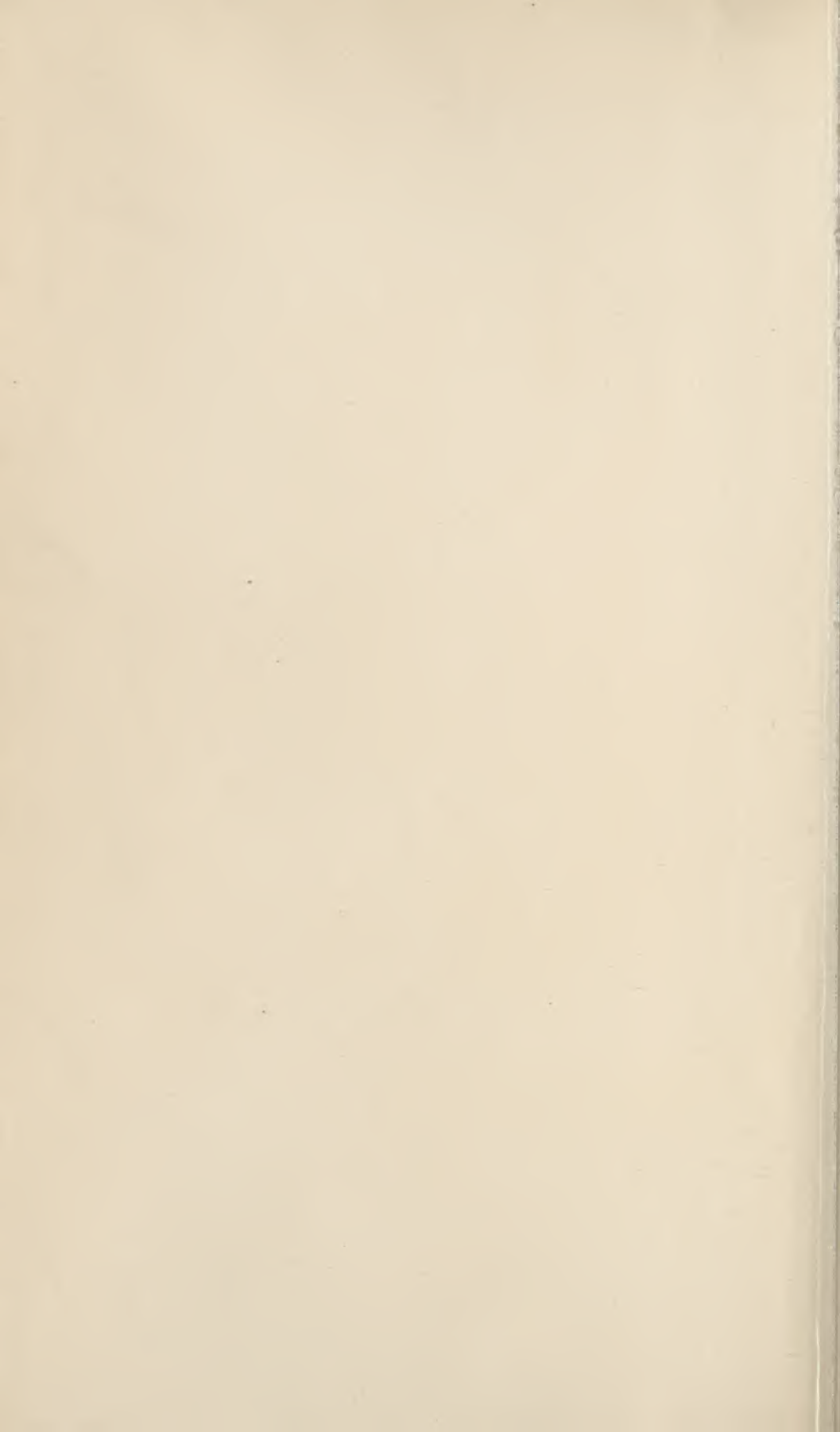




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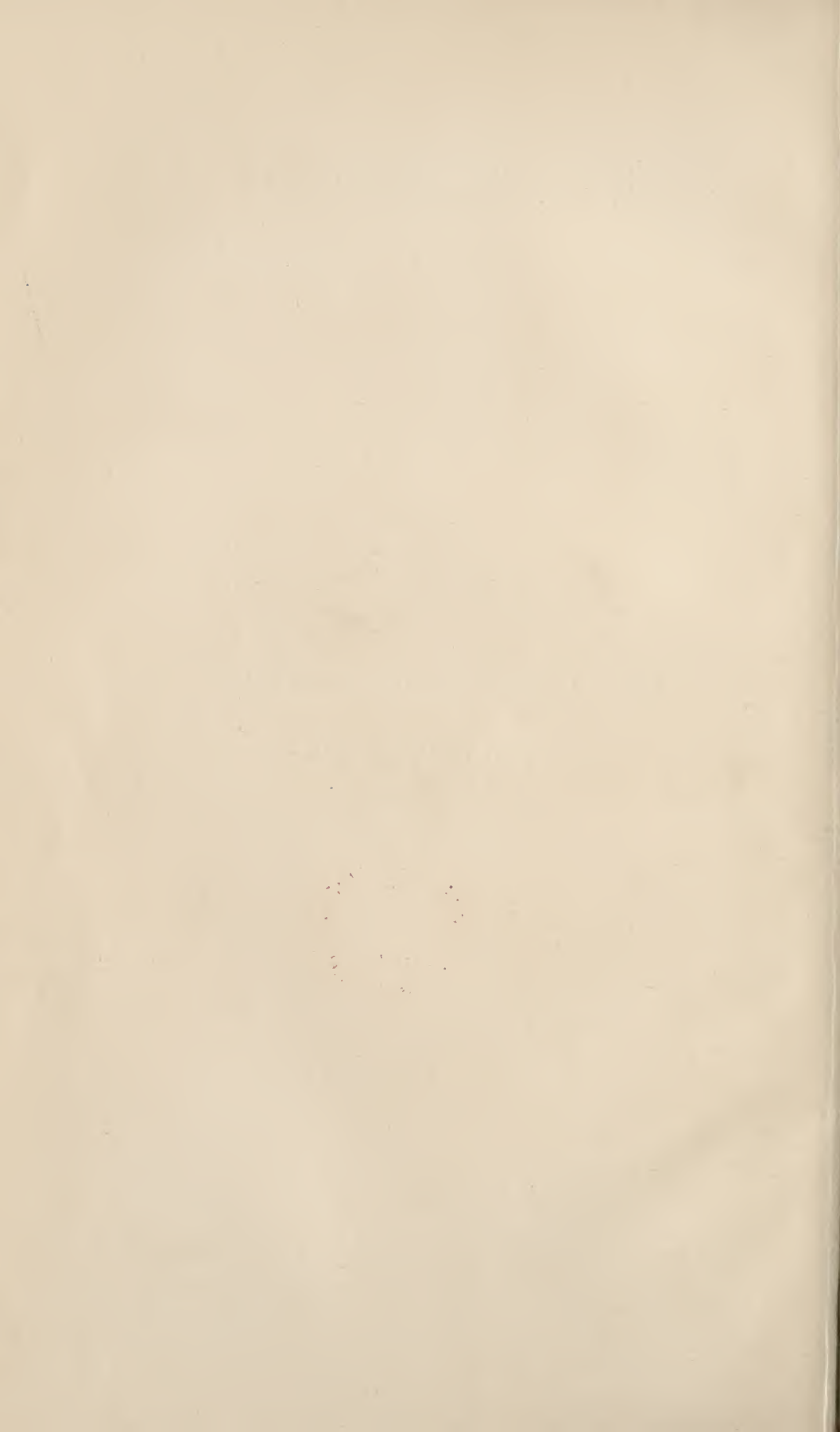




The Scottish Text Society

The Thre Prestis of Peblis

how thai tald thar talis



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The Thre Prestis of Peblis

how thai tald thar talis

EDITED FROM

The Asloan and Charteris Texts

BY

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Printed for the Society by

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

1920

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION	vii
THE THRE PRESTIS OF PEBLIS (ASLOAN TEXT) PROLOGUE	2
THE PRIESTS OF PEBLIS (CHARTERIS TEXT) PREFACE .	3
<i>The tale of master Jhoñ of þe thre questionis</i> (Asloan)	6
<i>The first taill, tald be Maister Johne</i> (Charteris) .	7
<i>The second taill tald be M. Archebald</i> (Charteris) .	28
<i>The thrid taill tald be Maister Williame</i> (Charteris).	45
—————	
NOTES	57
GLOSSARIAL INDEX	91

FACSIMILES.

Title page (Douce R 527)	<i>To face page</i> 1
Page 1 (Douce R 527)	" 3
Pages 6 and 7 (Douce R 527)	<i>Between pp.</i> 12 <i>and</i> 13

P R E F A C E.

IN this edition of 'The Prestis of Peblis' I have made it my chief object to produce as correct a text as possible. The Douce version is taken from rotographs of the unique Charteris print at Cambridge. The Asloan fragment I transcribed from photographs of the manuscript, and accuracy is guaranteed by the fact that Dr Craigie collated my transcription with the photographs. To the same high authority I am also indebted for a number of suggestions on textual difficulties. In matters historical I owe much to the unfailing kindness of Dr George Neilson.

PAISLEY, *December 1919.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE TEXT.

THIS edition of 'The Prestis of Peblis' is based on two main authorities, supplemented by two others of minor importance. The main authorities are (1) a fragment, consisting of the first 359 lines, in the Asloan manuscript, which dates back to the early years of the sixteenth century; and (2) an imperfect copy of a black-letter print published by Charteris in 1603 and now preserved, as the sole survivor of that edition, in the Douce collection at Oxford. Of the first it would seem that no former editor was able to take advantage, though Laing has shown that he knew of its existence; but the courtesy of the present owner, Lord Talbot of Malahide, has placed the manuscript for some time past at the disposal of the Society; and although it preserves little more than a fourth part of the poem, its archaic unedited form has proved of considerable service, whether in justifying suppositions or in solving difficulties that have hitherto puzzled conjecture. The imperfections in the Douce copy of the Charteris text consist in the omission of lines 226-302, and 1226-1342—a total of

194. To fill in these *lacunae* we have the two minor authorities, (1) Pinkerton's edition of 1792, and (2) the handwriting of a scribe of unknown date but modern penmanship, who has filled in the blanks in the Douce copy. Pinkerton printed from a complete copy of the Charteris text and, except that he took liberties with the lettering—printing u for v, v for u, and y for z—kept very close to his authority. Collating the corresponding passages in his edition with the handwriting in the Douce copy, one may be reasonably confident of coming very near the Charteris original.

The plan, then, which has been adopted for the printing of the poem is this. The Asloan fragment is given on the left side as the book opens, and the Charteris text on the right. After the Asloan ceases the Charteris edition is given on both sides. The omissions in the Douce copy of Charteris are filled in from a collation of Pinkerton and the writing in the Douce copy. If there is any important difference between these two the alternative reading is indicated at the foot of the page. The lettering is, of course, according to the system in the black-letter copy.

Only on one or two occasions have I deliberately altered the text, but the emendations will, I feel sure, be regarded as certainties. In each case the original is given at the foot.

As to punctuation, the Asloan has none at all, and the stopping of the Charteris text, besides being on obsolete principles, is in all likelihood the printer's own. I have therefore felt at liberty to supply a frugal punctuation on modern principles. If the reader distrusts the effect upon the sense of any passage he need only do away with the stops and reconstrue according to his own judgment.

THE DATE OF THE POEM.

The strongest external evidence for the date is the Asloan manuscript. That at once disposes of Sibbald's arguments in favour of the last years of James V., and makes the reign of James IV. the latest possible limit. But internal evidence enables us to rule out that reign, and it is equally against the reign of James II. ; and, as no earlier date will stand a moment's consideration, we are left to seek a date in the reign of his successor.

This internal evidence is varied, but the main part of it lies in the criticism of the king who figures in the first two tales. The reference to Spain (*vv.* 53, 54) is corroborative but not decisive ; for though Granada ceased to be "hethin," or Mohammedan, in 1492, the poet might not have known the fact. But that is just barely possible, for Spain was well frequented by pilgrims and scholars, and the news of the downfall of the last citadel of the Moors must have travelled as fast as the "far wandered word that Troy had fallen." While, therefore, unable to look upon the reference to the "hethin" kingdom as final we may confidently regard it as confirmatory of some date prior to 1492. As to the evidence of grammar and diction, that is of little value for a brief period, and it is the less weighty here since our only authorities are a transcript and a print. Such as it is, with its occasional *at* for *bat* (conj.) and its not infrequent *a* instead of *ane*, it is, like the reference to Granada, at least corroborative of some date about the very beginning of the Middle Scots period.

But the two satires upon the king are sufficient in themselves. The only Stewart they can apply to is the third James, and if so there can be little doubt that at least so

much of the poem was composed in that reign. For satire deals with the present. In other moods a poet may cast back to former times and be as oblivious of "passing things concerning Church and State" as ever was Keats in 'Endymion' or 'Hyperion' or 'Lamia'; but in satire if he takes his theme from history it is in pure pretence, in order simply to cloak the attack upon contemporaries. Again, if it is pointed out that the character of James III. is not so well known that we may build confident theories upon it, the objection is more plausible than sound. The poet's censure of the king is in agreement with that of the historians; and even if the correctness of these may be called in question, they in all probability reflect what was believed of James or, at least, what was spread abroad for public reception by those who may have desired, for their own ends, to "create" a character for him.

In the First Tale the king is arraigned only as a ruler. The reader will, of course, not make the mistake of judging him by what he says and does in the story, but by what is said of his conduct by the spokesmen of the clergy and the nobles. The story, if it can be so called, is constructed for the sole purpose of eliciting those speeches. The King who convokes Parliament, puts insulting questions to nobles and clergy, meekly listens to their bitter replies, and then with pleasant speeches and a wave of his wand sets all grievances right and makes a new world around him,—such a king never sat on any throne, at least his name was not Stewart. But all that is mere comic machinery. "The satirist," says Professor Ker,¹ "expounds his subject instead of making the characters live and speak in drama." In this satire the subject is the misguidance of Kirk and State, and the

¹ 'Essay on Browning.'

expounding is done in the speeches of the clergy and the nobles: the rest is scaffolding and drapery. The king who is satirised is not the figment who speaks and acts, but the real man who is denounced in the replies addressed to that fictitious phantom. The corruption of justice, the degradation and alienation of the higher nobility, the practice of simony and consequent decay of the clerical office,—such are the principal evils charged against the crown in this First Tale. In the Second the indictment is more personal, and much bolder. The king is frivolous—“to al lichtnes he was redie boun”—and given to “sport and play.” No man may “bide with him” unless he is willing “to set all sadness aside,” the king’s one desire being to banish “al dulness and dule.” Wherefore he surrounds himself with such as “can gladlie sport and sing.” But worst of all, he,

luifit ouer weil 3ong counsel.

As in the First Tale, the administration of justice is corrupt, but whereas in that tale it is the king’s officials who are blamed, in this one the king himself is roundly charged with taking bribes and with being too facile, or too lightly won to condone heinous crimes, such as manslaughter. He is also mercurial, passing quickly from levity to “greit hauines and thocht,” fickle in friendship, quickly tiring of favoured officials, and false to his queen. And, finally, in person he has the goodly gifts and graces ascribed by Ferrerius to James III.

Without attempting meanwhile to read the riddle of that royal Stewart’s character, as it has been presented by the historians, one need only observe here that the faults alleged against him by these writers are precisely those which are charged against the king in these two

tales. Some of the counts come home to other Stewarts as well, but only to the third James do all apply. For our special purpose the most decisive is his trust in "young counsel." It is emphasised, too, by repetition :

How the Cuntre throw him was misfarne
Throw ʒong counsel.

Leslie and Pitscottie both lay stress upon this fault and both use the very phrase of the poet. "He uset *young counsall*," says the former ;¹ and Pitscottie tells us how, at Lauder Bridge, the "wyse lordis . . . desired him to *leive young counsall*."² Buchanan, too, though he nowhere uses the Latin equivalent of the phrase, speaks to the same purpose when he tells us how James was taught by the Boyds, when he was still in his first youth, to spurn the guidance of older and wiser men : "*eum jam regni potentem esse : jam tempus adesse ut E SENUM PROPE SERVITIO emancipatus aetatem circa se habeat militarem, eaque studia mature capessat in quibus, velit nolit, ei agenda sit aetas.*"³ And thus he was tempted to seek occasion to escape *A SENIORUM SEVERITATE, velut e vinculis.*⁴

If, then, there can be little doubt that these two tales belong to the reign of James III., it is easy to confine them within still narrower limits. The queen, who is named in the First Tale and plays a part in the Second, came to Scotland in the ninth year of the reign ; neither, therefore, can date further back. But in 1469 she was only in her twelfth year, and it would be absurd to go back so far, if not with the First at least with the Second Tale. Indignation against the king on her account does not find expression in the

¹ Page 48.

² Page 186 (Dalyell).

³ Page 225 D (Ruddiman).

⁴ *Ibid.* E.

historians till the eve of the affair at Lauder Bridge (1482) and it continued till her death in 1486. Perhaps therefore we may assign the Second Tale at least to some year between 1480 and 1486.

This, however, does not suffice to date the poem as a whole. There is nothing, as far as I can see, that enables us to say when the Third Tale was written, and nothing to prove that they were all bound into a whole earlier than 1492. But it is unlikely to have been later than Sauchieburn (1488). It is indeed possible that when the successful rebel lords were busy seeking to justify themselves the poet may have sought to help by reissuing the first two tales in this way. Yet, in such a case, there would surely have been some reference to the rebellion and an attempt to palliate it; and there is not the slightest suggestion, not even a foreshadowing of the fatal end. On the contrary one is conscious of a kindly and loyal feeling to the king on the part of his satirist, and can hardly believe that he would have cared to circulate these attacks upon him after his downfall. From the tone of the poem as a whole one feels that the poet is above that. I think, therefore, that the date may safely be placed earlier than 1488.

And, finally, there is some reason to put it later than 1484. At the close of each of the first two tales the listeners, in thanking the narrator, invoke upon him the blessing of S. Martin. According to Dr. Renwick,¹ S. Martin's altar in the Parish Church, to which the priests belonged, seems to have been founded some time between 1484 and 1500. What more likely than that a saint recently honoured by their Church should be much in the thoughts of the brotherhood and his blessing frequently

¹ 'Peebles in Early History,' p. 56, footnote.

invoked by them? The supposition is at least probable. And as those lines that name S. Martin are links they must have been written when the tales were being put together in their frame. Taking one thing with another, I am inclined to place the date of the completed composition some time between 1484 and 1488.

THE AUTHORSHIP.

The name of the author is not known. Several suggestions have been made but only one or two are more than guesswork. Sibbald's conjecture that the author was John Rolland had this to be said for it, that as Rolland translated a work of similar structure, 'The Seuin Sages,' he might have proceeded from translation to imitation; but, apart altogether from other considerations, the discovery of 'The Prestis of Peblis' in the Asloan manuscript rules him out entirely, his *floruit* being much later (*c.* 1560). As far as I am aware, only two theories merit consideration: (1) that the poem is by the author of 'The Freiris of Berwik,' and (2) that it is by the "makar" whom Dunbar commemorates in his 'Lament' as "gud gentill Stobo."

Who first suggested the author of 'The Freiris of Berwik' I do not know, but in his 'History of Scottish Vernacular Literature' Mr. T. F. Henderson says that some are disposed to think that "from a certain similarity of subject and treatment" the two poems are by the same author. He himself fails to see more than a "very partial" similarity. How far this slight similarity goes he does not say explicitly, but he classes the poems together as "semi-ecclesiastical," and, speaking of the quality of the political zeal of 'The Prestis,' remarks that that poem is, "like 'The Freiris,'

the production of a period undisturbed by the faintest foreshadowing of Protestantism." They are alike free from Puritanic censoriousness. Further than this, either for or against the theory, Mr. Henderson does not go. But while conceding those two points of similarity one cannot fail to observe that the points of dissimilarity are still more obvious and more important. For one thing, the movement of the verse is different. 'The Freiris' is more smoothly fluent, 'The Prestis' more pithy and abrupt. In the former enjambment is not infrequent. For example :

And ewin with that thai hard the prayar bell
Of thair awin abbay.

Or, better still, this, where two lines in succession run on :

And mony ane fresche lusty galland was
Into this toun, the quhilk is callit Berwik
Apon the se.

In 'The Prestis' there is none of this easy running gait, almost unchecked by the rein ; nothing but the steady swing of the end-stop couplet. Each form has its merit : the one suits narrative, the other didactic and satirical verse. And each poem excels in these different modes. Both are narratives but 'The Prestis' comprises much satirical and didactic dialogue, and it is strongest in such passages. And this difference in style obviously corresponds to a difference of temperament. If the author of 'The Freiris' was a cleric he was doubtless such another as the Freyr Robert of his tale, and as a poet he might have said

For me an aim I never fash,
I rhyme for fun.

But the author of 'The Prestis' was a cleric of another

sort, and it is the moral—social, political, or religious—that he “fashes” about most; and while he excels in descriptive satire, in stinging reproach, and in noble exhortation, he is apt to slip into carelessness when it is a mere matter of getting on with the story. Again, in regard to the diction there are two points to be noted. The first may be of no great importance yet it is at least worthy of remark. I refer to the fact that while ‘The Freiris’ does not contain a single rare old word that has been given up by the dictionaries, ‘The Prestis’ has not a few that have puzzled the best authorities. The second is more decisive. In such a line as this,

And saw ane man but *Leiche* or *Medycene*,

or as,

And in his hart greit *hawines* and *thocht*,

one recognises in the duplication of synonyms a very common characteristic of antique English and Scottish style. That both poems should have such lines would prove nothing; but it would be very remarkable indeed that, if they were by the same author, the one poem should have scores of them—more, in proportion, than any other poem I know—while the other should, out of a total of between five and six hundred lines, have only two. Yet this is the case. In ‘The Prestis,’ such phrasing constitutes a pronounced mannerism, in ‘The Freiris’ it is notable for its absence. Such a distinction alone might discredit the theory of common authorship: taken together with the marked difference in tune and tone, it seems to me quite final.

As to the claim made for the “makar” called Stobo, all conclusive proof is wanting. The poem is unsigned; no

ancient authority refers to him as the author ; and, so far as we know, we have not a scrap of his verse to enable us to form an opinion of his style. Yet there is much to be said in favour of a plea of probability. John Reid, *alias* Stobo, was a churchman who was secretary to James II., James III., and James IV. "The sobriquet of 'Stobo,'" says Dr. Renwick ('Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities,' p. 119), "is believed to have been derived either from his ecclesiastical connection or from Stobo being the place of his birth, and if so he belonged to the neighbourhood of Peebles." From James III. he received an annual pension of £20 in consideration of services "rendered to our late progenitor and us in writing our letters sent to our most holy father the Pope, and sundry kings, princes and magnates beyond our kingdom, and his expenses in parchment, paper, red and white wax, and other costs incurred for the said letters and foreign writings."¹ Soon after the death of James III., his successor renewed the pension, and the payment of it was continued till 1505. Dunbar's 'Lament' is dated 1507, and it was evidently written very soon after Stobo died :

And he has now tane, last of aw,
Gud gentill Stobo.

Dr. Renwick is of opinion that "as far as literary ability, opportunity of observation, and local knowledge were concerned," he might have been the author of 'The Prestis.' As to his literary ability the sole testimony is the fact that Dunbar thought him worthy to be named in the roll of honour which he compiled in the 'Lament.' But everything else that we know or may legitimately infer

¹ 'Lord High Treasurer's Accounts,' as quoted by Dr. Renwick.

supports the plea of probability. Dr. Renwick has proved that besides being a churchman Stobo was a notary, and the poem is not merely "semi-ecclesiastical" but in diction shows much of the lawyer. It shows, too, some knowledge of court-intrigue; and, as a secretary to James III., Reid may well have been "brought far ben" by his majesty. That he was devoted to the throne and had earned trust and respect is proved by his having served three kings in succession. Perhaps, it may be said, such a servant would hardly venture to satirise his royal master. That objection has some weight, but the satire, if severe, is well meant, and the writer is quite evidently one who liked the king with all his faults. Besides, the faithful servant of Scottish tradition was never accustomed to pay too much regard to his master's feelings when he thought it necessary to say a word in season. Nor did Scottish poets scruple to take, or their kings fail to allow, considerable licence towards the throne. And there is this very rare quality about our author's satire, that it lacks the note of personal grievance. It is not that of a disappointed "solisitar" of court favour, as so much of the satirical verse of the time was. It bears entirely upon the better guidance of the realm and the reform of the king's character, and is without a breath of disloyalty. The poet had nothing to ask or to complain of on his own account, and probably therefore, like Stobo, had a good enough standing, or, good, easy man that he was, was quite content with his place in the royal sun. And if we may really take Dunbar's epithets at their face value and not merely as conventional, non-significant compliments, they are certainly merited by our author. After reading the Third Tale one cannot but feel that he was a good man and

kind-hearted. And if, in the third story of the Second Tale, he satirises vice, he shows himself an exception to the general rule that a *censor morum* is a man with a nasty mind. As a reproof to the king for his infidelity to the queen the story is honourable in its purpose, and, far from deserving Sibbald's implied censure, is managed with good taste, being as free from gross images as from indelicate suggestion. What David Lindsay would have made of it we may conjecture from certain passages of 'Squire Meldrum.' Instead of the insult of omission by an editor who included 'Ane Brash of Wowing' in his collection, it rather deserves praise for being at once decent and debonair. Devoid of Puritanic censoriousness, the spirit behind it is not that of licence but of clean-minded cheerfulness; and if "gud gentill Stobo" is not the author, we feel at least that the real author could not be more aptly styled. And when it is remembered that besides being a churchman, a notary, and intimate with the king—all of which we naturally expect the author to be—Stobo is the only poet of the time who had a close acquaintance with Peebles—which we certainly look for in the author—there will be little disposition, I think, to question the plausibility of Dr. Renwick's undogmatic contention.

LITERARY ASPECTS.

Viewed as a whole 'The Prestis of Peblis' is a satire in the original sense of the term—a *lanx satura*, a plate filled with various fruits. The Preface is a genial sketch of three priests taking their ease in honour of Saint Bride, cheered by all the creature comforts. Mingling sober conversation with lighter talk and loud un-Benedictine mirth, they

gradually settle down after dinner to the mood of storytelling; and the Three Tales are the result. Of these only the third is an *integra fabula*, the other two being each made up of a trio of stories with a fourth to bind them in unity. Strictly speaking, the first can hardly be called a tale, for it is conducted almost entirely by descriptive dialogue set in the slightest possible framework of narrative. Yet the three descriptive sketches it contains form the most original, vigorous, and interesting part of the whole poem. In one respect it makes a pair with the Second Tale, the two having a common political purpose. The Third Tale, besides being simple in design, is non-political. It is a sombre religious allegory of noble tone.

The author's style is, in general, easy, graphic, of rapid vigour and, if somewhat homely, not undignified.¹ When it fails it is through negligence. Such carelessness is found chiefly in narrative, and shows itself in hasty transitions and huddled-up endings. In satirical description, in grave denunciation, in didactic and hortatory passages, the quality of the diction—which is a singularly pure vernacular—is well sustained and the verse runs in the main correctly. The rhythm, it is true, is extremely varied, yet varied in appropriate response to the quick-shifting moods of the poem. Ignorance of the true vowel sounds of the vernacular and a Southern pronunciation may produce a clipt cacophony but, properly read, the many good passages run well, and are full of what Mr. Bernard Shaw has called "the grave music of good Scotch." To illustrate briefly what I mean by "properly read," take a line or two.

For it I sal 3ow pay and content (*v.* 658).

¹ In the language of Sir Gilbert of the Hays, it is the kind of 'hameliness' that is 'wele accordant to knychthede.'

Neither to the eye nor to the ear of an Englishman does this read as a pentameter ; but pronounce *pay* as it is still not infrequently sounded in Scotland, that is to say, as the French *paye* (pè-y), and the line is metrically correct. Or take *v.* 75 :

Syne in ane hal ful fair farrand.

Here there are two things to be taken into account. First, the line is truncated, the first syllable of the first foot being what musicians call a silent beat or a rest. In the second place the *ne* of *syne* is to be pronounced as *en* ; as it is occasionally in Middle Scots verse, *e.g.* in 'The Bruce' (vii. 28).

And syne to the land yeid thai.

Conversely, what appears to be two syllables is occasionally only one. For example, in line 447,

And than spak Maister Archebald, Fallis me,

Fallis is pronounced *Faws*, and the line is metrically correct. Truncation, which is not uncommon, takes place generally at the beginning of a line ; but it is also found, if emphasis requires a slight pause, in any part.

He hes na lykyng lufe nor lust of me,
Na I to him_^quhill the day I die (*vv.* 1085-6).

In the second line one naturally pauses where I have inserted the caret ; and this pause counts.¹ For the substratum of measure is time, a principle which vindicates

¹ Cf. the theory of medieval Latin verse, according to which an unavoidable pause upon a short syllable was accounted sufficient to make it equivalent to a long one. For instance the *e* of *cape* is so regarded in the proverb,

Accipe, sume, cape, tria sunt gratissima Papae.

the metrical correctness of another not uncommon type of line, such as

In *auld* tymes and dayes of ancestry (*v.* 364);

or as,

Thus hes the *saul* *mair* work and cure (*v.* 773).

Dwelling upon the italicised words as they ought to be dwelt upon, one will find that these lines satisfy the demands of metre. And, finally, if those different types of variation from the norm are kept in mind, it will be found that instead of being written *numeris lege solutis*, the poem is much more regular in its versification than some of greater fame.

SOURCES.

Where the poet may have borrowed the design of his "Buke" is uncertain. Perhaps from the 'Buke of the Sewyn Sagis,'¹ which is also found in the Asloan MS., and is probably of earlier date than our poem. But if our author knew it he borrowed no more than the mere idea of a collection of tales set in a framework: the two poems contrast in every other respect. The Prologue of the 'Sewyn Sagis' is elaborate and romantic and most of the stories are insipid. That 'The Prestis of Peblis' is, on the contrary, simple, realistic, and pungent does not, however, disprove the likelihood of indebtedness for the hint; for if we examine the sources from which the author drew, or may have drawn, his inset stories and study his refashioning we must acknowledge that he was quite capable of making a

¹ Not to be confused with Rolland's poem already mentioned (p. xiv), though both are from the same origin.

thing his own when he had borrowed it. The only other extant collection of Scottish tales that might possibly have suggested the design is 'Cokelbie Sow'; but it is very unlikely, for that is not so much a collection set in a frame as a trio bound together by an extremely slight fiction and governed by a common moral,—a sort of *fabula contaminata*, like each of the first two Tales of 'The Prestis.' After the 'Buke of the Sewyn Sagis' perhaps the most probable source is Chaucer, and we may have in 'The Prestis of Peblis' a Scottish attempt, in miniature, to imitate the 'Canterbury Tales.'

As to the framework of the First Tale, one may incline to regard it as the author's own invention, partly because of its extreme slightness and partly because of its happy absurdity. For that is one gift this poet possesses, the true artist's courage to be absurd when it suits his purpose. If he did get a suggestion somewhere, it was probably from the old *fabliau*¹ which tells how a French king who was for ever waging war was troubled by rebellious discontent among his subjects, and how, having convoked the Two Estates—the Third had no political existence then—he asked them to say whether he himself was in any way to blame for the unpopularity of the government. The opportunity was missed. The nobles left the clergy to answer, and with courtly phrase these lightly put the question by. One may imagine the mingled incredulity and derision of a Scotsman in feudal times if he read or heard of such feeble smoothness. Such an one as our author might have done more than smile; might have humoured his fancy with a Scottish version. The king, of course, would require to be made of a babe-like simplicity; the

¹ See Le Grand, 'Fabliaux ou Contes,' iv. 45.

Third Estate would be added, and nobles and clergy would each have their own spokesman. And the questions the king should ask would be such as the satirist himself would choose to suit the times.

It is in keeping with the political insignificance of the Third Estate during the period from the death of Bishop Kennedy till the ascendancy of James IV. that the question propounded to the bourgeoisie gives them no opening for an indictment of the government. Instead of political satire we have social. Why is it, asks the king, that "burgess barnis thryffis nocht to þe thrid aire"? The fate of the *tertius heres* is the theme of many an ancient proverb, and this Scottish version is probably one of the many adaptations of the Latin "sentences" that formed the staple texts of the pulpit oratory of early times. But the satirical sketch that explains the proverb has all the verve of original composition and is well-nigh worthy of Chaucer himself. Pity that the author has left so little of the kind.

The question put to the nobles plunges us into politics. Why is it, says the king,

Sa worthy lordis war in my eldaris days
 Sa full of worschip, fredome and honour,
 Hardy in hart to stand in euery stour,
 And now in 3ow I fynd þe hale contrare?

In their reply the nobles admit the change but charge the ruin of their order upon the king's corrupt officials. We may with confidence trace this "motive" to the fabliau which tells how a king of the Franks asked his jongleur why his knights were less worthy than the Rolands and Olivers of former days. "Give me," said the jongleur,

“such a king as Charlemagne and I will give you such knights as you have named.” Such is the version given in ‘Wright’s Latin Stories’ (No. cxxxvii). Another, given by Le Grand in the Preface to his first volume of ‘Fabliaux ou Contes,’ makes the king who is snubbed *le Roi Jean* and attributes the response to a soldier who had been singing the song of Roland, and had been reproached for singing it in days when a king had no Rolands around him.

The question put to the clergy and their spirited reply is but a variant of the passage of arms between the king and his nobles.

The Second Tale is at least partially indebted to ancient fiction. Of the four “motives” employed in it the one which provides the framework has eluded a careful search, and may or may not be devised from slight suggestion. It tells how a “clerk of greit science” came from oversea to the court of a certain king and by feigning himself a fool secured the intimate footing of court jester; and how he succeeded in opening the king’s eyes to the evils of his irregular and unprincipled administration. This certainly has the appearance of having been suggested by some fabliau. If not, old chronicles are not without instances of the bitter-tongued fool who proves himself wiser than his master and is able to set him thinking. There is, for instance, that “miles exercitatus sed *sensu vacuus*” mentioned by Walsingham under the name of Dominus Hugo de Lynne. He came to the king when the royal army was approaching a wood in which rebels were posted, and being asked by the king—*jocando*—what he should do against the rebel nobles, answered *cum summa melancholia*—“Attack them, kill every mother’s son of them; and by God’s eyes, when this is done you will have killed every

faithful friend you have." *Quod responsum etsi stulte prolatum, sapientes quam maxime ponderant.*¹

Or is it probable that our author may have read the B text of 'Piers Plowman' and—since he could make much of a hint—may have found sufficient suggestion in lines 123-7 of the Prologue? Langland is describing his vision of

The kyng and kny3thode and clergie bothe
taking counsel for the common weal.

Danne loked vp a lunatik · a lene þing with-alle,
And kneling to þe kyng · clergealy he seyde :
" Crist kepe þe, sire kyng · and þi kyngriche,
And leue þe lede þi londe · so leute þe louye,
And for þi riztful rewling · be rewarded in heuene."

There is little doubt, as Skeat holds, that the "lene lunatik" who here expresses the favourite loyal hope of Langland with regard to Richard II. stands for the poet himself; and as Fictus, the fool in our poem, as clearly expresses the mingled censure and good-will of our poet towards a king who was in many respects another Richard, it is just possible that he may have caught at the suggestion in these lines and cleverly developed it. Note, too, that the lunatic spoke like a scholar—"clergealy he seyde"—and Fictus is made a "clerk of greit science."

But if the origin of the enclosing tale is dubious there is no question of the derivative character of the first of the enclosed. In all essentials it is identical with the fifty-first of the 'Gesta Romanorum':

Josephus mentions that Tiberius Caesar, when asked why the governors of provinces remained so long in office,

¹ Th. Walsingham, 'Hist. Anglic.' ed. Riley, ii. 164, quoted by Skeat in full to show what liberties were sometimes taken in addressing royalty (P. Pl. B. Prol. 123).

answered by a fable. "I have seen," said he, "an infirm man covered with ulcers, grievously tormented by a swarm of flies. When I was going to drive them away for him with a flap, he said to me, 'The means by which you think to relieve me would, in effect, promote tenfold suffering. For by driving away the flies now saturated with my blood, I should afford an opportunity to those that were empty and hungry to supply their place.' And who doubts that the biting of a hungry insect is ten thousand times more painful than that of one completely gorged—unless the person attacked be stone, and not flesh."

Application.

"My beloved, governors who are already enriched by plunder are less likely to continue their oppression than they who are poor and needy."

Various forms of this fable are found, but all that I have seen—including Aristotle's fable of the Fox attacked by Leeches, and the Hedgehog—are meagre things. The skill our author shows in expanding it so as to satirise the king and his favourites alike is admirable.

The source of the second enclosed story I have not found. That of the third is familiar to the student of Shakespeare as supplying the plot of 'All's Well that ends Well.' It occurs in Boccaccio, too, and, as Dunlop ('Hist. of Prose Fiction,' ii. ch. vii. p. 87: Bohn) has pointed out, the main elements of the Italian tale are found in Indian literature. What version the Scottish poet knew cannot be determined, but if, like Shakespeare, he drew from Boccaccio or from a similar example, he is in one respect happier in his adaptation. Giletta, in the 'Decameron,' is both indelicate and ungenerous to the man whom she compels to marry her. Shakespeare takes the story with

all its imperfections and if one sympathises with his heroine it is because the art of Shakespeare gets the better of one's judgment. With less wizardry at his command, our author is more happily inspired in omitting the distasteful circumstances of the story, and in this version at least all's well that ends well.

As has been already said the Third Tale is the only one with a single "motive." It tells of a man who had three friends. The first of these he loved better than himself; the second as well as himself; the third he neglected. One day the king sent his officer to summon him to make account of his stewardship; whereat the man was in great fear for he knew that he had been an unfaithful servant. So he asked his first friend to go with him to the King and give him countenance and support. This his friend refused to do. So, too, the second friend. But the third, whom he sought in despair and shame, agreed to stand by him to the end. The King is God, his Officer is Death, the Man is Mankind, and the three friends are Riches, Kindred, and Good Deeds. The allegory is familiar in its dramatised form, the Morality of 'Everyman.' The uncertainty of the date of the play leaves it doubtful whether the Tale could have been derived from it, and other reasons render it still more dubious. For one thing, a principal feature of 'Everyman' is the exaltation of the clerical office. "Good priesthood exceedeth all other thing."

There is no emperour, king, duke, ne baron,
That of God hath commissyon
As hath the leest priest in the world beyng.

Nay, priests are greater even than the angels :

God to them hath more power given
Than to any aungel that is in heuen.

In all the 340 lines of the Scottish tale there is nothing of this, not a single word. The poet protests against the interference of the secular power in clerical affairs, his motto being that which he puts into the mouth of the repentant king in the First Tale: "Kirkmen to kirk sen they have al the charge." But he would as clearly confine kirkmen to kirk as kings to state affairs; and in this Third Tale he goes no farther, summing up the whole of the teaching of it in these words:

I sould haue done pennance, fast, and pray,
And delt my guds in almis deids alway.

Another marked difference lies in the treatment of the Second Friend, who in the Morality is represented by two *personae*, Cousin and Kindred. For while the Tale solemnly warns us that no help beyond the grave may be looked for in that quarter, it does not slander human nature, as the play does.

Everyman

My Cousin, will you not with me go?

Cousin

No, by our lady; I have the cramp in my toe.
Trust not to me, for, so God me speed,
I will deceive you in your most need.

Kindred

It availeth not us to 'tice;
Ye shall have my maid with all my heart.

Compared with this coarse and shallow cynicism, the spirit of the Tale is tenderly humane.

And than with vs vnto that zet wil cum
Baith wyfe and bairnes and freinds al and sum,
And thair on me and the lang will they greit.

Neither the human-hearted poet of these lines nor the moderate ecclesiastic who speaks in the whole poem is very likely to have been inspired by a work whose chief features are anchorite cynicism and acidity and Hildebrandine arrogance. If he was he deserves the greater admiration for the sweetening touch he has added and for the complete omission of Cluniac politics.

It is less unlikely that both the tale and the morality draw from a common source. This may possibly have been the 'History of Barlaam and Josaphat.' Whoever was the author of that religious romance, whether John of Damascus or some earlier writer, he acknowledged that it was of Indian origin; and, as has been pointed out, the 'History' is little more than a Christianised version of the life of Buddha. Written in Greek it obtained a wide popularity in Western Europe when translated into Latin. The translation is of uncertain date but exists in a manuscript of the twelfth century. A still greater popularity was gained when it was abridged by Vincent de Beauvais and inserted (c. 1250) in his 'Speculum Historiale' (lib. xv. capp. 1-64). But although the romance as a whole had a good circulation in the Middle Ages, the apologues, or moral tales, which it contained, were even more widely known. Of these there are eleven that are non-biblical, and it is to the sixth that both our tale and 'Everyman' may be indebted. The Scottish poem in particular is extremely close to it in outline and in all vital points, except that it adds the humanizing touch about "wyfe and bairnes."

But there is another suggestion as to the source of 'Everyman'; and it, too, is worth attention in regard to the Peebles tale. A writer in the 'Athenaeum' (Nov. 29, 1913) has pointed to the Talmud, and there, in Part V., in the

section on the Day of Atonement, we find a version which is of great interest on account of two points of detail. The king in the Talmud apologue sends an "Officer," and the Second Friend offers his company as far as the palace gates. In both points our tale agrees and 'Barlaam and Josaphat' differs. In 'Barlaam' the king sends "fierce and terrible soldiers" and the Second Friend offers his escort only "a little way on the journey." The Talmud apologue, however, is extremely meagre, a mere skeleton of a tale; and the probability is that it was in some other expanded version than the Barlaam apologue that our author knew it—a version which, unlike the latter, retained the officer and the palace gates. It would have been more than strange had the Scottish poet, if he knew only the Barlaam version, unwittingly restored the officer and the gates of the Talmud tale.

Besides the Jewish apologue there are other meagre versions; and of these the fabliau given by Le Grand, "Du Prud'homme qui n'avait qu'un ami," is purely secular. Religious allegories are not infrequently mere adaptations of secular tales, and this fabliau may therefore be more closely akin to the ultimate original than any that have passed through clerical hands. The son of a certain gentleman has ten friends. The father, thinking them mere parasites, proposes to put them to the test, and the son agrees. They kill a calf and put it in a sack. The son carries it by night to the house of one of his friends, tells him that he has slain a man, and begs him to save his life by concealing the corpse in his grounds. The friend refuses; and so in turn do the nine others. Thereupon the father bids him go to a friend of his own—the only genuine friend he knows—and put him to the test.

And this friend of his father's took the sack and hid it. The father then moralises the incident saying that he trusts his son will now understand that he alone is worthy to be called a friend who is ready to help when all the world abandons us. A variant of this tale in the 'Gesta Romanorum' (Tale cxxix.) makes the number of friends three, substitutes a pig for a calf, and makes the third friend—whom the young man had treated lightly—ready to take the crime upon himself. The religious "Application" makes the third friend Christ and the other two the world and kindred. It will be seen therefore that this tale is a blend of the fabliau 'Du Prud'homme' and the Talmud apologue. Which of these is the older we cannot determine, nor does it matter. All that we are concerned to note is that the story was widely known in a diversity of meagre forms; that an expanded version very similar to our tale appeared in the 'History of Barlaam and Josaphat'; that there was in all probability another expanded version which preserved certain details of the ancient Jewish parable; and that, since these details appear in our poem, this, and not 'Barlaam' and certainly not 'Everyman,' was in all likelihood the immediate source of the Third Tale.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

So far, in one connection or another, enough has been said to indicate that 'The Prestis of Peblis' makes a more varied appeal than any other of the minor poems of the fifteenth century. Not a little of the verse of that period interests only the philologist or the grammarian. For these our poem has its value; but not for these only

or even mainly. The student of the history of Scottish literature will find in it a very rare example, and the best we possess, of a distinct literary *genre*—the collection of stories set in a frame. By itself, too, the Third Tale will attract him as an excellent version of one of the best of ancient allegories; and it may have the additional interest of allegory written for the sake of allegory in a period when poets had begun to use the form for other purposes, discovering in it especially “those possibilities of vivid effect which find fullest expression in the processional panels of the Elizabethans.”¹ Again, in the graphic sketch of the career of the parvenu and of his thriftless heir—*quod ubique quod semper*—there is the appeal of literature for its own sake. And for those critics who are sometimes bantered for their “keen scent for everything non-literary,”² but who may perhaps maintain that an antique script should be studied for *all* it is worth—for these there are glimpses of old Scottish manners and, perhaps best of all, illustrations of topics of legal and constitutional importance. On this last theme a final word may be permitted; for though some points of historical interest are explained in the notes, others may be more conveniently dealt with here as a whole than in sporadic jottings at the end.

Probably the most interesting historical passages are not so much those that deal with the relations of Church and State and of which the burden is

Kirk men to kirk sen thai haue al the charge,

as those that reflect the contest for control of the Council. The former, though quite as prominent, illustrate a theme

¹ Prof. Gregory Smith, ‘The Transition Period,’ p. 46.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

on which we are already well informed; but of the constitutional development of Scotland little is recorded, and whatever may serve to modify or to confirm theories founded on such meagre data as we possess is of the first importance and merits the closest attention. It is not very much that 'The Prestis of Peblis' does in this respect, but so far as it goes it illustrates a certain parallelism, or identity of *motif*, which at this period seems to have characterised the constitutional politics of England and Scotland. Voices have been raised against the notion of there being any such concursus, warning the student of the Scottish constitution that he must divest himself of the atmosphere of English history and be prepared to find a separate people, affected by influences widely different, and responding to impulses clearly divergent from the familiar movements of English history. Without committing oneself to any opinion on this dictum as it may apply to other times, one finds it very difficult to apply it to the period during which Scotland, feudalised and Romanised, had the same intellectual base as her neighbours. If at any time the criticism was realised "which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common end," it was during these centuries.¹ And if, during these centuries, there was a king of Scotland who sought to establish friendly relations with England, it was James III. Edward IV., it is true, gave him little encouragement, being doubtless resentful of the assistance hitherto given by Scotland to the Lancastrians, and determined to get Berwick back into English hands.

¹ Prof. Gregory Smith (*ibid.* p. 411) finds it particularly applicable to the fifteenth century.

Yet cozened and despoiled as he was by "the revare Edward," James persisted in his policy, and during the period within which lie the widest limits that may be assigned to the date of our poem, he was on terms of amity with the two succeeding sovereigns. The unpopularity he thus incurred as an anglophile his hostile nobles used for their own purpose ; but we may take leave to doubt the quality of the indignation of men who either had been guilty, on former occasions, of unpatriotic intrigue with England or were now banded with those who had been. Their real ground of hostility was that James's constitutional policy was that of kings of England who, ever since the Lancastrian period, had sought to dominate their Council instead of being dominated by it, and who, in seeking to concentrate the whole power of government in the hands of the Crown, reduced the magnates to comparative insignificance by selecting their Councillors and Officials from the inferior orders. In short, the critical issue of domestic politics in England and Scotland alike was the control of the Council.

This Committee, frequently styled in the old records the "secrett Consale," was in Scotland substantially identical with the Lords of the Articles or "lords hafand the power of parliament until the next session." To them were remitted matters for consideration in anticipation of the next meeting of parliament. Gradually, but by unrecorded stages, it came about that the Committee by finishing the parliamentary deliberations—in other words, by coming to decisions on the matters remitted to them and giving them the force of law—and by more or less reappointing itself as having full power of parliament until the next session, acquired a theoretically qualified but in

substance little challenged control over the initiation and revisal of Scottish legislation for upwards of three centuries. In short, sovereign sway, as far as it existed in Scotland, lay with the Council, and the individual or group of individuals who had sufficient power to control the appointments to the membership governed the country for the time being.¹

It was much the same in England. Emerging into view under Henry III., it is not until the reign of Henry VI. that it appears in the records as the *Concilium secretum* or *privatum*. For a time its constitution and powers were ill-defined, but generally speaking the members, in addition to any such departmental duties as any of them might discharge, "had the duty and responsibility of advising the king, of acting with him and of always being in immediate attendance upon him."² In other words, the Council was in England, as in Scotland, the instrument of the king's prerogative. And in England as in Scotland to control the appointments to the Council was to control the State.³

While it cannot be maintained that in Scotland the theory that Parliament ought to make the appointments took form as early as in England, it had at any rate begun to find strong expression before the reign of James III.

¹ The substance of this paragraph and much of the phrasing I owe to Dr. Neilson's 'Introduction' to the recently published second volume of the 'Acta Dominorum Concilii.' See especially pp. xxxvi-xli.

² 'The Tudor Privy Council,' p. 1, by Dorothy M. Gladish (1915).

³ This is not the place for more words on the question of kinship between these two bodies. For a close examination of the subject see Dr. Neilson's 'Introduction' to the 'Acta Dominorum Concilii,' pp. xxxvii-xlv. Far from showing Scotland to have been constitutionally *sui generis*, he conclusively proves that there are both an English and a French strain in the pedigree of its Council.

In a history of Scotland,¹ founded on and to a large extent a transcript of Bower's 'Scotochronicon,' the author has incorporated towards the close of Book XI. a poem entitled 'A Morality,' representing the state of a kingdom by the figure of a harp. When the strings of this harp, says the poet, "ar reulit in ane accord, . . . the sang is sueyt; bot quhen thai ar discordand . . . ,

Thair wil na man tak pleasance in that play :
Thai nicht weil thole the menstrale war away."

After this plain hint that a bad ruler may well be deposed, the poet proceeds with a vigorous exposition of the causes of the maladministration of justice, and then suggests fitting remedies. After advocating a course of legal study for the young nobility—for

How suld a man but knowlage keip justice?

or

How suld a man be wyse that na thing knawis
To gif the(e) counsale in thi parliament?—

the poet shows that what he mainly desired to see was the king's concession to Parliament of the right to select the members of his "gret consale."

Thow suld ger cheis the(e) counsal at war wyss
Be al thi thrie estatis ordinance,
And lay al hale the charge in thair balance
To gif the(e) counsale in thy government
As thai wil answer at the hee judgement.

A doctrine of limited monarchy plainly stated, and emphasised by repetition :

¹ Assigned by Skene to Maurice Buchanan, a cadet of the house of Lennox.

Bot wald thow wyt¹ al the providence
 Of al thine office to thi gret consale,
 To cheis treu men that war of hee prudence
 Of al thi gudis to have the governale, . . .

Whether written by Maurice Buchanan or by some other hungerer and thirster after justice,² the poem is believed to have been written before 1461, and probably expresses those criticisms of the system of public justice which resulted in the legislation of 1458.³ By the date of our poem the constitutional theory it embodied had evoked a stronger spirit of absolutism on the part of the Crown than any Scottish sovereign had hitherto put into general practice. For the last nine years of his reign James chose his own councillors and gave its character to the national policy.⁴ So, too, in England; so, too, in France: the Crown was bent upon making the royal prerogative a reality. But there both sovereigns held vantage-ground: in England, through the decimation of the old nobility in the Wars of the Roses; in France, by the *ordonnance* of 1439, which gave the king control over the national revenue and the national force. In Scotland feudalism was almost unimpaired and the temper of the aristocracy was doubtless heightened by what they heard or saw of the decay of their order in these neighbour realms. But if feudalism was still strong, so was faction; and by stubborn determination and skilful intrigue James had by 1484—only two years after the first rupture at Lauder—become so far master in his

¹ Bequeath.

² *Quidam siciens et esuriens justiciam*, as the poet is described by the chronicler. Dr. Neilson, who draws attention to the poem and comments upon it in its bearing upon his theme, is of opinion that poet and chronicler may possibly be one person ('*Introd. Acta Dom. Conc.*' II. xxii).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hume Brown, I. 269.

kingdom that the victory of the Crown seemed complete. Then came the stormy close; and the centre of the storm was the question of the Council.¹

This 'The Prestis of Peblis' corroborates; and the passages that make the point are couched in terms such as might have been employed by an English poet echoing the complaints of the aristocracy at any period from the ascendancy of Edward IV. till the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1469, for instance, the Duke of Clarence, the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Warwick, in a remonstrance to Edward IV. reminded him of the fates of Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI. For "*the said kings estranged the great lords of their blood from their secret Council.*"² So it is the lords

þat ar discendand of our blud,

whom the king wrongs in the Scottish tale;³ and the grievances expressed in the English complaint are precisely the same in substance as those deplored in our poem. For the chosen counsellors and officials of the English Crown looked only "*to their singular lucre and enriching of themselves . . . by the which the said princes were so impoverished that they had not sufficient of livelihood nor of goods, whereby they might keep and maintain their honourable estate and ordinary charges within this realm.*" In like manner the Scots lords complain :

¹ The question of the Council was, in fact, the storm centre of the discontents. ('Acta Dom. Conc.' II. xxvi).

² 'The Tudor Privy Council,' p. 5. The charge of having "caitiff and villain" councillors was a stock complaint against the Tudors also. Perkin Warbeck made use of it, and the rebels of 1536 urged that the king took of his Council "*persons of low birth and small reputation.*" *Ibid.* 19. It is in this connection curious that Henry VII., as well as James III., had for one of his chief favourites an *architect*.

³ *v.* 332.

ȝour Justices¹ are full of sucquedry,
 So covatous and full of avarice
 That þai ȝour lords emparis of þar pryce (*vv.* 272-4),

and "honour, fredome, worschip is away" (*v.* 316). In the First Tale the king acknowledges the evil consequences of his system, but the remedies he promises are but tinkering. In the Second Tale he fully admits that he must go the full length, and bids

Al the thrie Estaits that thay
 Sould sit down and sie a ganand way
 Quhat men in hous war meit with him to dwell,
 Of wisdom for to gif him counsel,
 And for to mak be his Estaits thrie
 Into this Realme concordant vnitie (*vv.* 795-800).

In short, the one hope of good government lay, according to the poet, in the king's submission to the principle of parliamentary control, and in parliament making use of their power to choose for the King's Council men who

in hous war meit with him to dwell,

a phrase suggestive not only of brains but of birth.²

Closely related to the royal policy towards the great nobles is the attitude of the Crown towards the bourgeoisie, whose rise to comparative affluence is one of the most prominent historical features of the fifteenth century. Like his brother sovereigns in France and England,

¹ Including probably the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints. At the date of our poem all were alike the creatures of the Council. In 1483 power was given to the Lords of the Articles to select the Auditors. 'Acta Dom. Conc.' xxv.

² It also reminds us that, as in England and, to a restricted extent, in France, the Council was "ambulatory," following the King as part of his household.

James III. spared no pains to win their good graces. So in the First Tale, when the king addresses his burgesses, it is with a flowing courtesy :

 Welcome, my burgeß, beld and bliß :
 Quhen 3e fair wele I may na myrthis miss ;
 Quhen 3e 3our schippis haldis hale and sound
 In richeß, gud and welefair I habound ;
 3e are þe cauß of my lyf & þe cheire :
 Of fer landis 3our merchandiß cummis heire (*vv.* 85-90).

And the tone of an English king might have been aptly expressed in similar terms. From an English poet, however, they would more probably have come in a spirit of sympathy ; for, from the example of Chaucer as well as that of the Crown, poetry in the south became genially appreciative of the merits of the middle classes. In Scotland it rather reflected the jealous disdain of the aristocracy. Pawky expression of this will be found in Dunbar's Remonstrance (*vv.* 17-20) when, after enumerating the artisans who are among the king's "mony servitours" and who are rewarded while he himself is neglected, the poet adds a sarcastic reminder that he understands the reason why :

 And all of thair craft cunning,
 And all at anis lawboring,
 Quhilk pleisand ar and honorable,
 And to 3our hienes profitable.¹

So, too, with our author. After giving proper dramatic expression to the king's attitude of gracious appreciation—though sarcasm at the king's expense, which Dunbar simply repeated, also lurks in the words—he puts into the

¹ On the aristocratic tone of the poetry of this time, see 'The Transition Period,' by Gregory Smith, pp. 49, 50.

mouth of one of the burgesses themselves the description of the career of a middle-class parvenu and his thriftless son, which is as contemptuous as it is realistic. Oppression of the poor by royal officials the poet eyes with indignant sympathy :

Thay pluck the puir as thay war powand hadder (*vv.* 622).

The husbandmen ruined by monstrous injustice he views with a sympathy which is mingled with anxiety for the interests of their lords—

ffor riche husbandis and tennendis of gret nicht
Helps aye þire lordis to hald þar richt (301-2 A)

—as well as with an anxiety which is that of the Gracchi for enfeebled Rome :

Sumtyme quhen husband men went to þe weir
Thai had ane Jak, ane bow, or ellis a speir ;
And now, befoir quhair þai had ane bow
Ful faine he is on bak to get ane fow ;
And for ane Jak a raggit cloke hes tane,
Ane swerd swere out and rousty for þe rayne.
Quhat sould sic men till gang till ony oist ?
lykar to beg þan enemyis to boist (*vv.* 289-296).

But this patriotic anxiety is in no wise allayed by evidences of the welfare of the merchant class. The poet sees no consolation in such prosperity, and simply reflects the jealousy of the nobles for whom he wrote and to whose ranks, whether in a higher or a lower connection, he may have belonged. And in satirising the bourgeoisie, he probably intended to satirise the king who so lovingly patronised them.

Perhaps a similar purpose lurks in the tale of the king's intrigue for the favours of the burgess's daughter (*vv.* 806-1002). The king is made to look not merely

foolish but very undignified ; and there can be little doubt that the purpose in spreading such stories—it certainly was not moral indignation—was political ; nor can it be said to be a mere coincidence that the same political point was meant in the tales of the “low” amours of Edward IV. and Louis XI.

Apart altogether from the theme of national parallelism, this question of the king's character is one of considerable interest. In the historians James III. eludes our grasp ; he eludes it here, too. In the prose of Ferrerius, Pitscottie, Leslie, Buchanan, and in the verse of our satirist, there are the same puzzling contradictions. If, as Mr. Lang suggests, the historians drew from a common source, the author of that original and the author of ‘The Prestis of Peblis’ were of one mind about him. This may mean no more than that both were of what may be called the parliamentary¹ party, and that each in praising him for certain qualities sought to give an appearance of fairness to criticism otherwise severe. Each, it would seem, is moved more by sorrow than by anger : a favourite device in polemic. I rather think, however, that our satirist had a genuine liking for the king while misliking his government : such a liking, say, as one might have had for Charles II. Indeed there is probably a close similarity in these two sovereigns : each a man of personal charm and cultivated tastes, and each as politician playing the part of the merry monarch who leaves cares of state to favoured ministers while secretly controlling a policy that gave absolute power to the Crown. If such was the character of James III. one

¹ A misleading phrase, I know, but we cannot say *aristocratic party*, since the nobility were divided at Sauchieburn, as always.

can understand the difficulty of contemporary appreciation. Historian and satirist may have been equally at a loss. Deceived by his subtlety in statecraft, they picture him as a gifted trifler, given over to idling pleasures; for such was the state of culture that indulgence of a taste for the arts meant nothing more. In especial a love of music betokened effeminacy. Only the

thondran blast of trumpet bellical

might appeal to a manly and serious mind.

Syngyng, fydlyng and pyping nocht effeiris
For men of honour nor of hie estate ;
 Because it spoutis swete venome in thair eris
 And *makis thair myndis al effeminate.*¹

An illiberal doctrine, but characteristic of all the seriously "concerned" through centuries of Scottish history. Nothing more natural, then, than that our author and the general mind of the country should be disappointed by a king who felt the genial influence of the Renaissance, and should be puzzled to understand that such an one might be a serious politician. His despotism they seem, from our author, to have attributed to the wilfulness of a child. He "wrocht ay as a barne,"² happy to give offence to his angry lords, and glad to forget his high estate so long as he

With monie man can gladelie sport and sing (*v.* 530).

You cannot have animus against a "barne," and it is not animus that breathes in the political parts of the poem. It is annoyance, irritation, perplexity. There is no threat or countenance of rebellion in a single verse;

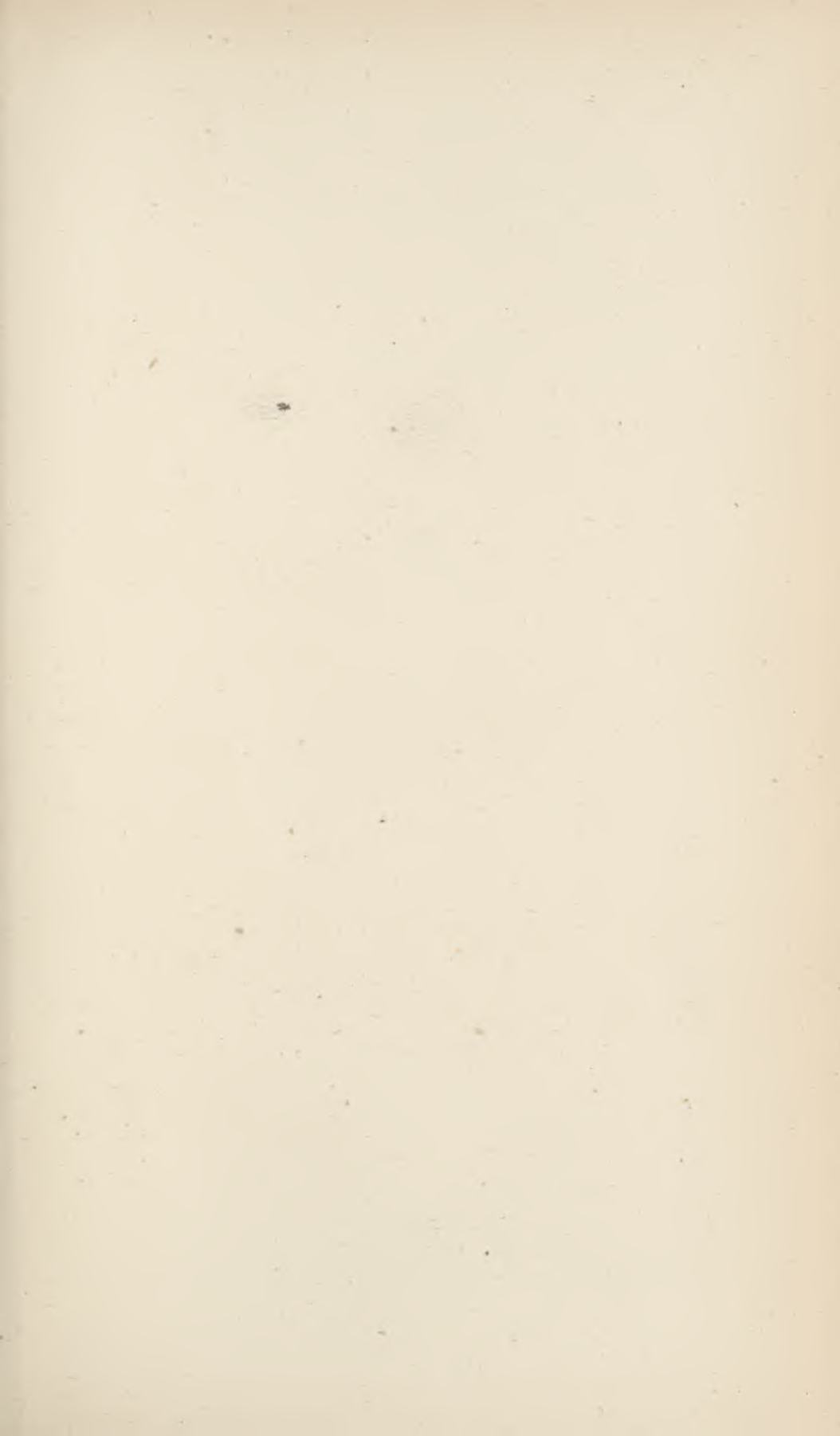
¹ Bellenden, *Proheme* to Translation of Boece's Chronicles, St. xxi.

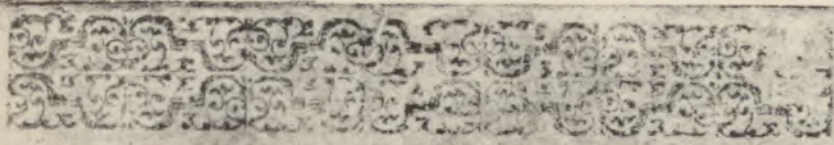
² *v.* 568.

but when the crisis came, if the author was—as I have tried to show he very probably was—gud gentill Stobo, he either took the rebel side or was known to be in sympathy with it; for he continued to hold his secretarial position under the new government, which established—in theory, at least—the principle of parliamentary control.

THE THRE PRESTIS OF PEBLIS

(ASLOAN AND CHARTERIS TEXTS)



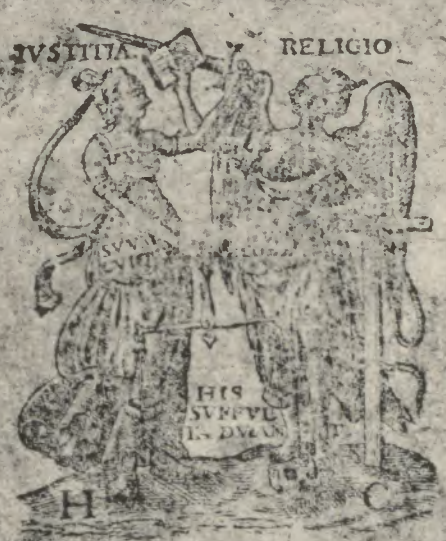


The thrie Tailles of the thrie Priests of Peblis.

Contayning manie notabill examples and sentences,
and (that the paper should not be void) supplyit
with sundrie more tales, verie pleasant to the
Reader, and maine & true corrected
than the former edition.

*Quid
Tullius dicitur hunc librum scripsisse
Ante abstrum reho super magis...*

Si D. in preambulo, quod contra...



Uti quod Dominus...

IMPRINTED AT EDINBURGH
by Robert Charteris, 1603.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGALI.

Douce R. 527

The thrie Tailles of the thrie Priests of Peblis

Contayning manie notabill examples and sentences,
and (that the paper fould not be voide) supplyit
with sundrie merie tailes, verie pleasant to the
Reider, and mair excellentlie corrected
than the former impression

OVID

Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet

IMPRINTED AT EDINBURGH

be Robert Charteris, 1603

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGALI

THE THRE PRESTIS OF PEBLIS.

*Heir begynnis þe buke of þe þre prestis
Of Peblis how þai tald þar talis.*



IN Peblis towne sumtym, as I herd tell,
The formast Daye of februar it befell
Thre prestis went vnto collacioun
In till a preve place of þe towne,
Quhar at þai sat richt soft & unfutsaire : 5
Thai lufit nocht na rangald nor repaire.
And gif I sall þe suth rakyñ and say,
I trast it was apoñ sanct brydis day,
Quhar þat þai sat full esely & soft,
With mony lowde lauchter apoñ loft. 10
And wit ze wele þire thre þai maid gud chere—
To þam þar was na Danteis þaim to deire—
With þre fed caponis oñ a speit *witʰ* greið,
With mony *vþer* syndry Diuerß meiß
And þam to serf þai had nocht bot ane boy ; 15
*ff*or company þai kepit þaim so coy ;
Thai lufit nocht *witʰ* ladry na *witʰ* lowne
Na *witʰ* trumpouris to trawell in þe towne,
Bot *witʰ* þaim self quhat þai wald tell or crak,
Vmquhile sadly, vmquhile Iangle & Iak. 20

Thus sat þir þre besyde a felloun fyre
Quhill þar caponis war rostit lyñ & lyre.
Befor þaim was sone set ane roundall brycht ;
And *witʰ* ane clenly claith finely besicht
It was our coverit, and oñ it breid was laid. 25
The eldest þan began þe grace & said,
And blist þat breid *witʰ* benedicite,
With Dominus, amen, sa mot I the.



THE PREFACE.

In this town sum tyme as I heard tell,
 The forrest day of February befell:
 Thre Priests went hnto collatioun,
 Into one priue place of the said town,
 Duhaire that thay sat etcht softe and onfuteisair,
 Thay insit not na rangale noy repaire.
 And gif I call the such reckin and lay,
 I craik it was vpon Sanct Byzons day.
 Duhaire that thay sat ful easilie and soft,
 With moue lowd laughter vpon soft:
 And wit ze well thir thye thay maad gude thir.
 To them thair was na dainteis than con drit
 With thye led capons on a speit with creische,
 With moue viber linozie dpuers meis:
 And them to serue thay had nocht bot a boy,
 Fra cumpanie thay keipit them sa cop,
 Thay lustie nocht with laozy noy with lown,
 Noy with crumpours to crauel throu the town:
 Bot with them self quhat thay wald tel oz crak,
 Unguhyple sablie, vnguhyple jangle and jak.
 Thus sat thir thye before ane feir an fyre,
 Duhil thair capons war tochtit him and fyre:
 Befoir them was sone set a Roundel brycht,
 And with ane elene clach synclie dieht.
 It was ouirset and on it byris was laid,
 The eldest than began the grace and laid
 And blisit the byrd with Benedicere,
 With Dominus Amen, sa mot I the.
 And he thay had byuoken about a quarte,
 Chan spak ane thus that Gaister was in Arie:
 And to his name thair callit Iohne was he,
 And said sen we ar here Priests thye,
 Synz wantis nocht be him that maad the Done,
 Til vs wee think ane carl sould cum in tunc:
 Chan spak ane other to name hecht G. Archibald,

MERY TAILLES.

Ane cunning Painter thair
 was dwelling in London,
 quhilk had a fair zounge
 wyfe, and for things he had to
 do went ouer the Sea, bot beca
 use he was sumquhat ielous
 he prayd his wyte to be con
 tent that he might paint ane
 lambe vpon his belly, and pray
 ed hir that it might remaine
 thair til he come hame againe,
 quhairwith sho was content.
 After quhilk lambe sa painted,
 he departed, and sone efter that
 ane lustie zounge Merchant, a
 Bachelor came and flatterd his
 wyte and obrayned hir fauour,
 so that sho was content that he
 tould lye with hir, quha resort
 ed to hir, and had his pleasour
 often tymis. And on a tyme he
 toke a Peasel, and to the lambe
 he painted twa hornes, wening
 to the wyfe that he had bot re
 freshed the auld painting. Bot
 at the last about azeir after hir
 husband came hame againe, &
 the first nicht he lay with his
 wyte he loked vpon his wifes
 belly and saw the twa hornes
 painted thair, hee said to his
 wyf that some other body had
 bene beside thair, and maid a
 new painting, for the picture
 that he painted had na hornes,
 & this hath hornes. To quhom
 his wyfe shortly answered and
 said: zea sir, remember that it is
 azeir past and maif sen ze went,
 and thocht it war bot a lambe
 quhen ze went, now perdie, ic
 must

THE PRIESTS OF PEBLIS.

THE PREFACE.



I N Peblis town sum tyme, as I heard tell,
 The formest day of Februare befell
 Thrie Preists went vnto collatioun
 Into ane priuie place of the said toun,
 Quhair that thay sat richt soft and vnfutesair :) 5
 Thay luifit not na rangald nor repair.
 And gif I sall the suith reckin and say,
 I traist it was vpon Sanct Bryds day,
 Quhair that thay sat ful easilie and soft,
 With monie lowd lauchter vpon loft. 10
 And wit 3e weil thir thrie thay maid gude cheir—
 To them thair was na dainteis than too deir—
 With thrie fed capons on a speit with creische,
 With monie vther sindrie dyuers meis ;
 And them to serue thay had nocht bot a boy ; 15
 Fra cumpanie thay keipit them sa coy ;
 Thay luifit nocht with ladry nor with lown
 Nor with trumpours to trauel throw the town,
 Bot with themself quhat thay wald tel or crak,
 Vmquhyle sadlie, vmquhyle jangle and jak. 20

Thus sat thir thrie besyde ane felloun fyre
 Quhil thair capons war roistit lim and lyre.
 Befoir them was sone set a Roundel bricht ;
 And with ane clene claith fynelie dicht
 It was ouriset, and on it breid was laid. 25
 The eldest than began the grace and said,
 And blissit the breid with *Benedicete*,
 With *Dominus, Amen*, sa mot I the.

ASLOAN]

And be þai had Drunkyñ about a quart
 Than spak ane þus þat master was in art, 30
 And to his name þan callit Ihoñ was he,
 And said, "Sen we ar heir prestis þre,
 Syne wantis nocht, be him þat maide þe mone
 To ws me think ane taile wald cum in tone."
 Than spak ane noþer to name hecht master archebald : 35
 "Now be þe hie hevin," quod he, "I hald
 To tell ane taile me think I suld nocht tyre,
 To hald my fut owt of þis fellouñ fyre."
 Than spak þe thrid to name hecht sîr willam :
 "To gret clergy I can nocht compt nor clame, 40
 Nor zit I am nocht travalit, as ar ze,
 In mony syndry landis bezond þe se ;
 Tharfor me think it noþer schame nor syñ
 Of zow twa þe first tale to begyñ."
 "Heir I protest," þan spak master archebald ; 45
 "Ane travalit clerk suppoß I be cald,
 Presumptuosly I think nocht to presome,
 As I þat was neuer travalit bot to rome,
 To tell ane tale ; bot erar, I suppone,
 The first tale tald mot be master Ihoñ ; 50
 ffor he has bene in mony vncouth land :
 In portingale and in Ciuile þe grand ;
 In fyve kynrikis of spane all has he bene,
 In four cristin and ane hethin I wene ;
 In Rome flandarîs and in Wenys towne, 55
 And vþer landis syndry wp & dovñ ;
 And for þat he spak first of a tale,
 That to begyn me think he suld nocht fale."
 Than spekis master Ihoñ, "Now be þe rude,
 Me to begyñ ane tale sen ze conclude, 60
 And I Deny þan had I saire offendit :
 The thing begwn is þe sonere endit."

[CHARTERIS

And be thay had drunken about a quarte
 Than spak ane thus that Maister was in Arte, 30
 And to his name than¹ callit Johne was he,
 And said, "Sen we ar heir Preists thrie,
 Syne wantis nocht, be him that maid the Mone
 Til vs me think ane tail sould cum in tune."
 Than spak ane other to name hecht M. Archebald : 35
 "Now be the hiest Heuin," quod he, "I hald
 To tel ane tail me think I sould not tyre,
 To hald my fute out of this felloun fyre."
 Than spak the thrid to name hecht S. Williame :
 "To grit clargie I can not count nor clame, 40
 Nor 3it I am not travellit, as ar 3e,
 In monie sundrie Land beyond the See ;
 Thairfoir me think it nouthar shame nor sin
 Ane of 3ow twa the first tail to begin."
 "Heir I protest," than spak maister Archebald ; 45
 "Ane trauellit Clerk suppois I be cald,
 Presumpteouslie I think not to presume,
 As I that was neuer trauellit bot to Rome,
 To tel ane tail ; bot eirar, I suppose,
 The first tail tald mot be Maister Johne ; 50
 For he hath bene in monie vncouth Land :
 In Portingale and in Ciuile the grand,—
 In fyue kinrikis of Spane al hes he bene,
 In foure christin and ane heathin I wene,—
 In Rome, Flanders, and in Venice toun, 55
 And vther Lands sundrie vp and down ;
 And for that he spak first of ane tail,
 Thairfoir to begin he sould not fail."
 Than speiks Maister Johne, "Now be the Rude,
 Me to begin ane tail sen 3e conclude, 60
 And I deny than had I sair offendit :
 The thing begun, the soner it is endit."

¹ 'thair' in text.

ASLOAN]

*Heir begynnīs The tale of master Jhoñ
of þe thre questionis.*

a Kyng þar was sumtyme & eike a quene,
 As mony in þe land befor had bene.
 This king gart set ane plane parliament, 65
 And for þe lordis of his kynrik sent ;
 And for þe weilefar of his realme & gud
 The thre estatīs had maid a cleir conclude.
 The king gart call to his palace all thre
 Thir estatīs all, Ilkane in þar Degre. 70
 The bischopis first *witʰ* prelotīs and abbotīs,
 With þar clerkis, þar *seruandīs* and werlotīs,
 Into ane hall was large, richt hie & huge,
 Thir prelotīs all full lustely couth luge.
 Syne in ane hall full faire farand 75
 He lugit all þe lordīs of his land.
 Syne in ane hall was wnder þat full clene
 He herberit all his burgesß riche & bene.
 Sa of þire thre estatīs all & sum
 In þir thre hallīs þe wysest gart he cum. 80
 And of þar mery cheire quhat mak I maire ?
 Thai fure alswele as ony folk *mycht* faire.

The king him self come to þire burgesß bene,
 And þire wordīs to þaim carpis I wene,
 And said : " Welcome, my burgesß, beld & bliß : 85
 Quhen 3e fair wele I may na myrthis myß ;
 Quhen 3e 3our schippis haldīs hale & sound,
 In richeß gud and welefair I habound ;
 3e ar þe cauß of my lyf & þe cheire ;
 Of fer landīs 3our merchandiß cummis heire. 90
 Bot a thing is for schort þe cauß quhy
 Togiddir heir 3ow gar cum haf I :
 To 3ow I haue ane questioun to Declare,
 Quhy burgesß barnis thryffīs nocht to þe thrid aire,

[CHARTERIS

The first taill, tald be Maister Johne.

KING thair was sumtyme and eik a Queene,
 As monie in the Land befor had bene.
 This King gart set ane plane Parliament, 65
 And for the Lords of his kinrik sent ;

And for the weilfair of his Realme and gyde
 The thrie Estaits concludit at that tyde.
 The King gart cal to his Palice al thrie
 The Estaits, ilkane in thair degrie. 70
 The Bishops first with Prelats and Abbottis,
 With thair Clarks seruants and Varlottis,
 Into ane hall was large, richt hie and hudge,
 Thir Prelats all richt lustelie couth ludge.
 Syne in ane hal ful fair farrand 75
 He ludgit al the Lords of his Land.
 Syne in ane Hal was vnder that ful clene
 He harbourit al his Burgessis rich and bene.
 Sa of thir thrie Estaits al and sum
 In thir thrie Hals he gart the wysest cum. 80
 And of thair mery cheir quhat mak I mair ?
 Thay fuir als weil as onie folk nicht fair.

The King himself come to this Burgessis bene,
 And thir words to them carps, I wene,
 And says: "Welcum Burgessis, my beild and blis: 85
 Quhen 3e fair weil I may na mirths mis ;
 Quhen that 3our ships holds hail and sound,
 In riches, gudes and weilfair I abound ;
 3e ar the caus of my lyfe and my cheir ;
 Out of far Lands 3our Marchandice cums heir. 90
 Bot ane thing is, for short, the cause quhy
 Togidder heir 3ow gart cum haue I :
 To 3ow I haue ane questioun to declair,
 Quhy Burges bairns thryues not to the thrid air,

ASLOAN]

Bot castis away it þat þar eldaris wan : 95
 Declar me now þis questiouñ gif ze can.
 To 3ow I gif þis questiouñ all & sum,
 ffor to declair agane þe morñ I cum."

Vnto his lordis þan cummyñ Is þe king :
 "Dois glaidlie all," he said, "baith ald & 3ing. 100
 My lusty lordis, my liegis & my lyf,
 I am Instruct quhen ze haf ony stryf ;
 Quhen ze haf pece & quhen ze haf plesans,
 Than I am glaide and Derfly may I dans.
 Ane hed Dow nochit oñ body stand allane 105
 fforowt memberis to be of mycht and mane
 ffor to wphald þe body & þe hed,
 And sekerly to gar It stand in steid.
 Tharfor, my lordis and my baronnis bald,
 To me allhale ze ar helpe & wphald. 110
 And now I will ze wit wíth deligens
 Quharfor þat I gart cum sic confluens,
 And quhy ze lordis of my parliament
 I haue gart cum I will tell myne entent.
 Ane questiouñ I haue ze moñ Declaire, 115
 That in my mynd is evire maire and maire :
 Quharfor and quhy and quhat It is þe caif
 Sa worthy lordis war in my eldaris days,
 Sa full of worschip fredome & honour,
 Hardy In hart to stand in euery stowre, 120
 And now in 3ow I fynd þe hale contrare ?
 Tharfor þis dowl & questiouñ ze declare,
 And It declar vnder þe hieast pane,
 The morne þis tyme quhen þat I cum agane."

Than till his clergy come þis noble king. 125
 "Welcome, bischopis," he said, "wíth my blissing ;

[CHARTERIS

Bot casts away it that thair elders wan : 95
 Declair me now this questioun gif 3e can.
 To 3ow I gif this questioun al and sum,
 For to declair againe the morne I cum."

Vnto his Lords than cumen is the King :
 "Dois glaidlie al," he said, " baith ald and 3ing. 100
 My lustie Lords, my Leiges and my lyfe,
 I am in sturt quhen that 3e ar in stryfe ;
 Quhen 3e haue peace and quhen 3e haue plesance,
 Than I am glade and derflie may I dance.
 Ane heid dow not on bodie stand allane 105
 For out members to be of micht and mane
 For to uphald the bodie and the heid,
 And sickerlie to gar it stand in steid ;
 Thairfoir, my Lords and my Barrouns bald,
 To me al hail 3e are help and vphald. 110
 And now I will 3e wit with diligence
 Quhairfoir that I gart cum sic confluence,
 And quhy 3e Lords of my Parliament
 I haue gart cum I will tell my intent.
 Ane questioun I haue 3e mon declair, 115
 That in my minde is euer mair and mair :
 Quhairfoir and quhy and quhat is the cais
 Sa worthie Lords war in myne elders dayis,
 Sa full of fredome worship and honour,
 Hardie in hart to stand in euerie stour, 120
 And now in 3ow I find the hail contrair ?
 Thairfoir this dout and questioun 3e declair,
 And it declair vnder the hiest pane,
 The morne this tyme quhen that I cum agane."

THAN till his Clergie came this nobil King. 125
 "Welcum, Bishops," he said, " with my blissing ;

ASLOAN]

Welcome, beidmen, my bliß & all my beld :
 To me 3e ar baith helme, speire & scheld ;
 ffor richt sa throu 3our meß & vrisouñ
 Myne enemy's suld put to confusiouñ. 130
 3e ar þe gaynest gait and gyde to god ;
 Of all my realme 3e ar þe rewle & rod ;
 It þat 3e Do me think It suld be done ;
 Quhar þat 3e schrenke I haue ane son3e sone.
 Thus be 3ow aye ane example men tais, 135
 And as 3e say þan all and syndry sayis.
 It þat 3e think richt or 3it resouñ,
 To þat can I nor na man haue enchesouñ.
 Bot a thing is I wald 3e wnderstud,
 The cauß in to þis place for to conclude, 140
 Quharfor & quhy I gart 3ow hidder cum,
 My clergy and my clerkis all & sum :
 To 3ow I haue na noþer tale nor thewme
 Excepan to 3ow bischopis a problevme,
 Quhilk is to me ane questiouñ & ane dowt : 145
 Out of my mynd I wald 3e put it owt.
 That is to saye, quharfor and quhy
 In alld tymes and dayis of ancestry
 Sa mony bischopis war & men of kirk
 Sa gret will had ay gud werkis to wirk ; 150
 And throw þar prayeris maid to god of mycht
 The Dwm men speche, þe blynde men get þar sicht,
 The deif men heryng, þe crukit get þar feit :
 War nane in baile bot wele þai couth þaim bete.
 To seike folkis or in to saireneß syne, 155
 Till all þai wald be mendis or medicyne.
 And quharfor now 3e in 3our tyme warye ?

[CHARTERIS

Welcum, my beidmen, my blesse and al my beild :
 To me 3e are baith Helmet, Speir and Sheild.
 For richt as Moyses stude vpon the Mont
 Prayand to God of Heuin as he was wont, 130
 And richt sa by 3our deuoit Orisoun
 Myne enemies sould put to confusioun.
 3e ar the gainest gait and gyde to God ;
 Of al my Realme 3e ar the reul and rod ;
 It that 3e do me think it sould be done ; 135
 Quhen that 3e shrink I haue ane sungie sone.
 Thus be 3ow ay ane example men tais,
 And as 3e say than al and sundrie sayis.
 It that 3e think richt or 3it ressoun,
 To that can I nor na man haue chessoun ; 140
 And that 3e think vnressoun or wrang,
 Wee al and sundrie sings the samin sang.
 Bot ane thing is I wald 3e understude,—
 The cause into this place for to conclude—
 Quhairfoir and quhy I gart 3ow hidder cum, 145
 My Clargie and my Clarks al and sum :
 To 3ow I haue na vther tail nor theame,
 Exceptand to 3ow Bishops a probleame,
 Quhilk is to me ane questioun and dout :
 Out of my mind I wald 3e put it out. 150
 That is to say, quhairfoir and quhy
 In auld tymes and dayes of ancestry
 Sa monie Bishops war and men of Kirk
 Sa grit wil had ay gude warkes to wirk ;
 And throw thair prayers maid to God of nicht, 155
 The dum men spak, the Blind men gat their sicht,
 The Deif men heiring, the Crukit gat þair feit,
 War nane in bail, bot weill thay culd them beit :
 To seik folks or into sairnes syne,
 Til al thay wald be mendis and medicyne ; 160
 And quhairfoir now in 3our tyme 3e warie ?

ASLOAN]

As þai Did þan quharfor sa may *nocht* ze?
 Quharfor may ze *nocht* do as þai did þan?
 Declar me now þis questioun gif ze can."

160

-Ad Burgenses

Apoñ þe morne, efter baith meß & meit,
 The king come In and sat dovne *in* his sete
 In to þe hall amang þir burgesß men ;
 With him a clerk *wit*h ynk paper & peñ ;
 And bad þaim þat þai suld foroutin mare
 His questioun assolze & declare.
 And þir burgesß, þat þis questioun wele knew,
 Had ordanit a wyß man & a trewe
 The questioun to reid foroutin fale ;
 And he stud wp & þus began his tale :—

165

170

Solucio *prime* questionis

"e xcellent, hie, richt *mychtj* prince & king,
zour hieneß heir wald fane wit of þis thing,
 Quhy burgesß barnis thryffis *nocht* to þe thrid aire,
 Can neuer thryf bot of all baggis ar baire ;
 And euirmar, now þat is for to say,
 It þat þar eldaris wan þai cast away.
 This questioun Declar full wele I can :
 Thay begyñ *nocht* quhar þar faderis began,
 Bot *wit*h ane hiely hart bath derf & daft,
 Thay ay begyñ quhar at þar faderis left.
 Of þis mater largely to speike maire,
 Quhy þai thryf *nocht* vnto þe thrid aire,
 Becaus þar faderis purely can begyñ
 With hap and halfpenny & a lam skyñ,
 And purely ran fra towne to towñ on fut,
 And oftymes weitschod wery & weit,

175

180

185

because thou hast bene euill & stubborne and wouldest neuer be ruled be counsel, I haue neither lands nor guides vnbekethed, bot only aue mill v. and ground quhair a gallows standeth, quhilk now I giue & bequeerh vnto thee, & gods curse wickall To quhom his son answered as his brethren did, and saide, may father, I trust ze shall liue and be in gude health, and haue it and occupy it zour selfe by Gods grace. Bot efter the father dyed, and this thrid son so continued fel in his vnrithie conditions, quhairfor it wes his fortoun efter warde for his deseruing to be hanged on the same gallowes.

The scholer that bare his, &c.
IN the Vniuersitie of Oxford thair was a scholer that deliuit mekill to speik eloquent English, and curious termes, and come to the Cobler with his shoes (quhilk war pyked befor as they used in that tseoun) to haue them elouted, and said in this wyse, Cobler I pray the set me two traingles, and two semicircles vpon my subpedatales & I sal giue the for thy labour. The Cobler becaus he vnderstandz him not half weil answered shortlye and said, Sir, zour eloquence passeth my intelligence, bot I promise zow gif ze medle with me, the clouting of zour shone wil cost zow sextene pennies.

A womans tong, &c.

A certaine artificer of London thair was quhilk was soir sick and could not weil digest his meit.

Because thair father's purcellie can begin,
With hay and halfpenny and a Lambes skine:
And purchie ran fra town to town of feit,
And than rich oft weithon werie and weit.
Quhilk at the last of thairie smals couth mak,
His bouie pedder ane gude fate pak:
At ilkane fair this chopman ay was fynd,
Quhilk that his pak was with fourtie pund.
To beir his pak quhen that he failit force,
He bocht sul some ane mekil stalwart hoys:
And at the last so worthelie by war,
He bocht ane Cart to carie Hot and Pan:
With Flanders Coffers wuch Counters and Kiff
He wor a grund rich man of ouie wiff,
And syne vnto the town to sel and by,
He held a chop to sel his chaffery,
Than bocht he wol and wylfelle couth to wey,
And efter that sone sayth he the Sey:
Than come he hame a verie potent man,
And spoult syne a muchtie wyfe rich than.
He sayth ouer the Sey sa oft and oft,
Quhilk at the last ane semelic wy he cofe.
And wor sa ful of warleis welch and win,
His hands he wiff in ane siluer Basin.
For out in gold of siluer into hurde,
With thre thousand pund was his Copburde:
Riche was his gownis with vber garmenes gay,
For Sonday lik for ilk day grene and gray.
His wyfe was cumlic clad in Scarlet reid,
Scho had na dout of detth of ail noz beid.
And efter that within a twentie zett,
His Sone gat vp ane stalwart man and Ait.
And efter that this Burges we of reid,
Dre as we trou bo al indeid.
And fra he was deid than come his sone,
And enterie in the welch that he had wone.
He sleppit not his streys in the streit,
To win this welch noz for it was he weit.
Quhen he wald sleip he wantie not a wak,

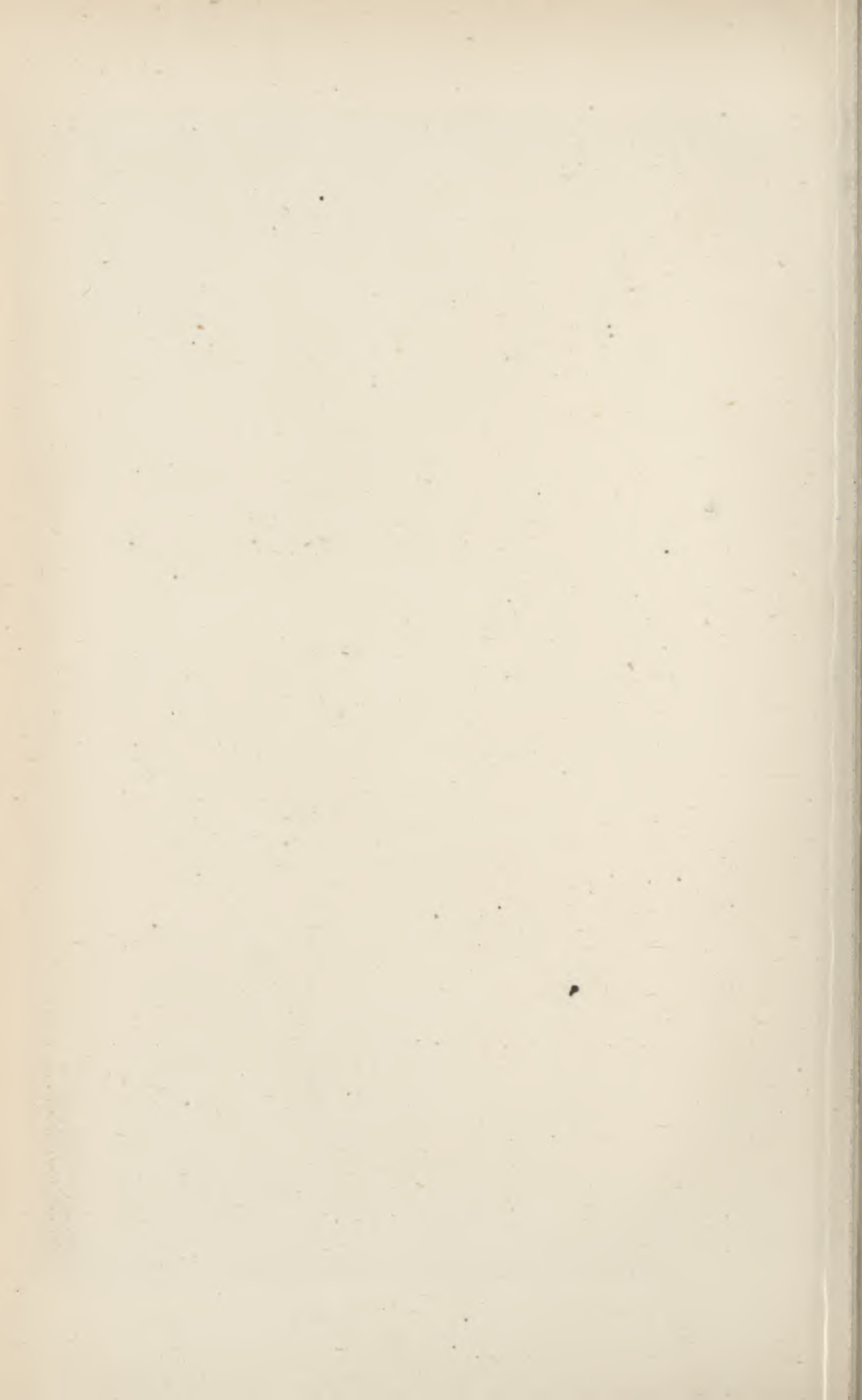
OF PEBLIS

To win this welth na for it sweet na swink.
 Their foie that lichte cumt wil lichte ga,
 To win this welth he had na work nor wa.
 To win this gyde he had not one il' houre.
 Lohs could he have the sweit had not the souce.
 Upon his fingers with riche rings on raw.
 His mother not thocht the reik on him to claw.
 And wil nocht hear for veie shame and sin.
 That ever his father said one shepshin:
 He wold him saune with Benedicte
 Lohs spak of ome degradyng of his degre,
 With twa men and one vailet at his bak,
 And one libberly ful tyll to lak
 With ome wold he be faith woo and wraith
 Lohs at him spirit how said he be the clath
 At hazard wold he deif the play at duse,
 And to the sworne with he was to tyse:
 This wist he never of wa bot ay of weil,
 Lohs he had sicke stidden fra his seie.
 Sure to the court than can he mak repair.
 And follow him sure to one lords air.
 He weipe nocht for na worlds welth nor win
 Lohs drink and duce have parwit him to the pin
 He canot mak licraft to wine one es,
 Lohs forlie is thocht Burges bairnes beg.
 And he this is the caus of his declair.
 Lohs Burges bairnes thrives not to the thrid air.
 Weil, quod the king, how serves thy remair
 To wyselic beg than this questoun declaird:
 Sir Clark tak Lohs, with pen on paper wryte,
 And as he said thou dewlic put in dysse
 Thilth to his lords cury at this nobil king,
 Desyand for to wit, the solzeing:
 Of his questoun this prothleme and his deul.
 The quibbles lords had at than icand about
 Lohs, able as weil it sould accord,
 Than language laid upon one agit word:
 The quibbles stude up and richt louselic did wail,
 Lohs to the king and this began his tell.

B

How Tailed
 met, to quhome a Pheiston
 come to give counsel, and said
 that he must use to eat meites
 that be light of digestion, as
 small birds, Sparrowes, Swal-
 lowes, and especially the bird
 that is called the Woad taylor,
 and his flesh is merrellous light
 of digestion, because that bird
 is ever moving, and stirring
 the sick man eating the same.
 That day he answered & said
 he, if that be the cause, yet that
 birds be light of digestion, then
 I knowe a piteyng lisher of
 digestion than either Sparrow
 swallow or woad taylor, and that
 is my wyves tong, for this never
 is get, yet ever moving and
 turning.

A New man that had be
 a woman their eyes had bare
 bysiness, he fortunet also yat
 his wifis husband died, and
 wold brocht to lark on the beir
 quhom this woman followed
 and maid ome mane and sox-
 ed veie foie in so much that
 his nighbour thocht, who sould
 sworne and die for sorrow,
 quair for one of his Goppes
 come to him and thak in his ear
 and had his for God, lark com-
 fort his self, and repaire that
 lamentation, or els it wold
 hurt his and peradventure put
 his in jepardie of his lyfe. To
 quhom this woman answered,
 and said: Lohs quod louselic,
 give greit caus to murine gif Ie
 kneid al, for I have curied thre,
 husbands besyde this man, bot
 I was never in the case that I
 am now, for thair was not one
 of them, bot quhen that I fol-
 lowed.



[CHARTERIS

As thay did than quhairfoir sa mot not 3e ?
 Quhairfoir may not 3e as thay did than ?
 Declair me now this questioun gif 3e can."

To the Burgessis.

Vpon the morne, efter service and meat, 165
 The King came in and sat down in his sait,
 Into the hal amang the Burges men ;
 With him ane Clark with ink paper and pen ;
 And bad them that thay sould foroutin mair
 His question reid, assol3e and declair. 170
 And the Burgessis, that this questioun weil knew,
 Hes ordaned ane wyse man and ane trew
 The questioun to reid foroutin fail ;
 And he stude vp and this began his tail :—

The answeir to the first questioun.

" EXCELLENT, hie, richt mighty prince & King, 175
 3our Hienes heir wald faine wit of this thing,
 Quhy Burges bairnis thryuis not to the thrid air,
 Can neuer thryue bot of al baggis is bair ;
 And euer mair, that is for to say,
 It that thair Eldars wan thay cast away. 180
 This questioun declair ful weill I can :
 Thay begin not quhair thair fathers began,
 Bot with ane hiely hart baith daft and derft
 Thay ay begin quhair that thair fathers left.
 Of this mater largelie to speik mair, 185
 Quhy that thay thryue not to the thrid air,
 Becaus thair fathers purelie can begin
 With hap and halfpenny and a Lambs skin,
 And purelie ran fra town to town on feit,
 And than richt oft wetshod werie and weit, 190

ASLOAN]

Quhill at þe last of mony smallis couth mak
 This bony pedder a gud fut pak.
 At ilk fair þis chepman ay was found,
 Quhill at his pak was worth forty pund. 190
 To beir þis pak quhen þat he falit forþ
 He bocht full sone a mekle stallwart horfþ,
 And at þe last sa worthely wp wan
 He bocht ane cart to cary pot & pan,
 Bath flandarís cofferís, comptourís & kist : 195
 He wox a ground riche man or ony wist.
 And syne into þe tovne to sell & by,
 He held ane chope to sell his chaffery.
 Thar bocht he woll & wysly couth It wey,
 And efter sone þan salit he þe sey. 200
 Than come he hame ane mychti riche man,
 And spousit syne ane michti wyf richt þan.
 And salit our þe sey sa oft and oft
 Quhill at þe last a semely schipe he coft ;
 And wox so full of warldís welth & wyñ 205
 His handís he wosche in a siluer basyñ.
 fforoutin gold and siluer in to hurde,
 Worth thre thousand was his cope burde.
 Riche was his gownis with vþer garmondís gay :
 ffor sonday silk, for Ilk day grene & gray. 210
 His wyf was cumly cled in scarlet reid :
 Scho had na Dout for derth of ale nor breid.

And efter þat within twenty zere
 His sone getís wp, ane stalwart man to stere.
 And efter þat þis burgeß we of reid 215
 Deit as we mon do all in deid.
 And fra þat he was deid þan come his soñ,
 And enterit in þe welth þat he had woñ.

[CHARTERIS

Quhill at the last of manie smals couth mak
 This bonie pedder ane gude fute pak.
 At ilkane fair this chopman ay was fund
 Quhil that his pak was wirth fourtie pund.
 To beir his pak quhen that he faillit force 195
 He bocht ful sone ane mekil stalwart hors,
 And at the last so worthelie vp wan
 He bocht ane Cart to carie Pot and Pan,
 Baith Flanders Coffers with Counters and Kist :
 He wox a grund rich man or onie wist. 200
 And syne vnto the town to sel and by,
 He held a chop to sel his chaffery.
 Than bocht he wol and wyselie couth it wey,
 And efter that sone saylit he the Sey.
 Than come he hame a verie potent man, 205
 And spousit syne a michtie wyfe richt than.
 He saylit ouer the Sey sa oft and oft
 Quhil at the last ane semelie ship he coft ;
 And wox sa ful of warldis welth and win
 His hands he wish in ane siluer Basin. 210
 Foroutin gold or siluer into hurde,
 Wirth thrie thowsand pund was his Copburde.
 Riche was his gownis with vther garments gay :
 For Sondag silk, for ilk day grene and gray.
 His wyfe was cumlie cled in Scarlet reid : 215
 Scho had na dout of derth of Ail nor breid.

And efter that within a twentie 3eir
 His Sone¹ gat vp, ane stalwart man and steir,
 And efter that this Burges we of reid
 Deit, as we mon do al indeid. 220
 And fra he was deid than come his sone,
 And enterit in the welth that he had wone.

¹ 'He sone' in text.

ASLOAN]

He steppit *nocht* thre steppis in þe streit
 To wyñ þis welth, na for It was he weit. 220
 Quhen he wald slepe he wantit *nocht* ane wynk
 To wyñ þis welth, na for It sweit na swynk.
 Tharfor þat *lychtly cummis* will lichtly ga.
 To wyñ þis welth he had na werk na wa ;
 To wyñ þis gud he had *nocht* ane Ill houre : 225
 Quhy suld he haf þe sweit had *nocht* þe sowre ?
 Apoñ his *fyngeris with* riche *ryngis* oñ raw,
 His moder tholit *nocht* þe reke oñ him to blaw,
 And will *nocht* heir, for *werray* schame & syñ,
 That evir his fader sauld ane schepe skyñ. 230
 He wald him sayne *with* benedicite
 Quhasa spak of Degrading of his degre.
 With twa men and ane werlot at his bak
 And ane liberlay full litill tent to tak,
 With ony wald he be baith wod & wraith 235
 Quha at *him* sperit how sald he þe clait^h.
 At hasert wald he derfly play & dyß,
 And to þe tavern̄ eith he was to tyß.
 Thus wist he *neuer* of wo bot ay of wele
 Quhill he had slely sliddin fra all seile. 240
 Syne to þe *court* þan can he mak repaire,
 And fallowe him vnto ane lordis aire.
 He wepis *nocht* for na warldis welth to wyñ
 Quhill Drynk & dyß haf powrit *him* to þe pyñ.
 He can *nocht* wirk be craft to wyñ ane eg : 245
 Quhat ferly Is þocht burgeß barnis beg ?
 And þis Is þe cauß, as I declare,
 Quhy burges barnis thryfis *nocht* to þe thrid aire."

"Weile," *quod* þe king, "þow *seruiß* þi reward,
 ffor wyslye has þow þis questiouñ declard. 250

[CHARTERIS

He steppit not his steps in the streit
 To win this welth, nor for it was he weit.
 Quhen he wald sleip he wantit not a wink 225
 To win this welth, na for it swet na swink.
 Thairfoir that lichtlie cums wil lichtlie ga.
 To win this welth he had na work nor wa ;
 To win this gude he had not ane il houre :
 Quhy sould he haue the sweit had not the soure ? 230
 Vpon his fingers with riche rings on raw,
 His mother not tholit the reik on him to blaw,
 And wil nocht heir, for verie shame and sin,
 That euer his father sald ane sheipskin.
 He wald him sayne with *Benedicite* 235
 Quha spak of onie degrading of his degrie.
 With twa men and ane varlot at his bak
 And ane libberly ful lytil to lak,
 With onie wald he [be] baith wod¹ and wraith
 Quha at him speirit how sald he² the claith. 240
 At hasard wald he derfly play at dyse,
 And to the Tauerne eith he was to tyse.
 This wist he neuer of wa bot ay of weil
 Quhil he had slielie slidden fra his seil.
 Syne to the court than can he mak repair, 245
 And fallow him syne to ane Lords air.
 He weips nocht for na warlds welth nor win
 Quhil drink and dyce haue powrit him to the pin.
 He can not mak be craft to wine ane eg :
 Quhat ferlie is thocht Burges bairnes beg ? 250
 And, Sir, this is the caus, as I declair,
 Quhy Burges bairnes thriues not to the thrid air."

"Weil," quod the King, "thow servis thy rewaird,
 For wyselie hes thow this questioun declaird.

¹ 'woo' in text.

² 'how sald he be the claith' in text.

ASLOAN]

Schir clerk, tak ynk, *witʰ* peñ oñ *paper* wryte,
And as is said þow Dewly put in dyte."

Ad Dominos

Than till his lordis þus *cummyñ* is þe kyng,
Desyrand for to wit þe solzeing
Of þis questiouñ, þis problevme & þis Dowl; 255
The quhilkis lordis had all þan round about
Avisitly, as wele it suld accord,
Thar langage laid apoñ ane agit lord;
The quhilk stud wp and richt wysly to wale
Vnto þe king, all thus began his tale. 260

Solucio Secunde questionis

"e xcelling, hie richt *mychti* Prince & sure,
Ay at *zour* call we ar wnder *zour* cure.
And now señ ze haue gart ws hiddir cum
This Dowl for to declair, baith all & sum,—
That is to saye, quharfor þe causʰ & quhy 265
Sic lordis was in my eldaris Dayis & worthy,
Sa full of fredome, worschipe & honour,
Hardy in hart to stand in euey stowre,
And now in ws ze meyne ay mare & mare
In to *zour* tyme ze fynd þe hale contrare. 270
Schir, þis it is quharfor it is & quhy:
Zour Justicis ar full of sucquedry,
So covatuʰ and full of auarice
That þai *zour* lordis emparis of þar pryce.
Thai Dyte *zour* lordis and heryis wp *zour* men; 275
The theif now fra þe lele men quha *can* keñ?
Thai wryt wp leile and falʰ, *baith* all & sum,
And Dytis þaim vnder a *perdouñ*.
Thus, be þe husband men neuer sa lele,
He Dytit is as ane theif to steile. 280

[CHARTERIS

Sir Clark, tak Inke, with pen on paper wryte,
And as he said thow dewlie put in dyte." 255

THAN to his Lords cum is this nobil King,
Desyrand for to wit the solzeing
Of this questioun, this probleame and this-dout ;
The quhilks Lords had al than round about. 260
Aduysetlie, as weil it sould accord,
Thair language laid vpon ane agit Lord ;
The quhilk stude vp and richt wyselie did wail
Vnto the King, and this began his tail.

The answeere to the second questioun.

"EXCELLENT, hie, richt nichtie Prince and sure, 265
Ay at 3our cal wee ar under 3our cure.
And now sen 3e haue gart us hither cum
This dout for to declair, baith al and sum,—
That is to say, the caus quhairfoir and quhy
Sik worthie Lords war in dayis gane-by, 270
Sa ful of fredome, worship and honour,
Hardie in hart to stand in euerie stour,
And now in us 3e meine ay mair and mair
Into 3our tyme 3e find the hail contrair—
Sir, this it is the caus quhairfoir and quhy : 275
3our Justice ar sa ful of sucquedry,
Sa covetous and ful of avarice
That thay 3our Lords impaires of thair pryce.
Thay dyte 3our Lords and heryis vp 3our men ;
The theif now fra the leill man quha can ken ? 280
Thay wryte vp leill and fals, baith al and sum,
And dytes them vnder ane pardoun.
Thus, be the Husband man neuer sa leill,
He dytit is as ane theif to steill.

ASLOAN]

Thai luke to *nocht* bot gif a man haf gud,
 And þat I trow moñ pay þe Iustice fude.
 The theif full weile he will him self *ourby*
 Quhen þe lele man in þe lak will ly ;
 The lele man to compone will *nocht* consent, 285
 Becauß he wait he is ane Innocent.
 Thus ar þe husbandis Dytit all, but Dovt,
 And heryit quyte away all round abovt.
 Sumtyme quhen husband men went to þe weire
 Thai had ane Iak, ane bow or ellis a speire ; 290
 And now, befor quhar þai had ane bow,
 ffull fayne he is oñ bak to get a fow ;
 And for ane Iak a raggit cloke has tane,
 Ane swerd swere owt & rowsty for þe rayne.
 Quhat suld sic men till gang till ony oist ? 295
 lykar to beg þan enemys to boist.
 And *your lordis*, fra þar *tennendis* be pure,
 Of gold in kist na coffer has na cure ;
 Ffor þai be all pure þat ar þaim wnder.
 Þocht þai be pure *your lordis* is na wounder, 300
 ffor riche husbandis and *tennendis* of gret nicht
 Helpis aye þire lordis to hald þar richt.
 And quhen *your lordis* ar pure, þus to conclude,
 Thai sell þar *sonnis* and *aris* for gold & gud
 Vnto ane mukrand carle for darest pryß, 305
 That wist neuer zit of honour nor gentryß.
 Thus worschip and honour of *lynnage*
 Away it weris þus for þar disparage,
 Thar manhed & þar mensk þusgat þai murle
 ffor mariage þus vnite *wit* ane churle, 310
 The quhilk wist neuer of gentryß nor honour,
 Of fredome, worschipe, wassalege or *valour*.
 This is þe cauß Dredleß, foroutin dowt,
 ffra all *your lordis* honour is all owt ;

[CHARTERIS

- Thay luke to nocht bot gif ane man haue gude, 285
 And it I trow mon pay the Justice fude.
 The theif ful weill he wil himself ouerby
 Quhen the leill man into the lack wil ly ;
 The leil man for to compone wil nocht consent,
 Becaus he waits he is ane innocent. 290
 Thus ar the Husbands dytit al, but dout,
 And heryit quyte away al round about.
 Sumtyme quhen Husbandmen went to the weir
 Thay had ane jak ane bow or els ane speir ;
 And now, befor quhair thay had ane bow, 295
 Ful faine he is on bak to get ane fow ;
 And for ane jak ane raggit cloke hes tane,
 Ane sword sweir out and roustie for the rane.
 Quhat sould sic men to gang to ane Hoist ?
 Lyker to beg then enemies to boist. 300
 And 3our Lords, fra thair tennantes be puir,
 Of gold in kist na koffer hes na cuir.
 Fra thay be al puir that ar them vnder
 Thocht thay be puir 3our Lords is na wonder ;
 For ritch Husbands and tennants of grit nicht 305
 Helps ay thair Lords to hald thair richt.
 And quhen 3our Lords ar puir, this to conclude,
 Thay sel thair Sonnes and aires for gold & gude
 Vnto ane mokrand Carle, for derest pryse,
 That wist neuer 3it of honour nor gentryse. 310
 This worship and honour of linage
 Away it weirs thus for thair disparage.
 Thair manheid and thair mense this gait thay murle,
 For Mariage thus vnyte of ane churle,
 The quhilk wist neuer of gentrice na honour, 315
 Of fredome, worship, vassalage nor valour.
 This is the caus dreidles, for withoutin dout,
 Fra al 3our Lords how honour is al out ;

ASLOAN]

And þis my lordis bad me to 3ow say 315
 How honour, fredome and worschip is away."

Than spak þe king, "3our conclusiouñ is quent ;
 And þar attour 3e mak to ws a plant.
 And in 3our sentens þus 3e meyne to say,
 leile men ar hurt & theiffis gettis away ; 320
 And þus, me think 3e meyne, Iustice is smord,
 3our tennentis and 3our husband men purd ;
 And quhen þai ar pure þan ar 3e poure,¹—
 The quhilk to 3ow is baith charge & cure,—
 That 3e for gold and gud baith wed & wage ; 325
 3e sell 3our sonnys and aris mariage
 To carllis of kynd, and bot for þar richesþ,
 In quhom is na nurtour nor nobilnesþ,
 ffredome, worschip, manhed & honour.
 The quhilk to ws and 3ow is Dishonour. 330
 In samekle, þus schortlie to conclude,
 As 3e þat ar discendand of our blud,—
 ffor þe quhilk thing I will 3e wnderstand
 With godis grace we tak it apoñ hand
 To se for þis as resouñ can remeid, 335
 In tym to cum þarof þar be na pleid.
 With oure Iustice þar sall pass ane doctour
 That lufis god, his saull & our honour ;
 The quhilk sall be ane doctour in þe law,
 That sall þe faith and werite wele know ; 340
 And fra hyne furth 3e sall baith here & se
 Baith thief pvnist & lele meñ lef iñ le ;
 ffor weile we wait þar can be na war thing
 Than covatisþ in Iustice or in King.
 Eftir þis tale in ws 3e sall nocht taynt, 345
 Na 3it of our Iustice mak a wranguisþ plant."

¹ 'Soure' in text.

[CHARTERIS

And thus my Lords bade me to 3ow say
How honour, fredome and worship is away." 320

THAN spak the King, " 3our conclusion is quaint ;
And thairattour 3e mak to vs a plaint,
And in 3our sentence thus 3e meine to say,
Leil men ar hurt and theifis gets away ;
And thus, me think, 3e meine justice is smuird, 325
3our tennants and 3our leill husbands ar puird ,
And quhan that thay ar puird than ar 3e pure,—
The quhilk to 3ow is baith charge and cure,—
That 3e for gold baith wed and wage ;
3e sel 3our Sones and aires Mariage 330
To cairls of kynde, and bot for thair riches,
In quhom is na nurture nor nobilnes,
Fredome, worship, manheid nor honour,
The quhilk to vs and 3ow is dishonour.
In samekil, thus shortlie I conclude, 335
As 3e that ar discendand of our blude,—
For the quhilk thing I will 3e understand
With Gods grace wee tak it vpon hand
To se for this as ressoun can remeid,
In tyme to cum thairof thair be na pleid. 340
With our justice thair sal pas ane Doctour
That lufis God, his saul and our honour ,
The quhilk sal be¹ ane Doctour in the Law,
That sal the faith of veritie weil knaw ;
And fra hence furth he sal baith heir and se 345
Baith theif puneist and leil men liue in lie ;
For weil I wait thair can be na war thing
Than couetyce in Justice or in King.
Efter this tail in vs 3e sal not taint,
Nor 3it of our Justice to mak ane plaint." 350

¹ 'sal be' is in text one word, 'salbe.'

ASLOAN]

And eftirward sa did þis king but chessouñ :
 Of him mycht na man plenze oñ ressouñ.
 Syne bad his clerk but ony warians
 Wryte þis in to his buke of rememberans.

350

Ad Clericos

Than to his clergy come þis noble king.
 Of his questiouñ to heir þe assolzeing ;
 And þai, as men of wisdom in all werk,
 Had laid þar speche apoñ ane cunnand clerk,
 The quhilk certane had nocht in scule tane gre,—
 In all þe science sevyne he was an A per C,—
 And in termes schort and sentens faire
 The questiouñ began for to Declaire :
 That is to saye, quharfor it is & quhy

355

[CHARTERIS

And afterward sa did this King but chessoun :
 On him micht na man plenzje of ressoun.
 Syne bad his Clark but onie variance
 Wryte this in his Buik of remembrance.

THAN to the Clergie came this nobill King, 355
 Of his questioun to heir the absolving ;
 And thay, as men of wisdom in al wark,
 Had laid thair speich vpon ane cunning Clark,
 The quhilk in vaine in scule had not tane grie ;
 In al science seuin he was ane A per se ; 360
 And in termes short and sentence fair
 The questioun began for to declair :
 That is to say, quhairfoir and quhy
 In auld tymes and dayes of ancestry
 Sa monie Bishops war and men of Kirk 365
 Sa grit wil had ay gude warkes to wirk,
 And throw thair prayers maid to God of micht
 The dum men spak, the Blind men gat þair sicht,
 The Deif men heiring, the Crukit gat thair feit,
 Was nane in bail bot weil thay could them beir ; 370
 And quhairfoir now al that cuir can warie.
 “ Me think 3e mene quhairfoir sa may not we ;
 And thus it is 3our quodlibet and dout
 3e gauē to vs to reid and gif it out.

The answer to the thrid question.

THIS is the caus, richt michtie King, at short, 375
 To 3our Hienes as we sal thus report :
 The Lawit folkes this Law wald neuer ceis ;
 Bot with thair vse, quhen Bishops war to cheis,
 Vnto the Kirk thay gadred auld and 3ing,
 With meik hart fasting and praying, 380
 And prayit God with words not in waist
 To send them wit down be the halie Gaist,

CHARTERIS]

Quhan them amang was onie Bishop deid,
 To send to them ane Bishop in his steid ;
 And ʒit amang vs ar fund wayis thrie 385
 To cheis ane Bishope after ane vther die :
 That is to say, the way of the halie Gaist,
 Quhilk takin is of micht and vertew maist ;
 The second is be way of Electioun,
 Ane Persone for to cheis of perfectioun 390
 In that Cathedral Kirk and in that se
 In place quhair that Bishope suld chosen be ;
 And gif thair be nane abil thair that can
 That office weil steir, quhat sal thay than
 Bot to the thrid way to ga for thi, 395
 Quhilk is callit *via scrutini*?¹
 That is to say, in al the Realme and Land
 Ane man to get for that office gainand.
 Bot thir thrie wayis, withoutin ony pleid,
 Ane sould we cheis after ane vthers deid. 400
 Bot, sir, now the contrair wee find,
 Quhilk puts al our heauines behind.
 Now sal thair nane of thir wayis thrie
 Be chosen now ane Bishope for to be,
 Bot that ʒour micht and Majestie wil mak— 405
 Quhat euer he be, to loife or ʒit to lak—
 Than heyly to sit on the Rayne-bow.
 Thir Bishops cums in at the North window
 And not in at the dur nor ʒit at the ʒet,
 Bot ouer Waine and Quheil in wil he get. 410
 And he cummis not in at the dur
 Gods pleuch may neuer hald the fur.
 He is na Hird to keip thay sely sheip,
 Nocht bot ane Tod in ane Lambskin to creip.
 How sould he kyth mirakil and he sa euil? 415
 Neuer bot by the dysmel or the Deuil.

¹ 'scrutiui' in text.

[CHARTERIS

For now on dayes is nouthar riche nor pure
 Sal get ane Kirk al throw his literature ;
 For science, for vertew or for blude
 Gets nane the Kirk, bot baith for gold and gude. 420
 Thus, greit excellent King, the halie Gaist
 Out of 3our men of gude away is chaist ;
 And, war not that doutles, I 3ow declair
 That now as than wald hail baith seik and sair.
 Sic wickednes this world is within 425
 That Symonie is countit now na sin ;
 And thus is the caus, baith al and sum,
 Quhy blind men sicht, na heiring gets na dum ;
 And thus is the caus, the suith to say,
 Quhy halines fra kirkmen is away." 430

"Than," quod the King, "weil vnderstand I 3ow,
 And heir to God I mak ane aith and vow,
 And to my Crown and to my Cuntrie to,
 With Kirk-gude sal I neuer haue ado,
 It to dispone to lytil or to large : 435
 Kirk men to kirk sen thay haue al the charge."

Than had this nobil King lang tyme and space,
 And in his tyme was mekil luk and grace ;
 His Lords honourit him efter thair degrie,
 The Husbands peice had and tranquillitie, 440
 The Kirk was frie quhil he was in his lyfe,
 The Burges Sones began than for to thryfe ;
 And efter lang was neuer King more wyse,
 And leuit and deit and endit in Gods seruise.

And than spak al that fellowship but fail, 445
 "God and Sanct Martyne quyte 3ow of 3our tail."
 And than spak Maister Archebald, "Fallis me
 Gude tail or euil, quhider that euir it be ;
 Thus as I can I sal it tel but hyre,
 To hald my fute out of this felloun fyre." 450

CHARTERIS]

The second taill tald be M. Archebald.

KING thair was sumtyme and eik a Queene,
 As monie in the Land befoir had bene.
 The king was fair in persoun, fresh and fors,
 Ane feirie man on fute or zit on hors ;
 And neuertheless feil falts him befell : 455
 Hee luifit ouer weil zong counsel ;
 Zong men he luifit to be him neist ;
 Zong men to him thay war baith Clark and Preist.
 Hee luifit nane was ald or ful of age,
 Sa did he nane of sad counsel nor sage. 460
 To sport and play, quhyle vp and quhylum doun,—
 To al lichtnes ay was he redie boun.

Sa ouir the Sey cummin thair was a Clark
 Of greit science, of voyce, word and wark,
 And dressit him with al his besynes 465
 Thus with this king to mak his recidens.
 Weil saw he with this king micht na man byde
 Bot thay that wald al sadnes set on syde.
 With club and bel and partie cote with eiris
 He feinzeit him ane fule fond in his feiris. 470
 French, Dutche, and Italie zit als
 Weil could he speik, and Latine feinze fals.

Vnto the kirk he came befoir the king,
 With club and cote and monie bel to ring.
 “ *Dieu gard*, sir king. I bid nocht hald in hiddil 475
 I am to zow als sib as seif is to ane riddil.
 Betwixt vs twa mot be als mekil grace
 As frost and snaw fra Zule is vnto Pace.
 Wait zee how the Frenche man sayis syne?
Nul bon, he sayis, *monsieur sans pyne.*” 480
 With that he gaue ane loud lauchter on loft.
 “ Honour and eis, sir, quha may haue for nocht ?

[CHARTERIS

Cum on thy way, sir king, now for Sanct Jame ;
 Thow with me or I with the gang hame."
 "Now be sant Katherine," quod the king and smyld, 485
 "This fule hes monie wauerand word and wyld.
 Cum hame with mee, thow sal haue drink ynouch."
 "*Grandmercy*," quod the fuill againe and leuch.
 "Now," quod the king, "fra al dulnes and dule
 Wee may vs keip quhil that wee haue this fuil." 490

He feingzeit him a fuil in deid and word,—
 The wyser man the better can he bourd,—
 Quhil at the last this fuil was callit al way
 Fuil of fuiles, and that ilk man wald say.
 Thus was this fuil ay stil with the King 495
 Quhil he had weil considerit in all thing
 The conditions, vse, maner and the gyse,
 And copyit weil the king on his best wyse.

Sa fel it on a day this nobil king
 Vnto ane Cietie raid for his sporting. 500
 This fuil persaut weil the King wald pas
 Vnto ane vther Cietie, as it was :
 He tuke his club and ane bable in his hand
 For to preuene the tyme he was gangand.
 Sa be the way ane woundit man fand he, 505
 And with this fuil war runners twa or thrie,
 Sum of the Court and sum of the kitchene,
 And saw ane man but Leiche or Medycene,
 Sa sair woundit nicht nouter ga nor steir.
 At him this fuil can al the caus speir. 510
 He answered and said, "Reuer and theif,
 Thou hes me hurt and brocht me in mischeif."
 With that his wounds war fillit ful of fleis
 As euer in byke thair biggit onie beis.
 Than ane of them that had pitie can pray 515
 That he mot skar thay felloun fleis away.

CHARTERIS]

Than spak the fuil and said, "Lat them be now, man,
 For thay are ful. The hunger wil cum than.
 For thir dois nocht bot sits, as thou may se ;
 For thay ar als ful as thay may be. 520
 Be thir away it is euil and na gude ;
 The hungrie fleis wil cum and souk his blude.
 The offer that thir fleis away be chaist
 The new fleis wil mair of his blude waist,
 And draw his blude and souk him syne sa sair ; 525
 Thairfoir lat them allane, skar them na mair."
 The sair man him beheld and him he demes,
 And said he was not sik a fuil as he semes.

Sone after that ane lytil came the King,
 With monie man can gladelie sport and sing. 530
 Ane cow of birks into his hand had he,
 To keip than weil his face fra midge and fle ;
 For than war monie fleand vp and doun
 Throw kynd of zeir and hait of that Regioun.
 Sa lukit he ane lytill by the way ; 535
 He saw the woundit man quhair that he lay,
 And to him came he rydand, and can fraine
 Quhat ailit him to ly and sairly graine.
 The man answered, " I have sik sturt,
 For baith with theif and reuer I am hurt. 540
 And zit, suppois, I haue all the pyne,
 The falt is zowris, sir King, and nathing myne ;
 For and with zow gude counsal war ay cheif,
 Than wald ze stanche weill baith reuer and theif :
 Haue thow with the that can weil dance and sing, 545
 Thow taks nocht thocht bi realme weip and wring."
 With that the King the bob of birks can waue,
 The fleis away out of his woundis to haue ;
 And than began the woundit man to grane :
 " Do nocht sa, sir, allace I am slane." 550

[CHARTERIS

"How'sayis thow? Thow tel me," quod the King,
 "Quhy thow sayis sa : I ferly of this thing."
 And sa said al his men that stude about :
 " Thow wald be haill and thay war chasit out."
 The sair can say, " Be him that can vs saue, 555
 3our fule, sir King, hes mair wit than 3e haue ;
 And weil I ken be his phisnomie
 He hes mair wit nor al 3our cumpanie.
 My tung is sweir, my bodie hes na strenth
 Frane at 3our fule, he can tel 3ow at lenth ; 560
 I am but deid and I may speik na mair ;
 Adew, sir, for I haue said. Weil mot 3e fair."

Fra this sair man now cummin is the King,
 Hauand in mynd greit murmure and mouing,
 And in his hart greit hauines and thocht,— 565
 Sa wantonly in vane al thing he wrocht ;
 And how the Cuntrie throw him was misfarne
 Throw 3ong counsel, and wrocht ay as a barne.
 And 3it as he was droupand thus'in dule,
 Of al and al he ferleit of his fule : 570
 Quhat kynde of man this fuil with him sould be,
 And quhat this sair man be this fuil nicht se,
 And quhat it is the caus quhairfoir and quhy
 He was wyser than all his cumpany.

Quhan cummin was the king to that Citie, 575
 Full fast than for his fule frainit he ;
 And quhan the king was set doun to his meit,
 Vnto his fuill gart mak ane semely seit.
 Ane Rowndell with ane cleine claith had he
 Neir quhair the king nicht him baith heir and se. 580
 Than quod the king a lytill wei and leuch,
 " Sir fuill, 3e ar lordly set aneuch.
 Quhan 3e ar ful quhat call thay 3ow and how,
 Sa hamely as 3e ar with me now ?"

CHARTERIS]

"Sir, to my Name thay call me fule Fictus, 585
 Befoir 3ow as 3e may see me sit thus ;
 And of this Cuntrie certes am I borne,
 With luck and grace and Fortoun me beforene."
 "Schir fuill, tell me gif that 3e saw this day
 Ane woundit man ly granand by the way." 590
 "3e, sir, forsuith sik ane man couth I sie,
 And in his wound was monie felloun flie."
 "Now," quod the king, "sir fuill, to me 3e say
 Quhy skarrit 3e not thay flies all away.
 Thocht 3e it was ane deid of charitie 595
 In seik mans wound for to leif ane flie?"
 "Sir, trow me weill, full suith it is I say,
 Better was stil thay fleis than skarrit away ;
 For gif sa be the fleis away 3e skar,
 Than efter them cums hungriar be far. 600
 Thairfoir war better let them be but dout,
 For the full fleis holds the hungrie out.
 The hungry flie that neuer had been thair
 Scho souks the mans wound sa wonder sair ;
 And quhen the fleis ar ful than byde thay stil 605
 And stops the hungrie beis to cum thairtil.
 Bot, sir, allace, methink sa do not 3e :
 3e ar sa licht and ful of vanitie,
 And sa weil lufis al new things to persew
 That ilk sessioun 3e get ane seruant new. 610
 Quhat wil the ane now say vnto the other ?
 'Now steir thy hand, myne awin deir brother ;
 Win fast be tyme and be nocht liddar,
 For wit thow weil Hal binks ar ay slidder.
 Thairfoir now, quhither wrang it be or richt, 615
 Now gadder fast quhil we haue tyme and micht.
 Se na man now to the King eirand speik
 Bot gif wee get ane bud, or ellis we sal it breik.'

[CHARTERIS

And quhan thay ar full of sic wrang win
 Thay get thair leif and hungryar cums in. 620
 Sa sharp ar thay and narrowlie can gadder,
 Thay pluck the puir as thay war powand Hadder,
 And taks buds fra men baith neir and far,
 And ay the last ar than the first far war.
 Justice, Crounar, sariand and justice clark, 625
 Remoues the auld and new men ay thay mark.
 Thus fla thay all the puir men belly flaucht,
 And fra the puir taks many felloun fraucht,
 And steirs them and wait the tyde wil gang.
 Syne efter that far hungrier cums than, 630
 And thusgait ay the puir folk ar at vnder.
 This World to sink for sin quhat is it wonder?
 Thairfoir now be this exampil wee may se
 That ane new seruant is lyke ane hungrie fle."

Than quod the King, "Quhat say 3e to our fule, 635
 Suppois that he had bene ane Clark at scule?
 To God now," quod the King, "I mak ane vow,
 3e ar not sik ane fule as 3e let 3ow."

Thus wonderit al the King that sat about,
 And of this fule had ferly dreid and dout. 640
 Thocht he was fule in Habite, in al feiris,
 Ane wyser speik thay hard neuer with thair eiris.
 Thus ferlyit al thair was, baith he and he,
 Quhat maner of ane thing micht this be ;
 And lyke to ane was nocht into Rome, 645
 3it than his word was ful of al wisdome ;
 For he as fule began guckit and gend,
 And ay the wyser man neirar the end.
 And thus the King and al his cumpany
 Vpon this fuil had wonder and ferly. 650

CHARTERIS]

Of the slaying of the man.

SYNE efter this ane Gentleman percace
 Had slain ane man al throw his raklesnes,
 And to the Court he come and tald this thing
 Vnto ane man was inward with the King,
 And said "Sir, lo I am in the Kings grace, 655
 That hes ane man slane in my fault, allace ;
 And wil 3e gar the King to that consent,
 For it I sal 3ow pay and content."
 This Courteour held on this to the king
 And tald him al this tail to the ending ; 660
 And than the king for his lufe and instance
 Bad bring the man that happened that mischance.
 Vnto the king his tail quhen he had tald,
 Ful sharply to this man he could behald.
 Ane semely man of mak sa semit he : 665
 To slay that man he thocht ane greit pitie,
 And bad him passe quhair he lykit to ga,
 And be gude man and efter slay na ma.

Sone efter that, within half a 3eir,
 Ane vther man he slew withouttin weir. 670

Of the second slayne man.

THAN to the Court he cummin is agane,
 Vnto this man befoir his gold had tane,
 And said, "Sir, I haue slane, allace,
 Ane vther man throw misfortune and cace ;
 And wald 3e help me befoir as 3e haue done, 675
 Ane sowme of siluer 3e sould haue ful sone ;
 Another sowme I sall giue to the king,
 Me hartlie to forgiue into this thing.
 Help me now for Gods awin deid ;
 Nane vther buit at 3ow bot I get remeid." 680

[CHARTERIS

This Courteour him answered thus agane :
 "This deid to do I am vncertane.
 Quhen that thow slew bot ane throw racklesnes,
 Of that thow micht haue gotten forgiuenes :
 Sa may it nocht quhen thow hes slane thus twa. 685
 Notwithstanding I wil for the ga,
 The for to help I sal get sik assay
 And for the do alsmekil as I may."

Vnto the king than come this Courteour,
 And lukit weil baith to his tyme and hour. 690
 He lukit quhan the King was blyth and glad,
 And nocht quhen he was heauie nor sad.
 Ful lawlie sat he doun upon his kne :
 "Lo, sir," he said, "ane thing of greit pitie.
 The man that 3e forgaue syne halfe ane 3eir, 695
 Another man now hes he slane but weir.
 Ane certane sowme of gold thus sal 3e get,
 And 3e wald al 3our crabitnes for3et.
 He wepes and he sichts now sa sair
 That he sik misse wil efter do na mair. 700
 In al 3our Realme thair is na wichter man ;
 Greit pitie is it for to tyne him than.
 3e may him haue, and of his gold and geir
 He will stand 3ow in steid in tyme of weir.
 Suppois he hes slane twa, better it is that 3e 705
 Haue twa men slane than thus for to sla thrie ;
 Thairfoir heir I beseik 3ow in this cace
 That 3e wald tak him in 3our gudelie grace."
 The King bad than bring him to his presence,
 And him forgaue all fault and offence, 710
 And bad him ga and do sik misse na mair.
 Thus tuke this man his leif and hame can fair.

Syne efterward this man that wee off reid
 The thrid man hes he slane 3it in deid.

CHARTERIS]

Of the thride slayne man.

THAN to the Court agane made his repair, 715
 Sik grace to get agane as he did air.
 Sa come hee to the Courteour to tel
 His fortoun and his cace how it befell.
 This courteour to speik wald not spair :
 " For 3ow, forsuith, sir, dar I speik na mair. 720
 Sa oft and oft 3e haue done sik mischeif,
 I dar not speik it to the king for greif.
 Now be my saul, and sa mot I do weill,
 Is na remeid als far as I can feill ;
 Or quhiter that 3e sal liue the Land, allace, 725
 Or put 3ow 3it into the Kings grace."

This Courteour agane vnto the King
 Now cummin is and tald hail this thing,
 And how the man befor the twa had slane
 The thrid man thus hes he slane agane. 730
 With that the King quhen that he hard the taill
 In grit greif than wox he wan and pail,
 And " sweith," he said, " bring him now heir to me ;
 Sal neyther gold nor gude let him to die.
 Get he my pitie than God put me out of mynde, 735
 And he wald gif me all the Golden Inde."
 Syne gart he bring to him the samyn man,
 Set doun to Judge to Heid or to Hang.
 This man, that was sa cumbred of this cace,
 On kneis fel and askit the Kings grace. 740
 The King plainly all grace can him deny,
 And tald to him the caus and ressoun quhy.

With that vpon ane lytil bony stule
 Sat Fictus, that was the Kings fule,
 And said " Now and 3e gar not Heid or Hang 745
 This man, for them that he slew, it war wrang.

[CHARTERIS

The first man weil I grant he slew,
 The vther twa in faith them slew 3ow.
 Had thow him punceist quhan he slew the first,
 The vther twa had bene leuand I wist ; 750
 Thairfoir, allace, this tail, sir, is ouer trew,
 For in gude faith the last twa men 3e slew.
Blessit ar thay that keips Iudgement and Iustice, &c.
 THE Psalmes, sayis Dauid war and wyse,
 Blist mot thay be that keips Law and Justice ;
 Thairfoir I wald that 3e sould not presume 755
 Na to haue count upon the day of Dome,
 For mans body thair to giue ane 3eild,
 Quhome to 3e sould be sickar Speir and sheild,
 Of all the Realme quhom off 3e beir the Crown,
 Of lawit and leirit, riche, pure, vp and doun ; 760
 The quhilk and thay be slane with mans hand,
 Ane count thairof 3e sall gif I warrand,
 Lesse than it be throw sum grit negligence,
 Quhairin his mercy or in his defence ;
 And on the day of Dome, be Sanct Paull, 765
 The Bishops mon ay answer for the Saull
 Gif it be lost for fault of Preist or preiching,
 Of the richt treuth it haif na chesing ;
 In sa far as the Saull is for thy
 Far worthier is than the blait body, 770
 Many Bishops in ilk Realme wee se
 And bot ane King into ane Realme to be.
 Thus hes the Saull mair wark and cure
 Than the body, that is of na valure."

Be this was said the Kings sayis " Wa is mee, 775
 For I am fule of fules, weill I see.
 I se weill I haue lytil part of scule,
 That thus sould be informit with ane fule.

CHARTERIS]

I se weil, be this tail this fule can tel,
 That I had greitly neid of wyse counsell. 780
 To send for all my Lords I consent ;
 I desyre this to be in Parliament.
 And it be trew my fule hes said me heir,
 I sal weil reward him withouttin weir ;
 And be it fals and ful of fantasy, 785
 Ane fule he is and fule him hald sal I."

And throw this fule this man-slayer did get
 Vnto the Parliament perfyte respet.
 And efter quhan thir Lords al can cum
 Vnto this Parliament baith al and sum, 790
 Be al the thrie Estaits it was found,
 Considerand al the mater crop and ground,
 This Fictus that was callit the fule
 Was wyse in word thocht he was Clark in scule.
 The King bad al the thrie Estaits that thay 795
 Sould sit down and sie a ganand way
 Quhat man in hous war meit with him to dwell,
 Of wisdom for to gif him counsel,
 And for to mak be his Estaits thrie
 Into this Realme concordant vntie. 800
 And quhen that al this deid was dewlie done,
 The King sweir be his Sceptour and his Croun
 That he sould neuer gif mercie to nane
 That slauchter in his Realme committit than,
 Aganis his will bot throw his negligence, 805
 Or ellis that it be fund in his defence ;
 And sik ane rewill maid he into his Land
 That luck and grace in it was ay growand.

And than this nobill King all lichtnes left,
 All bot ane thing that was not fra him reft,— 810

[CHARTERIS

The quhilk for ill touns lang had bene,—
 Ane stit strangnes betwixt him and his Queene.
 He beddit nocht richt oft nor lay hir by,
 Bot throw lichtnes did lig in Lamenry.

Sa happenit, throw cace into the Toun 815

Vnto ane Burges Innis he maid him boun,
 Ane lytill wie befor the feist of 3ule,
 In cumpanie bot fyue sum and his fule.

This Burges had ane dochter to him deir,
 Ane bonie wenche sho was withouttin weir. 820

The King on hir he casts his lustie eine,
 And with hir faine wald in ane bed haif bene.

Hee wist full weill that nane had hee

That was sa subtill as Fictus was and slee :

Hee callit him and priuilie can say, 825

“Sik fantesie hes put me in effray ;

I am sa ful of lust and fantesy

With this Madyn on benk that sits me by,

For gold, for gude, for wage or 3it for wed,

This nicht I wald haue hir to my bed.” 830

“Than,” quod the fuill, “I vnderstand 3ow weill ;

I tak on hand to do it euerie deill.

Sit still now, sir. Will 3e let me allane,

Be mee this eirand sall be vndertane.”

Sone efter quhan thay war at sport and play, 835

The fule came to this bonie prettie may,

And said “Madyn, wist 3e of the degrie

How plesant it is to God virginitie ?

Tak exampill S. Margaret and Katrine

And monie vther Sants that ar sine, 840

In Heuins blesse that hes sik joy and grie,

With Croun on heid for thair Virginitie.

I wait for all the gold into this toun

Of Madynheid 3e wald not tyne the Croun.”

CHARTERIS]

Bot ay the king wont he had besie bene 845
 Of the mater that was thir twa betwene,
 And to the Virgine 3ong thus spak the king :
 "Quhat my fule sayis I trow be na lesing."
 "Sir," quod sho, "his saw was suffisand,
 And as he sayis I sall do God willand." 850
 Be that the kings Stewart cummin is
 To haue the king to his supper, I wis.
 The king said to his fule in priuetie,
 "Of the eirand, Fictus, how sal it be?"
 "Now hard 3e not hirsself consent thairto, 855
 That as I said to 3ow sho hecht to do?
 Bot ane thing haue I hecht sickerly,
 That nane sal cum about hir, sir, bot I.
 The Virgine is bot 3ong and thinks shame,
 And is full laith to cum in ane ill name." 860

And quhan the kings supper was at end,
 Fictus the fule vnto the Queene can wend
 And to hir said, "Do my counsel, Madame ;
 To 3ow it sall be nouthur sin nor shame.
 A Burges dochter, to hir father deir, 865
 This nicht the king thinks to haue but weir."
 And tald her all the cacc and maner how
 Hir for to haue he gart the King weil trow.
 "Bot that, be God that with his blude vs bocht,
 With hir to gar him sin was neuer my thocht. 870
 The King commands to his cheif Chalmerlane,
 Quhan euer I cum with her I be in tane ;
 And in his bed sal priuely in creip
 Quhil that the king sal cum thair and sleip ;
 And priuely thus be the day agane 875
 Away with me the Madyn sal be tane.
 Thairfoir, Madame, for God be not agast ;
 About 3our heid 3our cloke clenlie cast.

[CHARTERIS

Quhairfoir sould 3e dout or be a-dred?
 Is nane bot 3e sould bruik the Kings bed. 880
 The warst may fall. Suppose it wittin war,
 Me thocht he hang, 3ow wil he neuer skar.
 And thus is my counsel, Madame, 3e do."
 "In faith," quod sho, "and I consent thairto."

All thus and thus befoir as 3e haue hard, 885
 The Queene is brocht vnto the kings bed;
 The quhilk all nicht in vthers armes lay.
 Quhat man to tel of al thair sport and play?
 The king thocht neuer nicht to him sa short,
 Sa lykit he that nichts play and sport; 890
 And on the morne, a lytil befoir day,
 The Fule come in and tuke the Quene away.
 And thus and thus efter nichts thrie
 With his awin Queene grit gaming had & glie;
 And weil he wend that it had bene, but weir, 895
 That with him lay the Burges dochter deir,
 Quhome throw he had sik joy and sik plesance;
 Quhilk maid him ay the Fule for to auance.
 Sa was the King sa amorat of his Fule,
 Besyde himself ay sat vpon a stule. 900
 Was neuer 3it mair joy and plesance sene
 Than the king hes in bed with his awin Queene;
 And that was na grit ferly to befall,
 For sho was fair and gude and 3ong withal.

And thus the Fule quhen he persauing had 905
 How that the king sa joyful was and glade,
 Vnto the king he came in priuitie
 And said, "Now, sir, ane thing that 3e tel me:
 Quhairfoir it is the cace fane wit wald I
 Quhy that 3e haue in 3ow sik fantasy 910

CHARTERIS]

To ly with wemen and of law degrie
 Aganis 3our Quens wil and Majestie,
 Considerand weil that sho is fair and gude,
 With ilkane vther bewtie to conclude ;
 Or quhy at hir 3e haue al this dispyte, 915
 And quhy 3e find in vthers sik delyte,
 Or quhat plesance 3e had thir nichts thrie
 With 3our awin Queene in bed than mair to be.
 The King answered and said, "Now sikarly
 I can not tel the ressoun caus nor quhy, 920
 Fictus my fule, with the na mair to flyte,
 Bot wantonly ay followes my appetyte ;
 And quhan that my delyte is vpon vther,
 Than mony folk wil cum and with me fludder ;
 And sum wil tel il tailes of the Queene, 925
 The quhilk be hir war neuer hard nor sene ;
 And that I do thay say ay weil is done.
 Thus fals clatterars puts me out of tone ;
 And thus becaus I am licht of feirs,
 And heirs euil tailes and lichtlie lendis my eiris ; 930
 And thus of hir I haue na appetyte,
 And of al others ay haue I grit delyte."
 "Sir," quod the fule, "wil 3e not consent
 Thir thrie nichts that 3e war weil content?"
 "3e, that I grant be God that is of nicht, 935
 Had neuer nane mair plesance on the nicht.
 God!" quod the King, "sen my fortoun had bene,
 Sen sho I had thir nichts thrie war Queene."
 "Quhat wil 3e gif me," than speiks the fule,
 "Suppose I be na cunning Clark in scule, 940
 Within thrie dayes to mak it weil sene
 With Gods Law for to mak hir 3our Queene?
 And thairto do sal na man say agane,
 And do I not my heid sal be the pane."

[CHARTERIS

"Than," quod the king, "thairto I hald my hand, 945

Thow sal haue gude, gold, Lordships and Land,

Or cast fra the thy cote and be thow wyse,

Ane Bishoprik sal be thy benefyse."

"Than," quod the fule, "without feingeing or fabil

Hald vp 3our hand to hald this firme and stabil." 950

The King thairto swore oft and oft

And thair he hes his hand haldin on loft

"And now," quod the fule, "it fallis to na King

To brek his vow or 3it his oblessing ;

And it that I haue hecht thus sone sal be,— 955

Scho is 3our Queene 3e had thir nichts thrie!"

"That," quod the king, "be him that deid on Rude,

Sir fule, I trow 3e may not mak that gude."

"Sir, I pray 3ou be not euill payit nor wraith,

Efter sa strait ane oblessing and aith ; 960

And gif that she plesit 3ow thir nichts thrie,

Fra hyneforth now quhairfoir may not sa be ?

Richt now 3e wald haue had hir to 3our wyfe,

And thairin now with me 3e mak ane stryfe."

"Quhat," quod the king, "be him that was borne in 3ule, 965

Thou art ane auld scoller at the scule.

I farly quhair sik Sophine thou hes fund,

That with my awin band thou hes me bund.

Notwithstanding I am hartly content :

To my awin Queene I wil hartly consent, 970

And mair attour I sweir the be the Heuin,

I sal hir neuer displeis for od nor euin,

With thy that she may preif that it was sho

Thir nichts thrie with quhom I had ado."

And with that word, forouttin mair carping, 975

Vnto the Queenes Chalmer come the King,

And simply to hir presence can persew,

And tempit hir with takens gude and trew ;

CHARTERIS]

And sickarly he fand that it was sho
With quhome thay nichts thrie he had ado. 980

Than joyful was he in his harts splene
Of the plesance he had with his awin Queene.
Than on his kneis he askit forgiuenes
For his licht laytes and his wantones,
And sho forgaue him meiklie this ful tyte 985

That he had done throw lichtnes of delyte ;
For weil sho saw that al was fantasies
That he vsit and richt grit foly.

And thus the King and Queene into this cace
Thankit thair God for thair weifair and grace ; 990

And syne this fule thay thankit of al,
That caused sik concord amang them fal ;
And off his coate thay tirlit be the croun,
And on him kest ane syde clarkly gown ;
And quhen this syde gown on him nicht be 995

Ane cunning Clark and wyse than semit he.
Syne efter sone ane Bishop thair was deid,
Ful sone was he maid Bishop in his steid ;
And to the King and Quene he was full leif,
And of thair inwart counsell ay maist cheif. 1000

And God sen sik examples ay wer sene
To ilk ane King that luifit nocht his Quene.
God gif us grace and space on eird to spend :
Thus of my tail now cummin is the end.

And than spak all the fallowship thus syne, 1005
"God quyte 3ow, sir, 3our tail and .sant¹ Martyne."

Sir Williame than sayis, " Now fallis me
To tel ane tail. Thocht I be of 3ow thrie
The febildest and leist of literature,
3it than, with all my deligence and cure 1010
To tell ane tail now, sik ane as I haue,
Of me methink 3e sould na vther craue."

¹ 'saut' in text.

[CHARTERIS

The thrid taill tald be Maister Williame.

KING thair is and euer mair will be,
 Thairfoir the KING of kings him cal we.
 Thus he had a man, as he hes mony, 1015
 Into this Land als riche as vther ony.

This man that we of speik had freinds thrie,
 And lufit them nocht in ane degrie.
 The first freind, quhil he was laid in delf,
 He lufit ay far better than him self. 1020
 The nixt freind than als weil lufit he
 As he him self lufit in al degrie.
 The thrid freind he lufit this and swa
 In na degrie like to the tother twa.
 Suppois he was ane freind to him in name, 1025
 To him as freind 3it wald he neuer clame.
 The tother twa his freindis war indeid,
 As he thoct quhen that he had ony neid.

Sa fell it on ane day sone efter than,
 This he did send about this rich man, 1030
 And sent to him his Officer, but weir,
 Thus but delay befoir him to compeir
 And with him count and giue reckning of all
 He had of him al tyme baith grit and smal.
 With that this Officer past on gude speid 1035
 And summond this riche man we of reid,
 And al the cace to him he can record
 That he in haist sould cum to his awin Lord.
 This riche man, be he had hard this tail,
 Ful sad in mynd he wox baith wan and pail, 1040
 And to him self he said, sichand ful sair,
 "Allace, how now, this is ane haisty fair!
 And I cum thair my tail it wil be taggit,
 For I am red that my count be ouir raggit.

CHARTERIS]

Quhat sal I do? Now may I say allace! 1045
 A cumbred man I am into this cace.
 I haue na vther help nor 3it supplie,
 Bot I wil pas to my freinds thrie.
 Twa of them I luifit ay sa weil,
 But ony fault their freindship wil I feil; 1050
 The thrid freind I leit lichtly of ay,—
 Quhat may he do to me bot say me nay?
 Now wil I pas to them and preif them now,
 And tel them al the caus and maner how.”

To the first freind.

THUS came he to his freind that he 1055
 Luifit better than him self in al degrie,
 And said, “Lo friend, my hart thow euer had,
 And now allace I am ful straitly stad:
 To me the king his Officer hes send,
 For he wil that my count to him be kend; 1060
 And I am laith allane to him to ga
 Without with me ane freind be, ane or twa;
 Thairfoir I pray 3ow that 3e tel me now to
 In this mater quhat is the best ado.”
 And thus answered this freind agane that he 1065
 Ouer al this warld luifit as A per C:
 “The Deuil of Hell,” he said, “now mot me hing
 And I compeir befoir that crabit King:
 He is sa ful of justice, richt and ressoun,
 I lufe him not in ocht that wil me chessoun; 1070
 He lufis not na riches, be the Rude,
 Nor hilynes in hart nor euil won gude;
 Than euil won gude to gar men giue agane
 Thar may be na war vse now in ane.
 Agane him can I get na gude defence, 1075
 Sa just he is and stark in his conscience;

[CHARTERIS

And al things in this warld that I call richt
 It is nocht worth ane eg into his sicht ;
 And it that is my lyking and my eis
 To him alway will neither play nor pleis ; 1080
 And that to me is baith joy and gloir
 As fantasys judgit him befoir.
 And thus he is aganis me ay and euer,
 And weill I wait thairfoir he lufit me neuer.
 He hes na lyking lufe nor lust of me, 1085
 Na I to him quhill the day I die.
 Quhairto thairof sould I make ony mair ?
 I cum nocht to the King I the declair.
 Fra tyme that thow art vnder now areist,¹
 Of the in faith I haue but lytle feist ; 1090
 Be me, I trow, thow art but lytill meind ;
 Pas on thy way and seik another freind."

Now is this man sair murnand in his mynde,
 Sayand, "Allace, my freind is ouer unkynde,
 Quhome I wend was support and supple, 1095
 And now allace the contrair now I sie."
 Away he wend sayand in wordis wylde,
 I grant be God that I am all begylde."

The second freind.

Vnto this tother freind cummin is this man,
 That as him selfe befoir he lufit than, 1100
 And said, "Lo freind, the King hes send for me
 His officer, and biddis that I be
 At him in haist and cum sone to his call,
 And to him mak my count of grit and small
 That I of him in all my dayis had, 1105
 And I sie richt I am sa straitly stad.

¹ 'a reist' in text. See note.

CHARTERIS]

Now as my freind I hidder cum to the
 Quhome as my selfe I lufe in all degre ;
 For quhan I am in stryfe or 3it in sturt,
 Into my hart me think thow sould be hurt ; 1110
 Thairfoir I pray that thow wald vnderta
 With me vnto 3on King that thow wald ga."

This freind answered and said to him agane,
 "I am displeisit and ill payit of thy pane ;
 Bot I am nocht redie in onie thing 1115
 With the for to compeir befor that king ;
 Thocht he hes send for the his Officer,
 I may not ga with the. Quhat wil thow mair?
 Sa with the I bid nocht for to lane ;
 I am ful red that I cum neuer agane. 1120
 Quha sal me mend and of my bail me beit,
 To tak the sower and for to leif the sweit?
 Quhat I haue heir daylie in faith I feill,
 And thair quhat I sall haue I wait not weil.
 Thairfoir this tail is trew into al tyde, 1125
 Quhair ane fairis weil the langer sould he byde.
 Thairfoir me think that I sould be to sweir
 Befoir 3on king with 3ow for to appeir.
 Bot a thing is to say in termes short,
 With 3ow my freind I will ga to the port. 1130
 Trust weil of me na mair of myne 3e get,
 Fra 3e be anis in at the kings 3et.
 And thus shortly with 3ow for to conclude,
 Mair nor is said of me 3e get na gude."

With that the man that thus charged this freind, 1135
 He said "Allace, I may na langer leind,
 Sen I my twa best freinds couth assay.
 I can nocht get a freind 3it to my pay

[CHARTERIS

That dar now tak in hand for onie thing
 With me for to compeir befoir 3on king. 1140
 Quhasaeuer may Vennome or Poysoun taist,
 That be the hands in quhom thair traist is maist !
 Me to begyle quha hes mair craft and gin
 Than thay in quhome my traist ay maist is in ?
 Quhat ferly now with nane thocht I be meind, 1145
 Sen thus falsly now failzeis me my freind ?
 Now weil I se, and that I vnderta,
 Than feingzeit freind better is open fa.
 Als suith it is as ships saillis ouer watters,
 And weil I wait al is not gold that glitters. 1150
 Now is ouer lait to preif my freind in deid,
 Quhan that I haue sik mister and sik neid ;
 Better had bene be tyme I had ouertane
 To preif my freind quhen mister had I nane.
 Allace, quhat sal I say, quhat sal I do ? 1155
 I haue na ma freinds for to cum to
 Bot ane the quhilk is callit my thrid freind ;
 With him I trow I wil be lytil meind.
 To ga to him I wait bot wind in waist,
 For in him I haue lytil trowth or traist 1160
 Becaus to him I was sa oft vnkynde,
 And as my freind he was not in my mynde ;
 Bot helely and lichtlie of him leit ;
 And now to him thus mon I ga and greit.
 How sould I murne or mak my mane him to, 1165
 Befoir with him I had sa lytil ado ?
 Suppois to me he was ane freind in name,
 3it than as freind to him wald I neuer clame.
 Of him I had ful lytil joy or feist ;
 Of al my freinds in faith I lufit him leist. 1170
 Quhat may he do to me bot say me nay ?
 Thairfoir I wil ga heir quhat he wil say.

CHARTERIS]

Quhat ferly is I be not with him meind ?
I held him nocht bot for a quarter freind."

To the thrid freind.

Now cummin is the man that we of reid	1175
Vnto this thrid freind quhen he had neid,	
And tald him the maner and the cace,	
How on him laid ane Officer his mace	
And summond him, and bad he sould compeir	
Befoir the King and gif ane count perqueir,	1180
And to him mak ane sharp count of al	
He had into his lyfe baith grit and smal.	
And thus answered his freind to him agane :	
"Of the in faith, gude freind, I am ful fane.	
Of me altyme thow gaue bot lytil tail,	1185
Na of me wald haue dant nor dail.	
And thow had to me done onie thing,	
Nocht was with hart bot vane gloir and hething :	
With vther freinds thou was sa weill ay wount,	
To me thow had ful lytil clame or count :	1190
To the thow thocht I was not worth ane prene,	
And that I am ful rade on the be sene. ¹	
And jit the lytil kyndnes that thow	
To me hes had weil sal I quyte it now.	
For with the sal I ga vnto the King	1195
And for the speik and plie until al thing.	
Quhair euer thow ga, with me thow sal be meind	
And euer halden for my tender freind.	
The King he lufis me ful weil, I wait,	
Bot euer allace to me thow come ouer lait.	1200
And thow my counsal wrocht had in al thing,	
Ful welcum had thou bene ay to that King.	
Betwixt vs twa wit he of vnkyndnes,	
Sone wil thou feil he wil the lufe the les ;	

¹ 'besene' in text.

[CHARTERIS

Wit he betwixt vs twa be onie lufe, 1205
 He wil be richt weil payit and the apprufe ;
 And he to me wit thou maid ony falt,
 To the that wil be ful sowre and salt ;
 And than weil sal thou find as thou lufit me,
 In al maner of way sa sal he the. 1210
 Quhat is thair mair of this mater to meine ?
 With the befor the king I sal be sene.
 Quhair euer thou ga, withouttin ony blame,
 As tender freind to the I sal ay clame
 Without offence to be thy defendar, 1215
 And ay trewly to be thy protectour.
 Befoir quhat judge thou appeir vp or doun,
 The to defend I sal be reddie boun ;
 And quhither I cum agane heir euer or neuer,
 Fra the thus sal I neuer mair disseuer. 1220
 Thocht he the bind and cast the in a Cart,
 To heid or hang, fra the I sal nocht part.
 Quhat wil thou mair that I may say the til ?
 I am reddie : cum on quhan euer thou wil."
 "Allace, allace," than sayis this riche man, 1225
 "Ouer few I find are in this world that can
 Cheis¹ ay the best of thir freinds thre
 Quhill that the tyme be gane² that thay sould de.
 Thow leifs nocht sin quhill sin hes left the ;
 And than quhan that thow seis that thow man de, 1230
 Than is ouer lait, allace, hauand sik let,
 Quhan deiths cart will stand befor the get.
 Allace sen ilk ane man wald be³ sa kynde
 To haue this latter freind into his mynde,
 And nocht traist in thir vther freinds twa 1235
 With him befor the King that will nocht ga."

¹ 'Theis' in text (handwriting of D).² 'begane' in text.³ 'Wald be be' in text (handwriting of D).

CHARTERIS]

Quha be thir thrie freinds.

GVDE folk I wald into this warld that 3e
 Sould vnderstand quhilk ar thir freinds thre,
 Quha is the King, quha is this officer,
 And quha this riche man is: I will declair. 1240
 The King is God that is of michts maist,
 The Father, Sone and eik the haly Gaist,
 In ane Godheid and 3it in persones thre:
 Thairfoir the King of Kings him call we.
 This officer but dout is callit Deid: 1245
 Is nane his power agane may repleid;
 Is nane sa wicht, na wyse, na of sik wit
 Agane his summond suithly that may sit.
 Suppose thay be als wicht as ony wall,
 Thow man ga with him to his Lords hall. 1250
 Is na wisdom, riches na 3it science,
 Aganis his officer may mak defence;
 Is neyther castell, torret nor 3it tour
 May scar him anis the moment of ane hour;
 His straik it is sa sharpe it will not stint, 1255
 Is nane in eird that may indure his dint;
 He is sa trew in his office and lele,
 Is na practik agane him to appele;
 Gold nor gude corne cattell nor 3it ky
 This officer with bud may nocht ouerby. 1260
 This riche man is baith thow and he
 And al that in the warld is that mon die;
 And als sone as the deid till vs wil cum
 Than speik we to our freinds al and sum.

Quhat is menit be the first freind.

THE first freind is bot gude penny and pelfe, 1265
 That mony man lufis better than himselfe;

[CHARTERIS

And quhan to me, or the cumis our deid,
 Our riches than will stand us in na steid.
 To pair fra it suppose we graine and greit,
 It sayis "Fairweill, agane we will neuer meit." 1270
 Thus haue we euer samekill¹ gold and gude,
 With vs nane may we turs² suppose we war wod.
 The mair golde and gude that euer we haue,
 The mair count thairof this King will craue ;
 And thus the day and deid quhan we mon die, 1275
 Fra vs away full fast all riches will fie.
 Thus hald I man vnwyse, I vndera,
 That halds ane for his freind and is his fa.
 Thir thre ar ay haldin for fais euill,
 Our awne flesche, the warld, and the deuill. 1280
 And thus thy freind sa mekill of the mais
 Is countit ane of thy maist felloun fais ;
 And now with the he wil nocht gang ane fute,
 Befoir this King for the to count or mute.
 Thus may thow sie this warlds wit, for thy, 1285
 Befoir this King is bot grit fantasy.

Quhat is menit be the second freind.

THIS secund freind, lat se, quhome will we call
 Bot wyfe and barne and vther freinds all ?
 That thus answeres and sayis in termes schort,
 "We will nocht ga with the bot to the port ; 1290
 That is to say, vnto the Kings 3et :
 With the farder to ga is nocht our det.
 Quhilk is the 3et that we call now the port ?
 Nocht bot our graif to pas in as a mort.
 And than with vs vnto that 3et will cum 1295
 Baith wyfe and bairnes and freinds all and sum ;
 And thair on me and the lang will thay greit,

¹ 'same kill' in text (handwriting of D).

² So in P, but in D (handwriting) it looks like 'curs.'

CHARTERIS]

Into this warld agane or euer we meit.
 In at the 3et with the now quha will ga
 That I haue tald heir of thy freinds twa ? 1300
 Riches nor gude, wyfe, barne nor freind,—
 Of thir foirsaid with the will neuer leind.
 And quhan that thow art laid into thy hole,
 Thy heid will be na hyer than thy sole
 And than quhair is thy Cod, courche or cap, 1305
 Baith gown and hude had wont the for to hap?
 Nocht bot ane sheit is on thy body bair ;
 And as thow hes done heir, sa finds thow thair.

Quhat is merit be the thrid freind.

THIS thrid freind quhome wil we cal lat sie :
 Nocht ellis bot Almos deid and cheritie. 1310
 The quhilk freind answered with words sweit,
 "Of me as freind suppose thow lytle leit,
 3it for the lytle quantance that we had,
 Sen that I se the in sturt sa straitly stad,
 Quhair euer thow ga, in eird or art, 1315
 With the, my freind, 3it sall I neuer part ;
 Quhair euer thow ga, suppose a thowsand shore the,
 Euin I, thy Almos deid, sall ga befor the ;
 For as thow seis watter dois slokkin fyre,
 Sa do I, Almos deid, the Judges ire. 1320
 Thairfoir, gud folkes, be exampil we se
 That thair is nane thus of thy freinds thre,
 To ony man that may do gude bot ane,
 Almos deid, that it be seindle tane.
 Into this warld of it we lat lichtly, 1325
 Throw fleshely lust fulfillit with folly,
 Quhill all our tyme in fantasy be tint,
 And then to mend we may do nocht bot minte.
 It for to do we haue na tyme nor grace,
 Into this eird quhill we haue time and space. 1330

[CHARTERIS

Than cumis deid : haue done, do fort thy det ;
 Cum on away, the cart is at the zet.
 Than will we say with mony woful wis :
 "Allace, allace, be tyme had wittin this,
 I sould haue done pennance, fast and pray, 1335
 And delt my guds in almis deids alway."
 Thairfoir my counsall is that we mend,
 And lippin nocht all to the latter end ;
 And syne to keip vs fra the sinnes seuin,
 That we may win the hie blys of heuin ; 1340
 And thus out of this warld that we may win
 But shame or det or deidly sin."

And than speiks the tother twa ful tyte,
 "This gude tale, sir, I trow God will you quyte."

FINIS

The Printer of this present treatise hes (according to the Kings
 Majesties licence grantit to him) printit sindrie uther delectabill
 Discourses undernamit, sic as are

David Lindsayes Play. Philotus
 Freirs of Berwick & Bilbo

Quhilk are to be sauld in his Buith at the West side of Auld Provosts
 closehead on the North side of the Gate, ane lytill above the Salt-
 trone.

God save the King and Queene.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

CONTRACTIONS

A.=Asloan MS.; Ch.=Charteris edition of 1603; D.=Douce manuscript portions of Ch. (*see* Introd.); P.=Pinkerton's reprint of Ch. (1792); L.=Laing's edition in 'Early Scottish Metrical Tales'; S.=Sibbald's edition; H.=Hazlitt's edition of Laing's text.

Jam.=Jamieson's Dictionary; N.E.D.=New English Dictionary; S.T.S.=Scottish Text Society's text; S.H.S.=Scottish History Society's text; Murray=Murray's 'Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland'; Sk.=Skeat; P.Pl.=Piers Plowman.

M.E.=Middle English; M.Sc.=Middle Scots.
syn.=synonym; mod.=modern; syl.=syllable.

NOTES ON THE TITLE-PAGE OF CH. TEXT

1. *that the paper soulde not be voide.* It was customary to eke out a poem with matter foreign to it. We find examples even in the seventeenth century. Cf. Sir Henry Wotton's letter to Milton about 'Comus': "For the work itself I had view'd some good while before, with singular delight, having receiv'd it from our common Friend, Mr. R., in the very close of the late R's Poems, Printed at Oxford, whereunto it was added (as I now suppose) *that the Accessory might help out the Principal, according to the Art of Stationers, and to leave the Reader CON LA BOCCA DOLCE.*"

2. *Expectanda dies, &c.* Ovid, Met. iii. 137-8. This motto evidently bears only upon the last of the Tales. It would have been more intelligible if the first clause had been given fully: *Ultima semper Expectanda, &c.* P.'s misprint of *debit* for *debet* was copied by L. and H.

3. Beneath the motto are two allegorical figures. On the left stands a queenly woman richly robed, holding in her right hand a balance, in her left a drawn sword, and looking as if about to smite. Above her head is printed IVSTITIA, and across the lower part of her body SVVM CVIQUE. Facing her stands RELIGIO, angel-winged and

crowned, resting her left hand on a cross at her side, and with her right hand thrusting into the face of IVSTITIA an open Bible. Behind IVSTITIA is the text *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra*. Behind RELIGIO, *Beati qui in Domino moriuntur*.

NOTES ON THE TEXTS

1. *In Peblis towne*. A royal burgh from the days of William the Lion, Peebles was of some importance in the fifteenth century. It had a royal castle and three religious establishments, of which S. Andrew's Kirk was in all probability the one to which the three priests belonged. S. Andrew's was at this time 300 years old, and not very long after, in 1543, was made a collegiate church, with twelve prebendaries, a provost, and two young choristers. (See Chambers's 'Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles,' pp. 61, 62.)

4. *a preve place*, whether the Virgin Inn, as Dr. Gunn suggests (note in p. 108 of his Translation of the poem), or an inn at all, we have no grounds of conjecture. *Preve place* is not suggestive even of a private room in an inn. Besides, as the three priests may be described, from the whole tenor of the poem, as men who valued good repute, they possibly remembered the old injunction that "all clerics, and particularly priests, unless when on a journey or under pressure of necessity, must not eat or drink in taverns or mix with open tipplers."¹ In the Charter of 1543, confirming the foundation of S. Andrew's as a Collegiate Church, it was provided that each of the prebendaries should have a chamber (*vnam cameram*) in the Old Town. As the charter probably did no more than confirm a state of things that had at least partially existed for some time—most of the altars being of long standing—the priest of each service may have had his private *camera* even in those earlier days; and it may have been in one of these that the *collacioun* was held.

5. *Quhar at*=*Quhar þat* in *v. 9*=where. *at*=*þat* recurs in A. 190.

6. *repaire*. Jam. quotes this passage in support of 'company, frequency, concourse,' but here it is simply a syn. for *rangald*, rabble, disorder. The whole phrase means the hurly-burly, the madding crowd. For this connotation of stir and excitement, cf. Sir Gilbert Hay's phrase, "to flee the sycht and the repaire of the world" ('Buke of the Order of Knichede,' chap. i. p. 5, line 14, S.T.S.). In French the word is frequently associated with low life, e.g. *repaire de voleurs*. In 'The Freiris of Berwik,' *v. 106*, it seems simply to mean hobnobbing.

¹ 'Constitutions of Bishop David,' 1242. See 'Statutes of the Scottish Church,' S.H.S., ed. by Dr. Patrick.

7. *rakyn and say*, practically synonymous. *Rakyn* first meant, like *tell*, to count, then to relate. In Layamon's 'Brut,' where one MS. has "And ich þe wulle *raecchen* deorne runen," another MS. has "And ich þe wolle *telle* of deorne rouninges."

8. *Sanct brydis day*. According to a Provincial and Synodal Statute of the fifteenth century there were only two days in February, besides Sundays, which were to be observed as by precept of the Church, viz. the day of the Purification of Blessed Mary, and that of the feast of S. Matthias the Apostle.¹ But S. Bride was a favourite saint of the middle march, being the patron saint of the house of Douglas; and 1st February was therefore what might be called a local 'voluntary.' Whether all the neighbourhood observed the day by 'resting from servile work' is uncertain but very probable.

10. *with mony lowde lauchter*. Cf. for this use of *lauchter* (=laugh) v. 481. Though now rare, formerly not uncommon.

22. *lim and lyre*: *lyre*, the flesh of the body, not to be confused, as often in M.E., with *lyre* or *lere*, complexion, mien. Cf. Golagros and Gawayne, 82:

"Schir Kay ruschit to the roist and reft fra the swane,
Lightly claught, through lust, *the lym fra the lyre.*"

23. *ane roundall*. Jam. and N.E.D. both quote this passage, but quote no other, in support of the meaning 'a small, round table.' Halliwell, however, quotes from Baret, 1580, "a roundall to set dishes on for" (*i.e.* to prevent) "soiling the table-cloth." The context in our poem suggests a round table-top, brought in and set upon a trestle.

24. *A. besicht*. Ch. *dicht*. The Ch. text is doubtless the more tempting, the meaning 'arrayed, prepared for use' being quite satisfactory. Or it may even = cleaned; this mod. sense being found very early, *e.g.* in Bellenden's 'Livy' (i. 282. 9. S.T.S.). The A. *besicht* is a word which, as far as I know, is found nowhere else as a p.ptc. But in M.E. there is a noun *besizte*, from *beseē*. When the ptc. *beseēn* is accompanied by an adv., as *besicht* is here, it combines two notions: (1) *seen*, as in *well beseēn*, seen to look well; and (2) 'provided,' as in 'beseēn of such power.' See N.E.D. Still the possibility of *besicht* being = *beseēn* is doubtful. Probably it is a mistake for *bedicht*, which would give good sense and account for *dicht* in Ch.

27. *blisþat breid*. Made the sign of the cross over the food. So in the 'Faerie Queene,' I. v. 49, the two champions, when making the sign of the cross with their swords, are said to *bless* them:

"Their shining shieldes about their wrestes they tye,
And burning blades *about their heades doe blesse.*"

For *þat* see Glossary.

¹ See 'Statutes of the Scottish Church,' S.H.S., p. 78.

28. *Sa mot I the*, so may I thrive. Cf. 'Pist. of Susan,' 335; and Henryson, 'The Cok and the Fox,' 73. Cf. *v.* 723: *Sa mot I do weill*. A tag in both places.

31. Ch. has *thair* for A. *þan*.; *thair* could only have a meaning if *callit* were a noun; *þan* makes sense only if construed as a continuative particle, like Gk. $\delta\eta$. It is perhaps merely a metrical stop-gap; but this comment is too common, and I incline to regard the word, both here and elsewhere, as a continuative.

As to the names of the priests, see Dr. Renwick's 'Peebles in Early History,' pp. 55, 56. "Only one of the chaplains of 1484 was a master of arts—Maister Archibald Dikesone, who may have been the 'maister Archebald' of the Tales. 'Sir William' occurs twice in the list. The only other master of arts discovered among the Peebles priests near this time was master John of Houstoun, who, on 16th October 1500, is referred to as 'chaplain of the altar of St. Martyn foundit within the parisch kirk of Peblis.'" It is of course interesting to know that during the last twenty years of the fifteenth century there were chaplains in Peebles whose names and designations correspond with those of the three priests in the poem. It may even be regarded as corroborating the date assigned to the poem in the *Introduction*; but as Archibald, William, and John are common Scottish names I have not referred to the coincidence as part of the proof.

34. *me think*. Ch. changed to *wee think* with no reason. The phrase is common in M.Sc. and is found in Eng. as late as Robyson's translation of More's 'Utopia.' In M.Sc., cf. Henryson, 'The Cock and the Fox,' 60: "My hert warmys: me think I am at home." *wald cum in tone*, would accord with this pleasant hour.

35. The line is metrically impossible. Scansion is obtained by the omission either of "to name" or of "hecht"; and the redundancy adds warrant. The *e* of suffix *er* in *master* need not be sounded since the next word begins with a vowel.

38. S. reads *into* instead of *out of* with no authority, and to the ruin of the sense. Master Archibald, *vino ciboque gravatus*, is willing to rouse himself by the telling of a tale. If he nods his foot may slip forward on to the blazing hearth.

39. *Bir willam*. Cf. heading of Third Tale, where he is called Maister. But, as far as the texts may be compared, the A. and the Ch. differ with regard to their headings, so that they were probably not the poet's in either case. A title of worship, or honour, *Sir* was used equally with the names of knights in chivalry and with those of priests, as knights of Christ. *Master* was a university title. For an interesting note on the subject see 'The Buke of the Law of Armys,' pp. xxv, xxvi (S.T.S.)

40. *compt* nor *clame*. A strange use of *compt*, to compute, count. They are probably meant as almost synonymous. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the use of *count* in the phrase

to *count kin with a man*. See Jam.; cf. also *v.* 1190 *infra*, 'clame nor count.'

44. *Of 3ow twa* (*Ane of yow twa*). If the A. reading is right we have a most uncommon extension of the partitive use of *of*. The meaning *some of* is common in both M.E. and M.Sc., but *one of* is exceptional. Cf. *of . . never* = none of . . ever, 1302, where the value of *of* is exactly the same as here, in 44 A.

47. Not so absurd a line as it seems. *To presume* = to take for granted. Cf. Henryson, 'Cresseid,' 397, "Thay presumit . . . scho was of noble kin." *Presumptuously*—though from the same root—means *boldly*, like Lat. *praesumptiose*. Hence the line = I have no thought of boldly assuming that I can tell a tale.

49. *Suppone* illustrates the M.Sc. tendency to form a vb. from Lat. by taking the pres. rather than the supine stem. Cf. *excepan*, *v.* 144.

50. *be* has a double debt to pay, or *be* (=by) has been carelessly omitted after it in transcription.

52-54. *Ciuile*, Seville, at one time second only to Cordova among the Mohammedan cities of Spain, had been Christian since 1248. The four Christian kingdoms referred to are Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre. Granada, the 'hethin' one, was conquered in 1492.

56. *wþ and dovñ*, in all quarters of the globe. Cf. Chaucer, 'Compleynt of Mars,' 210 :

" But what availleth such a long sermoun
Of adventures of love *up and down*?"

In *v.* 1217, *infra*, the phrase = anywhere.

65. Cf. Barbour's 'Bruce,' i. 590, 591 :

" And the King a *parlyament*
Gert set."

We have also in Wyntoun the phrase, *A set Parliament*.

67-70. A. and Ch. differ markedly in phrasing, but the meaning seems to me to be the same. Lines 67, 68 suggest that Parliament came to a general agreement upon certain questions submitted to it by the king affecting the welfare of the realm. Thereafter (lines 69, 70 and 80) the king selected three committees, each representing one or other of the three estates; assembled them in three different halls; and, having feasted them well, propounded to each a question. As to line 68 A., and especially the word *conclude*, it will be remembered that legislation in the Scottish Parliament, as in the English, was perhaps oftener than not the giving effect to proposals submitted on behalf of the Crown. The submitting of the proposals was called 'opening,' and when Parliament came to a decision it was said to *conclude* or make a *conclusion*, which when formulated was called a sentence (cf. Amour's 'Wyntoun,' S.T.S., vol. v. pp. 201, 209). The

poet here seems to have made an innovation, for the sake of rhyme, in using *conclude* as a noun, and the two lines seem to have been redacted in the Ch. text for this reason. But the verse is weakened. The awkwardness of the transition, or rather the want of a transition, between the actions described in the two couplets is a characteristic defect in the author's technique. Cf., for similar lack of bridging, the passages following lines 668 and 712. For supplementary note see 111-112.

89. *þe cauð of my lyf*: my livelihood depends upon you. Cf. the Fr. use of *vie* in the phrase *gagner sa vie*.

92. A. *gar*, an evident mistake for *gart*, the p.ptc., which is required as the complement of *haf*.

94. For proverbs relating to the third heir, see Skeat, 'Early English Proverbs.' To these I would add the last sentence from Earle's 'Character of An Vpstart Countrey Knight': "And his Childrens Children, though they scape hanging, return to the place from whence they came." I have also heard it said that *there are but three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves*. Perhaps the best of all is that quoted by Skeat from Hislop:

"The grandsire buys, the father bigs,
The son sells and the grandson thigs (begs)."

95. *it þat*, very common in M.Sc. for *that which*, is not common in Eng., but is met with occasionally. It is even to be found in Shakespeare's prose; cf. 'As You Like It,' I. 1: "This is *it*, Adam, *that* grieves me."

98. *agane . . . I cum*, against my coming.

102. *I am Instruct*. The Ch. reading *I am in sturt* is obviously the better. If the original from which both copied had *In Strutt*, nothing could be easier than Asloan's mistake, since MS. *ct* and *tt* are almost indistinguishable.

105-108. *Ane heid dow nocht, &c.* According to Leslie (p. 56), James III. used a similar figure to express his reluctance to fight against his people at Sauchieburn: "Quhilk it semit, as it were, the heid to fecht with the rest of the members of the same body."

111. *deligens* in the sense of Lat. *diligentia*, carefulness, earnestness.

111-112. If these lines support the idea that the king assembled Parliament for the sole reason of asking his three questions, lines 67, 68 are evidently a subsequent interpolation for the purpose of obviating the appearance of such an absurdity. If so it would be an artistic weakness. In all art, and especially in satire, there is a time for absurdity, and this is a glorious example, only to be paralleled by that in *v.* 442, where the king by a simple wave of his sceptre changes the whole character and destiny of the *tertius heres*.

119. *fredome* in its old sense of liberality, munificence,—one

of the cardinal virtues of chivalry. For an outstanding illustration cf. Chaucer's 'Legend of Good Women,' 1114-1127.

129-130. Not in A. The simile is appropriate but the anacoluthon in the next line at least supports the idea of interpolation.

133/135.¹ *It þat 3e do me think it suld be done.* P. has *dome think*, and every text since has accepted the reading. Ch. black letter is wanting; but A. has *do me think*, which is beyond question. I have therefore printed *do me think* in both texts.

138/140. A. *enchesoun* (Ch. *chessoun*. The latter is simply the aphetic form. A.F. *enchesoun* is cognate to twelfth-century Fr. vb. *enchoisonner* which = *gronder, accuser*. Here and in v. 347 the noun may therefore be taken as = complaint; and *haue enchesoun* = offer complaint. In v. 1070 it is a verb. For the word in M.E. see Mayhew and Skeat, where it is given as = occasion, motive, reason. There appear to have been two different words: (1) the one in Mayhew and Skeat, and (2) a p.ptc. = cross-examined, punished. See Kelman's 'Norman Dictionary,' *sub encheson* and *enchescune*.

141/142. Not in A. *that*, an acc. of reference, = as to that which.

143/144. *þewme . . . problevme*. These spellings seem to be quite as unwarranted by precedent as they are by etymology.

147/151. Cf. Psalm lxxvii. 5: I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times.

155/159. *syne*, a weak tag where one would have expected a p.ptc. equivalent to *fallen*.

157/161. *warye*, vary (*i.e.* change for the worse). Dr. Patrick, in his Introd. to 'Statutes of the Scottish Church,' p. lxxii, quotes this passage in support of his contention that 'warying' or excommunication had come to be the main occupation of the Scottish clergy before the Reformation. There can be no doubt that he has too hastily construed the passage and taken *warye* in an entirely wrong sense. If the context is not in itself sufficient to show that reference to the habit of excommunicating would be totally irrelevant, lines 363-374 should suffice. There the substance of the passage is paraphrased, and this very line is repeated at v. 371 but with sufficient variation to show that *warye* cannot mean excommunicate.

161-162/165-166. The difference in spelling of the rhyme-words in these two lines in A. and Ch. is of no importance; *meit, meet, sete, sait*, having all the same vowel sound. *Meat* is still *mate* in Ireland, and *seat* in vernacular Sc. is pronounced *sate*.

166/170. *assol3e*. Jam. regards this use of *assol3e* (*i.e.* to solve a problem) as improper; but though it is not in accordance

¹ As the A. and Ch. texts cease to march together after verse 128, this reference means 133 A. and 135 Ch. Such a reference as 161-162/165-166 means verses 161 and 162 A. 165 and 166 Ch.

with the classical use of Lat. *absolvere*, from which it comes through Fr., Latin was still a living language in the fifteenth century, and men continued to extend the meanings of Latin words. They had not yet been fettered by Tully. Cf. Henryson, 'The Thre Deid Pollis,' 41, for the Latin form in this very sense :

"This questioun quha can *absolve*, lat se."

170/174. A. þus) (Ch. *this*. The Ch. form is not necessarily wrong. *This=thus* is quite common. In this poem the two forms seem to be interchangeable. Cf. 1015 n.

178/182. Truncated line :—

^ Thay | begyn | nocht quhar | þar fa | deris began | .

The last foot is an anapaest. It is 3 not 4 syll. ; *deris* being read *dris*, since *e* before *r* is silent if the *r* is followed by a vowel. Or it may even be *ders*, the pl. suffix being occasionally without syllabic value in verse. The truncation of the first foot gives due emphasis to *Thay*; and here it may be said once for all that the frequent truncation in the poem is almost always to be explained on this ground.

179/183. A. *bath derf and daft*) (Ch. *baith daft and derft*. A. is no doubt correct. The imperfection of the rhyme is the only objection. But (1) there are some half dozen imperfect rhymes in the poem ; and (2) *left* in the next line may have been pronounced *laft*, as in Chaucer, *Prol. v.* 492, "But he ne *laft*e not." In the Ch. text the words have been accidentally transposed and *t* has been added to *derf* to produce an apparent rhyme.

184/188. *hap* may mean (1) hope or (2) good luck. I think it is the second. The father began life with a lamb's skin for his stock in trade, and a halfpenny for capital ; and good luck "flung her old shoe after." As to the lamb's skin, a pedlar—if we may believe Langland—made small scruple about the nature of the skins he sold or how he got hold of them. See P.Pl. v. 258-259 :

"I haue as moche pite of pore men as pedlere hath of cattes
þat wolde kille hem yf he cacche hem myzte for couetise
of here skynnes."

191. Ch. The text has *quhilk*, but I have not hesitated to change it to *quhill* (=till).

190/194. *Quhill at=Quhill that=till*. Cf. *supra*, v. 5, *Quhar at*.

195/199. *Bath=also*, at the same time, cf. P.Pl. B. xii. 90 :

"As crystes carecte confortid and bothe coupable shewed
Þe womman þat þe iewes brouȝte."

The *standaris cofferis* would be those 'unfathomable boxes' to which M. Jusserand refers in his 'English Wayfaring Life' (Translation, p. 233) : "The contents of them are pretty well shown by a series of illuminations in a fourteenth-century manuscript, where a

pedlar is represented asleep at the foot of a tree, while monkeys have got hold of his box and help themselves to the contents. They find in it vests, caps, gloves, musical instruments, purses, girdles, hats, cutlasses, pewter pots, and a number of other articles." The *comptouris*, I suppose, were counters (for reckoning) and the *kist* his money-box.

196/200. A. *ground*, Ch. *grund*; but P. changed to *grand* and L. and H. followed. I see no reason for the change, especially since A. and Ch., while differing in spelling, agree in pronunciation. *Grund* (or *ground*) is in M.Sc. and Eng. exactly the same when a noun as German *Grund*, i.e. it means *bottom*; e.g. *the grounde of the hart* (Nisbet's 'Prol. to the Romanis'), where it occurs three times in this sense. And again in the sense of *root* (the *grounde* and *rutte* of *al ewill*). In Germ. *Grund* is added to an adj. as an intensive; e.g. *grundbrav*, downright, thoroughly honest or good. So here *ground riche* = *extremely rich*.

206/210-212/216. It is evident from these lines that what Professor Hume Brown says of Scotland in the reign of James II. applies also to the reign of his successor: "In spite of English raids, the feuds of nobles, and the miscarriage of justice, all classes of the people had both the leisure and the disposition to attend to the decoration of life." Lines 209-210 show how ineffectual had been the sumptuary legislation of the year 1471, when "amangis utheris actis was ordanit that . . . nane *suld weir silkis* in dublett, gowne or cloak, except knichtis, minstrells and haraldis, without the wearar of the same may spend ane hundred poundis worth of land rent" (Leslie). If this latter clause meant that he must possess land to the amount of a hundred pounds of yearly rental, our pedlar was doubtless acting in defiance of the law, as there is no hint that he had joined the ranks of landed proprietors. The *grene cloth* he wore was doubtless Lincoln or Kendal, which the Scots were in the habit of taking in exchange for salmon, cod, and other fish; whereas, says a prohibitive Act of 1473, they might have good money in silver and gold, of which the country was in such need.

213/217. Ch. has *A twentie zeir*: In both cases *zeir* is a correct pl. Cf. Chaucer, "Of twenty year of age" (Prol. 82). In the Ch. text *twentie zeir* is a collective noun like mod. fortnight. Cf. *aboute an tuo zer* (Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, Morris and Skeat's Specimen, A., v. 251).

214/218. A. *His sone getis wþ* (Ch. *He sone gat up*). There can be no doubt that the former is the correct reading. The father himself was already 'up.'

Ibid. *stalwart man to stere* (*stalwart man AND steir*). There is as little doubt that in this case the Ch. text is the right one.

215/219. *we of reid*. The poet seems to have forgotten that the speaker is rehearsing matter of common observation and not relating from a book. Does it mean that the poet has read the sketch

elsewhere? One would think so but for two reasons. In the first place the vividness of the sketch suggests originality; in the second "we of read" is a tag so common in old poetry as to have no significance. It was probably due originally to a habit of the French writers of Fabliaux and of Romance, who would speak of their poems as adapted or translated from Greek or Latin or English when no originals existed in these languages; "*une sorte de charlatanerie*," says Le Grand, "*usitée . . . pour exciter chez les Lecteurs cette curiosité que produit toujours l'annonce de ce qui est d'étranger. . . . Pour quiconque connaît l'ancienne Romancerie ces formules triviales ne signifient rien; il n'en est point dupe*" ('Fabliaux ou Contes,' iv. p. 329).

226/230. A proverb. It recurs with variation in *v.* 1122. Cf. Lindsay's 'Complaynt to the King,' 282 :

"Bot my complaynt for to compleit
I gat the soure and thay the sweet."

229/233. *for weray schame and syn.* *Syn* is simply a synonym for *schame*. Cf. Henryson, 'The Twa Myss,' 138,

"To se this sily mouss it was gret syn,"

where the poet means that one would have felt shame to look on at such suffering. The phrase "It's a sin" is still common in this sense, especially among children.

231/235. *sayne*. A euphemism here, of course, in the opposite sense of *curse*. We still hear the expression, "I gave him my blessing" for "I gave him a piece of my mind."

233-234/237-238. A. :

"With twa men and ane werlot at his bak
And ane liberlay ful litill tent to tak."

Sir Walter Scott, according to Jamieson, reads this as—"With two serving men and a boy in one livery." This implies that *liberlay* or, as in Ch., *libberly*, is a mistake for *liveray*. As (*in*) *ane liveray* (livery) gives a sense suited to the case and is a phrase characteristic of the period, Scott was very probably right in his interpretation. We must, of course, understand *all three in* as being omitted before *ane liveray*. If, however, *liberlay* is correct the lines seem to mean that in addition to the two men and varlet there was a fourth armed with a *liberlay*, or large staff. This, of course, implies metonymy, the word for the weapon denoting the man who bore it. Cf. 'Richard the Redeless,' i. 17,

"By preysing of polaxis þat no pete hadde,"

where *polaxis* = the king's officers (who carried pole-axes). In the same way we speak to-day of White Rod, when the messenger of the King summons the Commons to the Chamber of the Lords. The *liberlay* was evidently meant for smiting, to judge by the passage in the 'Freiris of Berwik' (*v.* 478). According to Grose (quoted by Jamieson)

libbet is the word used in Kent for a great cudgel for knocking down fruit from trees. It is just possible, then, that the liberlay was the Scottish name for a club used to help in clearing the way when a gentleman took the causey; and our parvenu may have aped the gentleman in this respect. A liberlay, then, would be a sort of *lictor*. As to the construction of the two lines, it is not too clear, and I can suggest no satisfactory emendation. The Ch. text with "ful lytil to lak" is the easier. Instead of the full stop placed by Pinkerton after *degre*, at the end of the preceding line, one may retain the comma of the text and take the lines as equal to an adverbial extension of reason, reading thus: "(there being surely) ful lytil to lack" in one "with (*i.e.* who had) twa men, &c." The A. reading may perhaps make the sentence begin at "With twa men," and be intended to mean this: "With two men and a varlet at his back, and with a 'liberlay' paying little heed to whom he jostled, he would blaze out in wrath at any one," &c. But if the construction is doubtful, there is little question as to the general sense.

237/241. In A. *dys*s is a verb, in Ch. a noun. In A., therefore, *dys*s seems merely to be expletive of *play at hasert*, and if so is quite in keeping with the author's style. Perhaps, however, to *play at hasert* is more comprehensive, and 'cards' may be included. They were certainly much in vogue at the time. Cf. Dunbar, 'Of Covetyce':

"Thair is no play but cartis and dyce
And all for causs of covetyce."

238/242. *tyf*, an example of the aphetic forms so frequent in M.Sc.

240/244. *slELY*, *slIELY*. Not *cunningly*, the usual meaning. Probably another form of *slieth-like*, which Jam. gives as idiot-like, sottish, the very meaning wanted here. The deriv. is probably *sleeth*, a sluggard, cognate to sloth. In Mid. Eng. *sloth* appears as *sleuth*.

Ibid. A. *all seile*, Ch. *his seil*. The first can only mean "all his happiness, bliss." The second may mean "his seat in the saddle" (Fr. *selle*). The insertion of *i* after *e* in *seil* is a customary device in M.Sc. to show that the *e* or other preceding vowel is long. It is inserted in *weil* (Ch. text) in the line above for the same reason. Cf. also *meine* (Ch.) and *meyne* (A.) for *mene*, *v.* 273.

243/247. A. *wepis*, Ch. *weips*. The meaning, *weeps*, is so poor and the author's verbs are generally so well chosen that one may suspect the transcription. Probably it should be *kep*is, meaning *cares*. This would require *to wyn* at the end of the line, as in A., and make Ch.'s *nor wyn* an error.

244/248. *powrit him to þe þyn*, impoverished him, to the proverbial last pin in the pack. I have frequently heard the expression "to ca' your pack to a pin," in the sense of "to waste all one's wealth." Or may *þyn* = pound (pinfold) and *to þe þyn* = to the pointing of the

goods? Or, again, cf. Douglas's 'King Hart' (Small's ed. i. 104/5) where the expression is *powrit to the pan*.

249/253. *servis*, another aphetic form, like *tyſ* in 238.

253/257. *Ad dominos*. In the Douce example of Ch. text this part is in writing and there is no heading to the section; and P. has no heading either; yet L. and H. have "To the Lordis," and they profess to follow P.

259/263. A. *to wale* (Ch. *did vail*. There is no doubt that Ch. is the correct reading, unless the *to* in A. should be read *co* and taken as a contraction for *couth* = *did*. The *t* may possibly be a *c* with a stroke (as sign of contraction) over it.

264. Ch. this = thus. See Glossary.

261/265. A. *excelling*. For this use cf. Shakespeare's "For Sylvia is excelleng." The Ch. reading, *excellent*, does not sound so well. *Sure* = *sieur*, sire; but a very uncommon spelling.

266/270. A. is bad but not necessarily a wrong reading. Ch. may be a scribal improvement.

271/275. The same may be said of this as of lines 266-270. As to *his it is* instead of *his is*, doubtless the *it* is not inserted *metri gratia* but for emphasis.

272/276. *sucquedry* is the spelling in both texts, but Hazlitt changes it to "surquedry," saying "the old text" is incorrect. But both are correct; for though *sur* brings the word nearer the original French *sorcuiderie* (from *sorcuidier*), still *suc* is an established Scots form. We find *suckudry*, *sukudry*, *sucquedry* for the noun, *succuderus* for the adj., and *succudrously* for the adv.; and all in standard works. English writers prefer the *sur* form. We even find the old *sor* in 'Piers Plowman' (22, 341), where proud men are called *sorquidours*. *Sor* = *sur* = *super*; and *cuidier* is given by Hippeau as = *croire*, *désirer*; Lat. *cogitare*, anc. Ital. *coitare*. See Jam. for quotation from 'Confessio Amantis.' Halliwell quotes 'Lydgate':

"O where is alle the transitory fame
Of pompe and pryde and surquedry in feere?"

But the most explicit definition is in prose (also quoted by Halliwell), "The tother branche of pride is *surquetry*, that es to undertake thyng over his powere, or wens to be mare wyse than he es, or better than he es, and avaunter hym of gude that he has of other, or of ille that he has of hymselfe." Our best translation here, then, will be "blind, arrogant presumption."

278/282. *perdown*. Probably an error, but I can suggest no likely emendation. The only clue to a meaning I know is "A plea in law by which land was claimed under gift special." This definition N.E.D. gives, quoting: "I pled for your mastership ten yere agoo a *perdown* for wolf-hunt lands about Maunsefeld in Shirwood." Our

context, however, suggests seizure based upon some trumped-up charge. It almost looks, indeed, as if the poet used it in the sense in which Henryson used "forfalt" in 'The Sheep and the Dog,' 120-123 :

"This wolf I liken unto a Shiref stout
 Quhilk byis a *forfalt* at the Kingis hand,
 And hes with him a cursit assyis about,
 And dytis all the pure men uponland."

282/286. *þe Justice fude*. This cannot mean the Justice's *feud* or hostility. *Feud* in the sense of anger or private war was not so spelt or pronounced until the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—if N.E.D. is right—the form was always *fede*, *feide*, or something phonetically equivalent. Here the word rhymes with *gud*. The meaning is simply *food*. The goods taken from the poor man pay for the Justice's food.

289/293 . . . 293/297. "Item it is ordanyit at ilk man, þat his gudis extendis to xx^{ti} merckis, be bodyn at þe lest with an Jak with slevs to þe hande, or ellis a payr of splentis, a sellat or a prikit hatt, a suerd and a buclar, a bow and a schaf of arrowis." Act of Parl. Ja. II., 19th Oct. 1456. According to our poem the actual outfit seems to have been generally more meagre.

292/296. *forw*, a pitchfork, Jam. P. says "club," as if = Fr. *fût* (from Lat. *fustis*); but quotes no support. S. says "knapsack," but without support, and without probability; for it would be absurd to say that for a *bow* he has now a *knapsack*.

294/298. A sword rusty with rain and (therefore) *sweir* (to come) out of the scabbard.

305/309. A. *mukrand*, Ch. *mokrand*, cf. Chaucer's Boece, 425: "Certes thilke gold and thilke moneye schyneth and yeveth bettre renoun to hem that dispenden it than to thilke folk that *mokeren* it; for avaryce maketh alwey *mokereres* to ben hated, and largesse maketh folk cleer of renoun." Here the verb is used in antithesis to *dispenden* and therefore clearly = hoard. A *mokrand* or *mukrand* or miserly churl is the opposite of knightly: he lacks that 'fredome' which is one of the hall marks of 'gentryse.'

307/311. Truncated line :

^ Thus | worschip | and ho | nour of | lynnage |

308/312. *for þar disparage*, to the prejudice of their rank or estate.

310/314. S. prints *In mariage*, but both A. and Ch. have *For*. Sibbald's reading would make *unite* depend on *sons* (understood); but it rather agrees with *lordis*, the fathers. These 'murle' their 'manheid' and their 'mense' by being united with a churl *for the sake of* marriage: in other words, by having to do with them *for the sake of* securing the dowry of the rich churl's daughter.

For *for* = *for the sake of*, cf. P.Pl. ii. 54, "Ich fraynede hure faire þo for hym þat hure made," i.e. for God's sake.

Vnite is, of course, the curtailed form of the pl. of Lat. *unitus*, not of *united*, a later hybrid. As to the Ch. reading "*of ane churl*" it seems inexplicable except as a mistake for the *with* of the A. text.

312/316. *wassalage, vassalage*, the loyalty and valour expected of a vassal. It is even used simply for *valour*; such, for instance, as Bruce shows in seeking to save his routed followers by attacking their pursuers. See Barbour's 'Bruce,' iii. 57.

321/325. In A. *smord* should be *smurd* = *smuird* in Ch.

323/327. In A. *pure* should be *purd* = *puird* in Ch.

325/329. *That, so that. wed and wage*. These are doublets, each meaning to pledge, to give in security. Here it can hardly mean "to mortgage their property," as the king is merely rehearsing the "sentens" of the nobles, and they said nothing of mortgaging. The next line gives the particular sense: the sons and heirs are the pledges given in return for the "gold and gud."

327/331. *Carllis of kynde, churls by nature*. Cf. P.Pl. xi. 47, "oure body þat brotel is *of kynde*,"—our body that is by nature frail.

331/335. A. *In samekle*, Ch. *In samekil*. P. carelessly printed *In same kil*, and S. seeing the error changed to *In sa mekil*. But *sa* and *mekle* (or *mekil*) were regularly run into one; perhaps because often used to translate some part of the one word *tantus*. Cf. Murdoch Nisbet's New Testament, Acts v. 8, "And Peter anserde to her, woman, say to me, quethir ye said the feeld *for samekile*. And scho said, Ye, *for samekile*." In both places the Latin is *tanti*. The prep., whether *for* or *in*, is separated because it varies.

335/339. *To se for this as resoun can remeid*, to devise (such a) remedy for this as reason can. P. prints *To sef or this* and L. follows. S. noted the error and printed right by conjecture.

336/340. Supply *That* (=so that) at the beginning of this line.

337/341. *with our Justice . . . ane doctour in þe law*. "There had arisen at an early period in Scotland a class of churchmen who studied the civil and canon law in foreign universities, and raised themselves to distinction and rank by their successful practice of it at home. From these were drawn the officials of all the greater dioceses; and it is not wonderful that litigants should prefer the jurisdiction of those accomplished lawyers to the hurried decisions of committees of Parliament." (Cosmo Innes, as cited by Dr. Patrick in his *Introd. to 'Statutes of the Scottish Church,'* p. lix.) The same authority declares that "the greater part of the law business of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical, was, before 1532, done in the courts of the episcopal judges or 'officials' of S. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Glasgow." From the words of our poet it would seem that there was a great desire that these "officials" should also be attached to the itinerant courts, or Justice-Ayres.

340/344. A. *þe faith and werite*, Ch. *the faith of veritie*. The Ch. reading is undoubtedly correct. *Faith*, like Lat. *fides* in the phrase *fides facta*, means an oath. The oath of verity, or *aith of suthfastnes* as it is often called in old records, is the same as the French *serment décisoire*. The plaintiff in a lawsuit made the defender answer the accusation upon an oath that the depositions he made in his defence were true; and conversely the defender could *désérer à son tour le serment au demandeur*. The pursuer renounced all other proof and stood to "win or tyne" by the sworn answers of the defendant; or the defendant might similarly put the whole question of liability, or leave the amount of actual debt or of loss sustained to the oath of the pursuer. The practice was very general on the Continent as a part of the Roman procedure, but it never took root in England. (See, for a learned discussion of the subject, Dr. Neilson's Introduction to the 'Acta Dominorum Concilii,' vol. ii. pp. xlvi and lxxv; and for another kind of oath, the body oath, cf. *v.* 950 and note).

351/355. In Ch. there is no heading above this line corresponding to *Ad Clericos* in A.

355/359. There can be no doubt that *certane* (in A.) is a mistake for *in vane* (in Ch.) The next line proves it.

356/360. A *þe C* in A. text is merely phonetic spelling for the correct *A per se* of Ch. "A letter that was also a word in itself as A or I or O was said to be *per se* because it could stand alone. Of these the A *per se* was the type of excellence." (Sk.). The line therefore means that he excelled in all the liberal arts. These in the schools of the Roman Empire were seven in number; viz. (1) the *trivium* of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and (2) the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

357/361. Cf. Chaucer, Prol.

"*In termes had he caas and domes alle.*"

The expression seems to have been used in particular for legal phraseology. Cf. the word *sentens* in the same line, with its very special legal or parliamentary connotation.

364. Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 5: "I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times." In the Vulg. it is Ps. lxxvi. 5: "Cogitavi dies antiquos: et annos aeternos in mente habui." Leslie has another variant of this redundancy: "as thay and thair foirbearis hes of auld tymes done of before," p. 46.

368-369. Cf. Matt. xi. 5, and Luke vii. 22. The *cruiket* are evidently those who in the Authorised Version are called the *lame*. Cf. Dunbar 'To the King: the Petition of the Gray Horse, auld Dunbar,' line 16,

"To colleveris than man I skip
That scabbit are, hes cruik and cald,"

where *cruik* = lameness, halt in walking.

371. *al that cuir can warie*: all that pastoral care does vary (*i.e.* change for the worse). See note to 157/161.

372. Observe the change from *oratio obliqua* to *oratio recta*.

373. *And thus it is your quodlibet and dout*. Hendiadys. And this is your sceptical thesis. For *thus* = *this*, cf. *v.* 1015. The original Saxon *þes* is nearer *thus* than *this* in sound. For *This it is* cf. 271/275 and note. *Quodlibet* had almost invariably a theological reference, and was the name given to a scholastic argument upon a subject chosen at will.

374. *to reid and give it out = declair* in 362.

375. *at short*. *S.* changes to *as short*, perhaps making the *as* correlative to *as* in the next line. But the effect is feeble and reason there is none. The phrase is a not infrequent contraction for *at short words*. Cf. Douglas, 'Aen.' Prol. to Bk. vi. 35.

"Wald thou this buke I suld to the declare,
Quhilk war impossibill till expreme *at shorte*";

and Chaucer, 'Parlement of Foules,' 481, "at shorte wordes." Cf. also Rolland's 'Seuin Seagis,' p. 54, *v.* 24.

377-400. This passage is clear only if one remembers the three canonical modes of electing a bishop (or an abbot). The one which is here regarded as "of nicht and vertew maist" is styled in the Canon Law election *per inspirationem* or *per viam Spiritus Sancti*. The second, which is here simply called "Electioun," is properly styled election *per compromissum* or *per viam compromissi*. The third is election *per scrutinium* or *per viam scrutini*. As to election by inspiration—"the way of the halie Gaist"—the expression was used "when the universal concurrence of the whole body of electors was manifest, and when, without any debate or discussion, the name of some one proposed was accepted by acclamation, and as if by the immediate suggestion of the Divine Spirit." The second mode was "by the whole body of the electors committing the choice to certain persons, either of their own body or of outsiders, or to some of their own body, conjoined with one or more outsiders." "The order to be followed in the case of an election *per scrutinium* was that the Chapter, after a general discussion of the question, should choose three trustworthy members of their own body, who were to take the votes of every member of the chapter one by one. Each vote was given secretly, but was recorded in writing by the three Examiners, or *Scrutatores*, as they were styled. When the Examiners had counted and compared the votes, they announced the result." For a full discussion of the subject, see Bishop Dowden's "The Medieval Church in Scotland," from which the preceding quotations are taken. In the reign of James III., however, capitular elections had become a sham. "An election," to quote Dowden again (p. 52), "was such only in name. The concurrence of the King and

the Pope and a payment (*certa millia pecuniarum*) to the latter made a bishop."

But an interesting point, suggested by our text, remains. Who were the whole body of the electors in what the poet calls "auld tymes and dayes of ancestry"? He says the "lawit folkes," or laity, took part; and it is true that not a few instances may be cited in which elections are said to have been made *by the clergy and people*. Dr. Dowden discusses several of these (pp. 19, 20), and is disposed to think that the phrase is simply a "survival of an old technical formula, persisting for a while in a condition of things which the language does not represent with accuracy. Such survivals," he adds, "are familiar in legal phraseology." Still, if the phrase meant nothing more than this, it is strange that the poet should so definitely speak of the laity of his time cherishing the remembrance of an old custom by which the *people*, old and young, gathered to the kirk and "with meik hart, fasting and praying," sought the "halie Gaist" to inspire them in their choice. The laity do not cherish memories that have for substance nothing more than the breath of a legal phrase. But I do not presume to offer an opinion. I would merely point out that, as far as I can find, no writer who has discussed the topic makes reference to this passage, and yet it ought to have some weight.

377. *The Lawit folkes this Law wald neuer ceis.* Either (1) the laity would fain have it that this custom should never cease; or (2) the laity would never make an end of this custom. For *law*= custom cf. "A Bestiary," 'Natura leonis,' iii^a:

"De ðridde lage haueð ðe leun:
ðanne he lieð to slepen,
Sal he neuer luken
ðe lides of hise egen."

378. *with thair use*: according to their custom. For *with* in this sense, cf. v. 942, With Gods Law.

396. *viam scrutini*. The Ch. text has *scrutiui*, but I have not hesitated to make the obvious correction. *Scrutini* is the contracted genitive, and the two words represent the complete phrase, *electio per viam scrutini*. See note to 377-400. As there is no such word as *scrutiui*, P. changed to what he thought might possibly be Latin, and printed *scrutavi*, and S. and L. copied.

402. *Quhilk puts al our heauines behind*: which lessens our influence for good. The usual meaning of *heauines* (care, anxiety, sadness) is inappropriate here. One of the senses of the equivalent Lat. *gravitas* is importance, influence; and this suits perfectly. To *put behind* may = put into the background; or it may be used here as in the Mod. Sc. sentence, "His failure put me behind," *i.e.* I lost money by his bankruptcy.

403-404. Two constructions seem here to be confused: (1) Now

shall there be none of these three ways chosen in the election of a bishop, and (2) Now shall no one, by any of these three ways, be chosen, etc. As *v.* 405 can only be construed by taking the second reading, I have put the necessary commas after *nane* and *thrie*, and in the Glossary given of as meaning *by means of*.

405. *Bot that* = except him whom. Cf. P.Pl. B. xii. 187, "Wel may þe barne blisse þat him to boke sette," *i.e.* Well may the child bless *him who* set him to (study) books.

407. *to sit on the Rayne-bow*. I know of no satisfactory explanation of this phrase. In 'Richard the Redeless,' iii. 248, "the roff of þe rayne-bowe" = the summit of heaven; but it would be a hyperbole out of keeping with our author's style to say that a bishop sat in the height of heaven. Still, it is just possible that this is how the phrase should be taken. We still say that one sits throned in his glory, an almost equivalent expression.

408. The northern side was the side of Lucifer, the idea being derived from Isaiah xiv. 13: In cœlum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti, *in lateribus aquilonis*. In the Morality of the 'Castell of Perseuerance,' five scaffolds were erected around an enclosed space. "On the north side was 'Belyal skaffold,' in allusion to the supposed abode of Lucifer in the North." For this and for much other lore on the subject see the notes of Skeat on P.Pl. i. 14, and ii. 111. To say that a bishop came in by the north window was equivalent, therefore, to saying that he came from the devil or as the devil's agent.

410. The meaning of the line is obvious, but the appropriateness of the figure is not very evident.

416. *dysmel* and *deuil* are synonyms. See N.E.D., which quotes this line. But *dysmel* is also found in Sc. in its original sense of *dies mali*. Cf. 'The Pistill of Susan,' *v.* 305, "þou dotest now on þin olde tos in þe *dismale*," *i.e.* in your evil days.

422. *men of gude* usually = either men of property and respectability, or men of high birth. Here a third sense is required. The question is whether it means men of goodness or men of God. The small *g* is not conclusive against the second sense. The meaning *God* still remains in *Gude guide us*, *Gude be thankit*, etc. But the meaning of the term remains the same—"your spiritual leaders"—whichever way the word is taken.

423. *doutles*: indubitable, a rare use of the word.

424. Supply *thay* before *wald*.

427. *thus* = this. The two words are interchangeable.

447. *fallis*: pronounce *faws*. After *a*, *l* is usually elided; and the rhythm here requires the elision.

453. *fors*, the noun used as adj. The adj. is *forsy* or *forcy*. Cf. "*Forcy* as death is likand lufe." (Dunbar: 'The Annunciation,' *v.* 1.)

455. *befell*. For this meaning, "pertained to," cf. P.Pl. B. i. 52 :

"*Reddite Cesari*," quod God, "þat Cesari bifalleth."

456. *ʒong counsel*: If the date assigned to the poem is right this must refer to Sir John Ramsay, afterwards Earl of Bothwell, who had been spared at Lauder Bridge. On that occasion, according to Pitscottie, "non escaped that was in his (*i.e.* James III.'s) companie, I meane his secreit cubicularis and servandis; but wer all hanged, except ane young man called Sir John Ramsay was saiffed by the kingis request, who for to saiff his lyffe, lap vpoun the hors behind the King. This Sir Johne Ramsay was laird of Bowman, and efter thesaurer of Scotland." According to Ferrerius he was a daring spirit whose overweening bearing made him hated by nobles and commons alike. In the sequel to Sauchieburn he became a spy of Henry VII. (See Hume Brown, i. 284).

461. *quhyle vp and quhylum down*: now here, now there. Cf. Chaucer, "Of adventures of love up and down," 'Compl. of Mars,' 210.

463. Is it worth while seeking for an original of *Fictus*? May it have been one Andrewes, a Flemish astrologer, mentioned by Buchanan? Or John of Ireland? Both were clerks from over the sea and were intimate counsellors of James III. But nothing we know of them is in keeping with the pawky sagacity of *Fictus*.

465-466. The rhyme is bad here. There are not many such, only seven.

469. *with partie cote*: dressed in motley.

470. Cf. 641, *fule . . . in al feiris*.

471. *Dutche*, Low German. *Italie*, perhaps an error of transcription for *Italic*, short for *Italica*; or perhaps for *Italien*. The form used by Lindsay is *Italiane*: "Duche nor Dense nor toung *Italiane*."

475. *sir king*. This style of address to kings suggests Le Grand's commentary on the point in his 'Fabliaux,' ii. 311: "*On remarquera aussi que dans les Fabliaux on ne donne jamais à personne des titres honorifiques en lui parlant. Les Rois, les Grands, les Chevaliers, sont appelés sire ou messire et voila tout; du reste point d'Altesse, de Majesté. Ces raffinemens de flatterie étaient encore inconnus dans la bouche des sujets; quoique depuis long-tems les Papes, les Évêques, les Grands, les employassent par politesse en écrivant aux Rois, & que ceux-ci eux-mêmes s'en servissent dans leurs lettres & diplômes en parlant de leur personnes.*" On the other hand, contrast with *sir* here, lines 175, 265. The simpler form seems never to have died out in Scotland. Witness John Davidson's language to James VI. in the General Assembly, March 1598: "Sir, yee sit not here as *Imperator* but as a Christian," Calderwood, v. 681.

475-476. *I bid . . . riddil*: I must not conceal the fact that I

am of close kin to you. Cf. Dunbar, 'The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy,' 53-56 :

" I callit my lord my heid, but hiddil,
Sed nulli alii hoc dixerunt
We were as sib as seve and riddil
In una silva que creverunt."

As a sieve and a riddle are in idea the same thing—the only difference being in size—the closest relationship is indicated by the simile.

480. Cf. the English proverbs, *No pains, no gains*, and *No sweat, no sweet*; and cf. also 'Troilus and Criseyde,' iii. 1212-1216.

481. *ane loud lauchter*. For laughter = laugh, cf. *v.* 10, *supra*.

486. *monie wauerand word and wyld*. Cf. "the squandering glances of the fool," 'As You Like It,' II. vii. 56.

502. *as it was* : as was indeed his intention.

503. *bable*. P. misprints *table*. In *v.* 474 *club* seems to mean the same as *bable*, *i.e.* bauble, a fool's stick with a head carved on it. P. may therefore have thought the phrase "his club and ane bable" a mistake, and given *table* as an emendation. If any emendation is necessary, would it not be better to omit *and*, making *bable* in apposition to *club*, and at the same time improving the metre? But the *and* need not be excised, since it is quite according to our author's manner to connect words in apposition with a superfluous conjunction.

509. *ga*, in its old sense of *walk*, as in 'King Lear,' "Ride more than thou *goest*."

513. Elliptical. With that (he looked and observed that) his wounds were, etc.

514. *biggit* : lodged. Cf. 'Ormulum,' 1611, "bitwenenn men to biggenn," to dwell among men.

517. S. seeks to regulate the scansion by omitting *now*, but *Lat them be*, taken as an anapaest, though not very liquid, gives the desired sense of eagerness.

518. *hunger*, an evident mistake, but whether for *hungrie* or *hungrier* is not certain, so I have left it. In 522 it is *hungrie*.

524. *the* (adverbial) is omitted before *mair*.

529-530. *sport and sing*. There can be no doubt that James the Third's love of music was regarded with contempt not merely because (cf. 545) it was said to lead to the neglect of his kingly duties, but quite as much because the love of any other than martial music was looked upon as unmanly. Even in the reign of James V., Bellenden, that "plant of poetis," is contemptuous of any but the "thondran blast of trumpat bellicall." For

"Syngyng, fydyng, and pyping nocht effeiris
 For men of honour *nor of hie estate* ;
 Because it spoutis swete venome in thair eris
 And makis thair myndis al effeminate."¹

Perhaps in the italicised phrase he casts a backward glance at James III.

530. Rel. pron. omitted before *can*.

534. *kynd of zeir* : the nature of the season.

544. *stanche*, the regular word in old Scots law for *suppress*. N.E.D. gives, from Burgh Rec. Edin. iii. 50, "All acts . . . set furth for stanching of sturdie beggars." The original meaning is to stop the flow.

546. There can be little doubt that *taks* is a misprint for *raks*, so that the line means, "Thou reckest not though thy people weep and wring their hands." The misprinting of *t* for *r* is frequent in black letter.

Ibid. *wring* used absolutely for *wring their hands*. Cf. P.Pl. B. ii. 235-236.

" . . . she trembled for drede
 And ek wept and wrong · whan she was attached."

Cf. also Chaucer, C. T. E. 1212, "*wepe and wryng* and waille."

555. *The sair*. While the use of the fem. adj. for a noun is common, such a use of the masc. is very rare.

561. *I am but deid*. Cf. *I nam but deed* in Chaucer, 'Book of the Duchesse,' 204. See Glossary, v. *bot*, *but*.

570. *Of al and al*. Combined with *all in all* (cf. Sh. "Take him for all in all") this phrase reveals the original sense, "of all *and in all*," *i.e.* of all things and in all respects. After *ferleit* supply *most*.

573. *quhat it*. S. omits *it*, but *it* probably = *at* = *þat* and *quhat þat* = whatever.

583. *ful*. Laing, perhaps to show that he takes this = fool, prints *fule*. But it is not only at times that *Fictus* is regarded as a fool. He is regularly called *his* (*i.e.* the king's) *fule*. Does *ful* not rather = *fully styled* ?

585. *Fictus*. In taking such a name the "clerk of greit science" imitated the *menetriers* of early times. These, besides being musicians and wits, were acrobats, conjurers, and buffoons, and generally went under assumed names. See Le Grand ('*Fabliaux*,' ii. 327).

606. *beis*, as a synonym for *flies*, is probably not merely used to avoid the use of the latter word for the fourth time within five lines ; it is quite as likely to be a metaphor for blue-bottle flies.

613. *lidder* : slow. Cf. Douglas, 'Aen.,' i. Prol. 383.

"I micht also, perceace, cum lidder speid."

¹ 'Proheme to Translation of Boece's Chronicles,' Stanza xxi.

614. Proverbial. Cf. Henryson, 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' 155 :

"Bewar in welth, for hall benkis ar rycht slidder."

Cf. also 'The Bird in the Cage' (Sempill Ballates, 46).

"Quha heichest clymmis the soner may thay slyde."

For *slidder*, cf. 'Satirical Poems of the Reformation' (S.T.S.), vi. 50 :

"ȝe se all warldly gloir for to be slidder."

620. *get their leif*, still used in Scots vernacular. So, too, to "give a man his leave," on the model of Fr. idiom, *donner congé*.

621. *narrowlie* : close to the bone.

622. The excellent simile in this vigorous line may have been suggested to the author by frequent observation. The hills round Peebles were common lands and there the burgesses pulled heather for thatching their houses. See Dr. Gunn's *Introd.* to his translation of the poem, p. 14.

626. *mark*, draw near, approach ; antith. to *removes*. Cf. Dunbar :

"We ȝarne thy presens, bot oft thow hes refusit
Till cum us till, or yit till *merk* us neir."

—'To the Governor in France,' 20.

627. *fla . . . belly flaucht*, like 'flying' a stocking.

629. I would suggest as an emendation :

"And steirs the tyme and with the tyde wil gang."

Taking the line as it stands one may make fairly good sense, viz., either (1) And bestir themselves, knowing their time will be brief, or (2) And misguide them (*i.e.* the poor), knowing, etc. But (1) *wait* would require to be *waits*. Possibly it is a mistranscription of *w^t*. (2) The proposed reading makes a better balance, and gives the meaning = And make hay while the sun shines. For *to steir the tyme* = to make hay while the sun shines, cf. Pitscottie, "Inglismen . . . sieing this divisoun among the nobilitie of Scotland, thay steired thair tyme."

631. *at under* : in subjection, kept under. Cf. 'Morte Arthure,' v.

"To hafe peté of the Pope, that put was *at undere*."

Sir Gilbert Haye ('Gov. of Princis,' p. 89, l. 21, S.T.S.) uses the phrase as = *in contempt* : "Quhateuir he be that . . . *halds at under the lawis of God*." In his 'Buke of Knychthede,' 60. 4, he uses the phrase as = *in subjection*, as in our text.

632. *to sink* : to go to perdition. Cf. Chaucer, 'An A.B.C.' v. 123, "And that my soule is worthy for *to sinke*."

633. Read the first foot as an anapaest.

635-636. Had he been a scholar, could he have been wiser?

638. S. changed *let* to *set* and was followed by L. and H. There was no need, even as there was no authority. *Let*, as well as *set*, frequently = think, consider. Cf. P.Pl. A. vi. 105, *to let wel by thiselue*, to think much of thyself. But more probably it here means *pretend*. Cf. Henryson, 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' 102, where *leitand* = pretending.

"Leitand that all wer gospell that thay shawis."

641. *in al feiris*. S. needlessly changes *in* to *to*. Cf. v. 470, *fond in his feiris*, foolish in his manners. *And*, of course, must be understood after *Habite*.

645. *And lyke*: though like.

655. *in the King's grace*: at the King's mercy.

669. This very sudden transition, showing no art in bridging the space between the two murders, is a characteristic weakness in the author's narrative style. Cf. 713, and see Introd. p. xx.

680. There is no other help (buit), unless I get assistance from you. The "vther" is, of course, redundant.

684. The context compels us to take *thow nicht haue gotten* as simply = you were able to get. *Nicht* is *indic*, not *subjunctive*.

687. *I sal get sik assay*. *Get* is probably an error for *gefe*, meaning *give*. *To give assay* means to make an attempt. Cf. Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, I. i.: "*Sub*. This fellow, captain, Will come in time to be a great distiller, and *give a say* . . . at the philosopher's stone." Here, of course, *a say* = assay.

713. *that we of reid*. One need not infer from this that the tale is one the author had read in some book. He may have done so, but not necessarily. The phrase is a common rhyming-tag, or at most is meant to impress with the air of authority. || See note to v. 215/219.

723. *Sa mot I do weill*, a variation of *sa mot I thé*, v. 28.

724. *feill*: perceive. Cf. P.Pl. B xv. 29:

"And whan I fele that folk telleth my firste name is *Sensus*,
And þat is wytte and wisdom."

It is frequently a noun = knowledge. Cf. Henryson, 'Cresseid,' 533:

"*Quhat Lord is yone, quod scho, haue ye na feill?*"

729. . . the man (who) had formerly slain the two, etc. The construction need not be taken as a sign of metrical distress; the position of *befoir* is properly emphatic, and the natural pause after man (due to the omission of the rel. pr.) assists it.

736. *The Golden Inde*. If the poem was written in the reign

of James III., this must, of course, refer to the East. "Our Ancestors," says Macaulay, "had a dim notion of endless bazaars, swarming with buyers and sellers, and blazing with cloth of gold." One is tempted to read "*the gold in Inde*," as our author is not pompous in his diction, but the vernacular, as much as rhetoric, loves a sounding phrase.

743. Note the confused construction: "With that F., that was the king's fool, and sat, etc., said . . ."

753. Ps. cvi. 3. The prose is probably an interpolation.

756. etc. . . that you should neither presume nor think (to be able) to answer for man's bodily welfare upon the day of Judgment (though) you ought to be his sure guardian in all the realm you rule.

763. *Lesse than it be*: Unless it be. Cf. Douglas, 'Aen.' i. Prol. 615:

"*Les þan it be* by me now at þis tyme."

764. *Quhairin*: whether in. The contraction of *whether* to *wher* is quite common in Shakespeare. See Abbot, § 446. The sense of this line is not very clear in its relation to the preceding line. Perhaps the two lines may be read thus: "Unless it be through some great heedlessness (on the part of the slayer), whether byslaying a man to put him out of pain when wounded (cf. the dagger of mercy) or in self-defence." But I admit that this gives a poor construction to "negligence." Possibly *negligence* need not be connected with the line that follows. In the parallel passage in lines 805-806, there is a break after *negligence*, the self-defence being put as an alternative to it. If the *or* that follows *negligence* there is supplied here, the reading is much easier.

765-774. The rambling irrelevancy of these lines suggests interpolation.

766. Cf. 'Rule of S. Benedict,' ch. ii., last par.: "Whoever undertakes the government of souls must prepare himself to account for them. And however great the number . . . let him understand for certain that at the Day of Judgment he will have to give to our Lord an account of all their souls as well as of his own."

768. Either *that* (=so that) must be supplied at the beginning of the line or *haif* should be *haifand*.

770. *blait*: naked. Halliwell, quoting from Collins' 'Miscellanies,'

"And Eve, without her loving mate,
Had thought the garden wondrous *blate*."

gives the meaning as *bleak, cold*, but putting the two passages together one inclines to take Jamieson's meaning, *bare*. Cf. also Douglas, 'Aen.' vii. Prol. 70:

"Widdis, forestis, with naked bewis *blout*."

This suggests the additional sense of dreary, miserable.

782. Parliament means here, I think, a session of the King's Council as distinguished from a 'plane' or 'set' parliament such as we read of in *v.* 65. Alike in England and Scotland the word was used in both senses, so that, in the records, it is at times difficult to distinguish between conciliar and parliamentary proceedings. If the phrases "all my Lords" (*v.* 781) and "al the thrie Estaits" (791) seem to suggest that a full parliament is intended, one need only remember that from the year 1425-6, the Council constitutionally consisted of "certain discreet persons of the three Estates," who were known as Lords of the Council, together with the Clerk Register. In the poem the King is described as having dispensed with his constitutional guides and indulged in personal rule, assisted by "jong counsel" of his own choosing. He now determined to recall his neglected Lords to office.

788. *Vnto the Parliament.* He was respited till Parliament should assemble. Here our poet leaves the manslayer, and we are in doubt as to his ultimate fate. As soon as the author has made his point he neglects this further point of human interest. See, as to this feature of his style, *Introd.* pp. xvi, xx.

792. *crop and ground.* A vigorous metaphor for the king's ill-advised and corrupt clemency (ground) and its consequences (crop).

794. Was (as) wise in word (as) though, etc.

796. *Sie.* P. and all others print *sic*, with no reason. *Sie* = think out, devise, and is still used in this sense; *e.g.*, I shall see what I can do. The phrase *ganand way* is adverbial; *i.e.* = *in a ganand way*: and the next line is the obj. of *sie*.

805. Elliptical and ill-arranged. *bot* should, of course, come first, and there should be some connection between the two phrases. Construe "unless (the deed was done) through inadvertency or/and without intent."

811. *for ill tounys*, because of malicious gossip. See *v.* 925.

812. *stit*: P. and all texts since have *still*. Probably *stit* = *stith* (also *styth*), strong, strict; surely a better sense than *still* gives, *i.e.* continual. Ane *stit* strangenes is a strong estrangement, an icy coldness. With *stit* = *stith* cf. *fort* = *forth* in *v.* 1331. In the original it would probably be written *sty*!

826-827. The repetition of *fantesy* is feeble. In the second line it is perhaps a misprint for *franesy* (=frenzy) which the printer could easily convert into *fantesy* under the influence of the preceding line. For the suitability of the sense cf. the following:—"The Shipman had also the *franesie*, þat with this Emperice hadde ment fulfilled his foul lust of aduoutrie." (Hoccleve, 'Jereslaus' Wife,' 715; quoted by N.E.D. *s.v.* *Frenzy sb.*, 2).

837-838. Anacoluthon; *how* merely repeats the meaning of *of the degree* but requires a change of construction.

845. *wont.* P. changes to *went*, which is a more correct

form of what is evidently meant for the past tense of *wenen*, to think, though *wend(e)* would be still better. But with such a variant of the 2 pres. sing as *wanst* in 'The Owl and the Nightingale,' v. 1644, *wont* is quite conceivable as a past. Still it is incorrect, the verb being one that takes *de* or *te* in the past with retention of the stem vowel.

848. Badly corrupted by P., though the line is very clear in Ch.

851-852. The rhyming of *is* and *wis* is not to be taken as imperfect, since *s* in *is* has the hissing sound still given to it by Gaelic speakers. See Murray.

869. With this transition from indirect to direct speech, cf. v. 372.

879. *a-dred*. P., in spite of making bad rhyme, misprints *a-drad*. Laing changed to *a drab*. The strangest thing, however, is that while printing from P. and making this change he adds in the appendix *a-drad*, not as a correction but as a proposed emendation.

882. *Me thoct he hang you wil he neuer skar*. *Me* though he hang, *you* will he never scare.

883. *thus* probably = this. But it may be that it = thus, and that *it* (in apposition to the noun clause *ye do thus*) is omitted before *is*. Or, yet again, the two constructions may be confused in one. For *thus* = this, cf. also vv. 427, 1015.

892. *come*. P. changes to *came*, but *come* is the correct old past tense, the present being *cum*.

895. *weil*. There seems to be no explanation but carelessness for the reading *west* for which P. is responsible.

908. *that ze tel me*, the French imperative form, perhaps because less peremptory.

911. The *and* is not superfluous, or *metri gratia*. It gives the proper emphasis: "to lie with women and (what was is more astonishing, with women) of low degree."

912. *Aganis*, zeugma. "Against your Queen's will and with injury to her dignity."

914. *to conclude*: in addition.

918. *mair*: greater. "Quhat plesance . . . than mair to be" = what greater pleasure . . . than if you had been.

920-922. "Not to dispute with you any more, Fictus, I cannot tell the reason but I always wantonly follow my desire."

924. *fludder*. N.E.D. agrees with Jam. in pronouncing *fluther* and making = *fletcher* = cajole, flatter. But no other quotation than this is given by either. There is, however, another *fludder*, cogn. to flutter, which = to bustle about. "To make much ado" would suit quite as well here as to cajole.

928. *out of tone*: out of tune (morally). Dunbar speaks of well-filled purses as being *in tone* ('To the King,' 16), i.e. in proper condition. So here *out of tone* = in evil case.

937. *sen* = send, *i.e.* grant. Cf. *vv.* 1001, 1233. There is no need to print *send* with P. In 938 the word is repeated, showing the eager vivacity of the king.

941. *weil sein* : quite clear. *Sein* is not the pt. ptc. of *see*, but an adj., being the truncated form of *gesiene* or *gesyne*, visible, manifest. The word appears in its transition form, *y-sene*, in Chaucer, 'Legend of Good Women,' 1394. Chaucer also has it in its shorter form. Cf. *ibid.* 340, 694.

943. *thairto do, &c.* In such compounds as *thairagane, thairattour, thairbefoir*, the *thair* = this. *thairto do . . . agane*, against doing this.

950. *Hald up 3our hand.* The "upholden hand," or *manus sublata*, is one form of what is known as the "body oath" : a second consisted in laying the hand upon the gospels. *Jurat corporaliter qui jurat tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis vel manu sublata* (Kuhl's *Lexicon Juridicum v. Jurare*, quoted by Dr. Neilson, *Introd. 'Acta Dom. Concilii,'* p. lxxviii. For the whole subject of Oaths in legal procedure *vide ibid.*, pp. lxiv-lxix). In the vernacular it was generally known as the *faith of the body*. Cf. 'Thomas the Rhymer,' Part II., Stanza 14 :

" 'By the faith o' my bodie,' Corspatrick said,
'Ye shall rue the day ye e'er saw me.'"

For which use of *faith*, cf. *v.* 340/344 and note.

967. *sophine*, for *sophime*, possibly a slip in transcription. It is the Gk. *σοφισμα* in Fr. form. Chaucer uses it for a trick of logic. Cf. *Prol. 'Clerk's Tale,'* 5 : "I trowe ye studie about som *sophyme*." Here it is used almost exactly in the Greek sense, device or artifice.

972. *for od nor euin.* N.E.D. says = on no account ; and this makes good sense. But it would probably be more accurate to translate the phrase here as = whate'er befall, or whether in weal or in woe. In Dunbar's 'Ane Ballat of Our Lady,' *v.* 56, we find

" Implore, adore, thow indeflore,
To mak our oddis evyne,—"

i.e. to turn our woe to weal. *To go to the oddi* = *abire in malam rem*. The phrase, when it has *and* instead of *or* or *nor*, seems to = one and all, or all and sundry. Cf. 'Satirical Poems of the Reformation' (S.T.S.), No. xx, 120.

" Quhat sall we wene of tratours kene,
That Ithandly hes streuin,
For to deface the nobill race
Of Stewarts, *od and euin* ;"

and No. xi.

" Defend 3our king and feir 3our God,
Pray to auoyde his feirfull rod,
Lest in his angrie wraith austeir
3e puneist be, baith *euin and od*,
For not reuenging of my deir."

973. *with thy*: on condition that.

977. *simply*: without delay or ceremony. *persew*, to make straight for, to go. Cf. Dunbar, 'To a Ladye,' v. 6, "In to your garth this day I did persew." It is often, as in Fr. *poursuivre*, used without the idea of following after.

981. *in his harts splene*. I have not met this phrase elsewhere. It seems to mean *cor cordium*, the heart's core. *Splene* itself is regularly used by Sc. poets for the seat of ardent passion. Cf. Dunbar ('Of Luve Erdly and Divine,' 6), *And trew luve rises fro the splene*; ('The Thrissill and the Rois,' 12), *a lark sang fro the splene*; and ('The Goldin Terge,' 106), "the mirry fowlis," as they sang "ballatis of luve" to Dame Venus, "thair hony throttis opnit fro the splene."

1001. *sene*. The constr. with *to* shows that the adj., not the pt. ptc., is meant; cf. 941 *n*.

1015. *Thus he*: This Person, or This great Being. For *thus* = this, cf. 427 *n*. and 883 *n*.; also *infra*, 1030, where the phrase recurs in the form of *This he*. *He* is used in much later times in the same sense. Cf. Dryden's 'Religio Laici,' 15:

"But what, or who, that *Universal He*
Not e'en the Stagyrite himself could see."

Cf. also Earle's character of *A Poore Man*: "Hee is the onely *hee* that tries the true strength of wisdom." Cf. also Hall's 'Homer,' i. 133, *thou loftie minded hee*. Not unlikely *This he* is here a translation of the Latin *Hic* in whatever Latin version of the tale the author may have adapted. Wycliffe's Bible, in translating Daniel xiii. 36, renders *ingressa est HAEC cum duabus puellis* by "*SHE THIS came yn with two maydens damesels*."

1019. *quhill he was laid in delf*: until he was buried. So, too, the verb of *delf* is used. Cf. Chaucer's 'Book of the Duchesse,' 222, *I had be dolven*.

1023. *this and swa*. One is tempted to change *and* to *ane*, and read, "As to the third friend he loved this one so." If the text is right the phrase may mean "thus and in such a way,"—a redundancy, of course, but very characteristic of the author. Or is it possible that it is the equivalent—though with less familiar effect—of "just so-so"? I have no quotation to support such a rendering. But it gives the very meaning wanted.

1030. *This he*, cf. 1015 *n*. *send about*, send to enquire about. The phrase is still in use in Sc.

1042. *ane hasty fair*, either a sudden business or a journey at short notice. Jam., who quotes this passage, thinks *fair* = Fr. *affaire*, and Tyrwhitt conjectures that it is Fr. *faire* used as a noun = ado. More probably it is Eng. *fare*, from *faran*, to go. In O.E. it = a journey; in Chaucer, business, goings-on. Here either will do.

1043. *my tail it wil be taggit*. Jam., quoting this passage, says = I shall be confined or imprisoned. "There may be an

allusion," he adds, "to a custom which still prevails in fairs and markets. Young people sometimes amuse themselves by stitching together the clothes of those who are standing close together; so that when they wish to go away they find themselves confined. This they call 'tagging their tails.'"

1044. *ouir raggit*. Jam. (*g.v.*) says = overhauled. Dr. Craigie says it probably = not in good trim, faulty.

1050. *feil*, to have personal experience of. Frequently seems to indicate mere knowledge, but here we have the exact sense, as in Douglas, 'Aen.' iii. Prol. 41 :

"This text is ful of stories euer ilk deill,
Realmes and landis quhareof I haue no *feill*,
Bot as I follow Virgill in sentence."

I.e. he knows *about* these places from his reading, but he has not been there in person.

1063. Probably *to* at the end should be struck out. It ruins the rhythm and it is absolutely unnecessary from any point of view, whether of rhyme, of meaning, or of grammar.

1066. *A per C*, for *A per se*. See 360, and 138 *n.*

1070. *chessoun*, cf. *vv.* 138, 351.

1072. *hilynes in hart*, cf. *ane heily hart*, *v.* 183.

1073. *men*, probably the indef. pron. = one, not the noun.

There can be no worse habit than to cause *one* to restore ill-gotten gear. It is like *man* in Barbour's

"A! fredome is a noble thing,
Fredome mays *man* to haiff liking."

1078. *It is for thay ar*: *al things* is taken collectively.

1080. *play*, a synonym for *pleis*. From Fr. *plaire*, probably. The construction also is as in Fr., *i.e.* it takes *to* before the obj. Cf. *Il a plu à Dieu*.

1081. *that* = *it that*. In the next line supply *is* before *judgit*.

1085. *lyking lufe*. S. puts a comma between, making *lyking* a noun. But cf. Henryson, 'The Annunciation,' *v.* 1 :

"Forcy as deith is likand lufe."

1089. *areist*. It is just possible that this should be, as in Ch., two words, *a reist*; *reist* being thus the aphetic form of *areist*. But it is more likely to be one, the article being quite unnecessary.

1086. The emphasis upon *him* demands a pause, which gives correctness to the metre.

"Na I | to him | \wedge quhill | the day | I die."

1090. *feist*, by metonymy = joy, cf. *joy and feist*, *v.* 1169. Cf. also Statius, 'Syl.' ii. 7, 90.

"O nunquam data *feista* longa summis."

1098. *grant*, acknowledge. The root idea is to admit belief. In Henryson it = assent. Cf. 'The Twa Myss,' 91.

"I grant, quod scho, and on togidder yeid."

1114. *displeisit* and *ill payit*, almost synonymous terms, *payit* being from O. Fr. *paier* to satisfy, from Latin *pacare*. S.'s emendation *paynit* is therefore uncalled for.

1119. I must not hide the truth from thee. For *bid* or *byd* = must, see Murray, p. 218. *lane*, *layne*, or *lene* = to conceal. Cf. 'King Hart,' i. 13.

1120. *red*: frightened, afraid. Cf. Dunbar, 'Of James Dog,' 10, "He girms that I am *red* for byting." Cf. *rade*, v. 1192.

1122. Cf. v. 230 n.

1123-1124. Cf. 'Hamlet,' III. i. 81, 82.

1126. P. misprints *feiris* for *fairis*, and L. endeavours, though in vain, to make sense of this reading by omitting *weil*. For the proverb in the line, cf. the Latin medieval proverb,

"*Si qua sede sedes, et sit tibi commoda sedes,
Illa sede sede, nec ab illa sede recede.*"

1138. *to my pay*: to my satisfaction. Cf. 'The Parlement of Fowles,' 271, "The remenant wel kevered *to my pay*."

1139. *for onie thing*: in spite of anything. Cf. P.Pl. iii., where it is commanded that Liar be not allowed to escape, *for eny preier*. Or *ibid.* A. ii. 33, "And bicome a good mon *for eny coutyse*."

1141-1142. Unless a couplet has been lost, I can only construe these two lines as an unfinished exclamation: "If one may taste of venom or poison (and) that at the hands of those in whom their trust is greatest —." Besides involving the insertion of *and* at the beginning of the second line, this reading takes *Quhasaeuer* = *If one*. For the compound rel. pr. used in this sense, cf. P.Pl. iv. 365. The simple rel. pr. is also thus employed. Cf. Henryson, 'The Cock and the Fox,' 214. It may be urged also in favour of this reading that such seemingly faulty grammar is good art, being a recognised device in the expression of agitation of mind. We need not consider whether, in this case, the art is conscious or unconscious, though probably it is the latter.

1153. *overtane*: managed. For this sense of the vb. cf. 'The Brus,' viii. 190:

"For gif he nicht nocht weil *ourta*
To meet thame at the first."

1159. *wind in waist*: breath spent in vain. Cf. v. 381, *with wordis not in waist*, which should answer the query of those who might take *waist* = wilderness, and make the phrase mean "as idle as the blowing of wind in the wilderness."

1166. *with him* = with quhome, and *Befoir* should come after *ado*.

1171-1172. This couplet is omitted by P. for no obvious reason.

1185. *gaue bot lytil tail*: made me of little account. One would rather expect *made* instead of *gaue*, as in 'Wyntoun,' viii. 26, 80.

1186. *dant nor dail*. Jam. gives *dant* as a word not understood, and adds: "*Dant nor dail* seems to have been a proverbial phrase now disused, denoting intimate intercourse." The interpretation is correct. As to derivation, *Dant*=*Daunt*, meaning dandling, caress. N.E.D., *s.v.* Daunt, sense². *Dail*=dealings. (See N.E.D., *s.v.* Dale², sense²). The line would then = would have nothing to do with me whether in pleasure or in business.

1189. *with . . . wount*: accustomed to, familiar with. *With* is to be explained by the original meaning of *wount*, which is from M.E. *wonen*, to dwell.

1190. Two constructions are run into one.

1192. *And that I am ful rade on the be sene*. And that, I am much afraid, (may) be seen (*i.e.* made clear) in thee. In L. *will* is inserted before *besene*, which makes the sense clearer but spoils the metre.

1200. *Bot euer allace*. P. and all others since put a comma after *euer*, destroying the sense. *Euer* cannot be an adv. of time here. It is an intensive particle modifying *allace*. Cf. 'Peblis to the Play,' 31.

" *Euer alas*, than said scho,
Am I not clearly tint?"

So, too, in 'Sir Patrick Spens,'

" Now, ever alas, my master dear,
I fear a deadly storm."

1213. *withouttin ony blame*: without any reproach *from me*.

1215. *without offence*: without displeasure (or vexation). A Latin use of the word. Cf. 'Cic. ad Att.' xiii. 23: . . . *nihī majori OFFENSIONI ESSE QUAM DELECTATIONI* possessiunculas meas.

1225 . . . 1236. In these twelve lines the "rich man" turns, as it were, to address the audience. The passage resembles the epilogue spoken by a principal character at the end of an old play. It almost suggests that the author's source was a Morality he had seen, in which such an epilogue was spoken; one, perhaps, of which 'Everyman' was an adaptation. See Introduction, pp. xxx, xxxii.

1228. Till the time be past (so) that they should die. P. has *be gane that thay sould be*, but no possible translation will suit the context.

1237. *into this world*, placed outside of its clause, should come after *that* or *thre*.

1241. *of michts maist*. Cf. Henryson, 'The Annunciation,' 71 :

" And syne til hevin my saule thow haist,
 Quhair thi Makar *of michtis maist*
 Is King and thow thair Queene is."

Cf. also *throucht the mychtis of titan*, 'Complaynt of Scotland,' § Ane Monologue of the Actor. Possibly parallel to the pl. use of *vis* in Latin, as in *decet agere pro viribus*. *nicht* in the pl. also sometimes = miracles. Cf. P.Pl. B. 10, 102.

1246. None may raise a plea against his power.

1248. May refuse to stir in answer to his summons.

1260. *overby*, cf. *v.* 287.

1265. *gude penny and pelfe*. *Pelfe*, says Puttenham ('Eng. Poesie,' iii. ch. 23), is "a skornefull terme." Properly speaking, he adds, it is "the scrappes or shreds of taylors and skimmers, which be accompted so vile a price as they be commonly cast out of dores, or otherwise bestowed upon base purposes."

1272. *turs*. In D. this looks like *curs*, but P. has no doubt printed it correctly *turs*, which is the same as *truss*, to pack up.

1275. Only by reading *the* for *and* before *deid* can I make sense of this. It would then = "And thus when we must die the death."

1278. *and is* = and he is, *i.e.* who is. Possibly this awkward construction is due to avoiding the use of the rel. pr. *that* twice in the same line. *Quha* is used at this time in the sense of *he who* or *whoever*.

1285. *This may, &c.* = *Thus may*.

1292. *det* = duty. Cf. Fr. *devoir*.

1293. *Quhilk* = What. An exception to the proper use. It is usually employed in asking the precise person or thing of several, *e.g.* *Quhilk is your freind?* Cf. Murray, p. 193. Here the sense is, *What does the gate mean?* See further *infra*, 1299 *n.*

1294. *as a mort*. Almost certainly a misprint for *à la mort*.

1298. I do not think this line modifies the preceding one. There seems to be an ellipsis; so that the reading is "lang will thay greit (but thay will greit lang)" ere we meet again in this world.

1299. *Quha*. If Murray (see note *v.* 1293) is right, *quha* should be *quhilk* here, just as *quhilk* in 1293 should be *quha*. The use here is the more remarkable as *of thy freinds twa* depends upon it. The construction of the two lines is otherwise awkward. *That* = of whom, and the two lines read: "Now which of thy two friends, of whom I have spoken, will go in at the gate with thee?"

1301. *Riches nor gude*. The *nor* is not disjunctive, the two nouns being alternative names of the First Friend; just as *Wyfe, barne, nor freind* is the collective name of the Second. For partitive use of *Of* in next line, cf. 44 A. *supra* and note.

1308. *Almos deid nor cheritie*. These "instruments of good works" are defined in the 'Rule of Benedict' (ch. iv. 14-19). They are

as follows : (1) to give refreshment to the poor, (2) to clothe the naked, (3) to visit the sick, (4) to bury the dead, (5) to come to the help of those in trouble, and (6) to comfort those in sadness.

1313. *quantance*, an example of the aphetic forms so frequently found in M.Sc.

1315. *art*, the sole example I have been able to find of the word in the sense of *heaven*, instead of "quarter of the heaven." The antithesis to *eird* leaves little doubt of the sense here, which is happily justified by the original meaning of the word, a height or summit. It is either an extension of this meaning or a metonymy.

1317. *shore*: threaten. Cf. Burns, 'To Gavin Hamilton':

"Ye'll catechise him every quirke
And *shore* him weel wi' hell."

1324. *that*: on condition that. *Almos deid* only does good if (or on condition that) it is not too often taken.

1325. *lat*, the pres. t. of which the past *leit*, appears in *vv.* 1051, 1062, 1312.

1330. *tyme and space*: time and leisure. Cf. Chaucer, Prol. 351.

1331. *do fort thy det*: do thy last duty, or pay thy last debt. *fort* = forth. Cf. *stith* = stith, *v.* 812. For *do furth*, cf. Bellenden's Livy i. 132. 9 (S.T.S.), where *do furth thy devoure* = *absolve beneficium tuum* of the original. Cf. also Barbour's 'Bruce,' i. 256.

1333. *wis*: wish. Pronounce *wiss*. Cf. Lindsay, 'Squyer Meldrum,' 1829

"Yit gif I nicht at this time get my *wis*.
Of hir sweit mouth, deir God, I had ane kis."

1334. Before *be tyme* supply *that I*.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

As the Asloan and Charteris texts differ in the numbering of the lines after 128, references beyond that, up to line 359 where the Asloan breaks off, are given thus, 170/174; meaning line 170 in the Asloan text and 174 in the Charteris. Where *v* or *w* at the beginning of a word is pronounced like modern *u*, the word is placed in the *U* section; e.g. *wþ=up*. *Warie* or *warye*, however, is given in both, as the reading is not agreed upon. (See note 157/161). Words beginning with thorn are placed under *T*: thus *þire* follows *thewme*. The letter *n* after a number (e.g. 631, *n*.) indicates that there is a note to a certain word in that line. Other contractions are in accordance with custom.

- Absolving: solution (of a problem), Ch. 356; equal to *assolþeing*, A 352. See note on *assolþe* 166/170; and cf. *solþeing* 254/258.
- again, agane: in preparation for; *again I cum*, in preparation for my coming, 98.
- air: heir, 94, 173/177; *pl.* aris, 304, 326, A, aires, 308, 330, Ch.
- air: formerly, 716.
- al and sum: one and all, all, entire, 79, 264/268, *et passim*; sometimes a mere tag.
- allhale, al hail: *adv.*, wholly, entirely, 110.
- als: as, *passim*; alswele, as well, 82 A; alsmekil, as much, 688.
- amorat: = Ital. *innamorato*, enamoured; fond, 899.
- an, and: if, *passim*.
- A per se: 360 Ch., *A per C*, 356 A, 1066. See note 356/360.
- Archebald, maister: one of the Three Priests, 35, 457.
- areist: arrest, seizure by warrant, 1089, *n*.
- art: quarter of the heaven. In v. 1315 used, in the phrase *in eird or art*, heaven. See note.
- assay: attempt, 687, *n*.
- assolþe: to solve, 166/170; *assolþeing*, solution, answer, 352 A; aphetic form, *solþeing*, 254/258. See *absolving*.
- at: *conj.* that, 5 A, 190 A.
- attour: over, in addition, *mair attour*, moreover, 971. From at + our (over). The two words are sometimes written separately.
- at under: in subjection, 631, *n*.
- Bable: a fool's bauble, 503 (O. Fr. *babel*).
- baggis: money bags, 174/178.
- bail, baile: sorrow, misfortune, trouble, 154/158.
- barne, bairn: a child, 568, 1286, 1299.
- bath, baith: both. In 195/199 it means *also*. See note.
- be: is, 1205, may be, 1192, *n*.
- be: *adv.* by the time that, 29, 775, 1039.
- be: *prep.* by, *passim*; in, 572.
- befell: pertained to, 455.
- beforne: *prep.* before; *me beforne*, in my prospect, v. 588.
- beild, beld: shelter, protection, 85, 127.
- beis, bees: In v. 606, flies.
- beit, bete: *vb.* help, succour, 154/158, 370. For *subst.* see *buit*, 680. A.S. *bétan*, to profit; from *bot*.

- belly-flaucht: skinned, by drawing the skin whole over the head; "flypit," 627.
- bene: well-to-do, 78.
- benk, bink: bench, seat, 828; *Hal binks*, high places, the seats of the mighty, 614.
- besicht: see note to v. 24.
- bid: *vb.* behove, must, 475, 1119. More frequent in past tense, *bud*, *bude*, or *buid*.
- biggit: built, 514.
- binks: see benk.
- blait: naked, 770, *n.*
- bob: a bunch, 547, where it is a syn. for *cow* in v. 531, *q.v.*
- boist: to boast, browbeat; in v. 300, to threaten.
- bot, but: *conj.* but, *passim*; unless, 680; *bot gif*, unless, 618. In 561 in conjunction with the omitted negative it means *only, quite*. Cf. Chaucer's *I nam but deed*, 'Book of the Duchesse,' 204.
- bot, but, *prep.* without, 347/351, 349/353, 445, 508.
- bud: a bribe, 618, 623 *et passim*.
- buit: *sb.* remedy, succour, 680. For verbal forms see *beit*.
- Cace, case: hap, chance, 674, 815; affair, business, 707; *per cace*, by chance, 651.
- can: (1) do (auxiliary) 621; did, 183/187, 510 *et passim*; (2) are able, 1226. In v. 530 *can* may be either (1) or (2).
- carping, *sb.* talking, 975.
- carpis, carps: speaks, 84.
- ceis: *vb. trans.* to put an end to, or *vb. intrans.* to cease, 377, *n.*
- certane: *adv.* certainly, 355 A.
- chaffery: merchandise, wares, 198/202.
- cheif: foremost, most important, very intimate, 543.
- cheis: choose, 386, 400, 1227. *Act.* for *pass.*, *war et passim*, were to be chosen, 378. *chesing, ger.* choosing, choice, 768.
- chessoun: *sb.* 347/351, aphetic form of *enchesoun, q.v.*, 138/140, *n.*
- chessoun: *vb.* to accuse, cause complaint to be made against, 1070. See 138/140 *n.*
- chop, chope: *sb.* shop, 198/202.
- Ciulle: Seville, 52.
- clargie, clergy: (1) learning, 40; (2) churchmen, 351/355; called *kirkmen*, 430, 436.
- clatterars: tattlers, tale-bearers, 928.
- club: a fool's bauble, 474, 503, *n.*
- cod: a pillow, 1305.
- coft: bought, 204/208.
- come: old form of past tense of *cuman*, to come, 83 *et passim*.
- compeir: to appear, present oneself, 1032, 1116, 1179.
- compone: to compound, to come to terms, 285/289.
- conclude: *sb.* a decision of Parliament upon questions submitted to it by the king, A 68, *n.*
- conclude: *vb.* determine, decide, 60, 331/335; *concludit*: came to a decision upon questions submitted by the king, 68 Ch., *n.*
- copburde, copeburde: cupboard, "an important article of furnishing in old Scottish houses, in which plate and other ornaments of value were displayed," 208/212.
- counsel: (1) councillors, 456, 568, referring especially to the King's Privy Council. See *Introd.* p. xii; (2) advice, wisdom; *nane of sad counsel*, none of sober wisdom, none who were likely to give him sober counsel, 460.
- count: *sb.* reckoning, 1180; *vb.* to render account, 1284.
- courche: a kerchief, or covering for the head, 1305. See Jamieson for interesting descriptive notes.
- couth: did, 74 *et passim*.
- cow: a bunch, e.g. of broom, of hay, *cow of birks*, an (extemporized) fan of birch, 53.
- crabit: ill-natured, irascible, 1086; *crabitnes*, wrath, 698.
- creische: dripping (for basting) 13 Ch.; equivalent to *greiss*, 13 A.
- crounar: coroner, 625. "At one time the functions of the coroner were very high, both in England and Scotland, and seem to have been co-extensive with the Sheriffdom. . . . The office went early out of use in Scotland" (C. Innes, 'Legal Antiquities,' p. 84). "Sometimes there were more than one coroner in a Sheriffdom; as, e.g. in Renfrewshire" (W. M. Metcalfe, 'Henryson,' p. 264).
- crukit: lame, 369.
- cuir, cure: care, charge, 298/302 *et passim*.
- cumbred: troubled, perplexed, 739, 1046.

cumen, cummin, cummy, *p. ptc.*
 come, 99, 463, *et passim*. See *come*.
 cure: see *cuir*.

Daft: silly, foolish, deficient in sense,
 179 A, *n.*
 dail: business intercourse, dealings,
 1186, *n.*
 dant: dandling, intimacy. See note
 1186.
 darest, derest: dearest, 305, 309.
 declar, declair: make clear, show
 forth, reveal, 93, *et passim*.
 deid: death, 679, 1263, 1267.
 delf: the grave, 1019.
 deligens: carefulness, earnestness,
 111, *n.*
 demes: estimates, judges, 527.
 derf: strong, severe, unbending in
 manner. In 179 A overweening
 (?)
 derflie, derfly: vigorously, lustily,
 104; boldly, desperately, 237/241.
 derft: see note, 179/183.
 det: duty, devoir, 1292, 1331.
 dicht: arrayed, decked. Possibly in
 24 Ch. it may mean *cleaned*. See
 note.
 discandand: *pres. for past ptc.*, de-
 scended, 332/336.
 disparage: *sb.* loss of rank, 308/312.
 dispone: dispose of, make over (by
 legal conveyance) 435.
 dout: misgiving, fear, 212/216.
 doutles: indubitable, 423.
 dow: can, possesses strength, 105.
 drossit: prepared; *d. him*, made
 preparation, 465.
 dysmel: the devil, 416. See N.E.D.
s.v. dismal.
 dyte, dytes, dytis: indict, 275/279,
 278/282; *dytit, p. ptc.*, 280/284.
 Equivalent to *wryt wþ*, wryte up,
 277/281.
 dyte, *sb.* writing; *put in dyte*, put on
 record, 252/256.

Eirar, erar: sooner, earlier, 49.
 eird: earth, 1256; *in eird or art*, in
 earth or heaven, 1315.
 eith: easy, 238/242.
 emparis: *vb. trans.* diminish, injure,
 274 A; = *impaires*, 278 Ch.
 enchesoun, *sb.* complaint, objection,
 138 A, *n.* For the aphetic form
chessoun see 140 Ch. and 347/351.
 estais, estatis: The Three Estates,
 68, 70, 79, 791, 795, 799.

euil: written for *ill*, 448, 959. See
 N.E.D. *s.v.* Ill; also Introd. to
 Prof. Gregory Smith's 'Specimens
 of Middle Scots,' p. xxviii, and line
 1739 of *Ratis Ravine*, where the
 pronunciation is clear:

Richt nocht, bot gud recorde or euil
 As he determinit in his will.

See also Prof. Gregory Smith's note,
ibid. p. 315.

Fair, (1) journey; (2) business, *ane*
hasty fair, 1042 *n.*

faith: oath; *faith of veritie*, 344, *n.*

fallis (pronounced *faws*); (1) comes
 as a duty; *fallis me Gude tail or*
euil. It is for me (to tell) a tale,
 whether a good one or a poor one
 447-8. *Now fallis me To tel ane tail*,
 1007-8: (2) It is fitting, proper; *It*
fallis to na king To brek his vow,
 953-4.

fantasy, fantesy: fond desire, 827;
 foolish fancy, 910; levity, 987.

fantesie, 826, faint heart(?) See
 note.

farand, farrand: *adj.* seeming, having
 a certain appearance; e.g. *auld*
farrand, having the look of age.
fair farand, handsome, 75. In
 'The Brus,' ii. 514, the two words
 are separated (and othir ladyis *fair*
 and *farrand*) suggesting that
farrand alone came to mean
 handsome.

farly: see *ferlie*.

feil: many, 455.

feil, feill: *vb.* feel, experience, per-
 ceive, 724, 1050, 1123.

feirie: active, 454. *Icel. farr*, able,
 strong for travelling.

feiris, feirs: manners; *fond in his*
feiris, 470, foolish in his behaviour;
 641, 929.

feist: joy, happiness, 1090, *n.*,
 1169.

felloun: fierce; *felloun fyre*, 21, 38,
 450; *felloun flies*, 516, 592.

ferlie: *sb.* wonder, 246/250, 640.

ferly: *vb.* wonder, 552, 967; *farly*,
 967; *ferleit*, 570; *ferlyit*, 643. It is
 followed by *of*, not *at*, when the
 object of wonder is expressed by a
 noun, but the prep. is dropped if
 the obj. is a noun clause.

fla: *vb.* flay, 627.

flaucht: flayed 627, *p. ptc.* of *fla*,
supra (A.S. *flean*, originally
flahan). See *belly-flaucht*.

fludder: to cajole, flatter, (?) 924.

Perhaps to make much ado. See note.

flyte: argue, wrangle, 921.

fond: foolish, 470.

ffor, for: *prep.* as for, in respect of, 16 A; in place of, 293, 297; because of, 294/298; in spite of, 1139.

fforowt, forout, for out, foroutin, forouttin, forwithoutin: *prep.* without, 106 *et passim*.

formast, formest: first, 2.

fors: powerful, 453, n.

forf: strength, 191.

fort: forth, 1331, n.

for thi: therefore, 395; *for thy*, 769, 1285 (A.S. forðy).

fow: a pitchfork, 292/296, n.

fra: from the time that, 297/301.

fraine: ask, inquire, 537; frane, 560; frainit, 576.

fraucht: freight. In 628, levy of goods (?)

fredome: liberality, munificence, one of the knightly virtues, 119, 312/316, 329/333.

fude: food, 282/286, n.

fuir, fure: fared, 82.

ful: 583. See note.

fur: furrow, 412.

fyue sum: a band of five, 818.

Ga: *vb.* to walk, 223/227, 509.

gainand, ganand: sufficing, 398; fitting, becoming, 796.

gainest, gaynest: most suitable, most proper, 131/133.

gait: way, 131/133.

gaming: joy, 894 (A.S. gamen, a game).

get: In v. 687, probably an error for *gefe*. See note.

gin: talent, sleight, 1143.

Golden Inde, the: 736.

granand: *pres. ptc.* groaning, 590.

greiss: *sb.* dripping (for basting), 13 A, n.; = creische, 13 Ch.

grie: degree (academic), 359. Lat. *gradum* (acc.). Not the same word as the next.

grie: pleasure, 841. O. Fr. from Lat. *gratum*, pleasing.

gud: *sb. abstract*, good, welfare, 67 A.

gude: *sb. concrete*, property, goods, 420.

gude: God (?) 422. See note.

gyde: *sb.* guide, 131/133; guidance, governance, 67 Ch.

Hadder: heather, 622.

hait: *adj.* as *sb.* heat, 534.

hap: *sb.* good luck, 184/188, n.

hap: *vb.* to cover, wrap up, 1306.

hasty fair: 1042, n.

he: as noun, meaning Being (the Deity), 1015 n., 1030.

hecht: *p. ptc.* called, named, 35.

hecht: *p. ptc.* promised, 955.

heily, hiely: haughty, disdainful, 179/183.

helely: disdainfully, 1163.

hery: to plunder, pillage, *heryis wp*, 275/279, where *wp* is intensive;

heryit quyte away (also intensive) 288/292.

hething: contempt, mockery, scorn, 1188.

hiddil: secrecy, 475.

hilynes: disdainful pride, 1072. See *heily*.

husbands: husbandmen, 287/291, 301/305, 440.

hyre: hire, *but hyre*, without reward, willingly, 449.

Impaires: diminish, injure, 278 Ch.; = *emparis*, 274 A.

innis: a dwelling-place, 816.

intil: to, in answer to, 1196.

instance: urgent entreaty, 661.

I wis: = y-wis, = A.S. gewis, certain. In 852, *adv.* truly.

Inde, the Golden, 736.

Jak: *sb.* trifling, idling, 20. According to Jam. *jangle* and *jak* means idle talk, or talk about trifles.

jangle: *sb.* tattle. The word, especially in the derivative *jangler*, generally has a bad sense,—idle prating, wrangling. In v. 20, the context makes it unnecessary to give it any but a genial sense. See *jak*.

Ihon, Johne, Maister: 31, 50, 59.

Iustice: Judge. In 625 occurs twice, first as nom. sing. and secondly as gen. sing. In 276 Ch. = nom. pl.; pl. *justicis*, 272 A.

Ken: same as *can*, meaning to know. In 1060, *kend*, used causatively, means made known.

kinrik, kynrik: kingdom, 66; kynrikis, kinrikis, 53.

kirkmen: churchmen, 430; *kirk men*, 436.

kyth: (causative form of *cunnan*, to know) to show, manifest, produce, 415.

- kynd : nature, *kynd of 3eir*, nature of the season, 534.
- Lack, lak, *sb.* blame, disgrace, 284/288; *vb.* 406.
- lak : *vb.* to be wanting, lack, 238 Ch.
- ladry : (?) knave, worthless fellow, 17. Jam. says *canaille*, P. says idle lads, each making it a collective noun; but being linked with *lowne* (loon) it is more probably intended for a single person.
- lamenry : concubinage, 814.
- lane : hide, conceal, be secret; *nocht to lane*, to be frank, above-board, to tell the truth, 1119.
- lat : *vb. imperative*, let, 1287, 1312.
- lat : *vb. pres. t.* think, reckon, 1325. From same root as *lat supra*. See also *leit infra*.
- law : custom, 377, *n.*
- lawit : unlearned, laic, 377; *lawit and leiril*, 760.
- laytis : manners, *licht laytis*, follies, 984.
- le, lie : safety, 342/346.
- lef : live, 342, A.
- leif : dismissal, *congé*, 620.
- leil, leill, lele : loyal, faithful, 276/280, 279/283, 275/289, 320/324, 342/346.
- leind : *vb.* to tarry, 1136; *with the will neuer leind*, will desert thee at the last, 1302.
- leirit : *participial adj. as noun*, the learned, contrasted with *lawit*, 760.
- leit : *vb. past t.* thought, considered, 1051, 1163, 1312. For *pres. t.* see *lat*, 1325.
- lesing : lying tale, lying.
- lesse than : unless, 763.
- let : *vb.* to prevent, hinder; *let him to die*, save him from death, 734.
- let : *sb.* prevention, hindrance, 1231.
- let : *vb.* pretend, 638.
- leuch : laughed, 581.
- libberla, libberlay : a large staff, 234/238, *n.*
- liddy : lazy, slow, slack, 613.
- lie : see *le*.
- lig : *vb.* to lie; *lig in lamenry*, 814.
- lippin : *vb.* to trust, confide, 1338.
- loife : *vb.* to praise; *to loife or to lak*, 406.
- Lordis, lords : (1) Lords of the kinrik, 66, probably means the *Domini trium statuum*, i.e. the members chosen from all three estates to hold a parliament; (2) the nobles, as distinguished from the burgesses and the clergy; 76, 99, 101, 109, 113, 118, 257, 262, 270, 301, 303, 304, 318, 439; (3) Lords of the Articles, Lords Auditors of Complaints, and royal officials. Probably these are grouped as a body in the phrase "all my lordis," in *v.* 781.
- lown, lowne : a rogue, 17.
- lyf/lyfe : living, livelihood, 89, *n.*
- lyking : *participial adj.* pleasing, 1085, *n.*
- Ma : more, 668.
- mais : *vb.* makes, 1281.
- mark : march, advance, come forward, 626.
- medycene : physician, 508; *medycyne*, 156/160.
- meind : *p. pic.* of *meine*, pitied, 1091, 1145.
- meine, meyne; complain, 269/273; lament, 1211.
- meis, meisse : *sb.* mess, dish of food; in *v.* 14 for *pl.*
- men : *indef. pron.* one, 1073.
- mense, mensk : honour, dignity, 309/313.
- mef : Church service, mass, 129 A, 161 A.
- michts; might, power, 1241, *n.*
- minte : to intend, to try, in antithesis to *to perform*, 1328.
- misfarne : *p. pic.* misguided, 567. Jam. gives only as *vb. neut.*, but it is found as an *act. vb.* with a pass. voice, as here. Cf. 'Buke of Knychthede,' p. 53, l. 4 (S.T.S.) *fault of faith misfaris all thir thingis*.
- misse : wrong, sin, 700, 711.
- mister : need, necessity, 1152, 1154.
- mokrand, mukrand : miserly, 305/309, *n.* (a *participial adj.* from *mokeren*, to hoard).
- mort : death, as a *mort* for a *la mort*, 1294 *n.*
- mot, mote : may, 28, 562.
- mouing : excitement, unrest, 564.
- mukrand : see *mokrand*.
- murle : *vb. trans.* to crumble. (Still used for breaking bread into crumbs); reduce to ruin, 309/313.
- murmure : upbraiding, 564.
- mute : to plead, 1284.
- mynde : memory. *God put me out of mynde*, May God forget me, 735.
- myrthis, mirthis : pleasures, 86.

Na : nor, 298/302.
 narrowlie : closely, "near the bone," 621.
 naething : *adv. of degree*, no whit, not at all, 542.
 negligence : inadvertence (in cases of homicide), 805.
 neist : highest, most intimate with, 457.
 nor : than, 558.
 north window : 408, *n.*
 noþer, nouthur : neither, 43 *et passim*.
 Oblissing, obliissing : bond, vow, 954, 960.
 od or euin : 972, *n.*
 of : in 44 A = *Ane of*, 44 Ch. See note and cf. 1302.
 of : *prep.* in respect of, 274/278; by means of, 403; in return for, 446.
 or : *adverb. conj.* before, 196/200 *et passim*.
 orisoun, vrisoun : prayer, 129/131.
 ouerby, ourby : buy off, 283/287, 1260.
 ouertain : *p. ptc.* managed, contrived, 1153, *n.*
 Pace : Easter, 478.
 pane : penalty, 944.
 pardoun, perdoun : (?) See 278/282, *n.*
 Parliament : 65, 113, 782, 788, 790.
 In the last three instances it probably means a Session of the Council, as contrasted with "a plane Parliament" in 65.
 partie : *adj.* motley, 469.
 pay : *vb.* satisfy; *pay and content*, pay, 658; *payit, p. ptc.* pleased; *euil payit*, 959; *ill-payit*, 1114; *weil-payit*, 1206.
 pay : *sb.* satisfaction, 1138.
 pedder : pedlar, 188/192.
 pelfe : riches, 1265, *n.*
 penny : money, 1265.
 percaze : by chance, as it happened, 651.
 perdoun : See pardoun.
 perqueir : accurate, 1180.
 persew : to make for, to go, 977, *n.*
 pin, pyn : 244/248, *n.*
 plane : full; *ane plane Parliament*, a meeting of the three Estates, 65.
 plant : complaint, 346 A.
 play : to please, *neither play nor pleis*, 1080, *n.*
 plie : to plead, to answer in a court of law, 1196. (More commonly *pley*).

powand : *pres. ptc.* pulling, plucking gathering, 622.
 powrit : impoverished(?) 244/248 *n.*
 practik : *sb.* art, 1258.
 preif : *vb.* to test, put to proof, 1053, 1151, 1154.
 prene : a pin, 1191.
 presome, presume : to take for granted; to take upon oneself, 47, *n.*; to presume, 755.
 preve, A, priuie, Ch. : *adj.* privy, private; *ane preue place*, 4.
 preuene : to anticipate, be beforehand with, get the better of: *to preuene the tyme*, to kill time, 504.
 Proverbs :
 þat lichtly cummis will lightly ga. 223/227.
 Hal binks ar slidder, 614.
 Quhy suld he haf þe sweit had nocht þe sowre? 226/230.
 To tak the sower and leif the sweet, 1122.
 Quhair ane fairis weil the langer sould he byde, 1126.
 Than feinjet freind better is open fa, 1148.
 Als suith it is as ships saillis ouer watters, 1149.
 Al is not gold that glitteris, 1150.
Nul bon sans pyne, 480.
 pryce : esteem, prestige, 274/278.
 Psalmes, the, 753.
 puir, pure : *adj.* poor, 297/301 *et passim*; *sb.* the poor, 622.
 puird, purd : impoverished, 322/326.
 pyn : See note, 244/248.
 pyne : trouble, pains, 480; pain, 541.
 Quantance : aphetic form of *acquaintance*, acquaintance, 1313.
 quent, quante : curious, 317/321.
 quhairin : whether in, 764, *n.*
 quheil : *sb.* wheel; *ouer waine and quheil*, 410.
 quhil, quhill : (1) till, until, 22 *et passim*; (2) while, as long as, 441.
 quodlibet : problem, difficult question, 373.
 quyte : *vb.* reward, 446, 1006.
 Rade : *adj.* afraid, 1192, *n.* See *red*.
 raggit : indented, notched, 1044, *n.*
 rakyn, reckin : tell, relate, 7, *n.*
 rangald : rabble, disorder, 6.
 rayne-bowe : rainbow, 407, *n.*
 reckin : see *rakyn*.
 red : frightened, 1120, *n.* Cf. *rade*, 1192.

- reist : 1089, *n.*
 repair : *sb.* hurly-burly, 6, *n.*
 repleid : 1246; (?) to plead in defence. See Jam.
 respet : respite, 788.
 reuer : robber, 511, 540, 544.
 riddil : a riddle, a larger kind of sieve (e.g. for riddling coal), 476, *n.*
 roundal, roundel, roundell : a small, round table; or, perhaps, a round table-top for setting on a trestle, 23, *n.* and 579.
 rowstie, rowsty : rusty, 294/298.
 runners : couriers, fore-runners, 506.
- S. Sir, 39 Ch.
 sad : discreet, grave, 460; *sadlie*, *sadly*, 20; *sadnes*, 468.
 sair : *adj.* sore, 527, 572; as *sb.* 555, *n.*; *adv.* 699, 1041.
 samekil, samekill, samekle : = *sa mekil*, so much, 331/335, 1271; *sa mekill*, 1281.
 samin : same, 142 Ch.
 Sanct Bryd : 8.
 Sanct Jame : 483.
 Sanct Katherine : 485; Katrine, 839.
 Sanct Margaret : 839.
 Sanct Martyne : 446, 1006.
 Sanct Paull : 765.
 sariand : serjeant-at-law, 625.
 saw : *sb.* saying; *his saw*, what he said, 849.
 sayne : bless; ironically for curse, 231/235.
 scar : daunt, 1254, skar, scare, 882, *n.*
 scho : she, 604 *et passim*.
 schrenke, shrink : shirk duty, 134/136.
 science : learning; *pl.* in 360, *science seuin*, the seven liberal arts.
 se for : see to, provide for, 335/339.
 seif : sieve, 476.
 seil, seile : see note to v. 240/244.
 seindle : seldom, 1324.
 sely : innocent, simple, weak, 413.
 sen : since, 263/267.
 sen : = *send*, meaning grant, 937, *n.*, 938, 1001, 1233.
 sene : manifest, *weil sene*, 941, *n.*, and 1001. See also 1192 *n.*
 sentence, sentens : finding, conclusion, 319/323. A general motion in Parliament, when adopted, was frequently so called. Here it is extended to mean the answer given to a question posed by the king.
 serues, seruif : aphetic form of *deserves*.
 In v. 249/253 = *2nd pers. sing. deservest*.
- set : appoint, convene, 65, *n.*
 shore : threaten, 1317.
 sib : akin, 476.
 sichs : *vb.* sighs, 699; *pres. ptc.* sichand, 1041.
 sie : think out, consider, 796, *n.*
 simply : directly, without further ado, 977, *n.*
 sin, syn : shame, 43, *n.*
 sine, syne : moreover, and also, 33; thereafter, then, 75 *et passim*; *syne half a year*, half a year ago; *sants that are sine*, 840; sometimes a mere tag, e.g. 479.
 sink : to go to perdition, perish, 632, *n.*
 Sir, ðir : before the name of a priest equivalent to mod. *Reverend*; e.g. Sir William, the Rev. Father W., 39.
 sit : to refuse to stir (in answer to a summons), 1248.
 skar : see *scar*.
 slidder : slippery, 614.
 slokkin : to quench, extinguish, 1319.
 smord, smuid : *p. ptc.*, smothered.
 The former in 321 A, a mistake for *smurd*. Used of the prevention of legal persecution or punishment; *justice is smord*, 321/325. For to *smoir the law* see Jam.
 solþeing : *verbal noun, aphetic*, solving, solution, 254/258. See *assolþe* and *absoluing*.
 sonþe, sunþie : *sb.* excuse, 134/136.
 sophine : a device, artifice, 967, *n.*
 sower, sowre : sour, 226/230, 1122;
To the that wil be sowre and salt,
you will smart for it, 1208.
 space : time, leisure, 437, 1328.
 speir : ask, inquire, 510.
 stad : *p. ptc.* bestead, 1058, 1106, 1314.
 stanche : to put down, suppress, 544.
 stark : strong, rigid, severe, 1076.
 steir : bestir, 612, 629 *n.*
 stint : cease, desist. *His straik . . . will not stint*, pierces irresistibly, 1255.
 stit : see note to v. 812.
 stour, stowre : *sb.* onset, attack, battle, 120, 268/272.
 strangenes : estrangement. *Ane stit strangeness*, an icy coldness, 812, *n.*
 sturt : trouble, vexation, 102, 539, 1109, 1314.
 succuedry : pride, arrogance, 272/276, *n.*
 suffisand : sufficient, 849.
 sum, al and : see *al and sum*.

- sunȝie : see sonȝe.
 supplie : *sb.* support, succour, 1047, 1095.
 suppose : suppose, 49.
 sure : sire, 261/265.
 sweir, swere : lazy, reluctant; *sweir out*, slow to come out (of the scabbard), 294/298; *my tung is sweir*, I find difficulty in speaking, 559; loth, 1127.
 sweith : *adv.* quickly. Frequently used as an *imperative*, meaning "Quick" or "Be quick," or "Away!" 733.
 syde : *adj.* long and wide, ample, 994.
 syne : see *sine*.
 Taggit : see note to v. 1043.
 tail : see note to v. 1043.
 tail, taile : a tale, 34 *et passim*, pl. *talis* in A (title), *tailes* in Ch.
 taint, taynt : aphetic form of *attaint*, to accuse. Construed with *in*, 345/349.
 tais : take, 135/137.
 temptit : made proof of, tested, 978.
 þam : them, *passim* in A; *them* in Ch.
 þar : their, 22 *et passim* in A; *thair* in Ch.
 þat : the, 27 A. (from the *neut.* of the O.E. *se, seo, ðæt*). In Ch. 27 *the* has been substituted.
 that : *conj.* on condition that, 1324.
 the : *vb.* to thrive, 28 (O.E. *ðeon, ðion*, to increase, thrive, flourish).
 thewme, theame : theme, proposition for discussion, 143/147. (Fr. *thème*, Lat. *thema*, Gk. *θήμα*. There is no excuse, therefore, for the *w* in *þewme*.)
 þi ; thy, 546.
 þire, thir : these, 79.
 þis, this : *adv.* thus, 264 Ch., 307 Ch., 315 A.
 thoct : though, 546, *n.*, 641, 882.
 thoct : care, anxiety, 565.
 til, till : *prep.*, to, 156/160.
 tint : *p. ptc.* lost, 1327. See *tyne*.
 tirlit : plucked, pulled, 993.
 to : *adv.* too, 1127.
 tod : fox, 414.
 tone : tune, 34 A, 928.
 traist, trast : *vb.* trust, believe, 8, 1235.
 traist : *sb.* trust, 1144.
 trumpours : deceivers, tricksters, 18.
 turs : the usual Sc. form of *truss*, to pack up in a bundle, 1272.
 tyde : time, 629, 1125.
 tyne : to lose, 702, 844.
 tyse, tyfs : aphetic form of *entyse*, to entice, allure, 238/242.
 tyte : quickly, 985, 1343.
 Umquhyle, vmquhile : sometimes, at times; *umquhyle* — *umquhyle*, at one time,—at another, now—, now—, 20.
 uncouth, vncouth : unknown, 51.
 vnder, at : in subjection, 631 *n.*
 vnfutsair, vnfutesair : not footsore, at ease, comfortable, 5.
 vp and down, wp and down : in all quarters of the globe, 56, *n.*; *vp or down*, anywhere, 1217.
 vrisoun, orisoun : prayer, 129/131.
 Valure : worth, value, 774.
 variance, variance : variation, alteration, 349/353.
 warie, warye : vary, alter (for the worse), 157/161, *n.*, 371.
 varlot, welot : varlet, servant, 72, 233/237.
 vassalage, wassalege : the loyalty and valour expected of a vassal, 312/316 *n.*
 veritie, werite : See faith of veritie, 344, *n.*
 Wail, wale : = vail, aphetic form of *avail*, 259/363 (O. Fr. *avaler*) to make obeisance.
 wage : *sb.* pledge, 829. See *wed*.
 wage : *vb.* pledge (in marriage) 325/329.
 waine : waggon, wain; *ouer Waine and Quheil*, 410.
 wait : In 629 perhaps a mistake for *with*. See note.
 waits : knows, 290 Ch.; *wait*, 286 A; *wait*, know, 347, 479.
 wan : won, gained, 95.
 warians : alteration, 349 A.
 warie, warye : see note 157/161.
 wassalege : see vassalage.
 wauerand : wandering, aimless, randomness, 486, *n.*
 wed : *sb.* pledge; syn. for *wage*, 829.
 wed : *vb.* pledge, in marriage, *wed*; *wed and wage*, 325/329.
 weips, wepis : see note to 243/247.
 weir : war, 289/293.
 weir : *sb.* doubt; *but weir*, without doubt, 696, *et passim*.
 wele : well; *wele sene*, quite clear, manifest, 941, *n.* See also *sene*.
 Wenys : Venice, 55 A.
 werite : see Veritie

- werlot : see varlot.
 wicht : strong, 1247 ; *wichter*, 701.
 wie : small, little. Used as a noun, = a short time ; *a lytil wie*, 817. Still used but without the *little* ; e.g. *bide a wee*.
 willam, Williame, Sir : One of the three priests, 39, 1007. Called *Maister* in the heading of the Third Tale.
 win, wyn : *sb.* gain, 205/209, 619.
 wis : part of *I wis* = *ywis* = O.E. *gewis*. See *I wis*.
 wis : (pronounce *wiss*) *sb.* wish, 1333.
 wish, wosche : washed, 206/210.
 wit : *vb. subjunctive*, should know, 1203, 1205, 1207.
 wit : *sb.* intelligence, wisdom, 1247.
 with : *prep.*, according to, 378, 942 ; by (denoting the agent) 540 *et passim*.
 with thy : *adv.* provided, on condition, (M.E. generally either *wiððan* or *wiððat*.)
 withouttin : *prep.* without, 784.
 wittin : known, 881.
 wod : madly enraged, 235/239.
 wont : weened, supposed, 845.
 wosche : see *wish*.
 wount : accustomed, familiar, friendly, 1189.
 wox : waxed, grew, became, 160/200, 205/209.
 wring : used absolutely for *wring their hands*, 546, *n.*
 wryt wp, wryte up : indict, 277/281.
 wyn : see *win*.
 ȝeild : *sb.* a return, reckoning.
 ȝet : gate, 409, 1232, 1291.
 ȝing : young, 379.
 ȝit, yet, 1138.

THE END

