, fand the King slane, and followit on his slaaris, *quhil*kis wer takin, and demandit be scharp punicioun be quhat occasioun thai slew þe King. Thai confessit pertlye þe cryme, and discouerit the tresoun of Donald and of Carancius, and
 (I. 206) sone eftir þai war put to cruell deth. Carancius, herand how his tresoun wes revelit, fled in Britan, and eftir that in Italy, quhair he, fechtand in þe weris of Aurelius and Dioclesiane empriouris, be his manhede and proves conquest hye honour and fayme. This Fyndocus wes slayn in þe x 3ere of his
 151 | regne, in þe tyme of Floriane Empriour, and was berijt with grete lament of pepill in Dounstaffage in ane riche sepultur, eftir þe gise of Cristin princes.

How King Donald wes slayn be Donald of the Ilis ;
 how mony haly creaturis war martyrit for the faith
 of Criste ; how Donald of the Ilis vsurpit the crowne,
 and wes slayne eftir be Crathlinthus. Ca iiij

Fyndocus slayne in þis maner, his bruther Donald, þe thrid son of Athirco, wes maid king, and kest his extreme besynes to revenge þe slauchter of his bruther maid be Donald of þe Ilis. And quhen he had maid ane army reddy to pas in þe Ilis, tythingis come that the said Donald wes enterit in Roß with ane grete power, haldand him as king, and invading thame with maist cruelty quhilkis withstude his autorite. King Donald, aduerteist of thir tythingis, passit with litill avisement fra Dunstaffage in Murraye, and maid generall proclamacioun, all fensabill men to follow him vnder þe payn of dede. At his cuming in Murraye he parkit his army on his best maner, abiding þe cuming of the remanent army. Donald of þe Ilis, wele aduerteist of the Kingis cuming with small power & purposß to invaid him at the cuming of his army, thocht bettir to ieopart all the chance of fortoun þan abyde plane batall with the King. Deliuerit with full

mynde on this maner, he sett on þe Kingis cunpany within þe nycht, and maid sa scharp persute that þe Kingis cunpany mycht *nocht* schute ane schott aganis þame, bot constrenytt to fecht with thair suerdis. Bot at last victory succedit to Donald of þe Ilis. In þis vnhappy bataill wer slayn iij^m men, and ij^m takin with King Donald, amang quhom wer xxx takyn of þe maist nobill blude of this realme. King Donald, takin in this maner, decessit within þe first ȝere of his regne, þe thrid day eftir he wes takin, mair be malancoly than ony danger of woundis.

(I. 207) The samyn tyme the Cristin faith began to haif grete troubill be persute of Decius Empriour, quhilk continewit be Valeriane and Aureliane empriouris, be quhais tirannyis mony Cristin men and wemen war *mertirit*: as Sextus, Ciprianus, Laurencius, Hippolitus, Barbara, Cecilia, Agatha, with mony vtheris. The samyn tyme þe Scottis began to be richt sikker in þe faith be frequent doctrine of certane mounkis, quhilkis wer callit in þai dayis Caldej, that is to say, þe honoraris of God, throu quhilk all preistis that honorit God ar callit Caldej in þat samyn maner. Thir preistis be generall votis chesit ane bischop amang þame self to haue autorite abone þame, quhilk wes callit Bischope of Scotland.

Bot I will return agane to King Donald, eftir quhais deceß Donald of þe Ilis vsurpit þe crowne be manifest force, for he had sa mony nobillis takin in þe batall afoir rehersit, and held þame in sik *mannance* and captiuite, that nane of *per* frendis durst attempt ony rebelloun aganis him, throw
 152 quhilk he abandonit | all þe countre, ant thirlit þe nobillis to his assistance. Nochþeles, þe nobillis laye in wait to slaa him, quhen tyme and place mycht appeir. Donald, knawing this, came in sic continewall fere of his lyfe that he gaif na man credence, throw quhilk he grew terribill to all personis, havand sik dreid that euery manis speche and cunpany wer suspicious to him, quhilk maid him to govern þe realme with na bettir zeile than he gatt it. At last his ¹ dredour *procedit* sa far that he durst cum in na oppin place, but ane strang band of armyt men aboute him with halbertis, and aixis,

¹ MS. *he*.

and inhibitt be terribill *proclamacioun* all man to bere na wappinnis, bot his avne gard alanerlye. He slew all thame, (I. 208) but ony mercy, quhom he suspekkit aganis him, and confiskatt thair gudis in favour of thame quhilkis applaudit to his empire, intending as ane bludy monstoure to conserve the croun with siklyke cruelte as he gatt it. He slew sindry nobillis, and maid vp ane cunpany of beggaris-birdis of vile & obscure lynnage, to riches & honouris, but ony sicht to vertew, reiosing in na thing sa mekill as to gener frequent sedicionis amang his nobillis, traisting be thair sedicioun to haif felicite, and be thair concord to haif troubill in his crovne. It is sayid, this cruell tiran lewch neuir, bot quhen he hard discord and slauchter of the nobillis, for he confiscaitt baith þair gudis that discordit, but ony difference of wrang or reasson; and sayid oft tymes amang his familiaris, na sicht mycht be moir plesand to him than se ane multitude of pepill murdir vthir¹; attour, the slauchter of grete men is na les necessair than proffittabill to all realmez, becaus þai ar ay inimeis to kingis & commoun wele. And quhen þis tiran had rongin xij 3eris in maist rigoure and cruelte abone þe pepill, but ony titill, he went to Enverloche with purpos to pas in the Ilis, bot he was slayn the first nycht he come thair be Crathlintus, son to Fyndocus afoir rehersit. Eftir the slauchter this Crathlintus passit to þe nobillis, and schew that he had put down þe tyran King Donald; and thai, but moir delay, come that samyn nycht on þe remanent of Donaldis folkis, and slew ij^c of thame, and þe residew chasit in Athoill, quhilkis wer all slayn eftir be þe pepill, quhen þai vnderstude thair King Donald² wes put down.

¹ MS. appears to be *ane* (subsequently erased) *nothir* written over *vthir*.

² MS. *Nathalocus*.

(I. 209)

How King Crathlinthus slew sindry frendis of Donald Ilis; how Scottis and Pichtis fell in grete debaith be thair hunting; off messaige send be Pichtis to Scottis; and how certane trewis wer takin betuix thame.

Ca v

Donald the tiran slayn in þis maner, the crowne wes restoritt to the blude of Athirco be Crathlintus, the richtuus air of þe samyn. For quhen he wes previt sufficientlie þe son of Fyndocus be his foster fader and vþeris, quhilkis had him in
 153 gouernance | fra his first ȝouth, the nobillis convenit, and with ane consent declarit him king. Crathlinthus, glaid of this present felicite, gaif thankis to his subdittis, and detestit be lang orisoun befor the counsale þe tyranny of Donald Ilis, vsurpair of the crown but ony titill, and gyding of the samyn with tresoun, falsett, reiff, and slauchter of nobillis. Nocht-theles, be his prudence this tiran wes distroit, howbeit na vther durst attempt sik besynes, throu quhilk þe crowne wes restorit to the richtwis air; exhorting thame for thir causis to suffir nane of the said Donaldis blude on live, in auenture thai nureiß sik ane fyre in þair avne perdicoun, be non-aduertens, as sum tyme did King Donald, fechtand vnvarly with the said Donald Ilis, quhairthrow þe nobilite of Scotland wes oppressit xij ȝeris with sik tirannyis þat na man mycht resist the samyn; thairfor desyrit thame to assist to him to repair all wrangis and iniuris done be his cruelte, and gif þai so wald doo all thingis mycht cum be schort tyme as thai desirit. The nobillis, na les movit be his excellent bewte and lustynes of persoun than be his hortacioun and wourdis, swere to tak his part. Nocht lang eftir the frendis and lynnage of Donald wes socht in euery partis, and slayn but ony difference of thair estait.

Sik thingis done, Crathlintus chesit wise and prudent men to doo iustice throw his realme, syne passit to the hunting with ane certane his nobillis to the montanis of Granzeben. And quhen he was huntand ane hart in the said montanis, come to him ambassatouris of Thelargus, King of Pichtis,

saying he was reiosit of þe slauchter of tyran Donald Ilis and restitucioun of þe crownn of Scottis to thair native blude, desyryng þerfor the ald band of peace to be renewit for the
 (I. 210) wele of baith þe realmez. Thir desyris wer grantit with all tendir beneuolence that mycht follow, and the ambassatouris sone eftir depeschitt. Ane schort tyme eftir ane certane cunpany of 3oung & nobill men of þe Pichtis come to hunt with þe King in Granzeben. The Pichtis, in þair hunting, stentit strang nettis on lesouris and medowis, and draif the harttis apoun þe nettis with thair houndis, and quhen þe beistis eschapit, clothit þaim with branchis and levis of treis, lyke stalkaris, syne slew the deir with braid arrowis and dartis, quhen þai war liand wery. The Scottis, na thing contentit of this game, becaus it wes contrair thair lawis, gart remoiff thair nettis, and hount on þe Scottis maner, takand þe prey with swift houndis alanerly. Bot quhen þe Pichtis saw thair houndis of leß reputacioun than þe Scottis, baith in bewte, swiftnes, lang rynk, and hardyment, þai desyrit ane certane of euery kynde of houndis, that þe samyn mycht be bred amang thame self. And quhen þai had gottin euery kynde of doggis gevin to þame, as þai desyrit, 3ite þai stall ane certane novmer, and returnit hayme with þe samyn, but avise of Scottis; amang quhom wes ane quhite hounde, plesand &
 154 | moir spedy than ony vther, quhom Crathlinthus had in maist delite. The Maister of the Huntis, astonyst throw the wanting of this hound, followit sa scharply that he fand the samyn, and was finaly slayn be the Pichtis in persute þerof. The skry raiß eftir this slauchter, and maid þe nobillis & commonis of Scotland to return agayn to revenge this iniure, and the Pichtis gaderit on the tothir side with na leß fury to resist, throw quhilk followit grete murdir on all sydis, nocht ane of þame knawing þe motive. In this vnhappy fecht was slayn lx Scottis gentil men, with ane grete novmer of commonis, and of Pichtis mo þan ane hundreth.

The faym of this vnhappy bataill, divulgatt in the cuntre, movit þe frendis of þame quhilkis wer slayn to seik vengeance with moir hattrent, quhairthrou þai gaderit agane on all sydis, and faucht but capitane, banner, or ordour of chevelry,

neir to the vtter distruccioun of þame baith, bot at last þe Scottis wer disconnfist, iij^m of þame slayn & ij^m Pichtis. Throw (I. 211) sik slauchter þir twa pepill grew ilk daye in moir hattrent and feid for ane litill sponk and small occasioun of vnkyndnes, quhilkis wer confideratt to that tyme sen thair first begynnynge, vnder ane blude, frendschip & amite, and apperit nane of thame cesþ but distrucioun of vther, with sik herschip, slauchter and cruelte that na housþ nor ȝite respect of aige mycht be saufte or defence contrair thair incredibill fury.

Thelargus, King of Pichtis, far byronnyn in aige, knowing quhat damage wes cumin to athir pepill be suddane pertinacite of imprudent pepill, wes richt wofull and trist, havand na leß displesour of the calamite falling to Scottis þan to Pichtis, send his oratouris to Crathlintus, schawin him sorowfull of the troubill falling amang the confideratt pepill in boith þair damage, howbeit he nevir consentit þerto, throw quhilk na cryme mycht be imput to him. And sen þe displesouris war done moir be privatt þan publik autorite, he thocht þe pepill sa lang confideratt suld cese in tymes cuming of iniuris, for proffitt of þe commoun wele, becaus na thing was moir soverie þan vtter rewyne of þame boith, gif þai continewit in athir malice, and thair landis to fall vnder Romane dominioun. Thairfoir he wald labour with deligence to repair all iniuris, that he mycht haif peace, and erar to return agane to concord of baith þe pepill, for the defence of þair realme, þan persevere in batellis intestyne to finall eversioun of thame boith.

Thir oratouris mycht skairsly at thair first cuming purches licence to be admitted to schew þair message to Cratlinthus, throw impacient ire takin aganis thame for þe murdir of his (I. 212) nobillis. Nochþeles, quhen þe nobillis wer resoluut with thair 155 desyris, he ansuerit that na thing mycht cum | sa displesand to him as suddane troubill falling amang þe pepill, quhilkis hes bene sa lang in tendir amite ; and thocht peace be moir plesand to his pepill than batall, ȝite þe recent iniure is so deip prentit in þair breistis that þai refuse to geif peace. Nochtwithstanding, he walde geif, of his autorite, thre monethis trewis, in quhilk tyme þe nobillis of boith the realmis maye

be profoundlie resolut, to pas and repas, to decern quhat was to be done. The trewis takin in þis maner war plesand to the King of Pichtis, beleving thairthrow to put fyne to thair present debaittis, and eschew all displesouris in tymes cuming. Nochttheles, frequent herschippis and slauchter wer maid on euery syde.

How Carancius for his manhede and prowes was send be the Empriour to defend the costis of the occeane seyis ; how he wan grete riches be þe samyn, and conquest Westmureland, and maid peace betuix Scottis and Pichtis.

Ca vj

Sik thingis done be Scottis and Pichtis, we will return agayn to Carancius, þe secund bruther of Fyndocus, quhom we schew banneist for his slauchter. This Carancius eftir his *proscripcioun* was ane wailzeant soidiour in þe Romane weris, and fenzeit his blude. Nochtþeles, he wan sik faym be his manhede and prowes in chevelry, that na man wes reput moir wourthy befor þe Empriour to haif the charge of ony Roman province, and þerfor wes send be Dioclesiane Empriour, with ane strang army and flott of schippis, to defend the coistis of occeane seyis, besyde Normandy and Picardy, fra iniure of Franche men and Saxonis. At his cuming he wald nocht invaid his inimeis, quhill þai wer chargit with ane riche pray of gudis, and than be force of armis tuke thame, syne partit þe samyn amangis his weir men be ryte of weris. This pray nocht deliuerit to þe Romane capitaneis, for sustentacioun of pair weris, maid him to be haittit afor þe Empriour. Carancius, knawing the samyn, pullit vp salis, and come with all his weir men and riches be þe Ireland seyis in Westmureland, ane part of Britan nocht far fra Scottis and Pichtis landis, traisting to haif sum reskourß of thame aganis þe Romanis. Sone eftir he sett his army on land, and with small difficulte gat the pepill randrit to him, and eftir this send ambassatouris (I. 213) to his nepott Crathlinthus, schawing how he wes banyst be

suspicioun of the slauchter of his bruther, King Findocus, throw *quhilk* he come in grete miserie and troubill ; *nocht*theles had gouernit him sua, eftir sindry chargis gevin to him be *þe* Empriour, that he wes send with ane strang army to pacify the oceane seyis aganis thair inimeis, be *quhilk* he had *wonnyn* na litill honour and riches. Noch~~þe~~les, becaus he knew *þe* Empriour movit aganis him be invy of detractouris, intending to put him to displesour, he wes *cumin* with ane strang army and riches in Westmureland, and brocht the inhabitantis *perof* to his opinioun ; throw *quhilk* he wes in sikker esperans to ding *þe* Romanis oute of Albioun, gif *þe* Scottis & Pichtis wald assist to his opinioun, becaus *þe* Romane army in Britan wes dalie waistit, and sa grete rebellioun aganis the Empriour
156 in all partis þat he may send na | support in Britan, *quhair*-throu the Scottis mycht haif ane ganand tyme to expell the Romanis oute of Britan, and defend him, thair native blude, in *þe* empire of Britan aganis Romanis ; *quhilkis* thingis nicht haif na resistance, gif *þe* Scottis and Pichtis haif sikker peace amang thame self. As to Fyndocus, he declarit him innocent of his slauchter, and incurrit *þe* panys of proscriptioun moir for parcialite of suspicious personis than ony fere of iustice, becaus that petuus slauchter come alanerlye be mocion of *þe* cursit tratour, Donald Ilis, as wes provin be his miserabill end.

Crathlinthus, herand that his eme Carancius wes *cumin* in Britan, havand sa huge flott, army, and riches reddy to all ieoperdeis, thocht his kyndnes nocht to be refusit, and thairfor sayid to his ambassatouris, he had forzett all iniuris, gif ony wes done, to his fader, reiosing of the present felicite *cumin* to his eme Carancius, *quhilk* salbe evir to him maist acceptabill. Twiching his desyris aganis Britonis, he wald fulfill the samyn, sa that he mycht haif peace of Pichtis ; and þocht he mycht haif nane, he suld send in his support ane *cunpany* of chosin men, bot he behuffit to abyde at hayme, for defence of his realm aganis *þe* Pichtis. Carancius, glaid of this ansuer, garnyst all municionis of Westmureland with strang soidiouris, and come with ane *cunpany* of galzeart men to *þe* Watter of Esk, *nocht* far fra *þe* Wall of Adriane, *quhair* he mett Crath-

linthus, and fell on kneis at his first meting, declaring him be mony euident reassonis innocent of Fyndocus slauchter, and desyrit the King *perfor* neur to haif him in suspicioun, for pocht he wes banneist be invy and hattrent amang vncouth pepill, 3ite he behavit him self in sik maner that he wes returnit in Albioun, baith to *pe* honour of him self and his frendis. Crathlinthus embrasit his eme Carancius mast tendirly, and (I. 214) prayit him to be of sik mynde to him, as he suld be agayn to him, levand na thing of his purpoß, sen grete honour & proffitt, gif forton war propiciant, mycht succede be the samyn. And *perfor*, gif *pe* Pichtis weeris war nocht impediment to him, he wald pas with him, aganis the Romanis with all his puyssance. Carancius, reiosing of *pe* Kingis beneuolence, sayid he had sufficient puyssance to expell *pe* Romanis oute of Britan, and to transfer the crowne *perof* in the lymnage of Scottis, gif Scottis and Pichtis wald assist to him. And thairfor he wald trete peace betuix thame, that thai mycht *pe* bettir invaid thair inimeis, quhen *pair* power wer brocht to giddir be tendir frendschip.

Sone eftir, be prudent labour of Carancius, the two kingis wer brocht to giddir, accompanyitt with ane few novmer on ilk syde. Carancius, to bring *pair* to concord, began to remembre that the ald affinite betuix thame wes commodius, and, be contrair, the violacioun thairof full of dammage to pame both, remembring als thair frequent chevelry aganis the impulsione of Romanis and Britonis, in defence of *pair* liberte, in safer *pat* iniuris done to ane of *pame* wer repute equaill
 157 as to *pame* baith; | quhairthrow *pai* suld erar cum to con-
 corde than to persevere in bataill, in dammage of thair com-
 moun wele for suddane slauchter, throw quhilk mycht follow
 the vtter exterminioun of thame boith. And *perfor* necessair
 wes, othir to haif peace, or ellis to haif were, quhilk is nocht
 onlie detestit with man, bot als with sindry brutail creaturis.
 Attoure, humanite, beneuolence, and faith foundit in *pe* law
 of God and man, impellis thame to *pe* samyn, leß *pai* be de-
 cernit ¹ to distroy thame self withoute recover. Be thir and
 vther ² reassons the twa kingis wer persuadit to haif peace,

¹ *determit* written above in later hand.

² MS. *uthe*.

and to repair all iniuris on athir syde. And thairfor war chosin viij newtrall personis, richt prudent and expert, with baith thair consentis, be quhom þe peace wes finaly roboratt eftir þe ald maner, and all iniuris plesandlie redressit.

(I. 215)

How Carancius slew Bassianus, and tuke the crowne of Britan ; and how he was slayne at last be Allectus, quhilk was eftir him King of Britonis. Ca vij

Ane schort tyme eftir, Quintus Bassianus, Romane capitane in Britan, aduerteist of the rebelloun maid be Carancius in Westmureland, raiß his campe to repres the samyn. In þe mene tyme he wes aduerteist that Carancius wes cumin be zork with thre grete buschementis of Scottis, Pichtis, and vtheris his frendis, and gottin þe samyn randrit to him, but ony offence of þe inhabitantis. Bassianus, nochtwithstanding the frequent rebelloun maid aganis Romanis in all partis, 3ite to revenge the iniuris done be Carancius, went forthwart with his army, and parkit the samyn within nycht betuix twa mosis on ane strait ground. Carancius, nocht x mylis fra him and wele aduertist of his doyingis, come with all his army to invaid þe Romanis. The nixt morrow Bassianus, seyng hye danger appering, arrayit his men, exhorting þame to remembre how þai wer to fecht for defence of equite aganis fals conspiratouris, specialie aganis þe tresonabill murdresar Carancius, quhilk is maist odious to God for his detestabill offenss ; and to haif respect to the Romane vertew, na leß provin to men than to inmortall goddis, quhairthrow þai mycht haif bene revardit of victory, nocht only infinite riches, bot perpetuall loving to þair posterite. On this vther syde Carancius wes na les diligent in exhorting of his army to bataill, saying thair inimeis had grete disavantage to fecht with thame, als the maist part of thame wer Britonis, havand extreme hattrent aganis Romanis, and thairfor wald leffe thame, quhen þa saw dangere, throu quhilk þai cowth nocht faill victory, gif tha come pertlie with manhede and prudence aganis thair inimeis. Incontinent, be blast of trumpaitt,

baith þe armyis iuinytt, and þe Britonis, quhilkis war vnder þe Romane ansenȝe, come oute of þe feild in þair gude arraye, and past to the nixt moitt. The Romanis, quhilkis war afoir arrayitt besyde thame, seying thair sydis nakytt, wer astonyst, (I. 210) and moir myndfull of thair singular wele than ony gloire of victory, throw quhilk thai war deiekkit of corage and put to flycht; on quhom followit Carancius and slew þame ay quhair thai war takin, but ony miseracioun, bot at last, seying sa huge murdir maid on thame, be sounde of trumpett brocht þame agane to the standwert. In this bataill wes slayn Quintus Bassianus, þe Romane capitane, and Hircius, procuratour of þe samyn, with mony vþeris nobillis and commonis of thair blude. The residew of Britonis, quhilkis eschapid fra þe batell, 158 | war randrit to Carancius, and gaif pleggis of þe nobillest þat war in þair realme, nocht within xx ȝeris nor abone lx ȝeris.

Sik thingis done, þe praye of gudis fallin be chance of victory wes partit amang the victorius pepill, and eftir that Carancius went to Lundoun, quhair he was ressaut with all reuerence, and tuke the scheptour and diademe of Britan, contrair the empire of Roman maieeste, eftir at it wes maid tributar to Iulius iij^e xlvj ȝeris. Carancius, crovnit in this manere, held ij^m Scottis and Pichtis in his gard, and causit þe remanent to return haym with riche praye of gudis, als gaif thame all þe landis liand betuix þe Wall of Adriane and ȝork, namit Westmureland & Cummyr, to thair perpetuall dominioun. Quhilk thing maid Carancius na les haittit amang þe Britonis þan Romanis, and was oft tymes assailȝeit with scharp batellis of Romanis and Britonis. Nochttheles, he was victorius at all iornayis, and broukit þe crovn of Britan be crafty prudence, quhill at last he was slayn be Allectus, Romane capitane, the vij ȝere of his regne.

Carancius slayn in þis maner, Alectus gaif his extreme labouris to bring Britonis agane to the Romane lawis, and quhen he saw þai mycht na wayis be brocht to þe samyn, for þe cruell hatrent þai had aganis Romanis, he maid labouris to haif thair beneuolence, and finally applaudit to thair opinioun, contrar þe Romanis, throw quhilk he was maid king of Britan. Nochpeles, he succedit with na bettir fortoun than Carancius,

for he was slayn in þe samyn maner be Asclepiadotus, þe thrid ȝere of his regne, eftir quhais deth þe crowne of Britan wes restorit to þe Romanis, as it was afoir.

(I. 217)

How grete cruelteis war done be Dioclesiane Emprioure; how þe Empriour Constantyne vincust Coeill, King of Britonis, and tuke his dochter in mariage; how King Crathlintus dotit the Kirk of Scotlannd; and of his deth.

Ca viij

The samyn tyme Dioclesiane Empriour, be vassallage of Constancius Maximianus and Galerius, dantit þe warld with sindry chance of bataill, and was the first Romane Empriour that was adorit with kinglye reuerence, for afoir þai dayis the Empriour vsit nocht bot salutacionis. This Empriour causit riche perle and precius stanis to be sett in his schoyn, in moir takyn of insolence þan ornament. Befoir that tyme wes na difference betuix empriouris and vther pepill, except þe roib riall. This Empriour Dioclesiane persewit þe Cristin faith with sik fury that xvij^m Cristin pepill wer martirit be his cruelte in schort tyme, baith in þe est and west partis of the warld, besyde infinitt pepill that war condampnit to þe galeis, wynnynge of querrell and myndis. Be him also wer brynt innovmerabill bukis of Cristin faith, contenand þe Ewangelis of Criste, with þe Actis and Epistillis of His Apostollis, to that fyne that þe faith of Criste suld aluterly expire. This cruell raige & persute of Cristin pepill wes als in Britan, throu quhilk þe Cristin faith, ourethrawin
 159 with new scurgis of perseverand cruelte, | wes nere¹ perist, and causit mony religious and haly men, for þe said persecucioun, to fle in desertis and elragis placis, quhair thai, void of iniuris, levitt ane haly lyiff. Nochþeles, this dispitfull tiran Dioclesiane, eftir his triumphs maid in Rome of sindry pepill of þe warld, wes troubillit be punicioun of God with mony vncouth infirmiteis, and for slauchter of sa mony innocent pepill ȝeid wode at Saloneis, quhair he slew him

¹ MS. *nereist*.

self be drynk of venmoun, to eschew his schamfull deth, þe
(I. 218) xx ȝere of his empire : to be exempill, that na men put confidence of felicite and eternail lyiff in vayn favoure and assentacioun of pepill.

The samyn tyme Coeill, discending of þe anciant & nobill blude of Britonis, was sollistit be þame to rebell aganis the Romanis. Asclepiodotus, aduerteist herof, mett him with þe Roman army and vþeris nobillis of Britan, quhilkis assistit to Romane opinioun, throw quhilk followit ane keyn bergane, bot at last Asclepiodotus wes slayn, and his army disconnfist. Eftir this victory Coeill was maid king, and, to stabill þe realme to him in sikker peace, commandit be generall edict all Romanis and vþeris of thair opinioun to be slayn, quhair euir thai mycht be apprehendit. Constancius Empriour, to repres this rebelloun, come in Britan with mony Roman legionis, aganis quhom went King Coeill with ane huge army of Britonis, to defend his realme and liberte. Nochttheles, he was wincust, and his army put to flycht. Constancius, herand be Britonis that King Coeill wes descendit of the anciantt blude of Britonis, send ane herrald to him, schawing gif he wald be randrit, as vther Britoun kingis wer afor, to Romanis, he suld be sufferitt to regnne in his autorite. King Coeill wes this tyme troubillit with grete infirmite, quhilk was generaitt be surfett, cald, and walking in his weeris, maid afor aganis þe Romanis. Constancius, movit heiroyf, went to King Coeill, to mak him consolacioun, and wes confideratt with him in sik maner that Coeill was continewit in his autorite, and gaiff his dochter Helena, of maist excellent bewte, to Constancius in mariage. This affinite maid Romanis & Britonis to beleiff ane finall end put to all thair weeris.

Sik thingis done, Constancius went to vesy the Romane strenthis in Britan, and nocht only reparit thame quhair thai war falty, bot als stuffitt þame with new provisionis and soidiouris. Attour, he commandit þe cietinaris of euery toun quhair he come to be obeisant to King Coeill during his lyiff, becauþ he was frend of þe senaitt and pepill of Rome. Schort tyme eftir, Constancius had ane son gottin be his

new affinite, namit Constantinus, quhilk for his singulare preeminence in prudence and werkis of chevelry succedit eftir his faderis deth to þe diademe imperiall, and was þe first Empriour that gaif peace to the Catholik Kirk, and dotit it with mony riche templis, landis, & iowellis, be ex-
 (I. 219) hortacioun of þe haly Paip Siluester. Bot we will return to þe merciall dedis quhilkis Constancius did afor this tyme in Britan.

Constancius eftir the deth of Dioclesiane, havand Britan pacifijt to his empire, went in France, quhair he was maid empriour; and quhen he had pacifijt France and Spayne, he returnit in Britan, quhair he gaderit ane grete powere
 160 to expell þe Scottis | and Pichtis oute of Westmureland and Cumbyr, quhilkis was gevin to thame afor be Carancius. Eftir his cuming to 3ork he was aduerteist that Scottis and Pichtis war gaderit with ane strang power to resist him, and becaus he knew þai mycht nocht abyde lang to giddir, he thocht best to brek thame with lang tary, and thairfor he abaid still with þe Romane campe, and causit þe Britonis to pas hayme, and to be reddy quhen þai war chargit. Nocht-
 theles, quhen he had remanit certane dayis in 3ork, gevand extreme deligence to brek þe Pichtis fra Scottis, throw malan-
 coly that he mycht nocht bring þe samyn to ane gude fyne he fell in ane rageand fever, and decessit þe vij day pereftir; quhais pulder wes gaderit in ane golden weschell, with mony smelland odouris, and brocht with funerall triumphis to Rome.

This Constancius, as we haif schewin, wes richt thankfull to Cristin pepill. Nochpeles, sindry Britonis, traisting him to persew the faith of Cryist with sic cruelte as Dioclesiane did, come in Scotland, quhilkis wer plesandly ressaut be Crathlinthus, King of Scottis, and ordanit to mak þair residence in þe Ile of Man, with kirkis erekkit to þame in Catholik maner, quhair þai suld say divyn service; throw quhilk the ald ritis and cerymonis of Gentiles, quhilkis indurit to þai dayis, wer abrogat. The first bischop that wes amang þame in this Ile wes namit Amphibolus Britoun, quhilk prechit the ewangellis throw all þe boundis of Scottis & Pichtis, in

extermioun of vane supersticionis & heresis. King Crathlinthus, movit be singular deuocioun, dotit the kirk of Man with mony iowellis maid of gold and siluer, with ane altair of coppir. He gaif als sindry landis and rentis, to sustene divyne seruice in þe samyn. This wes the first kirk that wes dedicatt amang Scottis in Catholik maner, and first sete of bischoppis, callit Sodoren, howbeit the reassoun of the samyn be vnknawin be rowste of lang tyme, quhilk distroyis euery thing. Crathlinthus, passing his tyme in þis maner with religious and civill materis, wes ane nobill prince, (I. 220) and finaly decessit, þe xxiiij 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun iij^c xxij 3eris, fra the begynnyng of þe warld v^m iij^c lxxx 3eris, fra þe begynnyng of þe realme of Scottis vj^c lv 3eris.

Off King Fyncormacus ; how King Octavius slew Hercules, and wes disconnfist be Traherus ; and how Traherus was wincust be Fyncormacus and Octavius ; how þe Britonis, brekand thair faith to Scottis, war disconfist be Traherus. Ca ix

Eftir deth of Crathlinthus succedit Fyncormacus, for thai war brethir sonnys. This Fyncormacus¹ was crownit in þe first 3ere of Constantyn, callitt for his preeminence the Grete Empriour, quhilk tyme raisß grete troubill in Albion. For þe commonis of Britan, havand extreme hattrent aganis þe tiranny of Cayus Hercules, quhilk wes capitane of Britan and tendir cousing to Maximiane Empriour, maid Octavius, 161 quhilk | wes Prince of Walis, thair king. Caius Hercules, to repres this rebelloun, rasit his campe aganis King Octavius, bot he was slayn cruellye, and his army disconnfist. Octavius, traisting na thing as to vse his victory, come haistly to Lunden, quhair he gat the Toure thairof randrit to him, and slew sindry grete men of Britan for thair assistance to Romanis ; eftir this persewit þe Romanis to the deth, quhair euir þai mycht be apprehendit. Constantyne Empriour, to repres this rebelloun, send ane wail3eant capitane, namit Traherus,

¹ MS. *Crathlinthus*.

with ane grete army in Britan, be quhom Octavius was put to flicht, and chasit amang þe Scottis. Traherus, insolent of this victory, chargit Fincormacus to send Octavius, the invasoure of Romane province, bundin to him, to be puneist for his rebellioun; vtherwais he suld be repute inimy to the senate and pepill of Rome. It wes ansuerit be Fyncormacus þat he resauit *nocht* Octavius to be iniurious to Romanis, bot alanerlie for þe ald amite betuix Scottis and Britonis. Attoure, it mycht obscure þe faym of his honour, gif he wald condiscend to sa miserabill case, to randir þe man to his inimeis þat socht refuge at him. *Nochttheles*, gif the said (I. 221) Traherus movit weere aganis him onlie for that cauß, he suld resist þe strangest way he mycht, bot 3ite gude it wer to se degestlie quhethir Romanis has gottin mair schayme or honour, mair proffite or skaith, in thair weeris aganis Scottis.

Traherus, na thing movit of this ansuere, rasit his campe, and come to 3ork, quhair he was aduerteist that Fyncormacus wes gaderit with xxx^m Scottis, xx^m Pichtis, and x^m Britanis with Octavius; 3ite, *nocht* effrait heiroy, maid his army to pas forthwart. Fyncormacus, seying him arrayit to fecht in þis sort, send ane herrald, quhy he come in his realme, but occasioun of iniuris, invading þe confiderat pepill as þai wer inimeis to Romanis. Attoure, he had grete admiracioun, quhy he had lever ieopert þe Romane army on the chance of fortoun, doing wrangis to his *nychtbouris*, þan to leif on thai landis quhilkis he nicht haif in peace. *Nochþeles*, gif he wald assal3e his pepill with wrangus batall, he suld fynd thame of na leß puyssance than quhen þai be force of armys dang þe Romanis oute of Scotland be þe wail3eand Galdus. Traherus ansuerit, he walde na waye desist fra batall, leß than Fyncormacus went oute of Romane landis, and pait ane 3eirlie tribute to þe Romane procuratoure, and deliuer Octavius; vther wais he suld haif sone experience, quhat foly is to barboure pepill to contempn þe empire of Romanis.

162 | Fyncormacus, havand thir chargis at diffiance, come forthwart with his army; throw quhilk was ane scharp bataill, bot the Romanis had bene victorius, war *nocht* ane multitude

of cariage men, quhilkis war dryvand awaye thair bestiall fra dangere of inimeis, and apperit to the Romanis to come on thair bakkis. In this bataill war slayn xv^m Albanis and xvj^m Romanis. The chaisß continewitt be Fyncormacus and Octavius on Traherus, quhill thai come to 3ork, quhair pai wer plesandlie ressaut be residew of the nobillis of Britan, and Octavius restorit to the crowne of Britan. The nobillis of Britan gaif to Fincormacus, for his assistance to Octavius in þe said feild, all the landis of Westmureland, with clame and kyndnes thairof, perpetuallie, and swere nevir to cum in the contrair of the samyn. Traherus, knowing na place sikker to Romanis in Britan eftir this victory, fled in France.

(I. 222) Eftir this ane counsale was sett in 3ork be the nobillis of Britan, in the quhilk it wes concludit, noch onlye to defend thair realme and liberte fra iniure of Romanis, bot als to suffir na vncouth blude to bere autorite in tymes cuming abone thame. Attour, it wes concludit to extend the marchis of Britan to the Wall of Adriane, and to expell the Scottis oute of Westmureland, nochwithstanding thair aith and promysß maid afoir; throw quhilkis Scottis and Pichtis duelling in Westmureland war inuadit be Octavius, contrair his faith and promysß, with x^m Britonis. Nochttheles, þe Scottis and Pichtis mett him with ane strang army, and put him to flycht. The samyn tyme Traherus, quhilk was afoir doungin oute of Britan, returnit in þe samyn with twa Romane legionis and xx^m wageouris, be quhom Octavius wes disconnfist. Octavius than, destitute of frendis, and havand na confidence in Scottis and Pichtis for violacioun of his faith, come to the mouth of Humber, quhair he pullit vp salis, and went in Norwaye.

Traherus eftir this victory ilk day inressit in moir riches and puyssance, quhairthrow þe Britonis, quhilkis wer afoir obeysant to Octavius, war randrit to him. Nochþeles, he exercit grete cruelte on the nobillis of Britan, and restorit þe crown to þe Romane empire. And quhen he had stabullit þe realme in þis manere, throw birnand auarice and insolence eftir sa hie felicite, he become þe maist vicius tyrran that evir had ony charge in Britan. And becaus he had na man re-

pugnant to his corruppit maneris, he invadit þe nobillis and commonis of Britan with na leß herschip þan slauchter; throw quhilk followit sik rebelloun aganis him that he was finally slayn, and the croun restorit to Octavius. The Romanis wer persewit ilk daye with sik cruelte, eftir deth of Traherus, (I. 223) that na kirkis nor sanctuarijs mycht be refuge to þame.

Eftir this victory Octavius distribute his officis to sindry nobill men of his realme, to keip his subdittis in iustice, and to defend thame fra iniuris of Romanis. And þocht seyndill ar foundin men but insolence, quhen þai fynd felicity eftir troubill, 3ite Octavius was alterit in sik maner, that quhair he was sum tyme maist fals and tresonabill, he was maist faithfull and nobill prince; and send his ambassatouris to Kyng Fyncormacus with sindry iowellis, desyring him to haif na respect to auld iniuris, bot leiff in frendschip with Britonis, quhilkis has laitly deliuerit þame self of Romane *seruitude*, and wer content that Westmureland and Cumbir remanit with him 163 with perpetuall | clame and amite of Britonis; and gouernit his realme mony 3eris eftir in gude iustice. Bot at last he was brokin with frequent weeris, that he randrit all municionis of his realme, to haif peace with Romanis, in his eild, and wes content to paye the auld tribute, throu quhilk was sikkir peace mony 3eris eftir in Albioun. In quhilk tyme Fyncormacus, richt illuster in gloir of chevelry and civill materis, be lang infirmite, generit of catarre, decessit, the xlvij 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun iij^e lxviiij 3eris.

(I. 224) How the herisijs of Arrius was condampnit; how Ireland tuke the faith of Criste; how Romacus, Angusiane, and Fethelmacus contendit for the croun, and of þe troubill fell throu þe samyn. Ca x

The samyn tyme the Cristin faith apperit to ryiße in gret dignite, quhill þe cursit herritik Arrius, preist of Alexandria, began to poysoun it with wennemous doctrine, saying Crist was *nocht* þe werray Son of God, coequaill and coeternall to the Fader, bot different in substance fra the samyn. *Nocht-*

theles, his opinions wer condampnit in þe Counsale of Nicea, with mony vther vane errouris, *quhilkis* I will *nocht* reherß at this tyme, becaus I devise this my translacioun mair for lawit men þan ony curious clerkis, be quhom all heresyis begynnys. The samyn tyme Ireland tuke þe faith of Criste be ane woman of þe Pichtis blude, quhilk instrukkit the Quene of Ireland in þe faith, and scho instrukkitt hir prince the King, throw quhilk all the regioun tuke the sikkir faith. Mony vther pepill in þe est and west partis of the warld tuke þe faith in þe samyn maner. Bot we will return to our history.

Fyncormacus decessit, as said is, left behynd him twa sonnys, Eugenius, of xvij 3eris of aige, and Ethodius, *nocht* ane 3ere of aige, quhilkis war gevin to gude preceptouris to govern thame, quhill þai war of aige to succed. For thir causß ane counsaill was sett in Ergile to cheiß the king; quhilk daye comperit Romacus, Fethelmacus & Angusiane contending for the croun, for thai war bruther sonnys and nepottis to Crathlinthus. Thai war all thre neir equaill in 3eris, frendis and gudis. Romacus clamit þe croun as maist nobill, becaus he wes *nocht* onlie cumin of the blude riall of Scottis, bot als of Pichtis, and *perfor* had mony of the nobillis assisting to his opinioun. Angusiane clamit the croun with consent of Fethelmacus, and wes als eldair sum part þan Romacus, (I. 225) throw quhilk apperit in him moir reasson and experience to govern þe realme. Throw clame and scharpe¹ persute on all sydis semyt grete troubill to follow. Romacus gaderit ane band of armit men, and kest his besynes to slaa his two cousingis, that he mycht haif þe crovnn, but his purpos come *nocht* to effect. Throw quhilk [raiß, nobillis returnit fra þe counsale but ony discussioun of thair richtis. Eftir the counsale]² raiß grete fede betuix Angusiane and Romacus, ilk ane of thame sett in athir slauchter, and laborand to bring monyest nobillis to thair opinioun. Bot 3ite þe maist novmer of nobillis

¹ MS. *schape*.

² The words between square brackets interrupt the sense. A. supported by the Latin and the printed edition, gives a continuous sense: *And becaus his purpos come nocht to effect raiß ilk day gret hatrent betuix þame ilkane of þame set to ather slauchter.*

assentit to Angusiane, becaus Romachus was ane man of mair
 164 ferocite than wisdome, and be contrair Angusiane | was
 reassonabill, and had *nocht* sa mony subtile and fals wayis
 as þe said Romacus had. Nochpeles, quhen þe nobillis had
 labourit lang to bring þame to concord, and mycht doo na
 thing thairin, it was divisit to divyde þe realme betuix þaim
 both. 3ite þat was *nocht* foundin proffittabill, becauþ the
 samyn myth raiþ perpetuall sedicioun, in damage of thair
commoun wele.

Finaly Romachus, impacient of lang tary, be birnand desyre
 to haif þe croun, gaderit ane grete army of Pichtis, and come
 with plane bataill aganis Angusiane and his vther cousing,
 Fethelmacus. Angusiane, herand sik thingis devisit aganis
 him, send to the King of Pichtis, praying him to fostir na
 sedicioun amang þe Scottis & Pichtis, and to draw his cousing
 Romachus erar to concord þan bataill, sen he mycht haif all
 thing according to reassoun, but ony pley. The King of
 Pichtis thocht thir desyris ressonabill, & tuke purpoþ to return
 hayme. *Nochttheles*, be persuasioun of his frendis he abaid,
 and gaif vnplesand ansuere, quhilk wes occasioun eftir to the
 nobillis of Scotlannd noch onlie to tak Angusianis part con-
 trair Romachus, bot als to haif the Pichtis at extreme hatrent.
 Sone eftir Angusiane, aduertist be his secrete frendis that
 Romachus lay in wait for his slauchter, gaderit ane grete
 power, and gaif bataill to Romachus. *Nochttheles*, his army
 was disconnfist, and baith him self and his cousing Fethel-
 macus chasit in þe Ilis, and becaus þai fand na securite of thair
 lyiff in the samyn, thai fled in Ireland. Angusiane dounȝin
 oute of Albion in this sort, mony of þe nobillis assistit to
 Romachus, and declarit him king. 3ite, as the custum of
 (I. 226) *tirannis* is, he conquest the realme in ane evill sort, and
 gouernit it war, havand nane familiar with him bot sa mony
 as was inimeis to Fyncormacus and his sonnis; eftir this
 maid him to vesy all the landis of his realme, doing iustice
 in his maner. This tyranny of Romachus, diwulgatt in þis
 maner, causit Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnis of Fyncor-
 machus, to fle in Westmureland, and eftir that in þe Ile of
 Man. Eftir this followit *proscripcioun*, grete slauchter and

oppressioun on all þe nobillis quhilkis fauoritt Angusiane, but ony difference of aige. The nobillis of the realme, quhilkis vnderstude wele Romachus' falsett, movit with thir cruell tirannyis, convenit be secrete writingis to redress all þe oppressions & wrangis; syne gaderit ane strang powere with sik prudence that this tiran King Romachus knēw nocht of thair assemblance, quhill þai wer cumin on him in arrayit bataill within x mylis. Romacus, aduerteist of this, fled in Loutheane, quhair he was slayn, the thrid ȝere of his regne, and his hede borne on ane staik to his confusioun throw þe army. In this skarmusing mony Scottis and Pichtis wer slayn, quhilkis fauorit this tiran King and causit him mak grete troubill aganis þe nobillis of Scotland.

(I. 227)
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How Angusiane was maid king; how the Britonis wer subdewit | be Maximus; how þe King of Pichtis come with ane grete army aganis Angusiane, to revenge þe slauchter of Romachus; how baith thir kingis war slayn, and the Scottis disconnfist.

Ca xj

Romachus slayn, as sayid is, Angusiane returnit in Albion, and wes maid king. Quhill thir besynes wer in Scotland, the Britonis be lang peace grew insolent, be slauchter of Traherus, Romane capitane, and recouerit þair municionis and liberte. Constancius, the son of grete Constantyne, to repres this rebelloun, send in Britan ane wailȝeand knycht, namit Maximus, with ane grete powere, quhilk sone eftir his cuning facht with the Britonis, and put thame to flicht. Be this victory he wes put in esperans to subdew the Britonis, as þai war afoir, to seruitude. Octavius, King of Britons, herand thir tythingis, decessit þe thrid daye eftir, moir be malancoly than ony doloure of seyknēs; eftir quhais deth Octavius, his son, to eschew the Romane fury fled in þe Ile of Man, quhair he remanit with Ethodius and Eugenius, vnknawin quhat he was. The Britonis, nocht mekle astonyst of þis last disconnfitour, gaderit agane ane army, moir strang

þan afoir, and faucht aganis þe Romanis, bot þai wer wincust on the samyn maner. Maximus eftir þis victory passit throu all the boundis of Britan, and gat mony of the pepill randrit to his opinioun. Vtheris, quhilkis war repugnant, wer put to wraik, and thair strenthis cassin down.

The samyn tyme grete troubill raiß in Scotland, for Nectanus, King of Pichtis, to revenge the slauchter of his cousing Romachus, maid sindry heirschippis on þe Scottis, throw quhilke þe Scottis wer constrenytt to ryiß in bataill aganis þame with sindry chancis of victory. At last the Pichtis drew ane grete novmer of Scottis, quhilkis wer movit for þe slauchter (I. 228) of Romachus, to thair opinioun, and prouocatt þe residew of Scottis ilk day to frequent skarmusing. Nochtheles, Angusiane send his ambassatouris to thame, schawing him gevin to peace & wele of baith þe realmez, and desyrit thame to devoid all iniuris, concurrand to giddir in amite, as þair faderis did afoir, for defence of both thair realmez. Finaly, seying his desiris repellit, that his ¹ slewth suld *nocht* be occasioun of insolence to his inimeis, he gaderit ane grete powere, and 3eid forthwart with the samyn. At last, eftir singulair batall & skarmusing of vailzeant men, baith thair armyis iunytt to giddir, and faucht with maist odius hattrent on all sydis, bot at last þe Pichtis war disconnfist, and Nectanus thair King chasit to Camelon.

Nectanus, wincust on this manere, richt desirous to revenge þe iniuris done to him and his pepill, convenit his nobillis to ane counsale, in quhilk he with hevye cheir lamentit the slauchter of his cousing Romachus and his nobillis, and desyrit thame to raiß ane new army, to revenge þe iniuris and schayme done to þame. The Pichtis, moir sett for the Kingis foly and plesour than for þair commoun wele, decernit ane new army to be rasit aganis þe Scottis oute of all boundis vnder þair empire, and come *with* þe samyn to Callander 166 Wode. Angusiane, richt provident in all his doingis, | knowing the Pichtis sa cruelly gaderit aganis him, assemblit ane army oute of all partis vnder his dominioun, erar to draw the Pichtis to concord than to haif bataill with thame, becaus

¹ MS. *is*.

he dred the Britonis suld cum in thair support be persuasioun of Romanis. For thir causis he send plesand writingis to the King of Pichtis, desiring him to haif respect to þe auld frendship betuix þe two pepill lang confideratt, and to put ane end to all thair weeris and geif him peace, on the samyn maner as he war victorius of his pepill, sen peace was sa necessair to baith thair armyis; becaus Maximus, Romane capitane, wrocht ilk day new cruelteis in Britan, and suld nocht fail to conquess baith thair realmez, quhen þai haif distroyit vther be civill weeris, and subdew thame to Romane seruitude. The King of Pichtis, contempnyng this proffittabill counsale, and havand na thing in less estimacioun than peace, rased his army, and come forthwart aganis Angusiane. On (I. 229) the tothir syde Angusiane arrayit his army, knowing be necessite of batall othir to ieopard him to the chance of fortoun, or ellis to geif bakkis to thair inimeijs *with* irrecoverabill schayme. Thairfor, seand his inimeis approche in sycht, exhortit his men to haif curage, settand asyde all dredoure, gif þai had ony, and to remembre þe grete spreitt and manhede of thair eldaris, in sik maner that þai may acquite thair deth or þai dee; and als to tak na displesour, howbeit þai ar to fecht aganis þe pepill quhilk wer sum tyme thair frendis, sen þai ar na occasioun of thair debaith, and left na thing vndone quhilk mycht haif reconnsalit thame to concord; throw quhilk it wes to be belevit þat God, the luffair of peace, suld favoure thame in thair iust defence. On the tothir syde the King of Pichtis cessit nocht to sollist his army to batall.

Incontinent the archearis schott on all sydis, and eftir þaim followit men of lyth harnes, and schott ane huge novmer of ganzeis & stanys, with slongis and corsbowis, and than thai iunytt with speris, aaxis and suerdis, throw quhilk followit ane kene fecht, and lang with vncertane victory. At last Angusiane, seand þe batall pas aganis him, raif of his coitt armour, and come amang the commonis, quhair he, fechtand cruelly, was slayn. The Scottis, traistand erar the King fled þan slayn, gaif bakkis to thair inimeijs. Vtheris, perseuerand with mair obstinatt mynde, faucht quhill þai

wer slayn. And pocht the victory succedit to þe Pichtis, ȝite it wes plesand to nane of thame, for baith the Kingis wer slayn in þis feild, with mony gentill men and *commonis* on euery syde. The residew of þame returnit haym, and wariȝt thame quhilkis gaif occasioun of batall to the two Kingis, quhilkis war confideratt to giddir sa mony ȝeris afoir in blude, amite and frendschip aganis thair fais, havand þe inimijs of ane of þame equaill to thame both.

(I. 230)

How Fethelmacus, King of Scottis, slew Nectanus, King of Pichtis; how Fethelmacus was slayn be tresoun of Pichtis, how Sanct Reule brocht Sanct-androis arme in Albion; and how þe kirk of Sanct-androis was dotit be liberalite of þe King of Pichtis.

C xij

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Angusiane slane in this maner, Fethelmacus, the thrid **A**nepott of Crathlinthus, wes maid king, and gaderit þe residew of Scottis to giddir, with litill bettir fortoun than his twa cousingis did afoir. The secund ȝere of his regnne he rasis his army to defend the iniuris done be Pichtis, and come in Anguse, quhair he did grete herschippis and cruelteis on the inhabitantis *perof*. The Pichtis, knowing this, ruschitt to harnes with maist raige of fury, to revenge the said iniuris. The Scottis, nocht abaisit *perof*, mett thame on þat samyn maner, and put baith thair weyngis to wraik; eftir that, sett on þe myddill warde, and it disconnfist on that samyn maner, throu quhilk þe residew of thair army gaif bakkis *with* huge slauchter maid on thame. Nectanus, King of Pichtis, bruther to the king afoir, wes brocht oute of the feild, and decessit the thrid day eftir be wound of ane arrow. The Scottis, insolent of this present victory, waistit Anguse and Fyffe. The Pichtis, brokin in þis maner, gaderit þame in sindry partis to stop þe Scottis fra taking of þair municionis *with* skarmusingis erar þan plane batall, and maid Hergestus, ane subtell man and of fals ingyne, to be thair king. This Hergestus, seand þe Scottis be force of armys doying sik

violence aganis his landis, and knawing his pepill brokin with continewall weeris, kest him to doo the thing be slycht quhilk he mycht nocht doo be force, and conduit twa men of Pichtis blude to fenze þameself Scottis, that þai mycht waitt ane ganand tyme to sla the King. And becaus thir men war maist crafty in casting of dartis, and the King Fethelmacus maist exercit in þe samyn, þai war maid familier vnto him. Nochþeles, þai socht ilk daye oportunitie to sla him.

(1.231) It happinnit the King to pas to Carrik, quhair he was in grete sollicitude all that daye, and at evin he gart ische his chalmer, and went to his bed, commanding ane harpar to sing ane soft sang, to draw him oute of hevy materis on sleip. And quhen he was fallin in profound sleip, the twa Pichtis afoir rehersit war convoyitt be the harpar quhair he laye, and slew him slepand in his bed, the thrid 3ere of his regne. The waich, quhilk was on his gard, herand the granys and sobbing of the King in his dedethraw, followit on þe slaaris, quhilkis wer fled to the montanis, quhair thai debatit thame lang tyme fra the persewaris; bot at last þai war takin, and quhen þai had schawin all the maner how thai war conduit to doo this cruelte, the counsale maid thame to be drawin with wilde horsß syndry. The harpair wes puneist in þe samyn maner. This slauchter of Fethelmacus happinnit in þe v 3ere of Constancius Empriour.

The samyn tyme wer mony clerkis profound in euery science: as Victorinus, oratour; Donatus, grammariour and preceptour to Sanct Ierome; with mony vtheris, quhilkis I latt pass for prolixite. The samyn tyme Sanct Reule, the haly abbott, arrivitt in Albion with Sanct Androis arme. This Rewle was ane monk of Grece in þe toun of Patras, borne in Achaya, & wes ane of þame quhilkis wer send be
168 Constancius Empriour to vesy | the relikkis of Sanctandro. And quhen he was makand his orison to Sanct Androu, he was commandit be ane visioun to tak his arme, thre fyngaris, with iij tais of his fute, and pas with the samyn in þe far nuke of the warld, namit Albion. Reule, astonyst of this visioun, come with the said reliques throw the seyis Medi-

(I. 232) terrane to Portingall, and eftir that come throw the Spanze, France and Almane seyis, and arrivit in þe toun quhilk is now callit Sanctandrois, þe 3er of God iij^e lxix 3eris, quhair thai war schip brokin, and na thing sauffitt, except þe said reliques and ane few novmer of haly men, quhilk come with him. Thir tythingis, divulgatt in þe countre, maid the King of Pichtis and his pepill to cum with riche offerandis oute of all partis to adoir the reliques of the haly apostill Sanct-androu ; quhilkis wer ressauit be Sanct Rewle and his fallowis in thair religious habittis with sangis of hymnis and vther divyne cerimonis, as efferit. Than Hergestous fell on kneis, and kist thir blissit reliques in his maist reuerence, and gaiff his palace ryall, richely biggit eftir the vse of thai dayis, to Sanct Androu, Sanct Reule and vtheris his fallowis, in þe honour of God, and biggit ane kirk nocht far fra the palace, dedicatt in þe honour of Sanct Androw. Men sayis it is the samyn kirk quhilk standis 3ite in þe commoun kirk 3arde of þe abbay, and was callit in ald tymes the kirk of Rewle, bot it is now callit þe ald kirk of Sanct Androu. Hergestus dotit this kirk with cowpis, challijs, bassingis, lawaris, with sindry vther riche iowellis of gold and siluer, to remane thair perpetually in þe honour of divyne seruice. The posterite of King Hergestus succeding eftir him, and the Scottis, quhen the Pichtis wer exilit this realme, hes had Sanctandrow in maist reuerence, as patrone of thair realme. The abbay kirk was dotatt be King Malcolme the Madyn and King Robert Bruyse with rentis, landis and possessionis. This abbay wes in gouernance of Iohne Hepburn, Priour thairof, in the tyme of þe making of thir cornikillis ; quhilk was ane nobill man, and did mony gude werkis in the said abbaye.

(I. 233)

Off King Eugenius; how Pichtis wes confideratt with Romanis to distroy Scottis; of þe message send be Maximus to Eugenius, and of his ansuere; how þe Scottis sufferit grete iniuris be Romanis, & wer disconfist, and how þai recouerit victory be support of men of Ergile. Ca xiiij

Ane schort tyme eftir þe slauchter of Fethelmachus Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnys of Fyncormachus, come oute of þe Ile of Man, quhair þai eschewit the furye of Romachus, Angusiane and Fethelmachus, and þe eldast of thame, Eugenius, wes mad king. The samyn tyme Maximus, capitane of Britan, knawing þe hattrent betuix Scottis and Pichtis, na les desyrous to distroy þame baith than to augment þe Romane empire, and hald þe Britonis in eyis, devisit ane subtell slycht, that he micht first distroy the Scottis, and eftir thame þe Pichtis. And to doo this þe moir eselye, he send ambassatouris to Hergestus, King of Pichtis, schawin him richt impacient of þe iniuris done to Pichtis, becaus þai haif bene evir gude frendis to Romanis, desyring *perfor* na thing sa mekle as to haif sikkir peace with thame; throw quhilk it mycht happin þat the said Pichtis, be fortifeing of Romanis
 169 and Britonis, mycht increis sa strang þat þai | mycht nocht
 (I. 234) onlie subdew the Scottis, thair ald inimeis, bot als ding thame, gif þai pleis, oute of Albion; quhilk thing suld be na les to the tranquillite of Pichtis, Britonis & Romanis than to þe eis of þe warld. Hergestus, King of Pichtis, ressauit thir ambassatouris with maist beneuolence, and gaif thankis to God, that send thame support in sa extreme dangere aganis thair cruell inimeis, and sayid it plesit thame wele to be confideratt with Romanis in quhat honest maner þai list, sa that thai wald concur with thame to revenge þe iniuris done be þe Scottis. Maximus *condiscendit*¹ to thair desyris, traisting þe samyn to cum to hye felice of Roman empire. Ane schort tyme it was concludit, be convencioun of Hergestus & Maximus at 3ork, that Romanis, Britonis and Pichtis

¹ MS. *condiscending*. Correction in text from A.

sall stand confideratt in tendir amite, and Scottis to be haldin as inimeis to thame all.

Sone eftir this convencioun Maximus send ane herrald to Eugenius, King of Scottis, chargeing him to redress all iniuris done to Pichtis, deliuering the mysdoaris to Hergestus to be punyst at his pleasour ; vthir wais he suld be repute, and his pepill, as inimeis to þe senaitt and pepill of Rome. Eugenius ansuerit, sen he was maid king of Scottis, he nevir offendit þe Romanis be iniuris ; throw quhilk he belevitt the Romanis wald nocht be sa wrangwis as to invaid him with bataill, sen þai mycht haif na motyve on reasson to move the samyn. Als he vnderstude na sik tendir kyndnes and humaniteis done be Pichtis to Romanis, to invaid the pepill with iniuris that offendit nocht to thame. Nochpeles, it plesit him baith to geif and tak redres with Pichtis, gif þai wald haif peace with him and his pepill, and thai quhilkis invadis vther with iniuris in tymes cuming to be puneist as þe cryme wes committit. Nochwithstanding, gif þe Romanis be avise of Pichtis wald iniure him, but iust occasioun of bataill, he mycht doo na thing less than commend his gude accion to God, punesair of wrangis, and to lefe nocht vndone þat maye pertene to defence of his realme and liberte ; becaus þe Romanis, as wele apperis, ar na less sett for exterminioun of Pichtis þan Scottis.

Maximus eftir this ansuere assemblit ane large army of Romanis, Britonis and Franche men, and enterit in Westmurland, quhair he cessit fra na maner of cruelteis on þe inhabitantis, and tuke the municions of þe samyn and garnist þame with Romane soidiours ; eftir this come in Annandaill, Galloway and sindry vther boundis, cessing fra na maner of
(I. 235) cruelte that mycht be devisit on þe pepill þerof. The Scottis, seying sa huge multitude of pepill, wer effrayitt. Nochpeles, becaus þai had na vther remede, thai come oute of all partis of Scotland, be commande of Eugenius, with na less manhede than ardent desyre to resist þair inimeis, and faucht with Romanis besyde þe Watter of Cree, quhair he was putt to flycht, and his army disconnfist with sa huge slauchter that þe rever ran bludy and wes fillit with dede bodijs. The Romanis

followit sa fast be chais, quhill at last thai enterit on ane new bergan of men of Ergile, quhilkis knew na thing of this disconnfitoure, and war *nocht* cumin to the Kingis army. And quhen thai saw þe Romanis following with sik cruelteis, thai ruschit to giddir with terribill visage, noyis and rummesing on the said Romanis, and maid sik vndemus slauchter on thame that the residew of Scottis, quhilkis wer laillie deffaitt, returnit agane, and chasit þe Romanis agane to thair campe, and
 170 cessit *nocht* fra | huge slauchter of þame, quhill the nycht severit þame. This was the chance of batall, variant þe first day, betuix þe Scottis and thair inimeis. The Romanis, na thing knawing the counsale of Scottis, howbeit mony of thame war slayn, war vncertane quhiddir thai wald renew battaill that samyn nycht, or abyde þe daye. *Nocht*theles, to haif þame reddy aganis all chance that mycht follow, thai stuffit thair campe *with* maist crafty ordinance. Eugenius than, seyng his pepill brokin with innoverabill slauchter, rasis his army within þe nycht, and come to Carrik, quhair he tuke consultacioun aganis all chance of bataill that mycht cum on him. The nixt morrow, quhen Maximus intendit to renew bataill aganis Scottis, he was aduerteist be sindry writingis that ane grete diuisioun wes rissing amang the Britonis in Kent, and becaus the samyn apperit in damage of þe *commoun* wele, he returnit haistely in Kent, levand behynd him ane grete novmer of warmen to keip þe municionis of Gallowaye. Thir war the dedis of Maximus aganis Scottis in þe first 3eris.

(I. 236) How Maximus returnit in Gallowaye to revenge þe iniuris done be Scottis aganis Pichtis ; how Eugenius come with fyfty thousand men to resist the Romanis, Pichtis and Britonis ; how he was slayne, his bruther takin, and his army disconnfist. C xiiij

The nixt 3ere wes ouredrevin in Britan be frequent her-schippis and skarmusing betuix þe Romanis, Britonis and Scottis. For quhen þe Scottis had assailzeit lang tyme in

vane to recover Gallowaye fra Roman tyranny, *pai* passit throw sindry landis of Pichtis, invading thame with fyre and swerde, and maid sik herschippis and slauchter in *pe* samyn that thai wer left neir waist. Maximus, richt *commovit* of this, as apperit, howbeit na thing wer moir plesand to him than to here the Scottis and Pichtis wirkand iniuris on vther, rasis his campe, and come in Gallowaye with purpoß to pas in all the remanent boundis of Scottis. Than was Eugenius *nocht* far fra *pe* samyn, abyding the cuming of his pepill to resist *pe* Romanis; to quhom comperit grete confluence of fensabill men and wemen, to the novmer of fifty thousand pepill, richt desyrous to fecht, criand with huge noyis, othir that day to dee or to haif victory on thair inimijis. In the menetyme *pe* Romanis cessit *nocht* fra maist odious slauchter on *pe* Scottis, but miseracioun of ony estait, quhair *pai* mycht be takin. Bot quhen *pai* wer aduertist that Eugenius wes in Carrik, *nocht* far fra thair army, thai left Gallowaye, and maid *paim* to pas forthwert. The Scottis sone eftir war aduertist that *pe* Romanis war within v mylis to thair army, with mair multitude of pepill & ordinance than evir was sene afoir in Gallowaye. Throw thir tythingis mony of *paim* war astonyst, bot *vperis*, havand the Romane tyranny and seruitude at dispite, wer rasis in mair fury, regarding na thing *pair* lyiff in defence of *pair* liberte. Than Eugenius with grete corage dissimulit his countenance, as he wer effrayitt of na thing (I. 237) leß *pan* of *pe* Romanis, and dividit his army in thre batellis.

171 The wangard was gevin to his bruther Ethodius, | the ¹ reirvard to Doalus, capitane of the tribe of Ergile, and the mydwarde to him self. Thir batellis war arrayit in sik craft that in *pe* place quhair *pe* feild was takin, thai had *pe* Rever of Munda at thair bakkis, sa deip that na man mycht pas throw the samyn, and als *pai* had the son gangand to on thair bakkis, quhais bemys & refleccioun, schynand aganis thair harnes, suld dym *pe* sicht of thair inimeis, and be impediment to fecht.

Sik thingis done, Eugenius went to ane hie moitt, and callit his army to the standart, and sayid in thir wordis ²:

¹ MS. *th.*

² *wordis* omitted in MS.

“Oure eldaris, quhilkis began þis realme with continewall labour, and brocht the samyn to oure dayis, commandit thair posterite to defend thair fredome, quhilk is maist dulce tresoure and hevinly gift in erde, aganis all invasouris, havand esperance of victory, quhen tyme wes to fecht aganis thair inimijs, in na thing moir than in þair strenthis and handis, and to be obeisant to thair capitanis, quhais autorite and prudence, beyn sikker targe, baith to thair gudis, landis & liberte, aganis all preß of inimijs. All þai quhilkis ar passit afoir war ay obedient to þe commande of þair nobillis, and pocht þai haif fochtin with sindry chance of bataill aganis the dantouris of þe warld, 3ite þai wer victorius at last. And now we ar to fecht, maist wal3eant pepill, aganis þe samyn inimijs, and perfor mon othir fecht in sic corage as oure eldaris did afoir ws, or ellis tyne oure landis and be thirlit to *seruitude*. Now approachis Maximus, oure maist cruell inimye, to reiff oure landis and gudis, gif we be grace of God and manhede support *nocht* oure self; quhilk is sa full of slycht and fals ingyne that he is confideratt with the Pichtis aganis ws, als wele in thair perdicoun as ouris, to that fyne that all Albion may be brocht vnder Romane empire. The Pichtis passis to bataill aganis thair frendis with thair profest inimijs, desiring to reffe þair landis and liberte. I wait *nocht* be quhat myscheiff thir Pichtis bene abusit, *nocht* knowing þe irrecouerabill damage (I. 238) that sall fall on þame. And sa fer as pertinit to ws, 3e know wele oure inimeis iniustlie persewing ws, throw quhilk thair chance salbe the war and haittit be God. Be contrair, think wele 3e doo *nocht* bot resistis þaim in 3oure iust defence, and ar the posterite of the samyn wail3eant men quhilkis dang þe Romanis oute of þis regionis with maist gloir. And sen na thing is mair sikker, gif we be wincust, than to haif extreme miserie, and gif we be victorius, triumphant honour and riches with perpetuall eyfs, I beseyk 3ow, for the faith, verteu and paill gostis of 3oure eldaris, quhilk defendit this 3oure realme in liberte to thir dayis, to suffer *nocht* 3ow, *per sonnis*, to be resecatt of 3oure landis and gudis, or to be takyn as katyvis to vnderly thair tyrannyis. And gif it happynnis 3ow be aduerß chance to dee, than doo safar as is in 3ow to acqyte

3oure deth, sen honest deth is moir plesand than schaymfull lyiff. And knaw 3oure self þe airis of thame quhilkis bene maist wailþeant, and *nocht* only succeding to thair landis bot to thair wisdom and chevelry, *nocht* gaderit of diuerß nacions bot of ane pepill, vnder ane mynde, and seruandis to Eternall God, quhilk gevis victory to iust pepill. Thairfor,
 172 maist wailþeant freyndis, belt 3ou *with* innative | vertew to haif victory, quhilk sall *nocht* fail to succed, gif 3e with constant corage haif na thing in dreid bot schaymfull fleyng, *nocht* cessing to wirk that cruelte on 3oure inimijs quhilkis pai intend for 3ow."

Quhen Eugenius had rasit þe spreitt of his army to batall, Maximus apperit in pair sicht with all his army. Nochþeles, becaus he was certifiȝt of Eugenius ordinance aganis him, he was moir properant than he ordanit in the gouernance of his army, and come sone eftir þe son rising in sycht. The Scottis war richt astonyst be the grete multitude and fersnes of thair inimeijs, bot quhen pai saw na refuge, thai gaif thame to extreme ieopardy and chance of fortoun. And becaus pai had thair bakkis to the son, that pair een suld *nocht* be blindit with the glance of the samyn, thai ran on thair inimeijs, quhilk
 (I. 239) thing was na litill impediment to Maximus to doo his devoir. Nochþeles, seyng his inimijs sa ferß, and the tyme sa schort, he exhortit his army to remembre þe Romane vertew, and to be *nocht* effrayit of þe barboure pepill, quhom pai recentlie disconnfist. And becaus baith the armijs war within schott of arrow, Maximus be sounde of trumpatt gaif signe to ioyn. The Scottis wer sa reddy with ferß myndis to fecht that skairsly wer arrowis, dartis and gaynȝeis schott, quhen pai with swerdis, aaxis and ledyn mellis sett on thair inimeis, with mair fury than ony ordour of merciall chevelry, makand inuocacioun with schill noyis to þe divyne spreit of Galdus, quhilk sum tyme brocht þe Roman army to exterminioun, to raiß þer corage with furius raige of bataill.

At the first iovnyng the bergan was sa keyn that vncertane was to quhat party maist damage succedit. Than followit sindry chance of fortoun, for þe Scottis quhilkis faucht in þe wangard vnder the banner of Ethodius, to wyn na leß honour

þan gloir, sett on þe Pichtis, quhilkis wer arrayit contrair thaym, and draiff thame be force of armes to þe Watter of Dovne, quhair mony of thame wer perist and slayn. Than be proude & insolent gloir, as þai had bene sikkir of victory, thai evagitt fra thair fallowis, cassin to spulze, throw quhilk þai wer eftir slayn be ane Roman legioun, *quhilk* was send be Maximus in support of þe Pichtis. In the reirward, quhair Doalus faucht, the Scottis mett with Franche men, Britonis and Almanis, quhair þai wer all slayn fechtand to þe deth for defence of thair realme. Than all þe Roman army be command of Maximus ruschitt on þe myddilward, quhair Eugenius faucht *with* his nobillis, quhilkis war wery and neir wincust be preiß of multitude. Bot þe Scottis, ferslye repugnand, quhill þai mycht, failzeit na thing þat mycht pertene to forsy campionis. The nobillis quhilkis faucht on Eugenius army, seyng þe victory inclyne to Romanis, desyrit Eugenius to sauff him be flycht to ane bettir fortoun, and raif of his coitt armour to mak him vnknawin. *Nocht*peles, fechtand be perseverand malice aganis þe Romanis, he was slayn, þe thrid ȝere of his regne.

Quhen þe Scottis was fechtand thus *with* terribill murdir maid on thame, the cariage men, quhilkis war left to keip thair bestiall and vittalis, havand na armour bot swerdis to defend thaym, and seyng sa mony nobill men slayn, be petuous commiseracioun ruschit on thair inimijs, and war all slayn
 173 fechtand to the deth. Quhill þe Romanis | wer following in the chaisf be perseuerant hatrent on this maner, thai fell in ane vncouth wise of fecht, for þe agit and febill personis,
 (I. 240) quhilkis war left at hayme as vnfensabill bodijs, richt desirous to here quhat chance was fallin to thair sonnis, come to þe place quhair þe batall was ; bot quhen þai saw sa huge murdir maid on thair sonnis, thai ran on thair inimijs like furious creaturis, regarding nothir lyiff, reassoun nor aige. The wemen come eftir with terribill noyis & rummisching as rageand bestis, and sett on the Romanis. Bot baith þe aigit men & wemen war all finalie slayn. The Romanis passit þe nycht following with huge fere & dredour that na trynschis nor walking mycht be sufficient municioun to þer army, for

þe hillis, valis and lesouris resoundit all þe nycht with maist terribill sprachis of *jammering* pepill in þe dede thraw. Nocht wes hard bot horrabill *murnyng* of rummesand and deand pepill, criand ane vengeance on Romanis and Pichtis, be quhais tresonabill slychtis thir huge murdir was maid.

The nixt morrow Maximus partit the spoulze of þe feild amang his army, and maid the dede bodeis to be burijt; and to schaw him *nocht* degeneratt fra Romane mercy, maid thame quhilkis war left on lyiff & woundit to be curijt with crafty sururgianis. The canpe of Scottis defaitt in þis wise, King Eugenius was fundin slayn, quhom Maximus gart burye *with* funerall triumphis. And becaus Ethodius, bruther to King Eugenius, was takin presonere, Maximus causit him to be maist craftlye curijt of his woundis.

How all Scottis wer exilit oute of Albion except Cartandis, Eugenius wyiff; how certane religious personis, banist oute of Albion, biggit the abbay in Colmkyll.
Ca xv

Etir this victory of Scottis Maximus wennt throw sindry boundis of Scotlann, and tuke þe inhabitantis thair of, quhilkis war randrit, to grace, suffering thame to leiff in quyett apon *þer* avn gudis. The Pichtis, quhilkis desyrit vtter exterminion of Scottis, tuke hie displesoure þat þai war sufferit in þis wise to leiff in Albion. Maximus, aduerteist of thair indignacioun, sayid, it pertenit to Romane maieste to haif na leß mercy on þair subdittis than ferocite abone
(I. 241) thair rebellis, and to conquess pepill moir be beneuolence than tyranny. Attoure, na thing may degraide mair the Romane glorie than to vse cruelte on thai pepill quhilkis bene randrit to thame. And thairfor the iniuris of Scottis was sufficientlie punyst, sen thair king wes slayn, thair army disconnfist, and thair municionis randrit. For thir causis he wald invaid þame with na forthar punicioun, bot gif þai conspirit aganis him be new rebelloun. The King of Pichtis and his nobillis, na thing satisfijt of this ansuer, bot erar

174 movit with moir indignacioun, went to Maximus, and desyrit be mony grete *persuasionis* all Scottis, quhilkis war pair profest inimijs, and born in thair vtter exterminion, and reiosing in na thing mair þan murdir of Romanis, to be slayne in all partis of | Albion, quhair thai mycht be apprehendit ; vthir wayis the Romanis and confideratt frendis mycht haif na sikkir felicity in Albion. And becaus thai war frustraitt of thair desyris at thair first instance, thai turnit thame to þe moir slycht, and finaly corruppit Maximus with large money, quhilk movis all mortall creaturis to maist terribill fellowijs, and purchest all Scottis to be banyst oute of Albion within ane prefixitt day, that thair landis mycht be gevin to Romanis and Pichtis. The day byronnyn, the Scottis war exilit and monyst vnder payn of deth neuir to return agane in Albion ; throw quhilk sum of thame wennt in þe Ilis, sum in Ireland, sum in Orknaye, sum in France and Italy, and vtheris in Norway and Denmark. Eftir this proscripcioun of men come sindry ladijs of Scotlannd, arrayit in thair dule habitt for the slauchter of thair husbandis in þis last bataill, desyring with lamentabill regraitt to suffer thame leyff as boyndis the residew of pair miserabill lyiff within þe native land, that þai mycht pray for thair husbandis, and finalye to be burijt with the samyn. Bot þai couth purches noch with all thair dolorous teris bot plane repulß, and sa þe ladijs and gentill wemen war exilit with þe remanent Scottis. Quhilk thing causit Maximus to detest the inhumaniteis and cruell maneris of Pichtis, quhilkis ilk day rageand in moir cruelte, eftir þe day of generall proscripcioun, murderitt all Scottis quhair thai mycht be apprehendit, but ony miseracioun of aige or estaitt.

(I. 242) Quhill sik deligentt serching wes maid in all partis, Cartandis, þe Quene of Scottis, with twa madynnis and ane seruand was foundin at the sepulture of hir prince Eugenius, all maist disconnfist with murnyng ; and becaus scho was the Prince of Waalis dochter, scho was brocht to Maximus but ony displesour. Maximus than, remembring the vnsikker stait of man, had compassioun of hir sorowfull chance, and mett hir in his honest maner with all consolacioun he mycht,

and bad hir be of gude connfort, for he suld trete hir as his sister in all tymes *cuming* ; sone eftir clothit hir in honest and seymlic abulzeamentis, and gaif hir the toun of Carrik with sindry rentis and possessionis to sustene hir riall estaitt. Bot Cartandis, *nocht* vnknawand fra quhat hie felice scho was deiekkitt, plesandlie ressaut *pe* 3ok of *seruitude*. And quhen scho was returnand to the said toun of Carrik, scho was takin be the gaitt be Romane soidiouris and roubbouris of Pichtis, and spoulzeit of hir horß, clething, money, iowellis, hir *seruand* slayn, and hir madynnys fulzeit. Maximus, aduertist of this, cessit *nocht* quhill the mysdoaris war puneist, and hir gudis restoritt ; syne held hir witht him self certane dayis with ane band of men, that na man suld inuaid hir with displesoure. The nixt daye the Pichtis come to Maximus, complenyng hevelie that pair men war slayn be persuasioun of ane cative woman and inyme to thayme, howbeit thai deseruit vther kyndnes at the Romane handis, fechtand to *pe* deth, for extending of thair empire, aganis the pepill with

175 quhilkis thai war confideratt | to thai dayis, desyring heirfor Cartandis to be exilit in Britan amang hir freyndis. Cartandys, herand thir wourdis, sayid scho was bot ane miserabill creature, nakit of hir husband and frendis, and wald be moir miserabill gif scho, deiekkitt fra hir felice, was repute sa vnwourthy that scho mycht *nocht* be sufferitt to leiff amang hir inymeijs, bot *commandit* to leiff in dailie schayme amang hir frendis. Houbeitt, it war moir plesand to hir to be in Scotlannd, praying for *pe* wailzeand pepill that war slayn, during hir sobir lyiff, than to leiff amang hir freyndis, pocht scho mycht haif moir honouris. Be thir wourdis scho wes licent, contrair

(I. 243) *pe* mynde of Pichtis, to remane in Scotlannd quhair scho list, *with* rentis and possessionis effering to hir estaitt.

The samyn tyme all preistis, monkis and religious personis of Scottis blude war exilit oute of Scotlannd, throw quhilke mony of thame come in *pe* Ilis, and biggit ane abbay in Colmkill, quhair mony deuott personis remanis 3ite to oure dayis, and vncertan quhiddir the samyn be moir plentuous of haly women or men, levand ane deuotte lyiff in pair secrete housis ; quhairthrou it happynit that pis abbaye, howbeit it began

sobirlye, ȝite be deuocioun of pepill and princelye rewardis was maid the commoun sepulture of mony Scottis kingis that decessit eftir. And ȝocht Ethodius, bruther to Eugenius, with vtheris presonaris of Scottis, war evill woundit in þis bataill, nochþeles þai war exilit eftir þair curing on the samyn maner, and sworn nothir to pas in Ireland, Orknaye nor ȝite in þe Ilis, and þerfor passit in Norwaye.

The ȝere that Scottis war exilit oute of Albion be Romanis and Pichtis wes fra þe begynnyng of þe world v^m v^c xlvij ȝeris, fra the Incarnacioun of God iij^c lxxix, fra the begynnyng of Scottis in Albion vij^c xij ȝeris, in the secund ȝere of Iuliane Empriour, quhilk was namit Apostota, becaus vther em-priouris afor him wer Catholik princes and he ane heritike.

Off sindry marvalis sene in Albion ; how þe Scottis quhilkis fled in Ireland and Ilis, returnyng in Scotland with ane grete powere, war slayne, and the remanent put to flycht. C xvj

In the ȝere that Eugenius faucht with Romanis war sene mony vncouth marwalis in Albion, to the grete terrour of pepill. In the nycht apperit mony swerdis and wappinnis, birnand in þe aire. At last thai ran all to giddir in ane grete bleiȝ, and evanyst oute of sight. The Watter of Dvn ran full of blude, and þe brais of it schayne in þe nycht with (I.244) ythand fyris. Ane incredibill multitude of small fowlis fell oute of the aire, in maner of ane schowir, and incontinent was ettin vp be ane huge novmer of ravynnis. Quhen the spa men and wemen of the templis schew that thir vncouth marwallis signifijt the exterminioun of Scottis, thai wer haldin in derisioun amang þe pepill, and inhibitt to geif faith to sik fretis.

Sik felicite succeding to Romanis, and þe Scottis exilit oute of Albion, Gillo, capitane of Ilis, aduertist of þe pro-
176 scripsion | of Ethodius in Norwaye, but esperance of his returnyng, had sik desyre to recover the realme that he come with ane strang band of men in Ergile, quhair thai, im-

prudently evagand in thair reiffis and spoulzeis, happynnit be auentour on ane grete cunpany of Pichtis, laid for the defence of the countre ; be quhom þai war finaly slayn, and thair langfaddis brocht to þe nixt port, to resist þe Scottis, gif þai wald invaid þame agayn. The remanent of þe Ilis men, brokin *with* slauchter and tynsaill of thair schippis, had na puysance to invaid ony forthair.

The Scottis quhilkis war exilit in Ireland, complenit petuously to the King and princes of the samyn that thair King Eugenius was slayn, and all thair frendis, sum tyme maist wailzeand in merciall dedis, banyst oute of Albion be tyranny of Romanis, Britonis and Pichtis ; quhais cruelteis war sa odiously vindicatt on þame that na estaitt nor aige war sauffitt, bot drevin be force of batall in vncouth realmes, to leiff in pouerte and *seruitude* ; quhairthrow thair nobill and anciant realme, sa oft defendit be forcy campionis aganis thair fais to þai dayis, wes brocht to vtter rewyne be insaciabill auarice of Romanis, and gevin to Britonis and Pichtis, in revarde of thair slycht and tresoun ; desyring thairfor, for þe luff and tendirnes that Nature, the crafty moder of all thingis, has ordanit to hir childerin be þair parentis, to support thame aganis thair vnmercifull inimijs, that þe Scottis, descending of thame, and reiosing þe realme of Scotlannd abone vij^c 3eris, be *nocht* brocht to vtter exterminoun be Romane weeris, sen þai ar cumand to thame as to þair sikkir ankir (I. 245) and last refuge in extreme neid. The princes of Ireland, havand miseracioun on this chance falling to Scottis, thair native pepill, send x^m Ireland men with þame in Albion to recover thair realme, quhilkis finalye come in Kyle, Carrik and Cwynynghame, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte on the Britonis and Pichtis quhilkis þai fand in þe samyn. Heirdurstone, bruther germane to King Heirgistus, knowing thir cruelteis wrocht on þe Pichtis, come with ane huge army to resist þair extorsionis. Nochþeles, he was put to flycht, and his army disconfist. Eftir that victory þe Scottis tuke consultacioun quhat was to be done. Sum of thame allegit, howbeit victory succedit, to assailze *nocht* the chance of fortoun ony forthar, bot eftir this plesand victory to return

agan in Ireland with the riche praye of men and gudis takin be thame in þe said bataill, and to keip thame to ane bettir fortoun, erar than to abide with manifest foly the Romane puyssance, quhilk had ane singular preeminence, baith in riches and chevelry, abone all vther pepill. Vtheris sayid, best was to follow fortoun, and recover þe remanent landis reft fra thame: sen thair begynnynge succedit with sa happy chance, thair end suld follow with moir prosperite, for it is
 177 oft seyn, multitude of pepill be wincust be few men; | and thairfor, in esperance of bettir fortoun, to raise thair corage, and othir to recover thair native realme, or all at anys to dee. This last opinioun was maist apprisit, throw quhilk the Scottis and Ireland men tuke ferm purpos to recover the remanent landis pertenant to thame be ony titill or law. Nochtheles, na bettir fortoun succedit to thame than afoir to þe Ilis men, for þai wer on that samyn maner slayn be Pichis and Romanis.

The princes and nobillis of Ireland, richt effrait of the tythingis, convenit to ane counsale, to haif consultacioun how the Scottis mycht be restorit to thair realme, and the Romanis resistit; and quhen þai saw na sufficient remede for þe samyn, thai tuke purpoiss to eschew the Romane indignacioun, and to send ambassatouris to haif peace with Romanis. The ambassatouris quhilkis wer send to þis effect, war reprevit be Maximus that support was send be þame aganis Romanis. Nochþeles,
 (I. 246) peace wes grantit to þame vnder thir condicionis, that na inymijs of Romanis be ressaut in tymes cuming in Ireland, and that na brokin men cum oute of Ireland in Albion to doo ony erandis in tymes cuming, nor 3ite support ony pepill aganis Romanis. The peace ratifijt in þis maner, Ireland men maid na mair trouble in Albion. And sua endis here þe Sext Buk, and

begynnys the vij Buke.

Liber Septimus.

(I. 247) How Maximus conquest þe crowne of Britan ; of his familiarite to Pichtis ; how he slew Graciane Emprioure, and wes slayne eftir be Theodosius ; how Octavius was maid king of Britan, and aggreitt with þe Empriour on all debaittis. Ca j

Maximus, havand troubill of inimijs repressit in all partis with sikker peace, to mak his prudent maneris patent, schew him sa beneuolus to þe pepill þat na man was denyitt his presence, and had with him in fallowschip sindry of cheif nobillis of Britan, with sik plesand havyngis þat mony of thame was drawin to his favoure. For quhen he cessit fra public materis, he gaif his besynes to torneamentis, wersling and vther knychtlie exercicioun with Britonis, and become sa liberall þat he gaif¹ in ane daye amang thame moir than all the tributt of Britan mycht extend to for ane ȝere, throw quhilkis his capitanes² wer persuadit to tak his part as empriour (I. 248) aganis all ieopardijs that mycht fall. Sone eftir he convenit | 178 the Britonis to ane counsale at ȝork, quhair he partit the landis pertenant sum tyme to Scottis in new favoure of Britonis and Pichtis, levand the municionis and strenthis garnist with strang soidiouris in all partis of Albion, and eftir that desyrit the crowne³ of Britan. The Britonis, knawing his imperiall lynage and liberalite, with hie manhede and craft of chevelry,⁴ declarit him king ; and pocht Paulus Diaconus writis that he was maid king contrair his will, I will follow my autouris afore rehersit, erar than vncouth historicianis. Valentinian Empriour, knawing that Maximus had vsurpit the crowne

¹ MS. *gaif*. ² MS. *capitane*. ³ MS. *crowme*. ⁴ MS. *chevry*.

of Britan, send diuerß capitanis and armyis to repres his rebelloun, bot quhen he saw him vnvincibill, he gaif him peace. Throu quhilk Maximus gouernit Britan xvij ȝere eftir, but troubill, havand ȝe haill empire of Albion vnder his dominioun, quhilk happynnyt nevir afoir to levand creatur. He had ȝe Pichtis in sik familiarite þat ȝe strangest of thame wer chosin capitanis in his army, and vtheris maid soidiouris in sindry municionis of Britan; and quhen he come in þair landis, he clothit him with mantill broderit with gold and silkyn floweris, eftir thair gyse, and desirit *nocht* bot ane small tribute, to be memoriall þat þai wer tributaris to Romanis. The Pichtis and Britonis, deliuerit thus of all dedelie fere of inimijs, had Maximus in na leß luff þan vehement affeccoun, and reiosit that Scottis, thair ald inimijs, wer exilit oute of Albion, and put to wraik.

Quhen Maximus had gouernit the crowne of Britan certane ȝeris with grete manhede and prudence, he began be¹ insaciabill auarice to covet the haill empire of ȝe warld, and to conquere the samyn went in France, levand behynd him all ȝe strenthis of Britan garnyst with strang soidiouris. At his cuming in France he wes ressaut maist plesandlie be ȝe Romanis, quhilkis had þat tyme Graciane the Empriour in (I. 249) hattrent, becaus he had vncouth and barboure pepill in moir reuerence þan Romanis, quhilk wes occasioun of his deth. For Maximus *circumuenit* him be slycht, and slew him gangand to Italy, the xxix ȝere of his empire. Eftir this Theodosius, quhilk wes Empriour nixt Graciane, desyring to revenge his slauchter, gaderit ane army, howbeit he wes na thing in respect of ȝe strang army of Maximus, and come, *nocht* aduerteist, in ȝe toun of Aquilea, quhair he slew the said Maximus, eftir that he had abandonit all Ytalie and Almany, and maid thame tributair to him. Theodosius eftir this slew Victor, the son of Maximus, quhilk wes maid king of France be him in his tendir ȝouth, as Paulus Diaconus writis at mair lenth in ȝe liffis of Graciane and Theodosius, Romane Empriouris.

Quhill the Romane princes had sic civil weiris amangis þame self, Octavius, ȝe son of Octavius afoir rehersit, quhilk

¹ MS. *to*. Correction in text from A.

fled in France to eschew þe tyranny of Maximus, quhen he subdewit Britan to his opinioun, returnit in Britan, and clamit þe crowne þerof to pertene to him be mony ressonis, specialie becaus he wes discend of þe blude riall be lang progressioun of anciant nobillis kingis of Britan; and promittit, gif þai condiscendit to his opinioun, to deliuer þame noch
 179 | onlie of Romane seruitude, bot als to suffir nane bot thair native blude to regne abon þame in tymes cuming. The Britonis, persuadit be mony ressonis to recovir thair liberte, maid him king. Nochþeles, the Romanis, quhilkis wer in þe municionis of Britan, war repugnant to thir doingis, quhairthrou apperit gret contencioun, the Britonis sett to defend
 (I. 250) Octavius, and þe Romanis to keip þe empire of Britan vnder dominion of Theodosius; quhilk wes occasioun to him to send eftir sindry capitanis with new armyis to dant the Britonis. Bot quhen Theodosius fand þai mycht noch be ourethrawin be force of armys, he gaif peace vnder thir condicionis: that Octavius sall remane King of Britane during his lyiff and amite with Romanis, the municionis of the cuntre to be kepit be Romane soidiouris, the administracioun of iustice to be at þe will of Theodosius, quhom he list depute for þe samyn, paying siklyke tributt as thai war wonnt to paye to Maximus; be quhilk condicionis and waye Britan was brocht agayn to Romane tribute.

How Marcius and Victoryne wer send in Albion to hald the samyn at Romane opinioun; how þe King of Pichtis slew him self for displesoure of sindry iniuris done be Romanis to his pepill; off the Dyk of Abircorne; of Ethodius successioun; how Rome wes takin be Goittis, and how sindry spoilzeis þerof fell to Fergus the Secund. Ca ij

Eftir this the Emprioure send twa capitanis in Britan, þis ane of thame namit Marcius to remane at Loundoun, and that vther Victoryne at 3ork; throw quhilk followitt eftir be thair gouernance sindry displesouris to þe Albanis.

For this Victoryne convenit the Pichtis to ane counsale, and reprevit þame for vsing of thair awin lawis, in contempcioun of the Romane autorite, as þai had¹ bene pepill nocht astrikkit to the Empriouris seruitude, and commandit that nane of thair blude regne eftir Hergestus, and that nane of thair awne lawis be vsit, and all iustice to be maid be Romane iugis, quhilkis suld haif abone thame, in tymes cuming, autorite of lyiff and deth; and gif ony Pichtis wer fondin repugnant to thir constitucionis, to be puneist to þe deth. Heirgist, King of Pichtis, constranit þus to vile seruitude in his lattir aige, was penitent of þe weeris maid aganis þe Scottis, and richt sorowfull for thair *proscripcioun*, seying sa intollera-bill calamiteis appering to him and his posterite for the samyn; and becaus he couth nocht put remedy thairto, for vehement doloure he drew him self to the hart with his dagar. Victoryne, knawing this vnhappy end of Hergist, commandit that na Pichtis blude vsurpe the crowne in tymes cuming, and that nane of thame bere ony office or autorite in tymes cuming, vnder the payn of deth, with all vther chargis to be observatt quhilkis thai war thirlit to be Maximus, quhen he exilit þe Scottis for thair *commoun* wele; throw quhilk þe realme (I. 251) of Pichtis was subdewit in maner of province, siklike as þe realme of Britonis, thair lawis abrogatt, and thirlit to Romane institucionis.

Ane certane of Pichtis, havand the chargis of Victoryne in
 180 derisioun, and nocht obtemperand to | the samyn, thocht
 hevy thair crown to be reft fra thair native blude, and maid
 Durstous, the son of Hergestus, king. Victoryne, movit of
 thir displesouris, thocht best thair rebellioun to be dantit
 afoir þai gaderit ony mair puyssance, and come haistlye for
 the samyn effect in Loutheane. The Pichtis, quhilkis war in
 Camelone with þair new King, herand the cuming of Victoryne
 in Loutheane, began to garnyß thair towne with all prouisioun.
 Nochþeles, sonnar than þai traistit, þe Romanis beltit þair
 toun with ane strange seige, and put it finalie to wraik. In
 this toun was takin King Durstus, and send to Rome to
 vnderly the iugement of Romane senatouris. The principaill

¹ MS. omits *had*: added from printed edition.

movaris of this rebellious war takin and skurgit with wandis throw þe toвне of Camelon. The Pichtis, dantit be Victoryne in þis maner, wer commandit to pay 3erelie to the Romane thesaurar the fourte¹ part of all the froittis growand on thair landis, with the fourte part of thair bestiall, vnder payn of deth; for he thocht þe Pichtis sa insolent, eftir the eieccioun of Scottis oute of Albionn, that, gif þai war nocht dantit in tyme, mony hie displesouris mycht ryiſ in Albion; and by all thir importabill chargis he thirlit thame to vile *seruitude*, sendand thame in Britane and vther realmes to wyn mettallis, quarellis, and to mak tylde. Eftir this come to thame ane mair exhorbitant iniure, devisit in finall distruccioun of thair realme; for within schort tyme eftir thai wer commandit to pas with thair wyiffis, childerin and gudis, vnder payn of deth, be 3ond Forth, and to lefe Berwik, Merſ, Gallowaye, Lowtheane, Striueling, Carrik, Kyle, Cwynnghame, and mekill of Caldor Wod, to be inhabitt be Britonis, and to big ane heich dyke fra Abircorne to Dunbertane, to deuide þame fra Britonis; and gif ony Pichtis transcendit this dyke, to be puneist na leſ than þai had offendit aganis þe Roman maieste. The Pichtis, grevit with thir and vther mony intollerabill iniuris, began to lament thair sorowfull chance fallin to thame (I. 252) be thair awyn offence, and rasit thair eeyn to the heivin, humilie praying the mercifull God to deliuer thame of Romane tiranny.

Quhill the Pichtis war oppressitt thus be Romanis, the Scottis war² vagabounde and bannyst in vncouth realmez with thair wyiffis and childerin, sum of thame levand on the laboure of thair handis, and vtheris beand soidiouris vnder sindry princes of the warld. Ethodius, the bruper of Eugenius, bannyst, as we haif schawin, was plesandly tretit be the King of Denmark, and gat certane landis, quhair he remanit with his wife; on quhom he had a son, namytt Erthus, quhilk eftir the deth of his fader Ethodius marijt ane nobill lady, namytt Rocha, dochter to Rorik, gretest prence of Danys nixt the King, and gatt on hir ane son, namyt Fergus, quhilk recoverit the realme of Scotland, as we sall now schaw.

¹ MS. *fourre*.² MS. omits *war*, but A reads *war vagabound*.

This Fergus in his 3owth passit with ane cunpany of wailzeand men to Alaricus, King of Gothis, the tyme quhen þe Romane empire began to be haittit be all pepill. Fergus, passand with the Gothis in þis sort, had extreme hattrent aganis Romanis, becaus þai slew his eldaris, and banyst thame fra thair native realme in vncouth regionis. Finaly, eftir sindry chancis of bataill betuix Romanis and Gothis, Radagasus, cheif capitane amang þe Gothis, beand slayn, and þe Romanis brokin with þair army and puyssance, ane strait sege wes laid aboute (I. 253) Rome be Alaricus. The Romanis debaitit thair toun lang 181 be force of armys, | bot at last thai lakitt vittalis, throu quhilk wes sic hungyr amang thame that thai abhorrit noch to eitt the flesche of men, with vther sindry abhominabill meittis. “ In deploracioun of this calamite my voce astonit, and the sobbing cuttis my wourdis,” sayis Sanct Ierome ; “ the tovn is takin that tuke all the warld, and wincust moir be hungyr þan swerd, and few war fundin on live within þe toun. Sa far sprang the raige of hungir to eitt abhominabill meitt, that the moder sparit noch to swelly the froitt of hir avne bowellis.” Thus was Rome finalie expugnatt be Gotthis, the first day of Aprile, fra the begynnyng of it be Romulus j^m j^c lxiiij 3eris, fra the Incarnacioun of God iiij^c xij 3eris. Rome takin, as said is, þe Gotthis cessit fra slauchter of the pepill and fra spoulzeing of þe templis of þe Apostolus Paule and Petir, throw quhilk mony pepill that fled to thir templis war savit of thair gudis and lyvis.

Rome, sum tyme Lady of þe Warld, wes spoulzeit þus be cruelte of Gotthis, and the spoulzeis of it dividitt be rite of armis amang þe Gotthis. It is sayid þat, besyde mony riche iowellis and precious gere, quhilk fell to Fergus be the said spoulzee, ane kist was gevin to him full of bukis, quhilkis he send to Colmkyll in the Ilis with grete deligence, to remane in the samyn, be quhat mocioun na man knew. It is said als þat Eneas Siluius, quhilk wes send as legatt fra Eugenius þe iiij, Paipe, to King Iames þe First, tuke purpoß to pas in þe Ilis of Scotland, to se gif he mycht fynd ony werkis of Titus Livius, quhilkis war distroyitt sum tyme be cruelte of weeris in Italy, for maa notabill thingis bene distroyitt be

batall than be rowist of ȝeris. Nochȝeles, knawing the passage dangerous, quhen the King was slayn, he left his purpos. And we, of the samyn maner, richt desyrous to knaw quhat bukis thir bene, quhais faym was diwulgatt in all partis, maid sik serching that at last thai war brocht to ws to Abirdene, be industry of ane nobill man, Maister Iohnne Campbell, thesaurar to the King, the ȝere of God j^m v^c xxv ȝeris; in the quhilkis war bot brokin leiiffis, and few of thame bradar (I. 254) than ȝe palme of ane mann's hand, writin craftly on rude papir, bot thai war sa blynd wee mycht nocht reyd ilk tent wourde. Nochȝeles, quhethir thir bukis wer ane part of thai quhilkis war distroyitt be the were, as said is, or writin in Albion, or brocht thair oute of vncouth realmes, it is vncertane; ȝite all thai quhilkis red thame, sayid thai soundit mair to ȝe eloquence of Salustius than of Liuius. Als war brocht to ws that samyn tyme the werkis of Veremundus, Archidene of Sanctandrois, contenand the history of this realme fra the first begynnnyng of it to King Malcolme Canmoiris tyme, quhom we haif followit, with the maist wise Byschop Williame Elphinstoun, to ȝe end of this oure quhatsumeuer werk. Bot we will return agane to oure history.

Fergus, ȝe son of Erthus, departit oute of Rome with Alaricus thre dayis eftir it wes put to sak, and went with him to the expugnacioun of sindry vther tovnis in Italy. Eftir this the said Fergus was ordanit to pas with certan schippis on Sicille. Nochȝeles, be storme and contrair wyndis he was drevin agane in Italy, and narrowly eschapit of his lyfe. At 182 his returnyng | Alaricus was decessit, and Atalpus put in his place be the Gotthis to be generall capitane of thair army, with quhom Fergus become maist deir for his manhede and singulair vertew. And at last, quhen the Gotthis had dantit all Italy, he wes send hayme agane in Denmark, with mony vther wailȝeant capitanis and soidiouris, with mekill riches & tresour.

(I. 255)

How sindry ordouris of religious men wer institute ;
 how Pichtis desyrit Scottis to cum in Albion ; how
 Graciane and Marcius wer slayn ; how Constantyne
 wes slayne be Constancius ; how Scottis and Pichtis
 wer confiderat to giddir, and how Fergus recouerit
 his realm. C iij

The samyn tyme was Sanct Niniane, þe haly bischop,
 quhilk prechit the faith to Britonis, Pichtis and Scottis,
 and was the first begynnair of the kyrk of Quhittern in Gal-
 lowaye, quhair he biggit ane kirk to Sanct Martyn, his eme.
 That samyn tyme was Sanct Ambroß, Bischof of Melayn,
 quhilk brocht Sanct Augustyne to the faith. This Augustyne
 was the first begynnair of chaunnons regulair, of quhom ar
 now mony abbayis erekkit in þe warld be magnificence of
 sindry princes. Of this ordoure bene xxx papis, beside mony
 bischopis and nobill prelaittis, quhais novmer may nocht
 be comprehendit. Throw this ordoure began the eremitanis,
 quhilkis ar now siclyke of grete novmer of quhilk ordoure ar
 this daye in Euroip abone ij^m & iij^c abbayis, besyde thame
 quhilkis ar in vther partis of Affric and Egipt. This Sanct
 Augustyn proffite na lesß in his morall and haly doctryne than
 in þe ampliacioun of the ordouris, for he had nocht xx 3eris
 of aige quhen he red rethorik in Cartage, and lernit his philo-
 sophy and methamatik science but ony preceptoure. Eftir
 this he come to Melayn, quhair he ressaut be Sanct Ambroß
 the faith of Criste, and imprevit mony heresijs, and wrait sik
 huge novmer of bukis that na aige of man may suffice to reid
 thame, and decessit at last of lxx 3eris of aige. The samyn
 tyme was Basilius, þe first begynnair of monkis, quhilk wrait
 sindry gude bukis for þe wele of oure faith. Siklyke wes Sanct
 Ierome the Paip, quhilk translatit þe Bybill oute of Hebrew
 (I. 256) in Latyne, with mony vther volummis in þat samyn maner.
 His werkis war haldin in sik reuerence be Damassius Paip
 þat thai wer commandit to be red amang vther divyne seruice.
 Bot we will return agane to oure history.

The Pichtis, seand þame ilk day mair tormentitt with

Romane iniuris, and irkit with importabill seruitude, send pair secrete messengeris to þe Scottis, quhilkis war exilit in þe Ilis, Ireland and Norwaye, desyring thame to cum to recover thair realme, and promittit to assist to thame in sik maner þat þai suld othir restoir thame to þair native rowmes, or ellis all at anys, gif it war necessair, to dee. Fergus, herand thir offeris in Denmark, send agane his crafty *seruandis* in all partis quhair the Scottis wer, to see quhat mynde þai bure
 183 toward him. And quhen | he fand þame all of ane mynde to recover thair realme and revenge þe iniuris done to þame be Romanis and Britonis, he conducit ane grete novmer of schippis and weremen, part with þe riches that he wan in Italy, and part be support of his gudes~~err~~ Rorik, with purpos to cum in Albioun to recover his realme.

The samyn tyme ¹ Graciane, Briton, be consent of Marcius, Romane capitane, was maid king of Britan. Nochþeles, sa vehement contencioun raisß betuix thame sone eftir that thai war baith slayn. The Romanis, quhilkis war in Britan, movit be this vnhappy caiß, maid Constantyne, a man of febill ingyne, to be in Marcius place, but avise of Honorius Empriour.
 (I.257) This Constantyne went in France with ane grete army, to deliuer the samyn fra tyranny of Gotthis and Swissis, and to tak þe crowne *perof*, bot at last he wes slayn thair be ane wailþeand knycht, namit Constancius, and his army disconnfist. Victoryne, knowing þe slauchter of his colleig Marcius, went to Lundoun, and garnyst all þe Romane municionis with new soidiouris, castand him to intertenew the Britonis *with* all plesouris, and to hald þame at opinioun of Honorius, becaus thair wes sa grete rebellioun aganis Romanis in all partis. Quhilkis thingis rasis the curage of Pichtis, in esperance of bettir fortoun, seyng the Britonis haldin *with* sik difficulte vnder Roman opinioun, and traistit thairfor, be support of Scottis at thair *cuming*, to recover þair liberte. For thir causis thai send þe secund messaige to Fergus, schawing sa grete troubill in Britan amang the Romanis that na tyme mycht cum sa ganand as than to recovir his realm.

Sone eftir Fergus pullit vp salis, and arrivitt in Murraye,

¹ MS. omits *tyme*: correction from A.

quhair he sett his army on land. The fayme of his *cuming*, dyvulgatt throw Albion, maid the Scottis oute of all partis to convene to him with thair wyiffis and childerin, with na leß curage þan þai war to remane perpetuallie in þair native land, but ony forthair iniuris of thair inymyis. The Pichtis, reiosit of his *cuming*, com to Murraye, thankand him that he for singular luff to recover his realme and liberte was *cumin* in Albion, nocht astonyst of the wynter stormes nor danger of seyis, quhen passage bene moist perrellus ; and desyrit him to sett asyde all iniuris, gif ony war in tymes bigane, betuix Scottis & Pichtis, that þai mycht be confiderat agane eftir the tenour of the auld peace ; attoure besocht him to imput na falt to thame for þe tressonabill slychtis committit aganis his gudeserr and vther the nobilite of Scottis, bot alanerly to þair forbearis, quhilk couth nocht that tyme haif experience of the dissait of Romanis, nor 3ite vnderstand quhat perrellis & calamite wes appering to thame be the weeris maid aganis þe Scottis, quhen þai, dissauit be plesand wourdis of Romanis, in dammage of thair commoun wele, brocht thame self to intollerabill seruitude, throw quhilk þai wer cruelly pvnyst, that euery kynde of deth was to be preferrit to Roman dominioun.

(I. 258) To this ansuerit Fergus, he wald gladly haif peace and amite with Pichtis, with siklike condicionis as þai afoir confideratt with his progenitouris, and wald ieopert him self with þame in batall contrair Romanis & Britonis, thair ald & perpetuall
 184 | inymyis, and fecht to the deth for thair commoun wele, to revenge þe iniuris done to þame, sua that the said Pichtis wald pas with thair wiffis, childerin and gudis with beneuolence oute of the landis quhilkis war reft fra þe Scottis afoir be tressonabill slycht. As to the ald iniuris of the said Pichtis, he thocht thame sufficientlye pvnyst be iust punycioun of God for thair offence, sen þai war nocht only reft and spulzeit of thair native landis, bot thirlit to maist vile and intollerabill *seruitude*. The Pichtis, content of thir desyris, creatt ane king, and mett Fergus sone eftir, quhair the auld band of peace was roboratt in þe soverast waye that mycht be devisitt.

Sik thingis done, Fergus ressauit all the landis and muni-

cionis quhilkis war reft fra Scottis afoir be Romane weris, and went with ane galȝeart cunpany to Ergile, quhair he was crovnit in ȝe fataill chyar of marbyll. The ȝere ȝat Fergus recoverit his realme was ȝe xliiij ȝere eftir ȝe Scottis wer exilit oute of Albion, fra ȝe Incarnacioun of God iiij^e xxij ȝeris, fra ȝe first begynnyng of Scottis vij^e lv ȝeris, in the xviiij ȝere of Honorius Emprioure.

(I. 259)

How Romanis, fechtand aganis Scottis and Pichtis with vncertan victory, war severit be ane schoure of hayill; how the Pichtis remanit in Athoill; how Grahame slew ȝe Britonis and Romanis at Abircorn; how Fergus was disconnfist in Carrik; how Victoryn was slayn for his rebellioun aganis ȝe Empriour.

Ca iiij

Victoryne, ȝe Romane capitane, aduertist of thir tythingis, assemblit ane grete army, and come with the samyn to zork. Eftir his cuming he send ane herrald to the Pichtis, solistand thame with mony large promysſ to dissolue the band maid laitlye with ȝe Scottis. Bot quhen he saw he mycht na way bring ȝe samyn to gude effect, havand the Pichtis as fals and manesworn pepill, he denuncit plane batall to thame baith, and come with I^m men in maist weirlie ordinance, with displayitt banar, throw Kendail, Merſſ and Loutheane, and sett down his palȝeonis nocht far fra Camelon. Fergus, aduertist of the cuming of Romanis in this maner, gaderit ane huge army with the King of Pichtis, and come within ȝe nycht oure Forth about Striueling, nocht far fra his inymyis, with deliuerit mynde to assailȝe thame in brek of ȝe daye. The Romanis, nocht vnknawing the cuming of the Scottis and Pichtis, arrayit thame haistlye to bataill, and mett the confideratt kingis with na leſſ ferſſnes and cruelte ȝan vtter puyssance; throw quhilk thair was ane maisterfull & terrible bergane, and na thing pretermittit that mycht pertene to forsy campionis, with sik slauchter on athir syde that ȝe Vatter of Carroun, for incredibill effusioun of blude, ran

mony mylis with purpur stremys to þe seyis. Nochtheles, the victory was vncertane, quhen suddanly come ane huge schoure of haill, with sik reird and preß, on baith þe armeis, that nane of þame mycht knaw ane vther ; throw quhilk thai war constrainit to seveir, moir irkit than saciatt of vther
 185 slauchter. Bot ȝit þe armyis wer sa brokin on all sydis | that mony ȝeris eftir nane of thame mycht invaid vther be batall. The nixt morrow, quhen Victoryne considerit his army sa brokin, he returnit with the samyn in Kent, levand him mony soidiouris in Lothiane to keip the samyn, in maner of province,
 (I. 260) aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis. The confideratt kingis *commandit* the residew of thair pepill, quhilk was left on live, to return hayme ; syne tuke consultacioun how thai mycht renew battall aganis thair inymyis, and becaus þai fand thame self vnabill for þe samyn, thai sett pair besynes to defend thair landis, kepend thame to ane bettir fortoun. Sone eftir þai convenit in Fyffe, and eftir that in Ergile, *nocht* to defend thair realme and liberte, bot to institute pair pepill in chevelry, quhilkis war abusit fra þe samyn. The Scottis, eftir sindry consultationis, seying the Pichtis of moir novmer than mycht be nureist in Anguse, Fife, Striueling, the Watter of Erne and the lawth of Cawder Wod, sufferit thame to remane in Atholl, bezond þe Hillis of Granzeben, quhill þai mycht, be sum bettir fortoun, recover thair avne landis, quhilkis war reft fra þame be tyranny of Romanis. The Pichtis spred fast in Atholl, and maid sindry municionis and pollecys in þe samyn.

In þe menetyne Victoryne *commandit* the Britonis be generall edict to big the wall betuix Abircorn and Dunbertane with staik and ryse, in þe strangest waye þai mycht, to debait thame fra invasioun of Scottis and Pichtis. And to big this dyke war assembilit mony craftismen oute of all partis, with ane stark cunpayny of were men to sauffe thame fra iniuris of thair inymyis, quhill *per* besynes war done. Nochþeles, quhen þai war biggand the samyn maist besely, thai war invadit be ane nobill man, namyt Grahame, gudefader to King Fergus, quhilk come with ane company of chosin men, and slew ane grete novmer of thir weermen at the biging of þis dyke, and the remanent put to flycht, syne brocht ane

riche praye of men & gudis oute of þe Britonis landis amang þe Scottis. This Grahame wes descendit of ane anciant hous of Denmark, gottin on a nobill lady of that samyn be ane of the Scottis that was bannyst *with* Ethodius oute of Albioun, and eftir marijt ane nobill virgyn of þe blude ryall of Denmark, on quhom he gatt ane dochter of maist excellent bewte, quhilk was gevin to Fergus in mariage, on quhom Fergus gatt iij sonnys: Eugenius, Dongarus and Constancius, of quhom salbe oure history followand. Vther sayis this Grahame was ane Briton, quhilk, eschewing the Romane tyranny, fled amangis þe Scottis, and wes eftir bannyst with thame in (I. 261) Denmark, becaus he sayid thai rang with oure proude dominion abone thair subdittis. Nochþeles, quhat place that euer he come fra, knawin is he was ane nobill man of hie corage and spreitt, baith in tyme of weere and peace, and strongest inymye to Romanis and Britonis. Of this Grahame, as oure cornikyll beris, descendit the surname of Grahamez.

The Britonis, brokin, as said is, be weeris of Scottis, and Pichtis, cessit mony ȝeris fra batall, content to defend | 186 thair awin. The samyn tyme come to Fergus grete novmer of Scottis, quhilkis had bene soidiouris in Spanȝe, France, Almany and Italy, traisting, becaus sa huge rebelloun was maid in all realmez aganis Romanis, to recover thair landis and liberte. Fergus, reiosit of thair cuming, went *with* þame in Carrik, quhair he faucht *with* the Romanis, and gat nales displesour than he did, throw quhilk he was constranit to lefe Carrik, and return throw Levinox to Ergile, quhair he remanit all the winter following. The nixt sommer ane convencioun wes maid of his nobillis in þe samyn, in the quhilk sindry of his nobillis persuadit him to pas but tary on Victoryne, quhilk wes cumin than in Galloway, and to ieopard him erar to extreme dangere of batall, than daylie to leif in sik affliccioun. Vtheris sayid, it wes nocht expedient to fecht aganis Romanis, sen Scottis wer twis defaitt be thame, in auenture þe thrid tyme þai mycht be put to vtter skaith, and for that caus gaif counsale to ceß fra bataill, quhill þair puyssance war conualescit, throw quhilk thai mycht be þe moir abill to resist.

Als, Victoryne mycht *nocht* lang abyde in Britan for þe frequent rebelloun of all pepill aganis Romanis, quhairthrow it mycht happin, sen þe Romane Empyre apperis sa manifestly to (I. 262) declyne, þat Victoryne mycht be constranyt to fle oute of Britan *with* his army, throw quhilk Scottis and Pichtis mycht recover thair realm and liberte withoute troubill. This last counsale was apprisit, throu quhilk it was concludit that Scottis and Pichtis suld invaid thair inymyis moir be skarmusing than playn battall.

In þe menetyne raiß ane grete suspicioun betuix Honorius þe Empriour and this Victoryne, be invy of rowkaris, quhilkis ar oft tymes oure familiar to princes, throw quhilk men demyt that he suld be exonerit of his autorite in Britan. Victoryne, knawing this, thocht best to fle oute of Britan, to eschew his inymyis. *Nocht*theles, be impulsoun of his weremen, quhilkis had him in maist tendirnes for his liberalite and gude behavingis, he tuke the crowne of Britan *with* incredibill fauour of his army. Part of Britonis assistit to Victoryne, bot vtheris followitt the opinioun of Dioneth, son to King Octavius afoir decessit, with purpos to restoir þe crowne of Britan to þe native blude, and to banys þe Romanis oute of Albion, throw quhilk apperit grete sedicioun in Britan. Honorius Empriour send ane wailzeand knyght, namyt Heraclius, with ane huge navy in Britan to repres thair rebelloun and apperand trouble, quhais *cuming* maid þe Britonis and *vperis*, quhilkis assistit to Victoryne, sa astonyst that pai brocht him bundin to Heraclius, with mony *vperis* quhilkis wer principaill movaris of this conspiracioun, and pai war sone eftir send all to giddir to Rome, and punyst for thair offence to the deth. Thus wes Britan brocht agane be Heraclius to Roman empire.

187

How Placidus and þe Romane army war disconnfist be þe Scottis and Pichtis ; how the Scottis recouerit þair landis be condicioun of peace ; of þe polesy and religioun of Fergus ; how Castius, þe secund capitane, was slayne be Fergus, and the Romanus put to flycht.

C v.

Quhen Heraclius had brocht Britan on this maner to Roman opinioun, be commande of Honorius he returnit to Rome, to pas with ane new army in Aphrik, to repres þe rebelloun of Athalus, levand behynd him in Britan (I. 263) one man of febill curage, namyt Placidus. Fergus, knowing how vnhabill þis Placidus wes to sustene hie chargis, thocht þe sesoun maist according to recover his landis, quhilkis war reft fra his eldaris be Romane weris, and sone eftir come with ane grete power in Carrik, abiding þe cuming of Durstus, King of Pichtis, and his army. The Scottis and Pichtis, assemblit to giddir in þis wise, 3eid throw Carrik, Kile, Cunynghame and Gallowaye, cessing fra na maner of cruelte on thame quhilkis wer obeisant to Romane empire. Eftir this thai come in Lotheane, Merß and Berwik, and put þe Romanis and Britonis be force of armys oute of the samyn. Placidus, aduertist of this in Britan, come with ane huge cunpany in Loudiane. The confideratt pepill, na thing effrayit of his cuming, mett thame with na les ire þan cruelte, and schott at þame first þair arrowis, and eftir that ruschit on thame with suerdis, lancis and aaxis. The Romane horß men be thondrand schoure of arrowis war put with grete murdir abak, and sone eftir þe fute men wer put to flicht, and Placidus nerrowly eschaping of his lyfe, on quhom þe confideratt pepill followit with lang chaisß, and maid moir slauchter be the samyn than was maid in þe feild. The confideratt pepill, proude of this victory, thocht best to pas forthwart and tak zork. Nochpeles, þai wer sa brokin be this last batall that þai wer constranyt to cess of þair purposß. Placidus, na les astonyst of mony vther afflyccionis falling to Romanis in sindry partis of þe warld than of this last disconnfatour,

dred that Britan suld be tynt aluterly fra Romane dominioun, gif þe Britonis rebellit, and þerfor, to eschew the schayme and displesour that mycht fall be þe samyn, began to seyke peace with Pichtis & Scottis, quhilke was finaly maid be thir condicionis: that all landis & municionis quhilkis war reft afoir be Romane tiranny fra Scottis and Pichtis, suld be randrit agane to þame, and na inuasionis nor herschipis to be maid in tymes cuming be Scottis and Pichtis in þe Romane landis; als the Romanis, content with þe landis conquest on þe Britonis, sall put ane end to all thair weris aganis Scottis and Pichtis in tymes cuming.

Sik thingis done, the confideratt pepill ressauit thair landis and rowmes with fre beneuolence of Romanis & Britonis; and quhen þai war restorit to the samyn with sikkir peace, thai gaif thair exact deligence to instruct thair pepill in plesand and civill maneris, but ony thirlage of seruitude. Than Fergus, to increse þe Scottis and Danyis, and vtheris quhilkis come with him to recover thair realme, vnder ane frendschip (I. 264) and blude, gaif sindry landis of his realme amang thame, throw quhilke mony landis of this realme tynt thair auld name, 188 and was callit eftir þe name | of the new possessouris; and becaus the name of euery land in Scotlannd ar wele knawin to all Scottis, I will schaw na thing thair of. Fergus reparit the kirkis, quhilkis war failþeit be negligence of þe pepill, and infest preistis to doo diuyn seruice & cerymonyis in the samyn, and had the monkis, quhilkis war banyst, in grete reuerence, to instruct his pepill in the faith. He biggit the Abbay of Colmkill, and dotit it with sindry landis, rentis and possessionis, and commandit þe samyn to be in tymes cuming the commoun sepultur of all kingis succeding eftir hym, and infest als certane funerall obsequies, to be done 3erelie for þair saulis. Fergus, gevin on this wise baith to the ampliacioun of his realme and Catholik religioun, reparit the strenthis liand on his bordouris formentis þe Britonis, quhair he ordanit his aigit soidiouris to remane perpetuallye¹ for defence þerof, on the commoun purfs.

Quhill Fergus had recoverit his realme in this maner,

¹ MS. *perpetuallye*.

Honorius Emprioure decessit, in quhais place succedit his cousing Theodosius, quhilk send Valentiniane in Italy, to repair the samyn of all extorsionis and iniuris done be civill weris. The samyn tyme Placidus decessit in Britan, quhilk gaif occasioun to Scottis and Pichtis to invaid þe Britonis, becaus þe peace afoir contrakit with þame wes dissoluit be deceß of Placidus. And sone eftir þai come in Westmureland, Cumbir and vþer regionis quhilkis war takin fra thame be Romane weeris afoir, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte on (1.265) thame quhilkis obeyitt þe Romanis. Castius, quhilk was capitane of Britane eftir Placidus, dredand it that followit eftir, that Dyoneth, þe son of Octavius afoir decessit, suld clame þe croun of Britan be assistance of Scottis and Pichtis, becaus he had marijt Fergus sister, send to Fergus, chargeand him be ane herrald, gif he desyrit peace and to leif on þe auld landis and marchis pertenant to his eldaris, to invaid na vtheris; and gif he desyrit *nocht* bot batall, maid him vnderstand, he had þai samyn inymyis, quhilkis dang his eldaris oute of Albion, and thirlit þe Pichtis to *servitude*. To this charge wes ansuerit be Scottis and Pichtis, thai wald haif na peace with Romanis, quhill Westmureland and Cumbyr wer restorit to þame, with þe municionis and strenthis *perof*. Castius, grevit with this ansuere, rasit his army to cum forthwert on his inymyis. And quhen he was cumin throw þe Romanis provinceis *nocht* far fra Westmureland, he was aduertist that Dioneth was cumin aganis him with ane grete power oute of Walis, in support of Scottis and Pichtis aganis him. The Britonis, quhilkis knew þe fersnes and cruelte of Welch men, war astonyst be thir thythingis. *Nochtwithstanding*, be hortacioun of Castius thai rasit þair spreitt, and come the thrid day eftir, richt desirous of batall, in þair inymyis sycht. Than Dioneth with his army was mett to giddir with þe confideratt pepill, throw quhilk þai war ane strang cunpany and weill arrayitt for batall. Incontinent, with huge noyis and clamour, baith þe armyis iunytt, and maid huge murdir with arrowis and ganzeis schott on all sydis; eftir þat ruschit 189 to giddir with speris, swerdis & billis; | throu quhilk wes ane bludy fecht, and lang with vncertane victory, quhill at last þe

licht soidiouris, quhilkis faucht in þe Romane weyngis, gaif bakkis, and in þe menetyme Castius was slayn. Incontinent, the preß and fury of batall, inressing be huge noyis of Scottis, maid þe residew of Romanis to geif bakkis to *per* inymyis. The chaisß followit in maist rageand cruelte be Scottis, and maid miserabill slauchter on the Romanis. Nochþeles, thai followit with sic birnand fury that thai tuke mair displeserr þan thai maid. The Romanis, winquist in þis maner, returnit with the residew of their army to Kent, and left behynd thame þe municions of the countre but ony defence.

(I. 266)

How Maximiane was send in Britan with ane strang cumpany aganis Dioneth, King of Britonis, and confiderat pepill; of þe orisoun maid be Fergus to his army; how Fergus, King of Scottis, and Durstus, King of Pichtis, with all nobilite of baith thair realmes, wer slane be Romanis and Britonis, and how Dyoneth, Prince of Walis, eschapit be ane baitt.

Ca vj

Ane schort tyme eftir Dioneth returnit to Londoun, and A tuke þe crowne of Britan be consent of all the pepill. Eftir this Britan was invadit cruellie ¹ be the Walismen, Scottis and Pichtis, but ony miseracioun on thame that wer vnder Romane dominion; quhilk troubill inressit ilk daye sa hie that, gif the samyn wer *nocht* haistlye repressit, apperit that Britan suld pas fra Romane empire. Etius, ane nobill man and generall capitane abone þe Romanis in France, knowing how Britan was left in this maner nakit of Romane soidiouris, send be desyre of Britonis in Albion ane wailþeand knycht, namyt Maximiane, to dant all þe trouble appering be Walisßmen, Scottis and Pichtis. Maximiane, *cumin* in this wise with ane grete army in Albion, wes ressaut with grete triumphe amang þe Britonis, quhilkis prait God to send him gude weird aganis his inymyis, and schew to him mair danger appering be rebelioun of Dioneth þan be ony dangere occurring, becaus he wes

¹ MS. *cruelle*.

cumin of the blude riall of Britan, thocht lang tary grete impediment to his weris, and *perfor* com with all his campe in maist deligence to zork, and come sone eftir in Westmureland. The fayme of his *cuming*, divulgatt throu all partis of Albion, maid *nocht* onlie the confideratt pepill reddy with all ordinance aganis him, bot als causit Dioneth to cum oute of Walis with ane strang army in that samyn maner. At last *pai* met all to giddir in Westmureland in sicht.

At spryng of the daye Fergus callit his men to counsale, and sayid to thame on this wise: " Richt tender freindis, I wald *ze* past *pis* daye maist manfully aganis *zoure* cruell inymyis, with sik corage and spreitt that na les honour and vtilite may redounde to *zow* than plesoure vnto me. For
 (I. 267) certan, the mater beand riply consideritt, sen *ze* be sa enhansit with ythand exercicioun of weris and chevelry, and bot laitlie drawin fra *pe* samyn, *zoure* myndis suld be rasis in sikker esperance of victory, seyng *zoure* febill inymyis in sicht, quhom *ze* haif sa oft disconnfist. For na thing semys forsy
 190 campionis moir gude than to beleif ay the best, and | to suffer aduersiteis, quhen *pai* occur be suddand chance, for that *cumis* be fortitude, quhilk is ane singulair vertew, persuading all pepill, be impulsoun of nature, erar to withstand aduersiteis *pan* to wirk iniuris. For he that bene maist iniurit hes maist esperance to recover, inressing forsy be esperance and hoipe, and prudent be iustice. Be contrair, he that dois wrang is iniurious to him self, and traistis na esperance be honeste to fall to him. Maximus, *pe* Romane capitane, be his tresonabill slichtis, wes confideratt with Pichtis, *nocht* only for exterminion of Scottis, bot, as the end schew, for rewyne of Pichtis, and slew my gudeserr Eugenius with mony of *zoure* nobill eldaris, and put thame to sik affliccioun that *pai* war exilit this regioun; throw quhilk he conquest the haill empire of Albion, and, *nocht* content of *pat* felicite, brocht the Pichtis, oure confideratt frendis, aganis thair faith to vile *seruitude*. Bot *pe* end of thair confiderance made *pe* dammage patent that come throw *pair* dissaitt, quhill at last *pe* Pichtis had experience of all thair gyle, *pocht* it was to lait, and repentand thair singular displesour, brocht ws agane in *pis* realme, and

sone eftir oure *cuming* wincust oure ferß inymyis with litill besynes. Nochþeles, þir disconfist tirannis ar returnyt to invaid ws agane be Maximiane þair capitan, as he wald restoir thame to thair corage, quhilc þai tynt be þe slauchter of thair capitane Castius. Thai charge ws, as we wer vnder thair dominioun, to pas oute of Cumbyr & Westmureland, quhilkis pertenis to ws be iust titill. And thairfor I think we suld *nocht* be only repugnant to thair chargis, bot als to persew oure iust accioun aganis thame with all puyssance. Heirfor, tak spreit and corage, my forcy campionis, and think na hie diffi-
 (I. 268) culte occurring to ourthraw þame, quhilkis has bene afoir wincust and put shamefully to flicht be 3ow oft¹ befor. Proceede forthwert, my dochty companzeonis, with na les memory to 3oure honour þan to þe iniuris done be inymyis, throw quhilc we may conquest glour þat maye induce oure posterite to fecht forcibly for defence of thair realme."

Skairslie war thir wourdis sayid, quhen boith the armyis ruschit to giddir. At the first iunyng the Romanis war neyr disconnfist throw huge novmer of arrowis and ganzeis, fleing with sick incredibill novmer in þe aire þat the lyftt wes coverit with þe samyn. Maximiane, seing þe first bront of Romanis in sik *perplexite*, send ane fresche legioun in þair support, throw quhilc followit ane bludy fecht, þat þe outewyngis of Romanis oursett þair inymijs with na les press than multitude of pepill. The confiderat pepill and Welch men, quhilkis war with Dioneth, *withstude* þair inymyis lang, mair be ferßnes of þair myndis than ony puyssance, quhill at last þe Romanis weyngis sloppit þe myddilwarde of Scottis and Pichtis, and come with huge fere and noyis oute throw thame. *Nocht*theles, þe confideratt pepill ruschitt all to giddir in ane knott with vnabasit corage to fecht to the deth. Vtheris, quhilkis war mair nobill, seyng na way to eschaip, maid thame with grete
 191 fury & *manhede* | to haif passage throw thair inymyis, and to revenge thair deth, bot þai war all slayne in þe samyn debaitt. Quhill the Romanis war gevin maist cruellie to stop this forsy irrupcioun of the nobillis forsaid, the residew of þe Scottis army ruschitt pertly throw thair inymyis, and wer sauffit be

¹ MS. of.

thair flycht. Nochþeles, þe chaisþ of Romanis followit on thame sa cruelly that nane was sauffit þat mycht be ouretakin be Romanis, and na end was put to thair ythand murdir, quhill þe nycht bereft þame þair sycht.

In this maist vnhappy batall war slayn Fergus, King of Scottis, and Durstus, King of Pichtis, with all the nobilite of baith thair realmez. Dioneth, King of Britonis, evill woundit, was brocht to þe seyport nocht far fra þe feild, quhair he gat ane bait, and fled in Walis.

(I. 269)

How grete iniuris war done to Scottis and Pichtis be Romanis; how Maximiane marijt þe eldest dochter of Dioneth, and was confideratt with him aganis Romanis; how Eugenius, King of Scottis, translatit the banys of his fader to Colmkyll; how Maximiane tuke the cron of Britan, and conquest Bartzan; how Vrsula with hir fallowis war martirit.

Ca vij

Eftir this batall sic terroure rais throw all the landis of Scottis & Pichtis that nocht was traistit bot vter exterminion of baith thair realmez, and becaus thai had na esperance of support, thair maist forcy championis beand slayne, thai thocht na thing sa gude as fle in vncouth realmes. Maximiane, thinkand best to vse present fortoun as it occurrit, cessit fra na maner of cruelte that mycht be devisit in Gallowaye and Annandale, and eftir in Merß and Loudeane, with sik raige of fyre and swerde that na estait was savitt fra his fury. The pepill that fled to kirkis and sanctuaris war violently takin oute of þe samyn and slayn. The toun of Camelon, with mony vther nobill cieteis and townis of Pichtis, war bet doun and spoulzeit. And 3ite þe ithand murdir cessit nocht, quhill þe Scottis & Pichtis war drevin schaymfully oure þe wall that gangis fra Abircorn to Dunbertayn, and sworne neur to return beyond the samyn. Ane part of Romanis gaif counsale to Maximiane, sen þe Scottis and Pichtis war sa brokin at that tyme, and

mycht be haldin with na pepill in faith and pece, to distroy þame aluterlie, or ellis to bannys thame owte of Albioun ; vther wais na thing mycht be done effering to þe commoun wele of Romanis. Nochþeles, Maximiane refusit, becaus the wynter wes approaching, throw quhilk his army behuffit to rest in þair winter scheelis. Als, na vittalis wer amang the Scottis and Pichtis to sustene thair army, and sik vehement cald in þair montanis that na craft micht *withstand* the samyn, and thairfor thai behuffit to abyde þe nixt *summyr* for the weill of thair army. Attour, becaus þat Welchemen, his nerrast nychtbouris, rebellit him, it wes necessair to dant þame
 (I. 270) first, in auenture, gif thai persewit þe Scottis and Pichtis, levand behynd þaim sa *perrellous* inymyis, moir *dammage* þan proffitt micht cum be thair weris. For thir causis he returnit *with* his victorius army to 3ork, quhair he remanit all þat
 192 wynter, and brocht vittalis oute of all partis to sustene the | samyn.

The nixt summer Maximiane rasit his campe, and went forthwart to Walis aganis Dioneth, quhilk was repute as king amang þe Britonis formentis þe Ireland seyis. And in þe mene-tyme þis Maximiane wes aduerteist be writingis that Bonifacius had slan twa Romane capitanis in Affric, and thair army disconnfist, throw quhilk Affrik wes lost fra Romane dominioun, and the said Bonifacius maid king thairof. Attour, Franche men, quhilk was that tyme ane pepill of Almany, was *cumin* oure Ryne, and enterit in Gallia, quhilk was callit eftir France, with moir cruelte þan ever was herd afoir, and conquest the landis of Orliance and Paryß, and maid ane king of thair awin blude ; throw quhilk apperit þat all the landis callit þat tym Gallia suld cum vnder the dominioun of Franche men. Maximiane, knowing sa mony rebellionis in all partis aganis Romanis, thocht best to rebell in the samyn wise ; and for that caus, to pacify the cuntre of all debaittis, þat he mycht be the moir strang aganis Romanis, gif þai list invaid him, tuke þe eldest dochter of Dioneth, namit Othilia, in mariage, for he had na childerin of his body bot ij dochteris, and þe secund dochter, callit Vrsula, maid ane nvn to that fyne þat scho suld haif na successioun. Be this affinite sik tendirnes inressit þat Dioneth

was sufferit be Maximiane to haif autorite nixt him self in Britan.

(I. 271) Sik thingis done in Britan, the residew of Scottis, quhilkis war eschapid oute of the feild afoir rehersit, convenit in Argile, and becaus King Fergus was slayn, quhilk rang xvi 3eris in Scotlannd, thai maid Eugenius, his son, king, fra þe Incarnacioun of God iiij^e and xxx, fra þe begynnyng of þe realme of Scotland vij^e & lx, in þe ferd¹ 3ere of Valentyniane Empriour. Eugenius, maid king in this sort, began the administracioun of his realme be piete, and tuke vp þe banyis of his fader fra the place thai war beryit be Romanis, and brocht þame with funerall triumphe to þe Abbay of Colmkyll, quhair thai rest now. This Fergus was the first King of Scottis that was berit in Colmkill, and thairfor it was eftir þe commoun sepulture of all Scottis kingis vnto King Malcolme Canmoreis dayis, quhilk biggit the Abbay of Dunfermling be impulsoun of Sanct Margaret, quhair all kingis bene beryit sen syne. Kyng Eugenius, richt desyrous to recover the landis reft fra his fader be Roman weris, wrait þe namys of all his pepill fra sexte to sextene in ilk toun, bot quhen he saw thame of small puyssance, he supersedit his intencioun for ane tyme.

Maximiane, to hald þe Britonis in sikker quyett, send peace to þe Scottis and Pichtis vndesyrit; and becaus he saw þe Romane Empire persewitt on all partis, he sett his besynes to haif ane part thairof, and tuke þe crowne of Britan with favoure and beneuolence of all þe pepill. Eftir this he provydit ane huge flott, and passit in Bertanze, levand be hynd him his gudfader Dioneth, with ane Romane legioun to defend the samyn; and finalye he dantit Bertanze with sik importabill
 (I. 272) affliccioun that it was randrit to his dominioun. Eftir this he sett his besynes to subdew the municions and strenthis liand *peraboute*, throw quhilk mony of thame war takyn and garnyst with his capitanis and weirmen. At last he laid ane
 193 seyge to ane grete toun of þat samyn province, | namit Redon, quhilk wes kepit be Sulpicius in þe name of Valentiniane Empriour. Quhen Maximiane had segitt þis toun lang tyme, and mycht gett it no waye be force of armys, he kest him to

¹ MS. omits *ferd*: insertion from A.

invaïd the countre moir be rubbery þan be ony honest weir. The Bertonarîs, persuadit be lang promisses of Etius, capitane of France, rebellit aganis Maximiane, traïsting na felice to succeid to him, and sone eftir recouerit thair strenthis, and slew all þe weir men fundin in ¹ þe samyn. Maximiane, movit be þir iniuris, rasit his campe, and come haistely to þe said toun of Redon with mony schairp assalt, quhill at last it was takin, and euery pepill within þe samyn, but ony miseracioun, distroyit, or ellis doungin oute of that countre be maist cruell ire that he had aganis thame for the breking of thair promysß. Etius, seyng France invadit ilk day with moir tiranny, send in Britan to bring þe Roman legioun, quhilk was left thair be Maximiane, in France; throw quhilk Britan was left nakit of support, and gaif occasioun to Scottis and Pichtis to invaïd the samyn efter, becaus it was ȝite vnder Maximianis empire. Forthir, quhen þis Maximiane had conquest Bertanȝe, and slayn all þe pepill thair of, that it suld nocht be ane pray to Franche men, þair nixt nyctbouris, he ² brocht ane grete novmer of pepill oute of Britan to inhabitt this land with Conanus, quhilk was ane tendir frend to Dioneth, and for that cauß wes maid king of Bertanȝe. And sa þis land tynt þe auld name Armorica, and was callit Bertanȝe, fra þir Britonis that come to it. Eftir this the Burgundis rebellit aganis Romanis, throw quhilk Maximiane went in Burgunȝe to support þame aganis Etius, the capitane of France.

Conanus, King of Bertanȝe, knawing þat euery pepill failȝeis within þe aige of man, gif thai haif na successioun, send his ambassatouris in Bretan to haif wemen to be þair wyiffis. The ambassatouris quhilkis war send for this effect, gat consent be þe nobillis of Britan that all þe dochteris and sisteris and anttis, pertenant in blude to þe Britonis quhilkis war than in Bertanȝe, suld pas to þame in haist, to giddir (I. 273) with Vrsula þe nvn, quhilk wes thus takin oute of þe abbaye quhair scho was professit, and put in schip with þe remanent hir fallowis, that the lynage of Dioneth thus suld nocht fail, becaus hir vther sister Othilia was decessit. And þocht þe passage of thir wemen was vnplesand to þe Britonis, ȝite

¹ MS. omits *in*.

² MS. omits *he*: insertion from A.

it come eftir to þe grete felicitye of thir wemen. For quhen þai suld haif passit to Bertanþe, be tempestyvous streme of seyis and contrair wynd þai war drevin, with na litill dangere of thair lyvis, in þe mouth of Ryne, quhair thai landit, and becaus thai had sik troubill be the seyis, thai tuke purpoß þan to pas in Bertanþe be land. Vtheris autouris sayis, thai tuke þair vayage to Rome be persuasioun of this haly nvne Vrsula, and war takin be the Hunnys, be quhom þai war all slayne, becaus þai wald *nocht* consent to þe pollucioun of thair bodijs ; throw quhilk þe kirkis syngis 3erelye divyne cerymonis in þair gloir and lovyng.

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How the Scottis and Pichtis come with ane grete army aganis the Britonis ; of Eugenius orisoun ; of the grete herschip maid on þe Britonis ; how Gallio Ravennas, send in Britan be Valentiniane Empriour, chasit þe Scottis to þe Watter off Forth, and how he reparit þe Dyke of Abircorne. Ca viij

Eugenius, knowing Britan be continewall weeris destitutt of weirmen and Romane soidiouris, convenit with Durstus, King of Pichtis, to ane counsale ; in quhilk, eftir lang consultacioun, wes concludit to mak were aganis þe Britonis, with sik providence that na aduertence suld be thairof, quhill þai war arrayit within þair realmes. Sone eftir ane day wes assignit to baith thair pepill to convene with xl dayis vittalis, and all vther necessaris in þair best wise, and *nocht* lang eftir ane grete multitude of pepill come oute of all boundis of Scottis and Pichtis to Cawderwode. Eugenius, seying his frendis and subdittis gaderit in this maner, sayid as followis : “ Maist forcy campionis, nane is amang 3ow, regarding baith þe wele (I. 274) of ws and damage of oure inymyis, that will think ony tary proffittabill for ws at this tyme. Quhat hie displesouris bene done to ws thir 3eris bygane be Romane tyranny, my wailþeand fader, the recouerar of this realme, slayne, abone infinite calamiteis sufferit be ws, 3e se : Carrik, Kile, Cwynnghame and Gallowaye, with mony vther landis of oure realme, haldin

fra ws be tiranny of inmyis. And þocht the batall strikkin be my fader aganis Maximiane wes nocht plesand to ws, ȝite it was richt bludy to oure fayis. The calamite of this batall has *nocht*, as I beleiff, febillit ȝoure corage, bot moir kendillit þe samyn to revenge ald iniuris; for, als mekill as oure puyssance is mynyst be Romane weris, sa far ar þe Romanis brokin in þair puyssance be hattrent of fortoun, intending now to bring þe Roman Empire to noch; throw quhilk thai ar *nocht* onlie odious to all pepill, bot als invadit with cruell weeris, and thair provinces falling to praay of inmyis in all partis. For þe Vandalis has takin fra thame all Affrik; the Visigotthis all Spaynȝe; the Franche men and Burgundianis mekill of France; the Hunnys has wonnyn Pannonia, Mysia, Thracia and Macedon; all pepill þat is in þe est partis of the world recouerit thair liberte, or ellis randrit tham self to inmyis of Romanis. Rome, sum tyme þe hede of þe world, has bene twyifß takin be Gotthis, herijt and brynt; throw quhilk þe Romanis ar brocht to sik infelicite that þai haif na landis this houre oute of Italy except Britan, quhilk is nakit of soidiouris be the weris of Maximiane. Als, thair is na Romane capitane that will, or may, bring ony support to thame to withstand or invaid ws, and now Britan is drery, spoulȝeit of puyssance, and moir reddy to be ane praye þan impediment to ws. Heirfor, maist wailȝeand capitaneis, *nocht* nedis to exhort ȝow, as I traist, to batall, sen knychtlie corage moir aboundis than failȝeis in ȝow. For sikkirly thair is ane moir huge praye abyding ȝow, þan evir was appering afoir be chance of fortoun to ȝoure eldaris.

- 195 Occasioun, moder of all werkis | quhilkis ar to be done, offeris hir wilfully to ȝow, persuading all impediment and tary of
 (I. 275) batall to be sett asyde, that ȝe may follow hir, quhais favour salbe difficill to recover, gif ȝe tyne hir be vayn cowntry. Heirfor, latt *nocht* the band maid with Maximiane be impediment to ȝoure honest wassallage, sen þe Romanis & Britonis has dissoluit the said band, invading ws be sindry iniuris sen þe making thairof, quhairthrow we may doo na thing leß than invaid thame on þe samyn maner. For thir ressonis, my wailȝeant campionis, paß forthwart but tary, and follow

with bludy swerdis, with hie spreitt and vertew of ȝoure eldaris, and ȝe sall *nocht* fail the gloir of Victory."

Quhen þir wourdis wer sayid, the army promittit to ieopart þame self to all maner of danger, that þai mycht revenge the iniuris done to þame, for affliccion of Romanis, quhilk was richt patent, maid þe remanent wourdis of Eugenius to haif credence; throw quhilk ilk man with schill noyis bad rais þair ansenȝeis and proceed forthwart. The Pichtis, in þat samyn maner rasit with hie corage to batall, schew thame reddy for all assayis; quhairthrow baith þe pepill with athir help invadit þe Britonis, with na leß herschip than murdir quhair þai come, and passit throw Striueling, Carrik, Kyle, Gallowaye, Merß, Berwyk, Lowdeane, Kendale, Cumbyr and Westmurland, and put the Britonis be force of armys oute of the samyn. And becaus the municionis, townis & strenthis of the countre war *nocht* garnyst with soidiouris, þai war schortlie takyn, and all thair inhabitantis slayn, sauffing thame quhilk eschapit be flycht. Attoure, thair cornis war brynt, and thair bestiall and insicht confiskaitt, quhairthrow apperit all Britan to be ourthrawn, bot gif þai war þe moir haistly resistit.

The Britonis, richt astonyst of þir cruelteis, send thair oratouris to þe Empriour Valentiniane, promittand to subdew þame self perpetuallie to Romane *seruitude*, sua that he wald support þame in þat maist danger aganis thair dispitfull inimyis. Valentiniane, desyring to keip Britan vnder his dominion, send ane nobill capitane, namyt Gallio Ravennas, with ane strang cunpany in thair support. The Scottis and Pichtis, sopit with this lang iornaye, and knawing the *cuming* of this new army, left all þe landis in Britan quhilkis war laitly herijt and distroyitt be þame, syne returnit haym, (1.276) becaus thai thocht *nocht* proffittabill to ieopard thame aganis þe Romanis, knawing be frequent batallis afoir passit thair grete manhede and chevelrye. The Romanis at thair *cuming* in Albion, seying the irreouerabill iniuris done be Scottis & Pichtis, followitt thame to the watter of Forth, quhair mony of þame war slayn be suddand skarmusing of Romanis. And becaus thir Romanis mycht *nocht* mak lang

tary in Albion, for extreme danger appering to France be persute of sindry pepill aganis the samyn, thai gart repair haistlye the wall afoir rehersit betuix Abircorn and Dunbertane with grete expenss, and rasis the samyn nocht onlye with faill, bot with stanys, xij cubittis of hycht and viij cubittis of breid, with mony strang towris rysing on all sydis. Thir towris and bastalzeis war doungin to giddir with sik thingis as
 196 wald | nocht birn, to sauff the Britonis fra iniuris of thair inymyis. On þe hycht of thir touris thai sett ane fyre pan to aduerteiss the cowntre quhen danger occurrit, and thai that come noch to the defence þerof war puneist to the deth.

How Scottis and Pichtis kest down the Dyke of Abircorn, and wrocht grete cruelteis on the Britonis ; of the message send be Britonis to Etius, and of his repulse ; how Conanus, exhorting þame to peace, wes slayne, and of the debait that come thairthrow.

Ca ix

Quhen Gallio had brocht Britan, as said is, to peace, he returnit in France, quhilk gaif occasioun to the confideratt pepill to invaid the Britonis with moir cruelte pan þai did afoir. For sone eftir Eugenius conuenit his pepill to that samyn effect, and sum tym exhortit þame to invaid thair inymyis for þe cruelte done to thame, sum tym put thame in esperance of proffite and riche spoulzeis, brocht be Gallio in sindry partis of Britan. Siklike þe King of Pichtis cessit nocht to exhort his pepill to batall, and hecht þe capitanrie of Camelone to him þat first 3eid oure þe wallis of it, quhilk office wes gevin to nane bot maist excellent personis. The Britonis, knowing wele quhat þe Scottis and Pichtis intendit to doo, come arrayit in þair maist weerly ordinance to defend this wall afoir rehersit, and put ane grete novmer of soidiouris in þe bastalzeis of the samyn ; aganis
 (J. 277) quhom was send Grahame, with ane strang cunpany of Scottis and Pichtis, armyt with corss bowis, hand bowis & slongis, and put the Britonis be force of armys fra þe samyn. Inconti-

nent come masons, wrichtis and vtheris craftis men, with
 sindry instrumentis, and kest down this dyke vnto the ground.
 Ane grete band of Britonis maid þaim to withstand the ever-
 soun of þis wall, bot þai be obstinatt fechtig war all slayn.
 Vtheris, quhilkis knew þe fury of þe confiderat pepill, gaif
 bakkis, confyding in na thing mair þan in þair flycht. Quhill
 the confideratt pepill war cumin throw þe Wall of Abircorn
 on this wise, ane vther cunpany of Scottis and Pichtis come
 oute of Fiffe in Loutheane be the seyis, quhilkis wrocht moir
 cruelte and herschippis on þe Britonis in þair passage þan all
 the remanent army of Scottis and Pichtis did afoir. And
 quhen þis ordinance wes ionyt with þe remanent army of
 Scottis and Pichtis, nocht followitt bot ythand cruelteis with
 fyre and swerd throw all þe landis quhair þai went. The
 inhabitantis of þe cuntre, effrait be thir intollerabill myschevis,
 fled bezond þe Watter of Tyne.

Eftir þis, be generall proclamacioun and autorite of the
 confideratt kingis, all gudis fundin betuix Tweid and Tyne
 war *commandit*¹ to be chete to thair army. Incontinent
 followit mony schaymfull and abhominabill dedis, be per-
 suasioun of ire, hatrent and auarice. The skry and terribill
 noyis arrais be fury of rageand knychtis, passand with
 incredibill murdir throw all the landis betuix the Ireland
 seyis on þe ta syde and þe Almane seyis on þe tothir, |
 197 cessing fra na maner of cruelte that mycht be devisit, quhair
 þai 3eyd. The Britonis, for feire of thir importabill terrouris,
 reparit the strang Wall of Adriane with huge laboure and
 expensis. The confideratt pepill, knowing thair army mycht
 nocht abide to giddir, becaus þe wynter was approaching,
 cessit fra oppugnacioun of the said Wall of Adriane, and satt
 down with thair wyiffis and childeryn in all thai landis quhilkis
 war conquest be rycht of bataill at this tyme.

The Britonis, dredand þe Scottis and Pichtis to invaid
 thame with moir cruelte þan afoir at the cuming of þe nixt
 sommer, send thair ambassatouris to Etius, quhilk was
 capitane, as said is, of France, to haif support aganis þe
 confideraitt pepill. Bot Etius, for infinite troubill rysing

¹ MS. omits *war commandit*: correction from A.

that tyme aganis him be Franche men, quhilkis invadit him
 (I. 278) on the ta part, and be scharp hatrent of Valentiniane Em-
 priour on the tothir syde, mycht send na support in Britan.
 The Britonis, richt abasit thair of, tuke lang consultacioun
 be quhat waye þai mycht best eschew þe cruelte of thair
 dispitfull inmyis. Sum gaif counsale to invaid the Scottis
 and Pichtis, als wele be seye as land, and to defend thair liberte,
 quhilk wes laitly recouerit fra Romanis, to the deth, and *nocht*
 only to bring men, bot all fensabill wemen, to fecht for þe
 defence of thair realme aganis thair inmyis, and to convene
 to giddir at þe Wall of Adriane, erar to ieopard thame to
 extreme dangere than to suffer sa continewall herschippis,
 and seyke peace with honest condicionis. Than Conanus,
 Welche man, discending of þe nobill blude of Octavius, and
 weill autorist amang the Britonis, sayid in this maner: " It
 is necessair to all men *quhilkis* intendis to conquess or to keip
 þair avne, to regarde na less thair puyssance þan þe sesoun
 occurrent. For certane, sa lang as we war supportit be Rom-
 anis, and sa lang as oure puyssance was sufficient to defend þis
 realme aganis oure vnmercifull fais, we socht na peace with þe
 tresonabill Scottis & Pichtis. Bot now, allace, oure realme
 abydis ane nothir chance, for we bene now sa attinuate in oure
 strenthis, be tyranny of þe proude Maximiane, *quhilk* has
 bene moir noysum to ws þan ony iniuris of inmyis, bringand
 ws to vtter exterminioun, that we may haif na confidence of
 victory, gif we fecht, be oure avne puyssance. And sen we
 haif na esperance of support of Romanis, nor sufficient powere
 (I. 279) in oure self, how may we plesandlie debait aganis oure inmyis
 for thir cruell tirannis? Oure fayis, *nocht* brokin *with* lang
 weeris, laboure, nor distreis, has nothir dreid of God, man,
 nor of deth, to be revengit of þe iniuris done be ws thir mony
 3eris to þame; amang quhom na difference is of aige, thai haif
 na mercy quhen þai raige in cruelte, thair fortitude is *nocht*
 bot fury, reiosing in na thing mair than murdir of febill per-
 sonis, noch eschamyng to drynk þe blude of þair inmyis;
 and, to conclude, thai haif delyte in na thing sa mekill as
 thift and slauchter. Thairfor we moost othir haif peace *with*
 þame, or ellis suffir at þair will maa importabill cruelteis

than afoir. And þocht peace be *rycht* contumelious to ws,
 198 ȝite bettir is to haif pacience for ane tyme þan to | loiff oure
 realme and liberte with moir schayme. And knaw wele, thir
 wourdis bene said be me, *nocht* be impulsoun of vtheris, bot
 onlie be affeccoun that I bere vnto ȝoure *commoun* wele.
 Thairfor avise quhethir the samyn be mair fructfull or noysum
 to the samyn."

The Britonis, herand Conanus in this sort, war richt *com-*
movitt, and said, þai wald haif na amite with Scottis and
 Pichtis, becaus þe iniuris done be thame was importabill.
 Attoure, thai said he spak *nocht* for þair *common* wele, bot onlie
 to fynd sum occasioun be his slychtis to conquere þe croun
 of Britan. Nochþeles, quhen þe nobillis had takin lang con-
 sultacioun in his mater, deplorand the vnhappy chance of
 man, knowing þe samyn sa miserabill þat it tendis moir swiftlie
 to fall þan to ony hycht, ȝite, be obstinatt and inoportune
 pepill, it was finalye concludit to assemblill ordinance, baith
 men and fensabill wemen, to invaid the Scottis and Pichtis
 agane ane *prefixitt* daye & place.

Conanus, richt sorowfull of this, ischit furth fra þe counsale,
 saying, "I tak þe eternall God in witnes, I assent *nocht* to this
 furious sentence, and belevis na thing less þan þe anciant and
 nobill realme of Britan to cum to irrecoverabill rewyne and
 (I.280) dammage, throw sik fuliche doyngis, in thir dayis." Ane
 certane of Britonis, herand Conanus regraitt þair doyngis
 in this sort, sayid, "þi autorite sall *nocht* be of puyssance to
 stop this sentence," and pullit haistelye oute þair swerdis, and
 put him cruelly to deth. The skry arrais eftir his slauchter be
 frendis of Conanus, and socht þe slaaris of him in þair maist
 fury, throw quhilk þe pepill was devidit in twa partis, and
 mycht *nocht* be repressit be autorite of þe nobillis, quhill ane
 huge novmer war slayne on all sydis.

How Grahame kest doun þe Wall of Abercorne and Adriane; how þe Scottis conquest all the landis betuix Tay and Humbyr; of þe epistoill send be Britonis to Etius, and of his ansuer. Ca x

The samyn tyme come tythingis to Londoun, þat þe Scottis and Pichtis wer enterit in þe Britonis landis, quhilk maid þe Britonis to trymbill for fere thairof. For this Grahame afoir rehersit, for his singulair vertew and manhede, was maid capitane to ane grete army of Scottis, and bett doun þe Wall of Abircorn in all partis, and left *nocht* standing of it moir þan remanis in þir dayis, and thairfor it was callit eftir Gramys Dyke. Eftir this he went to þe Wall of Adriane, fornens þe Ireland seyis, and kest it doun on the samyn manere, and slew all þe weirmen quhilkis war laid for þe defence of þe samyn. The residew of Britonis, herand *nocht* bot murdir and rummysching of deand pepill, savitt thame self be flycht. The Wall of Adriane equaitt to þe ground in þis wise, the confideratt kingis, desiring na thing moir than to revenge þe iniuris done afoir be Britonis, proclamit be generall edict, na fensabill, bot als agit and febill (I. 281) personis, to be sauffit. Nochpeles, þe cruelte was sa rageand in þair army that þir chargis was *nocht* obtemperatt. For 199 mony dayis | thaireftir þe Scottis and Pichtis 3eid with fyre and suerde throw all þe boundis liand betuix Tyne and Humbyr, and wrocht on þe inhabitantis of þe samyn, þat þai war othir slayn or drevin oute of the cuntre.

Thir tythingis, schawin to þe nobillis of Britan at Londoun, movit thame to seyke new remede aganis thair inmyis. Finalie, quhen þai had lang avisit in this mater, it was concludit to send ambassatouris to the Kingis of Scottis and Pichtis, gevand all the landis liand be 3ond Humber to þame, with ane grete sovme of money, sua thai wald condescend to peace, and decist fra troubill of þame in tymes cuming. Attour, it wes concludit to send ambassatouris to Etius, þe *gouvernour* of France, deplorand thair calamite, wit this epistill :

“To Etius, thryið consull, þe regrait of Britonis. Quhen

oure forbearis first randrit thame to Romanis, þai traistit, be mony reassonis, the senaith and pepill of Rome was þe port and sikkir refuge of all pepill cumin vnder þair empire. Bot we thair posterite, be tresonabill slycht of Maximiane agane oure commoun wele, ar sa brokin in oure strenth, be oure continewance at þair opinioun, þat we ar bot ane praye to inmyis; throw quhilk it apperis that othir þe Romanis ar degeneratt fra þe manhede and illustir dedis of thair eldaris, or ellis þair braid empire, be vengeance of God, is gevin in praye to all pepill. Nochþeles, gif þe fataill chance of tyme and weirdis covettis this oure realme to be dissoluit fra Romane frendship, and constranit to seruitude of vther barboure pepill, we sett *nocht* quhatt pepill haif dominioun of ws, sa that we eschew the tyranny of Scottis and Pichtis, quhais bludy swerd has brocht ws to sik herschip and calamite, þat we na thing knawis quhat is to be done aganis þame. For þai haif bett doun þe wallis and strenthis, quhilkis suld haif defendit

(I. 282) ws fra þair cruelte, syne enterit in þe Romane province, with all maner of cruelteis waistit oure landis, brynt oure tovnys and castellis, bet doun oure wallis to þe ground, slayne oure wyiffis, childerin and agit personis, besyde vther infinite displesouris, quhilkis we may *nocht* write for doloure. We, þe residew of thame, ar chaist and drevin to þe seyis, and becaus we may *nocht* haif passage throw the samyn, we are drevin agayn in oure inmyis handis, and sikker othir to droun in þe seyis, or þan be slayne. Thairfor, gif þou has respect to Romane maieste, or gif þou regardis oure faithfull besynes, continewit þir mony 3eris to Romanis, we requyre þe to suffir *nocht* ws, the freyndis of Romanis, to be thirlit to sik vndantit cruelte of inmyis, bot send ws support in haist, that we be *nocht* mair cruelly betrasit be Romanis þan tynt be barboure pepill; quhilk salbe ane exempill to oure posterite to haif na confydence nor sociaite with Romanis."

Etius ansuerit that he was richt soroufull of þe calamite fallin to Britonis, and moir soroufull þat þe Roman Empire wes persewitt sa on euery hand, þat he mycht skairsly defend France fra inuasion of barbour pepill, and þerfor mycht send na support in Britan; *nocht*þeles, exhortit þame to mak

defence þe best way þai mycht, in esperance of bettir fortoun, for, quhen Romanis had all trouble repressit, Scottis & Pichtis suld be condinglye punyst for thair attemptatis.

(I. 283) 200 How the Britonis wer disconnfyst, and maid tributar to Scottis and Pichtis ; how Palladius was send to the Scottis, and of his dedis ; of mony mervellis sene in Albione ; and of Fynmakcoule. Ca xj

Sic thingis done in Britan, the ambassatouris returnit fra the confideratt kingis, schawing þame na thing content of þe offeris maid to thame, bot aluterlie resoluit neuir to haif peace with Britonis, quhill þai had othir conquest Britan be force of armys, or ellis gottin it randrit to þame with fre beneuolence. The Britonis wer sa estonyst with thir wourdis that baith thair coloure and visage alteritt for vehement ire. Nochþeles, þai resemblit sone to þair corage, and went to harnes, detesting thair effeminatt slewth, be quhilk þai gaif audacite to þair inymyis and discourage to þame selffi. The Scottis and Pichtis, knowing be þair spyis how þe ambassatouris of Britonis war returnit fra Etius with repulß, gaderit thair pepill oute of all boundis vnder þair dominioun, and come with arrayit hoistis and baneris aganis þair Inymyis.

The Britonis, in þat samyn maner cumand forthwart to meitt þame, war aduerteist be þair exploratouris how thair inymyis war cumand on þame with sik puyssance þat þai mycht noch be resistit, and þerfor began to wary þame quhilk gaif þame counsale to fecht aganis sa puyssant inymyis, in dammage of thair commoun wele ; nochþeles, to sauß þame fra moir displeour, send vther ambassatouris to þe confideratt kingis to haif peace. And quhen þai mycht purches na peace, bot gif þai war randrit with wyiffis, childeryn and gudis, throw extreme hatrent and disperacioun, þai maid thame all with ane consent to batall, throw quhilk followit ane maist terribill bergane. For þe Britonis, deliuerit to revenge þair deth, and to dee for
(I. 284) defence of þair realme, sett on þair inymyis with grete preiß, and mony of þame bure vnto þe ground. Þan ilkane, desyring to

support vther, ruschit to giddir with sik constance þat þai semyt na thing to regard thair deth, throw quhilke mony of Scottis & Pichtis, quhilke faucht in þe first, war neyr disconnfist. Grahame, the wailzeant capitane, seand his frendis in sik extreme danger, send ane grete cunpany of Ilis men fra the careage in þair support, throw quhilke Scottis and Pichtis, afoir woundit and neir disconnfist, with fresche corage renewit batall. The Britonis þan, oure sett with multitude of inymyis rusching apoun thame on all sydis, disparit of victory, gaif bakkis, and fled to ane moß noch^t far fra þe feild. The careage men, seying þair inymyis put to flycht, left þair careage, and slew mony of þame, ouresett in þe mossis. In this batall was slayn iiij^m Scottis and Pichtis, and of Britonis maa þan xv^m.

The residew of Britonis, quhilke war left on live, knawing na thing to resist þe confideratt kingis, send thair oratouris to haif peace in quhat sort þai pleiße to geif þe samyn ; and the confideratt kingis, movit na leß with þe miserabill chance
 201 falling to Britonis than with cala | mite falling to þame self, condiscendit to haif peace vnder thir condicionis ; that the Britonis, in tymes cuming, sall ressaue na Romane capitane with armyis abone thame in Britane, and sall noch suffer Romanis, Saxonis, Franche men, nor 3ite ony vther pepill quhilke ar inymyis to þe said kingis, to pas throw thair realme, and gif ony of thir poyntis wer brokin, the peace to be dissoluit in þe self ; attoure, the Britonis sall mak na peace with vther realmez, bot gif þai haif þe avise of Scottis and Pichtis concurand thairto, and quhen þai wer chargit þai sall pas with Scottis and Pichtis in bataill, contrair all vther pepill ; als, all þe landis liand be 3ond Humber sall remane perpetuallie at þe empire of Scottis and Pichtis, and the Britonis to pas oute of þe samyn with þair wyiffis, childerin and gudis, but ony tary ; finally, þai sall paye lx^mli striueling amang þair weirmen and soidiouris, and 3erly in tymes cuming xx^mli striueling to þe confideratt kingis, in maner of tribute, and for þe securite of þe samyn sall geif ane hundreth men in hostage, at the will of þe confiderat kingis, ilk man within lx 3eris and abone xx 3eris.
 (I. 285) Thir condicionis of peace rehersit to the Britonis semyt na thing plesand ; nochþeles, thai war obtemperaitt, moir be

force than beneuolence. The peace ratifyt on this maner, the Ile of Albion was brocht to bettir quyetie þan afoir. Britan wes takin fra þe empire of Romanis in þis maner, and maid tributar to Scottis and Pichtis, *iiij^e lxxxxvj* ȝeris eftir that Julius Cesar maid it first tributar to Romanis, quhilk was in þe vij ȝere of King Eugenius, fra þe Incarnacioun *iiij^e xxxvj* ȝeris, fra the begynnyng of Britan be Brutus, quhilk rang first in it, *j^mv^e* & *iiij* ȝeris, and fra this tyme furth þe Britonis began to declayne.

I know wele þis history that I haif schawin of Maximus & Maximiane, Romane capitanis in Britan, and of Octavius and Dioneth, Kingis of Britan, and als of the cuming of Saxonys in Albion, quhilk I intend eftir to schaw, is richt discrepant fra þe Cronikillis of Britan maid be Galfride, and ȝite thair suld nane haif admiracioun *perof*. For þe autouris quhilkis I follow, as Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Veremundus, with vtheris moir recent and expert autours, concordis with this Galfridus nothir in þe narracioun of þe history, nor ȝite in þe dait of ȝeris. And *perfor* I think it mair wrang to follow him, writing but ony testimoniall of vtheris and singular in his opinioun, than to write according to thir fornemmyt autours, maist attentik, concurrand with oure history baith in þe narracioun of the mater and dait of tyme.

(I. 286) Mony nobill men war in þir dayis, as Ewsebius, Philippus, Hylarius. Amang oure nacioun war in þai dayis Palladius, quhilk was send be Celestyne Paip to repreß þe heresy of Pelagius, rysing þan in sindry partis of Albion. This Palladius wes the first bischop þat bure autorite amang the Scottis, for afoir his dayis war nane bot monkis and vther preistis secular. This Palladius purgit mony vane supersticionis fra þe Scottis and Pichtis, and was callit for þat cauß the Apostill of Scottis. At last, eftir mekill travaill and besynes takin for erudicioun of þe pepill and instruckin of thame in þe Cristin faith, he decessit in ane toun of Mernys, 202 callit Fordoun, | quhair his blissit body restis, haldin in grete veneracioun amang þe pepill; quhilk was laitlie translait be ane nobill man, Williame Scheves, Bischof of Sanct-androis, and put in ane siluer caise, with mony solenne cery-

monis, fra þe Incarnacioun of God j^miiij^c lxxxxiiij 3eris. This Palladius maid Seruanus¹ bischop, and send him in Orknaye, to instruk þe rude pepill in þe faith; als he gaif þe sacrament of baptisme to Tervanus, and maid him archibischop of Pichtis. The samyn tyme was send fra Celestyn þe Paip Sanct Patrik in Ireland, to defend þe samyn fra heresy of Pelagius, throw quhilk the Cristin faith began to increas rycht sikker in Ireland & Albion.

Mony marvalis war sene in sindry partis of Albion afoir þe Britonis faucht aganis Scottis and Pichtis. The mone, being in þe opposicioun, quhen it is maist rounde, apperit sone eftir as it war bot quartar mone. Als, in 3ork ranit blude. The branchis & levis of treis war strikin with thounder in (I. 287) mony partis of Albion, and widderit. The merkaitt gait of Londoun raiff with ane huge gap, and mony housis besyde sank. The pepill prechit thir signis to cum in damage of the Britonis; nochþeles, þe samyn wes mesit be þe preistis, quhilkis commandit na credence to be gevin to sik fantasyis.

It is said that Fyn Makcoule, the son of Coelus, Scottis man, was in þir dayis, ane man of huge stature, of xvij cubittis of hicht, and wes ane grete huntar, and rycht terribill, for huge quantite, to þe pepill, of quhom ar mony wlgare fabillis amang ws, nocht vnlyke to thir gestis quhilkis ar rehersit of King Arthure. And becaus his dedis is nocht autorist be attentik autouris, I will reheris na thing þerof, bot declair the remanent gestis of King Eugenius. And sua endis here the vij Buke of þis cronikillis, and

(II. 5)

begynnys the viij Buke.

¹ MS. *feruanus*: correction from Latin; A. reads *Sant Serf*.

Liber Octauus.

How the realme of France first began, and of thair first king ; how sindry realmes war reft fra Romanis ; how Conan¹ desirit the Britonis to rebell aganis the Scottis and Pichtis, and of thair syndry opinionis.

Ca j

203 **T**he samyn tyme quhen Britan was takin fra þe empire of Romanis, and maid tributar to Scottis & Pichtis, the Vandalis, Gotthis, Hunnys and Franche men maid grete slauchter in Spanze, Affrik, Italy, Almany and France, throw quhilk apperit wele þe manifest declinacioun of Romane empire in sindry realmes, as þe variant chance of fortoun succedis. For the Franche men, quhais begynnynge is vncertane, come oure þe revere of Ryne, and 3eid throw ane grete part of Gallia, quhilk wes eftir callit France, be Franche men, and tuke be force of armis Orleance and Paryß, and eftir that satt down to duell beside þe ryvere of Sayne, (II. 6) quhair þai chesit Veremond to be king, and maid þe first foundament of the nobill realme of France ; throw quhilk it wes commandit that all the landis betuix the mouth of Ryne and the hillis of Pirronye, quhilkis devydis France fra Spanze, and siklike all landis betuix þe montanis of Savoye and the oceane seyis, suld be callit France. The samyn tyme Genserigus, King of Vandalis, conquest Affrik, and was the first king that rang in it, quhais posterite had na bettir chance in þe end þan in þe begynnynge ; for as þai begouth with tiranny and slauchter of innocent pepill, siklike thai

¹ MS. *Conanus* agrees with the printed text and the Index to the Latin text, which gives *Conanus* and also *Conanus seu Conarius*, separate entries referring to the same person. In the body of the Latin text the name is *Conarius* consistently.

endit with miserye, baith be vncouth and civill weris. The samyn tyme the Ostrogothis and Visigothis began to regne in Spanze and Italy, contrair the Romane empire, and siklike the Hunnys conquest Pannonia, quhilk was callit afore Garis, and *perfor* fra Hunnys and Garis the saidis landis is namyt Vngaria. Mony vther infinitt cunpanyis of barbour pepill went throw þe warld that tyme, persewand Romanis with all malice, throw quhilk it happynnytt that na man mycht travaill in þai dayis but extreme danger of thair life. For quhen passingeris war inquirit quhat thai war, gif þai ansuerit thai war frendis of þe senaitt and pepill of Rome, the demandaris of thame sayid þai war inymyis, and for that causß rubbit thair gere or lyvis. Siklike, gif thai ansuerit thai wer inymyis to Romanis, þe demandaris wald allege þame frendis, and sa þai wer spoulzeit and slayne in þat samyn maner. Sik thingis maid þe auld inhabitantis of France astonyst to intercommoun with Romanis and Franche men. The Britonis, quhilkis wer laitlye sittin down in Bertanze, knowing this trouble be þe Romane weris, sufferit na vncouth blude to cum within thame, noch knowing quha was frend or faa.

- (II. 7) The nobillis of Britan, brokin with weeris, and seyng na pepill of þe warld but trouble to support thame, held þame in quyett certane 3eris, and payit iustlie thair tribute to þe victorius and confideratt kingis, and sa past x 3eris or the Britonis began ony rebellious aganis Scottis and Pichtis. Eftir that ane troubill raisß in Kent, for Conanus, þe son of Conanus afoir rehersit, *convenit* mony nobillis of Britan, be secrete messengeris, to ane counsale within ane wode. And
 204 quhen þe nobillis war assemblit, Conanus desyrit licence to || speke sum thing for þe commoun wele, and sayid in þis maner :
 " Maist wourthy nobillis, 3e se how oure pepill, sum tyme wailzeant in mychty dedis of chevelry, and haldin in reuerence to all pepill, ar now maid tributar to Scottis and Pichtis, with infinite calamite and iniuris dailie wrocht aganis ws. Quhat may be, allace, þe caus of this calamite? Nocht bot oure avn sleuth, throw quhilk we haif failzeit safer to oure self, and brokin be gyle of Maximiane,¹ þat we, as maist

¹ MS. *Maxiniane*.

febill creaturis, has takin þe ȝok apoun oure nek. It is richt fatill to ws to know how far we bene degeneratt fra courage of þai nobill men, oure eldaris, quhilkis expellit þe Scottis oute of Albion. And þocht in þis last vnhappy batall, strikin be ws x ȝeris agoo aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis, na litill calamite succedit to ws, and all þe nobilite of þis realme slayn, throu quhilk we war constranit to seyke peace, moir necessair þan honest, ȝite now þe sad tiran Maximiane is put down, and oure puyssance conualescit. For now ar rysing in Britan mony rank and forsy ȝoung men, reddy for all laboure and ieoparde, quhais vnbridillit insolence salbe moir noysum to ws þan ony cruelte of inymyis, gif we suffir þe samyn to dull¹ in sleuth. We haif plente in riches and strenth, and na thing lakis bot corage, baith to ourethraw oure inymyis, and to deliuer ws of barboure seruitude. Thairfor, maist nobill

(II. 8) champions, haif þe illustir dedis of ȝoure eldaris in memory, and devoid² ȝou of slewth, beltand ȝow with gude hoipe, glaidnes and vertew, quhilkis ar þe maist sovir way to fulfill ȝoure desire; quhairthrou ȝe may considir þe excellence of anceant manhede in ȝoure eldaris, þat nocht onlye ȝoure inymyis, bot vthir pepill, may vnderstand ȝoure respect moir to vertew þan to ony fere of deth."

Quhen Conanus had endit this orisoun, þe nobillis quhilkis war assemblit that tyme war devidit in sindry opinionis and myndis. Sum of þame with furious visage desyrit nocht bot batall. Vtheris, mair nobill, dred, gif þai movit weere in þis sort, þat þair sonnis, quhilkis war liand in hostage, suld be slayne, and þerfor wald nocht consent to batall, becaus it was aganis thair faith and promys. Finaly, quhen thai had put of þe day with mony reassonis, þai severitt on all sydis, and returnit hame, but ony effect of þir premis.

¹ MS. *duell*. A later hand writes *dull* above the line, but *duell* is not erased. Correction to *dull* agrees with A.

² MS. *to devoid*: correction agrees with A.

How Scottis and Pichtis send ambassatouris to þe Britonis with new chargis; how the nobillis and commonis of Britan faucht amang þame self; how þe commonis wer disconnfist; of sindry plagis þat come on Britonis for thair corruppit lyfe; and of Eugenius deth. Ca ij

The confideratt kingis, aduertist of thir consultacionis maid amang Britonis, began to puneiß þair pleggis *with* grete tormentis, and maid thair ordinance to invaid
 205 the Britonis, | as brekaris of thair band and faith; nochþeles, afoir þai rasit þair army, thocht expedient to send ambassatouris to þe Britonis, to aspy vnder clowid of ambassatoury þe myndis of thair nobillis and commonis. Thir ambassatouris, at thair cuming in Britan, schew þame send fra þe victorius and confideratt kingis, to exhort thame to persevere in amite, eftir the tenour of þe peace afoir contrackitt, in auenture, gif þai be vane foly dissoluit þe samyn, þai labourit moir in þair avne dammage þan proffite. Attour, þai brocht certane chargis to þame, quhilkis nocht beand obtemperatt, moir aufull batall sall cum on þame þan was sene afoir. Thair chargis war þat na counsale nor parliament be haldin in tymes cuming amang Britonis, withoute avise of þe confideratt kingis, and to keip þe ald condicionis of peace in all poynttis, as it wes afoir contrackitt, and to ressaue agane thair aulde pleggis, and to deliuer doubill als mony in to þair place. The Britonis, grevit with þir importabill chargis, thocht first þe samyn nocht to be obtemperatt, bot erar extreme chance of batall to be assailzeit þan sa schamfull condicionis of peace to be observatt; throu quhilk had followit grete noyis amang the pepill, be vehement desire of batall,
 (II. 9) war nocht þe nobillis, havand respeck to þe sesoun occurrand, cessit þe samyn. gite mony of þe commonis regratit amang þame self þe cowartry of thair nobillis, puttand thair common wele to affliccioun of inymyis, throu quhilk rais sone ane grete contencioun, to thair hye displesoure. For þe

commonis, impatient of vncouth seruitude, ruschit to harnes, and be plane rebellioun thocht to distroy all þe nobillis of Britan, saying þai war degeneratt fra þe vertew of thair eldaris, thirland þame to vncouth seruitude. At last þis pley was endit be þe suerde, for þe commonis, rageand in þis fury, come aganis þe nobillis with moir hattrent þan ordoure of cheuelry, throu quhilk þai war sone put to flicht, and huge slauchter maid on thame. And ȝite this cruelete of commonis wes nocht repressit be this bergane, bot sone eftir ruschit agane to harnes, and faucht aganis þair nobillis with litill bettir fortoun than afoir; quhairthrou þai war sa brokin in þair puyssance þat þai durst nocht remane in thair awin housis, bot fled with þair wyiffis and childerin to the montanis, and maid frequent herschippis on þe nobillis. At last þai war constranit on all sydis to haif peace, for þe nobillis mycht nocht leiff but industry of commonis, nor þe commonis but þe autorite and prudence of nobillis.

The civill weeris hurt þe realme of Britan with na leß dammage þan did þe tyranny of Maximiane afoir, quhen he
 (II. 10) maid it nakit baith of weyrmen and inhabitantis. Sik thingis done, followitt grete darth and hungir, continewand thre ȝeris, and maid ane huge pepill to loiß þair lyvis. Than followitt huge plente, with moir haboundance and fouth þan wes remenbrit in ony tyme afoir, throw quhilk raiß vncouth lust, þe pomp of all myscheif, amang þe pepill, gevin moir to
 206 ryattus surfett and voracite of þair wayme | than to þe vertew of thair eldaris, and become sa abhominabill and vicious þat na pepill of gude maneris mycht leiff amang thame. And nocht only, as Sanct Bede testifyis, war þe temporall estait drownit in þir vycis, bot als þe spiritual on the samyn maner. This terribill pest of gluttony hurt the Britonis moir in þair vertew, gudis and glory of armys þan evir did ony suerde afoir, and schortlie, as þe revarde of gluttony is, þair come on thame sa huge mortalite that þe quyk pepill wer skairsly sufficient to bury þe dede. Nochpeles, the fere of suddand dede, nor present calamite, mycht noch draw þame fra þair inhansit syn, thai wer sa drownit in corruppit vice; quhilk was occasioun that þai wer eftir conquest be Saxonnis, and

tynt baith pair riall maieste and crowne, with sic displeasure
þat þai mycht nevir recover thair anciant honouris.

Quhill Britan wes in sik affliccioun, the Scottis and Pichtis
war in gude peace, gevand thair vtter besynes, eftir sa lang
trouble of weeris, to decoir þame self in riches, faith and honest
institucionis, and gaif thankis to God þat, þai perseverand in
sik felicite, þair inymyis war in sik displeasure, be iust punicioun
(II. II) of God, and mycht nothir defend thame self, nor invaid thair
nychtbouris, and traistit þerfor all þe landis liand betuix
Humbyr and the Franche seyis suld cum haistely vnder thair
perpetuall dominioun. King Eugenius, havand na weeris
nor inymyis in this maner, brocht his realme to moir honoure
than evir it had afoir, and decessit þe xxx þere of his regne,
quhilk was in þe fourt þere of þe empire of Leo Empriour,
quhilk was crownit in Constantinople.

How Dongard, King of Scottis, governit his realme
with cyvill and religious maneris; how þe Britonis
regratit pair servitude, and how Conanus exhortit
thame to recover pair honouris and liberte.

Ca iij

The þere of God iiij^e lxj þeris, eftir decess of Eugenius,
his bruther Dongardus was maid king, for Eugenius
had na successioun of his body. This Dongard, following
equite and iustice of his bruthir, schew quhat maneris he
wald haif in þe administracioun of his realme, and was gevin
to peace, and detestit nocht were, quhen tyme requirit. And
becaus he had na occasioun of weris, he send sindry prudent
men in diuers partis of his realme to doo iustice. Forthir,
seand all pepill and realmes thirlit to mutabilite of fortune,
he reparit municionis and strenthis in all partis of his realme,
quhair thai war decayit, to be redy for all aventure that
mycht fall. And becaus peace ingeneris riches, and ryches
insolence, and insolence were, he began to haif his happy
empire in suspicioun, traisting na thing mair than batall

succeeding eftir sa lang peace, and þerfor garnyst all the munitionis of the bordouris with euery maner of weirly ordinance, with na leß deligence þan þe weere war instantly apperand. |
 207 Sik thingis done, he dotaitt the kirkis of Palladius and vtheris his collegis with mony riche landis and rentis, to the sustentacioun of dyvyne seruice, and commandit the kirkis throw all his realme to be sikker refuge to all personis, *nocht-*
 (II. 12) *withstanding* quhatsumeuir offence of lese maieste, during thair residence in þe samyn; and, abone this, dotate þe kirkis with vther priuelegis, reparing þame be his ryall magnificence with moir ampill boundis þan þai war afoir.

Quhill sik thingis war done in Scotland, the Britonis lamentit þair sory chance, knawing þame maid tributar to þe last pepill of þe warld, and so thirlit to *seruitude* that þai nothir durst, nor 3ite mycht, ressaue strayngearis amang þame, to riche þame be sik chance of merchandice as thair eldaris did afoir, and abone this wer punyst be þair wykket syn with swerd, hunger and deth. And quhen þai war irkytt with thir and siklyke calamiteis, þai maid generall processionis in all partis, praying þe *mercifull* God to deliuer thame of þe samyn, þat þai mycht recover þair anciant faym and honouris, and war at anys sa penitent þat þai maid solemne voittis to God to desist fra þair iniquiteis, to be deliuerit of *seruitude*. Than Conanus, quhilk maid the orisoun afoir to Britonis, traisting to haif oportunitie to move þe nobillis to recover thair honoure and liberte, sayid in þis maner: "Freendis, had my wourdis said in 3oure last counsale movitt 3oure myndis to batall contrar oure dispitfull inymyis, it war *nocht* necessair me now to mak this orisoun. For certane 3e mycht *nocht* onlye haif doungin 3oure inymyis oute of all boundis of this realme, bot als mycht haif had 3oure realme extendit to þe auld *merchis*, and 3oure pepill duelling vnder native kingis of Britan, in liberte and but iniuris of fayis. And now 3e ar brokin with sindry displesouris, be hunger, swerde and pest, and has experience quhat vengeance fallis to mortall pepill be corruppit lust, *nocht* havand God nor his institucionis in reuerence. 3oure puyssance in tymes bigane was mair ampill and strang þan now, howbeit 3oure

myndis war *nocht* gevin þat tyme, as þe deid schewitt, to regarde quhat precious tresoure is liberte, and quhat honour wes to recover þoure realme. Bot now, be aduerß fortoun þe be moir prudent, with sufficient corage to doo this besynes ; now, þe desyre of þoure anceant honouris & liberte impellis (11. 13) þow to assailþe for þoure commoun wele the chance of fortoun. And will we¹ degestlye paiß this mater, we sall knawoure inymyis incressing aufull, and ilk day moir repugnant to our wele. Thairfor I see na thing þat may seme ws leß þan to ourepaißoure dayis in miserabill sleuth, of quhilk þe end is *nocht* bot schaym. And sen wee but reassoun bene gevin to riottus and vicious leving, be quhilk all vengeance sprouttis in displesour of man, latt ws þit return to God, for as be his wraith all realmez failþeis, sa be his favoure and mercy all pepill conualescis, quhen þai ar penitent. And sen we haif sufferit 208 grete affliccioun iustlie deseruit foroure syn, | latt ws haif sikkir confidence in God, to put ane end to alloure miserye, and to haif pardoun be his mercy, chengeandoure drery life in bettir fortoun. The tyme sall wirk all thingis wele, gif we pleß God, for he repellis nane that sekis him. Quhat is he that evir had calamite fechtand in iust batall, bot gif it come throw his foly ? Thairfor, gif we be wourthy to be callit þe posterite of þai wailþeant campionis,² quhilkis wincust sa oft þe Scottis and Pichtis, latt ws assailþe all wayis to recoveroure landis and liberte, and revenge þe iniuris done sa mony þeris to ws, havand sic confidence of victory, sen fortoun is changit beoure corage, and maist of all þat we ar to fecht in iust bataill aganisoure perverst inymyis, quhais raige is now dullit be lang sleuth."

This orison of Conanus movit þe pepill in sik maner þat þai had runnyn haistlye to harnes and maid rebelloun, wer *nocht* þe nobillis schew be evident signis þai wer *nocht* of puyssance for the tyme to withstand þair inymyis, withoute þai had support of vther countreis. For thir causis þai concludit to send ambassatouris in Bertanþe to Androenus, King of Bertanþe, quhilk was bot fourt persoun fra Conanus,

¹ MS. omits *we* : correction from A.

² MS. *camponis*.

þe first king þat rang in Bertanþe, to regrait þe intollerabill iniuris done to þame be Scottis and Pichtis, and to desyre support aganis þame to recover þair landis.

How Conanus and Guitelyne send to the King of Bertanþe for support aganis the Scottis and Pichtis ; of þe decese of Conanus ; of þe orisoun maid be Guitelyne ; how Constantyne was send in Britan, and maid king pairof, and of his ordinance aganis Scottis and Pichtis.

Ca iiij

The Britonis, resoluit with this purpos, send to, Conanus & Guitelyne, Bischop of Loundoun, as ambassatouris to King Androenus of Bertanþe for expedicioun of thair desyris. And quhen þai war passand betuix the cost (II. 14) of Bertanþe and Britan, this Conanus, be corruppit air of seyis, fell in ane fevir and decessit. Guitelyne, richt sorowfull of his deth, arryvitt in Bertanþe, and bureijt him with solemne and funerall triumphe, syne past with ane galþeart cunpany to King Androenus, and sayid in þis maner : “ War the caus of my cuming, and quhat I am, vnknawin to þe, maist invincibill prince, it suld haif bene necessair to begyn my orisoun in ane vthir maner, that I mycht be the samyn haif drawin þe in moir favoure and compassioun of oure troubill. Bot sen I knaw sik thingis richt patent afoir þi sicht, I will declair þe effect of my message at schort wourdis. The Scottis and Pichtis, maist cruell pepill in erde, knawing ws nakit of weir men and Romane soidiouris, invadit oure realme with sik cruelte of suerde and fyre þat þai put ws oute of all boundis liand betuix þe Wall of Abirorne and Tyne, and 3ite, nocht saciatt of this cruelte, bett doun þe Wall of Adriane, cumand bezond Humber with sik fury of fyre and swerde that þai semytt to subdew all Britan to þair dominioun, and had 209 subdewitt | the samyn withoute recovir, gif þai had possedit multitude of pepill als wele to inhabit þe land as to conqueß the samyn. With thir and importabill vther skaithis oure pepill war brokin, and, fyndand na support of Romanis, con-

cludit erar to ieoperd *paim* self to maist danger, þan daylie to leiff in sik displesouris, and sone eftir, as forsy and vnabasitt campionis, come aganis thair inymyis, othir to haif liberte (II. 15) recoverit¹ or honest deth. Nochþeles, eftir sindry chancis of batall thai war disconfist, and thair strangest capitanis slayne. Eftir this vnhappy batall oure inymyis, moir insolent þan afoir, and desyring na leß to devoir *our* blude þan to conquess oure realme, wrocht on ws ilk day moir cruelte, quhill at last we wer sa brokin in oure substance and strenth þat we wer constranyt to haif peace with thame, moir necessair þan proffittabyll, and to geif þe nobillis sonnys of our realme in plege for observing of all poyntis eftir þe peace contrackit. At last oure pepill wer penitent of þe peace contrackitt in damage of thair *commoun* wele, throu quhilk raisß ane odious contencioun betuix þe nobillis and *commonis*, quhilk wes *nocht* endit but huge murdir on all sydis. Eftir this slauchter followitt grete derth² and poverté, bot than succedit plente, þe moder of insolence, quhilk was moir skaithfull to ws þan þe hungir afoir precedand, for be it followit greter³ mortalite þan evir wes remenbrit in Britan. And ȝite all þir calamiteis put *nocht* ws to sik affliccionis as þe furius cruelte of Scottis and Pichtis, be quhom new extorsioun ar daylie devisit on ws, new plegis *commanding* to be gevin, and new tribute; throw quhilk oure gudis ar confiscatt, and oure bodyis pynytt, and has na sikkirness of lyfe quhair oure inymyis has dominioun. Thir & vther intollerabill displesouris maid on ws gaif occasioun to return to God, knawing wele thir affliccionis falling be his grete iustice for oure vikkit offence, and *perfor* ar deliuerit, sa far as may be done be man, to amend oure lyvis, þat all thingis may succed þe bettir. For thir motivis, maist invincibill king, we tuke purpoß to deliuer ws of seruitude, and to recovir agane oure realme and honouris. *Nocht*theles, becaus we ar sa brokin thir mony ȝeris in oure puyssance and strenth that we may *nocht* doo the samyn, we ar now *cumin*, humilie desyring thi support (II. 16) aganis oure inymyis, and to haif miseracioun on this chance falling to ws, thi anceant forbearis, quhilkis ar put to sic

¹ MS. *recoverit*.² MS. *deth*.³ MS. *grete*.

punicioun that we may na wayis haif defence aganis oure vndantit fais, bot gif þou support ws with þir thi wailþeant pepill; quhilkis beand grantit, we sall deliuer ws schortlie of all dishonour falling to ws thir sindry þeris be oure awin defalt, and, bot þou, nane salbe foundin to oppone thame aganis þe cruelte of Scottis and Pichtis. Vnderstand, heirfor, þou sall *nocht* defend vncouth housis, bot onlie þe felicite of thi awin realme, quhais crown is native to the. For þocht þe empire of Britonis wes sumtyme deuidit in two realmes, |
 210 now remanis nane on live sa neir of blude as þou to succeid to baith. *þerfor*, contempne *nocht* þis felicite offerit sa plesandlie to the at this tyme, sen þou may haif dominion of baith þir realmez, havand all thingis to succeid eftir as þou list."

King Androenus wes na les soroufull of þe calamiteis falling to þe Britonis þan to him self, and ansuerit þat it wes þe chance of mortale pepill, eftir maist propiciant fortoun, to be deieckit in gretest misery, and fra hiest misery exaltit agane in gretest honouris, for nature has subdewitt men to sik lawis þat þair estait is bot mortall, havand sum tyme experience of gude fortoun, and sum tyme of evill. Nochþeles, becaus he wes far rone in aige, and mycht *nocht* sustene wele þe chargis of weire, to pas in propir persoun for þair wele, he suld send his son Constantyne, ane þoung and wailþeand knycht, with all power that he mycht provide, in Britan to support thame aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis. And quhen he had promittit this support, he causit Guitelyne þe bischop to pas to þe toun of Redon, to mak his residence, quhill þe army wes reddy to pas with him. Eftir this Androenus commandit all þe schippis of his land agane ane prefixt day to cum to þe port of Sanct Maclove with þair patronis and marinaris in þair best wise. And quhen all thingis war deulie providit, Constantyne with ane huge flott pullit vp salis, and finaly arryvit in Albioun. The Britonis, reiosit of his cuming, went to þe port quhair he arryvit, to vesy his army and ordinance. Than Bischop Guitelyne, seyng þe nobillis in sa grete nowmer be ardent desire approche to the port, schew how he wes reuerentlie ressaut in Bertanze be the King, and how his son

Constantyn was send with sic army for þair support. The Britonis, seyng Constantyne cum with sik army for þair support, war reiosit with all corage, and traistit than to (11. 17) recover þair liberte or neur. Sone eftir Constantyne was maid king of Britan, and maid his voitt to fecht at his vtter powere for þe wele of his realme. Eftir this he commandit be generall edict all fensabill personis of his realme to convene þe xl day pereftir at Humbir in þair best avise, to pas quhair he plesit. The pepill departit þan with sic birnand desyre to recover þair liberte þat nane of þame wes foundin absent at the prefixt daye.

How þe Scottis and Pichtis slew þe plegis of Britonis for thair rebelloun; of þe orisoun maid be King Dongard to his army; how Constantyne, King of Britonis, faucht aganis Scottis and Pichtis, and wes disconnfist, and King Dongard slayne. Ca v

The Scottis and Pichtis, herand þe rebelloun of Britonis and thair ordinance maid aganis thame, slew all the pleggis of Britonis, quhilk cruelte movit þe Britonis to | 211 haist thair army with maist deligence aganis þame. At last þai convenit þe day and place affixt with sic corage, strenth and puyssance þat þai semyt nocht onlie to wincuf þe Scottis and Pichtis, bot als to distroy þame aluterlie. Sone eftir King Constantyne arrayit þame to pas forthwert. The Scottis and Pichtis, on the tothir syde, with maist deligence assemblit ane huge army oute of all boundis vnder thair dominoun, and come with þe samyn nocht far fra 3ork, pertlie abiding þe cuming of Britonis. The nixt day, knowing be thair spyis thair inmyis within foure mylis, þai rasis þair campe and come haistlie with maist fury of batall in þair inmyis sicht, quhilkis wer liand nocht far fra þe montanys of Humbyr.

The nixt morow Dongard went to ane hie moitt, and sayid to his army as followis: " My hartlie freyndis, it suld be na admiracioun to 3ou, pocht þe Britonis hes left þe feild and fled to þe montanis of Humbir, for þai bene of þat febill ingyne

and nature þat þai promittit with hiddius brag to doo maist wailþeantly at þair first assembillance ; nochþeles, þair spreitt and curage sone decayis, quhen þai see þair inymyis approche, (II. 18) quhilkis dantit þame afoir. Attoure, 3e haif cognoscence how facill þai bene to raiß trouble *with* vane hechtis, þocht þai bene soft foundin in execucioun of þair empris, quhen inymyis apperis in þair sicht. This vther day þai come armyt *with* glitterand harnes, as þai wald inuaid ws, cryand with hiddius noyis and fere, " Quhen sall we fynd oure inymyis ? Quhair lurk þai now to eschew oure swerdis ? " Bot now this ardent desyre of batall is forzett, and to eschew ws þai¹ ar fled to þe montanis, disconnfist be oure only sicht. Thairfor, gif 3e fecht this daye aganis 3oure febill inymyis, sa oft wincust be 3ow, traist *nocht* bot sicker victory, becaus 3e ar to fecht aganis þe maist fals and tresonabill pepill, þe brekaris of thair faith and band. And thocht þair pussance be sum part ekit now, 3ite thair curage is na thing ereckit moir þan afoir. Beleiff 3e þat Constantyne, quhilk is brocht oute of vncouth realm and now namyt *gouvernour* of Britonis, may quykkyn þair curage to cum in batall aganis 3ou, sen baith þair honour and manhede bene sa lang expirit be continewall surfettis and riattus lyiff ? Beleif *nocht* þat ane new and vncouth capitane may bring effeminatt pepill in curage to fecht aganis victorius campionis. Be sover heirfor, my forsy compan3eonis, þe houndis ar *nocht* sa aufull to haaris, nor wolffis to scheip, as 3e ar vnto þame. And be *nocht* astonyst, maist forsy campionis, for þe huge wapynnys and ordinance of weeir maid aganis 3ow in 3one army, sen þe samyn may *nocht* be vsit but strenth of body and slycht of ingyne, of quhilkis *nocht* is amang 3oure fais. And sen oure inymyis bene febill and effeminatt personis, sik ordinance salbe moir to þair displeoure þan proffitt, quhen þai fle, bot gif þai devoide þe samyn in haist. Neurþeles, I beseyk 3ow, my gudelye com-
212 pan3eonis, haif na leß sicht to the | ordinance of 3oure inymyis þan to the pyssance of 3oure selfe, and pas *nocht* bot with gude arraye in batall ; and quhen it happynnys 3ow chaisß 3oure inymyis, evaig *nocht* far fra 3oure fallowis, þat 3e be *nocht*

¹ MS. omits *þai* : correction from A.

ane praye to pame. Pas forthwert *perfor*, my hartlie frendis, with gude chance, and haif experience gif Britonis can discuf þe richt of batall be þe swerde. Pas forthwart, my trew knychtis, in quhom decayitt neur manhede, wisdome nor pussance, and know wele I am he that sall na leß revard nobill and wailþeand men with maist riches, than puneiß cowarttis with maist schayme."

(II. 19) This orisoun was skarsly¹ endit, quhen þe Britonis war seyn discend in arrayit batall to þe planys. Than Dongarde with grete corage and spreitt arrayit his army, and *commandit* na presonaris nor spoulþeis to be takin, quhill þe feilde war vtterly disconfist, and maist of all desirit þat na gentill man suffir him self to be takin cowardly as presoner. Skairslie war thir wourdis sayid, quhen þe batallis ionytt with huge clamour and noyiß on all sydis. The confideratt pepill assaillzeit þair inymyis in sik cruelte þat þai put baith þair wangard and reirward to flycht, bot þe myddilward *withstude* strangelie, quhair King Constantyne faucht with maist hattrent aganis his inymyis. Dongarde, seyng him in sik arraye, tuke birmand desyre othir to slaa him or ellis to tak him presonare; and in þat rageand cruelte, accunpanyitt *with* ane few nowmer of his nobillis, ruschit imprudentlie amang the grete fard of Britonis, quhair þai invadit him on all sydis, quhair he, fechtand with na leß manhede þan cruelte to þe deth, for falt of support was born to þe grounde with dynt of speris and slayn. Part of Scottis, astonyst be þe suddand slauchter of the King, tuke þe flycht, bot vtheris, nocht effrayit thairof, bot moir ferß and rasis in ire to revenge his slauchter, perseuerit in continewall bataill to the deth. Siklike the Pichtis, na thing deieckit of þair curage, come like thondrand baris amang thair inymyis. Howbeit, victory wes vncertane quhill myd daye, bot at last Britonis war wincust and put to flycht. In this vnhappy batall war slayne xvj^m Britonis and xiiij^m Scottis and Pichtis. Nochþeles, thai war sa brokin þat þai mycht noch follow with lang chais on the Britonis. King Constantyne, disconfist in þis wise, returnit to Kentt, and the confideratt pepill returnit haym with small felicite, and brocht King

¹ MS. skarly.

Dongard to Colmkill, quhair he was buryitt þe fyift 3ere of his regne, and in þe first 3ere of Constantyne, King of Britonis, and in þe viij 3ere of Leo Empriour, fra the Incarnacioun iiij^c lxxvj 3eris.

(II. 20) Off Constantyne þe vicius king of Scottis; how troubill, rysand in Scotland, was mesit be prudence of Dongall; how Constantyne, King of Britonis, wes slayne be slycht of Pichtis, & Constantyne, King of Scottis, slayn for his tyranny. Ca vj

213 **D**ongarde slayne, as we haue schawin, his bruther Constantyne wes maid king, for the sonnys of Dongarde King mycht nocht succede for thair minorite. And þocht diuers signis of wisdomes semytt in þis Constantyne, 3ite he was far discrepant fra maneris and vertew of his bruther, like ane effeminate persoun moir gevin to lust than administracioun of iustice. He was ane revisair of madynnis, ane defoulare of matronis, and favorair of detractouris, reiosing nevir bot amang menstralis, singlaris and vtheris siklike effeminatt personis, and be contrair was maist soroufull amang his nobillis. And þocht he wes like Constantyne of Britonis in his name, 3ite he was far discordant fra him in maneris. For Constantyne of Britonis was na les religious than civil in his gouernance, and recoverit þe realme of Britan be his industry, bot Constantyne, King of Scottis, was sa vicius in all his havingis þat nane of his werkis deseruit commendacioun. For quhen his nobillis desyrit him to revenge þe slauchter of King Dongard his bruder, he sayid he knew als wele quhat wes to be done as þai, and nedit na ingyne bot his awin to bere all chargis of his realme. Sone eftir this his gouernance maid his foly mair patent, for he gaif peace to Britonis vndesyrit, syne, but avise of his nobillis, remittit frelie þe tribute of
(II. 21) Britan, and randrit to þame sindry municionis of þe bordouris, and was to doo sindry thingis mair hevy to þair commoun wele, war nocht þe nobillis witstude his insolence in tyme. And becaus sindry of þame had indignacioun aganis his cor-

ruppit maneris, and vperis assistit to þe samyn, apperit grete troubill and sedicionis amang thame, quhill at last Dongall of Gallowaye schew thame quhatt dangere mycht cum be civill weeris, and namely in tyme quhen Britonis had laitlie recouerit thair realme, and rysing ilk day with mair hattrent and puyssance aganis þame, havand ane 3ounge prince, ferß and richt desyrous of glorye, and reddy to invaid thame quhen he saw occasioun, for the Britonis kepit neuir gude peace to thair nychtbouris, bot quhen þai haue þame in maist fere. Attoure, the Pichtis war ane variant and doubill pepill, inclinand evir quhair þai saw victory maist frequent. And 3ite mair dangere was apperand þan all thir skaithis forsaid, that Constantyne thair king was bot ane effeminatt gluttoun, havand nane in reuerence bot riottus and vicius pepill, throw quhilk he was nothir abill for priuatt nor publik chargis. For thir causis Dongall consalit þe nobillis to meisß þair sedicioun, havand respect vnto thair commoun wele. Be this persuasioun of Dongall this troubill was mesit for þe tyme. Nochtpeles, mony of þe nobillis couth nocht be satisfijt in þair myndis lang tyme, for þe mysgyding of þe realme.

The Pichtis, seand þe King of Scottis sa slewthfull, and but vertew in all his doyngis, and accompanyit with nane bot with vicius and prophane creaturis, dred þat þe Britonis suld for that caus increas mair insolent and invaid thame for auld iniuris; for thir causß þai¹ maid thame to wyrk þe thing |
 214 be slycht quhilk þai mycht nocht doo be force, and instrukkit men quietlye to slay King Constantyne. Þe men quhilkis wer subornatt for this effect come in Britan, and war haldin as native pepill þerof. At last þai come in þe Kingis courte, quhair þai be wane assentacionis and subtill behavingis gat sik familiarite with the King that þai purchest credence in sindry his grave materis. At last, waittand thair tyme, quhen þe King was at quyett, þai¹ come to him, as sum besynes war
 (II. 22) to be done, and slew him suspekand na thing leß þan þair tresoun. The Kingis garde, herand þe rummysching and granis of ane deand man, ruschit haistely in þe chalmer, quhair þai fand the King slayn and bullerand in his blude.

¹ MS. omits *þai* : correction from A.

Nochtwithstanding, with brym fury pai followit safar on þir Pichis quhill thai war baith takin and cruelly brynt to dede. This cruell slauchter of Constantyne, King of Britonis, happynit in þe xv jere of Constantyne, King of Scottis, quhilk had litill bettir fortoun eftir his deth, for he was slayn be ane gentill man of þe Ilis for the defowling of his dochter, þe xvij jere of his empyre.

How Congallus gouernit his realme in gude iustice ; how Constancius, King of Britonis, was slayne be tresoun of Vortigern ; how Vortigern tuke þe crowne of Britan, and did grete cruelteis to certane Scottis and Pichtis ; how Guitellus, Prince of Walis, send be Vortigern aganis Scottis and Pichtis, was slane with xx^m Britonis. Ca vij

Constantyne slayn in this maner, his nepot Congallus, þe son of Dongard, was maid king, ane man of subtile ingyne, reddy baith to were and peace. 3ite in þe begynnynge of his regne he schew him mair desirous of peace þan batall, to repair sik thingis as wer mysgydit afoir be the tiran Constantyne, his eme. Sum gaif him counsale to revenge þe slauchter of his fader Dongarde. Nochttheles, he supersedit the samyn for causis forsaide, and send sindry prudent & nobill men in diuers partis of his realme to doo iustice, throw quhilk the realme wes brocht be schort tyme to sicker peace and rest.

Quhill Congallus was settand his mynde to sik besynes, Vortigerne, ane man of grete autorite amang þe Britonis, full of slycht and ingyne, and maist desirous to regne, tuke Constancius, þe son of Constantyne afoir decessit, be force oute of religioun, quhair he was profest monk be Constantyne, his fader, quhen he fand him vnabill to succeid.

(II. 23) Notheles,¹ this Vortigern maid Constancius king, be applauding of þe nobillis to his opinioun. This slycht procedit be auarice of Vortigern, as apperit sone eftir, quhilk was mair sett for

¹ Or *nocheles* : MS. reading not quite certain.

conqueſt of gudis than the wele of þe realme. And becaus this monk wes but reassoun and naturall experience, he tuke þe charge and autorite of the realme, traisting be sum auentur to fynd occasioun to conques þe crowne of Britan ; ȝite, to covir
 215 his slycht, as he war gevin for þe common wele, | maid peace with Scottis and Pichis, and causit ane hundreth personis of thair blude cum to London, to remane as ane garde aboute Constancius, and to haif his body in keping.

Schort tyme eftir, quhen Wortigern had gaderit grete tresouris vnder þe empire of Constancius, he thocht þe tyme comenient to tak þe crowne, and quietlie seducit ane certane of thir Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis had þe King in¹ keping, with ane huge sovme of moneye to slaa þe King, promittand infinite revardis for thair laboure, gif þai brocht the samyn to effect. Ane part of Scottis and Pichtis, blindit be slychtis of þis Wortigern, slew þe King finalie, quhilk was gevin in thair keping. Vortigern, herand the King slayn, for he was nocht far, abyding the samyn, ruschitt furiouslie in þe secrete chalmer, quhair the King was liand dede, bathand in his blude, and tuke þe slaaris of þe King, and gart put thame haistly to dede, that þai suld nocht schaw quha gaif thame peruasioun and motive to this crueltie ; syne come amang the nobillis, saying na thing was sa displeysand to him as þe deth of the King, throw quhilk grete troubill apperit to the realme ; incontinent socht þe residew of Scottis and Pichtis oute of all partis of þe toun, quhilkis war innocent and knew nocht of this tresoun, and gart haue thame haistlie to strang presoun ; syne maid him to bury the King. The nixt morrow he come with his complices and fauoraris, quhilkis war corruppit with his money, to the stretis of Londoun, quhair maist confluence of pepill was, and complanit the tresoun of Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis had slayn þe King committit to thair credence in keping, and maid þe realme, safar as wes in þame, but ane hede, to þat purpos, as apperit, othir to put þe Britonis to divisioun amang þame self, or ellis to mak all þe landis vnder thair empire, for falt of ane king, patent to intollerabill iniuris and skaith of inymyis ; and perfor, gif

¹ MS. of : correction from A.

(II. 24) this schaymfull cruelte wer *nocht* haistlie puneist, moir displeouris sall fall haistlye, gif moir may be, in distruccioun of pair *commoun* wele. For thir reassonis, necessair was to puneyfs þe remanent Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis wer na leß cryminabill than þe principaill personis, quhilkis wer takin be him with haitt blude and put to deth. Quhen he had movit þe pepill in maist cruelte aganis thir innocent men, he tuke þame oute of presoun, quhair þai war, and putt þame all to deth. This pvnicioun maid on þe Scottis and Pichtis causit Vortigern to be haldin amang þe ignorant pepill as fader and defendour of thair realme; nochþeles, to covir his dissaitt, desyrit thame to haif respect to pair *common* wele, and to suffir *nocht* Ambrosius, þe son of King Constantyne, to regnne for þat tyme, saying, þocht he was richtwis air to þe crowne, ȝite infinite myschevis suld cum to þe realme in þe empire of his nonage. Quhen þai had consentit to his voitte, he demandit þame quhom þai desyrit king. Þan ane certane of his fauoraris, quhilkis war corruppit *with* his money, declarit nane sa abill to succede as him self.

Wortigern, maid king in this wise, garnyst sindry municionis
 216 of his realme *with* strang soidiouris, | and commandit his familiaris, quhilkis war maist deir to him, to haif his persoun in sover keping. Eftir this he sett his mynde to distroye quietlie all þe lynage of King Constantyne, and maid sindry punicioun on thame. The freyndis of Constantyne, aduerteist
 (II. 25) of this mynde of Vortigern, tuke þe sonnys of þe said Constantyn, namit Ambrosius and Vter, oute of Walis, quhair þai wer vnder pair preceptouris, and send þame in Bertanze to thair fader bruther, quhilk was þat tyme regnand in þe samyn.

Quhen þe Scottis and Pichtis wer aduertist of þe schaymfull murdir of thair frendis, maid at Londoun be tresoun of King Vortigern, þai become richt impacient, and incontinent with ane grete cunpany of chosin men enterit in þe Britonis landis, cessing fra na maner of cruelte on þe samyn. The Britonis, *commovit* with thir iniuris, disparit of support, and *nocht* havand pyssance to reveng þe samyn, fled within thair realme, and left pair rowmes waist with certane gudis quhilkis mycht

nocht be tursit for þat tyme. Vortigern, knawing þe grete hattrent that þe nobillis had aganis him in Britan, for þe persecucioun that he maid on þe sonnys of Constantyne, durst noch ieopard him self in bataill, and *perfor* send Guitellus, the Prince of Walis, with ane strang army to revenge the iniuris done be Scottis and Pichtis. Guitellus, dredand þe rewyne of Britan, bot gif þe cruelte of inymyis war repressit, past forthwart with his army, and was convoyitt in þe samyn landis of Britan quhair the Scottis and Pichtis war gaderit, but arraye, invading the cuntre with reiffis and slauchter; and incontinent with displayit baner come haistely on thame, throw quhilk þai war put to flycht, and v^e of þame takin, quhom he gart iustify as thevis.

The confideratt kingis, movit with thir iniuris, come haistelie with ane grete cunpany aganis Guitellus, and maid þe Britonis astonyst. Nochþeles, Guitellus exhortit þame to (II. 26) batall, saying þat Scottis and Pichtis wer moir inhansit with reiffis & slauchter of febill creaturis þan ony merceall dedis, throw quhilk na victory succedis to thame, bot quhen þai meit cowartlie and febill personis; nochtwithstanding exhortit his folkis to persevere in ithand fechtung, for be þat & na v^{per} waye *per* inymyis suld be dantit, and thair realme sauffitt fra appering troubill. The Britonis, rasit in spreitt be thir wourdis, went forthwert. Eftir this followitt frequent skarmusing and sum tyme singular batallis betuix wailjeant men. At last, throw ithand iniuris and hatrent on all sydis, thai ionyt to giddir, and faucht lang with vncertane victory, quhill at last þe myddilward, quhair Congallus faucht, wes neyr disconfist be ferß fechtung of Britonis formentis þame. Incontinent Galanus, King of Pichtis, quhilk faucht in þe wangard, seand his confideratt bruther in sik danger, come with ane cunpany of wailjeand knyghtis, and sett on þe Britonis fechtand formentis Congallus, quhilk thing maid þe Britonis 217 rycht astonyst. The Scottis, quhilkis war | neir wincust in þe myddilward, supportit in þis maner, ruschit with new curage on thair inymyis, and put þame to flicht. The Pichtis, seand þe victory inclyne to þame, ran to þe trynschis quhair þe Britonis host laye, and tuk thair ordinance that þe samyn suld be na

rescource to þame eftir, throw quhilk followit grete murdir be lang chaifis on þe Britonis, noch knawing quhair to fle; and becaus na place apperit quhair thai mycht be sauffitt, þai war randrit to Scottis and Pichtis. The twa confideratt kingis gaif all the spoulze and presoneris fre amang thair army, becaus þai faucht sa wailzeantlie þat daye, and went forthwart with thair victorius army to tak þe municionis and strenthis on þe bordouris. In this batall war slane xx^m Britonis, with Guitelyne, Prince of Walis, and mony vther nobill men of Britan, and of Scottis and Pichtis skairsly iiij^m.

(II. 27)

How Engest and Orsus come with x^m Saxonis in support of Britonis be desyre of Vortigern; of þair cruelteis done aganis Scottis and Pichtis; how Pichtis send to Scottis for support aganis Saxonis, and war disconnfist, and how Congallus, King of Scottis, was disconnfist be Saxonis on the samyn maner.

C viij

The Britonis, brokin with this displesouris, convenit quhair Vortigern wes at Loundoun to avise be quhat craft and ingyne this dangerous batall wes to be led aganis thair maist outrageous inymyis. Eftir lang consulta-cion, becaus na sikkir waye couth be devisit too deliuer þe pepill fra extreme danger appering, King Vortigern, nakit of counsale and havand sa mony aduersaris baith at hayme and on feild, tuke purpoß to leiff the land and to pas in sum vncouth partis, quhair he mycht eschew thir *present* displesouris. Nochþeles, quhen his frendis war aduerteist heiroyf, þai changit his purpoß, and thocht vnplesand þat he, degradit of sa hie dignite, suld wilfullie bring him self in derisioun of pepill, knawing na occasioun of displesour; throw quhilk he was deliuerit to abide the vther chance þat mycht fall, sen it was mair honest to be wincust in iust defence than to be victorius in wrang and tyranny. And pocht ane batall was tynt, 3ite thair suld na disperacioun follow, sen þair was riches and gold at fouth in Britan to hyre Franche men,

Almanis and Saxonis to fecht for Britonis, be quhilkis Scottis and Pichtis mycht be wyncust and doungin oute of Albion. For certane þair mycht be na sicht mair plesand, nor ȝite mair proffittable for þair *commoun* wele, þan to see þe cruell Saxonis, Scottis and Pichtis distroyand vther for þe liberte of Britan, for be this and na vther waye mycht þe cruelte of þair inymyis be dantit. Vortigern apprisit this counsale, and send incontinent ambassatouris with ane huge tresoure of gold in Almany to fee vageouris to defend thair realme aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis.

The samyn tyme wes among þe Saxonis twa brethir, namyt Hengest & Orsus, discendit of þe anciant blude of pat regeoun, richt wailȝeand in dedis | of armis, and desyrus of na thing
 (11.28) mair þan honouris. Thir twa brethir, herand the desyris of the ambassatouris, tuke wagis, and come in Britan with x^m wele exercit wailȝeand men. Vortigern ressaut þame þe mair plesandlye þat þai semyt to deliuer his pepill of þe hye danger appering to the samyn. And quhen he had re-
 vardit þame richelie, he causit the *commonis* to remane in thair campe and the nobillis to remane in þe townis, quhill þai wer refreschitt fra þair travaill and walking be þe seyis. Belyve twa armyis wer instruckit, ane of Saxonis and ane nothir of Britonis, to pas with grete ordinance aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis, and maid sik deligence that þai war passitt Humbyr afoir þair inymyis, gevin þat tyme mair to þair plesoure þan ony weirly besynes, wist of ony cuming of Saxonis in Albion. The Scottis and Pichtis duelling þan in þe Britonis landis war suddandlie effrayit, and knawing þame *nocht* of powere to resist sa gret ane army, fled within þe countre, and vtheris of þame war takin as presoneris. The Saxonis, traisting all thingis þe bettir to succeid gif þai gat þe first blude, slew all þe presoneris takin be þame but ony miseracioun of aige or estaitt, and *nocht* content of this murdir maid on Scottis and Pichtis betuix Humbyr & Tyne, went in þe Merß and Loudeane, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte be fyre and suerde on þe Pichtis landis, to mak þe Scottis nixt þame the mair facill praye. The Pichtis, richt abasit heiroyf, send ambassatouris to Congallus, King of Scottis, desiring him to

cum with all his power in haist to resist pair inymyis, quhilkis war *nocht* gaderit of þe febill Britonis bot of the maist cruell Saxonis, and *perfor* it was necessair othir to meit þame in haist, or ellis to be murderist with pair rageand cruelte. Skairslie was this message send to Scottis, quhen tythingis come that Britonis and Saxonis in arrayitt battall war *nocht* xl mylis fra Lovdeane, puttand þe cuntre to heirschip and slauchter. The King of Pichtis, impacient to suffir þe iniuris, assemblit his pepill with maist deligence, and met his inymyis but avise of Scottis. Hengest, quhilk was gouvernour of all þe army vnder Vortigern, arrayit þe samyn in sik maner þat he invadit the Pichtis with thre bataillis all at anys, quhairthrow followitt ane keyn bergane be Saxonis fechtand in maist cruelte be hortacioun of pair capitane Hengest, bot þe Britonis war sa astonyst þat þai *mycht* skairslye be haldin, for fere of Pichtis, in array. At last þe Pichtis, *oursett* be multitude of thair inymyis, war put to flicht. This day maid þe Saxonis mair reiosit þan Britonis, for Hengest beheld þat
 (II. 29) tyme þe Britonis fechtand mair febillie þan ony vther pepill, throw quhilk he tuke ferm purpoß in his mynde to conquest þame eftir þat Scottis and Pichtis war dongin oute of all boundis of Britan.

The Pichtis brokin, as said is, send pair secunde message to Congallus to schaw the huge slauchter maid on þame be cruelte of Saxonis, vncristin pepill and inymyis to God, and *perfor* to desyre support aganis þame with all deligence he *mycht*, gif¹ he had respect othir to þe wele of Scottis or Pichtis.
 219 Quhen þir ambassatouris had schawin to | Congallus þe cruelteis and slauchter maid on thame be þe Saxonis and Britonis, thai desyrit him and his nobillis to suffer *nocht* þe Pichtis, thair auld freyndis, to be *ourthrawin* with rageand fury of thair inymyis, and gif þai sa did, þe samyn cruelteis, slauchter and herschip sall haistelye fal on thame be thair inymyis, quhilkis laitlie has fallin to þe said Pichtis; throw quhilk it suld cum haistlye, bot gif pair inymyis war resistit in tyme, þat þe maist peceabill landis suld be herijt be fyre

¹ There is a hole in the paper between *mycht* and *gif*, obliterating the *t*, but the reading is certain.

and suerde of þair inmyis. Congallus, movit with the troubill appering na les to Scottis þan Pichtis, bad þair ambassatouris be of gude confort, debating þair inmyis the best way þai mycht quhill þe cummyng of his army, quhilk suld be with deligence. Than Congallus commandit all fensabill¹ persons within his realme to meit him at Cawder Wode þe xx day eftir with twa monethis vittalis vnder payn of deth. Be this edict he gaderit at þe daye affixitt xl^m men, strang and wele armytt at all devise, and come with þe samyn schort dayis eftir in his inmyis sicht, havand with him his confiderat freyndis þe Pichtis. Bot quhen his army saw þair inmyis of mair novmer, with gretare ordinance, þan evir þai saw afoir, þai fled in sindry partis to eschew the present danger. The confideratt kingis, knawing this, send þair capitanis to tak þe flearis, quhilkis war apprehendit and put to deth on iebaittis, to be exempill to vtheris of þair fleyng, throw quhilk þair fleing and all thair dredoure turnit in ire aganis þair inmyis.

Hengest, seand þe confideratt kingis in sycht, exhortit his army to fecht, saying be speciall favoure of goddis wes arrayit fornens þame the pepill quhilkis war sa lang perpetuall inmyis of Britan, quhairthrou þai mycht haif sufficient (II. 30) tyme to haue þair lyvis, þair riches and gudis at þair will, and na dredoure was to be had, bot all thingis sall happelie succede, becaus þai war to fecht iustlie aganis thair iniust inmyis, revaris and invasouris of vncouth realmez; for, safar as he had ony cognoscence be lang experience of bataill, þair fais suld nocht faill to geif bakkis sone eftir þai feyill þe bludy swerd of Saxonis and Britonis. Thir wourdis of Hengest movit þe Saxonis & Britonis to cum in grete corage of batall aganis þair inmyis, and þe confiderat kingis rasit þe spreit of thair cumpanyis with na leß exhortacioun þan did þe Saxonis, and sone eftir baith the armyis ionytt; quhen suddanly come on thame frequent schowris of arrowis and ganzeis, schott on every side, and eftir þat ruschitt to giddir with scharp swerdis, speris and byllis in maist hattrent; bot ȝite na party semytt to haif victory, quhill at last þe

¹ MS. *sensabill*.

Britonis, quhilkis faucht in þe wangard aganis Scottis, war
 put to flycht. Than suddanlye come ane huge schowre of
 haill, and obscurit þe ayir with na leß myrknes þan it had
 bene nycht, throw quhilk baith þe armyis war sa astonyst
 þat þai knew *nocht* quhethir it was best to fle or follow. In-
 continent þe Saxonis be sound of trumpett gaderit þame to
 220 giddir in ane knott to Hengest's standart. | Be than þe schoure
 was cessit, quhen þe Scottis and Pichtis, traisting thair inymyis
 wyncust, fell to þe chaiff of Britonis but arraye, and maid
 slauchter & spoulze in þair maist fury. Hengest, seyng the
 Britonis wyncust and þe confiderat pepill gevin to spoulze
 and slauchter but arraye, come with þe Saxonis arrayit in
 maist prudent ordoure of chevelry, and sauffit nothir Scottis
 nor Pichtis *quhilkis* mycht be ouretakin. This day was richt
 sorowfull to þe Scottis and Pichtis, and *nocht* plesand to þair
 inymyis, for þe maist part of all þe army of Britan wes slayn.

(II. 31) How xv^m Britonis send to þe bordouris fornens
 Scotland war distroit be þe weris of Scottis and
 Pichtis; how Hengest brocht ane new army of
 Saxonis in Britan, and faucht aganis þe Scottis &
 Pichtis, and of sindry chancis of batall following
 pereftir. Ca ix

Hengest, havand victory in þis maner, cessit fra forthar
 persecucion on þe confideratt pepill, to þat fyne þat
 sum inymyis suld remane aye to þe Britonis, to caus him
 to be þe mair autoreist; and that he mycht fynd þe
 mair occasioun to conques þe croun of Britan, as he was
 concludit to doo, he left þe landis betuix Twede and
 Tyne to Scottis and Pichtis, syne returnit with his victorius
 army to zork. And quhen he had ordourit his campe aganis
 the winter sesoun, he returnit to Wortigern at Loundoun,
 quhair he maid his orisoun afor þe nobillis assemblit at his
 instance, schawing be quhat extreme dangere and ieoparde
 he had wyncust¹ þe Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis dantit Britan

¹ MS. *wycust*.

sa mony ȝeris afoir ; nochtheles, consalit þame to send ane strang cunpany of armit men to the bordouris to resist þe fury of Scottis and Pichtis, quhilkis war deliuerit to revenge þe iniuris done be him ; forthir promittit to bring in Britan ane mair novmer of Saxonis aganis þe nixt summer, throw quhilk þe Britonis suld othir distroy þe Scottis and Pichtis, or ellis put þame oute of Albion, gif sik thingis war plesand to Britonis. Part of þe nobillis of Britan thocht þe cuming of Saxonis in þair realme suspicious, and dred þe thing þat come eftir, þat Saxonis suld bring sik ane multitude of pepill in þair landis þat othir þai suld distroy þair faith, or conquest þair realme. Nochþeles, becaus Hengest wes sa autorist, þai durst nocht regraitt þis oppynlye for displesour. Vtheris, rasit in vane esperance of bettir fortoun, apprisit þe counsale of Hengest, bot nane sa mekill as Vortigern, gevand him large thankis þat he had begunnyn batall with sik felicite to Britonis (II. 32) and damage to his inymys. And quhen he had revardit him richelie for his honest havingis and chevelry, he gaif to him þe haill charge of weeris vnder him in Britan, with fouth of money to provide his ordinance in quhat sort he list, sparand for na cost. Hengest, knawing þe myndis of þe princes be impulsoun of þair familiaris drawin in sindry purpoß, determyt to remane in continewall residence of courte, þat Vortigern 221 suld nocht be changit fra þat mynde be consale | of his nobillis. Eftir this King Vortigern send v^m Britonis to defend the bordouris, quhilkis war slayn eftir and distroyitt be continewall skarmusing of Scottis and Pichtis during þe wynter sesoun. Eftir this war send x^m Britonis, quhilkis was done be slycht of Hengest, þat, þe Britonis beand daylie waistit, þe realme mycht be þe mair facill praye to him quhen he thocht tyme. Nochþeles, the Britonis happynit litill bettir chance than þe first, for þai war distroyitt on the samyn maner, throw quhilk mony of þe inhabitantis fled within þe realme, and left the bordouris with vther rowmys waist. Sik thingis done, arryvit in Britan v^m Saxonis with thair wyiffis and childerin be commande of Hengest, amang quhom was Hengestis wyiff and Roxena his dochter, ane virgyn of incredibill bewte, and with þame x nobill men of Saxonis blude. Vorti-

gern, herand thir tythingis, rasit his spreitt with grete curage, traisting noch to remane in sicker peace in tymes cuming, bot als to ourethrow his inmyis in all partis. Nochpeles, mony of his nobillis war far different fra his mynde, havand na litill suspicioun of sa grete powere of Saxonis cumin in thair land, to pair grete manassing. Hengest, knawing pe cuming of his wyiff and dochter, went with besy paifs to pame, and zite he maid litill tary, bot returnit with maist deligence to the King, desyring ane part of landis, quhair his wyiff and childerin may remane to pe end of pe weeris, saying it wes noch pertenant to pe ordinance of chevelrie to haif wemen following pair army. Forthir, he had na litill admiracioun quhy pe Britonis wer displesit to haif pe Saxonis incressing with pame vnder ane fallowschip, sen pai had done sa mekill for thair commoun wele. Vortigern thocht his desyris noch to be refusitt, and perfor gaif him certane landis, namytt Towquhan Castell, liand in zork schyre. Sum autouris writtis, quhen he had gottin pe grant of als mekill land as he mycht circull aboute with ane bull hide, he schure it in maist subtile quhayngis, and circulit mekill land with the samyn.

(II. 33) In witnes heiroy pai saye Towquhane in pe langage of Saxonis is callit ane quhayng. Nochpeles, quhatsumevir waye that castell is callit Towquhayng,¹ treuth is pe Saxonis duelt first in pis place forsaide.

Quhen Hengest had gottin pir landis, as said is, he arrayit his folkis pe nixt summyr, and went forthwert with the samyn, abyding the army of Britonis, for Wortymere, pe son of King Vortigern, was cumand with ane grete cunpany of Britonis to concur with him in all chancis of batall. At last thir armyis mett to giddir bezond Humbir and Tyne, quhair thai belevitt to fynd thair inymeis for pe tyme. The Scottis and Pichtis, aduerteist of this huge ordinance cumin aganis thame with Hengest and Wortymere, come forthwart with lx^m men, and fand thair inmyis afoir thame at Tyne, quhilk thing was na litill impediment to pe confideratt pepill to invaid pair inmyis with sik besynes as pai devisit, for it was occasioun to persew pair inmyis pe maist properant waye pai mycht. Hengest,

¹ MS. *ane Towquhayng*, with *Tov* above the line.

knowing the Scottis and Pichtis in maist rageand fury at
 þair first assemblance and sopit be na thing mair þan lang
 tary, prolongitt þe bataill with all þe slychtis he mycht. Than
 happynnit betuix þe twa armyis to be ane waill full of moß
 and myris, quhilk was impediment to baith þe armyis to
 ioyne, kepand þair array in batall. The confideratt kingis,
 222 to putt | remede to þir impedimentis, and that þe curage and
 spreit of thair army suld nocht be lang tary decaye, commandit
 ilk man to wyn als mony scherettis on þe ground as he mycht
 (11. 34) bere, to mak ane gaitt throw the moß to assailze thair inmyis.
 Sik thingis done with maist crafty deligence, the confideratt
 kingis rasis thair army þe nixt morrow reddy to bataill, and
 becaus þai mycht nocht invaid thair inmyis but extreme
 dangere, þai come throw þe moß be ane quiete gaitt to þe hillis
 abon thair inmyis, quhair þai mycht cast down huge craggis
 on þair forsaid inmyis. The strenth of þir craggis gaif grete
 curage to þe Scottis and Pichtis, traisting þerthrow to troubill
 þer inmyis and put þame oute of array. Nochþeles, quhen
 þai saw þair arraye mycht na wayis be brokin, þai assalzeitt
 ane new slycht, and brocht þe nycht following ane huge multi-
 tude of hedder to þe face of þe crag fornens þair inmyis, and
 because þe samyn is of natur dry and takkis sone fyre, thai
 maid sindry faggottis þerof, and slang þame, quhen þai war
 blesand in fyre, oure þe crag, quhilkis war drevin sone be
 preiße of wyndis within þair inmyis campe, and maid þame
 richt effrait, becaus þe straa and stikkis quhair þai lay tuke
 fyre be þe samyn, and brynt mony pepill in þair army; throw
 quhilk raiße ane huge noyis and cry of bestiall, quhen þe
 fyre began to be mair bauld, and causit þe pepill in sindry
 partis to ryn to þe defence of thair trynschis, traisting þair
 inmyis cumand apon thame. Vtheris maid þame to quence
 þe fire, bot quhen þai saw þe samyn ay mair increße be rasing
 of straa and falling of þe hedder down on þame, the rerd of men
 and bestis raiße sa huge in the army, throw fere of þe low and
 smoyk vnder nycht, that all thair army wes effrayitt. And
 becaus na craft apperit to repreße þe samyn, the capitanis
 thocht bettir to ieoparde þame to vtter chance of fortoun þan
 to remane and be sa cowartlie brynt to deth. Incontinent thai

rasit þair campe and army, and come arrayitt to þe nixt planis reddy for batall. And quhen this Hengest had sayid sindry persuasionis to hald the army to giddir, and mycht na waye doo þe samyn, he gaderitt all þe Saxonis be sounde of trumpett to his standart, wele arrayitt on þe nixt moitt, abyding þe cuming of the daye. The Scottis and Pichtis, traisting þair inymyis brokin be þis effraye, left þe strenth of montanis quhair þai war, and come arrayitt to þe planys, reddy to fecht aganis thair aduersaris. Bot quhen þai saw þaim in gude arraye, þai supersedit þair purpoß quhill þe cuming of þe daye.

- (II. 35) The morow following Congallus exhortit his folkis to consider quhat gloir and honour bene conquest be¹ vertew and forsy dedis of thair eldaris, and desyrit þame to obscure nochit be þair recent sleuth the fayme of sa nobill campionis, quhilkis wan sa hie honoure for thair commoun wele, and to perseveir in ithand bergane, throw quhilk þai mycht haif victory, and eschew all schaymfull seruitude. On this vther syde, Hengest cessit nochit to persuaid his army to hie curage and spreitt, saying eftir þe victory of þair inymyis the residew of þair dayis suld nochit be impeschit with sik dangerous weeris, bot suld stand in sicker felicite. Skairslie war þir | wourdis sayid, quhen þe confideratt pepill ionyt with Britonis and Saxonis, and mad sik slauchter on thame þat þai had bene put to extreme desolacioun, war nochit Hengest be sounde of trumpaitt brocht iij^m fresche men oute of ane wode nochit far fra þe campe to þair rescourß. Thir fresche men come with sik vehement fury and noyiß apoun þe Scottis and Pichtis þat þai war na litill astonyst be the samyn, and 3it the troubill arraiß þe mair that euery ane of þame was impediment to vther in the weilding of þair wappynnys. Eftir this followitt diuerß chance of fortoun, for þe Pichtis be hye manhede and preiß of armys put þe Britonis, quhilkis faucht fornens þame, to flycht, and perseverit in sik furious raige of chaisß aganis þame þat mony of þame war drevin to eschaepe þair cruelte in þe nixt ryveir, quhair þai perissitt. Vtheris, takin be þe gaitt, war slayne. Bot þe Scottis, invadit on þis vther syde maist cruellie be Saxonis, eftir lang bergane wer finalie win-

¹ MS. *bene*.

cust, and huge novmer of þame slayne. Congallus, evill woundit, wes brocht oute of þe feild be his freyndis to þe nixt montanis. The Saxonis purposit to renew bataill aganis þe Pichtis, becaus þai war victorius on Britonis, bot þai cessit be cuming of nycht. The Pichtis, dredand to be invadit with Saxonis in þe nixt morow, gaderit þair gardewyanys, cofferis, cartis, wanys and all vther thingis quhilke mycht nocht be wele tursit for þe tyme, and put þame all in fyre, þat þe fuyme and reyk þerof mycht obscure þe ayir quhill þai war passit (II. 36) all danger of inmyis. Sik thingis done, þai returnit hayme with þe residew of Scottis quhilke¹ war left on live.

How Hengest brocht his son Occa with x^m Saxonis in Britan to resist the army of Ambrois and Vtter; how King Vortigern come to ane bankett with Hengest, and marijt Roxena his dochter. Ca x

The chance of batall falling in sindry wise, as said is, Hengest, seand inmyis appeir in na partis, began to nowmer his army, and fand maa than iiij^m Saxonis slayne, and returnit with þe residew thair of to 3ork, to be reddy aganis þe Scottis and Pichtis, gif þai list pretend ony new troubill aganis þe Britonis. And nocht lang eftir he returnit to Vortigern at Loundoun, to avise with þe nobillis of Britan concernyng the weris of Scottis and Pichtis. Vortigern ressaut him as protectoure of Britan fra þe iniure of thair aduersaris, and commandit him to vse þe townys, landis and riches of Britan at his plesoure, syne commandit publik playis and karoling to be vsit throw all partis of Britan, and processionis to be maid to geif loving to God for this excellent victory, and for the mair plesoure of Hengest licence was gevin to Saxonis to mak adoracioun to ydolis in thair etheyne manere.

The samyn tyme Vortigern gat tythingis that Ambrose and Vter, þe sonnys of King Constantyne, quhilke was slayn be Pichtis, war makand grete purvyance in Bertan3e to recover

¹ MS. *quhilke quhilke*.

þe crowun of Britan.¹ Vortigern wes richt effrayitt of þer tythingis, for he had ane prophecy that he suld be slayn be this Ambrois. Nochþeles, he inquyrit Hengest be quhat ingyne this army of Ambrose mycht be resistit. Hengest, richt glaid of his troubill, promittit to resist all the army of Ambrose and Vttere, gif he wald suffer þe Saxonis quhilkis war duelling in 3orkschire to cum to þe sey campe fornens
 224 France, and þe municionis and strenthis of þat | countre be
 (II. 37) deliuerit to þame, to resist Ambrosius and Vter quhen þai maid þame to land.

Sik thingis grantit and done, Hengest, desyring na thing mair than to haif þe Britonis vterly distroyitt, that þair realme mycht be alanerlie inhabit be him and Saxonis, fenzeit ane man of Almany, as he had bene ane Britoun, cum to Vortigern with dissimulit wourdis, saying he was laitlie cumin fra Loudean, quhair he saw na thing bot knychtis schynand in armoure, maist auffullie apparalit, with bardit curseris, trappit in þair weirly ordinance, reddy to batall, the trumpaittis soundand, the goldin stremaris reflexand aganis þe son, and, schortlye, all þe pepill of þat regeoun cumand with maist feris and terribill ordinance on the Britonis. This fenzeit Almane, quhilk was subornatt in þis wise, sayid to Hengest thair wes j^e 3oung wailzeand men sworne all of ane mynde to distroy him, and had na sicht to þair lyvis sua þai mycht bring þe samyn to purpois, becaus thai held him þe pillair of Britonis. Als, sindry of thir personis war cumin at þat samyn tyme to Londoun to execute þair myndis, and þerfor na place mycht be sovere to him, bot, quhen he belevit lest, sum of thir men sworn to þe effect forsaid sall ware thair lyvis on him. And þocht he eschaip ane, 3ite he behuffitt to abide þe chance of þe residew of þame, becaus þe Scottis and Pichtis² traistis, quhen he is slayn, to be deliuerit of all troubill. Vortigern, astonyst be this narracioun, inquyrit Hengest quhat wes to be done. Hengest maid him to appeir sa effrayit that he wist nocht quhat wes to be done. Nochþeles, certan Saxonis, quhilkis war instrukkit be Hengest afor, bad King Vortigern

¹ MS. *Bertan*, a partial correction from *Bertanze*.

² MS. *Scottis and Scottis*.

be of gude confort, for pocht he war invadit on every syde with inymyis, ȝite he suld be sover of Saxonis to defend him in all his weeris: "For the confideratt pepill, quhilkis has provin þe chance of batall, fechtand vnhappely aganis ws, sall nevir attempt ane thing mair to thair damage than to invaid thir þi pepill with iniuris, and provoik ws agane to bataill. And gif Ambrose and Vtter come, as is belevitt, with huge pepill on þe south partis of þi realme, siklike as þe confideratt pepill intendis to doo on þe north partis of þe samyn, than sall Occa, þe son of Hengest, quhilk is ane wailzeant knycht, and exercit in chevelry sen his first ȝouth, cum with ane new band of Saxonis, throw quhilk þou salbe sover of all invasioun that may follow on the and thi realme. For Occa sall resist the (II. 38) Scottis and Pichtis in þe north, and Orsus the army cumin with Abrosius oute of Bertanȝe, and Hengest sall remane with þe to keip thi nobill body fra tresoun of Britonis, gif ony of þame list, be favoure of Ambrosius, pretend rebelloun aganis þi autorite, be quhilk waye þou sall haif mery dayis, bot ony fere of inymyis."

Vortigern, knawing na vther waye apperand to dant his inymyis in all partis, becaus mony of þe nobillis of Britan hatit his maneris, maid grete instance to Hengest to send for his son Occa to cum haistlye in Britan with ane band of Saxonis to resist þair inymyis. Hengest, wirkand his purpoß with dissimulit mynde and slycht, maid him self to with-
 225 stand | the kingis desyris, saying it was irrecoverabill damage to haif baith him self & his son sa far distant fra þe gouernance of his landis and possessionis; nochtttheles, be lang instance of þe King and vther Britonis, quhilkis wer mair sett for þe Kingis will and plesoure þan for þe commoun wele, condescendit to his desyris. Ane schort tyme eftir Occa arrayvit in Northummerland with x^m Saxonis with þair wyiffis and childeryn, and satt down in þe samyn, reddy to fecht aganis all pepill þat wald invaid þame.

Hengest, knawing þe cuming of his son and this new army of Saxonis, desyrit King Vortigern to cum and se his wyiff, childeryn and frendis, quhilkis war reddy to all seruice and chargis as he wald commande, and sayid it suld rais þis army in grete curage, gif he wald doo þat honour, to decoir þaim with

his presence. Wortigerne, richt glaid of the cuming of this new band of Saxonis, condescendit to his desyris, howbeit mony of his nobillis wer richt hevvy and tuke na litill suspicioun þat sa huge novmer of Saxonis war cumin in Britan, as it apperit aganis þair commoun wele ; and come sone eftir with ane honest cunpany of Britonis to Towquhan Castell, quhair he was plesandlie ressauit, and festit with all maner of delyittis and plesouris þat mycht be devisit. In þe meyntyme Hengest gaif his besynes to prolounge þe bankaitt within the nycht, þat the King mycht be takin with þe wynys. Than Roxena, the dochter of Hengest, as scho was instruckit, went to the King with ane coupe full of wyne, and sayid, " I drynk this to þe." Wortigern drank mychtlie of þe coupe, and quhen he had embrasit hir in his armys, he set hir down nixt himself in þe bankett. Eftir lang commonyng with hir he fell in blynd raige of lust, quhilk thing wes noch't onlie occasioun to him (II. 39) eftir to doo adultery, bot als to tyne his crovun ; for incontinent, throw birnand raig of lust, havand nothir reuerence to þe law of God nor 3ite to þe band of matrimon3e afoir contractit wið his lauchfull wyiff, condescendit to mary this Roxena. And to haif his gude fader Hengest mair thankfull to him in all his besynes, he gaif him all þe landis of Kent, with castellis, towns and municionis fre pertenand thairto. Sone eftir þe Saxonis satt down in þe samyn with þair wyiffis and childerin, and put oute the auld inhabitantis þerof. And Wortigern returnit with his new qwene Roxena to Loundoun, and repudiatt his lauchfull wyiff.

How Vodyne, Bischop of Lundoun, with mony vther Britonis war slayne be cruelte of Saxonis ; how Hengest maid him self king of Kent, and did grete iniuris to þe inhabitantis thairto ; how Vortigerne was depriuut of his autorite, and his son Wortimer maid king.

Ca xj

The samyn tyme Vodyne, Bischop of Londoun, ane man of singular halynes, be impulsoun of Wortymere, went familiarly to Vortigern, schawing that he had noch't done

as ane Cristin prince, passing fra his lauchfull quene, takand
 226 ane ethayn woman | to his queyn, quhais fader Hengest was
 sett with deliuerit mynde to conquess þe croun of Bretan.
 Als, it was nocht lesum to Cristin men to mary ethyne pepill,
 and sen he had sa done, he suld haif sone experience quhat
 damage suld follow be the samyn, and nocht onlie distroye þe
 Cristin faith in Britan, bot als transfer þe nobill realme of
 Britan, quhilk was brocht hayill to his dayis, in ane vncouth
 blude. To thir wourdis ansuerit Vortigern, "I haif failzeit,
 and was nocht prudent quhen I brocht Saxonis first in Britan,
 quhilkis had sik respect to þe croun, bot I semytt mair impru-
 dent quhen I was takin be immoderatt lust of his dochter
 (II. 40) Roxena, for I know wele þe end of my empire salbe terribill,
 bot gif my offence be þe mair haistelie reparit to God. And
 þerfor, safar as I maye, I sall put remede thairto." Hengest,
 herand þe sovnde of his lamentabill regraitt, come in þe secrete
 chalmer quhair he was, and reprevitt him that he maid sik
 hevvy chere, in þe tyme of his dochteris mariage, be persuasioun
 of ane prophane man of fenzeit lyfe; incontinent tuke þis
 haly Bischop Vodyne and vtheris preistis with him for the
 tyme, and slew þame cruellie, and, nocht content þerof, socht
 Wortymere in þat samyn maner to þe deth. Wortymere,
 knowing pair evill mynde aganis him, fled quhair he thocht
 expedient.

Eftir this Hengest send secrete writingis to his son Occa,
 commanding him to abstene fra all iniuris of Scottis and
 Pichtis, suffering þaim to ioiis peceabillie all þe landis be 3ond
 Tyne, providing all wayis þat þe municionis and strenthis
 betuix Tyne and Humbyr be wele garnyst with strang soidiouris
 and all ordinance effering thairto; als, commandit him to
 fynd sum vane occasioun, & to slaa all the nobillis of þe
 cuntre quhair he was, and to haif sik respect to þe commoun
 wele of Saxonis that Britan mycht cum vnder þair empire.
 Occa, knowing þe mynde of his fader, tuke first 3ork with mony
 vther strenthis and municionis of þe cuntre, and, as his fader
 devisit, slew mony of þe nobillis of þe cuntre be fenzeit causis.
 And quhen he was accusit be Wortigern quhy he did sik
 cruelteis on his nobillis, he ansuerit, as he was instruckitt be

his fader, that þir nobillis, quhilkis war slayne, war inmyis to þe King, becaus he had Saxonis in mair reuerence þan Britonis, and thocht to haif randrit ȝork with mony vther grete strenthis and municionis of Britan to þe Scottis and Pichtis, wer noch he put remede þe mair haistelie thairto. Als, þe boundis of Britan gevin to his keping had nocht bene governit prudentlye, gif þe samyn had noch bene purgit of þame quhilkis war aduersaris to þair wele, for sik doing suld cum eftir to þe grete proffitt of þe King and honour of his realme.

The iniuris of Saxonis, ilk day mair increasing aganis Britonis, maid Vortigern na litill commovit, and þe mair þat he considerit þame daylie sekand occasioun to conquess his realme; and quhen he couth fynd na sikkir remede aganis þe said
(II. 41)
227 toun. Sum of his familiaris gaif him | counsale to dant þe cruelte of Saxonis quhill he ¹ mycht doo the samyn but pley, in aventure þe Britonis, brokin be þair iniuris, war brocht to sik calamite þat þai mycht nothir haif sufficient pyssance to distroy þair inmyis, nor ȝite to defend thair realme. King Vortigerne, havand þe Britonis in na less suspicioun þan þe Saxonis, becaus he was odious to þame baith, supersedit to attempt this grete mater for certane dayis, throw quhilk it happymit that þe Britonis, brokin with intollerabill iniuris, sustenit mair cruelte of Saxonis þan evir þai did of ony inymijs afoir. For few placis war in all Northummyrland clene but murdir of Britonis, or but defloring of virgynnis, nunnys and matronis, bot all oppressit be tyranny of Saxonis. Abone þir skaithis come vthers mair odius, for Hengest left King Vortigern, and come to þe residew of his Saxonis at Kent, quhair he namyt him self king of Kentt, and maid his generall edict, chargeand all Britonis to pas oute of þe samyn within ane schort day vnder payne of dede. The day byrunnyn, he slew baith commonis and nobillis, but ony favour, mercy or ranson, throw quhilk þe cruelte of Saxonis ragit sa hye that all kirkis and sanctuarijs of Kent was suspendit with Cristin blude. The nunnys & religious women war takin be force oute of þair

¹ MS. þe : correction from A.

abbayis, and constranyt to mariage or pollucioun of pair bodyis.

The lordis of Britan, *commovit* be thir importabill iniuris, maid ane convencioun at Loundoun, quhair þai reprevit Vortigern richt sair that he put þe Saxonis on his secrete counsale, knawing þame bot ane ethyine pepill, and brocht in Britan, nocht to sustene þe governance of þe realme, bot onlye for pair weeris ; attoure, has richit þaime with landis, rentis and autorite, in destruccioun of all his realme, and *nocht* only repudiatt his wyiff iniustlye, bot als, aganis þe institucionis of þe Cristin faith, marijt ane woman of þe ryte of Gentillis. Thairfor, becaus he had *deseruit* þe hattrent of God be sindry abhominabill cruelteis falling in þe realme be his foly and neglegence, exponyng baith pair pepill and *commoun* wele to extreme dangere, the nobillis heirfoir degradit him of all autorite, and send him in Walis, quhair he remanit mony ȝeris eftir in presoun. And that þai suld *nocht* be withoute ane hede, thai maid his son Wortymere king.

(II. 42)

How Scottis and Pichtis, confideratt with King Wortymere aganis þe Saxonis, disconnfist Occa in Northummerland ; how Hengest and Occa war vyncust in Kent, and dongin oute of Britan ; how King Wortymere was slayne be pounsoun, and Vortigern restorit to the croun.

Ca xij

Wortymere, maid king in this maner, thocht na thing sa honorabill as to invaid þe Saxonis, inymyis of God, be strang batall, and to doo þe samyn þe bettir, send ambassatouris to þe confideratt kingis, quhilkis had þe Saxonis in maist hatrent, schawing þe iniuris done to þame be Saxonis procedit onlie be King Wortigern, but ony avise of his nobillis. For þocht Saxonis war richit with landis and rentis be Vortigern, ȝite all þe nobillis of Britan wes inymyis to þame, knawyng pair myndis sett to vtter exterminioun of pair realme and
 228 liberte, as | apperit wele be thair cruell dedis exercit laitlie to na les blasphemacioun of God þan martirdome of Cristin

pepill. And becauſſ thir and mony vther¹ importabill iniuris war *cumin* be neglegence of Vortigern, assistair to thair opinioun, the nobillis hes degradit him of autorite, and maid Wortymere his son king, quhilk hes maid grete ordinance to expell þe Saxonis be force of bataill oute of Albioun; desyring heirfor þe confideratt kingis to forȝett all iniuris and concur with þame to resist þe trouble, quhilk *nocht* onlie apperis to þame bot to all pepill within þe ile of Albion; and promittit, gif þai wald support þe Britonis in þis extreme dangere, to geif þe landis be ȝond Humbyr, but ony pley, in tymes *cuming*, to thair perpetuall empire, with consent of all þe nobillis and *commonis* of Britan. Congallus, King of Scottis, herand thir offeris, sayid to thir ambassatouris, he vnderstude wele in quhat danger þe realme of Britan stude be tresoun of Saxonis, inymyis to Cristin faith, and wes richt sary thairof, knowing na thing bettir, gif þai wer noch resistit in tyme, innumerabill *dammage* suld follow, to the exterminioun of þair realme and

(II. 43) Cristin faith. And thairfor, houbett þe Britonis has bene grete inymyis to his pepill, ȝite to mak his laboure manifest for the *commoun* wele of Britan and heill of Cristin faith, he suld raiſſ his army, and concur with þame aganis Saxonis to þe deth, sua þat peace wer ratifijt in sik maner amang thair pepill, that all debaittis mycht cesſſ, and the landis be ȝond Humbyr nevir to be reclamytt in tymes *cuming* be þe Britonis. Thir ambassatouris, depeschitt with siklyke ansuer of Pichtis, returnit agane to Wortymere and þe nobillis of Britan.

Incontinent þe band of peace was ratifijt amang þe Britonis, Scottis and Pichtis, as wes desirit. Sone eftir grete ordinance of batall was maid aganis þe Saxonis in all partis. Sone eftir the Scottis and Pichtis come with maist hattrent aganis þe Saxonis duelling betuix Humbyr and Tyne. Bot quhen þai had gevin thair vtter besynes to wirk maist cruelte aganis Saxonis, castand doun þe municionis & strenthis laitlie beildit be Saxonis, thai persavit Occa cumand *with* displait banner aganis þame. Occa, seand his inymyis appeir of sik strenth and multitude þat he mycht *nocht* geif þame weill ane feild, wist *nocht* quhatt wes to be done; nochþeles, þat lang tary

¹ MS. *vthe*.

suld nocht febill þe courage of his men, maid ane signe be sounde of trumpatt to ioyne. The first meting was equally fochtin on all sydis, bot sone eftir þe Saxonis, noch of pyssance to sustene the grete multitude of Scottis and Pichtis, wer put abak, and finalie disconnfist. Occa stoppit þair fleynge, safar as he micht, sum part be boist, sum part be respect of honouris, bot 3ite þe fere of deth, mair pissante amang abasit pepill þan charge of capitane, maid thair disconfitoure patent. Occa, seand na way to eschaep, fled to the mouth of Humbyr, quhair he gatt ane bait, and come to Tamys with few novmer of personis with him sauffit on þe samyn maner. The Scottis and Pichtis vsit þe victory with sic cruelte þat na Saxonis war sauffitt quhair þai mycht be apprehendit, for ilkane of þame maid hortacioun to vther to revenge þe iniuris done sa lang aganis God and man.

229 Ane schort tyme eftir King Wortymer, richt desirus | to recover the liberte of his realme, rasit þe banner of þe Croce, and commandit all Cristin pepill to follow the samyn, throw quhilk he had lxxx^m armit men, als wele of preistis and religious men as of temporall estatis, and be þe samyn slew (II.'44) x^m Saxonis, and gat sa huge victory of þame þat Kentschyre returnit to Britonis and þe landis betuix Humbir & Tyne to Scottis and Pichtis. Hengest, brocht oute of þe feild with his son Occa, quhilk was laitlie cumin to him afoir þe batall, fled with þe residew of thair army in Northummerland, with purpos to reman thair quhill new powere come to þame oute of Almany. Nochpeles, þai war dongin oute of þe samyn be force of Scottis and Pichtis, & fled to þe mouth of Humber, quhair thai fand schippis, and returnit with certane nobillis of þat samyn blude in Saxony.

King Wortymere wes sa mercifull eftir his victory þat he wrocht litill cruelte on þe remanent Saxonis, quhilkis war takin presoneris, bot sufferit þame to return in þair avne countre, and vtheris, quhilkis wer bot commonis, sufferit to remane in Kent with thair wyiffis and childerin in bondage, and sufferit Roxena, becaus scho was grete with child, to reman in þe Towre of Londoun but ony iniuris; syne sett his ingyne to purge all heresijs brocht in his realme be thir Saxonis, and to

repair þe kirkis laitly bet doun be þame. For sindry Britonis war constranit be cruelte of Saxonis to mak sacrificis to ydolis, and mony of þame fell agane in heresijs of Pelagius. And þerfor, to purge Britan of sic errouris, war send in Britan oute of France twa haly bischoppis, Germanus and ¹ Lupus, be desyre of King Wortymer, throw quhilk all Britonis quhilkis war fundin makand sacrifice to þe Devill war slayne or banyst þe realme. Eftir this ane convencioun wes maid at Londoun, quhair lang disputacioun was betuix þe bischoppis and þe heretykis of Pelageanis errouris, bot at last þir heritykis war convikit, and sa mony as wald noch be abiurit, nor revoik þair errouris, war brynt.

Wortymere, recoverand þus þe realme of Britan, and bringand þe samyn to þe sikkir faith, levit certane ȝeris eftir, richt plesand to God and his subdittis, bot at last he was poysonit be Roxena and certane vþeris nobillis of Britan (II. 45) applauding to hir ² opinioun. Eftir his deth ane convencioun wes sett at Londoun, quhair þe nobillis tuke lang consultacioun quethir Wortigern suld be takin oute of presoun, and restorit to þe crowne, or the sonnys of Constantyne to be brocht oute of Bertanȝe to succede to the crowne, sen þai war maist native þerto. Sum personis allegit that he wes penitent of all thingis done be him aganis þe commoun wele, havand experience quhat damage has fallin in tymes bigane be his negligence & vnbridillit lust, and þerfor allegit, sen he was richt prudent & vnbrokin with travaill and weeris, he suld be restorit to þe croun; for he had na thing in mair hattrent þan tresoun of Saxonis, and als had grete experience how þe realme suld be governit, specialye in sik extreme dayngere as þan apperit to 230 þe samyn, baith be Britonaris of Bertanȝe and | Saxonis. And þerfor he was maist habill to sustene þir chargis, gif he war suorn neur to admit ony vncouth blude in Britan to sustene þair weris, and to invaid þe Saxonis with all maner of violence, gif þai returnit in Albion. As to þe sonnys of Constantyne to be brocht oute of Bertanȝe to succed to þair faderis crowne, þai thocht sik thingis nocht proffittabill, becaus

¹ MS. omits *and*.

² MS. *his* : correction from A.

þai wer ȝoung, havand na knowlege of weris, and þerfor war nocht habill to sustene grete chargis aganis sa mony inmyis appering to thame in all partis. For þe Franche men, quhilkis had laitlie conquest France, and richt desyrus to conquess ma realmeȝ, war confideratt with þe sonnis of Constantyne and vtheris þe Bertonaris, abyding nocht bot ane sufficient occasioun to cum in Britan to invaid the samyn with siklyke iniuris and titill of conquest as þe Saxonis wald doo; throw (II, 46) quhilk þe cuming of King Constantins sonnis in Britan wes na less suspicious þan of Saxonis, and suld be equally refusit, gif þai list þais þe mater as it suld be. Vtheris thocht it richt suspicious to þe nobillis to restoir him to þe croun quhom þai degradit be þer autorite and put in presoun, throw quhilk it mycht happin þat all þai quhilkis war of þat opinioun suld othir be slayn at his returnyng, or ellis exilit þe realme. Bot ȝite þis last opinioun was reieckitt be vniuersaill votis of all þe nobillis, saying Vortigern was ane sobir man, vnmyndfull of iniuris, and desyrand erar to amend þe crymes done be him self aganis þe wele of his subdittis than to revenge ony iniuris done to him, nocht vnknawand how proffittabill all þai nobillis wer for þe commoun wele, quhilkis exonerit him of þe autorite and gaif it to his son Wortymere as mair abill for the samyn.

Eftir this counsale Vortigern was takin oute of presoun, and restoritt with grete solempnite to his croun, and nocht onlie remittit all offensis and hattrent quhilkis he tuke aganis his nobillis quhen þai degradit him of autorite, bot als ressauit thame with grete beneuolence, and revardit þame richelye; syne maid huge cost on soidiouris to keip þe strenthis & munionis of his realme aganis all auentouris that mycht fall, and held grete ordinance of weermen aboute him, with na less expens and cost þan he had bene to fecht instantlie with his inmyis, and behavitt him sa prudentlie þat baith þe nobillis and commonis wist nocht be quhat beneuolence, honour and plesouris þai mycht serve him. Eftir this he send his ambassaturis to Scottis & Pichtis, and renewitt the peace with þame in þat samyn maner as it wes maid afoir be Wortymere his son.

How Hengest and Occa, returnyng in Britan with ane huge multitude of Saxonis, slew mony of þe nobillis of the samyn be tresoun, and tuke King Vortigern presonere; how Vortigern was banyst in Walis, and Hengest maid king of Britan, and of grete cruelteis done be Saxonis to Britonis.

Ca xiiij

Quhill Wortigerne wes gevin to sik besynes, tythingis come þat Hengest wes arryvit at Tamys, and come on land, havand with him his son Occa and his twa
(II. 47) | brethir with incredibill multitude of Saxonis, doying
231 na iniuris nor offence to þe inhabitantis of þe cuntre. Wortigern, astonyst of þe appering dammage to his pepill be cuming of Saxonis, commandit þe nobillis of Britan to meit him haistelie with all þair powere at Kent to withstand Hengest, quhilk wes cumin with huge powere of armyt men, othir to subdew the cuntre, or ellis to put the samyn to herschip, quhais cruelteis beand *nocht* haistelie repressit, na sickir lyfe mycht be to his pepill. The princes of Britan, herand thir tythingis, come haistely to Wortigerne with all fensabill pepill vnder þair boundis. Hengest, knawing þe myndis of all þe princes of Britan movit be extreme hattrent aganis him, thocht *nocht* expedient for þat tyme to geif þame playn batall, becaus þai war deliuerit to fecht for defence of thair realme and liberte to þe deth, throw quhilk he mycht *nocht* haif victory but huge murdir of his pepill. For thir ressonis he sett him to doo the thing be slycht quhilk he mycht *nocht* attempt be force of armyis, and first send ambassatouris to Wortigern, saying he wes *nocht* cumin in Britan to defraude his gudeson Vortigern, quhilk wes¹ maist dere to him of euery thing in erde, nor ȝite to defraude þe ȝoung infant gottin on Roxena his dochter, bot erare to support þame baith, and to puneis þame, gif it war his pleserr, quhilkis slew þat nobill prince, King Wortymere, be poyesoun, and to sauff Vortigern þat he be *nocht* distroyitt be siklike tresoun. Attoure, he was

¹ MS. omits *wes*.

aduerteist that his gudeson Wortigern was sa pynit be lang incarceration þat he mycht noch leyff ane zere, and *perfor* was cumin to keip his nepott vndefraudit of þe crowne. Noch-þeles, gif sik thingis war noch plesand, he suld return agane in Saxone, or ellis remane quhair þai plesit, sa þai wald suffer his army to cum in Kent, noch to reiois þe samyn, bot alanerlie to tak þe gudis and insicht quhilkis þai left behynd þame at þair departing; and forthir desyrit King Vortigern, gif it war plesand, to assigne day and place conuenient to intercommoun apoun thir and vther hyar materis concernyng perpetuall amite, frendschip and peace betuix Saxonis & Britonis. And gif þai list sett þis daye, he suld cum to þe samyn with sa mony as þai thocht neydfull, armyt or vnarmytt at þair plesour.

- (II. 48) Quhen þe nobillis had takin consultacioun certane dayis quhethir his desyris suld be ansuerit or refusit, sindry of þe nobillis, knowing be lang experience his slychtis, belevitt noch bot huge tresoun hyd vnder his dissaitfull wourdis, and *perfor* thocht þe samyn to be refusit. Vtheris, dredand the ferocite and manhede of Saxonis, þat Britonis, sa oft brokin with þir weeris, suld noch suffir new affliccioun, concludit to meitt his gyle and falssett be siklike slychtis, havand na confidence in his wourdis, bot to laboure *with* all deligence, ingyne & besynes thai mycht to cauß him & þe Saxonis haistly to depart owte of Britan with amite and frendschip, and to spair nothir labour nor expensis to bryng this to purpoß; and gif he wald noch depart *with* beneuolence, to invaid him in þe maist strang waye þai mycht, and to expell him be force of batall owte of þair rowmes; and *perfor* devisit ane cunpany of maist forsy and wailþeand men to be haldin reddy aganis quhatsumeuer auentoure þat mycht fall, quhill þai saw to quhat purpoß or fyne his mynde was deliuerit. Als þe meting of
- 232 Vortigern with Hengest to intercommon | of certane hye materis, as he devisit, wes honest, sa þai mett fra þair armyis with equale cunpany on all sydis but wappynis. Mony of the nobillis condiscendit to þis last opinioun, trastyng fra Hengest had ressavitt þe gudis left behynd him in Kent at

his last departing, and beand revardit be þe King, to depart oute of Britan with beneuolence. 3ite sindry vther princes of Britan mycht *nocht* be satisfyitt in þair mynde, suspeckand ay sum hyd tresoun vnder þir desyris of Hengest, becaus he was *cumin* in Britan with sa grete power. Nochþeles, þe x day eftir was finaly sett to Hengest & Vortigern, sworn to cum with xxx of þe maist nobillis of baith þair armyis and na maa, but ony swerde or dagare in þair cunpany, to intercommoun on all materis to þe effect forsaid.

The place quhair þai convenit was *nocht* far fra Sarisbury on ane hyll callit Ambry. And quhen þai wer *cumin* to þe samyn, as wes devisit be Hengest, ilk Saxoun had ane dagare hid vnder his sleiff, to slaa þe nobillis of Britan. And at þair maist ernyst commonyng Hengest maid ane signe to þe Saxonis, and thai, but ony tary, slew all þe nobillis of Britan that come to this convencioun, except ane, namyt Heldolus, quhilk (II. 49) pullit ane dagare fra ane of þe Saxonis, with þe quhilk he slew sindry of þe Saxonis, and deliuerit him self owte of þair handis. Be þis tresoun King Vortigern was takin, and brocht schaymfully to þe army of Saxonis. Hengest, deliuerit on this maner of all fere of inmyis, come to Kentt. The remanent Britonis, richt astonyst of his *cumyng*, and commovitt of þe tresonabill slauchter of þair nobillis, eftir pettous lament maid þame with maist hattrent to revenge þis tressonabill dissait of Saxonis; nochþeles, seyng na man habill to tak þe charge on hand, supersedit þair purpoß, and returnit hayme *with* grete displeoure in þair myndis. Vortigern, traisting daylie to dee be cruelte and mannessing of Saxonis, to deliuer him of þe present dangere randrit to Hengest all þe municionis & strenthis of Britan, *with* huge tresour of gold and siluer. And quhen he was deliuerit of bondage be þis waye, he come with þe residew of þe nobillis, *commonis*, wyiffis and childeryn in Walis, quhair all þe pepill discending of þe Britonis blude mony 3eris eftir succedit. All þe remanent landis of Britan 3eid than vnder þe empyre of Saxonis. The vail3eand dedis of Hengest schawin in Saxoun causit ane multitude of pepill to cum in Britan, of gretar novmer þan afoir, with *commonis*, wyiffis and childryn,

to inhabitt þe land, throw quhais cuming Hengest grew of sik pyssance þat þe Britonis war of na power in compair of Saxonis in Britan.

Then Hengest, seand Vortigern put fra þe crovn and banyst in Walis, as said is, to stabill þe realme to him sett ane convencion of Saxonis in Londoun, and maid him king; syne commandit þe cuntre nevir to be callit in tymes cuming þe realme of Britonis, bot þe realme of Saxonis; throw quhilk þe realme wes callit Hengest Land and þe pepill Hengest men, bot now, be corrupcioun of langage, þe realme is callit England and þe pepill Inglis men. Be þe samyn decrete it wes commandit þat na Britonis suld be fundin oute of Walis within
 233 xx dayis eftir þe proclamacioun, vnder payn | of deth; siklyke þat na man suld leif on þe faith of Crist, or to doo ony cerymonis eftir þe ryte of Cristin pepill, vnder þe samyn payne. The day byrunnyn, vndemous murdir and punycioun wes maid on all þame quhilk wer repugnant to þair proclamacioun. The prelaittis war slayn at þe altair, the kirkis brynt, and,
 (II. 50) as Sanct Bede sayis, baith þe publicc and privaitt housis war bett doun to þe soill be iniure of Saxonis. And ȝite ane thing wes mair miserabill: na men durst berye þe dede Cristin pepill, for cruelte of Saxonis. Mony miserabill Britonis wer takin in þe montanis, sekand þair fude, and but ranson, favoure or mercy slayne. Vtheris offerit þame self to perpetuall seruitude of Saxonis. Vþeris fled oute of þe countre. Vþeris abaid still in Britan amang þe disertis and montanis of þe samyn, ay in fere of þair inmyis. The Saxonis, havand Britan conquest on þis maner, garnyst þe municionis and strenthis of þe samyn in all partis, and vsit þe curst rytis of paganis, aberrand fra þe trew faith, makand adoracioun to ydolis, as þai wer institute in þair first errouris, throw quhilk þe kirkis, sum tyme had in reuerence amang Cristin pepill, with þe blude of þair cursit sacrifice war defowlit. And þat þair inmyis suld nocht invaid þame vnprovisitlie, þai laid strang garesoun of armyt men on þe bordouris in all partis of þair realme, and brocht ilk day new pepill oute of Almany to expell þe Scottis and Pichtis oute of þe landis betuix Humbir and Tyne.

How Wortigern demandit Merlyne of þe end of his empire ; off Merlynes ansuere ; how Ambrose and Vter come in Walis, and brynt Wortigern with his son and his riches ; and of sindry illusionis of devillis.

Ca xiiij

Wortigerne, spoulzeit of his crowne, and seying his inymyis appeir baith at hayme and feild, becaus þe Saxonis and Franche men hatit him nales þan Britonis, wexit heirfor *with* grete displesouris, and disparit for his corruppit lyiff to haue support of God or mortail creaturis to recover his realme, sett his ingyn to necromancy and wichecraft, as þe vse is of disparit pepill, quhen na remedy semys contrair þair extreme displesoure, and send for ane prophete, namyt Merlyne, (II. 57) quhom he demandit to schaw þe end of his empire and lyfe. This Merlyne wes gottin, as þe faym wes, be *commixtioun* of ane devill in forme of man with ane lady of Britan, and wes accustomyt be incantacioun and necromancy to raiff evill spreittis, throw quhilkis he had experience of sindry thingis to cum. Merlyne, brocht on this maner to Wortigerne, and demandit amang mony vther thingis quhat suld be þe end of his weeris, gif þe crowne of Britan suld be recoverit agane to Britonis, quhat suld be þe end of him and his sonnys, or gif ony of his blude suld regne behynd him in Britan, or gif he suld haif ony skaith be weeris of Franche men : Merlyne, 234 demandit of þir questionis, ansuerit | that Wortigern and his childerin within schort tyme suld be wyncust be Ambroiß & Vter, sonnys of Constantyne, and brynt with all his tresoure and gudis.

This prophecy of Merlyne was wele provin in þe end of his empyre, for sone eftir þe said Ambrosius and Vter come owte of Bertanþe to Walis, with ane grete army, to reveng þe slauchter of King Constancius, þair bruther, quhilk wes slayne be dissait of þe said Vortigern, quhilk, havand litill confidence in the prophecy of Merlyne, assemblit all his power haistelye, and come *with* arrayit hoist aganis Ambrose and Vter, levand behynd him his son with ane huge tresoure of gold in ane

castell of Walis; traisting, gif he suld pereiß, mair honest to dee fechtand in batall aganis his inymyis þan ony *vþer* wayis. Skairslie wer þe armyis ionyt, quhen mony of þame quhilkis focht in þe wangard of Wortigernys army come to Ambroiß, throw quhilk þe victory succedit to him. Wortigern, seyng his army vyncust, raif of his coitt armour, and faucht with incredibill constance to haif deit amang þe *commonis*, that he mycht eschew þat fatall necessite of deth schawin to him afoir be prophecy of Merlyne. Nochþeles, he was brocht owte of þe campe be force of freyndis, in hoipe of bettir fortoun, to þe samyn castell quhair his son and tresoure wes left afoir þe batall. Ambrose, havand victory on this wise, followitt on Wortigern, and beltit þe castell quhair he wes with strang seyge. And becaus he mycht *nocht* tak þe samyn haistelye, þat his army suld *nocht* be in danger throw lang
(II. 52) tary, he brocht huge sillis and treis oute of þe nixt wode, syne fillit þe fowseis and trynschis of þe said castell with þe samyn, eftir this slang birnand fagottis with huge multitude of treis within þe castell; throw quhilk þe fyre grew sa bald þat þe castell and all þat wes in it brynt, and wes resolut in powder, according to þe prophecy of Merlyne.

Too declair quhat prophete þis Merlyne wes, gottin be þe devill, as the fayme wes than, or gif sik generacioun be possibill to nature, pertenis litill to purpos quhilk we tuk on hand be this history. *Nochtþeles*, becaus we ar falling in sik *commonyng* of sik detestabill conuersacioun of devillis with þe nature of man, we will *nocht* paß dry fute, bot write sum thingis quhilkis happyⁿnit noch lang afoir þe making of þis buke. The 3ere of God j^m iiij^c lxxxvj 3eris, certane marchandis war passand betuix Forth and Flandris, quhen haistelye come sik ane thud of wynd that saill, mast & takillis war blawin in þe brym seyis, throw quhilk the schip belevit *nocht* bot sikker deth. The patrone *perof* astonyst with sa huge and vncouth tempest aganis þe sesoun of þe 3ere, becaus it was aboute Sanct Barnabais Daye, quhen þe sey apperis mair cawme than rageand, and *perfor*¹ traistit þe samyn erar *cumin* be vaching

¹ A. and printed text omit *and perfor*, thus improving the grammar.

of þe devill, þe inmye of man, þan be violence of wedder. In
 þe meyntyme þe voice was hard of ane woman in þe howie of
 235 þe | schip, wareand hir self, for þat samyn instant houre scho
 was conversit with ane devyll in ymage of ane man, quhilk
 had vsit hir in þat samyn maner mony 3eris afoir, and þerfor
 besocht þe pepill to cast hir in þe seyis, that be þe deth of hir
 the remanent pepill in þe schip mycht be sauffitt. Than, be
 commande of þe patron, ane preist went to hir in that hevvy
 chere, commanding hir to mak confessioun of hir abhominabill
 (II. 53) lyfe, and to haif confidence in God, be quhais mercy all synnys
 ar purgitt quhen þe synnair has repentance and teeris. Quhen
 this woman wes makand hir confessioun with grete repentance
 to þe preist in sycht of all þe pepill, ane vgly cloude with ane
 crak of fyre and reyk flew oute of þe schip, and fell down with
 ane vennimois odoure in þe seyis. Sone eftir þe tempest
 cessit, and þe merchandis come to þe port quhar þai desyrit,
 but ony forthar troubill.

Nocht lang afoir this, in ane toun of Gareoch, ane 3oung
 cheild of grete bewte complenit to þe Bischop of Abirdene
 þat he was infestit lang tyme be ane devill in forme of
 woman, apperandlie þe fairest creature þat evir he saw in
 his lyfe, quhilk come to him quhen durris and windois
 bene closit, and tyistit him be voluptuous braissing to hir
 plesoure, syne departit at þe brek of þe daye but ony noyis ;
 and pocht he had assail3eit mony wayis, 3ite he couth nocht
 be exoneratt of hir. The Bischop, astonist of þis vncouth
 fantasy, commandit þis 3oung childe to resort him in sum
 vther place, and to be mair fervent in fasting and prayer þan
 he was afoir, quhairthrow it mycht happin þat þe devill mycht
 be wincust, and leiff him in tymes cuming. And as þe Bischop
 devisit, sa it come eftir to þis 3oung man, and was exoneratt
 be þat samyn maner of þis illusioun.

Aboute þat samyn tym happynit ane thing nocht vnlike
 þir illusionis afoir rehersit. In þe land of Mar, as it was schawin
 to ws be sindry þat saw the samyn, ane wenche of nobill
 blude and excellent bewte, eftir that scho had refusit þe mariage
 of mony nobill men, fell in abhominabill conversacioun with

þe Devill. Hir freyndis, seyng hyr wame ryiß, demandit hir to schaw þe fulȝear of hir chaistite, to quhom scho ansuerit that ane lusty cheyld, as apperit, vsit to cum to hir in þe nycht, and sum tyme in þe daye, howbeit scho wist *nocht* how he come nor how he departit. Hir freyndis, rycht desyrous¹ to know þe mater, as scho revelit, war aduerteist at last be þe madin þat lay in hir chalmer þat þe deflorair of this wenche was cumin, and þai come incontinent *þerfor* with grete lycht of torches and candillis to þe bed quhair scho was liand, and (II. 54) fand ane maist terribill monstyr liand in hir armys. And *nocht* only þaj bot mony vther ran to see þis schaymfull sycht, amang quhom wes ane preist of gude lyiff and spreitt, quhilk, seyng þe remanent pepill astonyst for fere of this sycht, abaid still, redand the Ewangell of Sanct Iohnne namyt *In principio*. And quhen he had red to *Verbum caro factum est*, þe Devill flew awaye with horribill cry, berand þe bed and rufe of þe 236 houß | with him. The thrid² day eftir þis woman was deliuer of ane monstir of mair terribill visage þan evir was sene be ony pepill afoir. The medwyiffis brynt þe samyn, þat it suld *nocht* remane to þe dishonour of þe houß.

And becaus þir illusionis of devillis war sene in oure dayis, we haif colleckit þame in oure buke, þat redaris may vnderstand sik illusionis of devillis may be. Forthir twiching the prophecijis of Merlyne, houbet mony of þame be veresijt in oure dayis, we will leiff thame to be discussit be theologis, quhethir þai suld be abrogatt or haif faith, for we will stand content to obey þair conclusionis, and write furth þe wailȝeant dedis of nobill men, as we haif begunnyn, and returne agane to oure history, quhaire we left.

¹ MS. *desyrisus*.

² MS. *thrd*.

How Scottis and Pichtis war confideratt with Ambrose, King of Britonis, aganis Saxonis; how Hengest wes slayne, and þe Saxonis dongin oute of Britan; of þe triumphe of Britonis; of þe new peace and mariage maid amang the princes of Albion; how Congallus decessit, and Conranus¹ maid king of Scottis.

Ca xv

Quhen Wortigern was slayne, as we haif writin, ilk daye come to Ambroise mair confluence of pepill, throw quhilk he tuke purpoß to pas on Hengest and Saxonis, to recover his realme and restoir þe samyn to þe Cristin faith. And to doo that mair stranglie, he gatt Scottis and Pichtis, becaus þai had extreme hatrent aganis Saxonis, confideratt with him, and eftir that all Britonis, quhilkis war bannyst afoir amang þe Scottis and Pichtis, (II. 55) come to him. Ambrose, seyng sa multitude of pepill cum to him, all of ane mynde to recover þair realme, past to ane litill moitt, quhair he mycht be sene, and complenit the tresonabill dedis of Wortigern aganis þe houß of Constantyne, in damage of Britonis and þair commoun wele; eftir this lamentit þe huge cruelte of Saxonis done aganis God and man; throw quhilk he inflammyt all þe pepill in sik desyre to recover þair liberte, and to revenge þe iniuris done to þaim, that þai with ane consent war deliuerit to follow his banner aganis þe Saxonis. And to cauß þair purpos to be mair stabillit, thai maid him king of Britan, fra þe Incarnacioun of God iiij^c lxxxxviiij 3eris, eftir that Wortigern and Wortymere his son had rongin xvij 3ere in Britan.

Ambrose, maid king on this maner, began to ordoure þe pepill þat come with him in siklike ordinance as he was lernit in þe weeris of France, and sone eftir come forthwert with displaitt baner aganis þe Saxonis. The vj day eftir met him Lothus, King of Pichtis, and Conrannus, bruther to Congallus, King of Scottis, with ane huge powere. Ambrose, richt glaid of þair cumyng, ressauit þame with grete bene-

¹ MS. *Conanus*.

uolence, and promittit, quhen he mycht haif oportunitie, to
 237 recompens | thair kyndnes; eftir this rasit pair campe, and
 come to Mahesbell with thre grete batallis of Scottis, Pichtis
 and Britonis, becaus Hengest wes *cumin* with þe Saxons
 to the samyn. The armyis beyng arrayit, followitt frequent
 prykkyn, skarmusing and singular batallis on athir sydis,
 quhill at last thai ionit to giddir. And quhen þai had fochtin
 lang with vncertane victory, and with na les hattrent þan
 manhede, the pepill of Bertanze with Franche men, fechtand
 aganis þe myddillward of Saxonis, be new ingyne and practik
 of batall, did þame grete troubill. Be than þe Scottis and
 Pichtis had brokin þe wangard and reirward, in sik maner that
 þe standartis of Britonis, Pichis and Scottis wes *cumin* oute-
 throcht þe Saxonis army and mett to giddir, throw quhill
 þe Saxonis was disconnfist and put to flycht. Hengest, seyng
 na weye to renew batall, montit on his horß to sauffe himself
 amang the residew of his pepill, and was þe last man þat fled
 of Saxonis. Ambrose, seyng þe feild disconnfist, followit in
 maist hattrent on Hengest, and ran him throw þe body with
 ane spere. The residew of Saxonis, mair astonyst þan prouocatt
 to batall be þe slauchter of pair king, fled with Occa his son
 to þe nixt montanijs.

(II. 56) Eftir þis victory Ambrose come to Londoun, and maid
 all þe Saxonis and soidiouris, quhilkis war left in defence of
 þe toun, sa effrayit, herand Hengest slayne and his army
 disconnfist, þat þai oppynnit þe portis, and fell on kneis,
 peteouslye desyryng grace. Than Ambrose put ane grete
 buschement of armytt men to þe 3eittis, þat na man suld depart
 quhill he had takin avisement quhat was to be done, and
 incontinent passit to þe castell; and the nobillis quhilkis war
 left in defence of þe samyn be Hengest, seyng Ambrose *cumin*
 with victory on þis wise, fell on kneis for mercy, and sayid,
 "þe goddis has gevin to the, maist nobill prince, licence to
 puneis ws now at þi pleserr, becaus þi manhede and fortoun
 is invincibill. Nochpeles, gif it be lefull to 3oldin and miserabill
 creaturis, deieckit to extreme rewyne be hatrent of goddis,
 to imploir mercy and grace afoir ane victorious campioun,
 quhen lyfe and dede is in his handis, we lawlie besekis the,

for þe happy victory falling be strang batall to þe, as richtwis prince of þis realme, to suffir ws, of þi benyng grace, to return oute of þis realme, nakit, wapynles and skurgit with wandis, gif it be þi pleserr, in oure awin regeoun. Gif þou will condescend to þis, þow salbe put in perpetuall memory, nocht only for maist honest victory aganis sa grete inymyis, bot als for þi mercy gevin to desolait pepill."

Ambroiß, movit be thir wourdis, wrocht na iniuris on Saxonis, bot tuke þe castell, and sufferit þame to pas hayme with all þair gudis. Ane schort tyme eftir be generall edict all fensabill men of Saxonis was commandit to pas in Almany, bot þe remanent abaid still as labouraris of þe grond, paying tribute to Ambrose, vnder this condicioun, that þai suld ressaif þe Cristin faith. The Britonis quhilkis | war exilit in sindry partis of þe warld, eschewing þe tiranny of Saxonis, returnit agane to þair native rowmes. Sone eftir, be deligence of King Ambrose, þe kirkis war reparit, the preistis and religious men restorit, and þe Cristin faith wele adorit in all partis of Britan; the ymagereis of ydolis put down, and all ydolatrijs pvnyst, quhair ever þai war apprehendit; generall processionis maid sindry dayis, the kirkis & housis decorit with
(II. 57) floweris, arresß, claithis and tapestreis, and þe stretis resounding with melodye, to þe reiosing and glading¹ of þe pepill. Ambrose, 3ite to schaw his beneuolence mair fervent to þe confideratt pepill, brocht Lothus, King of Pichtis, and Conrannus, Gouvernour of Scottis, within Londoun, levand þair armyis nocht far fra þe samyn, and festit þame certane dayis with all maner of danteis þat mycht be devisit. And quhen he had revardit þame with riches and iowellis, as efferit, he commandit þaim, be consent of his nobillis, to be honorit amang þe pepill as defendouris & recoveraris of his realme.

Sic thingis done, new peace wes maid betuix þame vnder þir condicionis, that all þe landis liand beyond Humbir suld pas in perpetuall dominioun to Scottis & Pichtis, but ony clame of Britonis in tymes cuming, and þe Saxonis to be haldin as inymyis to þaim baith, and gif þai enterit agane in ony part of Albion, þe Albanis with vniuersale consent suld concur to

¹ MS. *and and glading*.

giddir to resist thame. Thir condicionis of peace wer þe bettir kepit be þe affinite *þat* followit eftir; for Ambrose, King of Britonis, had twa dochteris, of quhilkis þe eldest, namyt Anna, was marijt on Lothus, King of Pichtis, and þe 3ongest, namyt Ada, wes marijt on Conrannus, to *þat* fyne *þat* þe Albanis suld be haldin vnder ane blude & amite to withstand þe Saxonis. This quene Ada *partit with* childe *within* twa 3eris *etter* scho come in Scotland, & decessit, quhairthrow the affinite cessit betuix Ambrose & Conrannus. Bot Anna bure to Lothus, King of Pichtis, thre sonnis, namyt Modredus, Waluanus & Thametes, of quhom salbe oure history eftir. The Britonis, Scottis & Pichtis stude mony 3eris thus in gude peace & *concorde*, but ony iniuris of inymyis. In þe menetyme part of Saxonis, quhilkis wer sufferit to remane vnder tribute and to becum¹ cristinnit, maid priuat sacrifice to ydolis, and wer brynt sone eftir, quhen it wes knawin. The samyn tyme Congallus, King of Scottis, vexit be lang infirmite, decessit, þe xx 3ere of his empire, and wes² berijt in Colmkill, eftir quhais deth Conrannus his bruther wes maid king, in þe fourte 3ere of Ambrose, and in þe xij 3ere of Anastasius³ Empriour, fra oure Redempcioun v^c & a 3ere.

The samyn tyme Remegius, Bischop of Remens, gaif þe sacrament of baptisyn to Clodoveus, King of France. This Clodeveus biggit ane kirk in Pareið in honour of Petir & Paule, quhair he was berijt, bot now pis kirk is dedicatt to (II. 58) Sancte Genovefe, cheif hallowair of Pareið. In þai dayis wer amang ws Colman, Medane and Modayn, grete doctouris & prechouris. Sindry Britonis wer marterit þe samyn tyme in Albion be cruelte of Saxonis, throw quhilk mony of thame fled in Scotland, amang quhom was Patriciane, ane man of singulair deuocioun, quhilk wes eftir Bischop of the Ile of Man, and decessit in þe tyme of Conrannus, quhair of salbe oure nixt history. And sa endis þe viij Buke of thir cornikyllis.⁴

¹ MS. *cum*.² MS. omits *wes*.³ MS. *Anasius*.⁴ MS. *cornikilkis*.

Liber Nonus.

(II. 59)

Here begynnys the Nynte Buke.

Off sindry lawis maid be Conrannus to puneis
extorsionis; how Occa and Passensius returnit in
Ingland, and wer disconnfist be King Ambrose;
of trewis takin betuix Ambrose and Occa; how
Passensius brocht ane army oute of Ireland in
support of Occa; and how Ambrose wes poysonit
be Coppā.

Ca j

Conrannus, maid King of Scottis in this manere, set his
deligence first to caus the thre sonnis of his bruther
Congallus, namit Ewgenius, Convallus and Kynnatillis,
to be nureist in þe Ile of Man vnder wise preceptouris, quhill
þai war abill to succed. And becaus he dred þat trouble
suld ryis amang his subdittis for *our* lang peace, he went
throw all þe boundis of his realme for execucioun of iustice,
and punyst all criminabill personis be extreme rigour. And
becaus he fand be tyranny of his nobillis and vther grete men
sindry *commonis* oppressit. throw quhilk pure and indigent
pepill durst nocht complene to his iustice, nor follow thair
(II. 60) action aganis þe nobillis to recover þe skaithis done to þame,
to repreß sik extorsionis done to þe *commoun* wele & pepill be
nobillis or vther grete men he *commandit* certane explora-
touris to pas throw his realme, to serche quhair sik iniuris
wer done to þe *commonis*, þat all sik personis may be followit
be þe Kingis aduocaitt, and thair namis writin in maner of
dittay, and gif þai wer fundin criminabill, þai war puneist,
but ony redempcioun, to þe deth. Be this way þe *commonis*
wer deliuerit mony þeris eftir fra all oppressionis of grete men.

This maner of iustice is controfett ȝite in oure dayis. It is sayid that Conrannus vsit, quhen his counsale satt in ony part of his realme, othir to be present, or ellis to be in ane wod at his hunting *nocht* far fra þame, to mak his officiaris þe mair autorist. And quhen he was at his huntis in Arthoill, *nocht* far fra þe montanis of Granzeben, he slew ane hart be lang chais, and fand ane huge multitude of serpentis in his wame, quhilk was grete admiracioun to þe pepill, becaus the hornys of ane hart, as writis Plyneus, is baith remede aganis þe bitt of serpentis, and chasis all vther venномоis beistis.

Sik thingis done in Scotlannd, Ambrose, King of Britonis, fell in ane dwynand seiknes, namit þe ethik fever, be quhilk his body wes sa pynit, but ony remede of medicyn, þat he mycht haif na rest, and was disparit of his lyfe. Occa & Pas-
 240 sensius, aduertist of þis infirmite | falling to Ambrose, belevit, gif he wer decessit, to recover agane þe realme of Ingland, and þerfor gaderit ane huge powere, be support of all þe princes of Almany, and returnyt in Ingland. The samyn tyme Vter, þe Prince of Walis and bruther to Ambrosius, was in grete doloure be þe malady of fluxe with vehement thrist and fevir, throw quhilk þe Britonis wer desolaitt, as apperit, but ony capitane to sustene þe weeris aganis þe Saxonis. *Nocht*þeles, ane convencioun was sett of nobillis to avise quhat was to be done in þis maist dangerous mater. Eftir lang consultacioun pai war devidit in sindry opinions. Ambrose, seyng be thair contrarius votis sa hie damage apperand to his realme, na thing regarding his infirmiteis, tuke þe charge of bataill on him, and gart turfs him apon ane littair betuix twa grete hors, syne past¹ forthwert aganis the Saxonis, and send his ambassatouris to sollist þe Scottis & Pichtis, his confideratt
 (II. 61) frendis, to cum with maist deligence to þe samyn effect. Bot afoir thair cumyng the iniuris and cruelteis of Saxonis wer sa importabill þat he was constranyt to fecht with þame. And þocht he wes in maist vneyfs and malady, ȝite he lakit na thing þat mycht pertene to ane forsy, campioun, or to rais þe spreitt of his army to maist audacite aganis inmyis.

At þair first iunyng þe Britonis wer sum part put abak with

¹ MS. omits *past*, which is supplied from A.

huge slauchter maid on þame. Nochþeles, Ambrose, traisting na thing mair honest than dee, gif þat war his chance, amang his wailþeand knychtis, went aboute þe army, exhorting þame to persever in ithand fecht aganis þair inymyis, remembring þame quhat excellent palme of glory wes abyding thame, gif þai be force of armys dang þair inymyis, or decessit for þe defence of þair realme, liberte and faith. The Britonis, rasis with hie spreitt and curage be his hortacioun, ruschitt in bataill aganis þair inymyis, and maid thame sa astonyst þat þai finaly wer vincust and put to flycht, on quhom followit þe Britonis with bludy swerde and grete hattrent. Nochþeles, Ambrose, seyng þe nycht fast approching, inhibit þe chais, and brocht his army be sound of trumpett to his standart. The nycht following þe Britonis kepit þe campe, and þe nixt morrow partit þe spoulþe amang þame be iust rite of armys. 3ite quhen þai began to novmer thair army, þai fand mair slauchter succeding to þame than to þe Saxonis, howbeit þai had þe victory. Ambrose, fynding his army brokin in þis wise, dred, gif he ieoparde thame ony forthar aganis Saxonis, na felicite to follow, and þairfor skalit his army, and tuk foure monethis trewis with Saxonis.

Occa, aduertist that Scottis and Pichtis wald come in support of Ambrose þe fift moneth eftir, send his bruther Passensius to bring ane new army oute of Almany. Sum autouris sayis, quhen Passensius wes passand in Almany, be contrarius wyndis he was drevin in Ireland, quhair he wagit ane huge multitude of weirmen, and returnit with thame in Britan. Occa, nochtwithstanding this strang army brocht in Britan
 241 be cuming of his bruper, 3ite he thocht þe chance | of batall aganis Britonis richt dangerous during þe empire of Ambrose, and þerfor instruckit ane Saxoun, quhilk had perfite langage of Britonis, to slaa Ambrose. This Saxoun quhilk was subornatt in his slauchter was namytt Coppa, and fenzeit him to be ane monk of ane medicynar, havand remedeis aganis all maner
 (II. 62) of infirmiteis. At last he was brocht to þe King quhair he lay at Gowntoun. Eftir lang commonyng, he promittit to geif þe King certane potionis, be quhilkis he suld recover his hele, and be deliuerit of all malady. Coppa, commandit be the King

to mak his potionis, vsit nocht þe first dayis bot delicious syropis maid of soft spycis and liquoris plesand to þe mouth, throw quhilk he gat credence to vse eftir quhat potionis he list. At last þis Coppā, watand tyme oportune to poysoun the King, gaderit sindry herbis inducing men to sleip, and myd-dillit the iusþ þerof with vennome, of quhilkis he maid ane syrop, and brocht þe samyn to þe King, saying, "þis potioun sall mak the convaleß and be deliuer of all dolouris infirmite." Ambrose, havand na suspicioun, drank this poysoun, and was commandit be Coppā to tak rest, to that fyne þat þe vennome mycht ryn throw all þe wanyis of his body. And quhen he fand þe King on profound sleip, he commandit the chalmer to be kept cloiß, but ony noyiß, and in þe menetyne he stall awaye to þe nixt wode, quhair he fand part of Saxonis waitand with swift horsß to take him awaye. Quhen Ambrose be vnhappy sleip had skalit þe vennome throw þe wanyis of his body, he gaif ane litill sobbe and decessit, þe vij ȝere of his regne; quhais body wes berijt in þe Abbay of Stenthend, quhilk was biggit be him afoir in memorie of þe nobill men þat wes slayne be tresoun of Hengest.

Off grete cruelteis done be Occa to Britonis; how Scottis and Pichtis wer frustrat of þair wayage; of grete merwellis sene in Britan, and how þai war interprete be Merlyne; how King Vter wes disconfist be Saxonis, and wes aggreit with þame be peace.

Ca ij

Ambrose decessit, as we haif schewin, the Britonis maid a huge lament and piteous womenting for his deth that þe Saxonis was aduerteist þerof. Occa, glaid of thair dolouris chere, and knawing be decess of King Ambrose and lang infirmite of Vtter na man abill in Britan to tak þe charge of weeris aganis him, tuke purpoß to oppreß þe Britonis, afoir þai war assembillit, in þe maist cruell maner (II. 63) mycht be devisit. Mony of þe Britonis, abasit be his cruelte, fled in Wales; vþeris fled in Scotland; vtheris remanit still

in Britan, thirlit in seruitude at þe pleserr of Saxonis. Sik thingis done be Occa, the Scottis and Pichtis come with ane huge army in Britan in support of Ambrose, to expell þe Saxonis oute of þe samyn, bot quhen þai war aduerteist of
 242 Ambrose deth, and wist nocht gif | he war slayne be tresoun of Saxonis or divisioun of Britonis amang þame selff, vnknawing quha was frend or faa, thai returnit hayme þe samyn gaitt thai come.

Mony vncouth merwellis war sene þe samyn tyme in Britan, and war interprete be Merlyne to the grete terrour of þe pepill. Ane fyry comete was sene mony nychtis with lang bemys, and the figure of ane crownit dragoun byrnand in þe lyft. Greyn treis tuke suddand fyre and brynt, and treis quhilkis war afoir cuttit fra þe ground flurist and bure levis. The rever of Tamys apperit bludy. Ane well sprang vp in þe myddis of ȝork with sik aboundance of blude þat all þe stretis wes fillit with þe samyn. In Kent ane child lewch in his moderis wame. Thir merwellis, be interpretacioun of Merlyne, causit þe Britonis to cum in bataill aganis þe Saxonis. For Merlyne interprete this comette to King Ambrose, this crownit dragoun to Vter his bruther, the blude signifijt his bludy swerde aganis Saxonis, and þe fyre signifijt þair finall exterminioun. Vter gaif sik credence to thir interpretacioun of Merlyn that he tuke þe crownit dragoun for his armys, and bure it byrnand as gold, in ane field of asure to þe colour of þe lift, throw the quhilk he was callit be þe pepill Vter Pendragon. The nobillis
 (II. 64) of Britan,¹ be persuasioun of Merlynys prophecy, come in Walis and maid Vtter to be þair king, syne commandit the pepill to be reddy agane ane prefixit daye to pas on þe Saxonis with all thair ordinance.

King Vter, seying all þe Britonis assemblit at þe prefixitt daye, gaif þe charge of batall to Nathaliodus, ane man of vile & obscure lynage, persuadit mair be his familiarite þan be his vertew. The nobillis, havand indignacioun that ane man nocht perregall to þame in lynage nor pissance wes preferrit to thame in dignite, murmvrit þe King for his imprudence, his impyre nocht beand stabillit, to decoir ane man of small

¹ MS. *Walis*.

lynnage and houß with sa hie chargis, in contempcioun of pame, and iugit *perfor*, gif he had sikker peace, but troubill of inymyis, to magnify men of small lynage with honouris abone pame. Nochpeles, becaus þair realme stude that tyme in sik dangere, þai supersedit þair regrait. Nathaliodus, nochwithstanding þe indignacioun of þe nobillis, tuke eperthlye þe charge on him, and went forthwert with þe army aganis Saxonis. Occa, aduerteist hereof be his exploratouris, cessit nocht with all deligence to meit þe Britonis; throw quhilk happyñnit ane batall richt vnplesand to þe Britonis. For Gothlois, ane man of maist pyssance & autorite amang Britonis, impacient to suffer Nathaliodus preferrit to him, come oute of þe feild with all þe pepill vnder his dominioun, and left þe remanent army of Britonis reddy to ressaif þe iniure of inymyis; throw quhilk þai war finaly disconfyst. Occa, nochwithstanding þis disconfitour, brocht all his army to giddir be sound of trumpett to his standart, and inhibitt ony forthir chais to be
 243 maid on Britonis, traisting Gothlois | fled be craft to þe nixt montanis, to invaid þe Saxonis quhen he saw tyme. Gothlois,
 (II. 65) seand þe Britonis put to flycht, that he suld nocht be ane praye to his inymijs, fled within þe nycht the neirest waye he mycht in Cornwaill. Occa, seand þe nixt morrow þe campe desert, and na inymyis appeir, vnderstude þe Britonis war wincust, and *perfor* na thing wes to be dred in tymes cumyng. Incontinent he send ane herrald to Vter, chargeand him to pas in Walis with all þe Britonis, vnder payn of deth, and to leif Ingland, quhilk he had conquest be þe swerde, to be inhabit be Saxonis. Vter, revolving how dangerous and doutesum was to renew batall aganis Saxonis, and knowing his realme bot ane facill praye, gif his inymyis ferslie persewitt, began to detest þe dammage of weris, and ansuerit to þe herrald, he wald condiscend to haif peace with þe Saxonis, nocht for fere of pame, bot onlie to remove troubill, that his pepill mycht leiff in peace, and desyring, sen na grete occasioun of weris was betuix Saxonis & Britonis, and litill displesouris maid as pan, to put þe fyne to þe samyn in tyme cuming, and forthir wald be content that foure prudent men wer chosin on ilk syde to evin all debaittis betuix pame, that Britonis and Saxonis

mycht increß to giddir vnder ane blude, amite and frendschip perpetuallie in tymes cuming. Occa, knawing thir offeris proceeding mair be febill curage than ony manhede or spreitt, tuke peace with glaid chere, and was reiosit, sen victory and chance of batall was vncertane, that þe realme was be him sa esely conquest.

Eftir this peace wes maid on this maner : the landis liand fornens Alman seyis suld be namit Hengestland, quhilk was eftir namit Ingland, and þe samyn to remane vnder perpetuall dominioun of Saxonis ; the residew of þat regioun to be callit Britan, and vnder þe empire of Britonis, as it wes afoir ; and ilk pepill to leiff vnder thair awin lawis. Efter this contract baith þe pepill incressit to giddir in pollecy & riches, but ony iniure of vtheris, the Saxonis levand on þair ethyn lawis, and þe Britonis eftir þe Cristin faith. Nochþeles, mony of þame war intricatt with Pelagius heresijs, aberrand fra þe sikker faith.

(II. 66)

How Vter slew þe Prince of Cornwaill, and gat Arthour on his wyiff ; how Lothus, King of Pichtis, clamyt þe croun of Britan ; how Britonis war purgit of þair heresijs ; how Terdix¹ and Kenrik come to Occa with ane new powere of Saxonis ; and how þe Saxonis wer wyncust be mirakill. Ca iij

244 IN this tyme Vter, King of Britonis, wes degeneratt fra Ivertew in maist schaymfull lust. For þe surfett ydilnes and exceß of pleserr, regnand þan amang þe Britonis, was occasioun nocht only of adultry bot als of slauchter, throw quhilk succedit mony terribill and bludy weeris. Ane schort |
tyme following Vter maid ane riottis bankett in Londoun on
3oule Daye, in þe quhilk all þe nobillis of Britan with þair
wyiffis wer present, amang quhom was ane lady of grete
bewte, þe spous of Gothtlois, Prince of Cornwell. Vter, revyst
with bewte of þis lady, send his cubicularis with riche iowellis

¹ MS. clearly *Terdix*, agreeing with the Latin. *Cerdic*, of course, is meant.

and plesand behechtis to sollist hir to his pleserr. Gothlois, knowing þe King effeminatt and desyring to defoule his bed, fled haistly with hir to Cornwaill, on quhom Vter followitt with ane grete powere, havand na sicht to his gravite nor princelye estaitt, finaly gatt þis lady at his will, and had on hir ane son, namyt Arthure, quhilk succedit to him, as we sall schaw. Eftir þis Vter segitt þe castell quhair Gothlois wes, and slew him eftir þat þe castell wes takin, allegeand that he fled fra Nathaliodus quhen he faucht aganis þe Saxonis, howbeit his purpos was mair sett to haiff his wyiff, but ony interrupcioun, in tymes cuming, than ony exercicioun of iustice. Sum men writis thatt Vter was transformit be necromancy of Merlyne in Gothlois similitude, and be that waye he gat Arthure. Nochwithstanding, in quhatsumeuer waye it was, Vter gatt him on ane vther mannis wyiffe. Quhen he was cumin to perfite aige, Vter gaderit all þe nobillis of Britan to ane counsale, and causit þame to be sworne on þe Ewangell to suffir
 (11. 67) nane vther regne in Britan behynd him bot Arthure his son; quhilk thing rasis þe Pichtis with grete hattrent aganis Vter. For Lothus, King of Pichtis, wes impatient and richt commovit þat Arthour, gottin in adultery, suld be preferrit to his childerin, quhilkis war iust heretouris of þe crowne of Britan, and gottin in lauchfull bed. Nochtpeles, quhen he had assailzeit Vter lang tyme to brek his mynde, he supersedit þe samyn quhill ¹ he mycht se mair oportunitie.

Mony of þe Britonis, be frequent conversacioun with Saxonis, left þe richt faith, and maid adoracioun to ydolis. Vtheris followit þe errouris of Pelagius, and sett þame to distroye þe Cristin faith in Britan, throw quhilk þair errouris war sa grete þat baptisyne wes inhibit, with mony vther articulis of our faith. The prelattis of Britan, havand grete displesoure þat þe errouris war sprongin sa hie amang þair pepill, brocht Sanct German and Sanct Seveir in Britan, quhilkis finalye, be haly lyiff & continewall preching, kythitt mony mirakillis, and maid þe Britonis to be penitent of þair errouris, and to return agane to þe trew faith of Cryist. Thir haly men also purchest licence at Occa to preche amang þe Saxonis.

¹ MS. *quhilk*.

Sik thingis done in Britan, arryvit in Ingland two nobill men, namyt Terdix and Kenricus. This Kenrig wes ane scharpe persewar of Cristin men, and wes slayn sone eftir be þe commonis of Inglandd, becaus he gart Sanct German ly
 245 þeroute in ane evill nycht. The cuming of þir | Saxonis in Ingland war richt suspicious to King Vter, and maid him beleiff þat Occa was irkit of peace and sekand new occasioun, contrar þe pece afoir contract, to invaid the Britonis. And þerfor he send ane herrald till Occa, exhorting him to keip þe amite and peace contrackit with Britonis, and to abstene fra all thing þat mycht gener occasioun of discord betuix þe twa pepill, and to cauß þir Saxons laitlie cumin in Ingland to return in Almany, vtherwais litill tranquillite appeirs betuix þe twa pepill in tymes cumyng. Occa thocht Vter oure proude to desire sik thingis, or to inhibit him to ressaue frendis, as him plesit, in England; nochtpeles, ansuerit þat he wes als wele set to keip þe band betuix þe twa pepill as Vter, and did nevir, sen þe peace wes contrackit, iniure to Britonis þat
 (II. 68) mycht be caus of þair complante, and socht nevir occasioun of debaitt, as Vter did, makand inhibicioun to ressaue his frendis in England, and to send thame schaymfullye agane in Almany, as he had dominioun of þe warld. Attoure, þe Saxonis come nocht in Ingland be commande of Britonis, and war nocht to depart at þair pleserr. It wes þerfor to be eschewitt þat Vter and his nobillis be siklike chargis bryng nocht þame self fra sikkir eyß to maist dangerous fall. And sen þai first desyrit batall, þai suld haif it, quhill þe tane of þe pepill war vterlie distroyitt. Vter and þe nobillis of Britan, richt astonyst of þis ansuere, send þair secund ambassatouris to Occa with mekill gold and riches to draw his mynde fra batall. Occa ressauit þe gold, and for contempcioun maid þe ambassatouris to return hayme but ony ansuer.

The Britonis, movitt be þir iniuris, and seand na bandis nor peace mycht hald þe Saxonis at frendschip, maid thair ordinance in þair best manere for batall, and belive þe peace was gevin vp on all sydis. Lothus, King of Pichtis, knawing þir weeris rysing betuix Saxonis & Britonis, offerit him wilfullie to cum with all his pepill in support of Occa aganis Britonis,

becaus þai intendit to defraude his sonnys of þe crowne of Britan, quhilk pertenis to þame be iust tytill, and send his ambassatouris to ¹ Conrannus, King of Scottis, to concur with him to þat samyn effect. Conrannus refusit, saying he wald nocht violatt þe peace maid afoir with Britonis, nor support þe inymyis of God aganis Catholike pepill. The Britonis, knowing the ordinance of Pichtis and Saxonis aganis þame, complanit to þair haly bischoppis, Germane and Seveir. Thir bischoppis commandit þame to assemble thair army, and turn thame to God, and, gif þai so did, þai suld nocht fail to haif victory of þair inymyis. The Britonis, howbeit þai had na litill fere aganis Saxonis, come with thir haly bischoppis in arrayitt batall. And quhen þai war at dyvyne seruice on Paische Day, renunciand þair errouris, and takand þe sacrament of baptisyne, tythingis come that Saxonis & Pichtis war cumand on þame in arrayit batall. Incontinent, be commande of Vter, ilk man ȝeid to his best arraye, and Sanct Germane promittit to fecht in ² þe wangarde with þe preistis. The Saxonis & Pichtis, knowing þair febill ordinance, |
246 presumyt nocht bot victory, and war þe mair properant to batall. Sanct Germane bure þe banner, and exhortit þe pepill (II. 69) with ane huge cry to cum forthwart aganis aduersaris. At þe first ivnyng þe preistis cryitt with ane hie voice "Alleylua," and þe reflex of þe voice resoundit agane þe rochis quhair þai ionytt with sick preiſ þat þair inymyis belevit nocht bot all þe montanis and craggis wair descending on þame at anys, and maid þame sa astonyst that, but ony straik, þai gaif bakkis, and fled to þe nixt rivere, quhair mony of þame, for ferſnes to fle, perist. The maner of þis bataill & victory is rehersit at grete lenth be Sanct Bede, becauſ it come be mirakle of Sanct Germane.

¹ MS. omits *to*.² MS. omits *in*; correction from A.

How Occa and Nathaliodus war slayne, and þe Britonis disconfist ; how 3oung Occa was maid king of Ingland, and come with grete army aganis Scottis and Pichtis ; of þair orison, and how þai war disconnfist ; how þe Britonis wer dongin in Walis, and Vter poysonit.

Ca iiij

The Britonis, proude of this victory, regarding nothir þe wele of þame self nor hattrent of Saxonis, gaif þame to þair auld corruppit vices with sik ryottis surfett þat sum tyme þai spendit twa, sum tyme thre dayis, but interrupcioun, in þair bankattis, throw quhilk þai wer degeneratt fra wailþeand pepill in schamfull dronkattis. The prelaittis and vther kirkmen, richt soroufull for þe wices of thair pepill, cessit nocht continewallie to preche, saying, gif þair vicius lyvis wer nocht amendit, þair realme suld fall to irrecoouerabill displeseir, quhilk wes provin sone eftir. For Occa within schort 3eris invadit þame be batall, and slew Nathaliodus, Luftennant to Vter, with xv^m Britonis. Nochþeles, he followit sa ferslie on þe chace þat he wes slayne and mony wailþeand capitanis with him. The Britonis wer sa brokin at this tyme þat þai cessit in tymes cuming to invaid þe Saxonis.

Eftir þe slauchter of Occa þe Saxonis maid Occa, his bruther son, king of Ingland, and becaus Lothus, King of Pichtis, (II. 70) supportit þe Britonis in þis last batall, as certane presonaris of Pichtis takin in þe feyld schew, þe Saxonis maid þair ordinance to invaid þame. Nochþeles, dredand þat Scottis suld cum in þair support, thai brocht ane wailþeant man, namit Colgern, with ane grete powere oute of Almany, and promittit, gif he distroyit þe Pichtis, to geif him þe landis betuix Humbir & Tweid, becaus Pichtis war confideratt afoir with þame, and contrair þair band fochin laitlie with Britonis in þair contrair. Sone eftir Colgern arryvit in Northummerland, and cessit fra na maner of cruelteis in þe samyn. The inhabitantis of that regioun, movit with þir iniuris, assembillit haistlye to the rescourß thairof, and war finaly disconnfist. King Occa, 247 herand þe cumyng of | Colgern, tuke peace with Britonis, and

come with ane grete army to support him aganis þe Pichtis. This last cruelte maid be Colgern in Northummerland movit þe confideratt kingis to cum with all pepill vnder þair dominioun to revenge þe samyn. Nochþeles, quhen þair army wes cumin in sicht of inymyis, and saw sa multitude of pepill aganis þame, þai war effrayitt, specialie be reherß of Britonis, quhilkis come to þair support, saying that Saxonis war of huge bodyis and stature, sa pyssant in batall þat ofttymes þai put þair inymyis to flycht be þair terribill luke. Thir wourdis maid þe army sa estonyst that mony of þame had fled incontinent, war nocht schame constranyt þame to abyde. The confideratt kingis, seyng þame sa abasit, gart call þe nobillis of baith þe pepill befor þame, and sayd to þame in þis manere: "We merwell nocht litill, nobill campionis, qhuy 3oure spreitt and curage bene sa decayitt þat mony of 3ow, quhilkis ar in þis strang army, apperis be only sicht of 3oure inymyis effrayitt, and sa degeneratt fra manhede that 3e seme disparit but ony danger appering. For Saxonis nocht bene of sik vertew and strenthe bot vther pepill maye dant þame and haif victory, as we haue oft sene be experience. Thai wer wincust be Worthy-mere, and dongin be force of manhede furth of Britan; also þai wer wincust be Ambrose, and durst nocht meitt him in batall, as apperit quhen þai slew him be tresoun of poysons. And Britonis, quhilkis has bene oft tymes victorius on Saxonis, hes bene wincust and maid tributaris mony 3eris be 3ow. Thairfor, maist wail3eant campionis, na thing is to be effrayitt.

(II. 71) Attoure, sen 3oure accioun is iust and 3our aduersaris wranguislie invading 3ow, how may 3e beleif ony vther thing þan victory? Thai quhilkis maid 3ow efferde throw grete magnificence & strenth of Saxonis, ar evill iugis, for na pepill bene in erde of mair stature or strangar body þan Scottis and Pichtis; and gif 3e be of leß curage and spreitt þan Saxonis, þat may be impute to nocht bot to 3oure avne sleuthe, for 3oure bodeis ar of na leß stature and strenthis þan þairis. Thairfor, nane is amangis 3ow þat aucht to accuse nature, gif 3oure curage be nocht correspondent to 3oure bodeis. And sen nature hes maid 3ow strang, lusty, deliuer of body and

reddy to sustene all labouris, nocht remanis to be done be þow bot onlie to devoid þow of schaymfull cownttry, following þe hie manhede and vertew of þoure nobill eltaris, remembring na thing maye cum to mair schayme and damage of þou þan to be wincust, bringand þour wyiffis, childerin and landis in þoure fais handis. And safer as pertenis to oure devoir, beleif nocht bot we sall ieoperd oure lyvis with þow aganis Saxonis, that þai may vnderstand quheper þe nobilite of Scottis and Pichtis is movit mair be schayme or dredoure in þair extreme neyd."

Be thir wourdis þe army wes inflammytt with birnand desire to fecht. Mony of þe capitaneis schew þame nevir of purpoß to fle, nor ȝite to doo ony thing contrair þe mynde of þe twa kingis. Sone eftir baith þe armyis ionyt to giddir, and faucht
 248 maist furiously on all sydis, quhill at last the | confiderat
 pepill, noch of powere to resist þe huge multitude and preß of Saxonis, gaif bakkis, on quhom followit Saxonis be lang chais, quhill þe nycht severit þame. The nixt morrow þe King of Scottis with þe residew of his army returnit in Gallowaye, and þe King of Pichtis in Lowdeane. Eftir this victory Occa slew all Scottis and Pichtis fundin betuix Tyne and Twede, and garnyst all þe municionis perof with strang soidiouris, and maid Colgern prince of Northummyrland, to defend þe samyn aganis all invasouris. Eftir þis victory of Scottis and Pichtis Occa come with his victorious army aganis the Britonis, becaus
 (II. 72) þai supportit Scottis and Pichtis, contrair þair band, and schortlie dang þame oute of Inglannd in Walis, syne went to Lundoun, at quhais cuming þe Britonis war sa effrayitt that þai randrit þe toun, throw quhilk Occa conquest all þe boundis sone eftir quhilkis Hengest wan afoir. The Saxonis, eftir sa grete feliciteis havand fortoun, quhilk standis nocht ay propiciant, suspect, concludit to haif peace with þair inymis, quhill þair realme war stabillit, and perfor reparitt þe municionis in all partis of England, sum tymes makand skarmusing on Britonis, Scottis & Pichtis, to cauß þe pepill vnderstand þai mycht noch leiff but exercicioun of weere. The samyn time King Vtter in Walis fell in ane haitt fevere, and desyrit, for

þe vehement thrist apon him, ane drynk of cleir watter, quhilk was gevin to him be ane Saxoun *envennovmytt* with poyson, and sa he¹ decessit, þe xvij ȝere of his reynne, fra þe Incarnacioun v^c xxj ȝeris.

Off sindry haly martiris and sanctis in Albion ; how
Lothus, King of Pichtis, clamyt þe crowne of Britan,
and how he gatt repulse thairof. Ca v

The samyn tyme was Boecius, þe Romane senatoure, rycht expert in theology, philosophy, methamatik and all vther science. He wraitt excellent werkis of þe Trinite, and siclyke of logik, rethorik, geometrie, arismetik, musik and astronomy, sa profoundlye that his werkis is in grete admiracioun to þe pepill. He was slayn with certane *vper* haly men at Revenna be Theodoricus, King of Astrogotthis, becaus he wald nocht applaude to þe heresy of Arrius. Nochpeles, þis cruelte wes nocht lang vnpvnyst be iustice of God, for this Theodoricus decessit sone eftir, and þe name of Gotthis put oute of memorye, and þe said Boecius with his fallowis ekit to þe novmer of sanctis. The samyn tyme Benedict institute ane ordour of monkis, quhilk wes begunnyn afoir be Basilius in þe Orient, and becaus he was irkytt with frequent cumpany of pepill, he come to Cassynin, quhair he translatit þe tempill (II. 73) of Apollo in ane abbay of his ordour. Sik felicite has succedit to þis ordoure þat of it has bene xxiiij papis, i^c lxxxviiij cardinalis and of vther prelaittis innovmerabill. Amang ws ar
249 mony riche abbayis of þis ordoure with men | of grete deuocioun, howbeit þai wald haif ben mair religious & devoitt, gif þai had bene dotatt with les magnificence of hie² princes, quhilkis inducis þame to mair slewthe & plesoir than fervent deuocioun. This Benedict decessit at Cassinin fra the Incarnacioun v^c xvij ȝeris, quhair he is berijt with Scolastica his sister, and in þe tyme of Iustyne Emprour.

The samyn tyme Brigida, þe haly virgyn, havand bot

¹ MS. *hie*.

² MS. *his* : A. and printed text omit.

xiiij ȝeris of aige, dedicatt hir virginite to God, and wes confermit be þe Bischop of þe Ilis in þe Ile of Man. Scho ware ane ledderyn belt abone ane quhyte kirtill *with* ane waill on hir schoulderis, and was haldin in grete reuerence in Scotland & Ireland for hir singular halynes, of quhom ar mony kirkis in pis regeoun. Scho decessit in þe xvij ȝere of Conrannus, and bereijt in Ireland in ane toun namit Dvne. Part of oure nacioun traistis fermlye þat scho lyis in Abernethy. The samyn tyme wes Sanct Geberyne, Scottis man, quhilk fled in France with his brethir & sisteris to eschew þe cruelte of Saxonis, and was eftir Bischop of Remens, quhair he kythit sindry mirakillis. The samyn tyme þe Processioun of Gant Dayis wes institute in France, thre dayis afoir þe Ascensioun, be Mamar-tius, Bischop of Ween, and ressaut in Scotlannd be Convellanus, Abbot of Colmkill. This Convellanus wes ane prophette, and schew mony thingis to cum concernyng þe exterminioun of þe realmeȝ of Pichtis & Britonis. He schew als grete felicite to cum to Scottis kingis, and þat Inglißmen war to be conuertit to sicker faith, and grete calamiteis to fall on þe nobillis of Scotlannd, gif þai mendit noch pair lyvis in tyme. This Convellanus was in þe tyme of Arthure, King of Britonis eftir the deth of Vter.

The samyn tyme Lothus, King of Pichtis, send his ambassatouris, clamand þe crowne of Britan be þe lawis vsit in Albioun : quhen ony man marijt ane virgyn, his childerin suld succede to þe heretage þat mycht iustlie pertene to hir. And becaus (II. 74) he marijt Anna, þe sister of Ambrosius and Vter, quhilkis war decessit but lauchfull airis, he allegit þat Modrede and Valuane, his sonnys gottin on Anna, suld succede be iust titill to þe crowne of Britan. *Nocht*theles, the ambassatouris wes depeschit be þe Britonis with richt displesand ansuere, and gat na thing of pair desyris.

How þe Saxonis war sindry tymes wincust, and maid tributar to King Arthure; how Occa arrivit with ane grete powere in Northummerland; how Arthure fled in Walis, and gat eftir sindry victorijs on Saxonis; how þe surfett chere of ȝule was evill institute; how peace was maid betuix Britonis and Pichtis.

Ca vj

A ne schort tyme eftir this Arthure gaderit ane strang Army of Britonis, and faucht aganis þe Saxonis nocht x mylis fra Londoun, and dantit þame with sic huge victory
 250 þat þai wer maid tributar to his | empire, and thirlit to seruitude. The Britonis, proude of this victory, come to Londoun, quhair þai remanit sindry monethis, makand thair ordinance aganis Saxonis duelland beyond Humbir, quhilkis war confideratt that tyme with Pichtis, and iniuris redressit on all sydis, to invaid þe Britonis. King Arthure, cumand on þis maner to ȝork, arrait his army, and maid Hoele, þe Prince of Bertanȝe, his luftenent to fecht aganis þe Pichtis, for he was cumin afoir with ane grete powere oute of þe samyn to his support. The batallis, finaly arrayitt with maist aufull ordinance, ionit to giddir, bot þe victory inclynit to Britonis, quhilkis followitt on Saxonis and Pichtis with incredibill slauchter, quhill þai come to ȝork, quhair mony of þaim war ressaut. Arthure, havand frequent victory on Saxonis, laid ane seige abowte ȝork, and quhen he had lȳn thre monethis at þe samyn, and it reddy to be randrit for laik of vittalis, Occa, quhilk fled afoir in Almany, landit agane in Northummerland with ane huge army of Saxonis, and colleckit þe Pichtis agane to him with ardent fury and desire of bataill. Arthure, knowing sa huge
 (II. 75) novmer of fayis to cum aganis him, left þe seige at ȝork, and fled with his army in Walis, levand behynd him Hoele, Duke of Bertanȝe, with ane part of his army to withstand his inymyis during þe wynter sesoun. Ane schort tyme eftir he returnit to Londoun, to repres þe fury of Saxonis liand in Kent and vtheris regionis perabout, and vsit sik liberalite to wyn þe favoure of þe pepill þat he had nocht sufficient money to

his necessair vse. The nixt summer he rasit his campe and come forthwart aganis Occa and Colgern, quhilkis þat tyme war makand grete herschippis with fyre & swerde in sindry partis of his realme. Nochþeles, he dantit þame with sindry victoryis, syne returnit to 3ork, and tuke it þe thrid daye eftir be tresoun of ane Britan, quhilk wes haldin for ane Saxoun in þe toun, be quhom he brocht ane huge multitude of Britonis within þe nycht be ane quiete gaitt, throw quhilk þe tovn was takin and þe soidiouris slayn. Mony of þe remanent pepill wer sauffit be mercy of Arthure. The residew of þat summer wes ourepast be frequent skarmusing betuix þe soidiouris of Saxonis within þe strenthis of Northummerland and þe soidiouris of Britonis within þe municionis of 3orkschiere.

This towun was than richt populus all þe nixt wynter with mony nobillis and commonis of Britan, gevin to þair lust, sleip, ryottus bankettis & sensualite, confiding mair in þair victory bigane þan in þair present strenth. It is sayid that þe surfaitt chere that is vsit amang Inglis men and Scottis xiiij dayis to giddir eftir Cristymmes wes institute þat tyme be King Arthour. Nochttheles, how euir þat schaymfull glutony began, it hes corruppit the ingyne sa of Inglis men & Scottis þat in þe dayis of Cristis Natiuite callit Cristmmes þai ar gevin mair to voracite þan vertu, and mair to þair wame þan to divyne seruice; throw quhilk þat solempne fest, sum tyme had in sik deuocioun and reuerence amang oure anciant faderis, is now corruppitt, and like vnto þe festis of Gentyliis maid in honour of Bachus,
 251 Flora, | and Priapus, quhilkis wer devisit mair for þe lust and plesouris of men & wemen than ony gude religioun. The nixt summer, quhen Arthure was cumin to Humbyr to invaid þe Saxonis, he fand his army soft and nocht abill to sustene siklike travaill, laboure or besynes as þai war afoir, throw quhilk
 (II. 76) mony 3eris eftir thai did litill displesour to þair inymyis, and had na esperance of victory, quhill Lothus, King of Pichtis, was confideratt with King Arthoure in this maner: thatt Arthure sall reioise þe crowne of Britan during his lyffe, and eftir his deth the sonnys of Lothus sall succeid; and the Pichtis to concur with Britonis aganis þe Saxonis in tymes cuming, and all landis quhilkis þe Pichtis mycht conquest on

Saxonis bezond Humbir to pas vnder pair dominioun ; attoure, Modrede, King Lothus son, sall mary þe dochter of Gawolane, gretast prince vnder þe King of Britonis, and þe childerin gottin betuix þame to be nureist with paire gudesert Gawolane ; and Gawyne, bruther to Modrede, to remane in continewall residence with King Arthure, with rentis according to his estaitt.

How Scottis and Pichtis war confideratt with King Arthure aganis þe Saxonis ; how þe Saxonis war disconnfyst be the Albanis, and dongin oute of Inglandd.
Ca vij

The peace maid, as we haif schawin, Arthure, desyring na thing sa mekill as to purge his realme of inymyis to God, sollistit þe confideratt kingis to cum at ane prefixitt daye to expell þe Saxonis oute of Albion. Sone eftir the Britonis, Scottis and Pichtis convenit to giddir vnder ane mynde and purpoß to þe samyn effect. King Occa, aduerteist þerof, rasit all pepill vnder his dominioun, and mett þe Albanis in his maist cruell wise. Quhen þe batallis wer arrait in athir sycht, Colgerne, Prince of Northummerland, come on ane swift geldin to þe Pichtis, reprevand þame of pair vnfaithfull mynde & purpoß and ressavand þe Britonis in amite, but ony assithment for iniuris done to þame afoir, knawing þame maist iniurious pepill aganis pair commoun wele and vtheris pair frendis, quhilkis war confideratt with þame for thair sikker defence ; and þerfor schew, gif pai fecht with Britonis in pair contrair, thai sall haif experience quheþer þe tresoun of Pichtis or þe inuiolatte faith of Saxonis was abillair to haif victory.

(II. 77) The Pichtis, na thing movit with þir iniuris, displayit pair banner, and sone eftir ionytt with þe Saxonis in maist ire and ardent desyre þat wes possibill. Arthure, seand þe Pichtis fechtand with Saxonis, commandit þe Britonis be sound of trumpaitt to sett on pair inymyis ; throw quhilk followitt ane cruell bergane, for þe Scottis, quhilkis faucht in þe wangard, slew Childricus, chiftane of Saxonis fornens þame, and put

252 pair bataill to flicht. Colgern, quhilck | faucht in þe reirwarde aganis Pichtis, richt desyrous to conques gloir, ruschit sa ferslie aganis Lothus, King of Pichtis, that he dang him fra his horß. Nochtttheles, he was reskewitt agane be þe Pichtis, and Colgerne brocht with speris to þe ground, quhair he was slayn. The myddilward, seyng baith thair weyngis þus disconnfist, gaif bakkis, on quhom þe Britonis followitt with lang chaifs, and maid incredible murdir. Occa, evill woundit, fled oute of þe feild amang þe horß men, and, seand na place sikker to his defence, gatt ane schip and fled in Almany.

The remanent Saxons, brokin with þis slauchter, and seand na rescourß, randrit þame to King Arthour, and wes ressauit to his mercy vnder þir condicionis : þat þai sall ressaif the faith of Cryist, and nevir invaid þe Albianis in tymes cuming ; or ellis to lefe þair wappinnis and gudis behynd þame, and paß hayme in Almany. The Saxonis, monyst within certane dayis to þis effect, sa mony as mycht haif schippis, went in Almany. The Almanis, seand þame returne with sik miserie, maid thair solempne aithis to revenge þair schamfull eieccioun oute of Britan, quhen ever þai mycht haif sufficient oportunitie. Part of Saxonis fenzeit þame to tak þe faith, abyding ane bettir fortoun, and vtheris war slayn, becauß þai wald noch renunce þair ydolatrie.

(II. 78)

How Eugenius and Modrede come in support of King Arthure aganis þe Saxonis ; how Modrede and Gawolane wer chasit to King Arthuris campe ; how Saxonis wer wincust, and maid tributaris to King Arthure.
Ca viij

Quhill the Saxonis war thirlit to seruitude and banyst in this maner, King Arthure sett him to repair þe kirkis, quhilckis war distroyitt be þair tyranny, and naymlie to repare þe enormiteis done in 3ork, becaus þe Saxonis did maist cruelte in þe samyn, and exhortit þe pepill to divyne seruice. The nixt 3ere he was aduerteist that þe Saxonis quhilckis inhabit þe Ile of Wycht, with vtheris of Kent, war assemblit to giddir,

makand grete cruelteis and herschippis in þe Britonis landis. To repreß þir attemptatis, he went with ane grete powere to Loundoun, and to bring his purposß to ane bettir fyne, sollistit Eugenius, þe son of Congallus afoir rehersit, and Modredus, son to Lothus, to cum with xx^m Scottis and Pichtis to his support.

Arthure, knowing þe grete dammage that come to his pepill in tyme bypast be ryottus and surfett pleseir, maid him to withstand þair insolence, that na occasioun suld appeir to effeminatt his army. Þe fourt day eftir he tuke þe ymage of Oure Blissit Lady to be his ensenþe, and went forthwert with þe samyn in hoipe of victory. Modrede and his gudefader Gawolane, richt desyrous to wyn honour, went afoir þe army
 253 of Britonis with | v^m horsß men. The Saxonis, knowing King Arthour within foure mylis to þair army, send þair ambassatouris, desyring him to pas na forthar, and to geif þame licence to pas oute of Albioun with þair gudis, but iniure of Britonis. Quhen Arthure had condiscendit to þair peticionis, þai desyrit thre dayis trewis, bot þat he refusit, traisting, as it wes provin eftir, sum hid tresoun vnder þair desiris. Nochttheles, he promittit to paß litill forthwert for that daye, and commandit þair ambassatouris to return þe nixt daye to here þe ansuere of his nobillis. Quhen þe Britonis war avisand quhat suld be done in þis mater, and belevand na thing leß than tresoun, þe Saxonis set on Modrede and Gawolane, quhilkis wer certane mylis afoir King Arthuris army, and slew ane grete novmer
 (II. 79) perof, and þe remanent chasit to þe Britonis campe. Arthure incontinent callit afoir him þe ambassatouris of Saxonis, and sayid, he wald here nane of þair desyris in tymes cuming, nor 3ite haif peace with þame during his lyiff, becaus þai tresonabilly invadit his pepill vnder commonyng of peace. Skairslye war thir wourdis said, quhen xl of þe nobillest men amang þe Saxonis come to King Arthour to excuse þe tresoun recentlye committit, saying it wes done be 3oung men, and but avise of thair nobillis. Arthure, presumand na leß tresoun vnder this last message þan þe first, commandit þaim to remane still in his campe with þe first messengeris, syne rasit his army within þe nycht, and come arrayitt with thre batellis on þe Saxonis, or þai war perfitelie aduerteist of his cuming. The

Saxonis, herand his suddand cuming, and nocht aduerteist quhat wes ansuerit to pair ambassatouris, war na leß effrayitt þan vnknawand quhat wes to be done. Modrede & Gawolane, knawing þe grete effray of Saxonis, invadit þame with sa properant deligence þat mony of þame war wyncust and put to flycht, or þai mycht be arrayitt; on quhom followit Arthure with sik vehement raige and fury þat nane of þame war sauffitt fra his bludy swerd quhilkis mycht be ouretakin. Nocht wes hard bot rummyschyng of dolorous & deand pepill in all partis pair aboute, the campe repleitt with dede cariouns, and þe fludis rynnand with bludy stremys to þe seyis. In this batall was slayn sa huge novmer of Saxonis þat apperandlie þai mycht nevir recover þe damage þerof, nor zite haif pissance to resist þe Britonis in tymes cuming; throw quhilk þai war maid tributaris to King Arthure,¹ and thirlit with mair intollerabill seruitude þan afoir, bot þe nobillis war licent to pas in Almany. The Scottis & Pichtis abaid certane dayis in Londoun, and returnit hame richely revardit be King Arthure, but ony displeseir sufferit in þir weris.

(II. 80)

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How Tonsett wes slayne for his wrangwis administracioun of iustice; of þe deth of King Conrannus; of Iustiniane Empriour, | and of his prudent constitucionis, fame and chevelry; of sindry ruynis and captiuiteis of Rome. Ca ix

Sic thingis done in Britan be Arthure, the realme of Scotland was governit in grete felicite and iustice be King Conrannus, quhill at last be damage of lang aige sindry troubillis followitt. Thair was ane man in Murray of pure lynnage, namyt Tonsett, quhilk wes maid Grete Iustice be Conrannus, and wes mair set for þe Kingis proffitte þan ony iustice, gevand his besynes to pvneiß men be extreme rigoure, to conquess money to þe King. Conrannus, as þe ingyne of sindry kingis ar, had þame in maist favoure and reuerence quhilkis cowth be subtell slycht or ingyne confysk gudis of

¹ MS. *Artuhure*.

þe pepill to his proffitt. This Tonsett, eftir sindry wrangis and oppressionis done be him in the Kingis autorite, callit afoir him certane merchandis of Fores in Murraye, and for small & wayn cauß put þame to deth as mysdoaris, syne confiskatt þair gudis to þe Kingis behuyff. The nobillis of Murraye, quhilkis wer of blude and allya to þir merchandis, richt com-movit of þir iniuris, come apoun þis Tonsett, quhair he was sittand in iugement, doand mair extorsionis þan iustice to þe pepill, and slew him. Þe skry raiß eftir his slauchter, and maid thir men to be serchit. Nochtþeles, as disparit men þai fled to þe montanis, traisting na grace, na ¹ remede, bot gif þai did sum gretar cruelte to redeme þe first, as is þe common opinioun zite in oure dayis, and þerfor concludit to sla þe King, and deliuer þe pepill of þe tiranny and extorsionis done be him; quhairthrou þai ² mycht conquess þe favoure of commonis, and to be restorit agane to þair liberte and peace. Schort tyme eftir Donald, Thayn of Athoill, richt familiare with the King, knawing þis conspiracioun, send his secrete seruandis to cauß (II. 81) þir lymmaris to cum to Invelothy, quhair the King wes resident for þe tyme, and promittit þame support to accompliss þair intent; finalie ressaut þame with grete humanite, and inclusit þame with thair swerdis and wappynnis in ane secrete chalmer, quhair þe King vsit to be solitair; syne departit oute of þe toun, as he had knawin na thing þerof. The King at last enterit in þe chalmer, quhair thir lymmaris wer watand for his slauchter, na thing aduertist þerof. And quhen he saw þame, he fell on kneis, and desyrit grace. Nochþeles, he was finaly slayn, þe xxxv zere of his regne, quhilk wes in þe xvj zere of þe empire of Arthure, and in þe xx zere of Iustiniane Empriour, fra þe Incarnacioun v^c xxxv zeris. His body wes brocht to Colmkill, and berijt amang þe anciant sepulturis of his forbearis.

255 This Iustiniane was ane of þe nobill empriouris that was afoir his dais, | for he causit all þe constitucionis of princes to be drawin in xij bukis, callit þe Code, and eftir thatt all þe lawis of vther nobill men in fyfty bukis, callit þe Pandectis, compendiouslie to giddir, with sik prudence, ressoun and

¹ A. nor.² MS. þa.

eloquence that euery pepill has þe samyn in admiracioun. This Iustiniane pacefyit mony landis pertenyng to Romane empyre, for he deliuerit Affrik fra Vandalis, Italye fra þe Gotthis, and Dalmasia fra þe tyranny of Mundus, be chevelry of ane richt wailþeant capitane, callit Bellisar, and als deliuerit Rome and Italy fra þe tyranny of Theodoricus, King of Astrogotthis, eftir þat he had segit þe samyn mony ȝeris. For this Bellisar faucht mony strang batallis for þe defence of Rome, quhill at last, quhen Bellisar was wexitt with lang malady, it wes takin be Totilla, King of Gotthis, the wallis and municionis brynt and bett down to þe ground, and nane left in it on lyve, to be ane perpetuall memory to all pepill how litill confidence suld be had in fragilite of man. Rome was distroyit in þis maner fra þe Incarnacioun v^c l ȝeris. Quhen it first began to fluriss, it wes brynt and distroyit be Franche men ; eftir that schort tyme it wes distroyit agan be Alaricus, King of Gotthis ; and nocht lang eftir be Atalpus, quhilk rang eftir Alaricus ; and sone eftir be Gensiricus and þe Wandalis put to na les rwyne þan Cartage wes be Romanis. This towne, quhilk has bene (II. 82) decorit with sa mony wailþeand dedis, þe dantare of all pepill, and sa oft takin be barbar ¹ pepill, schawis wele na thing sikker, bot all fragill and mortail in þis warld. Bot we will return to oure history, quhair we left.

Off King Eugenius and his lawis ; how Conrannus wyiff fled with hir sonnes in Ireland ; off King Arthuris fame and chevelry and his Round Tabill ; how Britonis, contrair þair promys, maid Constantyne prince of Britan.

Ca x

Conrannus decessit, as said is, Eugenius, þe son of Congallus, was maid king. Mony frendis of Conrannus gaif him counsale in þe begynnyng of his empire to puneiss þe slauchter of his eme, þat vtheris mycht tak exempill in tymes cuming to put hands in ane vnitit king. Eugenius, na thing movit of þair counsale, nocht onlie left þe slaaris of him

¹ MS. *barbill*.

vnpuneist, bot als put þame on his secrete consale, throw quhilk sindry suspect him of his slauchter. Conrannus wyiff, suspeckand him on þe samyn maner, fled with hir childerin, namit Regnan and Aydane, in Irelande, quhair scho remanit certane ȝeris, and decessit with hir first son Regynan, bot Aydan remanit with þe King of Ireland, wele tretit, mony ȝeris eftir.

King Eugenius, to schew him plesand in þe begynnnyng of his empire, satt oft tymes in iugement, to cauß him seme benyn¹ to þe pepill, and quhair ony persons wes condampnit wrang-
 256 worsly,² he gaif þaim | licence to appele to his vther iugis, and supportit þe indigent pepill with þe common gude, quhen þai had na gudis to follow þair accioun be þe law. He comandit þat na man call ane pupill in iugement afoir his lauchfull aige, and na wedow to be drawin ane myle fra hir duelling place to iugement. He maid als grete punycioun on thevis and resettouris; syne gaif his besynes to keip gude peace with his nychtbouris, þe Pichtis & Britonis.

Sum autoris writis that Arthure in thir dayis dantit Scotland, Ireland, Island, Orknaie, Denmark, Swedrik, Pruse,³ Zeland, (II. 83) Gothland, Holland, Brabant, Flandris, Picardy, Normandy, Bertanȝe and all France, and maid þe pepill of þe samyn tributar to him. Eftir this he brocht to his dominioun Grece, Perse, Mede, Araby, Egipt, Affrik and Spaynȝe, and tuke Lucius, Romane Empriour, presonere be force of armys. This history sall haif faith wit þaim quhilk wrait þe samyn. Nochþeles, we know fermly þat Arthure decessit in þe tyme of Iustiniane Empriour, quhen þe Gotthis, Burgundianis, Wandalis and all vther nacionis invadit þe Romane Empire, and þerfor it is nocht apperand, sen sa mony sindry pepill maid diuerß weris amang þame self þat tym, that þai mycht be gaderit vnder ane mynde to fecht aganis Arthour. Attour, war þat samyn tyme maist horribill weris betuix Gotthis & Franche men, and þe historianis quhilkis wrait þir weris makis na mencioune of Arthure. Nochþeles, sen we ar sett to mynneiß na manis honouris, we fynd þat Arthure wes in gloir of marciall dedis na les wailȝeand than vther princes of Britan, and ekit his

¹ MS. *benyn* followed by two illegible letters with a flourish over them.

² MS. *wangworsly*.

³ MS. Spruse, agreeing with printed text; the correction is from the Latin.

realme equalie in pollesy and riches. It is writin þat Arthure tuke grete delectacioun in wersling of strang kempis, havand þame in sik familiarite þat, quhen he vsit to dyne or tak consultacioun in his weeris, he gart þame sit down with him in maner of ane round crowne, that nane of þame suld be preferrit till vther in dignite, for quhilk þe sete wes callit þe Round Tabill. And þocht his wailþeand knyghtis war wourthy to haif memorye, ȝite þe wlgaris fabillis, quhilkis ar fenzeit of þe samyn, has violaitt thair fayme, and makis þame to haif þe lefs credence.

The Britonis, insolent be lang pece vnder þe empire of Arthoure, war penitent of þe contract maid afor *with* Lothus, King of Pichtis, thinkand *nocht* proffittabill for þair wele that vncouth blude suld regne abone thame, and *perfor* desyrit King Arthour to schaw þame quhom he thocht maist abill to succed. Arthure bad þaim cheif ane be þair generall voittis thatt war wise and discending of þe blude ryall of Britan, and þai, but mair delaye, namyt Constantyn, þe son of Cadoris, Prince of Cornwell, quhilk wes admittit be Arthure, and declarit Prince of Britan, nocht þat he was than king, bot iust hayr to succede eftir his
 257 deth ; throw quhilk it come in vse þat þe eldast son | of kingis
 (II. 84) was callit Prince of þe realme. Constantyne, declarit Prince in þis maner, apperit be mony evident signis wise and gracious to þe pepill, throu quhilk he conquest ane gude name amang þe Britonis.

Off þe message send be the Pichtis to þe Britonis, and of thair ansuer ; how King Arthure wes slayne witht mony nobillis of Britan be Scottis and Pichtis ; how Gwanora, Arthuris wyiff, was takin with sindry nobillis, and brocht in Anguse ; of hir sepulture ; and of þe calamite þat come to Albianis be this batall.

Ca xj

The samyn tyme Lothus, King of Pichtis, decessit, be quhom the landis quhilkis wer afor namyt Pentland war callit Lowtheane. Eftir his deth King Modrede send his ambassatouris to Arthure and þe nobillis of Britan, saying it

was nocht semand to princes to violaitt þair faith and mynde, but intervencioun of sum lefull cauß. The band maid betuix Arthure & Modreid was nocht vnknawin to þame, be quhilk it was ratifijt þat nane suld regne behynd Arthour in Britan bot þe sonnes of Lothus and Anna and þair successioun. Nochpeles, it wes schawin to þame þat Constantyne of Cornwall was declarit Prince of Britan, contrair thair faith. For thir causis he ¹ desirit plesandlie King Arthure to geif na aduertence to þe iniust persuasioun of his pepill, quhilkis hes na respect to religioun nor piete, bot only to cauß him distroye baith þe law of God and man, and þerfor prayit him to persevere in the band afoir contrackitt, that na pvnicioun cum on his pepill be iustice of God for violacioun of his faith and promeß. It wes ansuerit be the nobillis of Britan þat þe band betuix Arthure and Lothus wes maid bot during þe langar levair of þame twa, and becaus Lothus wes decessit, the band wes dissoluit in þe self, and þerfor þai violatt nocht þair faith, howbeit þai maid Constantyne, ane nobill man of þe blude ryall of Britan, to be þair Prince. Attoure, na thing semytt (II. 85) kingis mair than to sett þair providence in wisdome þat þair realme cum nocht vnder þe empire of vncouth blude. And becaus it war suspicious þat Britonis suld cum vnder dominioun of Pichtis, sen þai bene ay þair auld inymis, thai wald admitt nane of þair lynnage to regne abone þame, for it wer difficill to bring two pepill quhilk has bene sa lang at discorde vnder ane blude, frendschip and lawis. For thir ressonis counsalit þe Pichtis, gif þai war prudent, to stand content of þair awin rowmez, in auenture, gif þai socht dominioun of vncouth realmez, þai gatt sone experience quhat damage mycht follow be þair fuliche audacite.

This ansuere, rehersit to þe Pichtis, maid þame to detest 258 þair tresoun, and to be penitent þat þai supportit | þame in subdewing of Saxonis; nochpeles, tuke consultacioun quhat was best to be done, and finalie with ane consent concludit to invaid þe Britonis, and to bring in þair contrair all pepill that war þair inymis. 3ite, or thai list attempt þis besynes, þai thocht best to assailþe þe myndis of Scottis and Saxonis,

¹ MS. omits *he* : correction from A.

and fand þame reddy to assist to þame in peace or were. Eugenius grantit þe mair pleasandlye to þair petitionis, becaus þe Britonis wer ressaith to þe rebellis of Scotlannd. Arthure, seand þe peace gevin vp betuix him and Pichtis, garnyst all þe municionis of his realme, syne come with ane huge pepill aganis Scottis & Pichtis, traisting, howbeit Saxonis returnit in Britan, to ourthrow þame haistelie, becaus þai wer brokin afoir with his weris. Nochtheles, ane huge novmer of Scottis and Pichtis war assembillit afoir his cumyng at Humbir, as in þat place quhair þai bene maist fortunatt to wyn.

Quhen þe bataillis war arrayitt in vþeris sicht, þe bischoppis and prelaittis of Scottis, Pichtis & Britonis come betuix þame, desyring þame to remembir how dangerous it war to þair commoun wele, and how vnnaturall it wer, to persevere in bataill, sen þai wer ordanit be nature to leif to gidder within þat ile, and debait þame fra invasioun of vther strang pepill. Attour, thair singulair batallis and contencionis amangis þame self suld be occasioun to Saxonis to return in Albion, becaus þai reiose na thing mair than in subuersioun of Albianis. Modrede and Eugenius, movit be devoit wourdis of þir prelaittis, condescendit to put ane end to all þair weris, gif the Britonis wald stand at þe band contrackitt betuix þame and þe Pichtis. The bischoppis with þis ansuere went to Arthure, and brocht his mynde to peace, bot þe frendis of Constantyne war noch only repugnant to þair petitionis, bot als gair evil langage, and said þe confideratt kingis had denunciit first weris to Arthure, throw quhilk it wes noch his honour to desist fra (II. 86) þe samyn. Als, it wes bot foly to þame to persuade peace, quhen the armyis war arrayit in vther sycht, bot gif it war to wirk sum prodicioun vnder coloure of peace. Skairslie war thir wourdis sayid, quhen huge noyis and clamour rais on all sydis, and sone eftir the armyis ionytt. The place quhair þai faucht wes full of moss and marraiss, and sa vnpleasand to Britonis þat þai mycht noch weild þair ordinance and wap-pinnis as þai desyrit, throw quhilk the batall was prolongit, and sa huge multitude of pepill slayn þat the rivere of Humbir ran full of dede carionis and bludy stremys to þe seyis. Quhill þe armyis wer fechtand in maist raige in this maner, ane of

þe Pichtis, instruckit for þe nanis, cryitt with ane schill voce,
 " Fle ! Fle ! Arthure is slayne with all nobilite of Britonis ! "

259 | This cry rasit þe Scottis and Pichtis with mair spreitt than
 afoir, and maid þe Britonis sa estonyst þat na autorite nor
 sounde of trumpaitt mycht gar thame tary, bot haistelie left
 þair wappynis, and tuke þame to flycht. In this batall wes
 slayn King Arthure and Waluane, þe ¹ King of Pichtis bruther,
 fechtand þat day for þe lufe of King Arthure aganis his native
 pepill, and xxx^m Britonis, with mony of all þe nobillis of Britan
 othir takin or slayn at þe said iornaye ; on þe syde aduersair,
 Modreid, King of Pichtis, slayne with xx^m Scottis and Pichtis.

The nixt morrow all þe spoulþe in King Arthuris campe wer
 partit amang the confideratt pepill be ryte of armis, amang
 quhilkis Guanora, þe Qwene of Britan and spouß of King
 Arthure, wes takin with mony ladyis and knychtis depending
 on hir for that tyme. The horsß, riches and cofferis gottin with
 hir fell in praye to þe Scottis, bot scho, hir ladijs and knychtis
 fell to þe Pichtis, and was brocht in Anguse till ane castell
 callit Donbarre, of the quhilk na thing remanis now bot þe prent
 of þe wallis, quhair þai levitt þe remanent dayis of þair lyvis.
 In memorie hereof in Megill, ane tovne of Anguse, nocht
 x mylis fra Dunde, ar mony anciant sepulturis had in grete
 reuerence of þe pepill, and specialie þe sepulture of Gwanora,
 as þe titill writin þerupoun schawis. Gif ony woman stampe on
 þat sepulture, þai salbe ay barrant fra þat furth, like as Gwanora
 was ; and quheþer this be of verite or nocht, lat þame schaw
 quhilkis has experience þerof, bot a thing we know : euery
 (II. 87) woman, except nunmys, aborris to stampe on þat sepulture.
 It is said be Galfride, writar of þe History of Britonis, þat
 Modrede and Arthure faucht nocht at Humbir, bot at þe toun
 of Gwyntoun, and come oute of þat feild on live, and Gwanora
 for displeseir enterit in religioun ; quhilkis ar nocht far dis-
 crepant fra the history quhilk we haif writin. Nochþeles, we
 follow Veremound, Turgott and vther mair attentik autouris,
 quhilkis writis þe trew dedis of nobill men, but ony ficcioun.
 Attoure, quhar ever þis maist dangerous batall was strikkin,
 sik displeseir come eftir to Britonis, Scottis and Pichtis

¹ MS. omits þe : correction from A.

brokin be huge slauchter in þe samyn, þat mony 3eris eftir
þai mycht nocht recover þe damage sustenit in þe samyn.

How Constantyne, King of Britonis, slew þe sonnes
of Modrede ; of vncouth mervallis sene in Albion ;
how Eugenius gaif sindry landis witht armys to nobill
men of his realme ; how Iurmyndrik, Duke of Saxonis,
subdewit þe Britonis ; how King Constantyne wes
maid ane monk in Ireland ; and of Eugenius deth.

Ca xij

260 **T**he Britonis, eftir this disconnfitoure and slauchter of
King Arthure, maid Constantyne, quhilk wes declarit
Prince afoir, King of Britan. This Constantyne, þat na suc-
cessioun of Modrede sall clame þe croun of Britan, slew þe sonnes
of Modrede in presence of þair ¹ moder, quhilk was dochter of
Gawolane, throw quhilk all þe successioun of Modrede failzeitt.
This affliccionne fell on þe Albianis fra the Incarnacioun
v^c xliij 3eris, in þe xxiiij 3ere of þe empire of Arthour and þe
viij 3er of þe regne of Ewgenius. Mony vncouth merwellis
war sene afoir þis last batall in Albion. Herbis war sene in
3ork full of blude. Ane calf was fundin nocht far fra Camelon
with twa hedis, and ane lam siklyke with double nature. The
son at myd day was sene with bludy coloure. The lift schayn
(II. 88) twa dayis continewallie full of steeris. The pyottis and nycht
crawis faucht with þe ravynnis, and maid incredibill slauchter
on euery syde. Bot we will return to oure history.

King Ewgenius eftir his returnyng in Scotland novmerit þe
residew of his army, and rewardit richelie þe freyndis of þame
quhilkis war slayn in þis feild, and, to cauß þair wailzeant
dedis remane in memory, gaif þame landis with sindry armys,
þat þair posterite may vnderstand how þair princes hes decorit
thame for thair honorabill behaving. Eugenius with sik
victorius and vertewis dedis conquest ane gude name, and
was haldin maist dere to his pepill, gyding his realme in tymes
cuming mair be beneuolence þan be rigoure.

¹ MS. *hir* : correction from A.

Iurmynrík, Duke of Saxonis, aduertist of þis vntellabill slauchter of Britonis, come with ane huge navy and pepill in Ingland, quhair he with small besynes subdewitt King Constantyne, and chasit him with remanent Britonis in Walis, and eftir þat on Ireland, quhair he levitt certane ʒeris with his wyiff and childerin, vnknawin, amang þe indigent pepill, on almouse, and eftir þis, quhen he wes knawin, be persuasioun of monkis schoif his hede in ane abbaye of þe samyn cuntre, quhair he levitt ane devoitt lyfe, and wes slayn eftir be Scottis, and ekitt to þe nowmer of martiris. In memorie heirof mony kirkis ar amang ws dedicatt to him. This Iurmynrík, howbeit he wes nocht institute in the sikkir faith, ʒite he sufferit the faith to be prechit to Ingliſmen. He maid ane band of peace betuix him, Scottis and Pichtis, quhilk indurit to þe end of his lyfe. Eugenius, havand gude peace þe residew of his dayis, decessit þe xxxiiij ʒere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun v^c lxxiij ʒeris, quhilk wes in þe vj ʒere of Tiberius þe Secund, Romane Emprioure.

(II. 89)

Off King Convallus, his lawis and deth ; of the cuming
of Sanct Columbe in Scotland, and of Sanct Mongo.

C xiiij

Eugenius decessit and beryit in Colmkill, his bruper Convallus wes maid king, ane prince richt catholik. He
261 commandit all castellis & townis within his realme | to haif
ane croce payntit on þame, to remembre the pepill quhat payn
Oure Saluator sufferit on it. He had ane siluer crucifix born
afoir him quhair ever he ʒeid or raid, and kist ay þe samyn or
he montit on his hors. It was writin with goldin letterz aboute
the croce, "The gloir of Cristin pepill." He inhibit to paynt
or grave þe signe of þe croce in ony pavement of kirkis, þat the
pepill suld nocht strampe on þe samyn. He was never sene in
þe kirk bot with discoverit hede. He maid lawis for liberte
of Haly Kirk : he that dang ane preist sall wantt his hande ;
he þat slew ane preist salbe brynt qwyk, and his gudis confiskatt ;
the teyndis of euery froittis growand on þe ground

salbe gevin to þe Kirk ; he þat was cursit be autorite of Kirk salbe resecatt fra gude company, and nane to doo him reuerence, na lawis to be patent to him, na faith to be gevin to deposicioun. He dotatt þe Kirk with riche iowellis and possessionis to sustene dyvyne seruice. He gaif to all vicaris and personis certane croftis and landis lyand aboute þair kirkis, to caus þame to be þe mair fervent in þair residence and deuocioun, throw quhilk þe Cristin faith was honourit throu all þe partis of þis realme.

The fame of this Catholik prince causit Sanct Columbe, ane haly man of singulair lyffe and deuocioun, to cum oute of Irelande in Albion with ane cunpany of religious pepill, at quhais cuming was vndemous confluence of Scottis and Pichtis for þe grete felicite and sweitnes þai fand in his preching. He gaderit sindry monkis, quhilkis war that tyme vagabound throw þe realme, and put þame in sindry abbayis, quhilkis war foundit afor be Convallus. Eftir þis he come in Loutheane, (II. 90) quhair he purgit Brudeus, King of Pichtis, and his pepill fra Pelagius heresyis. The samyn tyme wes Sanct Mongo, þe haly Bischope of Glasgaw, quhilk wes gottin on Sanct Thenew, þe dochter of Lothus, King of Pichtis, opprest contrair hir will be Eugenius, last King of Scottis. This Mongo, herand Sanct Columbe preiche afor Brudeus, wes revist in spreit be his devyne wourdis, and followit him to Dunkeld, quhair Convallus beildit ane riche abbaye afor, bot now be magnificence of princes the samyn is ane bischoppis sete, craftelie biggit with squair and polist stanys. Quhen thir twa haly men had remanit certane dayis in Dunkeld, Sanct Mongo went to Glasgaw, and Sanct Columbe returnit to Ireland, and schew to þe princes þerof how plesandlie he wes tretit amang þe Scottis & Pichtis ; quhat fervent desyre þai had to his preching ; and ȝite ane thing wes þair abone all merwallis sene be him afor : Convallus, King of Scottis, nochwithstanding his princelie estait and riches, quhilkis suld induce him mair to pleseir þan vertew, was na leß religious þan ony vther prelaitt or kirkman in his realme, quhais provin verteu was haldin in sik reuerence amang his pepill þat na persoun durst be iniurious to vther, nor ȝite speke of him ony detraccioun ; throw quhilk all vices |

262 of his pepill, pocht þai wer naturalie inclynit *perto*, war dantit mair be his verteu than ony rigoure. The nixt ȝere Sanct Columbe returnit in Albione, bringand with him þe son of Conrannus, namyt Ayedane, quhilk fled afoir, as wee schew, in Irelande to eschew þe wraith of Eugenius. At his *cuming* in þe Ilis he wes aduertist how Convallus wes decessit, þe x ȝere of his regne, and his body cumand with grete lament of þe pepill to be berijt in Colmkyll, and *perfor* went to þis abbaye, and did his funerall obsequies in his devoitt maner.

(II. 91) How King Kynnatill resignit the crowne of Scotland
to Aydane; off þe orisoun maid be Sancte Columbe;
how Scottis and Pichtis faucht amang thame selff,
and wer aggreitt be Sancte Columbe. Ca xiiij

Convallus decessit, as said is, ane counsale was sett in Ergile, fra oure Redempcioun v^c lxxviiȝ ȝeris, in þe quhilk Kynnatill, bruther to Convallus afoir rehersit, wes maid king. Kynnatill, as na men belevitt, ressaut Columbe and Aydane with grete humanite, and bad Aydane be of gude curage, for within schort tyme he suld reiose the crowne of Scotlande, and haif successioun that sall deliuer þe realme of mony displeseris. Schort tyme eftir ane immoderatt fluxe of caterre fell in his throitt and chastis, and causit him to resigne þe gouernance of his realme to Aydane. Sanct Columbe, seand Kynnatill approche to þe extremis of deth, come to mak him consolacioun, and exhortit him to haif all thing in contempcioun, sauffing þe onlie felicite of hevin, quhair he was passand haistelye to. Kynnatill, obtemperand to Sancte Columbe, randrit his saule to God, þe fourte moneth of his regnne, quhais body wes brocht to Colmkill, and berijt in þe samyn.

Ane convencioun wes maid sone eftir in Ergile, in þe quhilk Aydane wes maid king. Sancte Columbe, becaus he wes present at þis convencioun, put þe dyademe on Aydanis hede, and said to þe nobillis on this wise: "It is nocht neidfull, maist nobill men, to exhort ȝow to ony grete deuocioun, sen þe samyn inccressis daylie, as apperis, amang ȝow. Nochþeles,

I think *nocht* vnganand to exhort 3ow to be obeisand to 3oure prince Aydane, vnder ane mynde and assent, quhilk is noch onlie brocht to þis solempne auditoure be my industry, bot erar be provisioun of God ; quhais devoir salbe to governe 3ow in equale iustice and peace, but ony troubill or iniuris, and quhen the samyn occurris, to deliuer 3ou þairof. 3oure part (11.92) salbe þairfor to leif to giddir vnder him with ane mynde and beneuolence, standing sa content with 3oure awne gudis þat 3e covaitt na vþeris, remembring þe sindry benefitis gevin to 263 3ou be þe ineffabill gudenis of God, | quhilk has instruckit 3ow in his blissit lawis, makand 3ow his dere and tendir pepill, and fortunatte 3ow to haif ane prince of singulare verteu, be quhais prudence 3oure faith salbe sicker and 3oure commoun wele put to proffite, with sik felicite, gif 3e be obeisand to him, þat na inmyis sall appeir aganis 3ow. Be þe contrair, quhilk God forbeide, gif 3e declyne þe constitucionis of God, and be rebelland to þe ministeris of iustice, or gif 3oure prince Aydane be vnmyndefull of þe giftis of God, abusing him in þe administracioun of iustice, þan sall noch fayll to cum on 3ow sindry plagis and civill contencionis, quhilkis sall geif occasioun to 3oure inmyis to invaid and bring 3ow to vtter exterminioun, leß þan 3e amend 3oure demerittis in tyme. Provyde, þairfor, 3e be noch sa insolent eftir hie chance of prosperite that 3e incur noch þe hattrent of God, exponand 3oure singulair and common wele to extreme dangere." The pepill, exhortit be thir wourdis, promittit thair faithfull obedience to King Aydane.

Sik thingis done, Sanct Columbe returnit in þe Ilis, and King Aydane went in Gallowaye, quhair he be iustice dantit certane thevis quhilkis infestit þe cuntre, and, to reprefß vther enormiteis done in his realme, sett ane convencioun of his nobillis in sindry partis of his realme, in quhilkis, be prudence of Sancte Columbe, wer devisit sindry thingis for þe commoun wele, throw quhilk grete tranquillite succedit mony dayis eftir. Nochþeles, as þe chance of man oft occurris, few pepill has that prudence to mak þame stand in lang felicite. Certane nobillis, quhilkis mycht noch sustene lang prosperite, fell at ane hye contencioun at thair huntis be interuencioun of ane caufs of

nocht, throw quhilk followitt ane haistye slauchter. The slaaris, knowing þame ferslye socht be rigoure of iustice, and havand na refuge to eschew the Kingis lawis, fled to Brudeus, King of Pichtis. Ayedane, aduertist þairof, send his ambassatouris, requiring him be þe tenoure of his confideracioun to deliuer thir men to his iustice. Brudeus, movit be *commiseracioun* of thir bannest men, refusit his desyris, and be frequent message excusit þair iniquite, throw quhilk he maid þe iniuris (II. 93) of vtheris to be occasion of batall aganis him self. King Ayedane, displesit þat þe rebellis war nocht deliuerit at his pleseir, send ane cunpany of armyt men in Anguse to wirk sum displeser to þe Pichtis for þair repulse, and þai incontinent brocht ane huge praye of gudis oute of þe samyn, and slew all þame þat maid obstakle. The Pichtis, impacient of þis iniure, recompensit þe samyn with siclyke herschippis and slauchter on þe inhabitantis of Gallowaye. The fury and raige of insolence, ilk day mair inccessing, maid this debaith to be determit be þe swerd, and þai¹ gaderit þame baith in Striueling be lang provisioun, quhair þai faucht to giddir with na litill murdir on all sydis. And þocht þe victory succedit to þe Scottis, 3ite it was richt vnplesand, for Arthurnus, King Aydanis eldest son, was slayn in þis batall, quhais slauchter was mair dolorous and lamentabill to þame þan þe victory was plesand.

264 Sanct Columbe, herand | of this vnhappy batall, come to King Ayedane, and reprevit him þat he for sa small occasioun movitt batall on his confideratt frendis, throw quhilk he was causß of huge slauchter, bringand sa mony pepill to vtter powerte; and þerfor declarit, gif þe samyn war nocht haistly² reparit, he and all his blude be iustice of God suld suffer irrecouerabill damage. Ayedane, effrayitt be þir wourdis, and knowing³ him self gilty, prayitt Sanct Columbe to schaw be quhatt waye he mycht remede þe offence⁴ committit. This haly man, seyng Ayedane penitent and makand peteous regrait, be *commiseracioun* þairof went to Brudeus, King of Pichtis, schawing how vnprudentlye this vnhappy bergane was begunnyn, and quhatt sall follow on baith þe pepill, gif þai

¹ MS. omits þai : correction from A.

² MS. haisty.

³ MS. knawin.

⁴ MS. þe the offence.

perseveir in bataill aganis vther. Be thir wourdis Brudeus condiscendit to haif peace, and was content that Sanct Columbe with athir consentis suld be iuge in þis debait, to evin all materis as he thocht best. Finalie, baith the kingis war aggreitt and brocht be his prudence to þe samyn tendirnes as þai war afoir. Schorte tyme following this haly man returnit in þe Illis, quhair he fell in ane grete infirmite be immoderatt fluxe of caterre, quhilk followit him to þe end of his lyfe.

(II. 94)

How þe Saxonis devidit Ingland in sevin sindry kingdomes ; how Pichtis and Saxonis wer confideratt to giddir, and disconnfist be Scottis and Britonis ;¹ off the orisone maid be King Aydane to his army ; how þe said Aydane wes wincust be Saxonis, and his son slayn.

Ca xv

Quhen the Saxonis had dongin þe Britonis in Walis, and cruciatt þame ilk daye with new affliccioun, þai devidit the realme of Ingland in sevin sindry kingdomes, to that fyne that Britonis sall never haif place to recover þair auld rowmes, and maid sevin sindry kingis ; amang quhom was Ethelfrede, King of Northummerland, havand singulair malice aganis all Britonis. And becaus he was richt desyrous to eyk his empyre, he sollistit Bredeus, King of Pichtis, to invaid þe Scottis, promitting, gif he wald invaid þame be batall, sen þe iniuris done to his pepill was nocht redressit, to support him with all powere he mycht. This batall wes nocht persuadit be Ethelfrede for ony affeccioun he had to Pichtis, bot onlie to haif þame² brokin with Scottis, that he mycht þan conquess pair realme. Brudeus first refusit thir desyris ; nochþeles, be impulsoun of his nobillis, he rasis ane army aganis his confideratt nychtbouris. The motive of his invasioun was þat þe gudis reft afoir fra his pepill be Scottis wer nocht restorit, as þe contract proportit ; als, þe Scottis invadit þame dalie be frequent heirschippis and slauchter. King Aydane, to meitt
265 the treassoun of Pichtis and slycht of Saxonis, | confiderit him

¹ MS. *Pichtis*.² MS. omits *þame* : correction from A.

with Malgo, King of Britonis, in this maner ; gif þe Saxonis and Pichtis invadit the Britonis, he suld cum in Britan to thair support, and gif þai come first in Scottis landis, King Malgo suld come with þe Britonis on that samyn maner to his support. The Saxonis, wele aduerteist of this *confideracioun*, to draw þe Scottis far fra þair rowmis, and to mak þame lak vittalis, enterit with þe Pichtis in þe Britonis landis. King (II. 95) Aydane, knowing this, assemblit sone all his powere, and come in support of Britonis. Þe Saxonis and Pichtis, notwithstanding his cuming, maid þame to eschew batall and to brek his army be lang tary and abyding the cuming of vtheris Saxonis to thair support. In þe menetyne apperit in sight Ceulyne, King of West Saxonis, to fortify thair army with mair powere and pissance. The Scottis and Britonis, howbeit þai war effrayitt of thair cuming, thocht best, sen na help apperit bot in þair handis, to meitt þis new army of West Saxonis, afoir þai mett with thair fallowis, and finalie put þame to flicht, and slew Cutha, Ceulynus son.

Eftir this victory the Scottis and Britonis reiosit with sik excellent myrth as was vsit in þai dayis. Bot quhen þai saw þe Saxonis and þe residew of þame quhilkis war laitly disconnist cum on þame with new batall, thair curage began to decay, and all þair wourdis haistelye repressit. King Aydane, knowing this silence & na signe of audacite, bot erar of deieckit mynde, sayid in this maner : "Quhair is now, maist tendir conpanzeonis, 3oure knyghtlie curage ? Quhair is now 3oure invincibill spreitt ? Is 3oure glaidnes evanist or 3e be wyncust ? Ar 3e defaitt be onlye sicht of thir 3oure febill inymyis ? Sen 3e be merciall proves has put sa wailzeant pepill afoir to flicht, lat nevir þis 3oure strang army be randrit to inymyis. Lat nevir 3oure fais haif gloir be 3oure cowarttry, or haif victory but debaitt. Return, heirfor, my hartlie frendis, to 3our anciant vertu and curage, and vnderstand 3our inymyis invadis 3ow be wrang persute, be mocion of the tresonabill Ethelfrede, and *perfor* exerce 3oure wraith and cruelte on him, sen he is first rwte of all þis troubill, and 3e sall haif quhatt pleserr and revarde þat I may geif. 3e haif victory, quhilk is now in 3oure handis."

Thir wourdis war skairslie rehersit, quhen þe Saxonis, fechtand in þe wangarde, war put a bak, and incontinent Ethelfrede come with ane chosin cunpany in þair support, exhorting þame to tak na effraye of febill aduersairis, quhom þai sa oft wyncust afoir. Brudeus, fechtand in þe wangard, put þe Scottis to grete affliccioun. Nochþeles, þe Scottis perseuerit in ithand fechting, quhill þai saw þe myddilwarde, (II. 96) quhair þe Britonis faucht, disconnfist, and incontinent thai
 266 gaif bakkis, on | quhom followitt þe Pichtis and Saxonis *with* lang chaisß. In this batall wes slayne Brennyus, Thayn of þe Ile of Man, Dongarus, þe thrid son of Aydan, with mony nobillis and *commonis* on all sydis. King Ethelfrede lost ane of his ene. Brudeus was evill woundit, and mony of his nobillis slayne in his defence.

How Saxonis and Pichtis war disconnfist in Northumberland be Scottis and Britonis; of the deth of Sancte Columbe and King Aydane; of þe wengeance þat come on Inglismen for þe dyngin of Sanct Augustyn; and of sindry haly men. Ca xvj

Ethelfrede, na thing satisfijt of þis victory of Scottis and Britonis at Deglastoun, come the nixt summer with þe Pichtis in Gallowaye, othir to bring the samyn to vtter her-schip, or ellis to bring þe samyn vnder his dominioun. Aydane, weill aduerteist of thair mynde, send to þe Britonis to cum to his support, syne went *with* all powere þat he mycht gett in Gallowaye, and fand at his *cuming* the Saxonis and Pichtis rynnand in ane foraye throw þe cuntre but arraye, throw quhillk he slew ane grete part of þame and þe remanent put to flycht. The samyn nycht he come be 3ond þe army of Saxonis and Pichtis to meit þe Britonis *cumand* in his support. The Saxonis and Pichtis, knawing þe *cuming* of Britonis, sett þair besynes to keip all the entraß and straittis of Annandale, throw quhillk remanit na gaitt bot onlie to pas throw þe dangerous rever and synkand sandis of Sullwaa. The Britonis and Scottis, seand þame inclusit on all sydis, parkit þame self amang þe strenthis

of þe contre, as þai war in þe samyn to remane, syne rasis þair army within þe nycht, quhen þair fais suspekit na thing less than þair removing, and come our Sullwa þe maist properant way þai mycht in Northummerland, levand behynd þame huge
 (II. 97) fyris birmand all nycht. At þair cuming in Northummerland þai cessit fra na maner of cruelteis of swerd and fyre apoun þe inhabitantis thairof. Þe Saxonis and Pichtis, knowing this ordinance aganis þame, left Gallowaye, and with huge pyne come in þair inymyis sicht. The nixt daye baith þe armyis, rageand in maist hattrent aganis vther, iovnyt to giddir. The Saxonis with sik incredibill ferocite ruschitt in batall aganis þe Scottis, bot ony sicht to deth, þat mony of þame war doungin be dynt of suerdis to þe ground, 3ite, becaus fresche men come in all placis quhair þai war stoppit, the victory was lang vncertane, and þe chance of fortoun neutrall; quhill at last Aydane with vperis wailzeant capitanis began to rais þair
 267 folkis in hoip of victory, and spretit þame with sik courage | þat þai be perseuerand fechting put þe Saxonis and Pichtis to flycht, and maid mair slauchter on þame be þe chais þan wes in þe first batall. The nycht afor this batall Sancte Columbe with his brethir in þe Abbaye of Colmkil was at his praerris, and schew þame how þe nixt morrow King Aydane was to fecht aganis his fais, commending þairfor him and his army to þair prayeris. And na dowte is bot þe prayere of þis haly man wes richt supportabill to King Aydane, for in þe samyn houre that victory fell to Scottis Sanct Columbe revelit it to his brethir in þe said Abbaye, and gart þame geif þe loving pairof to God. Eftir this victory King Aydane be sounde of trumpett gaderit his folkis to þe standart, and eftir grete apprising of þair manhede he gaif þe tent part of þe spoulze gottin in þis feild to repair þe kirkis of Scotland, and send þe baners of Saxonis and Pichtis to Sancte Columbe, to remane in þe Abbey of Colmkil in memory of þis excellent victory. In this batall wes slayne Ceulynus, King of West Saxonis, with Cialyne and Quhittelyne, his principale capitanis.

Schort tyme following Sanct Columbe, brokin with lang infirmite, decessit, and wes beryitt in þe said Abbaye. Howbeit, vther autouris schawis him beryitt in ane toun of Ireland

namyt Dvyn, quhair he is haldin in grete veneracioun, and on his sepulture ar gravin þir versis :

Sanct Columbe, Sanct Patrik and Brigitta pure,
Thir thre in Dvne lysis in ane sepulture.

(II. 98) King Aydane levit schort tyme efter Sanct Columbis deth, and decessit the xxvij 3ere of his regnne, in þe empire of Mauricius Emprioure, fra the Incarnacioun vj^e vj 3eris. The samyn tyme wes institute be Sanct Gregoure þe processioun callit Letania Maior on Sanct Marcus Day, to implour þe mercy of God aganis ane terribill pest quhilk raifþ that tyme in Rome be invndacioun of Tybir.

This samyn Gregoure send in Ingland Augustyne and Mellite, to bring þe Saxonis, quhilkis wer callit þat tyme and eftir Inglismen, to þe Cristin faith. Nochþeles, quhen Augustyne wes precheand to þame in Myglintoun, þai war nocht onlye rebelland to his precheing, bot als to his contempcioun þai sewit fische talis on his abil3eament. Vtheris allegis þai dang him with skaitt rumpillis. Bot 3ite þis derisioun come mair to þair perpetuall scham than his displeseir, for God tuke on þame sic vengeance þat þai and all thair posterite had lang talis mony 3eris eftir. In memory heiroff all bairnis quhilkis ar borne in Myglintoun hes lang steris. Bot þe wemen, quhilkis has knowlege þerof be lang experience, fleis oute of þe said toun in þe tyme of þair birth, and eschapis be þat manere.

268 | Nochþeles, be fervent preching of thir twa haly men Ethelwert, King of Kent, and all þe Saxonis vnder hys empire tuke þe faith of Criste, and be exempill of þame all Saxonis in þe est and south partis of Ingland ressauit þe sacrament of Baptisme. Ethelfrede, King of Northummerland, herand sa grete novmer of Saxonis convertit to þe Cristin faith, become richt sorowfull, and swoir to be þair perpetuall inymy.

The samyn tyme war in Scotlannd thre haly men of oure nacioun : Baldrede, Drustane and Connall. The first was ane excellentt doctour, and decessit in þe Basþ, quhilk is ane strang castell within þe seye. The perrochinaris of Auldhame, Tynnyngame and Prestoun contendit quhilk of þame thre

suld haif his body to decoir thair kirk. Finalie þai war content to supersede þair debait, quhill þe nixt morrow, to be consultitt with þe Bischop. The morrow cuming þai fand, be mirakle of God, thre beris with thre bodeis, na thing discrepant fra vther in quantite, colour nor arrayment. Than, be commande of þe Bischop, ilk perrochyn tuke ane of þir bodeis to thair kirk, and sa þe body of þis haly man lyis be mirakle (II. 99) in all þe thre kirkis. The secund, Drustane, wes eme to King Aydane, bot he contempnit the warld, and wes ane religious man. The thrid, Conall, wes þe discipull of Sanct Mongo, and is beryitt in Enchennane, nocht far fra Glasg^{uw}, quhair he is haldin in grete veneracion of þe pepill.

Off the schort empire of King Kennetht ; of King Eugenius þe Fourte and his maneris ; how þe King of Britonis wes dongin oute of his realme be Saxonis, and recouerit þe samyn ; how Ethelfrede, King of Northumberland, wes slayne ; and of sindry haly men.
Ca xvij

A ne conuencioun was maid in Ergile eftir deth of King Aydane, in þe quhilk Kennethus Keir, son to Convallus afoir rehersit, was maid king, and decessit þe fourte moneth eftir his coronacioun. Eftir his deth Eugenius, þe fourte king of þat name, and son to Aydane, wes maid king. It is sayid þat Sanct Columbe schow lang afoir his deth to King Aydane that, howbeit he had mony vther sonnes eldar than Eugenius, 3ite nane of þame bot þis Eugenius suld reiose the crovun of Scotlannd eftir him, quhilk was provin wele eftir, for þe residew of his sonnys war slayn in bataill. This Eugenius wes sa instruckit in his 3outh be doctryne of Sancte Columbe that he was gevin erar to defend his awin þan invaid vtheris. He 269 was ane iust and gracious prince to all | his trew subdittis, and richt displesand to mysdoaris. He commandit all ydill pepill, as iuglaris, mynstralis, bardis and skafferis, othir to pas owte of þe realme, or ellis to fynd sum crafft to wyn thair leving. He pvnyst thifft with na leß cruelte þan reffe and slauchter. He

maid rigorous punicioun on his nobillis, quhen he fand þame oppressouris of his pure subdittis. Be contrair, quhen þai war wertewis, he held þame in maist reuerence. He haittit Saxonis, becaus þai perseverit in þair errouris.

(II. 100) The x þere of his regne Cynegelle, King of West Saxonis, and Ethelfrede, King of Northumberland, chasit Cadwallo, King of Britonis, in Scotland. Cadwallo went sone eftir in Bertanze, and gat sik support be the King thairof that he returnit in Walis, and recouerit his realme, eftir þat he had slayn infinite novmer of Saxonis. The samyn tyme Redewald, King of Est Saxonis, and Ethelbrede, King of South Saxonis, come with grete army aganis þe Northumbrianis, to revenge þe iniuris done to þame be King Ethelfrede, quhilk put þame afore to grete affliccioun for taking of þe Cristin faith. Thir armyis faucht to giddir at Wentrynghame, quhair Ethelfrede was slayn with þe maist part of all his pepill. His last wourdis war thir: "I dee as I levitt, protectour of religioun of goddis and inmye to Cristin pepill," and with thir wourdis randrit his vnhappy saule to perpetuall pyne. Succedit in his place ane gude Cristin man, namyt Edwyne. This Ethelfrede had vij sonnes, namit Eufrede, Oiswald, Oslaye, Oiswyne, Offas, Osyurd and Olsik. Thir men, detestand the tresoun of Pichtis, becaus þai come noch in support of thair fader, fled to Eugenius, quhair þai war plesandlie ressaut, and tuke the Cristin faith. Thair sister Ebba, eschewing ane revisair of women, gat ane bait be dyvyne mirakle, and come, but help of man, to þe hede of Humbir, quhair scho wes professit nvn, and deit ane haly virgyn.

Eugenius reparit þe kirkis quhilkis war distroyitt be cruelte of Saxonis. He reparit alsua þe municionis of his realme, and garnyst þame with strang soidiouris aganis all aventuris, and decessit þe xv þere of his regne.

The samyn tyme Bonifacius Bischop come with ane cunpany of halymen oute of Italy in þe mouth of Taye. Sum autouris sayis he was chosin paip eftir Sanct Gregour, and wilfullye exonerit him self, syne come amang þe Scottis; and þocht he be noch novmerit amang þe legend of papis, zite wee fynd him ane man of singulair lyffe and doctryne. The place quhair

he landit in Scotland wes ereckit be him in ane kirk in honour of Sanct Petir Apostill. Eftir this he went to ane toun namyt Tullyne, thre myle fra Dundee, quhair he rasis ane vther kirk, siclike in þe name of Sanct Petir. He beildit eik ane kirk of Restennath, quhilk is now ane Abbaye of Channonis regulair.

270 | Eftir þis he come in sindry partis of Scotland, quhair he prechit the wourdis of God, and foundit sindry kirkis in þe honour of Sanct Petir. At last he come in Rosß, quhair he perseverit to þe end of his liffe, and wes berijt at Rosmarken.

(II. 101) The samyn tyme wes þe haly bischop Sanct Molok, ane grete prechoure, and wes beryitt with Sanct Boniface. The samyn tyme Gilliame and Columbar, Scottis discending of þe nobill blude thairoff, for thair singulair and haly lyffe wer haldin in grete reuerence amang Franche men. This ilk tyme Paip Boniface dedicat ¹ þe tempill of goddis callit Pantheon in þe honoure of Mary, the Moder of God, and All Sanctis.

How þe vicius tiran King Ferquhard wes put in
presoun be his nobillis, and how he slew him self;
and of þe haly man Fyacre. Ca xviiij

Eugenius had thre sonnes, Ferquhard, Fyacre & Donwald, of quhilkis Ferquhard, eldest, wes maid king. Thir iij sonnes of Eugenius was gevin in þair ȝowth to the haly man Sanct Conan, Bischop of þe Ile of Man. Ferquhard and Donewald proffittit na thing in þe said Ile, traisting throw thair insolence ² letteris to be vnproffittabill to thair estaitt. The thrid bruper, Fiacre, wes gevin to contemplacioun, and tuke purpoß at last to eschew þe frequent cunpany of men, with all warldlye digniteis. Sone eftir, to mak him vnknawin to all pepill, he tuke ane pure habitt, and to haif ane solitair lyfe come in France, quhair he had ane croft gevin to him be Sanct Pharo, Bischop of Melden, quhilk croft is ȝite in reuerence

¹ MS. *deviditt*, but a later hand suggests the obvious correction in the left margin.

² MS. *insolent*.

amang þe pepill. It is said all wemen quhilkis gangis in his chapell wilbe othir blynd or wode.

In þe empire of Ferquharde throw lang peace raisþ grete devisioun amang þe nobillis, to the grete dammage of þe realme. This King was sa negligent and sopit in all maner of vice that he gaif na labouris to meisþ þe sedicioun amang his nobillis, traisting, sa lang as it induritt, na rebellioun to ryiþ aganis him, throw quhilk the realme was put to herschip and slauchter. And becaus all þir myschevis come throw neglegence of þis vnhappy tiran, he wes haittitt and repute maist abhominabill
 (II. 102) to his pepill. At last þis odious tiran come to sik infelicitie that he had nothir reuerence to God nor sycht to þe commoun wele, and, as þe vse of tyrannis is, he dred all men, and na men had him in ony reuerence. The nobillis, havand grete displeisir þat þe realme wes mysgovernit be him in þis manere, convenit
 271 amang þame self, and reparitt all iniuris but his avise. | It was belevit be þe nobillis, becaus þai saw sa mony enormiteis in him, þat he suld fall in Pelagius heresyis, howbeit all vther Scottis kingis afoir him war nevir attentit with sik thingis. Thair suspicion was þe mair vehement, that he was accumpanyit with Britonis of þai samyn errouris. At last he was espyitt makand derisioun þat 3oung childrin wer brocht to þe fonte to haif baptisme, and that þe pepill maid thair confessioun to preistis. The nobillis, movit with his detestabill werkis, send ane herald to bring him to þair consale, to know gif sic thingis wer of verite as were diwlgatt of him. And becaus þai fand him rebelland to þair chargis, þai tuke him be force oute of þe castell quhair he wes, and put him in presoun, quhar he remanit but ony cunpany of pepill; eftir this tuke consultacioun quhethir he suld be degradit, or haldin in perpetuall presoun.

Efter lang consultacioun & avisement, it wes concludit to send ambassatouris in France to bring Fyacre, þe secund son of Eugenius, in Scotland, to ressaif þe crowne thair of; and, gif þai mycht perswaid him be na resoun to þe said effect, to desyre Clotarius, King of France, to interpone his autorite, and cauþ Fyacre to be send in Scotland to ressaif þe gouernance

þairof. The ambassatouris quhilkis war send to þis effect come finalye quhair Fyacre wes at his contemplacioun. Bot ȝite afoir þair cuming he wes aduerteist be ane visioun of þair desyris, and þairfor besocht God to suffer him nocht to be frustraitt of þe hevynlie plesair þat he had in his solitare contemplacioun. God hard his prayere ; and quhen þir ambassatouris wer brocht to his presence, he apperit to þair sight full of lepre and maist horribill creature in erde. The ambassatouris, seand him at sik point, demandit him caldlye gif he covaitt to return in Scotlannd, quhair he mycht be purgit of his malady be native fude, and schew þam send be þe nobillis of Scotland to provide him in all necessaris to þe samyn fyne. Fiacre, quhilk had na mair respect to honouris þan to abhominabillest pestilence, ansuerit : “ I beleve ȝe know how I haif

(II. 103) chosin me fra frequent cumpany of þe warld to ane solitare lyfe, howbeit þe sorowfull malady þat I suffer be erar emendacioun of my life, inducing me to humilite, þan ony vice of nature. My suffiience is with þis pure celle and sobir herbis, quhilkis I prepair with my handis, and standis sua content thairwith
272 that I desyre | na warldlie dignite to prefer vnto þe samyn. Thairfor, return hayme, and bid my bruther and his nobillis haif sycht to God, religioun and iustice, and arme þame with vertew, quhilk may be wyncust be na violence of inmyis. And, as ȝe se, I neid na expensis, and is brocht to sik estait be will of God that ane privatt lyfe is mair ganand for me than ony vther.” Fiacre had ane sister, namyt Syra, quhilk, herand of hir brup^{er}is halynes, come to him at Melden, be quhom scho was professit nvn with mony vther virgynnis of þat samyn mynde, and perseverit in grete deuocioun to þe end of þair lyfe.

The nobillis of Scotland, knowing be thir ambassatouris þe éstait of Fyacre, chesit foure men to be gouernouris of the realme, quhill þai war mair profoundlie resoluitt concernyng þe governance þairof. The samyn tyme Ferquhard, wexit with huge malancoly and seyknys be his presonyng, that he suld nocht remane lang in sik pyne, slew hym self, þe xiiij ȝere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun vj^c xxxij ȝeris.

Off Donewald, King of Scottis ; of þe deth of Edwyne, King of Northumberland ; how Eufrede and Osrik, Kingis of Northumberland, did grete tirannyis to Cristin pepill, and wer takin presoneris be vther princes of Albion ; how King Oiswald brocht þe Saxonis to þe Cristin faith. C xix

Ferquhard the tiran slayne, as said is, ane counsale was sett in Ergile, in the quhilk Donevalde, þe thrid son of Eugenius, wes maid king. Eftir his coronacioun sett him to follow þe governance of his fader, and reparitt all placis quhilkis war decayitt afoir be neglegence of Ferquhard. The samyn tyme Cadwallo, King of Britonis, and Penda, King of South Saxonis, war confiderat to giddir, and slew Edwyne, King of Northumberland, and come sone eftir with grete cruelte throw Merß and ¹ Berwik, and tuke sindry landis fra dominioun of Pichtis. The Pichtis, havand na powere to resist pair cruelteis, send to King Donewald for supportt, and becaus þai gatt repulß þairof, þai wer constrennytt to sustene þe outeragis done to þame with grete displeserr.

273 Donevald, herand þe deth of Edwyne, send to his confideratt bruther Cadwallo, King of Britonis, to admit Eufrede, þe son of King Ethelfrede, to þe crovne of | Northumbirland ; and quhen þe samyn wes grantit, Eufrede left his remanent brethir in Scotlannd, and wes admittit to þe half of þe croun of Northumberland, and that vther half wes gevin to ane fals and vnhappy man, namyt Osrik. Thir twa wer finalie confideritt to giddir be affinite of Osrikis dochter was gevin to Eufrede in mariage, and sone eftir renunciit þe Catholik faith, and become maist odious tirannis and persewaris of Goddis seruandis, filland þe cuntre full of fals errouris of Gentilis ; throw quhilkis sindry Pichtis fell in þe samyn, bot þai war punyst be the bischoppis, and brocht agane to þe faith. Cadwallo, King of Britonis, richt displesit þat Eufrede and Osrik, quhilkis wer promovitt be him to þe empire of Northumberland, war fallin in sik errouris þat þai desyrit erar to be Gentilis nor Cristin

¹ MS. omits *and* : correction from A.

pepill, send preistis to purge þame of þair errouris, bot þir preistis returnit agane, evill dongin and na thing sped of þair purpoß. The Cristin princis of Albion, herand þis contempcioun, send vther messingeris to thir twa kingis with mair scharpe writingis þan afoir; *nochttheles*, þai war all slayne and brynt. The raige and cruelte of þir dispitfull tirannis grew sa grete þat all Cristin pepill duelling besyde þame wer martiritt and put to deth, except sa mony as war sauffitt be flycht. The princes of Albioun, movitt be þir cruelteis, tuke purpoß to put þir tyrannis to vtir exterminion; and to bring þe samyn to gude fyne, þai maid Cadwallo and Penda generall capitanis of þair weeris. Finalie, þai gaderit ane grete multitude of Britonis, Pichtis and Saxonis, havand na thing at mair hattrent þan errouris of Gentilis. Osrik and Eufrede, knowing þe cuming of sa mony princes aganis þame, rasit all pepill vnder þair dominioun. Nochþeles, þai wer takin be force of batall and put in presoun, quhare þai within few dayis eftir slew þame self. In this batall nane wes fundin sa cruell aganis Osrik and Eufrede as Oiswald, þair bruther, throw quhilk he wes maid, be consent of þe princes of Albion, king of Northumberland.

King Oiswald, sone eftir þat he had ressauit þe crowne, send to King Donewald, desyring certane prechouris to be send oute of Scotland to convert his pepill to þe faith. King Donevald send at his request ane man of na leß grauate þan condicioun, namyt Cormane. Nochþeles, quhen þis Cormane had prechit mony lang sermonis amang þe Northumbrianis, he was sa curious in his theology that his sermon apperit mair for vane ostensioun of him self þan ony doctryne or froitt to þe pepill, and þairfor þe nixt ȝere returnit in Scotland, | and schew to
 274 þe prelatis þairof that þe pepill of Northumberland was sa dull and defe that na doctryne mycht proffite þame, and wer *nocht* onlie repugnand to his *commande*, bot als contempnit the samyn as contrair to þair lawis and constitucionis. The prelatis, herand his wourdis, tuke sindry consultacionis quhat wes to be done to bring þir pepill oute of þair errouris. Sum men thocht expedient to send Cormane agane in Northumberland with mony vther doctouris, and to spair na laboure in

þis mater for þe wele of Cristin faith and pleseir of þair frende King Oiswald, traisting be continewall laboure his pepill mycht be brocht to þe faith, þocht sik thing *mycht nocht* be hastelie done. Vtheris sayid, gif þe Northumbrianis mycht ony way bene brocht to þe faith, þai wald haif bene brocht be Corman erar þan ony othir, becaus he wes resoluit in dyvyne *lettres* and ane profound clerk ; and sen his doctryne na thing proffitt pame, þai mycht be instruckit in þe faith be na waye.

Than Aydanis, þe haly Bischop, sayid in þis maner : “ Maist wise faderis, to bring men fra errouris and to reduce þame to sickir faith, I think it expedient to schaw sik thingis as maye persuaid þe pepill in fervent luffe of God, and quhen he has maid þe pepill desyrus to here his sermon, and takin þair beneuolence, to preche þan þe first fundament of þe Cristin faith, but ony ostencioun or arrogance, *nocht* involving þe pepill with sik difficill materis as may *nocht* be comprehendit *with* þame. For as þe ingyne of men ar *nocht* drawin haistlye fra evill accustome, siklyke þai lern all science and vertu be proceß of tyme, and lernis þe maist facill materis first. Be this waye I traist þair science is þe mair sobir imprentit in (II. 106) þair breistis. Heirfor, gif þe reuerend Bischop Cormane had observitt þis ryte in his preching, instruckand þe rude pepill *with* facill doctrines in þe begynnynge, and abstenit fra curious questionis of oure faith, I dowte *nocht* bot þe pepill suld haif bene obedient to his *commandis*. Thairfor, sen na thing is satisfijt to þe desyre of King Oiswald, I think þe samyn na les cumin in defalt of þe doctoure þan þe pepill. For thir causis best is ȝite to send ane new prechoure in Northumberland, þat sall first in his preching geif þame mylk, and eftir that mair ferm fude, with sueitt hortacioun and meiknes ; vther wayis þai will neuer be brocht to þe faith.”

The bischoppis apprisit his counsale, and *with* ane mynde send him to doo þis charge in northumberland. And he refusit *nocht* þe samyn, bot come with glaid chere to King Oiswald ; at quhais cumyng sik confluence of pepill convenit þat he was constrenyt to preche vtouth þe kirkis, becaus þe pepill mycht 275 *nocht* be haldin for thrang | in þe samyn. And becaus þis Aidane had noch þe langage of Saxonis, he had grete impedi-

ment in his preching ; nochþeles, King Oiswald, *quhilk* had þe langage baith of Scottis and Saxonis, interprett all his preching to þe pepill, throw quhilk þai wer haldin baith in grete reuerence, and convertit vij^m Saxonis within few dayis to Cristin faith. Aydane wes chosin sone eftir be eleccioun of the pepill to be bischop of Northumberland, and nureist his flok as ane gude pastoure suld. The nobillis and commonis of that regeoun, seand ilk daye mair novmer of monnkis and preistis come in support of Aydane, biggit sindry kirkis in Northumberland, and dedicaitt þame in honour of God and þe Blissit Virgyn Mary, throw quhilk þe said regioun grew na leß Catholik þan ony vther province of Ingland.

The samyn tyme Penda, King of Marchis, invyand þe felicite of nychtbouris, tuke purpoß to invaid King Oiswalde and to conques his realme. Oiswald, to withtstand his invasioun, assembillit ane large novmer of pepill. Nochtþeles he wes slayne be King Penda and his army disconnfist. Oiswald for his haly lyfe and mirakillis wes ekitt amang þe novmer of sanctis. His slauchter was in þe xij ðere of þe empire of Donewald, quhilk levit nocht lang eftir his deth. Þe xv ðere of his regne he pereist in Taye, quhair he happynnit to be at ane fisching with his *seruandis* for his solace. His body wes fundin be creparis, and berijt in Colmkill, fra þe Incarnacion vj^e xlv ðeris.

(II. 107)

Off þe vnhappy prophete Machomete and his fals lawis ; off sindry haly men ; off King Ferquhard and his extorsionis done aganis þe pepill, and of his miserabill ende. Ca xx

The samyn tyme decessit þat cursit creature Machomete, born in þe tyme of King Ferquhard. His fader wes ane ydolatoure, and his moder wes ane Catholik woman of the Hismaelitis. This Machomete wes institute in his ȝouth baith in þe ethin and Cristin lawis, and becaus he thocht nane of þame to his pleseir, he maid ane fals rite and new supersticioun, richt waryitt to mankynde. Quhen he was cumin

to manis aige, he conquest his leving on thift and robury. He marijt ane wedou, namyt Cadigan, be quhom he conquest gret riches, landis and possessionis, and come be sindry chancis to sik prosperite þat he maid lawis to cauß þe pepill of Araby to leiff to giddir in iustice. He wes subornatt be ane cursit
 276 monnk, namit Sergius, be quhom he colleckitt | his lawis fra institucionis of sindry pepill. He ratifijs þe sacrament of Baptisme, and haldis Criste born of ane clene virgyn. He commendis Psalmis and Ewangellis. He maid ane buke gaderitt of his institucionis, namytt Alcoron. He ratifijs circumsicioun, as þe Iowis dois, bot he denyis þe vnion of thre personis in ane Godhede. He denyis þat þe Fader and þe Son hes equale powere, as þe Sabellianis dois. He sayis þe Haly Spreit is ane creature, as þe Macedonis dois. Schortlie, his lawis wes maid for þe sensualite of men, throw quhilk he drew sindry pepill to his opinioun. This corruppit faith of Machomete is spred in Asia, Affrik and mekle of Ewrope. This *envennomit supersticioun* began fra þe Incarnacioun vj^o xxxv 3eris.

The samyn tyme wer in France mony haly men, as Furseus, Stoilanus and Wlcanus, brethir gottin of þe blude ryall of
 (II. 108) Scotland and Ireland. Amang ws wer in þat tyme Connane, Columbane, Chromane & Damiane, with mony vþeris. This history twiching Sanct Columbe, King Aidane and Sanct Aidane, with mony vþir haly men afoir rehersitt, is colleckitt be Sanct Bede. Bot we will return to oure history.

Eftir þe deth of King Donevald his bruthir son, Ferquharde, son of King Ferquhard afoir rehersitt, wes maid king. He was ane man of hie ingyne, bot eftir his coronacioun he was alteritt fra ane liberall and humane prince in maist insaciabill and bludy tyran. Quhen he wes but autorite, he wes liberall abone his powere, gevand his gudis to support madynnys to þair mariage, and had sik commiseracioun on euery persoun þat was deiekkitt fra gude fortoun in powerte that he conquest grete favour of þe pepill, and wes iugit to be ane nobill prince. Nochþeles, eftir his autorite he became ane oppressoure of þe pepill, full of auarice, lyke ane bludy fleschoure, inymye to religioun,¹ comparit iustlie to ane insaciable pule. He clamit

¹ MS. *relugioun*.

agane all þe gudis quhilkis he gaif afoir his autorite to his nobillis, and sayid þai war bott lent. He slew all þame quhilkis wer repugnant to his wayis, or ellis confiscat thair gudis and held þame in presoun. He opprest all riche men in his realme, and confiscatt *þer* gudis be vayn cauß. The samyn tyme wer twa haly men, Fynnane & Colmane, haldin amang Scottis in grete veneracioun, quhilkis, herand þe cruelteis done be this bludy tyran, come for zeles of iustice, persuading him to amend his lyfe; at last, fyndand him penitent na wayis, denuncit him cursit. This vnhappy man tuke litill indignacioun þairof, and be assistance of vicious lymmaris, quhilkis war reddy to intertene ¹ him in his insolence, tuke pleseir thryis ilk day to
 277 farß his wame *with* all surfettis and delicious cheir þat | mycht be devisit to mak him inebriatt and dronkin, with vther vices noch t wourthy to be rehersit. His mouth wes sa insaciabill þat na foule in þe air nor fysche in þe seyis had rest, bot drawin be sindry craftis fra þe samyn be his corruppit glutony. And ȝite na thing maid him sa odius as his rebelloun aganis þe sensuris of Haly Kirk. Amang *vþeris* cruelteis, he fulzeitt his twa dochteris, and slew his wyfe, becaus scho detestit his felony. The pepill, seand him persevere in horribill tirannyis, gaderit with deliuerit purpos to put him to deth. Nochþeles,
 (II. 109) þai war inhibitt be Sanct Colmane, quhilk schew be divyne prophecy, gif he amendit noch t haistelye his lyfe, he suld be pvnyst be iustice of God; quhilk wes wele provin within ane moneth eftir. For this King wes huntand ane wolff in þe fellis, and quhen scho wes saritt with the hondis, scho ruschit on þe King, and bait him in þe syde; throw quhilk he fell in sic vyle malady þat all his body was etin away with corruppit humouris, his lymmys, feitt and privatt membrs with intollerabill fetoure wer dissoluit, his wame throw immoderatt fude and voracite was swollin like ydropic ² creaturis. And quhen he had continewitt twa ȝeris in þis infirmite, as abhominabill to all creaturis, he become penitent, saying, "Had I bene obedient to þe counsale of Colmane, I had noch t bene devoritt with this horribill malady and etin with vile wormis be iust punicioun of God. This vncouth and intollerabill doloure

¹ MS. *intertence*.² MS. *yroped*: corrected from A.

schawis now my grete offence baith aganis God & man, and destitute of all remedy withoute his mercy be þe mair propiciant. Thir wormes quhilkis ar bred in my flesche schawis me mair horribill and vnhappy þan ony vther creature"; and incontinent desyrit Colmane to here his confessioun. Colmane at his first cūing assolzeit him of cursing, syne hard his confessioun, persuading him to be of gude corage and haif gude hoipe in God, quhais mercy wes mair þan ony syn he mycht doo, for God sayid, "Turn ȝow to me, and ȝe salbe sauff." King Ferquhard, rasit in hoipe be thir wourdis, fell on his kneis, and with pieteus teris askit mercy, and ressauit þe blissit Body of Cryist. Eftir this he wes brocht oute of þe houß, quhair he lay with vyle clathis, to the nixt moitt, quhair he gaif þe gaist, þe xvij ȝere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun vj^c lxiiij ȝeris.

The samyn ȝere Sanct Aydane, Bischop of Northumberland,¹ decessitt, in quhais place succedit Fynnane, and levit noch
 278 lang eftir Aydane. | Eftir his deth wes brocht oute of Scotland þe haly Bischop Sanct Colmane, and maid bischop of Northumberland, be quhais haly preching and innocence of life grete multitude of Saxonis wer brocht to þe Cristin faith in þat samyn tyme. This Colmane went throw all þe kirkis
 (II. 110) amangis þe Saxonis, preching þe wourde of God, throw quhilke he conquest grete fame and beneuolence amang þe pepill, and was translatit to þe cathedrale Kirk of Northumberland callit Lindefern in þe tyme of King Maldwyn, of quhom salbeoure nixt history.

How King Maldwyne wes slayn be his wyffe for suspicioun off adultery, and how scho wes eftir brynt; of generall pest, and how Scottis war preseruit fra the samyn. Ca xxj

Ferquhard the tiran decessit in pis wise, Maldwyne, son of Donevald afoir rehersit, was maid king. He was ane deuoiit prince, and tuke peace with Pichtis and Saxonis. He

¹ MS. *noothumberland*.

gaif sik extreme deligence in administracioun of iustice þat his pepill levitt but iniuris, throw quhilk all thing succedit plesandlie in þe begynnyng of his empire. At last raif ane sedicious troubill betuix þe men of Levinox and Ergile, and drew mony of þe nobillis in sindry opinionis in fortifying of þair debaittis; and becaus þe Ilis raif with Ergile, and Galloway *with* Levinox, mair herschippis followitt on all sydis. King Maldwyn, to repreß thir extorsionis done aganis his subdittis, come with ane grete cunpany aganis þe principall movaris of þis troubill, and cessit *nocht* quhill thai be extreme rigoure of iustice wer punyst to þe deth. And þoch this troubill wes fulichlie begonnyn, 3ite it wes dantit in sik maner that na civill contencionis followit eftir amang þe nobillis or commonis during þe empire of Maldwyn. The King went sone eftir to Colmkill to vesy the sepulturis of his eldaris, and reparit þe said abbaye with new bigging fra þe ground, and dedicatt it in þe honour of God and Sanct Columbe.

The samyn tyme rang ane terribill pestilence to grete mortallite of pepill, and cessit *nocht* quhill þe pepill be continewall prayer, fasting and vther gude werkis pacefijt þe wraith of God. The Scottis in þai dayis and all vther tymes afoir knew na maner of haitt fevir, and wer preservit fra þe samyn be temperance of þair mouth, for this cruell pestilence rang nevir amang þe Scottis, quhill þai left þe hailsum temperance of (II. 111) þair eldaris, and maid þame self reddy to ressaiff all infirmiteis. Colmane, Bischop of Lyndefern, seand sa huge multitude of 279 Saxonis peryß, to eschew þe said pest he | returnit in Scotland, syne went in þe Ilis, quhair he biggit ane abbay, in the quhilk he remanit þe residew of his dayis.

Eftir þe departing of Colmane þe Northumbrianis, be support of Pichtis, maid grete herschippis on þe Scottis. Maldwyn, movit with thir iniuris, cessit *nocht* quhill þe samyn wes recompensit with mair displeser to þe Pichtis and Saxonis, throw quhilk he gatt pair extreme hattrent. Followitt be perseuerand malice grete herschippis & slauchter on all sydis; quhill at þe last King Maldwyn wes slayn within þe nycht be his wyiff for suspicioun of adultery, þe xx 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun vj^c lxxxiiiij. Nochþeles, this cruelte wes *nocht*

lang vn punyst, for þe day following þe Kingis deth this vnhappy woman wes takin with all hir complices, and brynt maist cruellie to deth.

Off þe message send be King Ewgenius þe Fyft to King Egfrede of Northumberland, and the peace takin *pereftir*; how King Egfrede was slayne with xx^m Saxonis; of þe haly man Sanct Cuthbert.

Ca xxij

Maldwyne slayn, as we haif writin, his nepott Eugenius þe Fyft wes maid king, quhilk send his ambassatouris to Egfrede, King of Northumberland, desyring peace. Egfrede, herand þe desyris of Eugenius,¹ fenzeit him ane luffair of peace, howbeit his mynde was gevin to na thing mair þan batall, and gaif trewis for xj monethis, to that fyne þat he mycht in þe mene sesoun mak provisioun of euery thingis necessair to his purpoß. The trewis war gevin vnder þir condicionis: þat Scottis sall repair all iniuris done to Saxonis and Pichtis, and redress to be maid on all sydis, and gif þe Scottis doo ony iniure or troubill to þe Saxonis & Pichtis in tymes cuming, the peace to be dissoluit, and þe Saxonis and Pichtis to invaid þe Scottis. Nochtwithstanding the contract of peace afoir rehersit, (II. 112) Eugenius ressaut þir condicionis of peace, and becaus he suspectt þe dissait of Saxonis, he provydit for batall in þe samyn maner, and garnist all þe municionis of þe bordouris with strang soidiouris, quhatsumeir danger that mycht fall. At þe ische of þe tent moneth Egfrede send ane buschment of Saxonis in þe Scottis land to dissolue þe peace. Thir Saxonis send slew sindry Scottis, and brocht ane huge praye of gudis oute of þair boundis in Northumbirland. Sone eftir ambassatouris war send be Ewgenius to Egfrede, desyring redress of þir last hereschippis and slauchter. Thir ambassatouris war evill tretit, and commandit be Egfrede to return hayme and schew þair prince that Saxonis has done na thing wrang, bot onlie þat þai haif nocht put þe Scottis to sufficient iniuris

¹ MS. *Maldwyn*.

and affliccionis, sen na peace nor band mycht hald þame at
 280 concorde, bot iniurit þe Saxonis within þe tyme of trewis | with
 new thift, revis and extorsionis, and þerfor he wald haif na
 frendschip with þaim, bot suld cum þe vij day eftir with all
 pepill vnder his dominioun to invaid þaim in þe maist cruell
 maner he mycht. Eugenius, herand þe peace violaitt in þis
 maner within trewis, besocht God, þe Punesare of wrangis, to
 turn þe damage þat mycht fall be þe weeris following on þame
 quhilkis gaif occasioun to invaid vther. Nochþeles, knowing
 his inymyis to cum in Gallowaye, he gaderitt ane grete army
 to prevene þair cuming. 3ite afoir his cuming þe Saxonis &
 Pichtis war lyand at þe sege of Donskane, quhilk was þat
 tyme ane of þe strangest castellis of Gallowaye.

Egfrede, knowing þe cuming of Scottis, wes constrenytt to
 lefe þe sege, and mett þe Scottis at þe rivere of Lewis in
 Gallowaye, quhilk wes þat tyme, be invndacioun of snawis,
 boldin abone þe brayis. The Scottis, seand þair inymyis in
 sycht, gaif þair handis to vther, sworn nevir to pas oute of þe
 feild quhill ane of þame war on live, with oute þai had victory
 of þair inymyis. The battalis ionit to giddir with equale
 powere and hattrent. Egfrede exhortit his men to remembre
 þair anciant vertu, to put þair fais abak be violent force. Sik-
 like Eugenius cessit nocht to pas aboute his folkis, exhorting
 þame to schaw þair invincibill curage, that þai maye haif
 victory. Quhill þe Saxonis and Scottis war fechtand in maist
 fury, the Pichtis fled in arraye to þe nixtmoitt. The Saxonis,
 knowing this tresoun, war deieckitt in curage, and dred that
 Pichtis suld cum on þair bakkis. Egfrede, seand his folkis
 astonyst, exhortit þame with huge promittis to persevere in
 ythand battall aganis thair inymyis, and quhen he was exhort-
 ing his army in maist deligence, he rasit his visair to be þe
 mair fervent in speiche, and incontinent was dongin throw þe
 hede be ane ganȝe, quhair his face wes bair, and fell to þe
 ground. The Saxonis, seand þair King slayne, gaif bakkis, on
 quhom followit þe Scottis with lang chais, and draiff þame to
 þe river of Lewis, quhair mony of þame peryst. Part swam þe
 ryvere, vtheris quhilkis war chasit by þe revere war slayn be
 sindry auentouris, few of þame takin. In this batall war

slayn xx^m Saxonis, with Egfrede pair King, and of Scottis vj^m. The residew of all pair army wes evill woundit. The
 (II. 113) Saxonis of Northumberland war noch^t only put to affliccioun in þis batall, bot mony als of all vther Saxonis of Inglandd, quhilkis come to pair support at þis tyme.

Brudeus, King of Pichtis, knawing him self odius baith to Scottis and Saxonis, and seand ilkane of þame brokin with athir weris, come with ane new army on Northumbrianis, and put þame to sic affliccioun þat he had subdewitt þame but ony recover, wer noch^t Sanct Cuthbert, Bischop of Lyndeferne for þe tyme, supportit þame, mair be mirakill þan ony pyssance of batall. This haly man schew to Egfrede, afoir þis last batall, þat he suld noch^t faille exterminioun of his realme and subdittis,
 281 gif he invadit innocent pepill | with wrangwis weeris. The Pichtis cessit noch^t fra invasioun of Northumbrianis, quhill at last þai fell at contencioun amang þame self for þe spulze falling to þame be frequent herschippis of þe said pepill, throw quhilk þai war sa brokin that thai wer finalie content to haif þe landis of Berwyk peceabillie, but ony invasioun in tymes cuming to be maid on þe Northumbrianis. King Eugenius, eftir þis victory and riche spoulzeis gottin on Saxonis, returnit hayme, and fra this furth þe Saxonis began ilk daye to declyne in Northumberlande, and mycht noch recover pair anciant honouris mony 3eris eftir. Eugenius levit noch^t lang eftir þis victory, for he decessit þe fourte 3ere of his empire, fra þe Incarnacioun vj^c lxxxviiij 3eris.

Off grete iniuris done be Saracenis to Cristin pepill ;
 of King Eugenius þe Sext and his actis ; of vncouth
 mervails in Albion. Ca xxiiij

The samyn tyme arryvit ane huge novmer of Saracenis oute of Egipt in Sicill and Affrik, to þe grete dammage of Cristin pepill, throw negligence of Romane empriouris.

Eftir þe deth of Eugenius þe Fyft, Eugenius the Sext wes maid king, þe son of Ferquhard. He was sa wele institute in his 3outh be þe reuerende bischop namit Adamnane þat he

held religioun in grete reuerence. He maid peace with þe Northumbrianis, bot ȝite na thing mycht persuaid him to be confiderit with þe Pichtis, for extreme hattrent he bure aganis (II. 114) þame for þair tresonabill slycht. Nochtþeles, he gaif þame trewis for ane ȝere, and becaus þai maid frequent heirschippis on his pepill within þe samyn, he send ane herald, and denuncit were to þaim. The haly Bischoppis, Sanctis Cuthbert and Adamnane, ȝeid oft tymes as ambassatouris to draw þir twa pepill to concord, and quhen þai considerit all þair labouris frustraitt, þai went to þair prayeris, besekand God to send concorde betuix þame. It is sayid þat þir haly men gat grant of God, to quhom all impire and thocht of man ar subieckit baith in peace and were, þat þe Scottis and Pichtis suld nocht meitt to giddir with þe haill powere of baith þe realmez sa lang as Ewgenius perseuerit in batall; and þerfor þe batallis wes continewitt betuix Eugenius and þe Pichtis with skarmusing and soft berganis, with sindry chancis of fortoun, but ony grete damage of baith þair realmez, to þe end of Eugenius lyfe, quhilk was in þe x ȝere of his empire, fra þe Incarnacioun vj^e 282 lxxxxviij ȝeris; quhais body | was berijt in Colmkill.

Mony vncouth marwellis wer sene pis tyme in Albion. Ane huge flott of schippis wes sene with mony pepill in þe rivere of Humber,¹ apparalit with all ordinance of weirfair, and sudanlie evanyst oute of þair sycht. Ane grete noyis of armour and wappinnis war hard in þe kirk of Camelon. In þe last boundis of Albion wes ane schoure of blude. In þe Pichtis landis mylk returnit haistelic in blude, and þe cheis siclyke in ane lompe of blude, and þe cornez þat wes gaderitt in erwis wes bludy. Thir merwellis, quhen þai wer diwlgatt, maid þe pepill na litill effrayitt.

¹ MS. *Hmber*.

(II. 115)

Off þe vicius tiran Amberkeleth, and of his deth ;
 of King Eugenius þe Sevint ; how þe Scottis and
 Pichtis war confiderat agane be affinite ; how
 Spontana, Eugenius wyfe, wes slayne ; of vij haly
 virginis dotate be þe King of Pichtis in Abernethy.

C xxiiij

Amberkeleth, nepoitt to Eugenius þe Fyft, eftir þe deth
 of Eugenius the Sext was maid king. This King alteritt
 his mynde & maneris be þe getting of þe empire. Afoir his
 eleccioun he was defendoure of þe pure pepill and kirkmen,
 throw quhilk apperit sic vertu in him þat he semyt to be þe
 myrroure of honeste, bot eftir his autorite he wes involuit in
 sik auarice and lust þat he was repute bot ane infamyt gluttoun.
 Garnardus, King of Pichtis, seand þis schamfull monstoure
 doo na thing semand ane prince, tuke purpos to invaid his
 pepill, traisting to fynd sufficient tyme to revenge the iniuris
 done to Pichtis, and þairfor come with ane strang cunpany,
 and maid grete herschippis and slauchter in þe Scottis landis.
 Amberkeleth, reprevit be þe nobillis þat be his febill curage þe
 realme wes oursett with inmyis, assemblit at last all pepill
 vnder his dominioun to resist þe Pichtis. And þocht he durst
 noch confide in his nobillis skairslye, as þe vse of tirannis is,
 quhilkis levis ay vnder fere and dredoure, 3ite he went forthwert
 with displayitt banner aganis his inmyis, and lay þe first
 nycht with all his army apoun þe Watter of Taye. Eftir sup-
 pair he 3eid furth in þe glomyng with twa seruandis to doo his
 eyis, and was schott throw þe hede with ane arrow, be quhom it
 wes vncertane, and decessit þe secund 3ere of his regne, quhais
 body was berijt in Colmkill.

The nobillis, litill commovit of his deth, þat þair army suld
 nocht peris for falt of ane hede, maid Eugenius þe vij king,
 283 quhilk wes bruther to this | Amberkeleth. This Eugenius was
 ane man of grete body, nocht detestand honest behavingis.
 Eftir his coronacioun he considerit his army brokin, and nocht
 ganand to meitt his inmyis, þairfor tuke peace with Pichtis,
 throw quhilk plegis war gevin to redres iniuris on all sydis.

Sone eftir þe twa kingis war confideratt be affinite, for Spontana, þe dochter of Garnard, King of Pichtis, was gevin in mariage (II. 116) to King Eugenius. The nixt 3ere twa brethir of Athoill, quhilkis wer conspirit in þe Kingis deth for slauchter of þair fader, slew this lady in stede of Eugenius, liand in his bedde, grete with childe, quhen he happyⁿnit to be awaye. Eugenius be *murmour* of pepill was lang tyme suspeckitt of hir slauchter, and was constranit þairfor with grete disple^{serr} inquire þe maner of hir petious slauchter. The *murdresaris* war finalie takin, and put maist cruelly to deth. Sik thingis done, Eugenius gaif his besynes to religious and civill materis, and causit all þe *merciall* dedis of his antecessouris to be put be *historicianis* in memory, to rais þe knychtlie curage of his posterite in desyre of honouris and vertu, and ordanit thir *cronikillis* to be keptit perpetuallie in þe Abbay of Colmkill, and expert *historicianis* to be sustenit thair of þe *commoun* purß, nocht only to write þe dedis of Scottis, bot als of vther pepill. This Eugenius reparit sindry kirkis of his realme, and had all kirkmen in sik *veneracioun* that he ekit þair kirkis with sindry *possessionis*, landis and rentis. He perseuerit in gude peace with Pichtis and Saxonis, and decessit with grete lament of his nobillis and *commonis* at Abirnethy, þe xvij 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun vij^e xvj 3eris.

In þe tyme of Eugenius þe vij wes ane haly man, namit Donewald, quhilk levit ane solitair lyffe at Ogiluy, vj mylis fra Dundee, haldin amang Pichtis in grete *veneracioun*. He had vij dochteris, quhilkis levitt with him in grete pennance on bere brede and watter, and eitt nevir bot anys of þe daye, the residew of the daye occupijt in continewall labouris and frequent orisoun. It is said that his eldest dochter, namit Mazota, maid inhibicioun to þe wilde geyß to cum na mair to eitt hir faderis corn, and thai obeyit hir monicion. In memory heirof wilde geyß wes nevir sene eftir on þat ground. Thir haly *virgynis*, eftir þe decess of þair fader, knowing na securite to leiff in desertis but sum defendouris of þair chaistite, come to Garnard, King of Pichtis, desyring sum place quhair þai mycht leiff ane solitair lyiff to þe *seruice* of God. Garnardus, condescending to þair desyris, gaif þame housis in Abernethy,

with ane oratoure and certane rentis to be takin vp of þe nixt landis to þair sustencioun, quhair þai levitt ane devoitt and religious lyffe, and wer berijt at þe rute of ane grete ayk, quhilke
 284 is haldin ȝite in grete veneracioun amang þe pepill | of Abernethy. Abernethy¹ in þat tyme was ane cite of Pichtis, and decorit with þe first sete of bischoppis of þair realme, bot it was eftir brynt be weris of Scottis and Pichtis, that it come
 (II. 117) never agane to þe first staitt, as it wes afoir. Thir virgynnis wer nocht in the tyme of Conrannus with Sanct Brigida, as þe commonis haldis, bot in þe tyme of Eugenius þe vij, for he perseuerit in gude peace with Garnardus, and vesijt þir virgynnis oft tymes with his gudis; and resignit þe crowne afoir his deth to Mordacus, of quhom salbe oure nixt history.

Off King Mordake, his werkis and deth; of foure sindry pepill in Albion; off Sanct Niniane and Sanct Bede.
 Ca xxv

Eftir deth of Eugenius þe vij Mordacus, þe son of Amberkeleth, was maid king, ane humyll and liberall prince, and perseverit in þe samyn to his end, settand his mynde þat all pepill nureist in þe Ile of Albioun suld leiff vnder ane mynde, and maid peace with þe Britonis, Pichtis and all Kingis of Ingland. In this tyme, as þe venerabill Bede remenbris, foure sindry pepill was in Albion, confideratt to giddir in peace, richt different in þair maneris & institucionis, þat is to say, the Britonis, Scottis, Pichtis and Saxonis, quhilkis war callit Inglis men. And becaus þe wourdis of Bede ar correspondent to þis history, I haiff inserit thame here as followis: "The nacioun of Pichtis wes confideratt with þe Saxonis þat tyme, reiosing to be participant with þe Vniuersale Kirk in peace and Catholik verteu. The Scottis quhilkis inhabit Britan war sa content with þair awin boundis þat þai wrocht na iniuris nor slychtis contrar Saxonis. And suppois þe maist part of Britonis had ane naturall hatrent aganis Inglis men, for sindry supersticionis quhilkis þai had aganis the Catholik

¹ MS. omits *Abernethy*.

institucionis, ȝite be repugnance of þe law of God & man þai mycht nochȝt obtene þair purpoß nor desyris; for certane, þochȝt the Britonis be sum part fre, ȝite þai ar sum part thirlit to seruice of Englismen; and þerfor mony of þame, baith nobillis and commonis, be insolence & felicitye of lang peace ar mair gevin to contemplacioun of bukis and religioun þan ony chevelry or dedis of armis. And quhat end sall cum þerof sall
 (II. 118) appeir sone to oure posterite." Thir ar þe last wourdis of þis History, writin be Sanct Bede, fra þe Incarnacioun vij^e xxxj.

The samyn ȝere Mordacus decessit, þe xvj ȝere of his empire. This King afor his deceß reparit mony abbais and kirkis in his realme, quhilkis wer distroyitt afor be þe weeris of his eldaris. He biggit þe Abbay of Quhithern, quhair þe blissit Bischop Sanct Niniane kythis daylie maa miraculis þan evir was
 285 sene of ony vther sanct in Albion. Sanct Bede | callit þis abbay Pittymnia, and þe bischop quhilk succedit immediatlie to Sanct Niniane, Acta; bot ȝit it is necessair to say, gif ony bischop had þair cathedrale sete in Quhitehern, þai ȝeyd sone out of þe vse of þe samyn, for it is said in our cornikillis that þe Ilis, Gallowaye and mony vther landis obeyit to þe Bischop of Soderan, callit þe Ile of Man, quhair his principale sete wes vnto þe tyme of King Malcolm þe Thrid, in quhais tyme þe said abbaye was nochȝt first institute, bot restorit agane to þe Bischoppis of Gallowaye. It is sayd that Venerabill Bede levit nochȝt lang eftir þe completing of þe History of Britan, and decessit, far romnyn in aige, with siklike piete to God and man as he levit, at Durerayme among his discipulis, fra þe Incarnacioun vij^e xxxiiij ȝeris; and contencioun is ȝite among þe Italianis and þe Albanis concernyng þe place quhair Sanct Bede was born. The Italianis sayis he wes born in Genes, and decessit in þe samyn. In memory heiroyf his sepulture remanis ȝite in þe said toun, haldin ȝite among þe Gennais in grete veneracioun. Nochȝtþeles, in quhatsumevir place he decessit or wes gottin, treuth is he maid lang residence, quhen he grew to aige, in Northumberland, and vsit oft tymes in Melroß, quhilk is ane abbaye of deuoitt and gude religious men in Scotland, and decessit in þe tyme of King Ethfyne; of quhilk salbe oure nixt history.

(II. 119)

How King Ethtfyne maid foure regentis to govern
his realme ; off grete cruelteis done be Donald of þe
Ilis ; and of þe detht of King Ethtfyne.

Ca xxvj

Mordak berijt in Colmkill, ane convencioun was maid be
þe nobillis, in þe quhilk Ethtfyne, son of Eugenius þe
vij, wes maid king. He was ane man gevin to iustice and
peace, nocht passand fra þe band maid afoir witht Britonis,
Englißmen and Pichtis be Mordak & Eugenius. He sett his
besynes to purge the realme of mysdoaris, to defend his lieges,
and to honour religioun, throw quhilk þe Scottis grew in riches,
peace and gude maneris. All thevis, revaris and sawaris of
displeseir amang þe nobillis and commonis wer put down be
him. He was haldin in sik reuerence for his vertu and provin
manhede in þe gouernance of his realme þat na man durst nor
mycht say on reasson displesand wourdis of him, quhill at last
he fell in aige, and gaif the administracioun of his realme to
foure regentis be decrete of þe consale, quhais names war
Dowald, Thesaurar of Ergile, Collane, Thane of Athoill,
Mordak, Thane of Gallowaye, and Conrath, Thayn of Murraye.
Bot 3it þai gydit nocht the realme with sik felicite as it wes
afoir, for ilkane of þame laubouritt sa beselye for þair frendis,
havand na respect of iustice, that þe nobillis and vther 3ounge
men grew agane in þair auld insolence, to grete damage
of pollecy and commoun wele of þair realme.

286 Donald of þe Ilis, ane man | of strang body, with ingyne na
thing sett to verteu, held ane cunpany of vagabound lymmaris
with him, quhilkis reiffitt þe pepill but ony pvnicioun, and thirlit
þe inhabitantis of Gallowaye to mair displeseir þan þai had bene
brocht to *seruitude*. And þocht Mordake was ane of þe foure
regentis chosin to governe þe realme, 3ite he dantit nocht þe
extorsionis done be Donald, vncertane quhethir he wes iunytt
to him in blude or participant with him of his reiffis ; throw
quhilkis þe commonis, brocht to sik vtter herschip and pouerte,
war constranyt to complene with lamentabill regrait to þir

(II. 120) regentis for redres of þe extorsionis done to þame. Nochpeles,

becaus þe King wes þat tyme in extreme malady, nane was to put remede to þair displeseir, and þairfor lamentabillye rasis þair handis to þe heivin, complenyng þair miserijs amang þame self. Nochþeles, þe mair þai complenit, þe mair cruelte followitt and was done to þame be þis Donald, and na esperance of tranquillite apperit, quhill at last King Ethfyne decessit, þe xxx þere of his regne, quhais body was berijt in Colmkill, þe þere of God vij^e lxij þeris.

How Eugenius the viij king did grete iustice in þe begynnynge of his regne, and become eftir ane odious tiran, and wes slayne for þe samyn, & his consalouris hyngit on iebaittis. Ca xxvij

Eftir þe deth of Ethfyne Eugenius þe viij, þe son of King Mordak, wes maid king, quhais begynnynge semyt þe mair plesand þat he cessit nocht quhill þis Donald of Ilis & his complices wer punyst to þe deth in *presens* of þe pepill for þair demerittis. And þite he wes nocht saciatt with þis punicion, quhill Mordak, his assistair, fundin be inquest participant *with* him as of allya, wes heeditt and his gudis delt amangis þe communis quhilkis war herijt, as said is. Eftir þis he accusit þe remanent regentis, Dowald, Collane and Conrath, and becaus þai mycht haif sauffitt þe pepill fra troubill done to þame, and was foundin neglegent *perintill* during þe Kingis infirmite, thai payit grete sowmes to þe Kingis proffitt in redempcioun of þair lyvis. Throw þair punicionis þe realme wes pacesijt in all partis, and þe King had in sik dredoure to his pepill that na rebelloun be nyctbouris weeris, no rubberijs, apperit to ryis amang þe communis during his empire; throw quhilk þe pepill belevit to haif gottin ane gracious prince, mair sett for þe common wele þan for his singulair lyfe and proffitt, and sa desyrus of peace þat he suld during his tyme perseveir in confideratt amite with Britonis, Pichtis & Inglismen.

287 Bot, as þe ingyne of man is ofttymes mair proclive | to evil
þan gude, Eugenius, havand his empire vnder lang peace and

(II. 121) sloutht, fell in maist schaymfull vices, rageand in mair lust
 (II. 121) þan semit to ony man. He was ane fulzeare of virgynnis and
 nobill matronis, deliting in na thing mair þan in bordellis and
 tavernis, and had nane in sik tendirnes, be his awne confessioun,
 as pame quhilk couth bring him new concubynis to nureiß
 him in new lust and pleseir ; throw quhilk he inressit ilk day
 in mair vice, and become sa auaricius, regarding nothir þe
 law of God nor man, that he slew sindry trew men of his realme,
 baith spirituall and temporall, be vane cauß, to possede þair
 landis and riches, to sustene ane cumpany of vicious lymmaris
 aboute him. Nochþeles, his cruelte and vicious dedis wer
 nocht lang vnpuneist, for þe nobillis, seand þat he mycht nocht
 be refrenit fra sik enormiteis and schaymfull werkis, nothir
 be þe bischoppis monicionis, nor for þe reuerence of God and
 sanctis, slew him in þe Tolbuth, quhair he wes persewand ane
 trew man to þe deth for his awne gere ; syne tuke his familiaris,
 quhilkis assistit to all his vnhappy dedis, & hyngit pame on
 iebaittis, to þe grete consolacioun and pleseir of þe pepill.
 This wes þe end of Eugenius þe viij, eftir þat he had gouernit
 þe empire iij 3ere, quhais body wes ordanit to be cassin in ane
 clossett, or ellis to be deuorit with houndis and ravynnis
 bestis. Nochþeles, that sik thingis suld nocht succede to na
 les schaym of his antecessouris þan posterite, his body, be
 licence of þe nobillis, was brocht to Colmkill, and berijt amang
 þe anciant sepulturis of vther kingis.

Off þe vicious King Fergus þe Thrid, and how he was
 slayne be his wyfe ; of hir orisoun maid to þe counsale,
 and how scho slew hir self. Ca xxviii

Eugenius þe viij slayne in þis maner, Fergus þe Thrid
 and son of Ethfye wes maid king, nocht far discrepant
 in maneris fra Eugenius þe viij. Eftir his coronacioun he apperit
 to excede Eugenius þis last tiran in his corruppit vices, for he
 become ane dronkin gluttoun, with sik effeminatt lustis þat
 he necleckit þe administracioun of his realm, and tuke pleaseir
 of nane bot of scudlaris, insaciabill droncattis, and siclike

ryottis and detestabill persons, and was haittit with all vertewis pepill. He had ane schaymfull cumpany of concubynis
 II. 122) depending on him with sik familiarite þat he repudiatt his lauchfull wiffe, throw quhilk scho wes brocht to sik extreme pouerte that scho wes constrenyt to serve vther nobill wemen for hir sustentacioun. This woman, impacient to sustene þir importabill iniuris, come sindry tyme to þe King, praying him to amend his lyfe, gif he desyritt to haif lang empire ;
 288 attoure, schew him, gif | he cessit nocht to fulze hir bed, perseuerand in sik vnbridillit lust, he suld nocht faill punicioun, quhen he lest weenytt. The King, be þir reprevis mair prouokit þan correckitt, ilk day ragit in maa vices, quhill at last þis Quene, rammesand in ire, seand hir self baith defraudit of hir bed and þe King ilk daye incressing in mair hattrent to þe pepill, thocht bettir to be wedowe þan to leiff in mariage with sa frequent iniuris, and finally slew him, quhair he was slepand in his bed, þe thrid 3ere of his regne.

His body was brocht þe nixt day in þe counsale house, to serfs be deligent inquest quhai durst attempt þe said cruelte. The Kingis frendis & part of nobillis comperit in iugement richt sorowfull, and desyrit þe wirkaris of þis cruelte to be serchit with maist deligence ; and becaus na man had suspicioun of þe Quene to persew hir husband þe King with ony disple~~err~~, mony of þe Kingis familiaris wer takin, & be scharp questionis demandit, and pvnyst with importabill tormentis. The Quene, herand innocent men tormentit sa reuthfullye, come haistelie to the counsale, and sayid in this wyse : “ I knaw nocht, my tendir pepill, quhat conscience me accuis, nor quhatt diuyn vengeance effrayis me with sindry thochtis, þat all þis day and nycht bigane my mynde & body is a flocht, specialy sen I hard þir innocent men sa cruelly tormentit. For gif my ire had nocht bene mesit be sum temperance, I had wrocht my self maist schamfull displeseir. The Kingis slauchter is my deid. Conscience impellis me for hele of my saule to schaw þe verite, þat þir innocent men be nocht put to affliccioun throw my werkis. Heirfore, vnderstand, all thir quhilkis 3e accuse ar innocent of his deth, for I am scho þat slew him with my handis þis last nycht, movitt be impulsion

of ire and impacience of lust, quhilkis ar twa maist sorowfull broddis amang wemen, becaus he defraudit me of my lauchfull bed, vsing his immoderatt lust with adulteraris ; throw quhilk, quhen na esperance nor 3it persuasionis apperit to recounsale him to my desyris, sik huge & brym hattrent raisß in me, quhill
 (II. 123) I was impellit to doo pis cruelte, thinkand mair plesand to remoiff þe occasioun of adultery, and to be destitute of my husband, than to leif perpetuallie defraudit of his bed, and iniurit be þir spouß brekaris. Assoilþe, heirfor, thir men, quhilkis þe accuse of his deth ; and to pvneiß me, quhilk is þe only wirkair of þis murdir, salbe na grete laboure, for I þat did þis felony sall tak punicioun of my selff."

Skairsly war thir wourdis sayid, quhen in presence of þe pepill, or þai mycht aduertt, scho dang hir self with ane dagare to þe hart, and fell doun dede afoir þe pepill. Mony tuke admiracioun of hir constance, and lovit hir conscience, becaus scho baith revelit þe hid tresoun to deliuer þe innocent men fra deth, and als slew hir self to prevene þe schame & displeur
 289 þat wes | apperand to hir. Vtheris thocht nane of hir doingis apprisabill, bot repugnant to þe law of God and nature, saying it was nocht lefull ony persoun to revele þair awin or 3ite vtheris mennis tresoun, and maist detestabill of all innaturally to slaa þame self. Quhill þe pepill was at þis disputacioun, the body of Fergus was commandit be þe nobillis to be brocht to Colmkill, quhair he was berijt, fra þe Incarnacioun vij^c lxvij 3eris. The Quene, becaus scho slew hir self, wes inhibitt Catholik sepultur.

Off King Soluathius ; how he dantit sindry grete lymmaris of his realme ; off his deth ; and of sindry haly men.

Ca xxix

Fergus berijt on pis wise, Soluathius, son of Eugenius þe viij, was maid king. He was ane nobill prince, and abill to haif done mony grete actis in his realme, gif the werdis had bene propiciant. The thrid 3ere of his regnne he fell in þe gutt, be violence of irrecouerabill cauld, and perseuerit in

þe samyn to þe end of his lyiff ; and becauſſ he mycht noch
 doo þe chargis of ane iust prince, be damage of his infirmiteis,
 mony grete troubillis followitt in þe realme. The first troubill
 (II. 124) raiſſ be Banus M^cDonald calland him King of þe Ilis, quhilck
 gaderit ane grete cunpany of lymmaris, and kest down all þe
 municionis of þe Ilis, syne come with ane grete cumpany of
 langfaddis in Kentyre & Lorn, and maid grete slauchteris &
 herschippis in þe samyn. The King, aduerteist heirow, send
 Duthquhale, Capitan of Athoill, and Collane, Capitane of
 Ergile, to meitt þe violence of þis tiran ; and þai, but grete
 impediment, put this Banus to flicht, to giddir *with* all his
 cumpany, and drave þame be lang chaiff in ane strait cove of
 Lorn, quhilck stude on ane huge crag abone ane deip revere,
 but ony furdis, on sik maner þat na oute passage wes to þaim
 bot to return agane þe samyn gait þai come. His cumpany
 drevin in þis cove be auenture maid him to return as he com,
 bot he fand þe gait closit with his inymyis. Nochtþeles, he
 maid mony wayis to eschew þe samyn, and quhen he had passit
 þe day in sindry opinionis, and fynding na thing proffittabill,
 he arrayit ane waich within þe nycht for þe defence of þe
 residew of þair cumpany. And becaus he had na vittalis to
 sustene him & his army, he send messingeris, desyring licence
 to depart in þe Ilis. And quhen he saw na thing bot repulse
 of his desyris, he arrayit his folkis, and come aganis Duthquhale
 and Collane in þe brek of daye, and wes slayn *with* all his
 290 cunpany, to be ane exempill in tymes | *cuming* quhatt froitt
 followis of rebellioun aganis þair prince. Efter this victory
 Duthquhaill and Cullane went in þe Ilis, quhair thai pacifijt
 all materis at thair pleseir. Eftir þis troubill raiſſ ane vther
 in Gallowaye, be Gillequhalme, son of Donald *quhilck* was
 iustifijt afoir, as we haiff schewin, be Eugenius þe viij. This
 Gillequhalme assembillit ane cumpany of brokin men. Noch-
 þeles, the troubill wes finalye pacifijt, and þe hedismen, be
 quhom the occasioun pairof raiſſ, war slayne. The samyn
 tyme wes grete sedicioun betuix þe Saxonis in England and
 þe Britonis in Walis, quhilkis come be multitude of kingis,
 sindry lawis, lang peace and riches. The Pichtis þe samyn
 tyme had mony debaittis. Thir sedicions causit þe Albanis

mony ȝeris eftir to leiff but ony invading of pair nyctbouris. King Soluathius all his tyme governit his realme in grete tranquillite, be prudent industrie of his nobillis, and all boundis þerof wele obeysand to his empire, with na leſſ iuſtice than the
 (II. 125) King had paſſit in propir persoun throw his realme. He deceſſit þe xx ȝere of his regne, fra the Incarnacioun vij^c lxxxvij ȝeris.

In thir dayis wer mony clerkis of ſingulair erudicioun and lyfe, as Macharius, Biſchop of Aberdene, to quhom the Cathedrale kirk thairof is dedicatt ; Divinicus, Archidene ; Congane and Donſtane, Abbottis. Thir and mony vtheris thair diſcipulis wer nobill prechouris and lanternis of Haly Kirk. Sum autouris writis thir haly men wes in vther kingis dayis, bot we divert na thing fra oure firſt purpoſ, following Veremond and Campbell in the hiſtory, and the dait of him, as we promittit in oure begynnynge. And ſa endis here þe ix Buke of thir cornikillis.

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