













The Scottish Text Society

The Chronicles of Scotland

Compiled by Hector Boece





x

# The Chronicles of Scotland

Compiled by Hector Boece

Translated into Scots by

JOHN BELLENDEN

1531

EDITED BY

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*WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF R. W. CHAMBERS  
AND THE LATE WALTER SETON*

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## PREFATORY NOTE TO VOL. II.

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THANKS to the assistance of Miss H. Winifred Husbands, it has been possible to bring this volume out sooner than had been anticipated. The nature of her work upon it can be adequately recognised only by the position which her name takes on the title-page.

The thanks of the editors are due to Sir William Craigie for his continued interest and help in the revision of the proofs ; to Mr H. E. Hoffmann for his help in compiling the Glossary ; and to Dr E. A. Sheppard for allowing them to print as an Appendix the life of John Bellenden which formed part of her thesis, *Studies in the Language of Bellenden's Boece*. This thesis, of which copies are preserved in the Library of the University of London, should be consulted by all who are interested in the development of Middle Scots. The editors of this text leave to historians the question of Bellenden's handling of his original, sometimes remarkably free, and the more important question of Hector Boece's view of the duties of an historian.



## The Tabill of this Buke.<sup>1</sup>

i. cont.  
(I. lxxxii)

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe x Buke, contenand  
xx cheptouris

		PAGE
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	How Kenneth was maid king of Scottis ; how Pichtis fell at debaitt amang þame self ; of þe deth of pair King Brudus, and how Donskene was maid king ; how þe hede of King Alpyne was brocht in Scotland ; how King Kenneth put þe Pichtis to flycht . . . . . C viij	310

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

<sup>2</sup> The word is obviously *mariage*, but only *m...age* is clear in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *Kenenth*.

- Off the message send be Donskene to Kenneth, and of his ansuere ;  
 how Fiffe and Anguse war randeritt to Scottis, and huge  
 slauchter maid on Pichtis ; off þe orisoun maid be Donskene to  
 Kenneth, and of þe ansuere be Kenneth ; how þe army of  
 Pichtis war finalye disconnfist, and Donskene and all his  
 nobillis slayne . . . . . C ix<sup>o</sup> 314
- How the swerde and coitt armour of King Donskene was send to  
 Colmkill ; off þe orisoun maid be Kenneth to his nobillis ; how  
 all þe Pichtis war slayne and banyst oute of Albioun ; how  
 pair landis & municionis come vnder dominioun of Scottis  
 C x 318
- (I. lxxxiv) Off vncouth *merwellis* sene in Albioun ; how þe chier of *merbyll*  
 was brocht oute of Ergile to Scoyne ; off þe lawis maid be  
 Kenneth for þe commoun wele of Scottis, and of his deth  
 C xj 320
- Off King Donald and his vices ; how Osbrede and Ella *with* grete  
*novmer* of Inglismen war disconfist be King Donald ; how  
 xx<sup>m</sup> Scottis war slayne and King Donald takin be Inglismen  
 & Britonis ; off þe message send be Scottis to Oisbrede, and  
 of his ansuere . . . . . C xij 323
- Off the orisoun maid be Calenus ; how Scottis tuke pece *with*  
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 how King Donald was put in presoun for his vices, and slew  
 him self . . . . . C xiiij 327
- Off King Constantyne and his lawis, and how he puneist Evanus  
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- How Hungar & Hubba come *with* ane grete powere of Danys in  
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*marvellis* sene in Albion, and of þe deth of King Ethus  
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- Off King Gregoure and his lawis ; and how he recoueritt certane  
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- How Gregour eikitt Northumberland to þe empire of Scottis, and  
 recouert certane landis ; how Constantyne, King of Britonis,  
 come agane Gregoure *with* ane grete army, and was slayne,  
 and his army disconnfist ; off þe peace maid betuix Scottis and  
 Britonis ; off þe orisoun maid |<sup>2</sup> be King Gregoure to his  
 nobillis ; and how Inglismen & Scottis war confideratt aganis  
 Danys . . . . . C xviiij 338

<sup>1</sup> MS. *cruelly*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. repeats *maid* from preceding page.



How King Gregoure come in Ireland to revenge certane iniuris done to his liegis in Gallowaye, and how he dantit þe samyn with sindry victorijs, and was gouernoure þairof mony zeris; off his loving & deth . . . . . C xix 342  
 (I. lxxxv) Off King Donald þe Fifte; how þe realme of Normanis and duchery of Flanderis tuke begynnynge; off þe grete chevalrye of Danys in sindry partis of þe warld; off sindry lawis maid be King Donald, and of his detth . . . . . C xx 345

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How Constantyne, King of Scottis, was confideratt with Inglismen; how þe peace maid betuix Danys and Inglismen was dissoluit; how Macolme, Prince of Scotland, was disconnfist be Inglismen, and all þe nobilite of Scotland; off þe deth of King Constantyne; and of sindry merwellis sene in Albioun . . . . . C j 349  
 How Macolme þe First was maid king of Scottis; how he was confideratt with Inglismen; and of þe punicioun takin for his slauchter . . . . . C ij 353  
 Off Kyng Indulphus, and how he refusitt to fecht aganis Inglismen in support of Danys; how Aualassus was disconnfist be King Edmound, and his army put to flychtt; how Hago and Hellrig with ane grete powere of Danys war disconnfist in Buthquhane, and Indulphus slayne . . . . . C iij 354  
 Off King Duffus and his actis; how he be incantacioun of wichis was troubillit with grete infirmite; how he punyst certane conspiratouris and was slayne; how Culyne revengitt his deth; and of vncouth marvellis sene in Albion . . . . . C iiij 356  
 Off King Culyne and his vicious liffe; off þe troubill þat fallis in ane realme be evill kingis; and of King Culynis deth . . . . . C v 361  
 Off King Kenneth þe Thrid and his governance; off his orisoun maid to þe nobillis, and how he constranytt þame to bring sindry lymmaris to iustice . . . . . C vj 364  
 How the Danys wroch grete extorsionis in Scotland, and how þai war finalye disconnfist be King Kenneth, and how þe Hayis tuke þair first begynnynge and armys . . . . . C vij 367  
 (I. lxxxvi) How King Kenneth punyst sindry conspiratouris for extorsionis done in his realme; and how he slew þe Prince of Scotland þat his son mycht succede to þe croun; off þe message send be Sanct Edward to Kenneth; and off Kennethis orisoun maid to his nobillis . . . . . C viij<sup>o</sup> 371  
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- How Narne was takin and all þe soidiouris slayne be Danys, and how the Danis war disconnfist at Murthlak . . . . . C xv 389
- How Camus, Prince of Norrowaye, cumand with twa flottis of Danys in Anguse, was slayne, and his army disconnfist, be King Macolme; and how þe Kethis take þair begynnynge . . . . . C xvj 391
- How v<sup>c</sup> Danys war slayne be Marnanchus, Than of Buthquhayn; how Canute come in Scottlannd with ane new army, and was disconnfist; how Scottis and Danys war finalie aggreitt . . . . . C xvij 393
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contenand xvij cheptouris

- Off King Duncan; off grete troubill þat fell in þe realme be his febill administracioun; how þe surname of þe Stewarttis take þair first begynnynge; and how Macbeith puneist grete cruelteis<sup>1</sup> done in King Duncanis tyne . . . . . C j 397
- How Edmond Irnesyde and Canute deviditt betuix þame þe empire of Ingland; how Sweno, King of Norrowaye, come in Scotland with ane grete army, and wyncust King Duncan, and put þe Scottis to flycht . . . . . Ca ij 399
- Off the weirdis gevin to Makbeth and Banquho; how Makbeth was maid Thayn of Cauder, and how he slew King Duncan to mak him self king . . . . . C iij 402
- How Makbeth vsuppitt þe croun, and chasitt þe sonnys of King Duncan in Cumbre; how he punyst sindry grete lymmaris, and maid lawis for þe commoun wele . . . . . C iiij 403

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *cruelleis*, which is supplied from p. 397.

xv	How Banquho was slayne be Makbeth, and his son Fleance slayne in Walis; how Walter, þe son of Fleance slayn in Walis, <sup>1</sup> come in Scotland, and of the genology of Stewarttis . . . . . C v	405
	How King Makbeth slew his nobillis for þe profittne of þair landis and gudis; how he biggitt þe castell of Dunsynnane, and slew Macduffis wyiffe and his barnis; off þe orisoun maid to Macolme Canmoir be Makduff . . . . . C vj	407
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	How King Macolme dantitt sindry conspiratouris in his realme; off his ferwent deuocioun and liberalite to þe Kirk, with ane complante of ryottis chere . . . . . C xj	418
	Off þe deth of þe King Williame, Bastard of Normandy; off sindry nobill actis done be King Macolme; off his deth and Sancte Margarettis; and of sindry marwellis sene in Albione . . . . . Ca xij	420
	Off King Donald, and how þe sonnys of King Macolme fled in Ingland; how Duncan, bastard son to King Macolme, vsurpitt þe croun, and was slayne for his tyranny; how Edgare recoueritt his realme; and of þe deth of King Donald . . . . . Ca xiiij	422
	How the Halyland was recoueritt fra þe Saracenis; off þe inuencioun of þe spere þat persitt Oure Lordis hartt; how Mald, eldast dochter to King Macolme, was marijt on þe King of Ingland, and þe zouggest dochter marijt on þe Erle of Ballony; off þair successioun; and of þe deth off King Edgair . . . . . C xiiij	424
	Off King Alexander þe Ferß and his actis; how Dauid his bruther was maid Erle of Huntingtoun and Northumberland; off þe weris maid betuix Hary Bewclere and France; off his doloure be þe deth of his sonnys; and of þe deth of King Alexander . . . . . C xv	425
	How þe Cwmyngis and sindry ordouris take þair begynnynge; off King Dauidis liberaliteto þe Kirk in dammage of his successouris & common wele; off þe deth of Hary Beuclere, and how Stevin his nepott   was maid king; off þe Batall of Allertoun, and how peace was maid betuix Scottis and Inglis . . . . . C xvj	428

xvi  
(I. lxxxix)

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *how Walter þe son of Fleance.*

How Hary, þe Emprice son, was aggreitt *with* Stevin ; off þe deth of Hary, Prince of Scotland ; off þe orisoun maid be King Dauid to his nobillis ; how Macolme, his first nepott, was maid Prince of Scotlannd, and William, his secounde nepott, Erle of Norththumberland ; off þe deth of King Dauid C xvij<sup>o</sup> 431

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe xiiij Buke,  
 contenand xxj cheptouris

- Off King<sup>1</sup> Macolme the Madyn ; off grete mortalite and darth in Scotland ; how Swmerlaid for his conspiracioun was chasitt in Ireland ; how King Hary tuke King Macolme in his weeris aganis France, and of sindry slychtis devisitt aganis Macolme be þe said King Hary . . . . . C j 433
- How King Macolme puneist sindry conspiratouris ; and how the Murrays for þair rebelloun war distroyitt and put oute of Murraye . . . . . C ij 435
- Off þe mariage of King Macolmez sisteris ; how þe Bischop of Sanctandrois persuaditt King Macolme be lang orisoun to mariage ; off King Macolmez liberalite to þe Kirk ; how Thomas of Canteberry was bannyst oute of England ; and of King Macolmez deth . . . . . C iij 436
- How King Williame dantitt þe thevis of Scotland ; how þe iniuris of thevis ar mair importabill to Scottis þan vncouth weris ; the motive of sindry weeris betuix King Williame and King Hary ; how King Williame was disconfist with all his army, and brocht presonere in Normandy to King Hary . . . . . C iiij 438
- How Sanct Thomas of Canterbury was martiritt ; how King William was ransonytt ; how Gilbert of Gallowaye, cumand with ane grete cumpany to clame þe croun, was chasitt and his army disconnfist ; off vncouth *merwellis* sene in Albion Ca v 441
- How Paip Alexander send to King Williame ane rose full of balme ; how Gilcriste slew his wiffe ; off grete cruelteis done be Turkis to Cristin pepill ; how King Williame dantit þe thevis, and tuke Gilcriste in favouris . . . . . C vj 443
- (I. xc) How King Williame recoueritt his landis ; how Richard, King of England, and Phillippe, King<sup>2</sup> of France, went with ane grete army in Iowry ; off þair wassallage and troubill ; how Erle Dauid eftir grete troubill come in Scotland, and biggitt þe Abbaye of Lundoris . . . . . C viij 446
- xvii How King Richard returnitt in England ; how King Williame punest | grete lymmaris in his realme ; off þe natiuite of Prince Alexander ; off þe deth of King Richarde and coronacioun of King Iohnne ; how þe Paip send ane swerd to King Williame . . . . . C viij 448

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *King*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Philippe of King*.

- How King Williame and King Iohnne war confideratt to giddir be mariage; off King Williamis haly lyffe and liberalite to þe Kirk; and how þe toun of Perth tuke begynnyng . . . C ix 450
- How King Iohnne subdewitt Irelandd and Waalis; how King Williame puneist sindry conspiratouris; how Ingland & Ireland war maid tributar to þe Paip; off King Williamis deth; off sindry marwellis and grete clerkis; and how sindry ordoure of freris began . . . C x 452
- Off King Alexander þe Secound; and how King Iohnne of Inglandd invaditt þe Kirk *with* grete exaccionis; how þe Paip and kirkmen war corruppitt be his moneye to assist to his opinioun; how King Alexander renewitt þe band of France; and of þe deth of King Iohnne . . . C xj 453
- How Hary was maid King of Ingland; how Gwalo Cardinall did grete troubill in Inglandd and Scotlandd<sup>1</sup> be his auarice; how King Hary and King Alexander invaditt athir realmez *with* grete herschippis & slauchter, and how þai war aggreitt C xij 456
- How King Hary & King Alexander war allyatt be mariage; off the translacioun of Sanct Thomas of Canterbery; off sindry legattis send in Scotland be þe Paip to conques money C xiiij 457
- How King Alexander puneist sindry conspiratouris in his realme; and of þe cuming of blak and gray freris in Scotlandd C xiiij 459
- How King Alexander puneist sindry conspiratouris, and aggreit King Hary *with* his nobillis; off his new mariage and natiuite of his son Alexander; how mony nobillis of Scotland war slayn in Lowry; and of þe deth of King Alexander C xv 460
- (I. xci) How King Alexander þe Thrid translatit þe banys of Sanct Margaret; how Lowis, King of France, was takin *with* þe Soldane; how King Alexander was haldin in captiuite *with* þe Cwmyngis; and off his mariage *with* King Hary; and of þe biggyng of Sanct Mungois Kirk . . . C xvj 462
- Of þe grete darth in Albion; how Acho, King of Norrowaye, invaditt Scotland *with* grete cruelteis; off þe orisoun maid to him be þe ambassatouris of Scotland, and of his ansuere C xvij 464
- How King Alexander come *with* ane grete army aganis King Acho; off þair orisonis maid to þair armyis; and how King Acho was disconfist at Largis . . . C xviiij 466
- xviii | Off þe natiuite of Prince Alexander; off þe message send be Magnus, King of Norrowaye, to King Alexander, and of his ansuere; how King Alexander recoverit<sup>2</sup> þe ilis of Scotlandd fra Danys . . . C xix 469
- How King Alexander invaditt þe Kirk be evill counsale, and was penitent for þe samyn; how he send mony nobill men *with* King Lowis aganis þe Saracenis; how Robert Bruse, Lord of Annandirdale, marijt þe heritoure of Carrick Ca xx 470
- How Ferquhard Roß wan þe Erledome of Roß for his wassallage; off sindry actis done be King Alexander . . . C xxj 471

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Scolandd*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *recoverit*: insertion from printed text.

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe xiiiij Buke,  
 contenand xvij cheptouris

- How Scotland was gyditt be vj governouris; how þe mariag  
 betuix þe Madyn of Norwaye and King Edward failzeit;  
 how Bruse & Ballioll contenditt for þe croun; how þe  
 decisiou þeroff was committit to King Edward, and how he  
 maid Ballioll king . . . . . C j 474
- How Ballioll rebellit aganis King Edward eftir þat he had maid  
 him homage, and how he was allyatt with King Phillip of  
 France; how King Edward wan Berwyk be tressoun, and  
 slew all þe Scottis in þe samyn . . . . . C ij 476
- (I. xcii) How King Ballioll was disconnfist at Dunbar, and tynt all þe  
 strenthis of Scottlannd be tresoun of Robert Bruse; how  
 Ballioll gaiff oure þe croun and fled in France . . . . . C iij 478
- How King Edward come with ane grete army aganis France;  
 how the Erle of Buchquhane maid grete herschippis in Inghland;  
 off Williame Wallace and his wassallage aganis Inglismen C iij 479
- Off King Edwardis message send to Wallace, and of Wallace ansuere  
 and grete prudence in chevelry; how þe Scottis war disconfist  
 at Faw Kirk be þair awne sedicioun; and how þe King of  
 France purchest peace to Scottis . . . . . C v 481
- How Inglismen war disconnfist at Rosling; how King Edward  
 conquest grete rowmes in Scottlannd; and how þe Forbes  
 take þair begynnyng . . . . . C vj 483
- Off sindry grete crueltis done be King Edward aganis Scottis;  
 how þe Bruse & Cuming war confideratt; and how þe  
 Cwmyng was slayne . . . . . C viij<sup>o</sup> 485
- xix How Wallace was betrasit be Menteth; | off king Robert Brusis  
 coronacioun and his grete miserye, and how he conquest  
 Scottlannd; and how þe Douglas take þair begynnyng C viij 487
- Off þe deth off<sup>1</sup> King Edward Langschankis; how Edward Carnaver  
 his son was maid king; how King Robert faucht aganis Inglis-  
 men with sindry victorijs; and how King Edward come with  
 ane grete army in Scotland . . . . . C ix<sup>o</sup> 490
- Off sindry grette actis and merciall dedis done be King Robertt  
 aganis Inglismen; off þe condicion of trewis takin betuix  
 Edward Bruse and þe capitane of Strueling; how King  
 Edward come with iij<sup>o</sup> thousand men to reskew Strueling;  
 off þe victorie fallin to Erle Thomas Randill . . . . . C x 491
- Off Sancte Felanys miracle; how þe twa kingis Edward &  
 Robertt exhorttit þair armyis to batall; how Inglismen  
 war disconnfist at Bannokburn, and King Edward was  
 chasitt be þe Douglas to Dunbar; off grete riches þat fell  
 to Scottis be þis victory; how Flemyngis and Antwerpe  
 take þair begynnyng . . . . . C xj 494

<sup>1</sup> MS. *off of*.

How þe croun of Scotland was tailzeit to King Robertt Bruse  
and his airis ; how Edward his bruper was maid King of Ireland  
and slayn in þe samyn be Inglismen ; and how King Robert  
sufferitt grete distres in Ireland . . . . . C xij<sup>o</sup> 498

(I. xciii) How King<sup>1</sup> Edward was disconnfist be Erle James of Douglas ;  
off grete wassallage done be Williame Sinclair, Bischof of  
Dunkeld, aganis Inglismen ; and how Berwik was recoueritt  
. . . . . C xiiij 500

Off þe Blak Parliament ; how King Edward complanit to þe  
Paip for þe iniuris of Scottis ; off þe orisoun maid be þe Papis  
Legaitt to King Robertt, and of his ansuere . . . . . C xiiij 501

How King Edward, eftir grete cruelteis done be his army in  
Scotlannd, was disconfist be King Robert at Byland ; how þe  
Hammiltonis tuke þair begynnyng ; and of King Edwardis  
deth . . . . . C xv 502

How Iohnne Ballioll transferritt all richt þat he had to þe croun  
of Scotlannd in King Robertt ; how þe croun was new talzeit  
to Dauid Bruse<sup>2</sup> ; how þe Erle of Douglas and Murraye did  
grete wassallage in England . . . . . C xvj 504

Off þe detth and loving of King Robert Bruse, and of his testament  
& legacy . . . . . C xvij 506

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

How Dauid Bruse was maid king, and Erle Thomas Randell  
gouvernour of Scotlannd ; off his grete iustice, and how he was  
poysonit<sup>3</sup> be tresoun be ane freir of England . . . . . C j 509

How þe Erlis of Marche and Mar war maid governouris of Scott-  
lannd ; how þe Douglas went *with* þe Kingis hart in Halyland,  
and of his wassallage and deth ; how Edward Ballioll come in  
XX Scotland to | conques þe croun ; and of þe batall of Duplyne  
. . . . . Ca ij 512

How þe Ballioll was crovnit at Scoyne ; how King Dauid fled in  
France ; how Perth was recoueritt, and the Ballioll wincust be  
þe Douglas ; how Andro Murraye and Williame Liddisdail war  
takin be Inglismen ; and how King Edward segitt Berwik  
. . . . . Ca iij 514

Off the orisonis maid be Schir Alexander Seytonis wiffe, and how  
his sonnys war slayne be tyranny of King Edward . . . . . C iiij 517

(I. xciv) How þe Scottis war disconfist at Halydounhyll ; and how þe  
castell and toun of Berwyk war randeritt to Inglismen *with*  
mony vther strenthis and municionis of Scotland . . . . . C v 518

How Inglismen contempnit þe Papis autorite ; off þe contenciou  
betuix Alexander Mowbraye and Hary<sup>4</sup> Bewmont ; and how  
Inglismen pereist at þe sege of Lochtlevin . . . . . C vj 520

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *King*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. adds *be Dauid Bruse*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *punyst poysonit*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *Hay*.

- How King Edward come *with grete armyis* in Scotland, and maid Dauid Cwmyng *gouernoure* þairof; how Robert Stewart and Iohnne Randaiill recoueritt *sindry strenthis* of Scottlannd; how Dauid Cwmyng was brocht to grete *troubill* for his rebellioun aganis Scottis, and got grace to be trew . . . C vij 522
- How King Edward come in Scotland *with grete armyis*, and how mony of his navy pereist for þair offence aganis Sanct Columbe; how þe Duke of Gildir was wincust, þe Erle of Murraye betrasitt, and how Erle Dauid Cwmyng was slayne . . . C viij 524
- How Andro Murraye was maid *gouernour* of Scottlannd and recoueritt *sindry strenthis*; how King Edward come in Scotland *with ane grete army*, and of his *sindry wassallage* done in Scottlannd . . . C ix 526
- How Williame Tallebott and Richard Montefurd war wincust be þe Scottis, and pair *armyis* putt to flycht; off þe deth of Andro Murraye; off *sindry wassallage* done be Robert Stewart and the Douglas; and of grete darth in Albion . . . C x 527
- How þe Ballioll fled in Inglannd; off grete *wassallage* done be Robert Stewart and Williame Douglas; how King Dauid returnit in Scotland; how Alexander Ramsay did grete actis aganis Inglismen<sup>1</sup>; and how þe Douglas was banyst for his slauchter. . . Ca xj 529
- How King Dauid reuarditt þe airis of þame þat war slayne at Duplyn and Halydounhill, and invaditt Ingland *sindry tyme* *with grete herschippis & slauchter* . . . C xij 531
- How King Dauid at þe request of þe King of France invaditt Inglannd, and was takin at Durehame, and all þe nobilite of Scottlannd takin or slayne; how Inglismen conquest grete boundis in Scotland . . . C xiiij 533
- How William Douglas recoueritt *sindry landis* oute of Inglismenis handis; how þe Erlis of Marche and Douglas maid were in Ingland for þe desyre of France; and how Edward did grete cruelteis in Scotland . . . C xiiij 535
- xxi | How King Iohnne of France *with mony nobillis* of France and (I. xcvi) Scottland war disconfist at Pocterß; how King Edward satt in his gloir betuix twa captive kingis; how King Dauid was redemitt, and puneist his nobillis for þair fle yng at Durehayme . . . C xv 537
- How þe residew of King Daudis life and of his deceß; off *sindry merwellis sene* in Albioun, and of *sindry grete clerkis* . . . C xvj 539

Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe xvj Buke, *contenand xxj cheptouris*

- How Robert Stewartt was maid King of Scottis; off his *sonnis* and *dochteris*, and how þe crowne was tailzeit to þame . . . Ca j 541
- How þe Erle of Marche brynt Roxburgh; and how Inglismen war *sindry tymes* disconfist be þe Scottis . . . C ij 542

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Ingismen*.



- How þe Abbay of Sanct Androis was brynt ; of þe grete pest in Scotland ; how Inglismen war disconfist at Sullway ; off þe message send be King Charlis of France ; and how þe Lyonis tuke þair begynnynge . . . . . C iij 543
- How Londoun was put to direpcioun ; how þe Douglas wan Lochmabane ; of grete cruelteis done be Inglismen aganis Scottis ; how sindry of þame war slayne in Fiffe, & vþeris pereist be þe seyis ; how þe King of France send grete support to Scottis . . . . . C iiij 545
- How Franche men & Scottis segitt Carlile and Roxburgh ; how Scottis & Inglis invaditt vþeris with grete herschippis & cruelteis ; how Williame Douglas, son to þe Lord of Gallowaye, for singular wassallage aganis Inglismen gatt king Roberttis dochter in mariage . . . . . C v 546
- How Robertt Stewartt & Williame Douglas revengitt þe iniuris done be Ireland ; how King Robert send twa armyis in Inglannd, and of þair wassallage ; how William Douglas wincust Hary Persy in singular batall, & how he segit þe New Castell . . . . . C vj 548
- How Inglismen war disconfist at Ottirburn, þe Erle of Douglas slayne, þe Peersy brocht presonere in Scotland ; and how þe Hepburns tuke þair begynnynge . . . . . C vij<sup>o</sup> 549
- Off þe Bischop of Durehamis wassallage aganis Scottis ; how Robert, Erle of Fiffe, was maid governour ; of his wassallage ; how Alexander, bastard son to King Robertt, was puneist for his tyranny ; and of King Roberttis deth . . . . . Ca viij<sup>o</sup> 552
- Off King Robert þe Thrid ; how Williame Douglas was slayne on Danskyn Brig ; and how þe clannis of Clancaye & Clancuhattane faucht at Perth . . . . . C ix<sup>o</sup> 553
- (I. xcvi) How King Robert maid his son Duke of Rosaye, & his bruper Duke of Albanye ; how þe Erle of Craufurd wyncust Lord Wellis at London in singular batall . . . . . C x 554
- How Schir Robert Morlo was wincust be Hew Traill ; how Hary, Duke of Longcastell, conquest þe croun of Inglannd, and deprevitt King Richard . . . . . C xj<sup>o</sup> 556
- How Archibald, Erle of Douglas, dissoluit þe spousesage maid betuix þe Erle of Merchis dochter & þe Duke of Rosaye ; and hou þe Erle of Merche rebellit aganis Scotland ; and of þe deth of Erle Archibald . . . . . C xij 557
- Off King Harijs wassallage done in Scottlannd ; how þe Duke of Rosaye was slayne in presoun be Robert, Duke of Albany ; and how þe Scottis war disconnfist at Nesbitt be George, son to þe Erle of Marche . . . . . C xiiij 558
- xxii | How þe Scottis war disconnfist<sup>1</sup> at Hommyldoun, and mony of þair nobillis slayne or takin ; how Hary Haitspure and Thomas Persee his bruper war slayne at Schrewisbery, and þe Erle of Douglas takin . . . . . C xiiij 559

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *war disconnfist*.

- How Duke Robert excusitt þe deth of þe Duke of Rosaye ; how  
 Iames, Prince of Scottland, was takin at Flamburghede with  
 Inglismen ; and of þe tenour of his faderis writingis direct to  
 King Hary . . . . . C xv 561
- Of sindry vertewis lernit be King Iames þe First in Ingland  
 during his captiuite ; off þe deth of King Robertt þe Thrid  
 and his loving ; how þe Erle of Marche was recounsallitt to þe  
 Kingis peace ; and how þe Douglas gatt sindry of his lanndis  
 . . . . . C xvj 563
- How þe Duke of Albany maid his son Erle of Roß ; how Donald  
 of þe Ilis was wyncust at Harlaw ; how þe Vniuersite of  
 Sanctandrois tuke begynnynge ; how grete verteu and polecy  
 was brocht in Scottlannd be King Iames þe First ; how grete  
 troubill fallis in þis realme be promocioun of vicious & ignorant  
 prelattis . . . . . C xvij 564
- How Grahame, Erle of Stratherne, was slayne be þe Drummond ;  
 how Franche men war disconnfist at Blange be King Hary ; off  
 grete diuisioun in þe Kirk ; how þe Erlis of Buchquhane &  
 Wigtoun went *with* grete armyis in France in support þair off ;  
 how France & Ingland war aggreitt . . . . . C xvij 566
- How þe Duke of Clarence was slayne *with* mony of all þe princes  
 of Ingland at Bawge be þe Erlis of Buthquhane & Wigtoun ;  
 off þe deth of King Hary and King Charlis ; of þe returnyng of  
 þe said Erlis in Scottland . . . . . C xix 567
- Off Duke Robertis deth, and how his son Murdach was maid  
 governoure ; how þe Erlis of Buthquhane and Douglas war  
 slayn at Wernoll ; off grete wassallage done be þe Madyn of  
 France ; and of hir deth . . . . . C xx 569
- How Robert Pettillo, Scottis man, recouerit certane landis of  
 France fra þe dominioun of Inglismen ; hou Walter and  
 Alexander Stewartis conspirit aganis Duke Murdocht þair  
 fader . . . . . Ca xxj 570

{I. xcviij) Here begynnys þe Tabill of þe xvij Buke,  
 contenand x cheptouris

- How ambassaturis<sup>1</sup> war send in Ingland for redempcioun of  
 Iames þe First, and how he was maid king, and of sindry his  
 actis . . . . . Ca j 571
- xxiii | How Duke Murdach and his sonnys war hedit at Perth ; how þe  
 Lord of þe Ilis for his rebelloun was wardit in Tempalloun  
 . . . . . Ca ij 573
- Off grete iustice done be King Iames þe First in all partis of  
 Scottlannd ; off þe natiuite of Iames þe Secund ; and of sindry  
 actis done be þe said nobill prince . . . . . C iij 575

<sup>1</sup> MS. ambassaruris.

How þe blynd lady of Kynnoule discrivitt Williame Wallace and King Robert Bruse to King Iames; how Hary þe Sext was crownit at Pareiþ, and how he was putt fra þe empire baith of England and France . . . . .	C iiiij	576
Off þe orison maid be þe Bischop of Sanctandrois aganis þe surfaitt and riottis chere of bankettis, brocht in Scotlannd be Inglismen at þe cuming of King Iames þe First . . . . .	C v	577
How King Iames þe First brocht sindry craftismen in Scotlannd; how Paule Craw, heretyke, was brynt; how þe Charteris of Perth was founditt . . . . .	C vij	580
How þe Erle of Marche was forfaltit; off sindry actis and wassallage done be þe Erle of Mar . . . . .	C vij	581
How Denmark and France was confideratt with Scotland be new condicionis; how King Iames dochter Margarett was marijt on þe Dalphyn of France; and how þe Peerse was disconfist be þe Douglas at Piperden . . . . .	C viij	582
Off the tresonabill slauchter of King Iames þe First . . . . .	C ix	583
Off þe scharp punicioun maid for King Iames þe First slauchter . . . . .	Ca x	584

Here endis þe Tabill of Maister Hector Boeiþ Cronikill, translatit be Maister Iohnne Bellentyne, chañnon of Roþ, at þe desyre of oure Souerane Lord, King Iames þe Fifte.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blank page follows in MS., as noted in Vol. I., p. 13, n. 1.



(II. 126)

Here begynnys þe Tent Buke.

How King Achayus aggreit his nobillis of all contencionis; off his message send to þe Princes of Ireland, and of þair ansuer; how mony Ireland men perist in þe seyis; off þe peace maid betuix King Achayus and Ireland. Ca j

(II. 127)

**S**oluathius decessit, as we haif writin, Achayus, the son of Ethfyne, wes maid king. This prince, knawing<sup>1</sup> grete trouble appering in his realme throw sindry auld roustis and sedicionis amangis his nobillis, gaif deligens to repreß þe samyn, traisting na thing sa plesant for þe felicite of his realme as to bring his nobillis and commonis at concord. This troubill beand mesit in þis maner, apperit ane vther mair gretar betuix Ireland & þe Ilis, be this occasioun: ane cunpany of þe Ireland men maid certane herschippis in Kentyre, þe Ilis aduerteist þerof conuenit haistlie to rescours þe samyn, throw quhilk sindrye men of Ireland war slayne. To meyiß þis trouble in tyme, Achaius send his ambassatouris to þe Princes of Ireland, schawing him aduerteist þat þe Ireland men, fra quhom þe Scottis first descendit, war purposit to cum haistlie to inuaid his realme, to þe grete dammage of þe twa pepill succeding sa lang vnder ane blude & amite, howbeit it wes na sufficient cauß of batall amangis frendis þocht thevis iniurit vther *with* athir displeasur. Heirefor, gif þe Princes of Ireland war desyrus to persevere in siklyke amite with Scottis as þair antecessouris has done sa mony 3eris bigane, the

<sup>1</sup> MS. *kawing*.

292 Scottis wald persevere in þe samyn ; be contrar, gif þai desyrit batall erar þan peace, and *nocht* resolut quhatt wes best, desyrit þame with degest counsale to avise quhat displeserr mycht follow be þair weris, and, sen<sup>1</sup> peace was finalie necessair, to avise quheper it war mair plesand afoir þe weeris or eftir, or mair proffittabill to haif peace quhen na displeser war precedent, | or quhen þe realmez war brokin with athir slaughter and herschippis ; howbeit, be exempill of vthir pepill, bettir war to redress iniuris or þai ony forthir procede than to augment þe samyn ilk day mair. The Princes of Ireland, *nocht*withstanding thir humyll wourdis, ansuerit þai suld sustene all chargis sa walþeantlie þat na aduersite of fortoun suld doo þame displeserr, and wald haif na peace quhill þe iniuris done to þame in Kentyre wer othir redressit haistlie or revengit with moir skaith. Attour, þai war profoundlie consultit quhat proffitt or damage mycht fall þerupoun, and had provisioun of all thingis necessair aganis quhatsumeuir chance of fortoun þat mycht follow ; and thoch thir weeris war litill proffitt, 3ite þai war sa accustomed thairwith þat þai couth *nocht* decist fra þe samyn.

Quhen þe ambassatouris war returnand be Ireland seyis in Scotlannd, and þe Scottis traisting na thing less þan batall be Ireland, ane flott of Ireland men arryvit in þe Ilis, and cessit fra na maner of cruelteis on þe inhabitantis þerof. *Nocht*theles, quhen þai had herijt þe cuntre, and makand þame to return hame oureladin with innovmerabill gudis, ane storme raifß be violence of hevin, throw quhilk nane of þame was sauffit vnperist. Achayus, knawing be thir ambassatouris the mynde of Ireland aganis him, thocht to assailze þame na forthir, and detestit þair tresoun, becaus þai invadit his realme during þe tyme of ambassatry, throw quhilk þai war sa puneist be iust punicioun of God þat þai suld be constranyt to seyke peace at him. And as þe King coniecturit, sa followitt son eftir, for þir ambassatouris of Ireland come to Achayus at Inverlochty, confessand þair cruelteis wrocht aganis his pepill and þe (II. 128) punicioun falling on þame be iustice of God, and thairfor humilie desyrit peace, quhilk þai proudelye afoir refusit be

<sup>1</sup> MS. *send* : correction from A.

þair insolence. To thir ambassatouris ansuerit Achayus, þocht Ireland men be vndantit insolence mycht nocht vnderstand þair proffitte quhill þai sufferit affliccioun, and refusing oft tyme sik thingis as bene maist proffittabill for þame, 3ite he wald nocht be repugnant to reassoun, knowing þame quhilkis war his inymyis for þat tyme be iustice of God puneist for þair offence, to be exempill to all pepill quhat calamite fallis on þame quhilkis invadis þair nychtbouris but iust titil of batall. Heirfor, to schaw him ane seruand of Criste, quhilk commendit peace sa gretlie to þe wele of mortale pepill, he wald sett asyde baith recent and auld iniuris, and haif pece with þame, þocht þai deseruit nocht þe samyn. The ambassatouris, depeschit on this maner, returnit hayme reiosit of þe peace grantit þame, and þe Scottis war nocht vnglaid þerof, havand experience be lang vse quhat dammage and pleser mycht | <sup>1</sup> fall be the samyn.

How King Charlis send his ambassatouris to be confideratt with Scottis and Pichtis ; off þair orisoun maid to King Achayus, and of þe orisoun maid aganis þame be Culmane. Ca ij

The samyn tyme Charlis þe Mane, King of France and Romane Empriour, sett his besynes to distroye þe inymyis of Cristin faith. Eftir þat he vnderstude Englismen be victory of Britonis brocht to sik insolence þat þai troubillit baith Almane and Franche seyis, and sum tyme exercing sik cruelteis and herschippis in France þat merchandis mycht haif na passage be sey or land, to resist þe fury of Englißmen King Charlis be decrete of his nobillis tuke purpoß to be confideratt with þe Scottis and Pichtis vnder þir condicionis, þat als oft (II. 129) as Englißmen cumis with ane army in France, the Scottis and Pichtis sall invaid Englannd ; and gif Inglismen invadis Scottis and Pichtis, þe Franche men on þat maner sall invaid Inglannd. To dresß þis mater war send ambassatouris owte of France

<sup>1</sup> MS. has *mycht* before *fall*, repeating last word of preceding page.

to King Achayus, and quhen þai war brocht to his presence thair oratoure said to him on þis maner : “ Nobill Prince, war nocht Charlis, King of France, þe gloir of Catholik religioun and protectour of þe samyn aganis Saracenis, knawis be experience Franche men favorit to þe and þi pepill, he had *nocht* send ws for sik thingis as we will desyre at þis tyme. The fayim of þi gude name towart þe Cristin faith, and eyk þi beneuolence schawin to merchandis of oure cuntre quhen þai travaill in þir boundis, movit ws as ambassatouris to King Charlis to cum *with* mair confidence and grace to þe. Wee beleif it is *nocht* vnknawing to þi Hienes in quhat extreme dangere þe Catholik pepill has standin *per* mony 3eris bigane in Italie France and Span3e be cruelte of Saracenis, þe inmyyis of God, quhat novmer of pepill bene slane þairwith, quhat landis and townis brynt and herijt, quhat nobill citezanis bene brocht to importabill *servitude*. Becausþ sa grete troubill rysis daylie aganis þe Cristin pepill, the maist Catholik Prince Charlis hes votit him to þe deth in defence of Cristin faith aganis inmyyis of þe samyn, desyring na thing mair ardentlie þan to bring his mynde to gude fyne, þat Cristin pepill may be deliuerit fra iniure of Saracenis and kirkmen restorit to þair first institucioun, and dredis na thing sa mekle as to be empeschitt fra his purposþ be sedicioun of Cristin princes. For now diuerþs pepill, as Saxonis, Frisons, Normanis & Engliþmen, quhilkis ar of þe Saxonis blude, has be manifest *tyranny* conquest þe realme of Britan, invading þe pepill baith be sey and land with vntelland cruelteis. To repreþ thir attemptatis, and to abandoun þame in tymes *cuming*, that

294 | þaisall *nocht* invaid France nor þis thi realme with sik insolence as afoir, King Charlis of France and his nobillis desyris to be confideratt with þe and þi pepill vnder sik fallowschip that Franche men sall support Scottis men and Scottis men Franchemen, gif it happynnyt Engliþmen to invaid ony ane of þame,

(II. 130) throw quhilk waye þe iniure of Engliþmen, þe maist auaricius pepill, may be best eschewitt. Heirfor, maist nobill men, quhom God has defendit sa lang vnbrokin fra 3oure strang and riche inmyyis, we beleiff 3e will *nocht* be repugnant to thir



honorabill desyris, and *nocht* failze to support ws als wele aganis Inglis̄men as aganis þe inymyis of Cristin faith, quhilk sall finalye succede na leß to 3oure wele þan ouris."

The ambassatouris eftir this orisoun wes ressaut in þe Kingis palace with all honoure and magnificence as mycht be devisit. In þe menetyme rais̄s ane strang disputacioun quhethir it wes proffittable or noth for þe *commoun* wele of Scotland to be confideratt, as the ambassatouris desyrit, with France. Mony of þe nobillis war variant in þair opinioun, and thairfor thir ambassatouris wer send to pas thair tyme at the hountis with vther nobillis quhill þe counsale war resolut in þis mater. In þe menetyme Culman, Capitane of Marre, said as followis: "Nobill Prince, I think na merwell þocht þe pepill be richt desyrous to be confideratt with France, for certane þai think na thing sa gude, sa honest, nor sa plesand for thair wele as to be confideratt with þe maist riche pepill þis day in Europe, throw quhilk þe fayme of Scottis salbe in grete reuerence amang all pepill. Nochþeles, þe present felicite *cumin* be þair band salbe *nocht* in respect of þe irrecouerabill *dammage* þat sall follow be þe samyn. The myschevous end of þis band, be my opinioun, sall schaw to oure posterite how far we in oure present dayis war aberrant fra þair *commoun* wele in making of þis band. Quhat vther froitt may we haif to be confideratt with France aganis England, oure daylie *nichtbouris*, quhais frendschip war maist plesand to ws, bot onlie to mak oure nixt *nichtbouris* oure strangest fais, and oure frendis seuerit fra ws be þe braid seyis, at quhais pleseir we man move *batall* contrair oure nixt *nichtbouris* and to ieoperde oure bodeis, landis and gudis to extreme dangere for þe wele of þame quhilkis ar far fra oure support? Heirfor I think it suld be degestlie avisit that we seyke na colourit *honour* nor improffitabill *gloir*, provokand Inglis̄men, oure nixt *nichtbouris*, to frequent iniuris, quhairthrow we may

(II. 131) loiß schaymfullye oure landis and liberte, quhilkis has bene sauffitt sa mony 3eris afoir be oure anticessouris. Quhat may be devisit mair skaithfull to fre pepill þan to ieoperd þe realme,

295 quhen þai haif it in peace, apoun þe chance of *batall*, | or to

bring þair liberte wilfullie to seruitude at þe will of vncouth pepill? Gif Franche men brek þe band of confideracioun within þe fury of batall, movit be ws onlie for þair caufs, and be confideratt with oure inymyis, levand þe haill preß of batall on ws, how sall þe grete *dammage* and iniuris sustenit in oure weeris aganis Inglismen be redressit? Haiff we riches and strenth to recover þir displeseris on Franche men, quhen we ar brokin be þair weeris and brocht neir to vtter exterminion? Gif we be brocht to sik calamite þat oure gudis ar waistit, oure pyssance brokin, and Franche men confideratt in oure contrar, how sall we than resist Inglismen? Quhom sall we than accuse for violacioun of þair band? *Attour*, gif we be confideratt, as is devisit, with France, wee salbe in daylie bergane of inymyis, and seyndill haif consolacioun of frendis; wee sall haif frequent *comuersacioun* with inymyis, and never fynd oure confideratt frendis bot throw lang passage and dangere of þe seyis; na marchandice salbe brocht to ws oute of France, Spaynþe and Almany, bot be tolerance of Inglisþmen, throu quhilkis oure marchandis salbe sa destitute þat þai sall haif na ressaitt nor port quhen danger invadis þame be seyis, and þairfor sall othir pereiß in the samyn, or ellis tyne þair schip and gudis, randrit in þair inymyis handis. Be thir resonis apperis, nobill Prince, quhat *dammage* may follow to be confideratt with France, and þerfor best is to persevere in þe auld band with Pichtis, Britonis and Inglismen, as oure eldaris has done afoir, quhilkis knew þe *dammage* and froitt that mycht procede be ony band of France, and na confideracioun to be maid with new & vncouth pepill, bot gif we list ieoperd oure realme, lyvis and gudis, to oure hie *dammage*, for þe wele alanerlie of France."

(II. 132)

Off þe ansuere maid to this last orisoun be Albiane ;  
 how France and Scotland war perpetuallie confideratt ;  
 how Pichtis refusit to be confideratt with France ; off  
 þe articlis contenand þe band betuix Scotland and  
 France. Ca iij

Sindry of þe nobillis tuke grete indignacioun at þe wourdis  
 of Culmane, and thocht na thing sa necessar for þame as  
 þe band of France. Than ane nobill man namyt Albyane  
 sayid in þis wise : “ Gif þe foure pepill þat duellis now in  
 Albioun, namyt Britonis, Scottis, Saxonis and Pichtis, mycht  
 leiff to gidder vnder ane mynde and peace, or gif we mycht  
 be sykkir be ony promys or fait of Inglismen, the counsale  
 296 gevin be Culmane wer nocht aluterlie to | be refusit, for þan  
 na resoun nor motive war apperand to be confideratt *with*  
 vncouth pepill ; bot sen þe Scottis, Pichtis and Britonis has  
 foundin mair treson *with* Saxonis, quhilkis has laitlye conquest  
 þe realme of Inglandd, than ever was sene be ony vther pepill,  
 I think it necessair to haif continewall were aganis na les  
 falsett þan were of Inglis men, or ellis to be confiderat with  
 sik pepill as may support ws aganis þair tresoun. Quhethir  
 ar thir doyngis quhilkis followis dissait or faith ? Quhen  
 Saxonis war brocht be Britonis in þair realme to mak þame  
 defence aganis þair inmyis, and war *nocht* onlie plesandlie  
 tretit bot maist richelye revarditt, thai turnit þair myndis  
 and become maist dispitefull inmyis and inuasouris of þair  
 realme, quhen þai suld haif schewin þame frendis and thair  
 defendouris, finaly reft þe realm with infinit slauchter fra  
 þame be quhom þai war maist frendlye ressaut. Sen sik dissait  
 of Saxonis, quhilkis ar now namyt Englismen, is *nocht* vn-  
 knawin to 3ow, quhat band maye hald þir pepill, quhilk lyis  
 eveir in waaitt to tak þair nychtbouris at awantage, but ony  
 (II. 133) respect to faith or band, quhen tyme occurris ? Quhat  
 calamite is fallin to þe miserabill Britonis be dissait of Saxonis !  
 How oft tymes haif þai brokin, quhen we belevit lest, þe  
 peace betuix ws and Pichtis ! And þai ar now contending  
 amang þame self mair be fraudefull dissaittis þan ony honest

weris, and has slayn sa mony kingis in Northummerland þat na man, for tresoun þat may eftir follow, dar ressaiff þe crowne þairof. Was nocht Oiswyne slayn be Oswey, and Oiswey be Osbrik,<sup>1</sup> with mony vtheris quhilkis war finalie murdreist be þair successouris? Attour, Inglismen has na leß contencioun in all partis quhair þai haif dominioun þan in Northumberland. The kirkmen and prelaittis, seand þe cruelteis of Inglismen na thing corrigibill, for fere of þair tresoun has left þair cathedrale kirkis and abbayis, and fled in vncouth regionis; and þoucht we haif peace now, ȝite it cumis be na reuerence þat þai haif to God nor to þair faith, bot onlie for þair divisioun, and doute nocht, quhen þai ar pacifijt amang þame self, þai sall invaid ws, nochtwithstanding ony band maid be þame. And to repreß þe samyn I fynd na thing sa expedient as to be confideratt with þaj pepill þat may best chasty þair fury. Fortoun has gevin baith þe hefft and blaid of þis mater to ws, for now ar cumin þe oratouris of France, offerand it wilfullye þat is sa proffittabill for ws, and to be confideratt with þame quhilkis has France, Spanȝe and mekle of Almany at þair commande. May þe band of France be refusit with honour or wisdome to ws, last pepill of þe warld? Heirfor na thing may be sa proffittabill to ws as þe band of France, gif we ressaif it thankfullie, havand sa mony pepill be þair allya; throw

297 quhilkis salbe frequent and sikker passage of mer- | chandis  
with all kynde of merchandis to ws, for I traist nane is, þat  
will consididir þis mater degestlie, bot sall think þe band of  
(II. 134) Franchemen, quhilk is ane faithfull pepill, riche and potent  
baith be sey and land, mair proffittabill to ws þan ony band  
of Inglismen, becaus þai ar na leß sett to vtter perdicoun  
of Scottis þan of Britonis, with equale desyre to conquess  
oure realme as þairis. For thir ressonis, gif we intend to eschew  
þe hattrent and displeseir of oure maist odious aduersaris,  
or gif we desyre to honour þe faith of Criste, havand mair  
respect to vertew þan dissaitt, or gif we laboure for gloir &  
honour to oure nacioun, bringand oure realme to sikker peace,  
and sauffe oure liberte and lyvis, quhilkis ar maist dere to  
man, latt ws plesandlie be confideratt with France, baith for

<sup>1</sup> So MS.: A. reads *Asfryk*, and printed text, following Latin, *Osrik*.

defence of oure realme and to repreß þe iniure of Engliſmen aganis ws.”

Albian be þis orisoun drew mony of þe pepill to his opinioun. Achayus, seand his nobillis profoundlie resoluit to be confideratt with France, *commandit* þe ambassatouris to cum þe nixt day to here quhat was fundin maist proffittabill for þe wele of Scotland. Sone eftir þir ambassatouris war brocht within þe Kyngis palace and feistit with maist triumphant chere. The nycht following þe nobillis convenit to ane counsale, in þe quhilk it wes füllelie concludit to send Gilliame, bruther to King Achayus, with mony vther nobill and prudent men to bynd þe said band be interchangit selis of king and king, thankand þe King of France þat he desyrit þe band of Scottis abone all vther pepill in Albioun. Attoure it was concludit to send *iiij<sup>m</sup>* chosin men, furnist with all necessaris, in support of King Charlis aganis þe Saracenis. The nixt daye Achayus convenit with his nobillis at counsale, and said in þis maner to þe ambassatouris : “ Sik thingis as ȝe desyrit in name of Charlis, þe maist illustir king, is sa plesand to Scottis that nane is amang þame all *nocht* condescending to ȝoure desyris, or *nocht* traisting grete felicite to succede to þame amang vncouth pepill, gif þai be decorit *with* societe of sa nobill ane realme and pepill. And þairfor we decern ws and oure pepill to be perpetuallie confideratt with þe maist Cristin King Charlis and his pepill, quhais wele is mair dere to ws, abone all vther, praying God þat þe said band may succede to þe *perpetuall* felicite of baith þe pepill ; and, þat þe said band  
(II. 135) maye þe mair strenthlye be roboratt, we haif ordanit oure brupir Gilliame with foure men of grete erudicioun and prudence to pas with ȝow in France to mak þe said band, and has send *iiij<sup>m</sup>* armit men to pas to King Charlis in quhat regioun he pleiße aganis þe inymyis of Cristin faith.”

The ambassatouris, richt reiosit of þis ansuer, returnyt fra þe counsale with King Achayus in his palace, and quhen þai had resortit þair certane dayis thai went to Hungus, King of  
298 Pichtis, with siklike desyris. | The Kyng of Pichtis thankit King Charlis for his beneuolence ; *nocht*þeles þe mater was so hye þat it mycht *nocht* be discussit but degest avisement, and

presentlie, & safar as resoun movit his intelligence, he thoct þair band *nocht* proffittabill, sen þai war safar severitt fra his supportt, and þerfor þe samyn was to be refusit, in aenture his pepill mycht cum to irrecouerabill *dammage* throw þe samyn. The ambassaturis, herand þis ansuer, returnit but expedicioun of þair erandis to Achayus.

The nixt moneth Gilliam with þe ambassaturis of France and þe foure clerkis of maist erudicioun and prudence, namit Clement, Iohnne, Alevyne and Rabane, come in France, and brocht with þame ane strang *cumpany* of men, as wes afor devisit, quhom King Charlis ressaut in grete honour, and reiosit all *materis* war fynnyssit as he desyrit, eftir that *commandit* þame to be ressaut within his palace, syne put þame in ordinance to leiff on þair waxis amang þe remanent army of France. Sone eftir be þe oraturis of Scotland war schawin Achayus writingis desyring þe Franche men and Scottis to be confideratt for þame and þair posterite with articulis as followis. The first article: the amite and confideracioun of Franch men & Scottis to be maid for evir baith for þe pepill *present* & to cum. The secund article: the iniure of Inglismen done to ony ane of þir pepill suld be haldin as *commoun* to þame baith. The thrid article: quhen Franche men ar invadit be Englißmen, þe Scottis sall send þair army in defence of þame, supportit with þair money and vittalis. The ferd article: quhen Scottis ar invadit be Inglismen, þe Franche men sall cum apoun thair avne expensis to þair support. The v article: gif ony priuatt or publik persoun of þir confideratt pepill supportit Inglismen aganis ony ane of þame with counsale, money or vittalis, or remane amang þame, salbe haldin *tratour* and inymye to þaim baith. The vj article: nane of þir twa pepill confideratt sall tak peace or trewis of Inglismen but avise of vther. The vij article: (II. 136) thir condicionis of peace, roboratt in maner forsaid, salbe writin in *parchymyn*, with interchengit selis of king & king, to remane in Scotland & France in perpetuall memorye to þair posterite; and, þat þe nobilite of Scotland salbe þe mair aduerteist þerof, to þe King of Scottis armez, quhilk was þat tyme ane rede lyoun rampand in ane feild of gold, wes eikkit

ane doubill tressoure *with* contrair lilies including þe said armes on all partis, to signify þe lyoun was ay armytt fra þat 299 furth with þe riches of France, | with quhilkis þai war confiderat, and to signify all Kingis of Scotland sall fecht waillzeantlie for þair realme, þair liberte, þair religioun and innocence perpetuallie with Franchmen aganis all inmyis.

How Paip Leo þe Thrid and þe Florentynis war restorit to þair honour and liberte be King Charlis ; off sindry abbayis fundat be Scottis Gilleame ; how þe Vniuersite of Pareiß began be Scottis ; off þe loving of þe samyn. Ca iiij

The band ratifijt in maner forsaid, Scottis Gylliame remanit with sindry vther Scottis in continewall residence with King Charles in all his weeris, and conquest be his manhede and proves sik fayme that he was haldin in grete honour among þe princes of France, and gat sindry landis in þe samyn to sustene his estaitt. This Gwilliame dantit Saxonis quhen þai war fundin rebelland to thair promys maid to King Charlis, siklike þe Hungarianis and Normanis quhen þai invadit sindry pepill quhilk was be auld amite confideratt with France. He wan grete honour quhen King Charlis restorit Paip Leo þe Thrid to his sete eftir he wes dongin oute of Rome be iniure of Romanis. He wan also grete fayme quhen þe said Charlis, passand throw Tuskany, restorit þe toun of Florence to þair anciant honouris eftir þat it was distroyitt be Gotthis, and gaderit þe pepill in þe samyn quhilkis war skalit in sindry (II. 137) partis, syne reparit the toun with new wallis, kirkis and institucionis, þat þe citesouris pairof mycht leiff in liberte. Thir and mony vther honorabill fatis of armes war done þat tyme in Italy and vther partis be the autorite of King Charlis and Scottis Gilliame. Eftir þis Charlis returnit in France, levand behynd him þe said Gwilliame in Florence to doo all chargis as was fundin expedient for þe tyme, and he with grete providence schew his deligence to Florentinis, and ekit þair senzory with vthir sindry townis thirlit to þair dominioun.

The Florentinis for þis humanite done to þame tuke þe rede lillye, na thing different fra þe lillye of France bot in coloure, to be þair armes, in memoriall þair toun, distroyitt be Gotthis sum tyme, wes restorit agane be France. Als þai ordanit þerelye triumphis to be maid in þe toun of Florence, in þe quhilkis ane lyoun is crownit with mony solempne cerymonis, and commandit als qwyk leonis to be nurist þerelye in Florence on þair commoun purfs, becauþ þe samyn was þe armis of Scottis Gwilliame. It is said þat Florentynis has ane prophecy, 300 sa lang as lyonns levis in Florence þair ciete sall | nevir be subdewitt. This and mony vther playis and cerymonis war institute be Gwilliame afoir his returnyng oute of Italy in France. Nochþeles, quhatsumeuir waye þir playis war first institute in Florence, þai ar ȝite in þerelie vse eftir þe auld rite, as þai war first devisit. Finaly Gwilliame, eftir infinit laboure maid with King Charlis for þe wele of Cristin faith, grew in aige, and becaus he had na successioun of his body, bot evir exercit in were, to mak Criste his air he foundit mony abbayis in Italy and Almany, and dotaitt þame with riche landis and rentis, to be hospitalis for Cristin pepill gevand þair laboure to *lettres* and vertu. Als, to mak his name þe mair memoriall, he commanditt þat nane suld be monk nor abbot in þe said abbayis bot Scottis men. In memory heirof ar ȝite sindry abbayis in Almany na thing changit fra þe institucionis as þai war first devisit.

King Charles, ane litill afoir þat Gwilliame wes drawin þus in aige, held with him twa profound clerkis of maist excellent doctryne, namyt Clement & Iohnne, Scottis quhilkis come in France as ambassatouris with þe said Gwilliame; and (II. 138) becaus þai war grave men and full of erudicioun, thai gatt ane place gevin to þame be þe King in Pareiþ, with certane landis to sustene þair estait, to instruct þe nobillis childeryn of France in all science. Be thir men come frequent confluence of pepill oute of all partis desyrus to haif *lettrez*, þat in schort tyme, be exact deligence of thyr and vther expert preceptouris in doctryne of childerin, Pareiþ wes maid ane solempne vniuersite of resolut men in all sciencè. King Charlis havand grete delectacioun that *lettrez* began to fluryþ in his realme



be þe industry of þyr twa Scottis men, he *commandit* that Clement suld remane as principall regent and preceptour of Pareiſ, and Iohnne his college to pas in ane toun of Italie, callit Pavy, to lern þe ʒoung pepill *lettrez* and science in þat samyn maner. Throw this small begynnyng raiſ þe Scoule of Pareiſ, quhilk has at þis tyme sik fouth of erudicioun that na compair is in þe erd vnto þe samyn. Oute of it ar procedit sik novmer of doctouris in theologie, *cannon law*, medicine, sa grete novmer of *philosophouris* and *oratouris*, that all pepill quhair men travalis has experience þairof. Thair is continewall exercioun and debaitt quhai salbe maist resolute in *euery science*, thair is þe floure of theologie, thair is all maner of phylosophy, þair is maist pleasant eloquence to decoir  
 301 ane man, þair ar maist provin autouris and | multitude of ʒoung childerin wele institute in *lettres* be exact deligence of þair preceptouris, attoure þe place sa *commodius* þat *nocht* lakis þair quhilk nature has productit for þe wele of man.

(II. 139)

How Scottis and Pichtis war confideratt to giddir be mariage, and slew Athelstane, King of England, and put his army to flycht ; off King Hungus lawis and liberalite to kirkmen ; of þe deth of King Charles and King Achayus ; off sindry nobill clerkis. C v

Short tyme afoir sik doyngis the Scottis, irkitt with frequent iniure of Pichtis, as þe fyne of all weeris is, sett ane *conuencion* to redres all skaithtis safar as mycht be on euery syde, and war finalie aggreitt on all debaittis. And þat þe samyn suld perpetuallie indure, Hungus, King of Pichtis gaif his sister, namit Fergusiane, in mariage to Achayus, off quhilk he had ane son, callit Alpyne.

Eftir this Athelstane, King of Saxonis, richt desyrous to eik þe boundis of his realme, come with ane huge army in þe landis of Berwik pertenant to Pichtis, allegeand þe said landis to pertene to his empyre and reft affoir fra Northumbrianis be iniure and slycht of Pichtis. And quhen he had cessit fra na maner of cruelte and herschippis maid in þe said landis,

he returnit agane with infinite praye of gudis in Northumberland to reprefß þe rebelloun of certane Englis men, quhilkis war laitlie conspirit aganis him. Hungus, King of Pichtis, richt displesit of þis extorsioun, send his ambassatouris to Achayus, his gude bruper, regrating þir intollerabill iniuris, and desyring him to send support. Achayus, havand Inglis men at extreme hattrent, send x<sup>m</sup> chosin men in support of his gude bruper Hungus. Sone eftir Hungus rasit his army and come with proude banner in Northumberland, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte on þe inhabitantis þerof, and syne returnit with incredibill praye of gudis in Lowdeane. King Athelstane, aduerteist of þis displeserr, left all vther chargis quhilkis war to be done, and come with ane strang army in Northumberland. The Pichtis wer þat tyme liand at ane burn nocht ij mylis fra Hadingtoun, avisand how þe spulze laitlye takin oute of Northumberland mycht be partit be ryte of armyis, and traistit na thing leß þan cuming of Inglis men. Athelstane, knawin þe counsale of Pichtis, come forthwertt with arrayitt  
 (II. 140) battaill, and commandit be oppin proclamacioun na Pichtis to be sauffitt, vnder pane of dede. The Pichtis, astonyst be  
 302 þis cry and | seand sa multitude of inmyis aganis þame in arrayit ordinance, war astunyst, began to muse quhatt chance of fortoun suld follow. Nochþeles, be commande of King Hungus, ilk man zeid to arraye, and traistit þair carrage<sup>1</sup> & praye, quhilkis war laitlie reft fra þame, suld be occasioun to brek þair inmyis, nochtþeles tuke avisement all þat daye how þai mycht eschew best þe danger appering to þame; and becaus þe armyis on euery syde stud<sup>2</sup> sa aufullye arrayit in vther sycht, nane of þame durst fecht with vther for þat daye.

In þe nycht following it wes concludit be Pichtis to assailze þe chance of batall, and othir to haif victory or ellis all at anys to dee. In þe nixt morrow, eftir þair first sleip, þai went to payr confessioun and prayeris, askand help at Cryist and Sanctandrois þair patroun to support þame, his speciall pepill,

<sup>1</sup> This word is not clear in the MS.: both the old and the later printed editions read *courage*; but as the Latin has *impedimenta*, the reading above is more probable. It is supported by A., which reads *caraig*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *stud*: insertion from A., confirmed by printed text.

fra iniure of inymyis. King Hungus beand on sleip, apperit the Apostill Sanctandrow and bad him be of gude confort and haif gude hoipe in God, for he suld haif þe nixt day ane glorious victory of Englismen. It is said þat ane schynand croce was sene in þe lift straucht abone þe army of Pichtis, nocht vnlyke þe samyn croce þat þe Apostill deit on ; attour, þis croce wanist nocht furth of þe lift quhill þe victory succedit to Pichtis. King Hungus, awalky~~m~~nit oute of his sleip, fand his army havand grete admiracioun of þis croce, and schew quhat felicite wes promyttit be Sanct Androw, exhorting þame þe nixt morrow to sett on þair fayis with grete curage, and be grace of God þai suld haif victory. Throw his consolacioun raisß grete red and noyis amang þe Pichtis, and maid Englismen richt estonyst, seand þe said croce in þe said lift, quhilk þai tuke for ane evill signe. At brek of daye King Hungus arrayit his men, and be sounde of trumpett gaif signe of bataill, cryand with schyll woce, " Sanct Andro be oure help ! " The Pichtis and Scottis, rasit be þir wourdis, come on þair inymyis with sik fury and raige of bataill þat þai war finalye put to flycht, on quhom followitt þe Scottis & Pichtis with lang chace, and maid mair slauchter be þe samyn þan wes maid afoir in þe grete preisß of batall. The presoneris of Scottis & Pichtis, *quhilkis* war takin afoir with þe cariage and gudis be Englismen, seand þair frendis victorius, wrocht mair cruelte on þair inymyis than þe victorius army. The slauchter was maid sa huge at þis tyme on Englismen þat

(II. 141) skairslye war left of all þair army v<sup>o</sup> men on live. King Athelstane at þe first ionyng was schott throw þe body with ane spere, and slayn with sindry nobillis of England for þe tyme. In memory herof þe place quhair he was slayn and his army diffayit is callit zite Athelstanefurd. King Hungus eftir þis victory be sound of trumpett callit his men to þe standert,

303 and stude | all þat nycht arrayitt quhill þe nixt morrow, and þan partit þe spoulze of þe feild be ryte of armez. King Athelstane was fundin amang vtheris his nobillis slayn, and was brocht to þe nixt kyrk, quhayr he was berijt. Vtheris writtis his hede stude lang on ane staik in Inchgarvy.

Eftir þis victory Hungus zeid bairfute to þe kirk of Sanct-

andros to thank God and his Apostill of þis glorious victory, and promyttit him & his posterite to vse na ansenþe in tymes cuming, quhen tyme of bataill occurit aganis þair inymyis, bot þe croce of Sanctandros. This custome remanit nocht onlye to þe Pichtis, bot remanit with Scottis efter the exterminioun of Pichtis. Be þis victory þe Scottis war richt, and gat nocht onlie spoulþeis of Inglisþmen bot als grete revarðus be King Hungus, and returnitt hayme. King Hungus beidit þe kirk of Sanctandros be his magnificence, and ekit mair novmer of prestis for divyne seruice in þe samyn, and gaif to it mony riche iowellis of gold & siluer. He maid als þe ymage of Criste and xij discipulis of fyne gold and siluer, to remane in þe said kirk in perpetuall memory of þis victory. Attour he gaif þe teyndis of all froittis growand within his realme to kirkmen, and commandit nane of þame to be summond in iugement befor ony prophayn or temporall iuge, nor 3ite be puneist to þe deth, nochtwithstanding quhatsumeuir cryme committit be þame. Nochþeles thir preuilegijs war nocht lang obseruit amang þe Pichtis, bot war abrogatt be Fredreth, quhilk was þe ferd King of Pichtis eftir Hungus, and tuke all þe riches & iowellis gevin afoir to þe kirk to his propir vse, and commandit þe kirkmen to leiff content of sik sobyr froittis as þai had afoir þe empire of Hungus, and gart þaim ansuer to his prophayn iugis; throw quhilk all þe landis, froittis & possessionis quhilkis war gevin to þe kirk be Hungus war gevin to his familiaris. The nobillis condiscendit wele to þe samyn, traisting all thingis gevin to þe kirk tynt na leß (II. 142) þan it war fallin in herschip to þair inymyis; quhilk wes causß eftir þat þair realme wes brocht to vtter exterminioun, as we sall here sone. King Achayus had his realme in gude peace, and decessit þe xxxij 3ere of his regnne, fra our Redempcion viij<sup>o</sup> xix, and was berijt in Colmkill amang þe anciant sepulturis of his eldaris.

In þir dayis wes þe nobill historiciane Paulus Diaconus, quhilk ekit viij Bukis of Romane Empriouris to þe History of Eutropius. He wrait þe History of Lombardis, for he wes maich to Desiderius, quhilk was takin presoner be Charle þe Mayn quhen he defeat þe realme of Lumbardis. This Paulus maid þe hym of Sanct Iohnne callit Vt Queant Lapis. The

304 | samyn tyme Iswardus wrait þe buke þe Marterdome and Legend of Sanctis. Amang ws wer in þai dayis Gervadius, | bischop and prechour of Murraye, Glaciane, ane excellent doctour & bischop, with Modane & Medane, brethir of singular halynes. In þe tyme of Achayus the empyre of Romane empriouris was dividit: King Charlis was Empriour of þe west partis and Constantyne Empriour in þe est partis of þe world, be quhais autorite wes ane convencion at Nece of thre hundreth & fyfty bischoppis to decern gif þe ymagery of sanctis suld be honorit in kirkis or perpetuallie put awaye; in quhilk counsale wes commandit þat ymagerijs suld be perpetuallie honorit in all place and kirkis, nocht at ony divinite war hid in þame, bot onlye to represent Good and sanctis. King Charlis Empriour, na les preeminent in gloir of chevelry þan froitt of peace and polesy, decessit at Aquisgranj eftir that he had governit þe realme of France xlviij ȝeris and þe empyre of Romanis xiiij ȝeris, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>c</sup> xv ȝeris.

(II. 143)

Off King Convallus and his deth ; how King Dongallus punest certane conspiraturis ; how Dorstorlogus and Eganus, King off Pichtis, war slayne ; how Alpyne clamit þe croun of Pichtis ; off þe Pichtis ansuere ; how Scottis concludit to mak were on Pichtis ; of þe deth of Dongallus.

Ca vj

Achayus decessit, as said is, his emes son, namit Convallus þe Secound, was maid king, becauð Alpyne, þe son of Achayus, mycht nocht succede for small aige. He wes sa tendir to King Hungus þat na thing wes done in peace or were but consultacioun of vtheris, throw quhilk was sikkir peiese & amite betuix þame, quhill at last Hungus decessit, eftir quhom succedit his son Dorstorlogus ; and Convallus leiffitt nocht lang eftir him, for he decessit þe v ȝere of his regne.

Eftir þe deth of Convallus his cousing Dongallus, son to Soluathius afoir rehersit, was maid king. Certane nobillis, quhilkis desyrit na gude reule nor iustice, seand him inclynit to iustice, maid hortacioun to Alpyne, sone of Achaius, to tak þe croune, traisting þair extorsionis done to þe commonis

vnpunyst be þat waye ; and becaus þai fand him *nocht* sa  
 (II. 144) deligent as þai desyrit, þai come on him with maist afull  
 mannassing, and swore, gif he tuke *nocht* þe crowun haistlie,  
 to slay him. Alpyne, astonyst of his lyiff, swore to doo þair  
 commande, and sone eftir, be supportt of þir nobillis, rasis  
 ane grete novmer of pepill to invaid Dongallus, and come in  
 Ergile to tak þe crowun. Alpyne, dredand grete troubill appere  
 in þe realme be þis rebelloun, fled with certane his familiaris to  
 305 þe King Dongallus, | quhom he ressauit with maist tendirnes,  
 and promittit, gif it war plesand to þe pepill, to exoner him of  
 þe crowun in favour of þe said Alpyne, becauð he desyrit na  
 thing sa mekle as the felicite of Achayus housß, for þe singlar  
 merittis done in his tyme to þe commoun wele. Alpyne gaif  
 him thankis, and sayid he wald *nocht* ressaiff þe crowun during  
 his tyme, and schew þe gadering of þe pepill and troubill  
 appering in þe cuntre wes *nocht* be him, bot onlie be tresoun  
 of certane conspiratouris, quhilkis wald haif slayn him gif he  
 had *nocht* assistit to þaim for þe tyme. The thrid day following  
 messingeris war send fra þir conspiratouris to Dongallus,  
 excusing þame and putting all þe tresoun on Alpyne.  
 Nochþeles, þe King gaif litill faith þairto, and promyttit to  
 punyß þame for þair rebelloun in þe scharpest maner mycht  
 be devisit. And as he promittit, sa he did ; for within schort  
 tyme eftir he come on þir conspiratouris, quhen þai belevit  
 na thing leß þan his cuming, and puneist þame with sik rigour  
 þat þe realme was brocht mony 3eris eftir in grete tranquillite.

Quhill þe realme of Scotland was in þis stait, Eganus,<sup>1</sup>  
 secund son to Hungus, King of Pichtis, slew his brupir Dorsto-  
 loogus, that he mycht succede to þe empyre, syne tuke þe  
 croun and diademe of Pichtis ; and to stabill þe samyn to  
 him, he delt all his faderis tresoure amang his nobillis, and  
 conquest þair favoure be þe samyn waye. Eftir þis he marijt  
 Brenna, dochter to þe King of Marche, quhilk was marijt of  
 befor on his said bruther Dorstoloogus, to þat fyne þat Brenna  
 suld *nocht* be degradit of hir estaitt riall, nor 3ite hir fader  
 commovit for þe slauchter of his gude son. This Eganus<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Egauus*, but Latin and printed text confirm *Eganus* of chapter-heading.

had sic fere of his lyiff, as þe vse of tyrannis is, þat he come nevir to þe licht but ane garde of armit men, and wald nocht suffer his avn wyiff nor ʒite quhatsumeuer frendis cum to his *presens*, quhill his gard rypit þame to see gif þai had wapynnys hyd in sum quiete place, traisting, as it was eftir provin, sum personis liand in waitt to murdir him for þe slauchter of his bruper. Nochpeles, he wes finalye slayne be Brenna his wyiff, quhen he was slepand in his bed amang his armytt gard, to revenge þe slauchter of hir first husband.

Alpyne, herand þe slauchter of twa emez but ony successioun of þair bodiis on live, send his ambassatouris to þe Princes of Pichtis, clamand þe croun þerof be reassoun of heretage, (II. 145) becaus he was nerrest aire to his eme, King Hungus, gottin on his sister Fergusiane, sen all vther childerin of Hungus war decessit but ony successioun, quhilk, as semyt, come be divyne 306 ordinance, þat twa | pepill sa lang invading vther be continewall weris suld finalie cum to inseuerabill *connixioun* vnder þe empyre of a king. The Pichtis, knawing wele þe *cuming* of þir ambassatouris & the effect þerof, chesit ane man of grete prudence and autorite amang þame, namit Feredeth, to be king, to mak impediment to þe clame of Alpyne. Thir ambassatouris come finalye to Camelon, quhair Feredeth and his nobillis war assemblit for þe tyme, and quhen þai began to propone þair message desyring þe croune of Pichtis to be deliuerit to Alpyne, sik noiff raiß in þe counsale þat silence was put to þir ambassatouris. Nochpeles, Feredeth ansuerit that Pichtis wald suffir na prince of vncouth blude to regne abone þame, and war accustomatt to transfer þe croun of þair realme fra ane houß to ane vther, as þai fand proffittabill. It was inhibit als be þe samyn lawis to deprive þair King during his lyffe, and þocht Alpyne was nepott to Hungus of his sister Fergusiane, the lawis of þair realme maid plane derogacioun to his clame. Dongallus, herand this ansuere, send þe secund message to þe Pichtis to þe effect afoir rehersit, with certifi-  
 cacioun, gif þai refusit, he suld cum within thre monethis to tak þe croun be force. The Pichtis, herand of þis secund messaige to cum to þame, send certane men to stop þair *cuming*, and *commandit* þame to pas oute of þe Pichtis landis

within foure dayis vnder þe pane of dede. The ambassatouris, effrayit be þir wouredis, gaif vp trewis in name of Dongallus and Alpyne, and returnit hayme þe samyn way þai come.

The nobillis of Scotland conuenit eftir þis at Carrik, quhair þe King wes, to auise how þis batall suld be led aganis þe Pichtis, and war all of ane mynde to ieoparde þair landis, lyvis and gudis in persute of Alpynis richt, and concludit all with ane mynd othir to haif him King of Pichtis, or ellis all at anys to dee. Incontinent ilkane of þir twa pepill maid pair ordinance to inuaid vther with diuerß myndis and intencionis, the Pichtis desyring to suffer na vncouth blude to regne abone þame, and þe Scottis *nocht* to be defraudit of pair iust heretage. Dongallus, makand at last grete deligence to assemblit his pepill aganis Pichtis, come to þe watter of Speye, quhair he gat ane baitt to pas oure þe samyn, and be force of streme was born doun þe watter, and pereist þe vij zere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>c</sup> xxx zedis, quhais body wes brocht to Colmkyll and berijt *with* solempn obsequies  
307 in | <sup>1</sup> þe samyn.

How Feredeth, King of Pichtis, was slayne and his army disconnfist be King Alpyne ; how Brudus and Kenneth, Kingis of Pichtis, wer slayne : how Brudus þe Ferß was maid king of Pichtis, and slew King Alpyne and put his army to flycht. Ca vij

**D**ongallus perissit at Speye, as we haif writin, Alpyne, son to Achayus, was maid king, quhilk gaif extreme deligence pat na thing necessair for his army aganis Pichtis suld fayll. And Feredeth cessit noch in þat samyn maner, moir ferß þan afoir, traisting gude chance to follow be deth of Dongallus, and warnit all pepill vnder his dominioun to cum in pair best maner to Anguß at ane prefixitt daye. *Nocht*theles, afoir his *cuming* the Scottis war assemblit in þe samyn, makand þame to tak þe municionis of þe cuntre, and doying na disple<sup>serr</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *in*, last word of preceding page.



to þe inhabitantis þerof. Þe thrid daye eftir Feredeth come with his army to Restonneth, quhair baith þe armyis ionytt to giddir. At þe first meting þe vangard of Scottis was neir  
 (11. 147) disconnfist. Nochþeles, Fynedoch, Thane of Atholl, come in support of þe samyn with iiij<sup>o</sup> fresche men, throw quhilk þe batall was renewitt with mair ferocite þan afoir on euery syde be sindry chance of fortoun, sum tyme þe banneris deieckit and sum tyme rasit agane be manhede of strang campionis. King Feredeth, seand þe myddilward of Pichtis approcheand fast to þe disconnfitoure, ruschitt with sik properant fard and rage of fury aganis his inymyis þat he was inclusit on all sydis ; nochtþeles, seand na way to deliuer him self, to revenge his deth faucht maist cruellye, quhill at last he was slayne with mony vther nobill men depending on him for þe tyme. The residew of Pichtis, na thing astunyst of his slauchter, faucht in perseuerand batall quhill þe nycht seuerit þame, throw quhilk baith þe armyis, brokin and like disconnfist pepill, returnit to þair campe. The Pichtis, knawing þair King and nobillis with þe maist part of all þair army slayn, left þe woundit men behynd thame with thair careage, and fled hame þe nerrast way þai mycht. The Scottis, brokin on þat samyn maner, fled quhill þai war aduertist þat þe campe wes desert, than abaid in arraye quhill þe nycht past, and þe nixt morrow, fynding þe montanis and walis þame aboute but ony fais, war reiosit, and partit þe spulze falling to þame be  
 308 ryte | of armys. The body of Feredeth wes brocht to Forfair, and berijt with solempne cerymonis.

The Scottis nowmerit þame eftir þis victory, and fand þe thrid part of þair army slayne, throw quhilk þai war constrenytt erar to inuaid þe Pichtis be frequent skarmusing þan plane batall in tymeze cuming. Nochþeles, þai come sone eftir in Anguse, and brocht oute of þe samyn ane huge pray of cornes and gudis to Athole, and þe remanent put in fyre. Be thir and vther frequent herschippis Anguse was left waist. The Pichtis, to repreß þis cruelte, chesit Brudus, son of Feredeth, to be king. Nochþeles, be his febill and soft maneris he was haldin in mair derisioun þan honour to his pepill, and was slayn in þe fift zere of his regnne be his awne pepill ; eftir

quhais deth his bruper Kenneth was maid king, and succedit with na litill bettir chance þan his bruther. For eftir þat he was cumin in Anguse with ane grete army of Pichtis, he tuke sik fere, seand his inymyis fornens him, þat he raif of his coitt armour and fled fra his army to þe nixt montanis, quhair he was schaymfullye slayne be ane landwart man, vnknawin quhat he was. The remanent of Pichtis, knawing grete difficulte to meit þair inymyis withoute ane governour, chesit Brudus þe Ferß to be king. Brudus ressaut þe croun of Pichtis in þis maner, come with ane grete power<sup>1</sup> in Auguste, quhilk was þat tyme waist be frequent invasioun of Scottis, and fand þair mony Scottis thevis, quhom he gart hang on iebaittis. And quhen he had send his oratouris to King (II. 148) Alpyne, desyring iniuris to be redressit on athyr syde and peace to be renewitt eftir þe auld band betuix þe twa pepill, it wes ansuerit be King Alpyne he wald haif na peace witht Pichtis quhill þe croun þerof war gevin to him as iust heretoure of þe samyn. Brudus, knawing be þis ansuer þe Scottis sett to persever in batall aganis him, send his oratouris with grete sovmez of moneye to be confideratt with Edwyne, King of Ingland, and to haif certane wageouris of Inglandd to resist þe Scottis. King Edwyne ressaut þis money, and promittit quhat day Brudus list assigne to cum to his support with ane honest cunpany. Sindry Pichtis reiosit of þis ansuer, traisting be support of Inglifmen to haif victory of Scottis; vtheris thocht litill confidence to be gevin, becaus þai slew afoir King Athelstane with mony of þe nobillis of Ingland. Nochtþeles, 309 Brudus, havand grete confidence | in þame, maid his ordinance aganis Scottis. The samyn tyme þe Scottis herijt all Anguß fra þe fute of Granþeben to þe watter of Taye. Brudus, aduerteist of this, send his herald to King Edwyne, desyring his army to be send haistelie to resist þe Scottis. It was ansuerit be King Edwyne þat he was sa impeschitt with civil weeris that he mycht mak na support; attoure, he had promittit to Ludovik, King of France, to doo na iniuris to his confideratt bruper, the King of Scottis. Brudus, nocht-witstanding þis repulß and delusioun of Inglifmen, commandit

<sup>1</sup> MS. *powerer*.

all fensabill personis in his realme to meit him at þe fute of Caudorwode þe viij day following with vittalis necessair for þair sustentacioun. The birnand ire of Pichtis wes sa huge þat na fensabill personis of Pichtis wes absent fra þe daye and place assignit. Brudus, seand þame assemblitt with sik hattrent and curage, come oure þe brig of Dunkeld to Anguse ; and þe nycht afoir þe batall, be wise counsale of agit knychtis, he causit all careage men and wemen quhilkis come with his army to stand in arrayit batall *with* lynnyng claithis abone þair bodijs and siklike<sup>1</sup> wappynnis & armour as þai mycht get for þe tyme, and put ane hundreth horß men to govern þame, syne hyd þame all in þe nixt wode, *commanding* nane of þame to cum in sycht quhill þe batallis war ionytt. Alpyne was þat samyn tyme in ane castell quhilk stude on ane moitt (II. 149) beside Dunde, nocht far fra ane playn quhair his army lay for þe tyme. Alpyne, seand þe Pichtis cumand forthwert on him, arrayitt his folkis, exhorting þame to schaw þair manhede but ony fere of deth, havand na leß respect to þair honour þan to þe wele of þair army, and traysting na thing erar þan victory to be revard of þair laubouris.

The Pichtis war sa ferß and desyrous to revenge þe iniuris of Scottis þat þai afoir þe sound of trumpett iunyt in batall. Throw þair first preß þe vangard of Scottis war vehementlie troubillit. Alpyne, seand þame abasit, come with ane nowmer of chosin men, throw quhilk sindry Scottis, quhilkis fled afoir, returnit, and sett on þair inmyis with mair cruelte þan afoir. In þe menetyme þe careage men & weemen, quhilkis war hyd afoir in þe wode, began to schaw þame as þai war movand forthwart to cum on þair bakkis ; be quhayis sicht þe Scottis war sa effrayit þat, but ony forthir debait, þai gaif bakkis, on quhom þe Pichtis followitt with lang chaisß, and maid incredibill slauchter, but ony rewth. This fals arraye & slycht of cariage men and wemen was mair disconnfitoure to þe Scottis þan all þe ferßnes and strenth of Pichtis. Þair horß men followit, and sauffit nane þat was ouretakin ; amang quhom was takin  
310 King | Alpyne, and brocht with his handis bundin to þe nixt toun, quhair he was heditt with ane hewyn aix, þe fourte zere

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sikkike*.

of his regne. In memorye heirop þe place quhair he was heditt is ȝit callit Pasalpyne, þat is to say, þe hede of Alpyne. Eftir this huge victory of Scottis King Brudois returnit to Camelon with King Alpynis hede, and put it on ane staik in þe hiest part of þair wallis, to be ane ansenȝe of þair victory.

(II. 150)

How Kenneth was maid king of Scottis ; how Pichtis fell at debait amang þame self ; off þe deth of þair King, Brudus, and how Donskene was maid king ; how þe hede of King Alpyne was brocht in Scotland ; how King Kenneth put þe Pichtis to flycht. Ca viij

**T**he residew of Scottis quhilkis eschakit fra þis vnhappy batall left Anguse and fled in Ergile, quhair þai maid Kenneth, son of Alpyne, king. The Pichtis convenit at Camelon be *commande* of Brudus, and gaif thankis to God of þis excellent victory, and swoir solemply on þe haly ewangellis nevir to ceß fra batall quhill þe Scottis war aluterlye distroyitt, and maid inhibicionis to all personis, vnder pane of deth, to speke for þame or trete peace in ony maner. Ane part of Pichtis thoct þir voittis vnplesand, and persuadit with mony ressonis to vse þair victory with mesure erar þan insolence. Nochþeles, all þai quhilkis wer of þis opinioun be vndantit fury of insolent personis war dongin schaymfullye oute of þe tempill quhair þai convenit. The Scottis, aduertist of þis cruell mynde of Pichtis, wer mair rasis with hie curage to defend þair livis and liberte þan abasit, and traistit na litill felicite to follow to þame in plane exterminioun of Pichtis, as apperit be þair proude insultacioun eftir þis prosperite.

The nixt summer the Pichtis, cumand with ane huge army aganis þe Scottis, fell at debait amang þame self for ane thing of nocht, throw quhillk þair army was deviditt in diuers opinionis, and fell be iniurious wourdis in sa huge slauchter þat þe samyn mycht nocht be repressitt, quhill þe nycht severit þame. The nycht following Brudus tuke consultacioun with

his nobillis how þis discorde mycht be best pacefijt, and quhen he had labourit all nycht to bring his nobillis to concord, 311 and | seand þame nocht counsolabill to þe commoun wele, he was constrant to return hayme with his army, and fell in ane irrecouerabill malady generatt be malancoly, throw quhilk he decessit þe thrid moneth eftir his returnyng. The Pichtis (II. 151) eftir deth of Brudus, to sauff þame fra mair displeaserr, chesit Donskene, bruper to þe said Brudus, to be king, quhilk sett his besynes to draw all contencionis fra his pepill, and brocht þame to concord with iniuris reparit on all sydis.

Quhill þe Pichtis war gevin to sik besynes, certane wailzeant Scottis, havand grete indignacioun þat King Alpyinis hede suld stand on ane staik, fenzeit þame to be Pichtis, for þai had þe langage, and come to Camelon as merchandis, and quhen þai had remanit þair, waittand ane ganand tyme, þai tuke down þe hede of King Alpyne within þe nycht, and brocht it awaye with þame in Scotlannd. Kenneth, aduerteist of þair cuming, mett þame with solempn processiou of nobillis and prelaittis, and finalye send þe hede in ane caiff of lede to be berijt with þe residew of his body in Colmkill, syne revardit þir nobill men, quhilkis ieoparde þame to sik honest wassillage, with riche landis; eftir þis, settand his besynes to defence of his realme, put strang soidjouris in all þe municionis liand fornens þe bordouris of Pichtis, and commandit þe pepill to be dayelie exercit in chevelry and reddy at all aventouris, gif inymyis list assailze þame. Nochtþeles, þe nobillis wer mair sett to defend þair awin þan to persew þe Pichtis, be quhom laitlie þai wer put to gret affliccioun, and thocht best to desist for ane tyme fra all iniure of Pichtis, sen þai war sa laitlie brokin, quhill þair pyssance war recoverit, throw þe quhilk þai belevit þe moir stranglye to recover þe croun of Pichtis, and revenge þe slauchter of Alpyne and his nobillis. The Scottis<sup>1</sup> of þis last opinioun, howbeit þai war of lesß novmer and autorite þan vperis, war apprisit with Kenneth, and becaus he saw sa hye dangere appering to his realme, he pacifijt all

<sup>1</sup> MS. *pichtis*, crossed out and *Scottis* (the obvious correction) written above in a later hand.

sedicioun among his nobillis, and intertinewit þame *with merwalus*<sup>1</sup> affecciou and kyndnes.

Eftir þis thre ȝeris followitt with frequent skarmv̄sing and preking on vthir, but ony grete slauchter. The fourte ȝere eftir Kenneth maid ane convencioun of his nobillis, in þe quhilk he tuke lang consultacioun how he mycht obtene þe croun of Pichtis and revenge his faderis slauchter, and exhortit his nobillis to haif sicht to þair honeste, sen þai bene born mair to chevelry þan sleuth, schawing als how þe tyme wes  
 312 richt expedient to raisþ þair army | aganis Pichtis and to obtene þe croun þairof, quhilk has bene sa mony ȝeris iniuistlie haldin fra þame. Nochtþeles, quhen Kenneth had maid all þe instance he mycht to persuaid his nobillis to batall, þai war sa brokin with recent slauchter maid on þame þat þai mycht *nocht* be mair persuadit to his purpoß than þe samyn had bene to þair vtter confusioun, for þe recent slauchter of King Alpyne and vther  
 (II. 152) nobillis slayne *with* him afoir be þe Pichtis drew all þair myndis fra batall. Kenneth, seand his nobillis be na persuasioun abill to be sollistit to his purpoß, devisit for þame ane vncouth slycht, nevir hard afoir. Quhen þis last counsale was done, he *commandit* all his nobillis to convene þe nixt daye to avise on vther grete materis. Eftir þair convencioun he callit þame to ane bankatt within his palace, and festit þame quhill it was far *runyn* within þe nycht. Sone eftir þai went to rest, and fell haistlie in ane profound sleip. King Kenneth causit ane man cled with fische skynnys to pas to euery ane of þair beddis quhair þe nobillis laye. Ilkane of þir men had in þair richt hand ane ciub of muskane tre, quhilk kest ane vncouth glance with þe fische skalis in þe myrk; in þe tothir hand þai had ane bugill, and spak throw þe samyn with elrage voce, *nocht* like ane mortale creature, and schew þame angellis, send be þe *commande* of God to cauß þe nobillis of Scotland to obtempir to þe desyris of þair Prince, quhilkis wer sa iust that þe Pichtis for þair repulß suld cum to sik rwyne þat na ingyne nor pyssance of man may resist þe samyn. Quhen þai had said þir wourdis, ilkane of þame hyd þair staff vnder þair claitis, and involuit þair fische skynnys to giddir, to þat fyne þat þai

<sup>1</sup> MS. *merwall*: correction from A.

& þair licht mycht evanis at anys. The nobillis, seand þis vncouth visioun, war astunyst, and tuke litill rest for þe residew of þat nycht. The nixt morrow, eftir þair convencioun, þai schew vther all þair visionis, and becaus þai saw þe samyn appering at ane tyme and vnder ane maner, þai concludit it na dreme bot ane trew visioun. Incontinent þai come to þe King, schawing þame admonyst be þe angellis to obtempir his will in all chargis, and with ferme constance to persevere in batall aganis þe Pichtis. Þe King ansuerit, siklyke visioun  
 (II. 153) of angellis apperit to him, bot he durst nocht schaw þe samyn,  
 313 in auenture þe pepill suld deme | him glorious, as God war sa propiciant to him to schaw the thingis to cum be his angellis ; nochtþeles, sen þai wer admonyst in þe samyn maner, he wald revele his visioun, for it apperit to haif gude fyne. The nobillis condiscendit to his mynde, and be generall edict *commandit* all fensabill personis of þe realme to cum at ane certane daye and place affixitt *with* vittalis, wappynnis and all thingis necessair aganis þe Pichtis. Be this edict wes assemblit ane huge army of Scottis, and come with mair multitude of pepill at Striueling þan evir wes sene afoir.

Donskene, King of Pichtis, knawing this, come with ane huge army gaderit of Inglismen and Pichtis, and satt down within þe nycht with all þair ordinance betuix þe Scottis and þair awin landis. Skairslie was þe daye brokin quhen þe armyis, inflammyt with birnand hattrent of vther, ionytt but ony sound of trumpaitt. The properand ire of Pichtis, ruschand but avyusement to batall, did þame grete skaith, bot moir displeseir succedit to þame be fleyng of Inglis̄men fra þair army, quhilkis left þaim in extreme ieoparde and fled to þe nixt montanis. The reird and noyis̄ rying be þair fleyng maid þe Pichtis to haif litill curage. King Donskene, astunyst be þis dissaitt of Inglis̄men, exhortit þame with huge revardis̄ to return in batall. Nochþeles, þai mycht na wayis be brocht agane, and said it war nocht þair vse to ieoparde þame in batall but arraye and *commande* of þair capitane ; attoure, it is grete foly to Pichtis to offer þame wilfullye to be slayne with þair inymis : it pertenit to þe craft of weirfair, quhen na esperance of victory apperit, to eschew batall, for þe wele of

þe army. The Scottis, seand finalie þe myddilward of Pichtis destitute of þe wangard, quhair Englismen suld haif foctin, ruschitt with sik fury & mannassing<sup>1</sup> on þair inymyis þat þai war finalie disconnfist; on quhom followitt Scottis with incredibill hatrent, and sauffitt nane þat mycht be takin, to revenge þe slauchter of Alpyne and þe nobillis slayne with him in þe last feild. The chaisþ perseverit quhill þe Pichtis wer drevin to þe watter of Forth, quhair mony of þame perissit, and þe residew slane be *persute* of followaris. King Donskene, seand þe batall disconnfist, was born awaye be ane swyft horfþ. Kenneth, dredand sum tresoun to follow be slycht (II. 154) of Engliþmen, quhilkis war nocht far fra þair army, brocht all his folkis be sound of trumpaitt to þe standart, and stude all þat nycht in arrayitt batall. The nixt morrow þai partit<sup>2</sup> 314 þe spoulþe of þe feild be ryte of | armys and returnit hayme.

Off þe message send be Donskene to Kenneth, and of his ansuere; how Fyffe and Anguse war randrit to Scottis, and huge slauchter maid on Pichtis; of þe orisoun maid be Donskene to Kenneth, and of þe ansuere maid be Kenneth; how þe army of Pichtis war finalye disconnfist, and King Donskene and all his nobillis slayne. Ca ix

King Donskene eftir this send his oratouris to Kenneth, desyring peace. Kenneth ansuerit he wald geif peace *with* ane gude will, sa þat he mycht haif þe crovn of Pichtis, quhilk pertentit to him be iust titill. The Pichtis refusing peace in þis maner gaif occasioun to Scottis to invaid þame *with* mair cruelte þan afoir. The nixt ȝere Kenneth come with ane grete army in Fyfe and Anguse, and maid þe inhabitantis *perof* sa astonyst þat þai but mair debait war content to leiff vnder his empire & lawis. Sone eftir Kenneth tuke all þe municionis, and garnyst þaim with strang soidjouris, rasit his campe and come to Striueling to tak it in þe samyn

<sup>1</sup> MS. *mannanssing*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *paritit*.



maner. And quhen he had brocht all þe Pichtis þairof to his dominion, tythingis come þat þe Scottis quhilkis war left behynd him in Fyfe & Anguse war slayn be tresoun of Pichtis. Kenneth, prouocatt with new ire be thir tythingis, left Striueling and returnit in Fyffe, quhair he be fyre and swerd left nane of Pichtis blude on lyve, to revenge þis recent slauchter of Scottis, and come in Anguse ceissing<sup>1</sup> fra na maner of crueltye in þat samyn maner, to be exempill to mortale pepill quhat followis to wyrk tresoun and cruelte for beneuolence and gude dedis aganis þair faith promyst to kingis.

Quhill sik cruelteis occurrit betuix Scottis & Pichtis, King Donskene novmerit all fensabill persons of his realme, but ony difference of kynde, and come with ane proude army aganis þe Scottis, othir to reveng þe iniuris done be þame, or ellis to dee all at anys. At last þai come to Scoyne, quhair now is ane riche abbaye of channons regular. At thair cuming þai fand Kenneth with all þe army of Scottis afoir þaim. And quhen þai wer arrayit on þe morrow reddy for batall, come  
 315 | ane herrald send fra Donskene, desyryng licence to inter-  
 (II. 155) commoun afoir þe batall concernyng þe wele of Scottis and Pichtis. Kenneth refusit nocht þe speche. Sone eftir baith the Kingis, accompanyit with ane few novmer of nobillis, come fra þair army to ane place quhair it was statute, in þe quhilk Donskene said in þis maner: "It cumis noch, richt illustir and invincibill Prince Kenneth, but propiciant favoure of God þat I, þe King of Pichtis, quhais pyssance has ay bene equale to Scottis, cumis humilye to þe desyryng peace, eftir sa mony & sindry chances of batall. We, quhilkis has bene als oft victorious on Scottis as vincust be þame, ar cumin finalye to þis poynt, þat othir peace is necesserr to ws vnder quhat condicionis þou list, or ellis to perseveir in batall in vtter exterminioun of ws baith. Bot ȝite sindry thingis persuadis ws to put ane end to all þir weeris but ony forthir slauchter, as baith þe new and auld affinite sa lang continewand betuix þe twa pepill be beneuolence of oure anticessouris, als þe frequent chevelry of baith þe pepill sa oft ieopardit in extreme dangere aganis our inmyis, and finalye þe vtter

<sup>1</sup> MS. *cessit*: correction from A.

exterminioun of ws baith, quhilk sall nocht fail gif we continew in batall, for oure inymyis, seand ws brokin with athir iniuris, sall expell ws oute of Albioun with na les displeseir þan schayme. On þe tothir syde na thing apperis to persuaid bataill, sen þe slauchter of King Alpyne and þe nobillis with him ar sufficientlie revengit *with* doubill mair disple~~seir~~ on Pichtis. Heirfor, I think peace wer maist plesand, for þe chance of battall is doutesum, and oft tymes fortoun gevis victory to þame þat apperis in maist danger, quhairthrow na thing is sa sikkyr as peace, quhilk is onlie in þi handis, bot victory is in þe power of fortoun, off quhais instabill favour we haif sufficient documentis, conuerting oft hye gloir in miserabill estait. Thou maye behald ws now, quhilkis had within þir few 3eris maist triumphant<sup>1</sup> victory of Scottis, neir desolaitt and humilie requyiring the for peace. Quhat (II. 156) is he þat will beleiff fortoun mair propiciant to Scottis þan scho has bene to Pichtis? Has scho promittit to Scottis sikkir victorye, quhilk scho did neuer to ony pepill of befor? Quhatt pepill has scho dissauit with bland visage? Quhen scho semys maist fauorabill, scho is maist to be dred. Heirfor, vnderstand peace to thi grete honoure is bettir afoir þe batall than esperance of victory *within* þe batall, in auenture, gif aduersite follow, þi preeminent gloir and magnitude of merceall dedis be chance of fortoun turn in irrecouerabill damage. Attoure, þat we may haif peace, na lesß necessair to ws þan 316 | proffittabill to þi pepill, we ar content þat Fyfe and Anguse pas vnder perpetuall dominioun of Scottis, that wee maye reiois þe remanent landis of oure realme in tymes cuming with 3oure favoure and peace; be quhilk waye þou maye conquest interminabill honour, but ony hie damage of thi pepill, and be namyt be þi posterite maist wailþeant prince þat euer rang abone Scottis."

To thir wourdis ansuerit Kenneth: "Howbeit fortoun be na les vnstabill þan þe stait of man vnsikkir, throw quhilkis oure doyngis ar subieckit to sindry chance, as may be provin be oure eldaris, 3ite in þis present besynes fortoun apperis to be mair dredoure to Pichtis þan Scottis, becaus þai ar to cum

<sup>1</sup> MS. *trumphant*.

in wrangwis querrell aganis Scottis, to defraude þe iust heretouris of Hungus of þe croun of Pichtis. The Scottis, þairfor, hes iust accioun to persew þe said richt be force of batall, sen þai may na vþerwayis obtene þe samyn. The recent and auld amite roboratt sa lang betuix þe twa pepill suld move þe Pichtis, gif þai had respect to þair reuerence and faith, to suffer me succede to þe croun pertenyng to me be iust heretage, be þe quhilk way baith þe pepill mycht haif perpetuall peace vnder ane king and lawis, but ony hecht of Anguse or Fyffe, quhilkis ar ellis oure awin landis and inhabitt with oure pepill. Attoure, I war richt vnmercifull, gif I wald noch geif to Pichttis siclike peace as þai gaif afoir to Scottis brokin with þair iniuris. Bot now þe mater is far discrepant fra þat sort, sen þe Pichtis ar sworn nevir to geif ws peace quhill wee be bannyst Albion, and we sworn in þe samyn (II. 157) maner nevir to haif peace with þame quhill þe croun of Pichtis be gevin to ws as iust heretour þerof. Gif þou desyris peace, first exoner þe of þe croun of Pichtis, deliuering in my handis all þe strenthis of þe realme, that I, be generall consent of all þe Pichtis, may be declarit king. Gif þir desyris seme importabill to Pichtis, force is to þame to persevere in batall aganis ws, quhilkis ar preparatt in maist weirlye ordinance to inuaid þame, abyding be espyrance of oure iust persute to haif victory."

The twa Kingis, severing in þis maner but ony expedicioun of þair desyris, returnyt to þair campis. Incontinent raisþ ane hyduus clamour and reird in baith þe armyis, desyring þe richt to be decernit with þe swerd, with sic chance as fortoun list geif. Kenneth exhortit his folkis to assailze þair inymyis with hie curage, and perseveir in kene bergane, þat it may be decernit be this day quheþer Scottis sall abandoun Pichtis 317 or Pichtis sall | abandoun Scottis. The reuard of victory was þe realme of Pichtis, perpetuall honour and dominioun abone þair inymyis: be contrar, be þair fleying sall follow þe rwyne of þair realme, murdir of þair lyvis, with schayme and dishonoure to þair posterite. Quhen thir wourdis war said, Kenneth arrayit his myddilwarde with doubill weyngis, wangard and reirwarde, in euery ane of þame put his archearis

and corsbowis, eftir þis put þe speris and pykkis, eftir þame lang swerdis, billis and aaxis. To þe wangard wes maid ane nobill capitane, namit Bar, to þe reirward Dungallus, and to þe myddillward Donald, þe Kingis bruther. Efter þame wes Kenneth with ane huge novmer of horßmen, to support þame at all auentouris, awaatting sic advantage as he mycht espy be prudence of weirfair. Incontinent be thonderand preefß of trumpaittis and reird of armour, be rage of Scottis ruschand forthwart to batall, þe Pichtis war sa astunyst þat þai semyt to geif bakkis afoir þe chance of fortoun. Noch þeles, Donskene exhortit his men to assailþe þair inymyis with grete spreitt, promitting huge revardis to þe fyne of þair labouris. Followit sone ane maist terribill bergane. The wemen, seand þair husbandis woundit, gaif sik horribill spraightis þat þai war mair<sup>1</sup> impediment þan support to þe fechtaris. Be þan was þe wangard of Pichtis, quhair þe wemen faucht, deieckit & put to flycht. Incontinent Kenneth sett (II. 158) on þe myddillward with ane buschement of fresche men. The Pichtis, stoppitt with miserabill slauchter, and seand na hoip nor pyssance to resist þe Scottis, gaif bakkis. Sa huge slauchter was maid in þe place quhair þai first iovnytt þat þe Scottis, following þe chaisß, war constranyt to pas oure innovmerabill careonis and wappynnis of dede pepill, throw quhilk sindry Scottis, brokin fra arraye of þair fallowis, happynit to be drevin on grete buscheamentis of Pichtis, quhair þai wer cruelly slane. Kenneth, knowing þis, be sounde of trumpatt callit ane novmer of chosin men to þe standart, and commandit þame to follow þe remanent army of Scottis, and induce þame be craft of weirfair to keip arraye, and to slaa all þe Pichtis quhom þai mycht apprehend, but ony mercy or ransoun. The capitaneis, glaidlie obeysand þe empyre of Kenneth, followitt on þe chaisß, and slew all Pichtis apprehendit be þame. At last þai come on King Donskene, quhilk was fled *with* ane grete novmer of Pichtis to þe watter of Taye, abyding to gett passage oure þe samyn, quhair he was slayne with all his cunpany. It is said that the Pichtis faucht þat day vij tymes with Scottis, and wes ay disconnfist.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *maid*.

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(II. 159)

How þe swerd and coitt armour of King Donskene wes send to Colmkyll ; off þe orisoun maid be Kenneth to his nobillis ; how all þe Pichtis war slayne and bannyst oute of Albion ; how þair landis and municionis come vnder dominioun of Scottis. Ca x

Eftir þis victory þe Scottis partit the praye and gudis fundin in þis feild, and send þe swerde and coit armour of Donskene to Sanct Columbe, to remane in Colmkill in perpetuall signe of his excellent victory. The nixt day all þe nobillis of Scotland come to Kenneth, reiosand of þis victory, and desyrit him to tak rest eftir sa grete labour, and suffer þe army to return hayme, bot Kenneth thocht *nocht* proffittabill to ceß quhill þe latter end was *cumin* of his weeris, and said to þe nobillis in þis maner : “ It is þe devoir of ane forsy campiou, gif he intendis vse victorye to þe wele of his army, to ceß noch fra batall quhill he haif maid amite with his vincust inmyis, or ellis brocht þame to vtter exterminioun. For gif ane man suffer his inmyis, brokin with pyssance and strenth, to rest quhill þai mycht recover þe samyn, be my iugement he suld doo þe thing quhilk sall mak him penitent eftir. Thairfor, as þe present danger occurris, the Pichtis ar now brokin, and brocht to sic calamite þat wee may distroye þame aluterlie ; quhilk thing war richt abhominabill gif we mycht draw þame, iniurit with sa frequent displeisair, sauffing oure honour all wayis, to ony sicker amite. Bot, as ʒe know, þe Pichtis ar subtile, and desyris na thing mair þan vengeance on ws, and sall neuer devoid þair hartis of þe importabill iniuris done be ws. For thir resonis I think na amite nor frendschip maye be drawin in tymes *cuming* betuix Scottis & (II. 160) Pichtis, for þe iniuris done to þame. And þairfor, gif we haif sicht to oure singular wele, na thing is sa gude as to suffer nane of Pichtis blude on live, that nane of þame maye ryis eftir to oure hie displeiserr.”

This opinioun of þe King, þocht it wes cruell, was fundin for sindry reassonis richt proffittabill to þe wele of Scottis. Sone eftir sic cruelte and bludy raige wes maid on Pichtis in

all partis þat nane of þame was left on lyve oute of Camelon, except ij<sup>m</sup> personis þat fled to þe Inglismen. Kenneth þan partit þe landis of Pichtis amang his nobillis be sicht of þair mereittis and proves, and namit all þe montanis and revaris of þe said landis with new names, specialie of sik personis as  
 319 occupijt þe | samyn for þe tyme, to þat fyne þat þair auld names suld peryiþ with memory of Pichtis. Bar, ane nobill man and capitane of þe vangard of Scottis aganis Pichtis, gatt in Lotheane for his vassallage, provin in þis last feild, ane strang castell namyt Donbar, fra quhom þe surname of Dunbarris tuke þair begynnynge. Of þis hous þat has descendit mony Erlis of Marche with vther vailzeant men and doctouris, as apperis in þir dayis.

Sik thingis done, Kenneth went with ane strang ordinance of armyt men to sege þe toun of Camelon, for mony nobillis with þair wyiffis and childerin of Pichtis wer fled to it, traisting, becaus þe toun was garnist with strang soidjouris, to haif þair sikker defence. First ane herrald 3eid to Camelone, to assailze gif þai wald geif oure þe toun. The Pichtis refusit to be randrit, and schott oute displesant wourdis, saying þe Scottis wes ane ferþ and cruell pepill in þe slauchter of febill personis, and satisfijt with na thing bot extreme perdicion of þair inymyis. The sege continewit lang, quhill at last Scottis careijt incredibill multitude of wod to fyll þe trinscheis and fouseis vp to þe wallis. In þe menetyme þe toun began to lak vittalis, and send þair oratouris to Kenneth, desyring iij dayis trewis, þat þai mycht in þe menetyme be randrit. Kenneth, suspeckand na thing les þan tresoun, obtemperit þair peticion, and commandit his army to ceþ fra ony invading of þame, quhill þe trewis war outerumyn. In þe  
 (II. 161) menetyme þe Pichtis ischit oute at ane auld port, quhilk was noch oppynit mony 3eris afoir, and slew þe waiche of Scottis, suspeckand na thing les þan sic tresoun within trewis; eftir þis come with bludy swerd towartis the Kingis palzonis. And quhen þai had maid huge slauchter, þai maid þame to return to Camelon, on quhom followit Scottis with sic furius persute þat þai had takin þe toun, war nocht þai war stoppit be ganzeis, arrowis and stanis schott at þame oute of þe towris of Cameloun.

In this skarmusing war slayne maa þan vj<sup>o</sup> Scottis. Nochþeles, Kenneth maid ane new waiche in þe samyn ordoure as was afoir, and becaus þe Pichtis had violett þair faith too him, he maid ane solempnit aith to sibir *nocht* fra þis toun quhill it war bett with fyre & swerde to þe ground. Eftir þis he assalzeit oft tymes to tak it be force, bot in vane, for þe Pichtis sa vailzeantlie resistit þat þe sege continewitt styll foure monethis, but ony *interrupcioun*, throw quhilk sik miserabill hunger raiß amang þe citezanis þairof þat þai abhorrit *nocht* with maist vilde and abhominabill metis. And þocht þai wer in sik extreme rage of hunger, 3ite þai slew all þat gaif counsale to seik ony condicioun of peace at þair inymijs. At last, þis toun beand oureset and wery be ithand persute of Scottis, 320 þair fowseis. fillit with wod and vther sindry stuff to þe wallis, Kenneth send vj<sup>o</sup> men to þe nixt wode to mak ledderis, quhilkis returnit with þe samyn þe nixt morrow, and went with vn-affrayit curage to þe wallis, and finalie enterit at sindry partis of þe toun with sindry abuscheamentis. The citezanis,<sup>1</sup> astonyst with þis suddand irrupcioun of Scottis, and *nocht* of power to resist, left þe wallis, and maid þame, quhill þai mycht, to recounter þair inymyis. Nochþeles, þai war all <sup>2</sup> slayn, but ony *mercy* or ransoun. The nobillis *commandit* to cast down þe towun, and to leiffe na Pichtis on live within þe samyn. The preistis, matronis, virgynnis & childerin come afoir Kenneth with pietuus chere, desyring grace. Nochþeles, þe fury of Scottis was sa grete þat þai war all slayne, but ony miseracioun. Eftir þis þe wallis, housis, castellis & kirkis war brynt and brocht to þe ground. Off all þis toun, sum tyme sa honest, remanit *nocht* haistelie bot þe powder, ground wall and calssaye, of quhilkis sum thing remanis 3ite in þir dayis. The samyn tyme þe madin castell of Edinburgh was garnist (II. 162) with strang soidiouris off Pichtis; *nochtþeles*, þe Pichtis within þe samyn, dredand siklike subuersion of þame as was laitlie in Cameloun, left þe castell desert, and fled in North-umberland.

Thus failzeit þe realme of Pichtis in Albion, and all þair

<sup>1</sup> MS. *citezanis*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *ar*: correction confirmed by A. and printed text.

pepill brocht to *nocht*, eftir þat þai had rongin in þe samyn j<sup>m</sup>j<sup>c</sup> lj ʒere. Þe ʒere of þair exterminioun oute of Albion wes fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>c</sup> xxxix ʒeris, fra þe first cuming of Scottis in Albion j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xxj ʒeris, fra þe begynnynge of þe warld vj<sup>m</sup> xxxvj ʒeris.

Off vncouth mervellis sene in Albion ; how þe chair of *merbill* wes brocht oute of Ergile to Scoyne ; off þe lawis maid be Kenneth for þe *commoun* wele of Scottis, and of his deth. Ca xj

**T**he samyn ʒere apperit twa cometis, richt horribill to þe sicht of man. The tane apperit befoir þe son rysing in weir, and þe tothir eftir þe son ganging to in hervist. Offt tymes wes sene in þe nicht ane fyry ordinance of armit men rusching to giddir *with* speris in þe air, and quhen þe tane of þame was wincust, þe tothir sone evanist. Quhen þe Bischof of Camelon wes doand dyvyne *seruice* in his pontificall, his staff tuke neyd fyre, and mycht be slokynnit be na crafft quhill it was resolut to *nocht*. In fair daylycht besyde Camelon sik noys & rerd of armit men was herd þat þe pepill wes astonyst, and durst *nocht* remane aboute þe samyn. Thir *mervellis* wer interprete sum tyme to þe gude and sum tyme to þe evill of þe pepill, as þe divinouris plesit.

321 Quhen Kenneth had distroyitt þe Pichtis and | conquest þair realme in þis maner, he brocht þe fatall chair of *merbyll* oute of Ergile to Gowry ; quhilk chair, as said is afoir, was brocht oute of Spanʒe in Ireland be Symon Brek, and oute of Ireland be Fergus þe First in Ergyle, quhar it remanit ay quhill þir dayis ; and becaus þis last victory of Pichtis happynnit *nocht* far fra Scoyne, Kenneth ordanit þe said (11. 163) chair to remane þair perpetuallye, and all Scottis kingis to ressaif þair diademe in þe samyn. The Pichtis, bannyst oute of Scotlannd in þis maner, and seand Inglismen mycht be *persuadit* na waye, for þe civill weris amang þame, to invaid þe Scottis, went in Denmark ; vþeris, gif þai mycht get <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *get* : insertion from A.



support to recover þair realme, fled in Norwaye; vtheris remanit in England, sekand þair leving be chevelry or frute of þair handis.

Kenneth kepit his subdittis on sikkir peace during his lyffe, eftir þe exterminioun of Pichtis, and was ane nobill prince wourthy to haif immortaill gloir, and did vther sindry werkis schawing þe felice of his ingyne, gevin na leß to polesy and civill maneris þan to weirfair. He drew all þe confusit lawis of Scotland in ane compenduous volume, puttand awaye all þame quhilkis war foundin *superfluus*, and ekit new lawis to be vsit throw his realme in tymes cuming, as eftir followis :—

It is ordanit þat in euery regeoun of þis realme be sum men of law to discuß all debaittis quhen þai happin.

It is ordanit þat þair *sonnis* lerne þe lawis in þair<sup>1</sup> tendir age, the institucionis of kingis and princes to be only kepit be þame; gif ony of þame be convickt of falsett or cryme, to be hyngit on ane iebaitt.

He þat is convict of thifft salbe put to deth as afoir.

He that makis slauchter salbe hedit.

Ane woman convickt of ony capitall cryme salbe drownit or berijt qwyk.

He þat blasphemys þe name of God, of sanctis, or þe King or capitane, sall wantt his toung.

He þat is fundin ane leare in dammage of his nychtboure sall wantt his suerd, and be exilit gude cumpany.

All personis suspeckit of ony cryme sall suffer þe inquest of vij wise men, ix, xj, xij, xv, and safurth in od nowmer.

All revaris, murdresaris and invasouris of vther menis landis salbe hedit.

All vagabundus, fulis, bardis, scudlaris and idill personis salbe brynt on þe cheik, and skurgit throw þe toun.

The wyffe sall nocht be puneist for hir husbandis iniquite, bot þe man salbe puneist, gif he be fundin participant *with* þe wiffis cryme, as scho deservis.

Ane man and ane woman apprehendit with adultery salbe equalie punyst.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *par*.

He þat defloris ane virgyn, bot gif scho desyre him in marriage, salbe hedit.

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| He þat fulzeis ane vther manis bed salbe put to deth with þe woman, leß þan scho be deforsit.

(II. 164)

He þat deforsis ane woman salbe hedit, and þe woman declarit innocent.

The son þat is iniurius to his fader in wourde or deid salbe hyngit on ane iebaitt, and his body remane vnburijt abone þe erd.

He þat is ane man slaar, or ane mutular, or vnthankfull to his fader, sall succede to na heretage.

Iuglaris, wyches and makaris of privatt paccionis *with* devillis salbe brynt to dede.

Na seid salbe sawin, bot gif it be purifijt fra all noysum granis. He þat sufferis his land to be degeneratt, in his defalt, fra gude corne *with* noysum seyde sall pay for þe first falt ane ox to þe common gude, for þe secund falt x oxin, and þe thrid tyme salbe forfaitit of his landis.

The companzeoun or frend slane in þe feild salbe berijt, and þe inymy left but sepultur.

Ane beist fundin gangand wilde salbe gevin to þe awnar, or to þe sercheour of thevis, or ellis to þe preist of þe parrochyn. Quhai haldis it thre dais with him salbe accusit of thift.

He þat fyndis his nychtbouris gere sall inquire þe awnar þairof; vtherwayis he salbe puneist þerfor as ane theiff.

He þat strikkis his collitigant in iugement sall tyne his cauß, and gif he be actor his party salbe absolut fra his peticioun.

Gif vncouth ky fechtand amang þame self ane of þame be slayn, and vncertane quhat kow maid þe slauchter, the kow þat is hommyll sall bere þe wite, and þe awnair þairof sall recompensß þe dammage of þe kow þat is slayne.

Ane swyne þat eetis hir grisis salbe stanyt to þe dede, and hir flesche forbodin. Ane swyne þat etis corn or

worttis in <sup>1</sup> vther menis landis salbe slane, but ony redres to þe awnar.

All vther bestis þat eetis vther menis corne salbe poyndit, quhill the awnar þairof redres þe skaith.

Altaris, kirkis, ymagis of sanctis, oritouris, chapellis, preistis, and all ecclesiastik personis salbe in reuerence.

Festuall and solempne dayis, fasting, vigillis, and all vther cerymonis salbe obseruatt, siklyke as þe Kirk has institute.

He þat hurtis ane kirkman in wourde or deid salbe punyst to þe dede.

The place quhair ane man is slayne or berijtt salbe vij zere vnteild.

(II. 165)

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All sepulturis salbe had in reuerence, and ane croce set on þe samyn, þat na man strampe on it. The corps of ane dede man salbe berijt honorabillie, referring to his gudis. Twa horß men sall gang afoir him to þe kirk, þe tane arrayitt in best clething | with his armes and wappynnys on ane quhite horß, the tothir sall pas in dolorous weid on ane blak horß. Quhen þe corps is enterit in þe kirk, þe first man sall deploir lamentabillie the deth of his maister, syne pas awaye; the nixt sall offer his horß and armes to þe preist; syne berijt in ane honest sepulture. This custome of bereyng of dede men was abrogatt eftir be þe pepill following, and in redempcioun þerof to pay v li striueling to þe preist of þe kirk.

This nobill King Kenneth with thir & mony vther institutionis gouernit his pepill to þe end of his lyiff in gude peace, felicite and iustice. He translaitit þe bischoppis sete of Abirnethy to þe kirk of Sanct Reule, quhilk wes namyt eftir þe kirk of Sanctandrois. The bischoppis quhilkis succedit eftir in þis sette wer callit þe Grete Bisshop of Scotlannd, for þe realme of Scotland wes nocht deuidit þan as now in dioceses, bot ilk bisshop, gif he was foundin of gude lyfe, ressauit his oblacioun in quhatsumeuer place he come, quhilk indurit to þe tyme of King Malcolme þe Thrid, quhilk wes *commandit*

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *in*.

be ane visioun, as we sall reherce eftir, to institute þe bischipy of Aberdene.<sup>1</sup> Forthir, þis sete of Sanctandros has bene haldin in grete reuerence fra þe first institucioun of it to þir dayis, off quhom has bene mony bischoppis of singulair erudicioun and lyffe, to þe novmer of xxxvj. Bot I will return to my history. Kenneth ekitt þe boundis of his realme fra the Alman seyis besyde Northumberland to þe Ireland seyis bezond þe Ilis, and decessit at Forteuiott, be flux of caterree, þe xx 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>c</sup> lv 3eris. His body wes brocht to Colmkyll, and berijt amang þe anciant sepulturis of his anticessouris.

(II. 166)

Off King Donald and his vices ; how Osbrete and Ella with grete novmer of Inglismen war disconnfist <sup>2</sup> be King Donald ; how xx<sup>m</sup> Scottis war slayn and King Donald takin be Inglismen and Britonis ; of þe message send be Scottis to Oisbrete, and off his ansuere.

Ca xij

**E**ftir deth of Kenneth Donald, his bruther, wes maid king, richt different fra him in condicionis, for skairslye had he rongin twa 3eris quhen his abhominabill lust, be frequent cumpany of concubynis and ryottis surfett, brocht þe pepill to inmoderatt excesss, nuresing hors mair for pleserr þan vse of batall, and gevin mair to þe plesere of hunting and halking þan to ony defence of þe realme, as nathing war to be dred be his inymyis ; throw quhilk þe temparance of þe auld faderis wes  
324 abrogatt, and new vices brocht amang þe pepill. | Nochþeles, mony of þe nobillis, quhilkis war lovaris <sup>3</sup> of vertew, commovt pat sik detestabill vices grew ilk daye mair aganis þe commoun wele, went to þe King, exhorting him remembir quhat myschevous end followis on wile and brutall lustis, quhat

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Aberdne*.

<sup>2</sup> There seem to be five minims in the middle of this word, but one is probably accidental. The form *disconnifist* is not found elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *levaris* : correction confirmed by A.

publik and privatte personis bene tynt throw þe samyn, quhat vengeance, perrell and displeseris followis be impulsoun pairof to mortall pepill, and prayit him, gif he had respect to his singular or *commoun* wele, to remoiff suspect & vicious personis oute of his cumpany, schewand hym ane iust prince in gouernance of his realme, erar respondent to þe wise havingis of his bruper þan to þe corruppit lyfe of Sardanapall, quhilk tynt *nocht* onlye his lyffe bot als þe empire of Assirianis for his corruppit lyffe. Nochþeles, quhen þai saw his maneris nathing corrigibill, and ilk day mair hattrent rysing aganis þame for þair gude will and plesant exhortacioun, þai war constranyt to leiff þe mater as þai fand it. The pepill be vicius leving of þair prince war degeneratt but schayme in euery vice, throw quhilk all resoun was turnit in dissaitt, and iustice to inquite.

(II. 167)

In þis menetyme þe Pichtis *quhilkis* fled amang Inglisþmen, herand þe insolence of Scottis, tuke desyre to recover þair realme in Albion, and sollistit twa grete princes of England, namit Oisbrett and Ella, to moiff were aganis Scottis, promitting to obeye thame and þair posterite, gif þai wer restorit to þair landis, and þe Scottis expellit fra þe samyn. Osbrete and Ella, men of hye ingyne and prudence, and knawin *with* quhat detestabill vices þe Scottis war effeminatt at þis tyme, refusit *nocht* þir desyris. Nochþeles, þai wald *nocht* schaw þame inymyis to Scottis, quhil all contencionis and civill hattrentt war pacifijt amang þe nobillis. And quhen þe samyn was dressit at maist prudent devise, þir forsaid capitanis, Osbrete and Ella, come with ane grete novmer of Inglisþmen and Britonis oure Twede, and satt doun in Merß & Berwyk ; eftir þis send ane herrald to King Donald, chargeing him to restoir agane þe landis laitlye takin fra Pichtis, vther wais Inglisþmen and Britonis suld be na leß inymyis to him þan Pichtis has bene afoir. Donald, astonyst be þis message, and knawing *nocht* quhat wes to be done, first began to serche quhair he mycht best hyde him to eschew þe fury of inymyis, 3ite finalie, be hortacioun of his nobillis þat he suld *nocht* be his cownttry expone þe realme to extreme dangere, *com-*mandit all pepill vnder his dominioun to convene certane day

325 and place with all ordinance necessair to | <sup>1</sup> resist þair inymyis. King Donald, accompanytt with his nobillis and *commonis* in þis sort, gaif Oisbrete and Ella batall at Iedburgh, in þe quhilk Osbrete was put to flycht, and all his army disconnfyst. Donald, proude of þis victory, and traisting him exoneratt of all inymyis, come with his victorius army oure Twede.

In þe menetyme wes arryvit in Bervik, in þe mouth of Twede, sindry schippis ladin with vittalis, riches and all vther thingis necessair for þe army of Inglis̄men. Donald sone take *per* schippis, and partit þe spulze of þame amang his folkis, syne put þe schippis in fyre. The Scottis gat mair displeseir throw þe spoulze of þir schippis þan be þair fais, for in þe samyn wes sindry delicious meittis & drynkis, with quhilkis Donald corruppit all his army. Þe 3oung men, following þe maneris of þe King, Donald, fillit þe army full of bordellis and tavernis, dysing and carting, throw quhilk followit sindry debaittis, and þe army maid ane gadering of (II. 168) riottus pepill, but ony ordour of chevelry. Osbrete, herand þe Scottis gevin to inmoderatt pleseir and lustis, come on þame with ane new army, quhen þai belevitt na thing leß þan his *cuming*, and slew þame, nakit of armour, full of wyne and sleip, like bestis in þair beddis. The skry suddanly vprais̄ throw terribill *rummysching* of deand pepill, and awalkynnit þe army *with* miserable effraye. Followitt sone ane lamentabill murdir of Scottis, sum contending, bot in vane, to evaid þair inymyis, *vperis* murdrist but debaitt, *vperis* fled quhair þai *mycht* best. In this vnhappy bergane war slane xx<sup>m</sup> Scottis, and King Donald takin be his corruppit lust with all þe nobillis of Scotland þair, thair campe defaitt, and þair gudis maid praye to þe Inglis̄men and Britonis. The fayme of this vnhappy batall maid þe remanent Scottis na leß dolorus þan all þe realme had fallin in þair inymyis handis. Sum began to wary fortoun, vtheris traistitt þe haill myschevis come be wekitt lyffe of Donald & his counsale, vtheris ran throw streetis inquiring quhai was takin or slayne, and quhat þe Inglis̄men intendit to doo eftir þis victory, at last aduerteist þat Inglis̄men war *cumin* with ane grete power in Lowthiane and þe Britonis

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *to*, last word of preceding page.

in Gallowaye, cessing fra na maner of cruelte þat mycht be  
 devisit. The sprachis & lamentabill chere of dolorus wemen,  
 quhilkis herd þe miserabill slauchter of þair frendis and  
 husbandis, effrayit þe cuntre with sik fere þat neuer pepill  
 was mair astonyst. Þe lament wes sa huge þat nane was  
 foundin to revenge þe iniure of inmyis, nor zite to defend  
 326 | thair realme, throw quhilk all þe boundis of Scotland fra  
 Cumbir to Striueling was oureryddin, and nothir man, wife  
 nor paage left on live þat mycht be ouretakin be Inglis men  
 or Britonis. At last þai maid þame reddy to cum oure Forth  
 to Fyffe and Anguse. The capitane of þe schyris, knowing  
 þis, gaderit ane army of all pepill þat mycht bere wappynnis,  
 and stoppit þair ourecuming certane dayis. Osbrete, knowing  
 þair ordinance, brocht schippis to cary his army throw þe  
 firth; and quhen x<sup>m</sup> of þame wer schippit, ane vehement  
 storme raschit þe schippis to giddir, þat v<sup>m</sup> of þame perissit,  
 and þe residew, but mast or takill, drevin to land. Osbrete,  
 seand his army, but extreme danger, mycht nocht be tursit  
 be sey, come to þe brig of Striueling, to convoye his army be  
 (II. 169) þe samyn in Fyffe. The Scottis, aduerteist of his cuming,  
 send þair oratouris, humilye desyring peace vnder quhat  
 sort he plesit, saying it pertenit nocht to ane wailzeant  
 campioun, quhen he had gottin victory but debaitt on  
 vincust pepill, to invade þame with new iniuris, sen  
 þair King is captive and þair nobillis; attoure,  
 prayit þame to remembre þat þe Scottis war  
 wyncust mair be þair awin slewth and neglegence þan  
 be ony manhede of Inglis men, remembring als how  
 fortoun wes sa vnstabill þat oft tymes scho deieckit  
 triumphand championis fra preeminent gloir of  
 victory in desolacioun; attoure, na gloir mycht  
 succede to him, howbeit he wincust febill pepill  
 for þe tyme, sen þai wer set to tak peace at his  
 pleseir; forthir, gif he na wayis wald condescend  
 to peace, þai suld prefer honest deth to schaymfull  
 lyfe, and fecht in defence of þair realme, quhill  
 ane of þame wer on live.

Oisbrete, degestlye avisit on þir petitionis, was contentit  
 to haif peace with Scottis vnder þir condicionis: þat  
 all landis conquest fra Scottis at þis tyme sall remane  
 vnder perpetuall dominion of Inglis & Britonis, and  
 na forthir conquests to

be maid on Scottis. The remanent landis reft fra Pichtis sall remane as afoir vnder þe empire of Scottis. The Watter of Forth salbe *merche betuix* Scottis & Inglis̄men in þe est *partis*, and salbe namyt ay fra thynefurth þe Scottis seyis. The Watter of Clyde to Dunbriton salbe *marche* in þe west *partis betuix* þe Scottis and Britonis. This castell afoir þyr dayis was callit Alcleuth, and þan namit Dunbriton, þat is to say, The castell of Britonis. Gif ony Scottis̄man<sup>1</sup> war drevin be tempest in þir landis, sall pas oute of þe samyn, bot gif he haif impediment, within iij dayis, als he sall by and turfs̄ na thing oute of þe realme, bot vittalis & watter. Na  
 327 strenthis salbe byggitt nor garnyst be Scottis fornentis | þe landis of Britonis and Inglis̄men. Attoure, þe Scottis sall paye ilk 3ere j<sup>m</sup> *libri* for þe space off xx 3eris to cum, and for obseruacioun of þe premis̄s sall geiff lx of þe nobillis *sonnis* to remane in plegis þairof. Oisbrete *commandit* þir oratouris, gif peace vnder thir condicionis wer thocht hevy, to cum *nocht* agane to him *with* new message.

(II. 170)

Off þe orisoun maid be Calenus ; how Scottis tuke peace with Inglismen and Britonis ; of þe condicionis of þe said peace ; how King Donald was put in presoun for his vices, and slew him selff. Ca xiiij

**M**ony of þe Scottis thocht thir soroufull condicionis of peace importabill to fre pepill, and to be refusit ; vtheris thocht þe realme was in sik danger þat peace was necessar in quhat-*sumeir* sort ; throw quhilk þai had bene devidit in sindry faccionis, war *nocht* ane agit man, namit Calene, quhilk was Thayn of Anguse and had vij sonnys slayne with King Donald in þis last batall, pecyfijt þame in þis maner : “ Wee fynd in oure cronikillis how þe wail3eand Galdus, oure souerane for þe tyme, quhilk for his singular preeminence and vertew namit þe landis of Brigance with Gallowaye, brocht þe Romanis, dantouris of all pepill, to sic extreme calamite that þai socht

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Scottis̄men* : A. and printed text have plural, and plural pronouns following.



his peace vnder quhat condicioun he plesit, to eschew þe irrecoouerabill dangere appering to þame. And þocht he had slayne þame all, but ony mercy or ransoun, zite he had done bot small outrage or dishonour to þe residew of Romane pepill. Heirfoir, gif þe Romane army, deprest with male fortoun, havand ma<sup>1</sup> nobill men of singlar prudence and counsale þan ar now amang ws, submittit þame to haif peace at þe will of þair inymyis, eschamyng nocht þerof, quhen þai mycht eschew na vther wayis the fury of inymyis, we suld nocht think supreme dishonour, sen we ar wincust, oure realme standand in extreme dangere, oure King & nobillis takin, to haif peace with inymyis in quhatsumeuir sort. And zite, mycht oure commoun wele, quhilk has bene sa wailþeandlie debatit to oure dayis, haif defence ony vther waye, we suld erar ieoparde ws to extreme dangere þan haif sa sorowfull condicionis of peace. Attoure, mycht oure lyvis wilfully offeritt to þe deth deliuer oure realme and pepill fra þis present

(II. 171) dangere, I suld be þe first þat suld offer me to þe deth for þe defence of oure commoun wele. Bot now, sen þe affliccioun cumin to ws is sa extreme þat peace is necessar vnder quhatsumeuir condicionis it maye be had for a tyme, or ellis to

328 tyne þe realme fechtand fulichely with inymyis | to þe deth, best is to obtempir þe desyre of inymyis with peace, and to sauff oure realme, quhilk has bene with sindry chancis of fortoun sa wailleþeantlie defendit, to þe esperance of gretar prosperite, þat ze maye sum tyme recover þe landis reft fra þow be iniure of inymyis. And gif ze vtherwayis doo, ze sall tyne þoure self, þoure wyiffis, childerin and realme, but ony recover." The nobillis assentit to þis counsale of Calene, and send incontinent ambassatouris to haif peace with Britonis and Inglifsmen in þe maner afoir rehersit.

The peace beand ratifijt, Donald was send in Scotland. The Britonis and Inglifsmen satt down in þe landis reft fra Scottis. The Britonis obtenit all þe landis fra Striueling to þe Ireland seyis, and fra the Watter of Forth and Clyde to Cumber, with all municionis in þe samyn. The Inglis men obtenit all landis betuix Striueling & Northumberland. Thus

<sup>1</sup> MS. *na* : correction from A.

wes Clyde marche betuix Scottis & Britonis on þat ane syde, and the Watter of Forth, namyt þe Scottis seye, marche betuix Inglismen and Scottis on þe tothir syde, and Striueling ane *commoun* marche to þe thre pepill, Scottis, Britonis and Inglismen. The castell was in keping of King Oisbrette, quhilk reparit it with new municionis, nochwithstanding þe rwyne of it maid be Scottis quhen þai spoulzeit þe Pichtis of þair realme. This Oisbrete had his connzeouris within þis castell, be quhom þe striueling moneye tuke first begynnyng. The Inglis̄men beildit ane strang brig of stane oure þe Watter of Forth. In þe myddis þairof stude ane ymage of þe crucifix, vnder quhilk was gevin thir versis :

I am fre marche, as passingeris maye ken,  
To Scottis, to Britonis, and to Inglismen.

The Pichtis, seand þe thre pepill, Inglismen, Britonis & Scottis, brocht to þis concorde, dred be suspicioun þat Inglis̄men and Britonis, quhilkis wer afoir þair frendis, suld becum <sup>1</sup> inymyis be desyre of þair landis, and thairfor, to sauff þair lyvis, fled in Norwaye and Denmark to þair freyndis. Vtheris, (II. 172) quhilkis had na refuge, war slayn be Inglis̄men. This was þe end of Pichtis quhilkis fled in Inghland eftir þe expulsoun of þame fra þair realme.

In þe samyn tyme King Donald, quhilk was brocht hayme, þocht he was vnwourthy, with grete triumphe, removitt all vertewis & nobill men oute of his cumpany, and fell to all vices as he did afoir. And þocht importabill aduersite fell to him, ilkane abone vther, 3ite nane of þame, nor 3ite gude consale of his nobillis, mycht draw him fra his corruppit lyffe. And quhen he had tynt þe tane half of his realme be his slouth, and the tothir half mysgydit for falt of iustice, and nathing appering mair clerly þan exterminioun of þair realme be  
329 continewall | sedicionis rysing in þe samyn, he was takin be þe nobillis, þat þe realme suld *nocht* be tynt be his folye, and put in warde, quhair he within few dayis eftir slew him self, þe vj 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun of God viij<sup>c</sup> lx. The samyn tyme sindry *merwellis* wer sene in Albion. In

<sup>1</sup> MS. *cum* : correction from A.

Loutheane was ane childe, havand vj monethis in aige, quhilk schew his moder þat Loutheane suld pas fra Scottis vnder dominioun of þair fayis, and warnit hir þairfor to fle oute of þe samyn. The oxin at þair pasture *with* vncouth rowting schott haistelie to dede. Fysche wes foundin dede fra þe sey syde at Forth, litill different fra þe ymage of ane man. In Gallowaye ane huge multitude of *serpentis* fell oute of þe air, and suddanlye resolut in corrupcion, to þe grete dammage of men & beistis. The spamen coniecturit be þir *mervellis* þe empire of King Donald to end with myscheiff.

(11. 173)

Off King Constantyne and his lawis, and how he pvnist Evanus off þe Ilis for his rebelloun. Ca xiiiij

**D**onald þe tirane slane, as we haif writin, Constantyne, þe son of Kenneth, wes crovnit at Scoyne in þe chair of *merbill*; quhilk sett his besynes in þe begynnyng of his regne to recover þe landis takin fra þe empyre of Scottis be slouth of his eme Donald. The nobillis, knawin þame brokin be dammage of weeris afoir past, wald *nocht* assist to his purpos, and þairfor decernit þe corruppit maneris, quhilkis war brocht amang þe pepill be insolence of King Donald, to be first put doun, becauþ sik thingis maid þe chevelry of Scottis to be degeneratt in febill curage and civill contencionis. To reduce þe realme in sik staitt as it wer afoir, and to repair all errouris, Constantyne *commandit* ane convencioun of nobillis to be at Scoyne, quhair he be publik autorite maid þir lawis vnderwritin.

In þe first, kirkmen to haif deligent cure of divyne *seruice*, abstenand fra all prophane materis, and to leif content of þe doviteis pertenant to þair kirkis, exoneritt of all weirfair, þat þai may alanerlye assist to divyne *seruice*. Als, þai sall *nocht* nureiþ horþ nor houndis for þair pleseir. Þai sall bere na wappynnis, and decyde na prophane accionis. Gif preistis failþe in þe forsaid poyntis, þai sall pay for þe first falt ane sovme of moneye, the secund tyme, gif thaj amendit *nocht*

thair<sup>1</sup> lyfe, to be deprivit of þair preisthede. 3oung childerin salbe refrenit fra all lustis, and nureist with rude mete bot anys in þe daye, abstenand fra all thingis þat may mak þame drunken. All 3oung personis quhilkis ar foundin dronkin  
 330 salbe put to dede. 3oung men salbe exercit in | swyft rymnyng,  
 (II. 174) wersling, with corsbow and hand bow and casting of dart, to hald þame fra sik thingis as makis þame effeminatt; als commandit þame to sleip on burdis and hard beddis, to mak þame reddye to sustene all sorrow in þair weris. And nocht onlie wer thir thingis inhibitt to 3oung men, bot als to agit personis, except þat þai wer sufferitt for reuerence of aige to haif sindry preuilegis. It was commandit be þe samyn decrete, all tavernaris, droncaittis and prouocaris of þe pepill to intemperatt diette or lust sall pas oute of þe cuntre within ane certan daye vnder pane of dede.

Be þir lawis þe pepill within schort procesß war brocht fra corrupit insolence to<sup>2</sup> temperatt maneris, fra softnes to suffer grete labouris, and fra effeminatt & febill personis maid manlie campionis. Followitt sone eftir grete felicite to þe realme throw wise and prudent administracioun of King Constantyne. The first troubill þat raisß in his tyme wes be Evansus, Capitane of þe Ilis. Þe Scottis has bene of sik thrawart<sup>3</sup> and insolent ingyne, ay sen þair first begynnyng, þat þai maye nothir sustene lang peace nor weere. Quhen þai ar waistit be lang weris, na thing is moir displesand to þame þan batall, and þairfor labouris to haif peace with deligence; quhen þai haif lang peace, þai flow in riches, inressing ilk daye with mair insolence; þai may nocht suffer correccioun, and sekis frequent occasioun othir to haif were with inymyis, or ellis to haif were amang þame self. On þe samyn maner Evansus of þe Ilis gaderit ane cumpany of siclyke lymmaris as him self in þe castell of Dounstafage, quhilk he kepit for þe tyme in þe Kingis autorite, and complanit þat þe nobillis of Scotlannd war haldin be lang peace vnder seruitude. Attoure, þair King Constantyne wes ane seveir and vnmerci-full prince, mair proffittabill to commonis þan nobillis, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. *thai*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *be*: correction from A.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *thrawar*.

maid certane lawis to be fulminatt equalie on pure and ryche, but reuerence of ony estaitt, and has rychitt his familiaris be vane colour of iustice and putting his nobillis to grete punicioun, throw quhilk gentilmen mycht haif na schift to sustene þair<sup>1</sup> honouris as þair eldaris did afoir þame, and vile personis of obscure lynnage maid vp of nocht. Na men mycht leiff for his strait lawis, bot gif þai pasß þair tyme with innocence as churlis, quhilk na gentill hart mycht suffer.

(II. 175) Heirfor, þat nobill men may leiff but thirlage, na thing semytt sa gude as to distroye Constantyne; quhilk's beand done, all thingis sall succede at þair desyre. The Ilismen, richt desyrous to haif þair renþeis free, þat þai mycht iniure þe pepill but ony  
 331 pvnicioun, assistit to his opinion, | and solistit all þe pepill of Murray, Roß and Cathanes to rebell aganis þair prince. Nochtþeles, þe tresoun of þis Euanus wes schortlie discoverit to þe King, and causit him with ane cumpany of chosin men to cum haistlye to Dounstafage, quhair þis Euanus happynnit to be for þe tyme, and tuke him be force with sindry his complices. Euanus was hyngytt on ane hye iebaitt, and his complicis brocht to strang castellis, to remane in þe samyn quhill þe nobillis war consultitt quhat pvnicioun suld be maid on þame.

How Hungar and Hubba come with ane grete powere of Danys in Fyfe and Loutheane, and how Hubba wes disconnfist be Constantyne; how Hungar revengit his disconnfitoure, and slew Constantyne, and put his army to flycht. C xv

**E**vanus puneist in þis sort, succedit ane troubill mair displesand. The stait of man has nevir experience of mair aduersite þan quhen þe samyn lest apperis. Gadanus, King of Denmark, come with ane grete army first aganis Scottis and syne aganis Inglifsmen. The motive of his weeris wes becaus þe residew of Pichtis, quhilkis fled in Denmark<sup>2</sup> quhen

<sup>1</sup> MS. þe : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Dennmark*.

þai wer dongin oute of Albion be iniure of Scottis, resignit all richt þat þay micht haiff to þair realme in Albion to him, and for þat cauß he send his twa brethir, Hungar & Hubba, with ane huge flott of Danys in Albion, quhilkis finalie arrivitt baith in Loutheane and Fyffe, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte with swerde and fyre apoun þe inhabitantis þairoff, puttand baith þair kirkis and housß to rwyne. Thir Danys had nocht þe sikkir faith, and þairfor south all kirkmen to þe deth. The Scottis and Inglis̄men war sa astonyst be þis cruelte of Danys þat þai lefft Loutheane & Fyfe waist, and fled quhair þai mycht best to sauff þair lyvis. The samyn tyme wes in þir (II. 176) boundis ane huge novmer of precheouris; and becaus þe cruelte of Danys wes sa intollerabill, þai fled with Adriane, þe Bischop of Scotland, to þe Ile of Man, quhair þat tyme wes ane abbay of monkis. The Danys, havand na reuerence to þis haly place, nor ʒite to innocent men in þe samyn, be cruelte brynt þe abbaye, and put all þe pepill þairintill to deth. This Ile is haldin ʒite in grete reuerence be Inglis̄men and Scottis for þe huge miraculis kythit be this blissit Adriane and his fallowis.

Constantyne, seand þe furious cruelte of Danys ilk day mair incressing, thocht mair expedient to assailze the chance of fortoun quhill his pyssance was haill, þan quhen it wes 332 attenuatt and brokin be frequent displeseiris, and | þerfor commadit all pepill vnder his dominioun to meitt him in þair gudeliest maner agane ane certane daye; the day byrunnyn, rasit his army, and come with hie curage aganis þe Danys, quhilkis war campitt þat tym in Fyffe and devidit twa mylis sindry be þe watter of Levin. This watter was boldin at þair cuming be sik violent schowris þat it mycht nocht be riddin sindry dayis eftir following, and eftir þe invndacioun þerof followitt ane merwellus serenite, and gaiff occasioun to Constantyne to invaid þe Danys with batall. And becaus nane of þir twa armyis of Danis mycht support ane vthir, Constantyne come with arrayitt batall aganis Hubba, quhilk was capitane of Danys on this syde of Levin. On þe tothir syde þe Danys wer sa ferß to fecht aganis þe Scottis þat þai mycht na waye be haldin, for properant ire, within þair campe.

Hubba maid hortacioun to supersede þair furye, quhill þai mycht haif reskourß of frendis ; nochtþeles, þai war sa furious þat þai come to arraye *withoute* avise of þair capitane, Hubba. The Danys had abone þair harnes coit armouris broderit with rede silk, schynand with merwellus brichtnes, and stok swerdis quhom na armour mycht resist. The Danys, cumand *with* this ordinance of armes<sup>1</sup>, apperit richt terribill at þe first sycht. Bot quhen baith þe armyis had standin ane schort tyme arrayitt fornentis vther, þai ionyt with hidduus noyß and reird on all sydis. Followitt ane kene bergane, quhill at last þe Danys, invadit on all sydis be huge multitude of Scottis, gaif bakkis, on quhom wes maid huge slauchter be diuerß chance (II. 177) of fortoun. Mony of þame perissitt in þe revere, vþeris swam throw þe samyn, and war sauff, amang quhom wes Hubba, the capitane of þis wyncust army. In þe menetyme stude Hungar, arrayitt with all his folkis, on þe tothir syde of Levin ; howbeit he mycht mak na reskourß to his frendis, and was reiosit þat his bruper eschapitt baith þe danger of inymyis and watter, and armytt him with huge ire to revenge þe iniuris done to his folkis.

Throw this victory þe Scottis become sa insolent þat þai tuke litill sollicitude of þe rest of þair weeris, traisting þair fais dantit in sik maner þat na chance of aduersite mycht succede in þair displeseir ; and þerfor, havand þe power of inymyis at contempcioun, spendit twa dayis continewally in dansing & revelling with immoderatt blytthnes, and come in sik proude foly þat þai kest cavillis for þe spoulze of Danis, as þe victory of þame had bene present in þair handis, syne tuke avisement quhethir þair inymyis suld be slayn or sauffit to leiff in þair derisioun. At last, be contrair vottis, þe 30ung men and agitt nobillis fell at grete sedicionis, contending 337 amang | þame selff quhay suld haif þe richest presoneris and maist spoulze of þe feild and victory to cum, takand litill consultacioun how þair inymyis suld be wincust.

At last, quhen þe watter of Levin wes fallin, Constantyne brochtoure his army to fecht with þe remanent Danys. The Danys, havand mair sicht to þe governance of batall þan to

<sup>1</sup> MS. *arnes*. Possibly *harnes* is meant.

ony spoulze, arrait þair army in þis sort. In þe vangard was Hubba *with* vj<sup>m</sup> Danys. In þe reirward wes Bvernus, Inglißman, quhilk was bannyst oute of Ingland for pollucioun of Oisbrethtus, King of Inglandis, wyfe, and come to þis feild aganis Scottis with þe residew of Pichtis banyst afoir oute of Albion. In (II. 178) þe myddilward wes Hungar with þe remanent army of Danys, quhom he exhortit to proceid forthwert with grete spreitt aganis þair inymyis, saying, gif þai war victorius, þai sall haif to þair revarde all þe riches and froitt of Albion. Be contrair, gif þai war vincust, *nocht* mycht follow bot herschip and dede. Attoure, he swore nevir to return to his campe withoute he had victory, and causit all þe army of Danys to be sworne in þat samyn wise. On þe tothir syde King Constantyne put Ethus, his bruther, in þe vangard, and Duncane, Thayn of Atholl, in þe reirward, *with* x<sup>m</sup> men in ilkane of þair batellis, and arrayitt him self in þe myddillward with þe residew of Scottis ; syne began to mak his orisoun to his army, thankand God, quhilk gaif þame grace sa wailzeantlie to haif victory of þair inymyis, exhorting þame to tyne *nocht with* schaymfull fleing þe glore of þair recent victory conquest be sa keyn bergan, takand na fere of þair wyncust inymyis, quhais huge bodijs ar mair awfull þan ony þyssance of þair manhede or proves ; and þairfor promittit þame victorye, but danger, gif þai with ane consent come ferslye aganis þair inymyis in batall ; eftir this, *commandit* þame *nocht* to be oure properant, bot suffer þair inymyis cum on þame, traisting þe grete fard of Danys to be brokin be ferß rynnynge, and sa very þat þai mycht be sone ouresett be Scottis. This *commande* of Constantyne did grete impedimentis to Scottis, becaus þair raige and fury, þan byrnand be extreme<sup>1</sup> hattrent aganis þair fais, wes *nocht* litill repressit be þe samyn ; for oure pepill bene vsit, quhen þai meit þair fayis, to cum *with* sik fard and noyis of armoure þat þai ar na leß rasit with hie curage þan þair inymyis be þe samyn astonyst.

Incontinent þe Danys, be sound of trumpaitt, come foirthwart  
 334 bot quhen þai saw thair | aduersaris *nocht* meit þame be craft  
 of weirfair, þai repressitt þair passage, and stude quhill þai

<sup>1</sup> MS. *extreme*.



had refreschit þame with new air, and incontinent schoyt þair dartis and ganzeis. On þe tothir syde the Scottis schott þair arrowis, and slong stanys. Baith þe armyijs ionytt, and faucht with incredibill fury on all sydis. Nochþeles, þe Scottis wes finalye disconnfist, and put to flicht, on quhom followit þe Danys with bludy swerd, and maid vntellabill slauchter be lang chace. In þis vnhappy bergane was slayn x<sup>m</sup> Scottis, and King Constantyne takin, bot he was brocht to ane cove, *nocht* far fra þe batall, quhair he was hedit. In (II. 179) memory herof, the place quhair he was slayn is ʒite callit þe Blak Cove.

How Ethus was maid king of Scottis ; how Osbrete and Ella, with mony vther pepill, war slayne be cruelte of Danys ; off sindry marvellis sene in Albion, and of þe deth of King Ethus. Ca xvj

**T**hrow this vnhappy batall sik miserie and intollerabill skaithis followitt to Scottis that, had *nocht* bene Ethus, *bruþer* to King Constantyne, and fled afoir in þe vangard with mony vther nobillis depending on him for þat tyme to sauff him to ane bettir fortoun, þe Scottis had bene endit, and put þis daye oute of memorye. The residew of Scottis quhilkis eschakit þis vnhappy feild come to Skoyne, and crownit Ethus in þe fatall chair of *merbyll*, þe tent ʒere of þe regnne of Constantyne, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>o</sup> lxxiiij ʒeris.

The samyn ʒere wer sene vncouth *merwellis* in Albion. Ane huge multitude of fysche was sene in Fortht, þe tane half of þame abone þe watter, na thing different fra þe figure of ane man, callit be þe pepill Bassinates, quhilk signifijs troubill ay eftir þai be sene. The lochis and fludis stude frosin fra þe begynnnyng of Nouember to þe end of Aprile, eftir quhilk followitt thowe with sik continewall rayn and snawis þat all þe planys stude full of watter. And sone eftir followitt sik incredibill multitude of paddokkis þat þe air wes infeckitt, to þe grete *dammage* of þe pepill. The samyn tyme wes ane huge comette sene, with fyry bemys, rysing afoir none, and

schayn all þe moneth of Aprile. The pepill, astonyst with sic  
 335 vncouth merwellis, belevit grete affliccioun to | cum on þame.

The Danys eftir þis victory of Scottis come in Louthean,  
 and chasit þe inhabitantis þeroff in Northumberland, quhair  
 þai slew Oisbrete and Ella, twa of þe gretest princes of England,  
 be support of Brvernus, Erle of Northumbirland, and eftir  
 (II. 180) þis slauchter went with bludy swerd throw all þe boundis of  
 Inglandd, cessing fra na maner of cruelteis on Cristin pepill;  
 throw quhilk happinitt þat mony haly men sufferit martirdome  
 at þis tyme in England, amang quhom þe haly man Sanct  
 Edmond, King of Northfok and Sowthfok, wes slayn be þair  
 tyranny. The remanent Kingis of England faucht certane 3eris  
 eftir be sindry chancis of forton aganis þe Danys. Mony of  
 all þe Inglismen þat duelt fornentis þe Almane seyis war othir  
 slayne or thirlit to *seruitude* of Danys. Nochþeles, all this  
 cruelte of Danys wes repressitt be þe wailþeand Alarudus,  
 quhilk succedit eftir King Eldreid to þe realme of Northfok  
 and Southfok. He wyncust þe Danys be frequent bataill, and  
 slew baith Hungar & Hubba, and restorit England be force  
 of manhede to liberte. Bot we will return to þe remanent  
 gestis of King Ethus.

It is sayid, þis prince wes sa swift þat he mycht tak ane  
 hart or ane hounde be force of speid. Nochþeles, quhatsumeir <sup>1</sup>  
 giftis of nature followitt him, he apperit richt vnabill to governe  
 þe realme, for quhen he mycht haif recoveritt with sobyr  
 besynes Fyffe and Loutheane *with* vther landis takin fra  
 Scottis be iniure of Inglismen & Britonis, he tuke na respect  
 of chevelry, havand moir sycht to his lust þan *commoun* wele,  
 as þe realme suld *nocht* haif bene reformitt to ane bettir chance,  
 and *seruit* his vnbridillitt lust, but ony respect to polesye  
 civill or religiouß maneris. And þocht he was richt fembill  
 and deliuer of body, with mony vther giftis of God and nature,  
 3ite he abusit þame sa þat na thing semyt him in his gouernance.  
 The nobillis, knawing his corruppitt maneris noysum to þair  
*commoun* wele, and abill to gener displeserr amang þe pepill, þat  
 þe realme suld noch cum to mair affliccion be mys gouernance  
 of ane man, tuke qwyete aviseament amang þame self how þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. *quhatsumeur*.

King mycht be takin and kept in festnace, and þe gouernance of þe realme gevin to ane nobill man mair prudent and abill for þe samyn. And þat þis mater suld nocht be revelit, þai  
 336 come to þe King at Cawdor Wod, quhair | he wes at his huntis, and brocht him be force to publik keping, in þe quhilk he decessit þe thrid daye eftir þat he was putt in þe samyn for doloure, the secund 3ere of his regnne.

(II. 181)

Off King Gregoir and his lawis ; how he recouerit certane landis of his realme, and disconnfist Herdont with all þe army of Danys ; how Rasyne, grete capitane of Danys, wes slayne be Inglismen.

Ca xvij

**E**thus decessit in þis sort, Gregoir, son to Dongallus þat Erang afoir Alpyne, was crownit at Skoyne, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>o</sup> lxxvj 3eris. This Gregoir had bot twa monethis in aige quhen his fader, King Dongallus, perissit at Spey, and grew ilk daye in provin manhede and vertu, þat all þe pepill with ane mynde and voce chesit him to be king. Gregoir, maid king in þis maner, that he mycht begyn his empyre with mair felice, sett ane convencioun of his nobillis at Forfair for eking of divyne seruice, and, to caufs þe samyn increas with mair reuerence, commandit all kirkmen to be exoneratt fra generall exaccionis, tributte, weirfair and prophane iugement perpetuallie in tymes cuming, submittit alanerlye to þair ordinar. He gaif als licence to bischoppis to tak cognicioun in all spirituall materis, and to constrayn publik and privatt personis to obserue þair faith & promys, and to pvneifs þame quhilkis violatt þe samyn, with power als to mak lawis and constitucionis for þe wele of þe Cristin faith, to discuss all debaittis concernyng obligacionis or legacijs, to interprete lawis, als to puneifs maynsworn pepill, blasphemouris of God or sanctis, to cursf all pepill rebelland to þair constitucionis, and to inhibit þame to cum quhair divyne seruice wes maid ; all personis quhilkis wer cursit be þame to brouke na heretage,

nor 3ite be hard in iugement, and exilit fra gude cumpany, to bere na witnes, nor 3ite bere office. He *commandit* als (II. 182) þat all princes succeding in tymes *cuming* eftir him sall mak þair aith eftir þair coronacioun to defend þe honour and liberte of Halykirk and kirkmen, and sall mak na derogacioun to þe constitucionis of þe Kirk. This Gregoir had ane naturall inclinacioun to þe *seruice* of God, with sik grave and sentencious langage þat all his wourdis and dedis apperit iustelie mesuritt in ballance. He wes sa institute in his 3outh, and drawin fra all effeminatte werkis, þat he leiffitt all his dayis ane 337 hevyinlie lyfe, bot dantand | his body with skairfs fude, drynk and sleip, withoute lust or conversacioun of woman. He had ane ingyne na leß gevin to polesye and administracioun of iustice than to chevelrye.

The first iornaye þat he maid wes in Fyffe, to recover þe samyn fra þe tiranny of Danys. Þe Pichtis, quhilkis war left be Danys to inhabitt þe said land, war so astunyst þat þai fled, to eschew þe hattrent of Scottis, in Loutheane. Gregoir, fyndand Fyfe desert in þis maner, brocht Scottis oute of sindry partis of his realme to inhabitt þe samyn; eftir þis come in Loutheane, and brocht it in þat samyn maner to his dominioun; syne went in þe Merfs, quhair certane cumpanyis of Pichtis and Danys wer assemblit to geif him batall. Nochpeles, quhen þai saw sa huge multitude of Scottis in þair sicht, þai changit purpoß, and fled to Berwik, quhair sindry vther Danys wer of þair opinioun, and sone eftir þaj went in Northumberland, becaus sindry Danys war laitlie *cumin* in þe samyn. The Inglismen quhilkis wer þat tyme in Berwyk, havand na thing in mair hattrent þan þe empire of Danys, randritt the toun of Bervik to Scottis. Gregoir, ressaving þe toun on þis wise, sufferit all Inglisþmen to depart or remane in þe samyn at þair pleseir, and slew all Danys quhom he fand in it with grete cruelte. And quhen he had garnyst þis toun with strang soidiouris and vther necessaris for keping þairof, he come with his army in Northumbirland, to eyk þe samyn to þe empire of Scottis. In þe samyn tyme twa armyis war liand in Northumberland, þe tane of Danys *nocht* far fra 3ork, þis vther of Inglisþmen xx mylis fra þe campe of Scottis.

Herdontus, Prince of Danys, herand þe slauchter maid on his freyndis at Berwik, maid his aith to revenge þe samyn with sik cruelte on Scottis that nane of þair blude salbe left on lyve within Albion, and to bring his purposß to effect come with displayitt banner nocht far fra þe samyn place quhair þe Scottis war campit for þe tyme. And quhen Gregoir was (II. 183) exhorting his folkis to schaw þair manhede aganis þair inymyis, sik fury raiß amang þame, be desyre of batall, that he thocht mar necessair to arraye þame for batall þan to abyde in ony hortacioun þairof. Nochþeles, he besocht þame to revenge the slauchter of King Constantyne, quhilk wes slayn tresonabillie be Danys eftir þat he was takin. The Scottis ruschitt incontinent with maist rageand cruelte and sic properant farde of speeris that þair inymyis had na lasair to schutt þair dartzis, throw quhilk þe formaist brount of þame wes born to 338 þe ground *wit* speris. | Eftir þis ordinance off speris þe residew of Scottis come with lang swerdis, billis and aixis, in sik birnand ire þat þaj nedit na hortacioun to schaw þair furious spreitt aganis þair fais; throw quhilkis þe Danis war wyncust, and chasit to þe nixt montanis, on quhom followitt þe Scottis with na les fury þan afoir in batall, censing fra na maner of cruelte þat mycht be devisit. Herdontus þe nixt daye colleckitt þe residew of his army, and seand maa of þame slayn þan wes on live, purposit to pas to Rasyne, quhilk wes grete maister of þe Danys in Inglande. And skarslie wes his army passitt xl mylis, quhen sikkir tythingis come that Rasyne wes slayn and all his army disconnfist be Ingliß men, and, to his mair derisioun, his hede borne on ane staik throw sindry tovnis and cieteis of Ingland, throw quhilk þe proude empire of Danys apperit to haif rwyne in Inglandd. Herdontus, astonyst be thir tythingis, and *nocht* knawing quhat wes to be done for inymyis on all sydis, parkit his army in ane straitt place, with purposß to remane in þe samyn, quhill he wes aduerteist quhat þe remanent Danys intenditt to doo.

(II. 184)

How Gregoir ekit Northumberland to the empyre of Scottis, and recouerit sindry landis of Scotlannd ; how Constantyne, King of Britonis, come aganis Gregoir with ane grete army, and wes slayne and his army disconnfist ; off þe peace maid betuix Scottis and Britonis ; of þe orison maid be King Gregoir to his nobillis, and how Inglismen & Scottis wer *confiderat* aganis Danys. C xviiij

**E**ftir this victory of Danys Northumbirland come vnder þe empire of Gregoure, and all þe inhabitantis þairof thirlit with small tribute to his dominioun. Schort tyme eftir, quhen his army wes skalit, he come to Berwyk, quhair he remanit þe nixt wynter, avisand be quhatt waye maist felicite mycht succede to his realme ; at þe begynnyng of þe nixt *sommer* rasiť his army aganis þe Britonis, quhilkis had þat tyme, as we haif schawin, grete boundis of Scotland ; quhilk iornaye succedit to him with na les felicite þan þis vther done afoir aganis þe Danys. For þe Britonis, attenuaitt be frequent invasioun of Danys, gaif þame ane huge sovme of money to haif peace for xx ȝeris. Howbeit, þe Danys stude *nocht* lang at þis confiderance, for within few ȝeris þai invadit  
 339 þame | with mair iniuris þan afoir. The Britonis, dredand ȝite þe new attemptatis of Danys, send ane herald to Gregoir, promittand to renunce all landis pertenyng to þe empyre of Scottis, to support þame aganis þe Danys. Gregoir, knawing, gif þe thre pepill of Albion, Scottis, Britonis and Inglismen, war confideratt vnder ane mynde and pyssance, na vncouth pepill wer to be dred, condiscendit to þair desyris. The Scottis and Britonis finalye aggreitt on all debaittis. All landis takin afoir fra Scottis be iniure of Britonis war randrit plesandlie to Gregoir, throw quhilk þe realm of Scottis was dilatit to þe auld marchis.

The peace tretit in þis maner apperit na leß terribill to þe Danys þan plesant to þe Albanis, þocht it indurit schort tyme. For þe proude felicite fallin to Inglismen be victory of Danys

(II. 185) and slauchter of Alarudus þair capitane<sup>1</sup> gaif occasioun to Britonis to brek þis band laitlie maid with Scottis. For sone eftir Constantyne, King of Britonis, began to be penitent þairof, and to recover þe said landis to his empire, come with ane grete army in Annandale, throw quhilk þe peace wes dissoluit betuix Scottis and Britonis. The Britonis send to Inglismen for support aganis Gregoir, and quhen þai war frustrat þairof, þai tuke ane huge pray of gudis oute of Annandale, with purposß to pas with þe samyn in Walis. King Gregoir, aduerteist of þir extorsionis, mett King Constantyne at Lochmabane, quhair it wes cruellye fochtin on all sydis, quhill at last Constantyne, seand his assenþe *nocht* ereckitt with sa pert curage as he desyrit, ruschitt *wit* maist properant ire to the defence þerof, quhair he, fechtand in maist fury, with mair respect to his honour þan lyiff, wes slayne be inmyis; eftir quhais deth followit sa huge slauchter of his strangest campionis þat þe residew of Britonis gaif bakis.

The Britonis, brokin with þis affliccioun, war brocht in maist hattrent baith to Scottis and Danys, and na thing luffit with Inglisþmen. Nochþeles, þat þair realme suld *nocht* failþe, þai chesit Herbert, quhilk was bruther to Constantyne afoir slayn, to be þair king, and send þair oratouris to King Gregoir, desyring peace, saying þe violacioun of þe band betuix þame and Scottis was onlye be ferce insolence of King Constantyne, quhilk wes pvnyst iustlie for his offence, to grete dammage of Britonis; and þairfor, sen he was pvnyst, na occasioun apperit to dissolue þe band afoir contrackitt. Attoure, þair  
 340 King Herbert is ane luffair of peace, & desyring | na thing sa mekill as to leiff in confideratt amite with his nychtbouris, specialie<sup>2</sup> þe Scottis. To this messaige ansuerit Gregoir: "Na luffe of peace, na reuerence of band or aith, movit Britonis to seyke peace at ws, sen þai, but ony respect to thair faith or band, come in Annandale, wirkand importabill iniuris, but ony occasioun þairof, bot alanerlie becaus þai wer *nocht* of pyssance to contend with ws, knowing na thing bettir þan

<sup>1</sup> So MS.: mistranslation of *Danis Alluredo duce superatis*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *spcialie*.

vtter exterminioun of þair realme, gif þai sustene ony langair weeris. And þairfor schaw 3oure King Herbert, I will haif na peace with him nor his tresonabill pepill, quhill all þe (II. 186) municionis<sup>1</sup> of Cumbyr and Westmureland be randrit in þe handis of Scottis, with sikkir band of faith never to clame þai landis in tymeze cuming, and lx nobill personis to be gevin in plege for the observacioun þairof." King Herbert, seand his realme in hie daynger, and dredand þe samyn to cum to vtter rwyne gif he perseveritt in batall, condiscendit be avise of his nobillis to fulfyll all thingis at þe desyre of Gregoir.

þe pleggis gevin in þis maner, þe Britonis left Cumbyr & Westmureland, and past in Wales, and Gregoir went to Carlile, quhair he assembillit his nobillis to ane counsale, and sayid in þis maner: "It is patent enewch, quhat felicite is *cumin* to oure realme be propiciant favoure of God, sen wee began to honour him with trew religion and faith, in safer as he has *nocht* onlie restorit to ws, but ony grete slauchter or perrell, þe landis takin sum tyme fra oure eldaris be iniure of Danys, Inglifsmen and Britonis, bot als in pvnesing of þair iniquite has brocht þir nobill landis, Northumberland, Cumbir and Westmureland, in oure handis. We haif obtenit be grace and favoure of God mair þan we belevitt: oure landis recouerit, and diuersþ boundis of Inglismen and Britonis falling to ws be richt of batall; we haif honest victory, but ony danger precedent; wee haif triumphe of inymyis, with laude and gloir to oure posterite; be contrair, oure inymyis wincust and tynt þe landis with schayme quhilkis þai reft fra ws afoir with tyranny, and ar *nocht* only dongin fra þair rowmes, bot als invaditt on *euery* syde with vncouth and domestik weeris, throw quhilk þai dar *nocht* assailze the chance of fortoun with ws, and has brocht þaim self to irrecouerabill dishonour. The Britonis, wyncust be oure chevelry, be speciall favoure of God, ar fled in Walis, and na bettir chance succeding to Danys, bot dongin oute of þair boundis schaymfullie with irrecouerabill  
341 slauchter, for | þe iniuris done afoir to ws, Cumbyr, Westmureland and Northumberland, *with* all municionis in þe samyn, ar pray to ws, to be vsit at oure pleseir. Heirfor, maist vailþeant

<sup>1</sup> MS. *mnicionis*.



men, 3oure provin manhede and vertu, to quhom God standis sa propiciant, persuadis nocht to rest with þis victory, nor zite to be content with þis praye, bot to follow maist vehementlie þe felicite afferitt to ws be providence of God. And now na (II. 187) villagis nor rude pepill ar to be assailzeit ; bot sen inymyis apperis in na partis, þair strang wallis and municionis ar to be takin be preß of armys. The Danys ar wyncust and fled in Kent. The Inglismen, astonyst, with slak curage, hes left all chargis of battalis in oure handis aganis þair inymyis. Latt ws, heirfoir, pas with recent victory to 3ork, quhair mair labour and richare praye of gudis abydis ws. Thir ar þe chargis quhilkis I wald persuaide, þat we with marciall actis maye revenge þe iniure of inymyis, þat indeficient honour may succeid to ws with hye felicite." Be thir wourdis of Gregoir ilk man maid provisioun of all thingis necessair for his weeris.

The samyn tyme come to Gregoir the ambassatouris of Alarudus, King of Inglandd, reiosand þat he *with* invincibill curage had dantit his inymyis and sa vailzeantlie revengit þe slauchter of Constantyne, King of Scottis, þat þe Danys be his support war drevin oute of Albion, desiring him þairfor to renew þe auld band of peace, þat Inglismen and Scottis, confideratt to giddir vnder ane mynde, may resist þe said Danys, gif þai return in Albion. Gregoir assentit to þair petitionis, and sone eftir þe peace wes confermytt with certane new condicionis ekitt in maner following : That Scottis sall posseid perpetuallie Northumberland, but ony infestacioun of Inglis men. Gif þe Danys move were aganis ony ane of þir twa pepill, þe iniure salbe repute as *commoun* to þame baith, and baith þair pepill to rais þair army vnder ane mynde to *withstand* þair iniuris. Nothir Inglismen nor Scottis sall invaid *vperis* landis. Gif ony thevis of Ingland mak ony thift or reiff *within* þe landis of Scottis, þe peace sall nocht be dissoluit þairwith, bot baith þe theiff and ressetoure salbe deliueritt to Scottis for redress. The Scottis sall persevere in þat samyn maner *with* Inglismen.

(II. 188)

How King Gregoir come in Irelande to revenge certane iniuris done to his liegis in Gallowaye, and how he dantit þe samyn *with* sindry victorijs, and was gouernoure þairof mony 3eris ; off his loving and deth.

Ca xix

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**T**he peace ratifijt in maner forsaid, quhen Gregoir belevitt to haif put fyne to all his weeris, he was constranit be new troubill of Ireland to renew þe samyn. The Ireland men come with ane new grete flott in Gallowaye, and tuke ane huge praye of gudis oute of þe samyn, becaus twa schippis of þair realme war spoulzeit afoir be þe inhabitantis of Gallowaye. Gregoir thocht þe iniure of Ireland men þe mair importabill þat þai socht nocht redrefß, gif ony iniuris wer done to þame, afoir þair invasioun ; and þairfor, to revenge þe samyn, come with ane grete army in Ireland, and maid all þe princis þerof astonyst be his cuming. In þe menetyme twa princes of Ireland, namitt Brenus and Cornelius, wes contending for þe crovun, be þe deceß of Duncan þair King. The princes of Ireland tuke trewis for certane dayis. Nochþeles, þe Scottis, eftir þaire cumyng in Ireland, went with bludy swerde on þe pepill þairof, and spoulzeit þair municionis with sic cruelte þat apperitt, gif þair fury wer nocht þe mair haistelie repressit, all Ireland to pas vnder þair empyre. Thir twa princes forsaid come with doubill army to þe revere of Bane, and parkit þame in sindry campis vnder ane montane callit Fute, to þat fyne þat þe army of Scottis suld laik vittalis be lang produccioun of tyme. Bot all þair devise was frustratt, for ilk Scott, be prudent industry of Gregoir, had brocht sufficientt vittalis to sustene þame for l dayis. The place quhair þir twa armyis laye wes sa strang þat na inmyis mycht haif passage to invaid þame. Gregoir tuke consultacioun certane dayis quhat was to be done, and quhen he had serchitt all wayis to invaid his inmyis, he send ij<sup>m</sup> men to þe bak of Mont Fute be ane stanry waye, to þat fyne þat quhen he assailzeit þir armyis in þe nixt morrow, þir vther Scottis suld cast doun grete craggis on þair bakkis, throw quhilk, as he

(II. 189)

belevitt, othir þe Ireland men suld suffer intollerabill iniuris, or ellis constrant to geif haistly batall. And quhen þai had socht be lang avisement quhai suld tak þis charge on hande, Kenneth, Thane of Carrik, offerit him wilfullie to þe samyn, and come to þe bak of þe forsaid montane in maner afoir devisit, and kest sa incredibill novmer of stanys doun on þe army, quhair *Brennus* laye, þat he with sindry of his strangest nobillis was slayn, and þe residew for fere *perof* put to flycht ; on quhom followitt þe Scottis with sik fury þat part wer slayne and vperis brocht presoneris to King Gregoir. Cornelius, 343 seand sik displeseris | falling to his college, fled to Dublyne.

Gregoir, eftir þis victory, gart bery þe body of *Brennus*. Sone eftir, becaus he was mercyfull and sufferit na iniuris to be done be his army, sindry pepill of Ireland randrit to him þair landis and municionis with þame self and þair gudis, quhom he ressauit with grete beneuolence, and sufferit na (II. 190) iniuris to be done to þame. Eftir þis twa strang townys, Dongarde and Pont, wer randrit to him, quhilkis he garnyst with his soidjouris, and tuke bot ane sobyr money fra þe cietezanis þairof in redempcioun of þair gudis. And quhen he was passand to sege Dublyne, þe principall toun of Ireland, he wes aduerteist þat Cornelius, quhilk wes þat tyme maid governour of Ireland, was cumand to invaid him with ane huge army, and þairfor he left his purpoß and went to ane strenth *nocht* far fra thens. The nixt morrow apperitt iij batallis of Ireland men in sycht. The first wes of lycht bodin men, archearis, castaris of dartis and slongis. The secund wes of stowitt men, armytt with coittis of mailþee and lang swerdis. In þe thrid batall wes Cornelius with all þe nobillis of Ireland, instruckit ferslie to fecht for þair manhede and curage to þe deth, havand lang *suerdis*, billis, aixis and ledin mellis. Gregoir, seand þis ordinance of inymyis aganis him, *commandit* ane buscheament of Scottis, armyt *with* lang speris, to sett on þe archearis, to bere þame be force of speris to þe ground. Cornelius, seand his folkis borne a bak be þis waye, *commandit* with huge cry to cutt þe speris ; and quhen he had liftit vp þe visair of his hewmont to exhort his folkis mair ernslie to fecht, he wes schott in þe faace with ane spere,

and constranit be þe samyn to pas oute of þe feild, throw quhilk þe remanent of his army gaif bakkis, on quhom followitt mair slauchter in þe chaisþ þan wes afoir in þe faace of þe batall, and continewitt still on þame, quhill þai wer chasit within þe wallis of Dublyne. The Ireland men wer sa brokin be þis batall þat þai mycht assembl na army in tymes cuming aganis Scottis.

The nixt day Gregoir beltit þe toun of Dublyn with ane strang sege. In þis toun wes sa grete novmer of pepill þat þe samyn began haistelye to lak vittalis, and constranyt to seik peace. Sum of þame allegit mair honest wes to ische and to ieoparde þame to extreme chance of fortoun, þan to be subdewit to þe empyre of Scottis. Vtheris, seand þe grete troubill & slauchter þat wes cumin on þame be þe last batall, and dredand  
 (II. 191) vtter exterminioun of þair realme, gif þair nobillis wer presentlye  
 344 | distroyit, send with ane consent Bischoþ Cormachus, ane man of singlar prudence, to King Gregoir, desyring him to haif miseracioun on þair toun and of þair tendir prince, Duncan, his cousing, to quhom the crowne of Ireland iustlie pertent, remembring als þat all princes suld haif sycht als wele to þair honour as proffitt, and þairfor it wes na honour to him to mak conquest on ane young knyght, quhilk he suld defend be amite & blude; and all þat wes in it to be at his commande; and þairfor prayit<sup>1</sup> him to avise quethir it wes erar þe office of ane king to defend þe richt of princes and tovnis, or to se þame desolaitt and brocht to eversioun. King Gregoir ansuerit þat he come *nocht* in Ireland to conquest it, nor zite to defraude his cousing Duncan of þe crowne, bot onlie to revenge þe iniuris done to his pepill, for þe Scottis movit na were quhill Ireland began it first on þame. Nochþeles, he suld avise how he mycht put ane end to all his weeris, and sauff þe crowne to Duncan, quhill he wes redde to succede, but ony displeseir to cum to þe pepill of Ireland.

The cietesouris of Dublyne, herand this ansuere, oppynnit

<sup>1</sup> Something appears to be omitted in these two lines. A. reads: *ane young knyght, sen he was oblist be proximate of blude to defend him quhill he wer cumin to more perfectioun of zeris, and because þe toun of Dublin and every thing in it was at his command, þai prayit.*

þe portis to ressaif Gregoure with his army. Gregoir, suspectand sum hyd tresoun in þair doyngis, send his exploratouris to serche þe samyn, and quhen he wes aduerteist þat þe pepill stude to him fauorabill, he enterit with grete triumphe in þe tovun. Þe pepill mett him with processiou, amang quhom wes Cormachus þe Bischof in his pontificall, berand þe croce, eftir quhom come þe nobillis of Ireland, desyryng maist humilie grace. Gregoir, seand þame cum with processiou, lichtitt of his horß, and *with* grete veneracioun kyst þe croce. Than Cormachus sayid to him: "Wee thank God þat hes gevin þe sic piete and grace to suffir na affliccioun of fyre and swerd to cum on þis toun, howbeit oure gudis and bodeis suld pertene to the be richt of armys." Gregoir, enterand in þe toun on þis sort, went straucht to the merkett gaitt, quhair he commandit ane huge cumpany of armyt men to abyde, reddy for all auentouris; syne, accompanyitt with ane part of chosin men, went to þe kirk of Our Lady, and eftir þat to þe kirk of Sanct Patrik; and quhen he had done his deuocioun, he went to þe castell. The nixt morrow part of Scottis, quhilkis had fulzeitt virgynnis & matronis

345 | in þe nycht afoir, wer takin, and be iustice of this nobill prince  
 (II. 192) put to deth; quhilk thing causit him to be had with grete favoure and beneuolence amang þe pepill. Eftir this ane counsale wes sett betuix Gregoir and þe nobillis of Ireland, in the quhilk peace wes roboratt vnder þir condicionis: That 3oung Duncan, Prince of Ireland, salbe gevin in keping of wise preceptouris to be institute of all morall disciplinis in þe castell of Dublyne, and Gregoir to be governoure of Ireland during his tendir aige, and sall ressaif all þe municionis of þe cuntre, to gyde þe samyn in iustice. Attoure, na Inglismen, Britonis nor Danys, withoute his conduct, salbe ressaut in Ireland. The Ireland men swoir with glaid chere to fulfill all þir poyntis, and þe mair plesandlie becaus Gregoir wald nocht vsurpe þe crowne of Ireland in dammage of þe native prince, howbeit he mycht haif done þe samyn with litill danger.

All hattrent and weeris extinct in þis sort in Ireland, Gregoir returnit with his victorious army in Albion, with lx plegis of

þe nobillis sonis<sup>1</sup> of þat regeoun for sicker obseruacioun of all articulis afoir devisit. Eftir þis þe Scottis had gude peace, but ony troubill, during all þe tyme of Gregoir; quhill at last þis nobill prince, protectoure of þe Kirk and haldair of his pepill in equite, na leß pyssant in polesy, religioun and iustice þan in marciall dedis and gloir of chevelry, fell be lang aige in infirmiteis, and decessit in ane castell of Gareouch namyt Drundore, that is to say, þe goldin hyll, þe xviiij 3ere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxiiij 3eris; quhais body wes brocht to Colmkyll, and berijt with solempne triumphe amang þe anciant sepulturis of vther Kingis afoir decessit.

(II. 193) Off King Donald þe Fyft; how þe realme of Normannis and duchery of Flanderis tuke begynnyng; of þe grete chevelry of Danys in sindry partis of þe warld; off sindry lawis maid be King Donald, and of his deth. C xx

Gregoir decessit, as said is, Donald þe Fifte, son to Constantyne þe Secund, wes maid king; quhilk wes ane prince of na les manhede and curage þan Gregoir, howbeit he  
346 had nocht sa gude | fortoun, as we sall eftir schaw.

In þe tyme of Gregoir wes the nobill clerk Iohnne Scott, ane man of grete erudicioun in divyne *lettres*. He studeit mony 3eris in Greik at Athenis, throw quhilk he wes brocht oute of Athenis in France be Lowis, Romane Emprioure, quhair he maid sindry werkis, amang quhom he translatit þe Iherarchie of Sanct Denys in Latyne, quhilk is ane buke haldin in grete veneracioun amang clerkis, and moralie new *commentit* be ane doctour of Pareiß, namit Victor. This Iohnne Scott was send eftir, be *commande* of Charlis the Thrid, King of Romanis, as ambassiadoure to Alarudus, King of Ingland, to thank him þat eftir victory of Danys þe said Alarudus had maid amite with his confideratt frendis þe Scottis; to quhom he wes maid sa tendir þat he was chosin

<sup>1</sup> MS. *son* : correction from A.

preceptor to his sonnys. And quhen he had techit baith morall and naturall philosophy with theologie in ane abbay of Ingland, namyt Mawisbury, and spred letteris amang 3oung men of þat cuntre, gevand his besynes to repres and cestifye þair corruppit maneris, thir 3oung men, quhen he was redand maist curioslie, slew him for repreving of þair vices ; and sone eftir he was ekitt to þe novmer of sanctis.

Schort tyme afoir sik doyngis þe realme of Normanis began in France. Rolland, King of Denmark, gaderit ane grete cumpany of Danys oute of Ingland, Norwaye, Swethrik and Denmark, and 3eid throw sindry partis of France, cessing fra na maner of cruelte on þe pepill þairof. And becaus Charles (II. 194) þe Grosse, þan Empriour, wes implicatt with frequent weeris in Italie aganis þe Sarracenis, þe cruelte of Danys was þe leß dantit. Thir Danys, ilk day rageand in mair cruelte, brocht sindry pepill and townis of France to þair dominioun ; throw quhilk apperitt, gif þair fury wer *nocht* þe mair haistlie impeschit, all France to pas vnder þair empyre ; quhill at last Charlis, Empriour, and King of France, returnit with all his ordinance to resist the invasionis of Danys, and þai in þe samyn maner assemblit maist aufullie to meit him. The princes of France, knawin wele þe grete ferocite of Danys provin afoir in all partis quhair þai bene assail3eitt, and seand þame be frequent victory sa insolent þat, but huge slauchter, þai *mycht* nocht be ourethrawin, persuadit þe King of France to 347 mak peace with þe said Rolland, | þat þair realme suld *nocht* be ieopardit to extreme danger throw þe weris baith in Italye and France. At last, be assent of þe King, peace wes roboratt with þe Danys in þis sort, þat King Charlis dochter salbe gevin in mariage to Rolland, and Rolland with all þe Danys sall ressaif þe Cristin faith, and in name of touchir sall haif all þai landis quhilkis wer namit afoir Newstria, liand betuix Deip, Picardy, Pareiß and Bertanze, quhilkis wer callit be him Normandy, þat is to say þe realme of Northmanis. Rolland, maid king of Normandy be þis peace, wes namyt Robert be ressait of baptisme, and *commandit* be þe said Charlis to pay ane 3erelie tributt to him and his posterite, to signify þat þe said landis war *nocht* conquest be force of

armys, bot onlie gevin fra þe crowne of France in mariage. The 3ere þat Normannis began to regnne in Normandy wes fra þe Incarnacioun viij<sup>o</sup> lxxxvj 3eris.

The grete fury of Danys, wrocht in sindry partis of þe warld, wes in grete admiracioun to all pepill. Afoir þis tyme þai maid were on Lotharius, þe first King of France of þat name, and becaus his sonnys wer devidit in sindry faccionis, grete affliccioun apperit to þe realme be civill contencionis, for þe Danys enterit in France and put þe cuntre to grete herschippis and cruelte besyde þe river of Liger. And þocht King Charlis, quhilk succedit eftir Lotharius, come with huge armyis aganis þame, 3ite he mycht nocht repres þair cruelte, bot dang þame to Normandy and vther boundis of þe merchis of France. And nocht onlie þai wer nocht<sup>1</sup> contentit of þir rowmys, bot 3eid in Italy, and oureraid all Sicill, Calabre and Neaplis, be Gustard þair capitane. Þis Gustard wes þe fyft man þat rang eftir Rolland, alias Robert, in Normandy; (II. 195) for Rolland gat on King Charlis dochter Williame, to William succedit Richard, to Richard succedit Richard þe Secund, quhilk had twa sonnys, Robert and Gustard. This Robert gatt Williame the Bastard of Normandy, quhilk come eftir in Inghland, and dantit baith þe Danys & Inghlismen, syne tuke þe crowne þerof; quhais blude 3ite regnis with grete felicite in Inghland. The samyn tyme Baldwyne marit þe dochter of Clotharius, King of France, and gat be hir þe duchery of Flandris, quhilk wes afoir þat tyme inhabit mair with wylde bestis þan ony pepill. Bott we will return to *our* history.

King Donald off Scotlannd, seand in mymyis appeir in na partis, gaif his besynes mair to polesy and iustice þan ony chevelry, and governit þe realme in grete felicite, suffering na 348 iniuris to be done to his pepill. And þat all thingis salbe done with na leß moderacioun þan | honeste, he causit his pepill to haif industry and craft to increas in riches, for Crist, þe Lord of vertu, gaif him sik grace þat he honorit all seruandis of God, and defendit þame fra all damage. He maid ane edict þat

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *nocht*, omitted also by A. : insertion from printed text, confirmed by Latin.



all pepill quhilkis blasphemit God or his sanctis, or mayn swoir þair self, or spak of þe devill, salbe brynt with ane hait irne on þair lippis. Nochþeles, þis abhominabill and vnhappy blasphemying is ryssin new amang ws be insolence of grete men mair þan evir it raiß in ony tyme afoir amang oure eldaris, and hes safer infeckit þe ingyne of *our* pepill þat few ar fondin at þis tyme havand sik reuerence to God, or sycht to þair awne wele, þat þai abhorre þir detestabill aithis and blasphemacioun forsaid; bot, as þai wer lefull and sum honeste in þe samyn to decoir þe doaris *perof*, ilk daye rysis new blasphemacioun and vglye swering: "God geif þai be soddin or brynt in hell!" with vther mair abhominabill aithis þan my spreitt may suffer to reherß. Þai ar procedit safar þat na preching may repres þe samyn. Bot we will return to oure history.

King Donald þis tyme wes aduertist how Gormandus wes *cumin* with ane huge novmer of Danys in Northumberland, and vncertane to quhat fyne he wes arryvit. Nochþeles, certifijt þat he wes *cumin* to invaid Inglismen and *nocht* Scottis, he send v<sup>m</sup> futemen and ij<sup>m</sup> horßmen to Alarudus, King of England, to support him contrar þe Danys. Nocht lang eftir Alarudus faucht *with* þe Danys at Abyngdoun, and wes victorius with na litill murdir on all sydis; throw quhilk þe Inglismen wer sa brokin þat þai maid litill following in þe chaisß, (II. 196) and wes finalye constrenyt to mak peace vnder þir condicionis: the Denys sall leif in tymes *cumyng* vnder ane mynde, societe & frendship *with* Inglismen, and sall ressaif þe sacrament of baptisme. Thir twa pepill wer sa brokin with *vperis*,<sup>1</sup> & sa desyrous to haif peace, þat þai baith tuke & gaif plegis for obseruacioun of peace on all sydis, throw quhilk followit gude peace mony þeris eftir betuix Inglismen & Danys.

The peace ratifijt in þis maner in England, ane trouble happynnyt in Scotland betuix þe Murrayis & Rosses. The motive of þis debait wes throw þe Rosß, quhilkis come *with* ane grete novmer of brokin men to mak reiffis in Murrayland,

<sup>1</sup> So MS.: A. reads *with athir weiris*, Latin *uterque populus operibus fractus*.

throw quhilk ij<sup>m</sup> men wer slayn on all sydis. King Donald, hevy of þis slauchter, went with ane cumpany of houſhald men, and tuke the principall movaris of þis debaitt, and put  
 349 þame to deth. Þir sedicionis | repressit on þis maner, King Donald had þe concord of Danis & Inglismen at suspicioun, and for that cauſ maid his residence in Northumberland with ane grete cumpany of wailþeand men reddy for all auentouris, gif þe Danys and Inglismen list assailþe þame, and keptit þe samyn peceabillie, but ony iniuris, quhill at last he decessit þe xj þere of his regne; quhais body wes berijtt in Colmkill amang þe riche sepulturis of his eldaris, fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>o</sup> & iij þeris. And sa endis þe Tent Buke of thir cronikillis.

## Liber Vndecimus.

(II. 197) Here begynnis the xj Buke.

How Constantyne, King of Scottis, wes confiderat with Inglismen; how þe peace maid betuix Danis and Inglismen wes dissoluit; how Malcolme, Prince of Scotland, wes disconnfist be Inglismen, and all þe nobilite of Scotland; of þe deth of King Constantyne; and of sindry merwellis sene in Albion. Ca j

**D**onald decessit, as we haif writin, Constantyne, þe thrid son to King Ethus, wes maid king. He wes gevin mair to domestik and religious materis þan to chevelry. The samyn tyme Edward, King of Ingland, son to Alarudus last King þairof, to haif occasioun of batall aganis King Constantyne, chargit him be ane herald to geif oure þe landis of Northumberland, Cumber and Westmureland to þe empire of Ingland, with certificacioun, gif þe samyn wer nocht done within xl dayis, þe peace suld be dissoluit betuix  
 (II. 198) Inglis & Scottis. Constantyne ansuerit in þis maner: "Þocht King Edward, but ony occasioun of iniuris, invadit oure realme and pepill with purposß to reiff sindry landis fra þe samyn be wrangwis batall, 3ite we ar nocht effrayitt be his weeris, bot sall defend oure realme, safar as God will suffer, to our latter end, praying God to defend þe richt and pvneiß þame quhilkis gevis occasioun of batall." Sone eftir þis followitt frequent ryding of Inglis on Scottis and of Scottis on Inglis, with continewall skarmvsing and preking on athir  
 350 syde. 3ite, for fere of Danys, þai | <sup>1</sup> durst noch meitt with sett

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *þai*, last word of preceding page.

batall, þat þe Danys suld *nocht* haif sufficient oportunitie to conqueß baith þair realmez quhen þai wer brokin with aithir iniuris. The nobillis of Ingland, seand sa hye danger appeir to þair realme, persuadit King Edward to convert his hattrent on Danys, and to haif peace with Scottis. Edward, *nocht* refusand this counsale, tuke peace with Constantyne eftir þe auld band, and iniuris to be redressitt on euery syde.

Sone eftir certane Inglisþmen wer foundin within þe boundis of Danys, makand rubberijs, and war slayn þairfor. Þe Inglisþmen, sekand occasion of batall, repute þis for hye iniuris, and to recompens þe samyn slew certane Danys doying þat tyme þair besynes in Londoun; throw quhilk followitt grete herschippis and slauchter betuix Inglisþmen and Danys, and causit þame with sett batall to cum with all thair pyssance aganis vther. Nochþeles, quhen baith þe armyis wer arrayitt in vthir sycht reddy to fecht, þai war severitt be interuencioun of prelaittis, and brocht agane to amite and allya vnder þir condicionis, that Beatrice, þe dochter of King Edwarde, salbe gevin in mariage to Citrik, King of Danys, and þe airis maill gottin betuix þame, failþeing successioun of King Edward, to succeid to þe crowne of Ingland. King Edwarde had ane nobill man to his bruther, namit Edwyne, quhilk wes send be persuasioun of Citrik in Flanderis in ane waik schip, þat he suld *nocht* contend for þe crowne, and pereist be þe gaitt. Athelstane, bastard son to King Edward, to eschew þe tresoun of Danis fled oute of Ingland. In þe menetyme þe Danys began to reiose, traisting be sikkir esperance, becaus all successioun of King Edward wes failþeitt except his dochter Beatrice, to brouke sum tyme the crowne of Ingland. Quhill þe Inglisþmen & Danys wer gevin to sik besynes, Beatrice, quhilk wes gevin to Cithrik in mariage, send hir secrete familiaris to aduerteiß hir fader, King Edward, to eschew þe cumpany of his gude son, (II. 199) quhilk was sett for his slauchter quhen he lest wenit. Edward, richt astonyst be þir tythingis, repentit baith þe deth of his bruper and þe mareage maid with Danys, and tuke sik displeseir for þe samyn þat he had slayn him self, wer *nocht* he wes stoppit be his frendis. At last, returnyng to him self, he sett him be extreme hattrent to meitt þe tresoun of his gude son,

and finalie, be industry of his dochter, slew him be poyoun. Cithrik, putt down in þis maner, had twa sonnys, namit  
 351 Avalassus and Godefrede, rycht expert in chevelry. | Thir twa brethir succedit to þair faderis landis with equale autorite and purpoß to revenge þair faderis slauchter, and becauß þai fand þair gude moder participant with þe samyn, þai gart hir sitt nakitt in ane cauld stedy, with hayitt eggis bundin vnder hir oxstaris, quhill scho wes dede. And becaus na esperance of peace apperit betuix Inglismen & Danys, followitt diuerß batallis be sindry chances of fortoun, quhill at last þe Danys wer put to flicht at þe rever of Owsa. And þocht þe victorye fell to Inglismen, 3ite it wes *nocht* gottin but incredibill slauchter on all sydys, and King Edward slayn.

The Denys, herand þe deth of King Edward, þocht þai war disconnfist, belevitt grete felicite be þe samyn to cum to þame, and tuke consultacioun be quhat ingyne & wayis þai mycht addreß þair materis best. Eftir degest avisement this Avalassus left his bruther Godefrede in Inland, and went to Constantyne, King of Scottis, and finalye seducit him with large sovmez of moneye to fecht, contrar his band, in support of Danys aganis Inglismen. Sone eftir þe Danys and Scottis maid provisioun of all thingis necessair, with ferm purpoß to bring Inglismen to vtter exterminion. Bot, as oft occurris, þe stait of man is sa vnsikker þat quhen þai haif maist confidence in þair pyssance, all þair weirly ordinance and proude dominioun ar foundin vane & fragill be sum vnhappy fyne. King Constantyne send Malcolm, Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumbir, with xx<sup>m</sup> men<sup>1</sup> in support of Danys. Malcolm, assemblitt on þis maner with þe Danys, come within þe landis of Inglismen, and cessit fra na maner of cruelte þat mycht  
 (II. 200) be devisit. Nochþeles, þe mair procedit þair cruelte, þair pvnicioun be hand of God succedit þe mair properant; for Athelstane, þe bastard of King Edward, quhilk wes maid king of Inland for his souerane manhede and vertu, seand sa grete extorsioun and iniuris done be Scottis and Danys on Inglismen, gaderit haistlie ane army, traisting, be favour of God and his iust querrell, to haif victory, and mett þe Scottis

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *men* : insertion from A.

& Danys at Bronyngfeild, quhair it wes cruelly fochtin on all sydis. At þe first ionyng, þe vangard of Ingliſſmen being diſconnfiſt, þe Danis & Scottis fell to ſpoulze, and left þair arraye. The remanent batallis of Ingliſſmen, ſeand þame oute of arraye, come in þair maist weirlye ordinance, and put þe Danys & Scottis baith to flycht. This vnhappy day previtt  
 352 wele þe Scottis & Danys mair | manlie þan prudent, for þocht þai wer of ſik pyſſance and multitude þat þai mycht haif takin all þe Ingliſſmen as preſoneris but ony ſtrayk, 3ite, havand mair reſpect to the ſpoulze þan to þair honour, þaj tynt þe victory with na leſſ ſchayme þan damage of þe commoun wele. In þis vnhappy battall wer ſlayn mair incredibill novmer of Danys and Scottis þan evir was ſene in ony aige afoir, and with þame mony of all þe nobilite of Scotlannd, perseverand in ithand bergane to þe deth. King Athelſtane eftir þis victory come in Northumberland, Cumber & Westmureland, and becaus þe pepill wes vnarmytt, gatt all municionis, ſtrenthis and townis randrit to him at his pleſeir.

Malcolm, evill woundit, wes brocht hayme on ane horſ littir. King Conſtanyne, knawing be his cuming how vnhappy the Scottis had fochtin at Bronynfeild, and with quhat pyſſance King Athelſtane wes cumin in Northumberland, Cumber and Westmureland, maid ane convencioun at Abirnethy to aviſe quhat wes to be done aganis Ingliſſmen; and becaus few nobillis or prudent men wer to geif him counſale, for þe huge ſlauchter maid on þame in þe laſt feild, he went to þe abbaye of Sanctandroiſ, quhair he rowndit his hede, and levitt ane channoun regular in þe ſamyn, quhill at laſt he deceſſit, þe xl zere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>c</sup> xliij zeriſ. His body wes berijt in þe ſaid abbaye, bot it wes takin vp þe v zere eftir, and beryitt in Colmkill among þe ſupulturis of vther Kingis.

(II. 201) In the tyme of Conſtanyne wes ſene in Albion twa monſtouris. Þe tane, among þe Danys, wes ane man of doubill nature, syde wamytt, hedit like ane ſow, futit like ane ganar, with body full of byrſ. The tothir monſtour wes in Northumberland, of manis figure, with ane wame fra þe

navill doun, twa hedis, foure armez, twa bodeis, twa wittis, ilkane repugnand to vther. Þe tane deit lang afoir the tothir. At last þis vther, impacient to sustene þe corruppit flewir of þe dede carioun, decessit. The samyn tyme blude sprang oute of ane hill of Gallowaye vij dayis continewallye, and maid all þe ryveris and burnys of purpouir colouris. The spaymen coniecturit effusioun of blude to cum on þe Scottis, quhilks apperit wele at Bronynfeild.

How Malcolme þe First wes maid king of Scottis ;  
how he wes confideratt with Inglismen, & of þe  
pvnicion takin for his slauchter. Ca ij

353 **C**onstantyne exoneratt of princelie dignite, as we haif  
schewin, Malcolme, þe son of Donald þe Fyfft, wes maid  
king, quhilke sett his besynes in þe begynnynge of his empire,  
becaus þe Scottis wer brokin in þair pyssance, to defend thair  
rowmes erair þan to invaid vtheris. And sone eftir, quhen  
he had send ambassatouris to King Athelstane for peace, he  
wes aduerteist þat Inglismen and Danys war confideratt to  
giddir aganis Scottis, and Northumberland gevin to þe Danys  
be King Athelstane for þe samyn effect. King Malcolme wes  
astonyst, and nocht knawin quhat wes to be done in sa grete  
matter, becaus his nobillis wer 3oung and nocht of power to  
resist sa grete preß of inymyis at þis tyme. Nochtþeles, quhen  
he wes maist disparit, and fynding lest support of frendis,  
tythingis come þat Inglisemen and Danys wer devydit in twa  
faccionis, fechtand amang þame self with huge slauchter, the  
(II. 202) victory falling to Inglismen, and Avalassus fled in Ireland,  
and King Athelstane cumand forthwart in Northumberland,  
to quhat effect na men wist, nochwithstanding þe half of his  
army wes lost, King Malcolme, herand þir tythingis, commandit  
all his prelaittis be generall processionis to geif thankis to God  
for deliuering of his pepill fra extreme dangere of inymyis.  
Sone eftir come þe ambassatouris of Athelstane, desyring to  
perseveir in peace with Scottis eftir þe auld band, for þe wele  
of baith þair realmes. King Malcolme ansuerit, howbeit þe

Scottis wer providit als wele to were as peace, 3ite, for þe commoun wele of Albanis, he wes content to haif peace; quhilk wes roboratt eftir þe tenour of þe auld band, with þir new condicionis, that Northumberland sall pas vnder perpetuall dominioun of Inglismen, and Cumber and Westmureland annex to þe Prince of Scotlannd. The peace ratifijt in þis maner, Indulphus, þe son of King Constantyne þe Thrid, take possessioun of Cumber and Westmureland as Prince of Scotland.

Eftir this Malcolme passit þe residew of his dayis in polesy and iustice, quhill at last for oure<sup>1</sup> extreme pvnicioun of thevis he wes slayne at Vlryme, ane tovun in Murraye, þe xv 3ere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>c</sup> lix 3eris. The conspiratouris & slaaris of þis nobill prince war revin syndry  
 354 with horsß, and þair quartaris affixitt | on sindry townis, and þai quhilkis wer devisaris of þis cruelte, or gaif counsale to þe samyn, wer prekit throw þe body on ane staik. The thrid 3ere eftir deth of Malcolme decessit King Athelstane, eftir quhom succedit Edmond his son. Vperis writis þat þis Edmond wes Athelstanis bruther, bot I will follow Verimond, quhilk sayis þat King Edward had na childerin bot Athelstane and Beatrice, þat wes gevin in mariage to Cithrik, Prince of Danys. Nochþeles, quhatsumeuir disputacioun follow in þis mater, certane is þat Edmonnd succedit immediatly to King Athelstane.

(II. 203)

Off King Indulphus, and how he refusit to fecht aganis Inglismen in support of Danis; how Avalassus wes disconfist be King Edmond, and his army put to flycht; how Hago and Hellrig with ane grete power of Danys wer disconnfist in Buchquhane, and Indulphus slayne.

Ca iij

Eftir the deth of King Malcolme ane conuencion wes maid at Scoyne, in þe quhilk Indulphus wes maid king. Þe v 3ere of his empire he wes desyrit be Avalassus, Prince of

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ouree*.



Danys & Norwaye, to raiſſ his ordinance to revenge þe iniuris done be Inglismen in þe Batall of Browynfeild, ſaying þe ſamyn mycht be eſelie done, ſen King Athelſtane wes deceſſit, and Edmonnd, ane man of febill curage, abill to na thing les þan to þe governance of ane realme, wes regnand in his place. Attoure, þe peace maid betuix Malcolme and Athelſtane wes diſſoluit be þe deth of þame baith. It wes anſuerit be Indulphus that Malcolme maid peace with Athelſtane with ſik degest counſale and ſtrait band þat it mycht be diſſoluit na maner of waye, and þairfor, bot gif he wald incur þe indignacioun of God, he wald persevere in peace with Inglismen eftir þe tenour of his band. Avalassus coniecturit be his anſuere þat Indulphus had na ſycht to þe nobillis ſlayne at Bronynfeild, and nochpeles sett his beſynes to revenge þe ſamyn in his beſt maner, and to bring his purpoß mair haistlie to fyne, brocht ane wailþeand capitane, namit Renatte, with ane grete cumpany of Norway men and Danis in Northumberland. Elgaryne, gouernour in þe tyme of Northumberland, reſſauit Avalassus with his army in maiſt beneuolence, and becaus  
 355 he wes of þair blude, randrit to þame | all þe municionis and ſtrenthis of þe ſamyn, promitting to ſupport þame aganis King Edmond with all pyſſance he mycht. King Edmond, knawing þe cuming of þe Danys in Northumberland, purchest x<sup>m</sup> Scottis in his ſupport, & come with þe ſamyn in maiſt deligence to Northumberland. Avalassus, knawing þe dangere of batall, ſend his oratouris to Edmond, deſyring to haif Northumberland with his beneuolence, and promittit in tymes  
 (II. 204) cuming to ſtand perpetuall frend to Scottis and Inglismen, and to debait þame for þe ſaid landis, gif it happynnit þame to be invadit, aganis all inymyis; at laſt, ſeand nocht bot repulſe of his deſyris, arrayitt his ordinance aganis þe Inglis and Scottis. At þe firſt ionyng viij<sup>m</sup> men of Northumberland, quhilkis come vnder his banner, tuke þe flycht, and maid þe army of King Edmond mair bald. Nochpeles, þe batall perſeverit richt ferſlie on all ſydis, quhill at laſt þe Danys war diſconnfiſt, and mony of þame ſlayn in þe chaiſſ. Þe Inglismen followitt þame with ſik cruelte þat na man wes ſauffitt þat mycht be apprehendit, amang quhom Elgaring of North-

umberland wes takin, for Edmond inhibitt to slaye him gif he mycht be takin, and brocht to 3ork, quhair he wes drawin sindry be wylde horß for his tresoun. The nixt morrow þe dede bodyis wes berijt, and þe spoulzeis partit amang Inglis and Scottis be rite of armys. The residew of þe nobillis of Northumberland, quhilkis wer takin in þis feild, wer brocht to Edmonnd and hyngit on iebaittis; throw quhilk followit sikkir peace mony 3eris eftir amang the Albanis.

Indulphus, havand his realme in sikkir peace, left na thing vndone þat mycht pertene to þe office of ane nobill prince. Nochtþeles, quhen maist tranquillite apperit, Hagon and Helrig come oute of Norvaye with ane grete flott in Albion, to revenge þe iniuris done to þame afoir in Northumberland. At last, becaus þai war inhibitt to land within þe boundis of Forth, þai come in þe Firth of Taye, quhar þai fand litill bettir fortoun þan afoir. For quhen þai had assailzeitt in sindry partis to land, and wer ay stoppit be þe inhabitantis, þai fenzeitt þame self to return hayme, and come þe fourte daye eftir in Buchquhan. The landwert pepill maid þame to withstand þair cuming. Nochþeles, þai wer disconnfist, and put to flycht. King Indulphus, herand þir displeseris, rasis his army with sic deligence þat he come within þe boundis quhair þir Danys war, afoir þai war aduertist; finalie, seand his inymyis in sicht arrayitt, exhortitt his folkis to batall, saying it wes na litill signe of victory þat þai wer to fecht aganis þe residew of þair inymyis, quhilkis wer laitlie wyncust in North-  
 356 umberland,<sup>1</sup> | havand þe samyn pyssance quhilkis þai had afoir, and þairfor desirit þame to invaid thair inymyis with hie curage, quhairthrow þai suld nocht onlye haif riche spoulzeis, gif þai had victory, in revarde of þair laboure, bot als þe wele of þame self, and þair realme defendit fra þair inymyis. Skairslye wer thir wourdis sayid be Indulphus, quhen þe Danys with huge cruelte ionyt aganis him in batall. The victory wes  
 (II. 205) lang vncertane, quhill at last arraye wes brokin on all sydis, ilkan fechtand throw vther, reddy to flee. In þe menetyme twa Lowdeane men, Dunbar and Grahayme, come with ane

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Northum*—: the scribe forgot to write the rest of the word when he began a new page.

cumpany of wailzeant men in support of Scottis, and maid þe Danys to be disconnfist; on quhom followitt þe Scottis with lang chaisþ. Mony nobill men amang þe Danys perseverit in mair wilfull batall þan pyssance, quhill þai war all slayn. The residew of Danys, vnknawing quhair to flee, wer be sindry chancis of fortoun takin and slayn. Indulphus, havand victory on þis wise, went throw þe campe with ane sobyr cumpany, as na danger mycht occur be þe samyn, and happy<sup>n</sup>nit to cum on ane grete band of Danys lurkand in ane waill, quhair he wes slayn, fechtand to þe deth to þe vtter exterminioum of his fais. His body wes brocht with funerall triumphe to Colmkyll, and berijt þair amang þe commoun sepulturis of kingis. This Indulphus rang ix þeris with mair manhede þan felicite, and died<sup>1</sup> fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>c</sup> lxviiij þeris; quhilk þere King Edmonnd of England decessit, eftir to quhom succedit Eldrede.

Off King Duffus and his actis; how he be incantacioun of weches wes troubillit with grete infirmite; how he puneist certane conspiratouris, and wes slayne; how Culyne revengit his deth, and of vncouth marvellis sene in Albion.

Ca iiij

357 Ane conuencioun wes maid at Scoyne eftir deth of King Indulphus, in þe quhilk Duffus, þe son of Malcolme þe First, wes maid king, and Culyne, son of Indulphus, declarit Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumber. King Duffus eftir his coronacioun went in þe Ilis, and callit afoir him all þe thanys þairof, and maid his aith; gif þai dantit nocht þe thevis within þair boundis, to pvneisþ þame na lesþ þan þe principall misdoaris. The thanis of þe Ilis, dredand þe severite of þe King, tuke mony of þe sornaris and vagabond lymmaris of þe cuntre, and putt þame to deth. Þe remanent | of þir idill and vagabonnd pepill fled in Ireland, or ellis tuke þame to sum craft. Nochtþeles, sindry of þe nobillis tuke indignacioun þat þair freyndis and brethir wer constrenyt to seyke þair

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *and died*: A. and printed text have a different reading for the sentence.

leving on wile craftis, and þat *commonis*, *quhilkis* wer born to *serue* þame, be þair industry and civile labouris wer sett in autorite abone þame, and began quietelie to murmur King (II. 206) Duffus for þe favoure he had to men of obscure lynage, thynkand him vnwourthy to regne abone nobill men. This murmuracioun wes *nocht* onlye in þe Ilis, bot in sindry vther partis of þe realme.

The samyn tyme þe King fell in ane hevvy malady, vnknawin to medicinaris in þai dayis. His doloure ilk daye grew mair, and na medycinaris mycht knaw þe cauß *perof*, for he wes resolut in ane continewall swette with ane perpetuall walking, and 3ite wes mair admiracioun: the aynd þat procedit fra his vitall spretis and þe soft pulsus schew his blude in dew proporcioun, and 3ite he wes sa pynyt þat his body semyt haistelie to evanys. The medicinaris, knawing na remede of his infirmite, war disparit of his lyfe, *nochttheles* schew þat he suld revert agayn þe spryng of þe 3ere, quhen euery thing be naturall infusioun conualescis. The king, disparit of his hele, send for all þe capitanis of þe tribis, and prayit þame to haif sicht to þair honour and *commoun* wele, that, *nochtwithstanding* his infirmite, þe realme mycht be governit in peace and iustice. The capitanis promittit to doo all thingis as he desyrit. Howbeit, within schort tyme eftir, mekill troubill fell in þe cuntre throw rebelloun of grete men aganis þe Kingis autorite, among quhom war þe *Murrayis*, throw quhilkis raisß innovmerabil slauchter, reffe and murdir in all partis of þe realme. The medicinaris inhibitt þir displeseris to be schawin to þe King, þat he suld *nocht* tak malancoly be þe samyn to haisty his deth. In þe menetyme raisß ane wourde among þe *commonis* that þe Kingis malady procedit be incantacioun and necromancy of weches in ane toun of *Murraye Land* namytt *Fores*. The King send incontinent certane crafty and prudent men to serche þe verite of sik thingis. The men quhilkis wer send in þis behalff fen3eit þame *cumin* to trete concorde betuix þe King and *Murrayis*. *Nochþeles*, quhen þai wer ressaut in þe castell of *Fores*, þai schew þe haill caiß to *Donevald*, capitane of þe samyn, and prayitt him to serche gif sik thyngis wer vsitt in þe tovne forsaide. The capitane gat finalye ex-

perience of all this tresoun be ane of his soidjouris, *quhilk* had þe dochter of þe principale weyche to his *lemmane*, and  
 358 gart hyr | revele in quhat houß of þe towun this tresoun wes done. Incontinent þe Kingis *seruandis* past with ane cumpany of soidjouris, and enterit in þe samyn houß be force, quhair þai fand ane ymage of walx, maid be sorcery to þe similitude of King Duffus, dreband on ane treyne speitt afoir þe fyre.

{II. 207} The wyches wer infounding certane liquour on þe ymage, with vther charmes vsit to þe samyn effect. The soidjouris, seand this, tuke þame with þe image, and brocht þame to þe castell, quhair þai confessit, sa lang as þe ymage meltit afoir þe fyre, sa lang wes King Duffus resoluit in perpetuall swette, and sa lang as þai droppit on þe ymage þe said liquour, he suld nevir sleip, and quhen þe walx was meltit awaye, þe King suld dee. The wyches wer demandit quhai lernit þame sic craft, and quhay sollistit þame to þe samyn. Þai ansuerit, þai had þe craft be þe Devill, bot þe nobillis of Murrayis inducit þame to slay þe King be the samyn ingyne. The pepill, herand þis, brak þe ymage, and gart all þe wiches be brynt. The samyn nycht þat þis wes done, King Duffus wes deliuerit of all malady, and recoverit his hele, as he had *neuer* bene wexitt with ony infirmite ; and sone eftir come in Murraye with ane grete cumpany to pvneiß certane rebellis and conspiratouris aganis his maieste, and maid sik deligentt persute on þame in Roß, Cathanes and vther partis quhair thai fled, þat þai wer finalye brocht to Fores, and iustifjt in þe samyn ; amang quhom wer slayn sindry *kynnismen* & freyndis of Donevald, capitane of þe said castell of Fores, howbeit þai conspyritt mair be persuasioun of vtheris þan be impulsoun of þair ingyne.

This execucioun of iustice movit Donevald in sik hattrent for þe slauchter of his freyndis þat he determytt, gif he mycht fynd sufficient oportunitie, to slaye þe King, nochþeles, dissimilitt his ire. His wyfe, seand him ilk daye mair malancolius, demandit þe causß of his displeseir. At last, be lang franyng of his wyfe, he schew quhat schayme þe King had done to him for his faithfull seruice, putting his freyndis to maist vyle deth. This woman wes of *vnmmercifull*

cruelte, havand na leß hatrent þan hir housband had aganis þe King, for sindry of hir freyndis wer iustifijt in þat samyn maner, throw quhilk hir venomous ire wes boldin ilk daye with mair indignacioun, noch knawing to quhom scho mycht oppin þe samyn. And quhen scho vnderstude hir husband of  
 359 þe samyn intencioun, scho exhortit | him to be of gude chere, promitting to fynd þe waye how þir iniuris mycht be best revengit, saying þe King wes oft tymez familiarlie lugeitt with þame, and mycht þairfor be pvneist at þair plesoir, quhilk suld be done but ony tary. Donevald was inflammyt be thir  
 (II. 208) wourdis abuffe his hatrent, abyding na thing bot sufficient oportunitate to slaye þe King, and becaus he wes to depart oute of þe castell of Fores þe nixt morrow, þe said Donevald sett him þe sonnair to bryng his cursit purposß to fyne. Schortlie, quhen þe King had endit his deuocioun, he went to his chalmer and fell on sleip. Donevald, rageand in cruelte, be impulsoun of his wyfe, mycht haif na eyiß quhill his purposß wes done. And becauß þe King wes on sleip, he festit his cubicularis with delicious wynis, quhill þa wer inebriatt, and wer constrytt to tak rest, na thing knawing of this tresoun. Donevald, seand þe cubicularis on sleip, send foure seruandis, quhilkis wer corruppit afoir with his money, in þe Kingis chalmer, quhilkis finalye slew him but ony noyiß, and brocht his body oute at ane postrome, twa mylis fra þe place quhair þis cruelte wes done to ane burn, and berijt it in þe myddis of þe samyn, quhair þe streme vsit to pas, syne put ane huge stayne abone his body, þat na thing suld appeir hyd in þe said place. Thir corruppit tratouris quhilkis slew þe King, fled in Orknay, þat þe dede corps suld nocht schaw þe slaaris; for it is ane sikkir opinioun amang ws that þe body of ane slayne man bleedis afoir þe slaair. Donevald, eftir þe slauchter of þe King, to cauß him appeir innocent þairof, passit þe residew of þe nycht with þe Kingis garde, schawing þame of þe grete humanite done to him sindry tymes be þe Kingis grace. The nixt morrow þe skry arraisß amang þe familiaris, saying þe King wes slayne, his bed bullerand in blude, and þe body takin awaye, quhair na man wist. Donevald, herand þe

noyis, come in þe chalmer with þe remanent cubicularis, as he had knawin na thing of þis tresoun; and quhen he saw þe bed bludy, he slew þe cubicularis, as þai had bene gilty *peroff*, and ran vp and doun þe castell lyke ane furious man, to se gif he mycht fynd ony takin of þe King's deth; quhill at last he fand þe postrum oppin, & iugit þan sikkirly that þe cubicularis had slayn þe King, becaus þai had þe keyis with þame. The nobillis come to se þis terribill deid, havand mair admiracioun þat þe King's body wes takin awaye þan of his slauchter. Nochpeles, sindry of þame tuke suspicioun  
 360 þat þis cruelte | wes done be Donevald, becaus he maid sic deligence in serching of þe auctouris of þis tresoun, abone þe mesoure of iust affeccoun, and þairfor returnyt hayme.

(II. 209) Sax monethis eftir nothir son, moyn, nor <sup>1</sup> sterris wer sene in þe hevin be ony Scottis man, bot þe lift oure couerit *with* perpetuall cloude, to grete terroure of þe pepill. Culene, Prince of Scotland, richt astonyst of þis wounder, demandit his nobillis quhat mycht be þe cauf of þe terribill ayir sa lang continewand in this realme. It wes ansuerit be þe nobillis, as þai belevitt, God wes sa *commovitt* at þe slauchter of þe nobill King Duffus that, gif þe samyn wer nocht pvnyst, maist terribill vengeance wes haistlie to cum on þair realme. Culyne *commandit*, be autorite of þe prelaittis, generall praying and fasting to be done throw all þe partis of þis realme, and maid his solempne aith *neuer* to cese quhill he pvnyst þe tresonabill slauchter of King Duffus, and sone eftir come in Murrayeland with ane chosin cumpany, quhais *cuming* maid þe Murrayis richt effrayitt. Donevald, knawing him gilty of þis tresoun, fled to þe mouth of Taye, quhair he pullit vp salis with þe foure seruandis quhilkis wer *participant* of þe cruelte, to pas in Norwaye. The mynde of euery cursit tyran be naturall inclinacioun dredis all creature, schawing þame cryminabill othir in wlt or contenance, and hes ay sik fere of þair lyfe þat þai geif to na man credit, eschewing all gude cumpany, aud levand in obscure and schaymfull placis. Siclike this tratoure Donevald schew be his fleying his hid

<sup>1</sup> MS. *no.*

tresoun, howbeit na men wald haif had suspicioun, gif he had abydin þe kingis cumyng; throw quhilk he was brocht to sik miserie that quhair he wes repute sum tyme maist familiar to þe king and luffair of his *common* wele, he was haldin maist odious and tresonabill cowartt. For þe pepill, seand him flee for suspicioun of þe said tresoun, prayit God to send vengeance (II. 210) on him and his cumpany. And þe samyn followit sone eftir, for Culyne, herand his departing, come oure Speye, and tuke þe castell of Fores, and slew all personis quhilkis wer fundin in þe samyn, except þe said Donevaldis wyfe with hir thre dochteris, quhom he dema~~n~~dit be scharp questionis of þe maner of King Duffus slauchter; and scho at last confessit þat hir husband Donevald slew þe King be hir persuasioun, and how his body was hyd in þe myddis of ane streme, with 361 all circumstancis, as said is. | The nixt morrow, quhen þe pepill wes passand to tak vp þe body of Duffus, tythingis come þat Donevald with his complicis was schip brokin *nocht* foure mylis fra þame. Sone eftir, be *commande* of Culyne, he wes brocht to iugement with his wyiffe and þe foure seruandis quhilkis did þe cruelte, and putt to deth, thair bodijs quarteritt and hungin in sindry townis of þis realme, to be exempill to all pepill, quhat iniquite is to slay ane king. The personis quhilkis tuk Donevald and his complicis war *nocht* only dotit with beneuolence of þe pepill, bot als exemit fra all publik exaccioun in tymes *cuming*.

Sik thingis done, the body of King Duffus wes brocht with hye solempnite to Colmkill, and berijt amang þe *commoun* sepulturis of kingis. It is said, howbeit Duffus lay sex moneth vnder erd, 3ite his body wes als fresche of coloure and hyde as þe first houre it wes hyd. Fra his body come abufe þe erd, þe weddir chengit to grete serenite. Ane brig is now in þe samyn place quhair his body lay hyd, besyde quhilk is now ane abbaye of Cisteous ordoure, dedicatt to þe blissit Virgyn Mary, namit Kynlofs. The samyn tyme wer sene vncouth mervellis: horfs, richt swyft and of elegant stature, war sene devoir thair awne flesche, and abstenit fra all vther mete; ane woman wes deliuer of hir byrth, quhilk had nothir eeyn, neyfs nor fute; ane spar halk wes stranglitt with ane howlett;



and <sup>1</sup> maist wounder of all, the son, moyn and sternys apperit nocht in sicht vj monethis, and þe luft ourecouerit with perpetuall dyrknes, as we haif writin.

(II. 211)

Off King Culyne and his vicious lyfe ; off the troubill that fallis in ane realme be evill kingis, and of King Culynis deth. Ca v

**D**onevalde slayn in this maner, ane counsale wes set at Skoyn, fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>e</sup> lxxij, quhilk wes þe fourte 3ere of Eldreid, King of Ingland, and in þe fourte 3ere of þe regnne of Duffus. In þis counsale Culyne wes maid king. The pepill traistit him, for his grete iustice done on þe slaaris of Duffus, to haif bene ane nobill prince ; howbeit, it followit  
 362 *nocht* | in his deid. He governit *nocht* þe realme lang be avise of his nobillis, bot gevin be raage of 3outh to insolence and vnbridillit lust, throw quhilk þe pepill grew mair wylde vnder his empyre þan ever þai war vnder ony vther prince afoir, and þe realme brocht to sik miserye þat thevis, revaris and all sik pepill wer maist apprisit <sup>2</sup> and honourit with all men. Eftir this apperit sa mony debaittis and civill contencionis, rying ilk daye amang þe nobillis, that gif þe samyn wer *nocht* haistlie repressit, þe realme suld cum to insufferabill *dammage*. Nochþeles, quhen King Culyne was reprevitt þat sik frequent iniuris occurrit throw his insolence and lust, he maid litill excuse bot, 3oung childeren war *nocht* like þe condicionis of agitt personis, and þairfor his 3outh behuffitt to haif ane courß, quhill it war stabillit be *proceß* of tyme, and suld *nocht* be dantit be oure grete severite in þair pvnicioun, quhilk is to be dred with all princes na les þan ane pestilence, as apperit wele in þe end of his last predicessouris ; for quhen þai intendit, vnder coloure of iustice, to oppreß þe nobillis, to conqwer þair landis or gudis, þai movitt þair nobillis to rebell aganis þame, to þair awne destruccioun. For thir ressonis he wald sett his mynde in tymes *cuming* to regnne abone his nobillis

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ane* : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *appisit*.

mair with beneuolence and luffe þan ony awfull dredoure, for be þat and na vther waye his nobillis mycht be haldin at his opinioun.

Þocht þis ansuere of King Culyne wes fundin na thing proffittabill to þe commoun wele, ʒit na man wes þat tyme, for vane assentacioun and flattry, þat reprevitt þe samyn, specialie þai quhilkis haittit iustice or wer inymyis to prudent (II. 212) and nobill men. At last þe nobillis, seand þe Kingis familiaris ilk day mair insolent, and na thing done to þe vtilite of þe realme, drew þame fra þe courte. Vtheris, as vane flatteraris and nuresaris of vennonne in ʒoung childerin, sett þair besynes to na thing mair þan to continew þe King in his voluptuus lyffe, inducyng him to all thingis þat mycht effeminatt his mynde, and to bring him to schaymfull pleseris ; throw quhilk þis vnhappy prince wes brocht to sik miserye þat he had sycht to na thing bot to his pleseir and sensualite, regarding nocht þe dignite of his imperiall estaitt, bot waisting þe nychtis and dayis in revelling, walking, eytting and drynking. Attoure, na man wes cherist, nor ʒite familiar with him, bot men of þe samyn faculte. He ordanit als, be persuasioun of þir myschevous harlattis, generall drynkingis, in þe quhilk he 363 þat mycht drynk maist | of sindry and strangest wynis wes crovnit with wynebynd. Eftir þis he fell in sic vicious maneris þat þai ar nocht wourth to be rehersitt, throw assistence of corruppitt lymmaris quhilkis abusit him in sik abhominabill lustis þat he nocht onlye deflourit vncouth madynnis and virgynnis, bot als tuke pleseir of his sister, dochteris and religious wemen. He had also ane certane vagabound lymmaris, quhilkis sett þair besynes to na thing bot to spy plesant madynnis & matronis, and gif þai wer repugnant, þai brocht þame to his bed on force. Als quhen þis King had takin his pleseir and saciatt his foule lust for þe tyme, þan all þir vnhappy rowttouris tuke þair lustis in þe samyn maner. Gif ony schew þe iniuris done to þame, þair leggis or armes war brokin to þair amendis. Quhen þis effeminatt monstoure had waistit his body with oure frequent lichery, ʒite he tuke pleseir to se his familiaris convers with wemen oppinlye in his sycht, and wes abusit in þis maner thre ʒeris continewally, throw

quhilk he grew noch onlie ane prophane and diffamytt creature, bot als throw his mysgouernance raiß all maner of troubill and displeseir to his subdittis. Attoure, thevis, revaris, sornaris and oppressouris raiß with sik pyssance þat na man durst pvnys þame. Gif ony man maid him to resist þame or complene, he wes sone eftir othir slayn, or ellis his gudis confiscatt and his biggingis brynt. And nocht onlie temporall men, bot als spirituall, wer herijt in þe samyn maner, thair gudis & ornamentis takin be force, throw quhilk þai wer constrenit to haiff ane miserabill lyfe in landwert townys. King Culyne at last, throw his surfett leving and vnbridillit lust, fell in ane maist vyle and schaymfull infirmite, his natur waistit, and passing but ony persaving or pleser pair of, throw quhilk his visage and body wes ilk daye so attenuatt and lene þat he past þe residew of his dayis with na les displeseir þan derisioun. The nobillis, knawing wele all his hevynes, maid ane convencioun at Skoyn to deprive him of autorite and to cheiß ane new king. Culyne, knawing quhat wes devisit (II. 213) aganis him, wes cumand with ane qwiette cumpany to Scoyne. In þe menetyme Cadardus, thayn of Meffan, mett him be þe gaitt be aventure, and slew him, becaus he deflourit his dochter afoir. This end maid þe vicious tyran Culyne, according to his 364 | cursit lyfe, in þe v 3ere of his empire, fra þe Incarnacioun ix<sup>o</sup> lxxvj. His body wes brocht to Colmkyll, quhair it wes berijt amang þe remanent sepulturis of kingis.

Off King Kenneth þe Thrid and his gouernance ; of his orison maid to þe nobillis, and how he constranytt þame to bring syndry lymmaris to iustice. Ca vj

Culyne slayn, as said is, ane convencioun wes maid at Skoyne, in þe quhilk Kenneth, bruther to King Duffus. wes maid king. In þe begynnyng of his empyre he had grete laboure to bring þe pepill, quhilk wes growin wilde be negligence of Culyne, to vertuous leving. For it is naturall amang ws þat first þe nobillis and syne þe commonis followis þe maneris of þe King. For gif þe King be vertuous, þe pepill be his



imitacioun inclynys to vertu, and quhen he is vicious, þe pepill inccressis with maist terribill cruelteis and vicious maneris. Nochþeles, King Kenneth, þat he suld *nocht* detest þe horribill deformiteis in *vþeris* quhilkis wer apperand in him self, schew him to þe pepill as ane chaist prince of skairfþ fude, liberall and meik in all his doyngeis. He haittit all scurrilite, and banyst all tabernaris, dronkaris, skaffaris and vane flecheouris oute of his houfþ. He nureist amite baith with vncouth and domestik personis, and detestit all civyll debaittis safar þat þe movaris þairof wer put to deth be his iustice. He gart his familiaris leiff with sic vertu and piete as þai wer instantlie to dee, and had sik affecciou to þe *common* wele þat na man wes sufferit to abyde in his courte bot sa mony as had sufficient vertu and craftis to wyn þair leving; throw quhilk followit eftir þat his subdittis wer nothir effeminatte be lang slewth, nor ʒite irkit with exercicioun of gude *werkis*.

This prince for his vertuous governance wes reput maist wourthy to regne abone his pepill, and tuke full purpoß to pas throw all þe boundis of his realme, to purge þe samyn of thevis, revaris and oppressouris. And quhen he wes *cumin* to Lanark, sindry *commonis* and trew men of that countre (II. 214) complanyt of þe importabill extorsionis done to þame be sindry brokin men. Thir men quhilkis wer dilatit of þir extorsionis and crymez, knowing þame self gilty and abill to be pvnyst, fled in þe ilis, be persuasioun of þe nobillis. Kenneth 365 |seand him impeschit sa be his nobillis that he mycht doo na iustice, superseditt his indignacioun for ane tyme, and þe nixt ʒere maid ane generall convencioun of all his nobillis at Skoyne. The nycht afoir his convencioun, he hyd ane grete novmer of armyt men in ane qwyette chalmer, *nocht* far fra þe place quhair þe counsale wes sett, *commanding* <sup>1</sup> þame to be secrete, quhill þai wer warnit, and than to execute þe chargis *commandit* be him. The morrow following, all his nobillis convenit, and wer ordourit in þair awne placis, ay nerrest þe King as þai wer of blude and autorite. In þe menetyme þir armit men quhilkis wer devisit afoir, as said is, ischeitt oute of þe place quhair þai wer hyd, and stude aboute þe

<sup>1</sup> MS.. *commandit*: correction from A., confirmed by printed text.

counsale. Kenneth, seand þame astonyst, sayid in þis maner :  
 “ Belouitt frendis, howbeit 3e dreid þis new gise of iugement,  
 abone þe auld custome of oure eldaris, succede to 3oure dis-  
 pleseir, for fere of þir armyt men quhilkis standis<sup>1</sup> aboute  
 3ow, 3ite, gif oure mynde, quhilk is sett to na thing mair þan  
 to þe commoun proffitt of oure realme and 3ow, war patent,  
 3e wald haif na dredoure in 3oure hartis. For þir armyt men  
 ar nocht bot þe sikkir targe of oure commoun wele, and ordanit  
 to inuaid 3ow with na violence. Beleif nocht, maist tendir  
 frendis, þat we with ony tresonabill slychtis brocht þis gard  
 to 3oure exterminioun, sen 3e ar onlie esperance of oure  
 realme and commoun wele. Thairfor vnderstand, þis gard  
 of armes schawis na manassing, bot defence of 3oure commoun  
 wele. For sindry men, bene in þis realme repugnand to þe  
 wele þairof, gevin to na thing mair þan to thift, reffe, slauchter,  
 burnyng, and siclike importabill extorsionis to þe pepill. It  
 is patent, quhat iniuris be done in þe tyme of Culyne and þe  
 begynnyng of oure empire to þe commonis, quhilkis sustenis  
 oure lyvis with perpetuall laboure, howbeit we haif þe froitt  
 pairof. Quhen þair gudis ar sauffitt, we ar saufe ; quhen  
 (II. 215) þai ar heryit and put to beggarte, nane of ws maye be repute  
 at eifs. Þai wirk, þocht we be idill, and with continewall  
 laboure wynnis our riches. The froittis of þair labouris cumis  
 to ws, and nocht to þame self. Quhay revis þame, revis ws ;  
 quhai nuresis thevis in þair dammage, ar inymyis to ws and  
 oure commoun wele. Perfor this pestilence suld be takin  
 awaye, and þair importabill iniuris to be inhibitt to þe innocent  
 pepill ; quhilk suld nocht onlye be desirit be ws, bot als be  
 366 3oure self, 3oure wiffis or childerin. We | deuisit þe 3ere afoir,  
 as 3e remembre, at Lanark to purge þis realme of all mysdoaris,  
 þat þe commonis and nobillis may be nureist in tymes cuming  
 in peace and tranquillite. Nochþeles, þir misdoaris, in con-  
 tempcioun of oure autorite, comperit nocht in iugement, be  
 assisting of certane nobillis to þair opinioun. And 3ite we  
 supersedit þis offence, quhill mair oportunitie occurrit, howbeit  
 mony of 3ow, as we wer sikkirlye informit, wer participant

<sup>1</sup> MS. *standit* : correction from A.

with þir lymmaris, and wer sa familiar with þame þat þai wer convoyitt fra oure iustice be ʒoure industrie; attoure, þe frequent messengeris send betuix ʒow and þir rebellis, makand na deligence to bring þame to oure iustice, hes maid þe mater mair credibill. Nochpeles, in quhatsumeuer way þe mater standis, we haif removit all suspicioun, gif we had ony, aganis ʒow, and haldis ʒou at þis tyme nocht as fauoraris of lymmaris or brokin men, bot erar to be defendouris of oure common wele, praying ʒou, gif ʒe haif bene in tymes bigane mair sleuthfull þan neid wes, to repair all errouris, schewand ʒow luffaris of ʒoure singulair and commoun wele, and bring þis misdoaris and rebellis to oure iustice, that þai may be pvnyst according to þair demerittis. For we promytt ʒow, ʒe sall nocht be deliuerit of þis gard quhill we se þame put to deth. And þairfor, put þir chargis þe mair haistely to execucioun, þat ʒe see me persew þaim quhilkis ar inymyis to ʒoure wele and ouris to þe deth, and ʒe salbe wele reuarditt to ʒoure labouris."

The nobillis, herand thir wourdis, fell on kneis, praying him to remytt all offence committit aganis his maieste, and promittit glaidlie to doo all chargis as he desyrit, and to remane quhair he plesit, quhill þair frendis had brocht þir mysdoaris and rebellis to his iustice. Eftir þis þe counsale skalit, and þe (II. 216) nobillis come oure Taye with þe King to þe castell of Birtha. This castell wes sa straitlie kept in þai dayis, with in<sup>1</sup> waiche and oute waiche, þat na man gat ische nor entrefß in þe samyn but speciall conduct of the King, and gif ony idill and vagabound persoun wer foundin in þe gaitt, þai brocht him to þe castell. The nobillis in þe menetye wer occupijt with reding of historijs, for þair wes nocht vsit sik hant of dyse and cairtis as ar now vsit, and maid grete deligence be frequent message to þair frendis to bring þir men to þe Kingis iustice, for fere of 367 þair lyvis. | Thair freyndis, seand sa extreme dangere appering be þir nobillis, maid sik deligence þat þai brocht v<sup>c</sup> maist notabill thevis to Bertha, quhilkis wer all iustifijt and hyngit on iebaittis. Þair bodijs wer inhibitt to be takin down, to geif exempill to vperis of þe froute þat fallis of sik crymes.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *within*.

Sik thingis done, þe nobillis wer deliuerit, and exhortit be þe King to suffer noch þe pepill to be iniurit with sik oppressouris in tymes cuming. The Scottis remanit mony ȝeris eftir in sikker peace, quhill at last þe Danys invadit þame, as we sall schaw.

How þe Danys wrocht grete extorsionis in Scotland, and how þai war finalie disconnfist be King Kenneth, and how þe Hayis tuke þair first begynnyng and armes.

C vij

**T**he Danis, richt *commovitt* þat þai had neuir sufficiently revengit þe iniuris and frequent slauchter of þair freyndis in Albion, maid þame with all ordinance and huge multitude of peple to arryve in Albioun, determit, as it wes eftir be þe end of þair weeris schawin, in quhatsumeuir part of Albion þai arrivit to mak þair residence, and othir be force of armys to subdew þe remanent region, or ellis all at anys to dee. Schort tyme eftir, þe flott of Danys arryvit beside þe Rede Braiſſ in Anguse, quhair now standis ane abbay callit Abirbrothok, dedicatt to Sanct Thomas of Cantirberry, eftir þe ordoure of Sanct Benedict. Part of þe Danys gaif counsale to land *nocht* in þir partis, bot erar to pas in England, becaus þe Scottis of þat region wer maist keyn, and with frequent batallis done þe Danys mair *dammage* þan euir þai gatt. Thair landis als wer mair plenteus of treis þan cornis, and (II. 217) *perfor* it wes *nocht* proffittabill to ieoperd þame for sa small regionis. Be contrar, þe landis of England, liand to þe south, wer mair ryche, and þe pepill thairof gevin to na thing leſſ þan to chevelry, quhairthrow þai mycht þe mair esely be subdewitt; and þairfor, gif þai covaitt ony riche landis in Albion, but ony extreme dangere eftir following, to pas in Kent. Vperis said, þai wer *nocht* arryvit in Albion onlie to conqueſſ landis in þe samyn, bot als to reveng þe iniuris done to þame in Albion be þe peple þairof. Attoure, þe Scottis war ane bludy peple, mair curius in defence of vþir *memis* gudis þan þair avne, as wes provin in þe last batall focht in North-

umberland, quhen þai come in support of Inglis men ; and þerfor, als sone as it happynnit þame to cum in Kent, þai suld be constranit to fecht noch onlye aganis Inglis, bot als Scottis, 368 and gif þai remanit | in Scotland, þai suld fecht alanerlye with Scottis. For þir resonis it wes allegit best to invaid first Scotland, to eyk þair army with þe spoulþe þerof, and quhen þe Scottis wer put to vtter exterminioun, to pas with recent victory on England, committing þe remanent chargis to þe chance of fortoun. The Danys, wery be lang troubill of seyis, applaudit to þis last opinioun, and commandit þair flott to cum vp þe mouth of Esk, and finalie landit in þe samyn. The peple, astonyst be þair landing, fled to Montroß, quhilke wes takin sone eftir be Danis with sik cruelte þat all pepill in þe samyn wes slayn, þe toun brynt, and þe wallis bett down to þe ground. Eftir þis þe Danys come throw þe remanent boundis of Anguse to þe Firth of Taye, cessing fra na maner of cruelte þat mycht be devisit on þe inhabitantis þairof.

The pepill, chasit be fury of Danys in þis wise, come to Kenneth, complenyng þe iniuris done to þame. Kenneth wes þis tyme in Striueling, doing continewall iustice to his pepill, and traisting na thing leß þan inymyis to invaid his realme ; nochþeles, eftir schort avisement, þat his realme suld *nocht* be patent to mair extorsionis, commandit be generall edict all fensabill personis to meitt him at ane schort daye, and finalie at þe daye assignit convenit ane huge multitude of peple besyde þe Watter of Erne, quhair it rynnys in Taye. The nixt daye tythingis come þat þe Danys war cumin oure Taye, and liand with strang sege aboute þe castell of Birtha, with sic insufferabill cruelte þat na kynde of pepill, townis or kirkis, quhair þai war maisteris, wer sauffitt. The King, movitt with þir iniuris, rasit his army *with* maist deligence to meit his inymyis. The nycht following he come to Loncarte, ane toun *nocht* far fra Taye. The Danys, na thing effrayitt of his *cuming*, with maist properant and weirly ordinance (II. 218) maid þaim to batall. Þe nixt morrow Kenneth, seand þe Danys in sicht, arrayit his army in ane strang place, and to move his nobillis with mair spreitt and curage aganis þair inymyis, dischargitt þame of all malis & deviteis aucht to



him for v 3eris eftir following ; attoure, ony man þat brocht him þe hede of ane Dayn suld haif x *libri*, or ellis land perpetuallye respondent þairto ; eftir þis maid his orison to God to send his army gude fortoun and curage aganis þair vnmercifull inmyis, and to cheiſs erar with maist manhede and honour to perseveir in batall to þair deth, þan to be takin fleand, to maist schamfull pyne and displeseir. The Scottis, rasit be þir wourdis in grete esperance of victory, arrayitt þame with na leſs hattrent þan hye spreitt to fecht aganis þair fais. Malcolme Duff, Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumber, wes arrayit in þe wangard, 369 þand Duncan, Thayn of Athole, in þe reirward, and in þe myddillward wes King Kenneth. On þe tothir syde þe Danys wer arrait at þe futte of þe hyll, nocht far distant fra þe Scottis.

Þe armyis stude lang arrayitt þus in vther sycht, quhill at last þe Scottis, oure ferſs and desyrous of batall, come *with* huge schoure of dartis, arrowis and ganzeis on þe Danys. The Danys, impacient to sustene þis invasioun of Scottis, come forthwert *with* grete noyſs in batall. Incontinent baith þe armyis ionyt to giddir, but ony signe of trumpaitt, and faucht with sik ferocite þat nane mycht sustene þe preſs of vther ; throw quhilk lang bergane followit with vncertane victory ; bot 3ite na thing wes mair impediment to Scottis þan þair desyre to haif þe hedis of Danys erar þan victory. Quhen þis wes knawin to Danys, þai cryitt with schill voce othir to haif victory or ellis all at anys to dee. Incontinent þai ruschitt with sik properant farde that baith þe vangard and reirward of Scottis wes put to flicht, and þocht þe myddilwarde *with* stude þe haill preſs of Danys, 3ite it wes brocht to sik extreme dangere þat grete novmer of Scottis fled and wer<sup>1</sup> slayn, but ony miseracioun, quhair þai war ouretakin ; throw quhilk þis daye had bene the vtter exterminioun of Scottis, war nocht ane landvert man, namyt Haye, *with* his twa sonnys, strang and of rude body, howbeit þai wer of maist nobill curage, come haistlie in support of Kenneth and his nobillis, quhilkis war neyr ouresett with þair inmyis. This Hay, havand na wappynnys bot þe 3ok of ane plewch, seand þe myddilward, fochtin be Kenneth aganis þe Danys, nakitt

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *wer*.

of baith his wyngis, thocht na thing sa honorable as to dee  
 (II. 219) vailzeantlye amang sa mony nobillis. Ane<sup>1</sup> straitt passage  
 wes *nocht* far fra þe batall, in þe quhilk ane grete novmer of  
 Scottis wer slayn miserabillye fleying. This Hays, traisting  
 na thing sa gude as to repreß þe fleyng of Scottis, abaid in  
 þis straitt passage with his twa sonnys, and slew baith Danys  
 & Scottis, quhom he fand fleand, with his 30k. In þe menetyme  
 thir maist forsy<sup>2</sup> campionis cryitt with schill voce: "All  
 gude Scottis, return, and renew batall, for sindry fresche men  
 ar *cumin* in support of Kenneth, throw quhilk Scottis sall  
 haif victory on þe maist cruell Danys. Heirfor, O nobill men,  
 avise quhethir is mair<sup>3</sup> honest to ieopard 3ow with gude  
 chance in defence of 3oure realme and prince, þan to be  
 schaymfully murdris in 3oure fleying." This Hays with his  
 twa sonnys, armyt, as said is, with 3okkis of pleucht, abaid  
 in þis straitt passage, and constranyt þe Scottis quhilkis wer  
 fleand to return in batall, and finaly enterit with þame aganis  
 þair inmyis. The Danys, astonyst by þair returnyng, and  
 traisting ane new ordinance *cumin* on þame, left þe chaice of  
 370 Scottis, and | maid þame to return to þair folkis. The Scottis,  
 quhilkis wer afoir wyncust, with new curage chasit þe Danys  
 to the campe. The wemen and cariage men, quhilkis wer  
*cumin* with huge novmer to gadyr þe spoulze of the feild,  
 cryitt with schill voce, ane grete novmer of Danys quhilkis  
 persewit þe Scottis war slayne and þe remanent put to flycht.  
 Kenneth, seand his inmyis decay of curage and þe Scottis  
 increß with new spreitt, began to exhort his men mair ferslye  
 to batall. The Scottis, awalky<sup>n</sup>nit with new curage be his  
 wourdis, ruschitt with sik preß on þair inmyis, but sycht of  
 deth or bledand woundis, þat þe Danys wer put to flycht.  
 Grete slauchter wes maid in þe chace be Hays and his sonnys,  
 bot mair be rageand fury of vther Scottis. This was ane  
 excellent victory of Danys be perseverand fechtung of þe  
 nobillis of Scotland in þe myddilward to þe vtter poyntt;

<sup>1</sup> MS. *And*: a later hand adds *abaid quhare* in the margin with a caret in the text, but the reading here is confirmed by A. and the printed text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *frosy*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *maist*, caught from line above.

nochpeles, maist honour succedit to Haye and his sonnys, be quhom þe victory followitt to Scottis eftir þat þai wer put to flycht.

þe nycht following þis victory wes ourepast with singing, dansing and incredibill blithnes. In þe nixt morrow Kenneth gaif þe maist part of all þe spoulze of þe campe to Haye & his sonnys. The remanent wer devydit be ryte of armez amang þe residew of Scottis. Sik thingis done, þe King come to Birtha, quhair he maid Hay & his sonnys to be arrayitt in goldin & precious abulzeament. Bot Haye, na thing desyring þairof, come with his twa sonnys in þair auld and rusty habitt, strynkillit with dust and swete of batall, in þe samyn maner as þai faucht, reddy to doo quhat chargis he mycht at þe Kingis pleseir. The pepill, richt desyrus to se Haye and his ij sonnys, quhilkis be þair singular manhede had sauffitt þe King and þe realme standing in maist dangere of inymyis, come in grete novmer, and convoyitt þame, as (II. 220) vphaldaris of þe realme, to þe Kingis palace. Haye, accompanyitt with huge pepill in þis wise, enteritt in þe Kingis palace, berand þe zok on his schulderis in þe samyn maner as he faucht aganis þe Danys. Sone eftir ane counsale was sett at Skoyne, in the quhilk Haye and his posterite was maid nobill, and dotaitt for his singular vertew, provin in þis feild, with sindry landis to sustene his estaitt. It is sayde, he askit fra þe King certane landis quhilkis he knew richt plentwous afoir, liand betuix Tay and Erroll, and gatt als mekill perof as ane falcoun flew of ane manis hand or scho lychtit. The falcone flew to ane towun nocht foure mylis fra Dundee, callit Rois, and lychtit on ane stayne, quhilk is zite callit þe falcoun stayn; and sa he gat all þe landis betuix Taye & Erroll, vj mylis of lenth and foure of breid, quhilk landis ar zite inhabit 371 be his successouris. Attoure, þat nane<sup>1</sup> of | his wailzeand dedis suld pereis, bot ay remane as recent to his posterite, Kenneth gaif him thre rede scheildis in ane feild of siluer to bere in maner of armes in place of þe zok, to signify þat he was promovitt fra small & obscure lynage to grete ryches and landis. Attoure, þair wes ekitt to his armes þe figure of þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. *name* : correction from A., confirmed by printed text.

3ok with quhilk he helpitt þe Scottis in þair maist neydis. Off this Haye hes descendit mony nobill and walþeand men, quhilkis hes ay bene defendouris of þis realme, quhais hous is decorit with sic autorite þat þe samyn is now Constabill of Scotlannd.

(II. 221)

How King Kenneth puneist sindry conspiratouris for extorsionis done in his realme, and how he slew þe Prince of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> þat his son mycht succede to þe crovne; of þe message send be Sanct Edward to Kenneth, and of Kennethis orisoun maid to his nobillis.

Ca viij

**T**he Danys disconfist in þis maner, followit sindry civil contencionis, to grete displeserr of þe realme. The men of þe Ilis come with ane strang cumpany in Rosß, and maid grete herschippis in þe samyn. Nochþeles, þai wer finalye takin be þe inhabitantis of þe cuntre,<sup>2</sup> and put to deth. Eftir this followit ane grete troubill in Anguse and Mernis, in þis maner. Cruthneth wes maid thesaurair to þe King, and had autorite of all þe landis in Anguse liand betuix South Esk and North Esk, to gadir þe malis þairof to þe Kingis vse. This Cruthneth had ane dochter, namit Fenell, quhilk had ane ferß and vndantit man to hir son, namyt Cruthlint. This Cruthlint come to Delbogin, quhair his gudeserr wes, and be his insolence fell at sik debaitt for ane cauß of nocht þat twa of his<sup>3</sup> seruandis was slayn, and him self nerroly eschapitt with his lyfe. Sone eftir he come to Fettircarn, quhair he mett his moder, and aduerteist hyr of þe hye displeserr done to him. This woman, rageand in cruelte for þe iniuris done to hir son, began to wary hir fader, and armyt hir sone in his slauchter. Sone eftir Cruthlint gaderit ane grete cumpany of þe Mernis, and come within þe nycht to þe castell of Delbogin, quhair he wes ressauit be þe seruandis þerof, and slew his gudeserr, and left nane of live within þe said castell. Sik

<sup>1</sup> MS. *scoland*.<sup>2</sup> MS. adds *men* after *cuntre*.<sup>3</sup> MS. *hir*.

thingis done, he partit þe spoulze amang his complicitis, and þe nixt morrow, returnyng to þe Mernys, brocht ane grete praye of gudis oute of Anguse. The men of Anguse, richt impacient to sustene þir extorsionis, come within þe Mernis, and nocht onlie slew ane grete novmer of pepill, bot als brocht infinit praye of gudis oute of þe samyn, throw quhilk continewitt lang weeris betuix thir twa pepill of Mernys & Anguse, 372 with frequent herschippis and | slauchter on all sydis. Kenneth, commovitt for þis hye contempcioun done to his pepill, and knawing how facill þe ingyne of þame wes to rebellious quhen na pvnicioun wes maid þaireftir, belevitt, gif þir attemptatis wer nocht haistelye dantit, mair sedicioun suld ryse in damage of his pepill, and þairfor summond all personis of Mernis and Anguse quhom he suspect as participant of þis troubill to comperere þe xv day eftir following at Skoyne to vnderly þe law, vnder panis of rebellious; and becaus few of þaim comperit, þe King followit on þame with sik deligence in (II. 222) Lochquhabir, quhare þai fled, þat þai wer all takin and brocht to Dounsynnane. Cruthlint and vther principall movaris of þis trouble wer put to deth, and þe commonis sufferit to return hayme.

This execucioun of iustice brocht King Kenneth in new favoure to his pepill, with sik affeccion þat nane of þame wald here nor suffer ony detraccioun of him. Followitt lang eftir grete tranquillite in his realme, quhill at last, þe xxij zere of his regne, þis prince, decorit sa lang with iustice, committit ane schaymfull slauchter, quhilk apperit þe mair sichty þat his lyfe wes repute afoir maist innocent and gevin for þe commoun wele. The blynd and inmoderatt affeccion þat he had to his son wes occasioun þat he slew be poyssoun Malcolme Duff, Prince of Scotland and Lord of Cumber, þat Malcolme his son mycht succede to þe crowne of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> and zite na man belevitt þat sic cruelte wes committit be him, becaus all vther wais he apperit ane iust prince; attoure, eftir his deth King Kenneth send to all kirkis and templis to doo funerall obsequies for him, and mycht nocht refrene him fra continewall teeris quhen he herd his name spokin.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *scotland*.

Nochþeles, sindry of þe nobillis suspeckit him of þe princes deth, becaus þai persavitt him dissimulatt and his doloure exceding þe affecciou of his mynde; and ȝite, becaus all thing is vncertane, and þe King haldin in sik veneracioun, þai cessit þair ymaginacionis.

The samyn tyme Sanct Eduarde, quhilk wes eftir martiritt be his stepmoder Esculda,<sup>1</sup> send his ambassatouris to Kenneth, schawing him rycht *commovitt* for the deth of Malcolme, Prince of Scotland. Nochþeles, sen all pepill bene mortall, and þe deth of him na leß displesand than his fame wourthy to be in memoriall, he desyritt þat þe twa realmes may persevere in athir frendschip eftir þe tenour of þe auld peace, and to cheiße ane vther Prince of Cumber þat wer wise and nuresar of peace betuix þe two pepill. Kenneth ansueritt, he wes na thing penitent of the band confideratt with Inglismen, and þairfor *commandit* thir ambassatouris to cum þe nixt daye to  
 373 be ansuerit of þair | desyris. Kenneth callit his nobillis sone  
 eftir to ane counsale at Skoyne, and said in þis wise: "Gif  
 ȝe haif sicht to þe wele of þis realme, to þe tranquillite of þe  
 pepill, with lang perseuerance in tymes *cuming*, discrete and  
 (II. 223) wise *faderis*, it is necessair to haif *nocht* alanerly respect to  
 þe administracioun and governance of þis realme in tymes  
 bygane, bot als in tymes *cumyng*, specialy concernyng þe  
 institucioun of ȝoure prince. ȝe mon considir quhat  
 maneris, quhat gouernance and autorite concernis ane prince.  
 It is *nocht* vnknawin to ȝow, þe ingyne and maneris of all  
 pepill ar mutabill, correspondent to þe sesoun, and turnys  
 oft tymes to þe war. New maneris requiris new lawis. It is  
 þerfor *nocht* discrepant to iustice, concernyng þe reparacioun  
 of oure errouris, to vse þe thingis quhilkis ar sufferit be law  
 and vsit in all vther realmez. And þocht ald<sup>2</sup> richtis wer  
 plesant sum tyme to oure eldaris, ȝite þai ar *nocht* foundin  
 now proffittabill. Ane law wes maid eftir Fergus þe First  
 þat, becaus his sonnys Maynus and Ferlegus wer *nocht* abill

<sup>1</sup> Latin has *Estulda*, A. and printed text *Esculda*: MS. might be either.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *all*: correction from A., where *all* has been corrected by scribe to *ald*.

to governe þe realme for þair tendir age, þat þe nerrest of þair blude abill to doo iustice for þe tyme suld be king, quhilk beand decessit, þe son of þe King afoir decessit, gif he war abill, suld succede but ony pleye. It wes defendit be þat samyn law, to eschew inconuenientis, þat na childerin of tendir age sall succede. And þocht þis law wes foundin proffittabill to sindry for þe tyme, 3ite it apperis to my iugement contrarius & noysum to þe commoun wele, nuresand extreme hattrent amang nobill men. Was *nocht* Ferithais, þe secund king quhilk rang nixt Fergus, slayne be Ferlegus? Howbeit þe said Ferlegus wes bannyst for þe samyn cauß, and endit his dayis in miserie; throw þe quhilk doubill skaith followitt, Ferlegus bannyst and Ferithayis slayne. Schort tyme eftir be þis cursit law followitt infinitt displeserr to þe realme, quhen Reuther wes maid king, to þe grete murdir baith of Scottis and Pichtis and eversiou of þair commoun wele, quhilk wes brocht to sic calamite þat, eftir þe murdir of maist forsy campionis, all þe nobillis of Scottis and Pichtis wer othir banyst or put to seruitude. And þocht þe realme wes restorit to þe auld staitt, 3ite followitt frequent slauchter of þe maist nobill and walzeand men of þis realme, throw quhilk *nocht* onlye the realme wes haldin in perpetuall troubill, bot als, maist tendir cousingis fechtand amang þame self for þe empire, oft tymes þe iust heretoure of þe croun wes slayn, men of  
 (II. 224) obscure lynage brocht to grete riches, and nobillis put down. Throw þis detestabill custome wailzeand men wer degeneritt in cowartis, humyll men in bludy monstouris, iust men in  
 374 maist auaricius tyrannis, liberall men in | maist gredy revaris, chaist men in licherous velanys, and attoure censing fra na maner of cruelte þat mycht be devisit. Amang all vther skaithis quhilkis may *nocht* be rehersit but displeser, 3oung childerin, quhilkis had iust tytill to þe croun, war murdrit be þame quhilk had þe realme in gouernance, quhen þai desirit mercy in þair faderis armys. Quhat cruelte, quhat detestabill felonyis, bene herd in ony realme in comparison of sik thingis as bene done be impulsiou of þis cursit law! Thairfor, maist prudent faderis, eschew abone all thingis þat þis cursit instituciou of kingis be *nocht* lang obseruatt amang 3ow. Lat

neuir þe Kingis son be disheresit of þe croun pertenant to him be iust heretage. Abrogatt þis iniurious law quhilk hes nureist amang þow sa mony vnthankfull displeseiris,<sup>1</sup> contrair to þe law of God and man, quhilkis be irrecouerabill damage hes brocht þoure commoun wele neir to vtter exterminoun. For thir ressonis, maist prudent faderis, suffer nane vther bot þe Kingis son to regne abone þow in tymes to cum, sa lang as he has ane of lyfe, that, eftir þe vse of all vþer landis, þe son of þe King may immediatlie succede, nochwithstanding quhatsumeuer aige he be of, quhairthrow þoure commoun wele may appeir gouernit noch be þe autorite of ane man bot be þe haill pepill, þat þe King and his son may be haldin in tymes cuming in mair veneracioun and 3e<sup>2</sup> mair luffitt and dere to him."

(II. 225)

How þe auld lawis wer abrogatt be King Kenneth concernyng þe eleccioun of kingis, and new lawis contrar to þame institute ; of þe visioun þat come to him in his bed, and of his deth. Ca ix

Quhen Kenneth had endit þis orison, certane of his familiaris come amang þe nobillis, desyring þame to cheifis Malcolme, þe son of Kenneth, to be Prince of Cumber, þat he mycht be þat waye þe bettir cum to þe croun eftir his faderis dede. And quhen þe nobillis wer avising degestlye on þis mater, Kenneth inquiryt þame quhom þai desyrit to be Prince of Cumber and Regent on þe bordouris betuix Inglis and Scottis. In þe samyn tyme wer twa nobill men of grete autorite in þe counsale, namit Constantyne, son to King Culyne, and Gryme, nevo to King Duffus, quhilkis wer iust heretouris to þe crowne eftir Kenneth be þe auld lawis. Nochþeles, becaus þai knew extreme danger appering to þame be hattrent of Kenneth, gif þai wer rebelland to his mynde, þai sayid, it wes at his  
375 will to mak noch only | quhom he list Prince of Cumber, bot

<sup>1</sup> MS. *displeseir* : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *þe*, agreeing with printed text ; but Latin supports the correction from A., & *vos illis solito charious estis futuri*.



als to abrogatt þe auld lawis, and to creatt new institucionis, as he thocht expedient. The residew of þe nobillis, following þe votis of þir twa, declarit Malcolme, þe son of Kenneth, Prince of Cumber, houbeit he wes 3oung and vnabill to bere ony autorite. The nixt daye þe ambassatouris of Ingland wer depeschit and richely revardit be Kenneth, and ressauit 3oung Malcolme to mak his obedience to King Edwarde for þe landis of Cumber.

Sone eftir, with consent of þe nobillis, King Kenneth abrogatt þe auld lawis concernyng þe creacioun of þe kingis, and new lawis maid as followis: The King beand decessit, his eldest son, of quhatsumeuer aige he be of, þocht he wer born eftir his faderis deth, sall succeid to þe croun. The nepott gottin of þe Kingis son salbe preferrit to þe nepott gottin of þe Kingis dochter. On þe samyn maner, þe nepote gottin of þe Kingis bruther salbe preferrit to þe nepote gottin of his sister. The samyn lawis salbe obseruit amang all vther nobillis of þis realme in successioun to þair heretage. Quhen þe King is 3oung, ane nobill man of grete prudence and autorite salbe chosin be þe nobillis to governe þe realme, quhill þe King be cumin to þe aige of xiiij 3eris, quhilk 3ere beand outerunnyn, þe King salbe fre to governe his realme be his avne autorite. All vtheris heretouris sall succede to þair faderis heretage eftir þe ische of xxj 3eris, and within þat tyme governit be þair curatouris and tutouris, and quhill þat 3ere be outerunnyn, þai sall noch be admittit to clame þair heretage.

Kenneth, traisting þe realme stabillit to him and his posterite be þir lawis, governit þe commonis in grete iustice, and drew þe nobillis be donacioun of landis & gudis in singular favoure. Nochþeles, þocht he wes repute richt happy be sindry opinionis, 3ite he wes maist vnhappy to him self, ever dredand in his mynde þat þe innocent slauchter of Malcolme Duff, quhom he afoir poysonit, suld cum sum tyme to lycht, and had every roynding and qwyete commonyng, quhen he saw þe samyn amang þe pepill, in suspicioun. For it is gevin be nature to ilk creature þat quhen he is gylty of ony horribill cryme be impulsioum of his conscience to interprete euey thing to ane evill face. On þe samyn maner, þocht Kenneth had his realme

in grete tranquillite, but ony invasioun of inymyis, ȝite he <sup>1</sup> had grete troubill in his mynde. At last, liand in his bed, he herd ane voce, as apperit, be sum visioun, quhilk sayid to him in þis maner : “ O Kenneth, beleif *nocht* þat þe cursit slauchter of Malcolme Duff is hyd to God. O þou vnhappy tiran, quhilk for þe desyre of þe crowne hes slayne ane innocent, invading þi nychtboure with þi tresonable murdir, quhilk þou wald haif puneist with maist rigoure gif it had bene done be vtheris, 376 throw quhilk þou hes incurrit | sik hatrent aganis God þat baith þou and þi sonnys salbe haistly slayne ! For now certane of þi nobillis ar conspyrit in þi deth, traisting, quhen þou and þi son are slayn, to reioise þe crowne at þair pleseir.” The King wes sa effrayit be þe voce þat he past þe remanent of þe nycht with grete noye & displeseir. The nixt morrow he send for ane haly bischop, namit Moveane, and maid his confessioun with grete repentence, confessand þe cryme in (II. 227) þe samyn maner as it wes done. Moveane,<sup>2</sup> herand him penitent, persuadit him to doo pennance, saying, gif he perseveritt in þe samyn, he suld imploir *mercy*, and get grace for his offence.

Kenneth, be his counsale, began to doo sindry werkis of cherite, and left na thing vndone þat pertenit to ane Cristin prince. At last he went to Fordoun, quhilk is ane toun of the Mernys, quhair Palladius, þe blissit Apostill of Scottis, lyis, haldin in grete veneracioun. And quhen he had done his pilgrimage, he come to Fethircarn, quhair he wes lugit with Fenell, lady of þe castell. This Fenell wes ane tendir cousinace to Malcolme Duff afoir slayne be Kenneth, and als to Constantyne and Gryme, *quhilkis* had iust tytill to þe crown. Attoure, scho had extreme hatrent aganis Kenneth for þe slauchter of hir son Cruthlynt, quhilk wes slayn afoir be his iustice. This woman, rageand in ire aganis Kenneth for caufs forsaied, couth *nocht* tak rest, bot devisand all wayis how scho mycht maist eselye slay þe King. And becaus scho knew the mynde of Kenneth gevin with grete magnificence to biggin and polesy, scho brocht him in ane toure of þe said castell, quhilk wes thekkit with coppir and hewin with maist

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ȝe*.<sup>2</sup> MS. *Moveand*.

subtill muldry of sindry flouris and ymagerijs, þe werk sa curious þat it excedit all þe stuff þerof. Attoure, þis toure wes apparalit eneuch with rich tapestrijs of gold and silk, and behynd þame wer corfbowis bendit with gaynþeis reddy to schott. In þe myddis of þis houfß wes ane ymage of brafß, maid to þe similitude of Kenneth, with ane goldin appill in his hand, with sik ingyne þat als sone as ony man maid him to thraw this appill oute of þe hand of þis ymage, þe wrying of þe samyn drew all þe tituppis of þe corsbowis at anys, and schott at him that threw þe appill. Kenneth brocht in þis toure in maner forsaid, na thing knawin þe tresoun devisitt be þis subtill woman, finaly þe duris beand closit, and nane with him bot þis lady, he began, eftir þat he had vesijt sindry merwellis within þis toure, to inquiryre quhat þis ymage and appill signifyitt. "This ymage," said scho, "is maid in similitude of the, þat þe pepill may vnderstand quat reuerence and affeccoun I bere thairto. This goldin appill with sa mony precious stanys is ordanit to be gevin to the in signe of lufe, and þerfor ressaif it with hartly bene | uolence, for it is sett with mony precious stanys of sindry vertuous." The King threw þe appill to haif takin it, and with þe thrawing þerof drew vp (II. 228) þe titvppis, and incontinent þe corfbowis schott him throw þe body. Fenell, seand þe King slayn, lokkitt þe dure, and ran to þe þaitt, quhair scho gat horsß & fled awaye. The Kingis seruandis, abyding lang of his outecuming, brak finaly þe dure, quhair þai fand him bullerand in his blude, and waryitt þis abhominabill weche for his slauchter.

Off King Constantyne ; of sindry marwellis sene in Albion ; how Constantyne and Malcolme contendit for þe croun ; how Inglis and Danys wer aggreit be Malcolme, Prince of Scotland ; how Constantyne and Kenneth faucht, and war baith slayne. Ca x

**K**enneth slayne be this vncouth and wounerfull slycht, Constantyne, son to King Culyne, come with ane grete powere to his frendis to Skoyne, quhair he ressaute þe croun,

in þe xxv ȝere of þe regne of Kenneth, fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ȝeris. The samyn tyme mony *mæ*rwellis war sene in Albion. Stanys ranyt baith in France and Albion. Grete multitude of fysche wes fundin dede on þe sandis of Buchquhane, quhilkis sone efter wer corruppit with pestilencius flewour, to grete mortalite of pepill. The mone wes sene terribill & bludy. The froitt and cornes, throw insufferabill heyittis of þe *sommyr*, failȝeitt in all partis of þis realme, and sone eftir followitt sic derth þat, wer *nocht* þe fische swam *with* mair abundance þat ȝere þan þai wer wonnt, þe pepill had bene alluterlie pereist. The Scottis, astunyst be thir and vthir<sup>1</sup> vncouth plagis, dred grete calamiteis to cum on þame, gif þair lyvis wer *nocht* þe mair haistelye amendit; and þocht þe nobill prechour Vigeane, with Blaane, Medane and mony *vþeris* maist excellent doctouris, exhortit daylie þe Scottis to desist fra þe syn and amend þair lyfe, ȝite na preching nor fere of terribill plagis mycht cauß þame to detest þair cursit lyiff, bot ilk day offending God with mair offence, throw quhilk intollerabill affliccioun, ilkane abone vther, come in Scotland, as wes sene eftir. For Malcolme, þe son of Kenneth, quhilk wes maid afoir Prince of Cumber, herand þat Constantyne had takin þe croun, quhen he wes bereying his fader at Colmkyll, aganis þe lawis laitlie ordanit be Kenneth, gaderit his freyndis to ane counsale, to repreß þis sedicioun rysing be Constantyne. Sum of þame gaif *consale* to feill þe myndis of þe nobillis or þai  
 378 *procedit* ony forthar, | in auenture, quhen he belevitt maist to deliuer him of danger, he brocht him self in sic calamite þat he may *nocht* eschew þe samyn but extreme *dammage* of his *commoun* and singulair wele. Vtheris gaif counsale to invaid Constantyne but ony tary, or he wer maid strang in his autorite, becaus sindry bene with him at þis tyme quhilkis wald *nocht* onlye leiff him, bot als bring him bundin to his inymyis, quhen þai saw tyme. Attoure, gif he passit but ony mair aduertence, he mycht tak Constantyne at his pleseir.

Malcolme, following þis last counsale, come with x<sup>m</sup> men in Loutheane. King Constantyne, herand quhat wes devisit aganis him, come with ane strang army aganis Malcolme,

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *vthir*: insertion from A., confirmed by printed text.

and finalie chasit him in Cumber, throw *quhilk* this Malcolme had bene aluterlie distroyitt, war nocht his bastard bruther, namyt Kenneth, come with ane grete cumpany to Striueling, and stoppit all passage oure Forth; quhairthrow baith þe armyis of Kenneth and Constantyne wes at grete troubill, and Constantyne for lake of vittalis constranyt finalye to skayll his folkis, to his hye displeseir. And becaus þe realme wes devyditt in sindry faccionis, followitt grete slauchter and herschippis in all partis þairof, quhairthrow sic mortalite wes þat tyme amang Scottis þat it mycht haif bene sufficient document to all pepill of þe displeseris falling be civill weeris. The landwert pepill, for continewall reffe and herschippis maid on þame, left þe land vnsawin and vnlaborit, becaus þe horß and catall quhilkis suld haif lauborit the ground wer reft fra þame. Finalie ilk troubill raiß sa fast on vther þat infynit slauchter, reffe and extorsionis wer done with all maner of cruelteis þat mycht be devisit, but esperance of bettir fortoun.

Quhill þe Scottis wer at sik troubill, Sanct Edwarde, King of Ingland, neir vtterly opprest be weris of Danys, wes constranit to redeme þe liberte of his pepill with huge moneye. And becaus þair tyranny cessit nocht be the samyn, he tuke purpoß to invaid þame be batall, and sollistit Malcolme, Prince of Cumber, to cum with ane grete powere in his support; throw quhilk þe Danys wer sa astunyst þat þai condiscendit to haif peace on þis maner: King Edward sall paye ane thousand *libri* striueling to þe Danys in redres of þair weris, and þe Danis sall stand content with the landis conquest afoir þat tyme, and sall nocht onlye ceß fra invading of Inglismen, bot alsß sall debaitt þame aganis all vncouth inmyis

(II. 230) in tymes cumyng. The samyn tyme King Constantyne,  
379 traisting to fynd suffi | cient oportunitie to bring all the boundis  
of Scotland vnder his empyre, becaus the Prince of Cumber  
wes implicatt with weeris of Danys, come with xx<sup>m</sup> men in  
Loutheane, quhilk stude þat tyme vnder þe dominioun of  
þe said Prince. Kenneth, þe bastard forsaide, quhilk wes left  
be his bruper the Prince to resist þe attemptatis of King  
Constantyne, come haistelye with ane grete powere at Craw-

mounde. And skairslye wer baith þe armyis ionyt to giddir, quhen ane vehement wynd raiß in þe est, and blew þe sand in þe face of Constantynis army, howbeit þe army of Kenneth gat na troubill þairwith, becaus þe wynd wer in þair bakkis. The victory finalye succedit to Kenneth with grete displeseir to baith þe armyis, for Kenneth and King Constantyne mett to giddir be singulair batall, and wer baith slayne, in þe thrid zere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> and ij z<sup>eris</sup>.

How Gryme wes maid King of Scottis; of grete troubill þat fell betuix him and Malcolme, Prince of Cumber, for contencioun of þe crowne, and how þai wer finaly aggreit. C xj

**G**ryme, nepote to King Duff, herand how vnhappellie King Constantyne and Kenneth war slayne at Crawmond, gaderit þe residew of King Constantynis army, and come with þe samyn to Scoyne, quhar he wes crownit be tenour of þe auld lawis quhilkis wer laitlie abrogatt be Kenneth. Gryme crovnit, as we haif schewin, wes richt liberall and plesand to þe frendis of Constantyne, throw quhilk he conquest þair singulair favoure, and becaus he vnderstude him odious to Malcolme, Prince of Cumber, he sett his besynes to haif þe favoure populair, traisting na thing sa gude as þe samyn to stabill his realme in sikker quiete. The pepill had attoure grete affecciou to him for King Duffus his emez sayk, and belevitt him to follow his maneris in gouernance of þe realme, specialie becaus he wes ane plesand persoun, dotate with excellent giftis of nature and fortoun. King Gryme, to mak him þe mair thankfull to his subdittis, revardit þame with sindry gratitudis, and maid him to conquess þe freyndis of Malcolme, rearding þame quhom he fand obeysand to his mynde with grete riches, and vtheris quhilkis wer repugnand confiskitt þair gudis, halding þame as inymyis to þe commoun wele.

(II. 231) Malcolme, Prince of Cumber, richt sorowfull for þir doyngis of King Gryme, callit all his frendis to ane counsale to avise

in þis mater; nochþeles, dissimulit his mynde, as he had  
 King Grymes doyngis at contempcioun; and 3ite mony of  
 380 his freyndis persuadit him to contemp nocht his | inymye, sen  
 sindry of þe nobillis assistit to his opinioun, and þairfor erar  
 to contend with him be wisdome þan pissance, and laboure,  
 gif he mycht, to draw þe nobillis fra his mynde. Macolme  
 assentit to þair counsale, and send to þe nobillis his secrete  
 messingeris, praying þame to keip þair faith and promes  
 promittit to his fader Kenneth, and to assist to him in his gude  
 mater, that þe lawis laitlye maid<sup>1</sup> concernyng þe creacioun<sup>2</sup>  
 of princes be nocht abrogatt be ambicioun of þe tyran Gryme,  
 promitting, gif þai wald assist to his opinioun, to governe þe  
 realme in sik felicite þat all evill debaittis mycht be sett asyde.  
 Be this hortacioun mony of þe freyndis quhilkis assistit to  
 Gryme come to Macolme, persuading vtheris to do siklyke,  
 bot vþeris tuke þe messingeris of Macolme, and send þame  
 bondin as rebellis to Gryme, quhom he put in presoun.  
 Macolme, movit with þir iniuris, come with ane grete cumpany  
 aganis Gryme; and quhen he wes aduertist þat Gryme wes  
 cumand aganis him with doubill mar novmer of pepill þan he  
 wes, he commandit vnder pane of deth þat nane of Grymes  
 army be ressaut amang his folkis, nor commoun þerwith,  
 quhill þai war first brocht to his presence, to þat fyne þat his  
 folkis suld nocht tyne curage be reherß of þe ordinance aganis  
 þame. Nochþeles, faym and rumour, quhilk inccessis aye  
 mair & mair be frequent passage, maid þe thing diwlgatt in  
 his army þat he desyrit to be hyd, and schew, gif he 3eid  
 forthwert, he suld fecht na les aganis mony of þame quhilkis  
 wer in his avne army þan aganis his inymyis, throw quhilk  
 na litill dredoure followitt. This<sup>3</sup> rumour raisß be merchandis,  
 quhilkis had mair knowlege in changeing of þair gudis þan  
 in ony craft of chevelry, off quhilkis ane grete novmer wes in  
 his army, nakit of armour and wapyynnis, and þairfor þai  
 desyrit to pas oute of þe army with licence of Macolm; and  
 becaus þai mycht nocht purchesß þe samyn, þai fillit all þe  
 army full of murnyng & dolour. Be þir wourdis and dredoure

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *lailie* in an interlineation after *maid*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *cracioun*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *Thus*.

of *merchandis* all þe capitanis quhilkis wer in Macolmez army war effrayitt. Macolme, seand his capitanis<sup>1</sup> astonyst in þis maner, thocht nocht proffittabill to ieopard his army vnder (II. 232) sic dredoure aganis his inymyis, and þairfor, be counsale of his familiaris, to eschew þe present danger, sufferit þe *commonis* to pas hayme, and abaid at þe Watter of Forth with ane grete novmer of houfshald and gentill men, to stop his inymyis to cum oure þe watter.

381 | Quhill sik infinit troubill wes in Scotland, Fothadus, Bischop þerof, ane man of excellent wisdome and conscience, seand þe realme infestit þus be civill debaittis and weeris of Gryme and Macolme drawand þe body of þe realme in sindry faccionis, went with ane grete novmer of prelattis, arrayit in his pontificall to Gryme, quhom he ressauid with reuerence, and inquiryt with quhat erandis he wes *cumin* to him in sik habitt. He ansuerit: "I am *cumin* as *seruand* of Criste, þe Gevar and Lord of peace, to mak intercessioun to þe to haif miseracioun of þe affliccioun in þi realme, sen God hes maid þe prince þerof. Sa mony sindry motyves of debaitt sprouttis in it þat it sall nocht fayll, bot gif þou provyde mair haistelye remede, to haif ane miserabill rewyne. The domestik weris is sa frequent in þis realme þat þai haif brocht þe samyn to sik calamite þat nocht haboundis in it bot *perpetuall* reffe and slauchter of nobillis & *commonis*, as þe weyrdis wer determyt to bring þis realme to nocht, becaus all myschevous personis ar nocht onlye vnpunyst, bot als maist autorist for þair iniquite. Nane maye remane in his avne houf bot or daye ar slayne or herijt of all his gudis and insyght. And vnderstand surelye, sa lang as þir odious contensionis ar betuix þe and Macolm, na iustice, faith nor pollesy sall appeir in þis realm. Nochþeles, gif þou aggre with Macolme, þou sall put ane end to all þir myschevis. Heirfor, gif þou will obtempir to my mynde, I sall tak þe charge on hand to bring it to ane gude fyne. For thir resonis, maist nobill Prince, haif miseracioun on þe grete troubill fallin to þi pepill, quhilkis ar brokin now with mair calamite þan *mycht* move maist vnmercifull tyrannis to piteous teris. And gif na affliccioun of þi realme and pepill may move

<sup>1</sup> MS. *captanis*.



þe to reuth, ȝite haif compassioun on þi self, quhilk may haif na sikkyr lyfe quhen þi pepill ar perist."

King Gryme, movit be þir lamentabill wourdis, ansuerit that he wald glaidlie condiscend to haif peace, sa þat it war nocht degrading to his honour. He was maid king be auld lawis, vsit sa mony hundreth ȝeris in þis realme, and þerfor (II. 233) wald nocht sevir fra þe croun, bot fecht for þe samyn aganis Macolme and all þat wer of his opinioun to þe end of his lyfe. Nochþeles, gif Macolm wald skayll his army, and stand content with þe landis of Cumber, with purposß to invoid him with na langar batall, he wald here peace; vtherwayis, he suld perseveir in batall aganis him, quhill þe richt wer decernyt be þe swerd. Fothadus prayitt þe King to ceß a litill fra all malice, quhill he had sene þe mynde of Macolme, quhairthrow it mycht happin, gif ony sicht wer to þe commoun wele, to bring all materis as þai desyrit.

Sik thingis done, Fothadus went to Macolme at Striueling, quhair he be lang orisoun lamentit þe grete troubill fallin to þe pepill be sedicioun of þe twa Princes, schawing quhat miserabill end suld follow þerupoun. He tuke trewis betuix þame for thre monethis in þis wyse: gif King Gryme wald skail his folkis, Macolme suld pas, but ony forthir troubill, 382 in Cumber, and | in þe menetyme to laboure sum waye for þe wele of þe realme. King Gryme refusit nocht þe trewis, traisting to persevere perpetuallye in þe empire, but ony forthir molestacioun, quhilk he had socht afoir with sa huge dangere, and þairfor skalit his folkis, and come with ane quyett cumpany to Forfair, to tak consultacioun with his freyndis quhat wes to be done in þis mater. In þe menetyme Fothadus þe Bischoep cessit nocht, quhill he aggreit þaim at Scoyne on þis maner: King Gryme sall reioiß þe croun during his lyfe, and eftir his deth þe croun to remane with Macolme and þe nerrest of his blude perpetually, but ony pleye. He that was foundin eftir repugnant to þe poyntis of þis peace salbe haldin as inymyis to the commoun wele. Attoure, all landis liand betuix Loutheane and Northumberland, Clyde and Westmureland, sall cum presentlye vnder þe dominioun of Macolm, for quhilkis he sall stand gude freynde to King Gryme and his freyndis,

makand na support to his inymyis; and gif he attempt ony thing contrar þe promiss, he sall tyne baith þe landis gevin to him be þis appunctuament and þe croun fra him and his posterite. Quhen þir twa Princes war sworn in stratest forme þat mycht be devisitt to observe all poyntis contenit in þis contract, þai skalit þair cumpanyis, and sett þair myndis to repair þe troubill fallin to þe pepill be þair devisioun; throw quhilk gude peace remanit mony ȝeris eftir.

(II. 234)

How grete novmer of Danys war slayne be slycht of Inglismen; off þe orisoun maid to King Gryme be his nobillis, and how he wes wyncust & slayne be Macolm, Prince of Cumber. Ca xij

The samyn tyme Eldreid wes maid King of Ingland be deceß of his bruther, Sanct Edward. This Eldreid sufferit grete iniuris be confluence of Danys, with thair wyffis, childerin and freyndis, in his realm, for þe Danys be vndantit cruelte maid importabill herschippis in all partis quhair þai come. Nothir peace nor ȝite þair faith afoir contrackitt be vertu of þe Sacrament mycht repreß þair invasioun, throw quhilk apperit na thing mair sikker þan playn eversioun of the realme of Ingland. King Eldreid, to ceß þis cruelte, sett ane consale of his nobillis, in þe quhilk wes devisitt, be secrete counsale, all þe Danys to be slayne on ane daye; quhilk had bene done, war nocht ane grete novmer of þame war aduertist, and eschewit the murdir devisit aganis þame. Nochtþeles, mony of þame wer slayn be þe samyn waye. The residew of þe Danys quhilkis war eschapitt fra þis murdir, movit be 383 þe slauchter of þair freyndis, | garnyst all þe municions and castellis quhilkis þai had in Ingland, and send to Swenus, King of Denmark, desyring support to revenge þe tresoun done to þame laitlie be gyle of Inglismen.

Quhill sik thingis wer done in Ingland, King Gryme, be affluence of riches and lang peace, was degeneratt fra his liberalite and chaist lyiff in maist corruppit and auaricious leving; and quhen he had slayne sindry nobillis of Scotland, as

ofttymes occurris, to conques þair landis and gudis, he opprest þe pepill ilk daye with mair tyranny. The pepill, knowing na mortale iuge abone him to puneifþ his cruelte, eftir lang regraitt of insufferabill iniuris sustenit be þame, fell on kneis, makand inuocacioun to God, þe punisar of syn, to haif piete of þair affliccioun, and to chenge þe realme in sum bettir governance. The nobillis, havand grete indignacioun likewise of þe troubill fallin baith to þame and *commonis*, send ane certane of gentill men as ambassatouris to King Gryme, persuading him in thair name to devoyde him of vnhappy and myschevous *lymmaris*, in quhom he had oure grete confidence, as apperit, to þe damage of þe *commoun* wele. Thir ambassatouris eftir þair *cuming* sayid to him in þis maner :  
 (II. 235) “ Wee, quhilkis ar ane part of þi nobillis, and evir trew to þe croun to þis houre, are *cumin* to persuaid þe to þe wele of þi self and þis realme. It is noch vnknawin to þe, maist nobill Prince, quhat skaith, quhat iniuris, bene done to þi liegis be insaciabill auerice of þir vnhappy and myschevous *lymmaris*, þi seruandis. The schayme and displeseir heirof maye be excusit be na reasoun, bot redoundis maist to þi dishonour and sleuth. Heirfor, sen it is at þi pleseir to distribut all officis and autorite within þis realme, þow man responce for þair iniquite and oppressionis done aganis þi subdittis. The suerde is gevin to þe nocht to inuaid trew and innocent men, bot onlie to pvneifþ gilty and myschevous personis. It war bettir þi pepill to be dede, as þe *commoun* voce is, than to be daily opprest and troubillit be þame quhilkis suld þame debaitt fra all iniuris. Praying þe heirfor to devoyde all tyranny, and governe þe realme and *commoun* wele with sik felicite as þi eldaris hes done afoir ; for we thynk it vnganand, sa lang as we ar on live, gif þou wilbe rewlit be ws, þat þi subdittis suld be opprest othir in tyme of weere or peace, sen we haif bene evir reddy to defend þe with oure bodeis and gudis, nochwithstanding quhatsumeuir danger of oure lyffis. And þairfor, schew þi self ane trew prince, and cast þe to be luffitt with þame quhom þou desyris to be þi freyndis, and vnderstand betuix ane iust king and obeysand cietizanis rysis na rebelloun nor debaitt.”

Quhen King Gryme had ansuerit with dissimulit and fainzat<sup>1</sup> wourdis to þir ambassatouris, he callit þame to ane bankatt, with purpoß to haif put þame in presoun. Nochþeles, þai wer aduerteist þairof, and fled with swift horß to Bertha, quhair þe remanent nobillis wer assemblit for þe tyme. King  
 384 Gryme, na thing be þir wourdis movit, | bot traisting ilk thing  
 (II. 236) to succede with sik felicite as afoir, gaif him to his lust and insolence, noch cessing fra frequent exaccionis and skurgeyng of his liegis, quhill at last he was admonist þat þe nobillis wer rebellit aganis him; nochþeles, rasit his baner, and come with ane grete pepill in þair landis quhilkis wer aganis his opinioun; throw quhilk followit mair troubill þan wes herd ony tyme afoir in Albion. Castellis wer cassyn doun, townis brynt, þe cornis distroyitt, and the pepill slayne in kirkis at þair deuocioun. Sic cruelteis and trouble maid Macolm, Prince of Cumber, to cum oute of England fra þe weris of Danys, and to return in Scotland. At his cuming all pepill specialie þat haittit Gryme come with grete triumphis, desyring him to releiff þame of þe troubill fallin be tyranny of Gryme, and schew him nocht borne onlye for þe wele of him self, bot als for þe wele of his countre, and descendit of nobill blude, with hie curage, fayme, honoure and riches, and ordanit to deliuer þe pepill of odius tirannis; quhilkis thingis beand done, he mycht nocht onlie ressaif þe crowne, bot als deliuer þe pepill of reffe, murthir and oppressioun, bringand him self to honoure & vtheris to excellent vertuus, equiualent to þe fame of his predicessouris. Macolme, movit be þir persuasionis, thocht na thing sa proffittabill as to distroye þe invasoure of þe commoun wele, and þerfor rasit ane grete company, be impulsoun of nobillis, to invaid King Gryme. In þe menetye sindry vther nobillis left Gryme for his insufferabill tyrannys, and wer sworn to concur with Macolme. Gryme, aduertist of þair cuming aganis him, come forthwert with þe pepill he mycht gett for þe tyme aganis Macolme, traisting, becaus it wes þe Ascensioun Daye, to tak his inymis but ony arraye. Nochþeles, Macolme mett him at Auchnabart, quhair it wes fochtin with maist cruelte on all sydis. Grete slauchter was

<sup>1</sup> MS. *faizat*: correction confirmed by A.

at þe first iovnyng, quhill at last Gryme was put to flycht, and his army disconnfist. It is sayd þat he wes takin in þe chais, and baith his een put oute for contempcioun, and syne haldin in perpetuall displeseir, quhill he decessit, þe ix 3ere of his regne, and was beryitt in Colmkill, fra þe Incarnacion j<sup>m</sup> & x 3eris.

II. 237) How Macolme, Prince of Cumber, was maid King off Scottis; how Sweno, King of Norowaye, with doubill victory chasit King Eldreid of Ingland in Normandy, and opprest Inglismen with grete cruelteis.

C xiiij

385 **M**acolme eftir þis victory callit sindry of his nobillis, quhilkis war takin presoneris at þis tyme, to his presence, and tretit þame *with* maist | beneuolence, saying he wes iust here-toure to þe croun of Scotland, and faucht noch aganis þe wele pairof, bot alanerlye to releif þe pepill of þe tyranny of Gryme, and þairfor *commandit* ane convencioun to be at Scoyne þe xv day eftir following; quhilk daye, þe nobilite of Scotland beand present, Macolme declarit þat he wald nocht ressaif þe diademe imperiall, quhill þe lawis maid afoir be his fader Kenneth war approbaitt, and the nobillis sworn nevir to cum in contrair thairoff. Sik thingis grantit at his pleseir, he wes crownit in þe fataill chair of *merbill*, and maid sone eftir his coronacioun generall concorde with all his nobillis, removing all hattrent and sedicioun quhair ony apperit, syne delt þe officis concernyng civill accionis to þame quhilkis wer maist resolut in þe lawis. Vther officis quhilkis pertent to chevelry wer gevin to maist wal3eant capitanis, throw quhilk followitt bettir iustice þan was sene mony 3eris afoir.

Quhill þe empyre of Scottis wer gouernit in þis maner, Sweno, King of Danys, arrivit in Britan with ane huge navy to reveng þe iniuris done to þair freyndis afoir be Inglismen. This Sweno sone eftir his coronacioun, as is writin in þe History of Danys, wrocht sic cruelte aganis all pepill within his realme

þat þai renuncit þe Cristin faith, quhilk þai tuke laitlie afoir, and returnit to þair auld supersticionis. Nochþeles, his cruelte wes nocht lang vnpunyst, and wes eftir be iust pvnicioun of God thryifþ takin presonere with his inymyis, and thryifþ ransomit with infynit money, at last brokin with sa mony sorowis þat he wes dongin oute of his realme be Olavus, King of Norroway, and finalie restorit baith to þe faith and to his

(II. 238) realme be Scottis. This Sweno at his first cuming in Inghland, with ane grete army of Gotthis, Norowais, Swanys, Vandalis & Frisonis, faucht *with* sik felice þat he chasit Eldreid, King of Inghland, in Northumberland, quhair þe said Eldreid gat new support of Scottis, and tuke purposþ with new curage to assailþe þe chance of fortoun aganis Danys. Proceeding herefor straucht contrair his inymyis, he parkitt his campe nocht far fra 3ork apoun þe rever of Owsa. In þe menetyme Sweno, havand na memory of þe grete humaniteis done to him be Scottis, chargit þame to return hayme, and lefe þe Inghlismen; vtherwayis he wald invaid þame with maist cruell batall. King Eldreid tuke þe herald quhilk come to þis effect, and kest him in fetteris, incontinent 3eid forthwert *with* displayitt baner aganis þe Danys; and þai, na thing eschewing his cuming, mett him *with* sik properant fury þat skairsly had ony of þe sydis lasar to cast þair darttis. Followitt lang tyme maist aufull bergane, quhill at last victory succedit to Danys, nocht but incredibill murdir baith of þame and

386 Inghlismen. Eldreid, waistit of his substance, and | brokin with doubill disconfitouris on þis wise, gatt ane bait at Owsa, and fled oure þe samyn with certane vtheris his nobillis. The residew of his army wer takin or slayn. Eldreid, seyng ilk daye mair troubill rysing in his realme, and disparit of releiff, fled with ane grete novmer of his nobillis in Normandy, quhair he wes ressaut with all honour þat mycht be devisit be Richard, Duke of Normanis, and maryit his dochter Emma, on quhom he gatt twa sonnys, Alarude and Edwarde. He had als ane vther son, namyt Edmonnd Irnesyde for his singular curage and strenth of body, quhilk Edmond wes gottin on his first wyffe afoir þe fury of Danys invadit his realme. This Edmond, as we sall eftir schaw, rang xvj 3eris abone Inghlismen eftir

þe deth of his fader Eldreid, eftir þat Sweno and Herald had þe empire of Ingland devidit betuix þame.

Sweno, proude of þir feliciteis, tuke avisement with þe remanent Danys how þe Inglismen mycht be maist eselye distroyitt, þat na impediment mycht ryið be þame in tymes cuming to stabill his realme. The nobillis of Ingland, aduerteist of þis extreme hatrent of Danys aganis þame, fell on kneis afoir Sweno, desyring him with pieteous orison to haif mercy on þair affliccioun, and to sauf þame fra exterminiou, sen þai wer ane anciant pepill, sum tyme maist pyssant baith be  
 (II. 239) sey and land, and to suffer þame remane on lyve vnder quhat *seruitude* he plesit ; for þai desyrit na castellis, townis nor riches, bot onlye to leyff with þair wyffis and childerin. And þocht Sweno wes be nature of maist cruelte, 3ite he vsit his victory with leß indignacioun on Inglismen þan he purpositt, commanding þame mony 3eris eftir to bere na wappy<sup>n</sup>nis, bot to vse husbandry or vther laboure vnder *seruitude* of Danys, honoring him as þair iust prince, and but ony delaye to bring to him all þair gold, siluer, iowellis, wappy<sup>n</sup>nis and armour agane ane prefixitt daye, randerig þair townis, castellis and municionis to Danys to be garnyst with þair soidjouris ; gif ony Inglis<sup>m</sup>en thocht þir chargis importabill, to mak þame redde to sustene þe deth. The Inglismen, brokin ilk daye with mair displeseir, and havand na vther way to saufe þair lyfe, fulfillit þir chargis in all poyntis. Thus was the croun of Ingland conquest be þe Danys, eftir the first conqueß maid on it be Saxonis in þe tyme of Wortigern v<sup>o</sup> xxix 3eris.

Sweno rang eftir þis with grete tyranny abufe Inglismen, and reft fra þame þair liberte in sik manere þat he wald suffer name of þair blude bere autorite or honouris within Ingland.  
 387 The preistis & prelaittis | war degradit of þair beneficis, and cassin in presoun, and Danys put in þair rowmes. The Inglismen, opprest with sik miserabill calamiteis, began to lament thair vnhappy chance, þat þai chesit nocht erar to haif deitt quhen þai mycht þan to leiff with sik daylie oppressioun be tyranny of þair vnmercifull inymyis. Nochþeles, þair lamentabill regrait movit nocht King Sweno, bot thirlit þame þe mair þai lamentit to new and importabill *seruitude* ; for þe ingyng of

tyrannis ar ay of sik condicioun, the mair þai see þair subdittis deieckitt in extreme misery, þair vnmercifull fury ragis in mair cruelte. At last þe miserabill peple of Ingland wes brocht to sik calamiteis be Danis þat euery houfs in Ingland wes constranytt to sustene ane spy to schew King Sweno quhat wes said or done in þat houfs, þat he mycht be aduerteist gif ony rebellious raisß amang þame. This spy wes callit Lord Dayne, quhilk is now takin for ane idill lymmair þat sekis his leving on vther menis labouris.

(II. 240)

How Olavus and Onetus come in Scotland with huge flott of Danys, and wrocht grete cruelte in Murraie, and how King Macolme, cumand aganis þame with all þe army of Scotland, was disconfist. C xiiij

Inglisten opprest in þis maner and spoulzeit of þair Icrowne and riches, Sweno, to stabill his realme, thocht expedient to tak peace with his nyctbouris, þe Normanis, Britonis and Scottis, vnder thir condicionis, þat nane of þame suld support Inglisten aganis Danys, & the Normanis to send Eldreid with his successioun to him, or ellis to distroy þe samyn, and Scottis to ressaif na Inglisten in þair landis, and to persevere in peace with Danys on þe samyn maner as þai did afoir with Inglisten. Sweno, seand þir condicionis of peace nocht accepit with Normanis nor Scottis, garnyst all municionis fornens Normandy with strang soidjouris, and maid provisioun to invaid þe Scottis, becaus þai wer nerrest and brokin with recent batall. Heirfor, to caus his purposß cum mair stranglie to effect, he send to Olavus and Onetus, Princes of Norowaye and Denmark, to cum haistlie in Scotland with all þe pepill þat þai mycht gett, to invaid þe Scottis. Sone eftir þe forsaid capitaneis, Alavus and Onetus, arryvit with ane huge navy in þe mouth of Speye, and landit with sik awfull ordinance þat þe inhabitantis fled with þair bestiall, wyiffis & childerin to þair best refuge. The Danys eftir þair departing brynt þe kirkis, tempris & townis, and slew all personis quhom þai mycht apprehend. The Danys, rageand



þus in maist cruelte, went with bludy swerde throw Murraye, and tuke all þe strenthis & municions þerof except Elgin, Fores and Narn, and left þe segeing of þe ij castellis of Elgin & Fores, and segit þe castell of Narn with ane strang seyge, traisting, quhen it wer takin be force of armys, þe said vther<sup>1</sup> twa castellis to be randrit withoute gaynstanding. Nochtþeles, 388 quhen | þai war liand at þe saidcastell of Narn, tythingis come þat King Macolme wes nocht v mylis fra þair campe with all þe power of Scotlannd. The Danys, reiosit to haif occasioun of bataill, quhilk þai desyrit maist, left þe sege of þe said castell, and come with na leß myrth aganis þe Scottis þan victory (II. 241) had bene in þair handis. Sone eftir þe ambassatouris of Macolm went to þir Danys, inquiryng quhy þai maid sik invasioun in Murray, but ony occasioun of iniuris. Skairsly had þir ambassatouris done þair orisonnis, quhen þai wer slayn be cruelty of Danys.

Macolme, movit with þir iniuris, and complenyng þe law of nature brokin be slauchter of his ambassatouris, come þat samyn nycht with grete malancoly to ane medow besyde Kynloß, quhair his army baid in gude arraye with birnand desyre of bataill to revenge þe cruelteis done be Danys; nochþeles, seand þair inymyis þe nixt morrow in maist aull ordinance, and mair novmer þan evir þai saw afoir, þai decayit of þair curage, and tuke mair sollicitude to sauff þair lyvis þan to invaid þair inymyis. Than sindry of þair nobillis began to murmur þat þe realme wes brocht be King Macolme to sik extreme miserye þat na place apperit to sauff þair singular nor commoun wele. Vtheris, eschaymyng to be cowarttis, dissimilit þair contenance, exhorting þair fallowis to pas forthwert aganis þair inymyis. Nochtþeles, few wer þat tyme in þe army bot had ane hevvy and sorowfull contenance for fere of þair inymyis. Macolme, seand þame astonyst, dred, gif he desyrit þame to fecht, othir þai suld fle, or ellis be repugnand to his chargis, and þairfor ʒed to ane moitt. quhair he callit his nobillis to ane counsale, and detestit þair cowatry, beand sa wailþeand at hayme quhen na inymyis occurrit, and þan at þe first sycht of þair aduersaris effrayitt.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *vthe*.

“ Quhat thing,” said he, “ has movit 3ow, my belouit freyndis, to pas sa suddanlye fra þe office of wail3eant campionis, devoding 3oure anciant fortitude at þe first sycht of inymyis? For gif 3e haif þir bludy and furius pepill in dredoure, and disparit to haif victory be 3oure manhede and curage, þan 3e ar nocht wourthy to be þe sonnys of þai wail3eant campionis quhilkis wyncust þir Danys at Loncarte be chevelry of Kenneth my fader. We fynd ofttymes Danys wyncust in Scotland and England, to þe huge gloir of oure eldaris. Quhat schayme has succedit to Danys for þair weeris movit aganis ws! Quhat infinite novmer of þame ar beryit in Albion, quhilk is callit be sum personis The Sepulture of Danys! Sum of þame ar slayn in 3oure dayis, vtheris in 3oure eldaris; and 3ite þir quhilkis ar now to fecht aganis 3ow ar nocht of sik manhede and strenth as þai quhilkis wer afoir wyncust at Loncarte. Heirfor, 3oure curage suld nocht decaye, bot increß þe mair, becaus 3e ar to fecht nocht only aganis þe residew of Danys  
 389 beand | wyncust, bot als aganis þe brekaris of þe law of God & man. 3oure vertu and perseverand constance sall schaw sone, gif 3e fecht as 3oure eldaris has done afoir, quhat foly  
 (II. 242) wes in Danys quhen þai invadit ws but ony occasioun of iniuris. Quhy son3e 3e, maist wail3eant campionis? Quhy pas 3e nocht forthwert with grete spreitt aganis 3oure inymyis? Na place is now to tary nor to avise, bot gif 3e haif mair sycht to 3oure fragill bodyis, quhilk sall sone eftir pereiß with maist schayme, than to inmortalite or to 3oure singular and com-moun wele.”

The nobillis, movit be þir wourdis, þat þai suld nocht appeir cownttis, began to exhort þair folkis to pas forthwert aganis þe preß of þair inymyis. Incontinent raisß sik noyiß with rageand fury amang þame þat þai, but ony sycht to þe pyssance of þame self or þair inymyis, ruschit but ordoure aganis þe Danys. Olavus and Onethus, seing þe Scottis cum sa furiouslye, met þame in arrayit bataill, and þocht huge slauchter with incredibill fechting wes at þe first iovnyng, na thing wes pretermittit þat mycht pertene on athir syde to forsy campionis, the Scottis contending to defend þair landis and liberte, the Danys to sauff þair lyvis. 3ite þe Scottis wer put to flycht.

King Macolme wes woundit throw his hewmond, quhilk wes doungin safast to his hede þat it mycht na wayis sevir fra þe samyn. Nochþeles, he wes brocht oute of þe feild for dede to ane wode, and eftir þat, quhen he come to him self, brocht hayme.

How Narne wes takin, and þe soidiouris þairof tresonabillie slayne be Danys, and how þe Danys war disconnfist at Murthlak. C xv

The Danys eftir þis victory, thinkand *nocht* proffittabill to leiff Murraye quhill it wer pecefijt to thair dominion, gaderit þe spoulzeis of þe feild, and returnit agane to þe castell of Narne, to seige þe samyn with mair pyssance þan afoir. This castell stude þat tyme all within þe seye, beldit witht strang towris & wallis with na leß crafty þan curious labour. Ane strait passage wes to it, maid be ingyne of man in maner of brig, throw quhilk men mycht pas oute of þe samyn to land. The soidjouris quhilkis wer left in þe said castell, herand how  
 (II. 243) King Macolme wes disconnfist, randrit þame with þe castell in þe handis of Danys vnder þat condicioun þat þai maye pas quhair þai plesit with lyffe and all þair gudis sauffitt, except þair wappynnys & armour to be left to þe Danys. *Nochtþeles*, þir tresonabill Danys, contrair þair faith and promysß, hangitt all þe personis quhom þai fand within þe castell of Narn. Þe maist strang castell of Murraye wes takin on þis manere be þe weris of Danys, and sone eftir garnyst be þair industry  
 390 þat it semyt vnwrynabill. The remanent | soidiouris quhilkis war in Elgin and Fores, herand þis tresoun done be Danis, left þir castellis desert, and fled to Macolme. The Danys, reiosing of þir feliciteis, and traisting to haif sikkir duelling in Murraye, send for þair wiffis and childerin to cum to þame oute of Norowaye and Denmark. The Scottis quhilkis war febill and *nocht* pyssant to flee wer constranytt to schere þe cornis of Danys, and skurgit be þame ilk daye, throw quhilk mony of þame war slayne.

Macolme, dredand þe Danys be new *cuming* of pepill to be

mair strang, in þe begynnynge of þe nixt summer come with ane huge multitude of pepill to Murthlak, ane toun of Marre, quhair þe first fonndament wes of þe kirk of Aberdene, nocht far þat tyme fra þe sycht of Danys ; quhen suddanlye ilkane of þir armyis war astonyst be vther : þe Scottis, havand experience of þe cruelte done afoir be Danys, tuke fere of þair lyvis, the Danys, far fra þair navy, war in grete sollicitude, nocht knawing þe ground. Nochþeles, þai dred mair þe hyd waching þan þe oppin violence of þair inymyis. 3ite, nocht-withstanding, baith þe armyis be hortacioun of þair capitannis iovnyt with birnand ire and fury on all sydis. In þe first bront thre wailþeand campionis, Kenneth of Ilis, Gryme of þe Waill of Erne, and Patrik Dunbar of þat ilk, ruscheand oure ferslye on þair inymyis war slayne, throw quhilk ane huge multitude of Scottis gaif bakkis ; bot þe place quhar þai fled wes sa strait þat na multitude of pepill mycht fle eselye throw þe samyn, and 3ite throw preß of þame Macolme wes drevin abak, as he had bene fleand. The place worth ay mair straitt and difficill to pas, throw sindry fowseis of watter and fail quhilk wes maid afoir for nychtboure were. Attoure, mony treis war hewin doun, liand thortwart þe land, and stoppit baith þe enteres and oute passage of þis gaitt, in þe myddis of quhilk wes ane chapell dedicatt in þe honoure of Sanct Molok. Macolme, drevin on this maner abak, rasit his handis to þe

(II. 244) hevin, and sayid : “ Grete God of vertew, reverdar of piete and pvnesair of syn, wee, þi Cristin pepill, defendouris of oure native rowmes grantit be þi beneuolence, quhilkis ar now nakitt of mortail help and invadit be tresonabill iniure of Danys, recurris to þe in þis oure extreme necessite, praying þe to haif on oure miserabill chance compassioun. Remove, O mercifull Lord, þis schaymfull terrour fra our pepill. O þou Moder of God, þe sikkir refuge of mortall pepill in þair last miseryis, and O þou Sanct Molok,<sup>1</sup> to quhom þis chapell is dedicatt, be oure helpair, and we sall big ane cathedrall kirk in 3oure honoure, to be memoriall that oure realme wes sauffit be 3oure supportt.” Skantlie wes þis orisoun endit

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Meloh*.

be Macolm, quhen ane part of þe nobillis sayid : “ O companʒeonis, God will þat ʒe return and renew batall aganis *our* inmyis.” | The skry and noyisʒ of the army be þir wourdis raifʒ with curage ay mair inressing, and cryand : “ Schaw now pertly ʒoure visage aganis *ʒour* inmyis, and debaitt ʒoure landis and lyvis, quhilkis ar maist dere to euery creature in erd.” Incontinent all þe Scottis returnit, as it had bene be miracle, in batall, and maid incredibill slauchter on þair inmyis. In þe mene tyme Macolme come with ane grete buschement on Onethus, quhilk was than pransand throw þe feild, as he had bene sikkir of victory, witht hede nakit of hewmont, quhom Macolme straik finalye fra his horʒs amang þe fute men, quhair he was slayne. The residew of Danys, seand þair capitane slayne, left þair scharpe persute of Scottis, throw quhilk raifʒ grete blithnes to Scottis and extreme dredoure to Danys. Nochþeles, the batall continewitt lang on athir syde, quhill at last þe Danys wer put to flycht, mony of þame slayne, and few takin. Olavus, havand his college slayne, fled with ane few cumpany of Danys in Murraye. King Macolme, knawing þe maist wailʒeant campionis of his army slayne, cessit fra ony forthir persute of Danys, and devydit þe spoulʒeis of þe feild amang his men, syne went in Anguse, quhair he remanit þe residew of þat ʒere, takand consultacioun how þe *commoun* wele mycht be defendit, and Murray best recouerit fra Danys.

(11. 245)

How Camus, Prince of Norowaye, *cumin* with twa flottis of Danys in Anguse, was slayne and his army disconnfist be King Macolme ; and how the Kethis take þair begynnyng. Ca xvj

**S**ueno, King of Danys and Inglismen, herand how vnshappelye þe Danys faucht at Murthlak aganis Scottis, þat þis present aduersite suld *nocht* deiek þe gloir of Danys, nor mak þe name of Scottis mair glorious, devisit twa navyis with huge novmer of Danis to cum in Scotland, the first

devisit to cum oute of Tames, and this vther to cum oute of Denmark, with ane wailzeant prynce, namyt Camus, to be admirall of baith þe flottis. The nixt zere Camus come with þis navy in þe mouth of Forth besyde Sanct Eb, quhair he wes stoppit mony dayis to land; at last he prospir wyndis pullit vp salis, and arryvit at þe Rede Braið in Anguse, and landit his men or þe cuntre mycht be gaderit to resist him. Camus, landit in þis maner, went to þe nixt moitt, and reosit þat he wes landit in þe place quhair Danys had wrocht afoir sindry iniuris and cassin down þe toun of Montroß, traisting þe mair felicite to succede in his remanent waage; sone eftir rasit his campe, and went throw Anguse, cessing fra na manere of cruelte þat mycht be devisit, and | kest down kirkis, templis, citeis, townis, but ony miseracioun, quhair he passit; eftir this went to Brechin, quhair sum tyme wes ane strang castell with ane kirk, and becaus þe castell mycht nocht be takin haistely for grete provisioun maid in it, þai enterit in þe said toun with sik cruelte þat þai left neuir ane stayn of it, nor zite of þe kirk, onbett down.

Camus, rageand be þir iniuris with na les fury aganis God þan man, gat aduertesing þat Macolme wes cumin to Dunde with all þe powere of Scotland, and fled þerfor to þe sey nocht far fra Balbryde, doyng innovmerabill affliccioun to þe pepill.

(II. 246) King Macolme, desyryng to deliuer his realme fra tyranny of Danys, come with arrayitt hoist to Barre, twa mylis fra Balbryde, and tuke litill rest þat nycht, becaus his army wes to fecht haistely aganis þair inymyis for defence of þair realme and lyvis; the nixt morrow, seand his inymyis virkand insufferabill iniuris to his pepill, callit his nobillis to þe standert, exhorting þame to remembir how þai wer to fecht aganis ane blynd auaricius pepill, sekand be iniust batall þair leving in refe and rubryis, and inymyis to Cristin faith, invading innocent pepill but ony occasioun of batall, and sett to distroye þe trew faith in Albion; als to remembre how þai war onlie defendouris of þair awne realme, and ordanit to puneifð þe cruelte of Danys and to pas forthwert with sik manhede and curage that þai may othir dee honorabillie or ellis haif victory

maist wailþeandlye. On þe tothir syde Camus exhortit þe Danys to pas in batall aganis þair inymyis witht sikkir hoype of victory, knawing wele þai behuffitt othir to dee in ane vncoutht realme, quhair þai mycht haif na refuge eftir þair disconfitoure, or ellis to haif victory *with* immortale honour. Eftir þis Macolme come with arrayit batall aganis Danys, with þe mair audacite and curage þat he had afoir experience of þe cruelte of Danys; for þe ingyne of nobill men ar of sik faculte, þe mair thai haif experience in honest materis, þai geif þair besynes þe mair to doo sum illuster wassallage. Thir armyis, byrnand in vther hatrent, ruschitt to giddir with maist cruelte, throw quhilk followitt sik slauchter þat þe burn of Lothe ran full of blude to þe Almane Seyis. Nochþeles, nane of þame semytt to geif place to vther. Sindry wer sene þat daye strykkyn throw þe body, fechtand with sik cruelte þat þai fell at erd with sik grip of þair inymyis þat þai severit *nocht* quhill þai decessit baitht to giddir, throw quhilk apperit þai faucht with na leß ire þan gude wyll; quhill at last victory succedit to þe Scottis, and Camus chasit to þe montanis with sindry his nobillis. Nochþeles, þe Scottis followitt him with sik fury þat he wes finaly slayne with all his fallowis. In  
 393 signe | heirof þe place quhair he wes slayn is callit Camistane.

The principale slaar of Camus was ane 3oung man namyt Keitht, quhilk gat for his singulair wassallage, provin in þis feild, certane landis in Loutheane, callit Keith; quhais house is now decorit with grete honour and callit Marscheallis of Scotland, off quhom ar descendit mony nobill and wailþeand men, ay defendouris of þis realme sen þair first begynnyng.

(II. 247) Ane vther cunpany of Danis, fleand on þe samyn maner, war slayn at Aberlennon, *nocht* iiij mylis fra Breichin, quhair ane huge stayne is ingravin with crafty letteris to aduerteiße þe passeris of þe anciant and illustir dedis done be oure eldaris. The residew of Danys quhilkis eschapid þis feild fled to þair schippis, quhair þai schew þe infelicite fallin to þair marrowis.

How v<sup>c</sup> Danys war slayne be Marnanchus, Thayn of Buchane; how Canutt come in Scotland with ane new army, and was disconfist; how Scottis and Danys war finalie aggreitt. Ca xvij

**E**ftir this victory of Danis gottin at Barre, quhen þe spoulþeis war partit amang þe Scottis be ryte of armes, King Macolme gart berye þe Danys in þe samyn place quhair þai wer foundin slayne, bot the Scottis war beryitt in Cristin beryis. In oure dayis mony banys of Danys ar sene vnhyd quhen þe sand is blawin fra þame. The Danys quhilkis eschapitt fra þis feild pullit vp salis to haif past in Murraye to Olavus; and quhen þai had remanit foure dayis on þe seyis, ane huge tempest raifþ be violence of wyndis oute of þe est, and draif þame in Buchane, quhair na port wes to þair refuge, throw quhilk þai had bene all perist, wer noch þai had strang cabillis, and raid in þe fyrth quhill þe tempest cessit; nochþeles, quhen þai had lyne lang in þat firth, fynding na prosper wyndis to depart and þair vittalis failþeitt, send v<sup>c</sup> men to þe nixt land to <sup>1</sup> bryng sum praye of gudis to þair sustentacioun; & quhen þai had gaderit ane grete novmer of bestiall, and returnyng with þe samyn to þair schippis, þai war sa scharplie invadit be Marnanchus, Thayn of Buchane, with þe inhabitantis þairof þat þai wer drevin to þe nixt montanis, quhair nane of þame war left on live to bere tythingis to þair fallowis. This batall wes fochtin at Gemmer, ane tovun of Buchane. In memory herof mony grete banys of (II. 248) Danys is nocht far fra þe samyn. The residew of Danys quhilkis war in þe seyis, seand na returnyng of þair freyndis, pullit vp salis with prosper wyndis, and come in Murray.

Sweno, herand þir iniuris done to his freyndis, send ane wailþeand knycht, his bruther, namyt Canutt, with ane new army to revenge þe iniuris done be Scottis. Canutt, impacient  
394 of lang tary, | arryvit in þe Firth of Buchane, and eftir his landing cessit fra na maner of cruelte with fyre and swerd

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ta*, the scribe having first written *tarryng* and then partially corrected it.



on þe inhabitantis þerof. King Macolm, þocht he wes brokin afoir with þis last batall, ʒite to revenge þir iniuris gaderit haistlye ane grete cumpany of pepill, with purposß to stop þe fury of Danys erar with frequent skarmusing þan to ieopard þe realme apon þe chance of batall, knawing na rescours nor pyssance to renew batall gif þe samyn war diffayitt. xv dayis eftir nocht wes bot frequent skarmvsing on all sydis, quhill at last þe Scottis, seying þe lamentabill murdir of þair freyndis, thair landis waistit and þair vittalis falzeing, desyrit licence at King Macolme to fecht, vtherwayis þai wald fecht but his commande. King Macolme, seyng þe batall mycht be na langar supersedit, besocht his army to remembir þair honoure, manhede and fayme. Incontinent baith þe armyis ruschitt to giddir, and perseveritt with sik furious hattrent þat þe nobillis war neir slayne on athir syde. The Scottis gat small proffitt of þis batall, howbeit þai had þe name of victory, for þai wer sa brokin þat few of þame continewitt on þe chaisß off Danys, quhill at last þe nycht put end to þair labouris. The nixt morrow baith the armyis, seyng þame self brokin and nocht of pissance to renew batall, wer content to haif peace with vther, quhilk was maid finalye vnder þir condicionis: that Danys sall pas oute of Murraye, Buchane and all vther boundis of Scotland, and na weeris to be maid betuix Danis and Scottis during þe empyre of Macolme & Sweno, and nane of þame to support þe inymyis of vþeris. The place quhair þis last batall wes strykkyn salbe hallowitt and maid ane commoun sepulture of Cristin pepill, with ane kirk in þe samyn to doo dyvyne seruice for þair saulis. The peace ratifijt in þis maner, Canutt returnit with þe residew of Danys to his schippis, & went hayme.

King Macolme, havand his realme in sikkir peace, thocht na thing sa gude as to keip his promyß to Danys, and þerfor biggitt ane kirk in Buchane, quhilk wes dedicatt in honour  
(II. 249) of Sanct Olave, Patroun of Norrowaye & Denmark, to be ane memoriall þat sindry nobillis of Danys war sum tyme beryit in þe said kirk. In signe herof þe landis quhilkis wer gevin to þis kirk ar callit ʒite Croindayn, quhilk signifijs als mekill as þe slauchter of Danys. The kirk quhilk wes biggitt to þis

effect, as oft tymes occurris in þai partis, wes ourecassin be violent blast of sandis. Nochtwithstanding, ane kirk wes biggit eftir with mair magnificence in ane vther place mair ganand, quhair sindry of þe Danis banys war sene be ws schort tyme afoir þe making of þis buke, mair like gyanttis þan commoun stature of men, throw quhilk apperis þat men in auld dayis has bene of mair stature and quantite þan ony men ar presentlie in oure dayis.

395

How King Macolme deuidit his realme in baronyis ;  
 how þe nobillis gaif to him and his airis þe wardis,  
 relevis and mariage of þair airis quhen þai wakit ;  
 how þe sete of Aberdene first began ; of þe deth of  
 King Macolme, and of sindry merwellis sene in  
 Albion. C xviiij

**K**ing Macolme, havand inymyis in na partis, commandit, be autorite of his prelaittis, generall processionis to be maid throw all partis of his realme to geif thankis to God for deliuering of þame fra bondage of þair inymyis, and causit þe kirkis quhilkis wer distroyitt be cruelte of Danys to be reparit. And to cauß mair reuerence to be gevin to gude sanctis, and his lawis to be obseruit, quhilkis mony 3eris afoir mycht haif na place for weeris, he maid ane convencion of his nobillis at Bertha, quhilk wes ane castell standing þat tyme nocht far fra <sup>1</sup> þe place quhair þe toun of Perth standis now. And quhen he had done sindry thingis in þe said convencion for þe honoure of God and commoun wele of Scotland, he thocht na thing sa gude as to revard þe freyndis of þame quhilkis wer slayne afoir be weeris of Danys. And to doo þe samyn with maist consideracioun, he deuiditt þe realme in sindry baronyis, and gaif all his landis, riches and gudis (II. 250) with sik liberalite amang his nobillis, conforme to þair wassallage, that he left bot sobyr rentis to sustene þe croun. The nobillis quhilkis wer maid baronys in þis maner, that þe Crovun of Scotland suld nocht be indigent, gaif to King

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *fra* : insertion from A.

Macolme & his airis, for his liberalite schawin at þis tyme, all þe wardis and relevis of þair landis with þe mariage of þair heretouris perpetuallie, to haif proffitt þerof quhill þe heretoure wer xxj 3eris of aige.

Macolme, remembring of his voitt maid in his extreme neyd, beidit ane kirk *with* na leß cost þan magnificence in þe honoure of Sanct Malok, and dotate þe samyn with þe landis of Murthlak, Cloweth and Dunmeth *with* þe teyndis þerof to sustene þe Bischop of Murthlak. This sete was callit ay þe sete of Murthlak to þe tyme of King Daud þe First, be quhom it wes callit Aberdene, and dotate mair richely þan afoir. In þis sete has bene mony gude bishoppis, amangis quhom was ane, Williame Elphynstoun, richt prudent and afald for þe *commoun* wele, gevand extreme besynes all his dayis þat peace and iustice suld regne in þis realme, that þe Prince suld regne abone his liegis *with* mair beneuolence þan rigoure, and to be na leß terroure to mysdoaris þan in reuerence to gude men, and þe pepill to haif him in vehement affeccion, but ony oppressioun of þair *commoun* wele, incressing to giddir in amite and vertu, and kirkmen to leif eftir þair religioun & obseruance, and finalie, þat euery thing suld be done na leß to þe pleser of God þan to þe *commoun* wele. In his  
396 place succedis now ane nobill man, Gawyne | Dunbar, quhais grauite of maneris and imitacioun of iustice may *nocht* be schawin at þis tyme, becaus it is *nocht* convenient to loiff men afoir thair deth ; and þerfor returnys to oure history.

King Macolme, eftir sa mony cruell batellis led aganis Danys, gouernit þe realme mony 3eris eftir in gude iustice with sindry illustir and civill werkis, amangis quhom he maid ane buke callit Regeam Maiestatem, contenand þe lawis how his realm suld be governit, and quhat importance salbe gevin to his Chancellor, Marscheall, Chalmerlane, Iustice, Thesaurar, Secretar, Register, Compttrollair,<sup>1</sup> and all vther officis of his houß. This Macolme had bene in fayme and loving *nocht* behynd ony vther prince þat ever wes in þis realme, gif sik vertew had bene in his latter aige as was in his first 3owth  
(11. 251) and myd aige. Nochþeles, all his excellent gloir wes ful3eitt

<sup>1</sup> MS. *compttrollair*.

with immoderatt auarice, for, as oft tymes occurris, he come baith at anys to eild and auarice, and wes penitent of þe landis gevin be his liberalite to his nobillis, and to recovir þe saidis landis slew and bannyst mony of his nobillis be vayne and fenßeitt causis. The nobillis, movit be þir iniuris, and havand indignacioun þat þe King had put handis in þair blude, and gevand his cursit besynes to refe þair rowmes, conspirit aganis him, and drew mony of the pepill to thair opinioun. Macolme, aduerteist of this, fled to Glammys, quhair he wes slayne be freyndis of þai nobillis quhom he slew afoir. Thir *lymmaris* quhilkis slew þe King fled with þair complices be switht horsß, howbeit þai war vncertane quhair to flee; and becaus þe grounde wes ourecouerit witht snaw, þai come be ignorance within the Loch of Forfair, quhilk wes sum part frosin for the tyme. Nochtþeles, quhen þai wer in the myddis, þai fell down throw þe ice, and pereist miserabillye in þat manere. Schort tyme eftir þai war drawin furth of þe said locht witht creparis, and thair quartaris hungitt vp in sindry townis of Scotlannd in pvnicioun of þair cruelte. This end maid Macolme, þe xxxj 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacion j<sup>m</sup> xl 3eris. The body of King Macolme wes brocht to Colmkill, and berijt in þe samyn *wit*h funerall<sup>1</sup> triumphe.

In þis tyme wes mony *merwellis* sene in Albioun. At myd nycht on 3ule Day þe erd trymblit, & ane gret ryft wes maid be þe samyn in þe myddis of Striueling, oute of þe quhilk sprang sa huge multitude of watter þat it bure þe nixt wode to þe Watter of Forth. The sey in þe nixt summer raiß forthair in þe land þan evir was sene afoir in ony tyme. On Mydsommer Day, callit þe Natiuite of Sanct Iohnne þe Baptist, wes ane schill frost like as it had bene wynter, throw quhilk  
397 þe cornis wer slayne, and maid grete dartht in þe | countre. And sa endis the xj Buke of thir cronikillis.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *fuierall*, probably merely a slip.

## Liber Duodecimus.

(II. 252) Here begynnys þe xij Buke of thir cronikillis.

Off King Duncan, and of þe grete troubill þat fell in þe realme throw his febill administracioun; how þe surname of Stewarttis tuke þair first begynnyng; and how Makbaith puneist grete cruelteis done in King Duncanis tyme. Ca j

**M**acolme slayne, as we haif writin, had twa dochteris, of quhilkis þe eldast, namit Beatrice, wes gevin in mariage to Abbathane, Thayne of þe Ilis and west partis of Scotland, be quhom was gottin Duncan, quhilk succedit immediatlie eftir his gudeserr, King Macolme. And the secund dochter, namyt Doada, wes gevin in mariage to þe Thayn of Glammys, namytt Synell, on quhom wes gottin ane wailþeand man, namit Makbeth, quhilk apperit maist abill to haif gouernit ane realme, war nocht his strenth was mixt oure mekill with cruelte. And þocht Duncan and Makbeth  
(II. 253) wer sisteris sonnys, ʒit þai wer richt different in maneris. Duncan was sa pieteous and mercifull þat he apperit nocht abill to repres þe vices of his pepill; be contrair, Makbeth wes gevin als mekill to cruelte as Duncan was gevin to piete; and þairfor þe pepill desyritt thair maneris to haif bene temperatt with vtheris. ʒite þai traistitt Duncan to be ane iust prince, and Makbeth to be ane wailþeant campioun.

Duncan in þe begynnyng of his empire governit þe realme in gude peace and iustice, becaus þe samyn consalouris quhilkis had credit in his faderis tyme tuke þe governance of þe realme,

throw quhilk þe *commonis* levitt but ony iniure or oppressioun of grete men. Nochtþeles, þe febill mynde of Duncan, quhen it was patent to þe pepill, was nocht onlie cause of grete sedicionis amang þe nobillis, bot als occasioun to Danys to attempt new weeris aganis þe Scottis. The cauß of þir sedicionis raisß be þe Thayne of Lochquhabir, namytt Banquho, quhilk wes þe begynnar of þe Stewarttis in þis realme, of quhom oure King now present be lang and anciant lynage is descendit.

398 Quhen þis Banquho had gaderitt | all þe Kingis rentis, and puneist sindry grete *lymmaris* of þe cuntre be extreme rigoure of iustice, the inhabitantis of þe cuntre conspirit aganis him *with* grete powere, and spoulzeit him of all þe money quhilk he had gaderit afoir to the Kingis vse. Nochtþeles, he eschapitt, howbeit he was evill wondit, narrowly witht his lyfe. Schort tyme eftir, quhen his woundis wer curijt, he come to þe King, schewing þe iniuris done to him, and desyring þe samyn to be puneist. King Duncan, to repreß þir extorsionis, send ane officiar of armys to *summond* all personis quhilkis wer suspect in þis mater, to vnderly þe law, agane ane certane daye. Thir *lymmaris* quhilkis did þis cruelte, herand þame *summond*, for mair contempcioun slew þe officiar. And becaus þai knew þe Kingis power to cum on þame to puneiß þair offence, þai maid Makdowald þair capitane, quhilk tuke þe charge of batall on him, knowing þe King soft and, as he allegit, mair abill to govern ane abbay of monkis þan to gyde ony band of weere men. This Makdowald gaderit ane grete powere of brokin men oute of Ireland, Ilis & vther regionis, and faucht with Macolm, luftennent to Duncan, and slew him in Lochabir, and put his men to flycht.

King Duncan, herand þis slauchter maid on his men, wes astonyst, becaus he wes *nocht* exercit in weeris, and knew *nocht* how sik thingis mycht be dressit ; nochtþeles, convenit his nobillis to ane counsale, to tak consultacioun how sik iniuris mycht be best pvnyst. Eftir sindry opinionis Makbeth (II. 254) reprevitt þe King of his slewtht and softnes, havand na ingyne to pvneiß iniuris done to his pepill ; nochtþeles, proponit

to þe King, gif þe landis of Lochabbir war gevin to him and Banquho, thai suld nocht onlie distroy Makdowald, bot als leif nan of his lynage on live. And as he promittit sa followitt. For sone eftir his *cuming* in Lochabbir the pepill, be faym of his excellennt chevelry, wer destitute of esperance to doo sik attemptatis as þai did afoir, and *perfor* mony of þame, levand þe opinioun of Makdowald, come to Makbeth. Nochþeles, Makdowald wes sa invadit þat it wes necessair to him to fecht with þe residew of þame quhilkis abaid at his opinioun aganis Makbeth. His men faucht with sik obstinatt batall þat few of þame eschapitt, quhilkis fled with Makdowald to þe castell of Lochquhabbir, quhair þai be lang sege wer brocht to supreme miserye. Makdowald send to haif grace to him self, his wyffe and barnis. At last, seyng nocht bot repulß of his desyris, he slew his wyfe and his barnys, þat þai suld nocht remane in derisioun of his inmyis, syne slew him self on þe samyn maner. Makbeth, enterand in þe castell, and fyndand Makdowald slayne, cessit nocht of his cruelte, bot schure of  
 399 | his hede, and send it to þe toun of Perth, quhair þe King wes, and gart hyng his body on ane hye tre. The Ilis men maid þair composicianis with grete sovmez of money, and *vperis*, quhilkis wer foundin eftir *cumand* in Lochquhabbir to assist to Makdowaldis opinioun, war hyngit on iebaittis. The Ilismen, movit with þe slauchter of þair freyndis, gaif displesand wourdis to Makbeth, calland him cruell and bludy monstoure, but ony mercy, and *specialie* on þame quhilkis þe King had takin in favoure. Makbeth, movit *with* þir iniurious wourdis, maid his ordinance to pas in þe Ilis to pvnys þaim for þair vnbridillit langage. Nochþeles, be sollicitacioun <sup>1</sup> of freyndis he cessit, and tuke recompensacioun of þair gudis.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sollitacioun*.

(II. 255)

How Edmond Irnesyde and Canutt devidit betuix þame þe empire of Ingland ; how Sweno, King of Norrowaye, come in Scotland with ane grete army, and vincust King Duncan, and put þe Scottis to flycht ; how Sweno wes eftir wincust be ane vncoutht slycht.

Ca ij

**S**kairslie wes þe realme of Scottis deliuerit be Makbeth of all tyrannyis, quhen Sweno, King of Danys, wes arryvit in Scotlannd with ane grete army. And to schaw of quhatt lynage Sweno bene, we repete sum part of his originall. Sweno, þe first King of Danys þat rang abone Inglismen, had thre sonnys, Herrald, Sweno & Canutt. The first wes maid King of Ingland, þe secund King of Norroway, and þe thrid King of Denmark. The first wes slayne be Eldreid, quhilk wes exilit, as we haif schawin, be Sweno in Normandy, the thrid þere eftir Swenois deth ; and ȝite Eldreid reiosit nocht lang þe croun of Ingland, for Canutt, King of Danys, come with ane grete army in Ingland to revenge þe slauchter of his eldest bruther Herrald, and slew þe said Eldreid ; eftir quhais deth his son, Edmond Irnesyde, gaderitt all þe power he mycht in arrayitt battell aganis Canutt to revenge þe slauchter of his fader and to recover þe crowne. At last, quhen þe batallis wer arrayit in vther sycht reddy to fecht, þis Edmond come afoir his army, desyring to fecht with Canutt in singular batall, hede for hede, saying it wes lest dammage to decerne þe tytill of batall be that waye þan be ony grete murdir of pepill, and he þat wer victorius of þame twa sall succeid to þe croun, but ony mair debaitt. Canutt wes glaid of þis condicioun, havand na leß confidence in his manhede þan had þis vther, Edmonnd. Incontinent þai come fra þair armyis on þair bairditt cursouris, and ruschit with strang & mychty speris to giddir. At last, quhen þai had fochtin lang with vncertane victory, þair steedis oureset and wery, Canutte sayid : “ O Edmonnd, quhilk has now sikkir experience of  
(II. 256) my maist aufull dynt, and may nocht be wyncust, as apperis,  
400 be propiciant favoure of goddís, | quhilkis will þat þou haif ane



part with me in þis regioun ! Þerfor refreyn þi swerde, for I am content þe croun of Ingland be devidit betuix ws, þat þou reiose þe half þerof." Edmond, glaid of þis condicioun of peace, thocht bettir to succaid to þe half of Ingland, but ony mair danger, þan to ieoparde him self to vncertane chance of batall, traisting sum vther tyme to fynd occasioun to recovere þe haill empyre of Ingland *with* litill lauboure. Incontinent þai demountit of þair cursouris, embrasing vther with maist tendirnes, and devidit þe realme of Ingland betuix þame in þis maner : the part of Ingland nixt France was assignit to Canute, and þat vther part to Edmond. In þe mene tyme Emma, Quene of Ingland, dredand þis concord na thing proffittabill to hyr, fled in Normandy with hir twa sonnys, Alarude & Edward. Bot we will return to oure history.

Quhen Sweno, King of Norroway, saw his bruthir eik to his empyre of Denmark þe half of Ingland, he tuke desyre to be equale to his bruper als wele in rentis as in marciall gloir, and þairfor come with ane grete army in Fyfe. Þe motive of his *cuming* wes to revenge þe slauchter of his eme, Camus, and vther Danys slayn with him at Barre, Crowdayn and Gemmere. And þocht Sweno was *cumin*, as said is, to conques fayme & honour, 3ite he wes na thing comparitt to his bruthir Canute, for he slew be rageand cruelte innocent barnis, wemen and agit personis. King Duncan, herand þir importabill and schaymfull iniuris, began to be ane prudent capitane, for oft tymes dull and slouthfull pepill ar constrenyt be necessite to becum prudent and vertewis. King Duncan, herand how Sweno wes *cumin* to invaid his realme, assembillit ane grete novmer of pepill, and devidit þame in thre batallis : the wangard gaif to Makbeth, þe secund to Banquho, and abaid him self in þe myddilward with all þe nobilite of Scotland ; sone eftir mett his inymyis at Culroß, quhair it wes cruelly  
 (II. 257) fochtin *with* huge murdir on all sydis, bot at last þe Scottis wer disconnfist. 3ite þe Norrowans wes sa brokin in þis batall þat þai maid bot schort chaisß on Scottis, and þerfor stude all nycht in arrayitt batall. The nixt morrow, seyng na inymyis appere aganis þame, þai partit þe spoulzeis of þe batall amang þame be ryte of armys, and inhibitt to slaye ony nakitt men,

traisting to conques þe realme with þe favoure and beneuolence of all pepill, and sone eftir Sweno<sup>1</sup> rasit his campe to follow on King Duncan. At last, herand þat Duncan wes in Bertha, and Makbeth passit oure þe Month to gadyr ane new ordinance aganis him, he come to þe sade castell, and laid ane strang seige aboute þe samyn.

King Duncan, seand him segit continewallye, send wourde to Makbeth, quhilk wes cumand þan with ane new army, to  
 401 tary at Inchtuthill quhill | he send him vther wourde, and in þe meyne tyme send ane herrald to Sweno, desyring licence to him self and þe nobillis within þe castell to depart oute of þe castell, lyfe and gudis sauffe; and gif Sweno wald geif pleggis for þat, þe castell suld be randeritt to him at his pleseir. This wes desyrit be Duncan, howbeit he knew na thing bettir þan repulß of his desyris. Nochtþeles, he desyrit þe samyn besely, þat his inymyis mycht haif na vther suspicioun bot þe castell was to be randrit but ony mair delaye. Incontinent ane herrald wes send be Sweno to cauß þe castell to be randrit. Nochtþeles, Duncan fenzeit him ay reddy to þe samyn, and to meisß þe hattrent of Sweno promittit to send ane huge provisioun of vittalis oute of þe castell to refresche his army. Thir offeris wer *nocht* onlie plesand to Sweno but als to all his army, becaus þai had bene lang afoir but ony fresche vittalis, and had sustenit grete penurite. In þe meynetyme þe Scottis tuke þe iusse of mekilwourte beryis, and mengit it in þair wyne, ayill and brede, and send þe samyn in grete quantite to þair inymyis. Sweno and his army, reiosit of þis fouth of vittalis, began to waucht on þair maner, and þe citezanis of Bertha taistit pertly þe said vittalis, to provoyk þair inymyis. In þe menetyme Duncan send to Makbeth, commanding him to invaid his inymyis with deligence, schewing þame at ane esy poynt to be ourethrawin. Makbeth, but ony mair tary, come with his folkis to Bertha, quhair he tuke Banquho furtht at ane postrum, and incontinent *with* ane huge skry and noyis slew þe waiche of Norrowanis, and þe remanent murderist in þair beddis. Sweno wes brocht with few novmer  
 (II. 258) of his folkis to þe schippis, quhair he pullit vp salis, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *Sweno*, supplied from A.

returnyt in Norrowaye. Of all þis army eschapid nane bot sa mony as wer at þe deliuerance of Sweno, quhilkis wer bot ten men in novmer, by þe marynaris. Mony ʒeris eftir na knyghtis wer maid in Norrowaye, quhill þai wer first sworn to revenge the slauchter of þair freyndis maid in Scotland. The schippis quhilkis wer left behynd þame in þe Scottis Firth throw ane est wynde raschitt ilkane apoun vther, and finaly, quhen þai war brokin, sank, and lysis ʒite in þe schavld watteris amang þe bankis of sand, to þe grete danger of all vther schippis, for quhen þe sey flowis þai ar couerit with watter, and quhen it ebbis þai appere sum part abone þe samyn, callit be þe pepill Drumlaw Sandis.

The Scottis eftir þis victory gat the spoulʒeis of þe feild, and maid generall processionis throw þe cuntre to geif thankis to God for þe felicite gevin to þame. Quhill þe Scottis wer at þair processionis in this wise, tythingis come þat ane new flott of Danys wer arryvitt at Kingorne and þe weir men cumin on land, makand incredibill herschippis throw þe cuntre ;  
 402 aganis | quhom war send Makbeth and Banquho, and slew ane grete part þerof, and þe remanent chasit to þair schippis. Thir Danys quhilkis fled to þair schippis gaif grete sovmez of gold to Makbeth to suffir þair nobillis quhilkis war slayn at þis last ieoparde to be beryit at Sanct Columbis Inche. In memory heirop mony anciant sepulturis ar ʒite in þe said Inche, gravin with armys of Danys. At last peace wes ratifijt betuix Scottis and Danys in þis maner, that Danys sall nevir cum in Scotlannd in tymes cuming to move ony were aganis þe Scottis. Thir war þe weris of King Duncan, led aganis þe Danys þe vij ʒere of his regne.

(II. 259)

Off þe weirdis gevin to Makbeth and Banquho ; how Makbeth was maid Thayne of Cauder, and how he slew King Duncan to mak him self king. Ca iij

**T**he samyn tyme happynit ane wounderfull thing. Quhen Makbeth and Banquho war passand to Foreß, quhair King Duncan wes for þe tyme, thai mett be þe gaitt thre

weird sisteris or wiches, quhilk come to þame with elrege clething. The first of þame sayid to Makbeth: "Haill, Thayne of Glammys!" Þe secund sayid: "Hayill, Thayn of Cawder!" The thrid sayid: "Haill, Makbeth, þat salbe sum tyme King of Scotlannd!" Þan said Banquho: "Quhat wemen be þe, quhilkis bene sa vnmercifull to me and sa propiciant to my companþeoun, gevand him nocht onlie landis and grete rentis bot als triumphand kingdome, and gevis me nocht?" To this ansuerit þe first of þir wiches: "Wee schaw mair felicitais appering to the þan to him; for þocht he happin to be ane king, 3ite his empyre sall end vnhappely, and nane of his blude sall eftir him succede. Be contrair, þou sall neuer be king, bot of þe sall cum mony kingis, quhilkis with lang and anciant lynage sall reioise þe crovun of Scotland." Thir wourdis beand sayid, þai suddanlye evanyst oute of þair sycht.

This prophecy & diuinacioun was haldin lang in derisioun to Banquho and Makbeth, for sum tyme Banquho wald call Makbeth "King of Scottis" for derisioun, and he on þe samyn maner wald call Banquho "The fader of mony kingis." Nochtþeles, becaus all thingis come as þir wiches divinit, the pepill traistit þame to be werd sisteris. Schort tyme eftir, þe Thayne of Cawder wes disheresit of his landis for certane crymes of leif3 maieste, and his landis wer gevin be King Duncan to Makbeth. It happynit þe nixt nycht that Banquho and Makbeth war sportand to giddir at þair suppair. Þan  
 403 | said Banquho: "Þou has gottin all þat þe first twa sisteris  
 (II. 260) hecht; restis nocht bot þe croun, quhilk was hecht be þe thrid sister." Makbeth, revolwyng all thingis as þai war said be thir wyches, began to covaitt þe crovun, nochþeles, thocht best to abyde quhill he saw his tyme, and tuke sikkir esperance þat þe thrid werde suld cum to him, as þe first twa did afoir.

In þe menetyme King Duncan maid his son Macolme Prince of Cumbir, to signifye þat he suld regnne eftir him; quhilk thing wes importabill displeser to Makbeth, for it maid plane derogacioun to the thrid weird promittit afoir to him be þir werede sisteris; nochtþeles, thocht, gif King Duncan wer slayne, he had maist richt to þe croun, and nerrest of blude þerto, becaus it wes þe auld consuetude, quhen 3oung childerin

wer vnabill to governe þe crowne, þe nerrest of þair blude suld regne. Attoure, his wyfe, impacient of lang tary, as wemen ar to all thing quhair þai sett þame, gaif him grete artacioun to persew þe samyn, þat scho mycht be ane qwene ; calland him oft tymes febill cowart and *nocht* desyrus of honouris, sen he durst *nocht* assailþe þe thing with manhede and curage quhilk is offerit to him be beneuolence of fortoun, howbeit sindry vtheris offeris þame to maist terribill ieopardeis, knawing na sikkirnes to succede *pereftir*. Makbeth, be impulsiou of his wyfe, gaderit all his freyndis to ane counsale, and went to Inuernes, quhair he slew King Duncan þe vij þere of his regne. His body wes beryitt in Elgin, bot it wes eftir takin vp and berijt in Colmkill amang þe anciant sepulturis of kingis.

(II. 261)

How Makbeth vsurpit þe crowne, and chasit þe sonnys of King Duncan in Cumbir ; how he puneist sindry grete *lymmaris*, and maid lawis for þe *commoun* wele. Ca iiij

**D**uncane slayne, as we haif writin, Makbeth come with ane grete powere of freyndis to Skoyne, quhair he wes crownit, fra oure redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> xlvj þeris, and chasit Macolme *Canmoir* and Donald Bayne, the sonnys of King Duncane, in Cumber, quhair þai remanit continewallye<sup>1</sup> quhill Sanct Eduarde, son to King Eldreid, recouerit þe realme of Ingland fra tiranny of Danys, and ressaut þe said Macolme in maist tendirnes, bot Donald went in Ireland.

Makbeth eftir þair departing, to stabill þe realme to him, maid distribucioun of þe Kingis rentis amangis þe nobillis, and gat þair *fauouris* be þe samyn. And becaus inymyis apperit in na partis, he sett his besynes to governe þe realme in  
404 iustice and to puneisþ þe cruelteis | and grete oppressionis done in þe tyme of King Duncane throw his febill administracioun,

<sup>1</sup> The letters represented here by *nit continewallye* are covered, except for the last two letters, by the large illuminated capital D of the MS., and are supplied from A.

traisting na thing sa gude as to puneifß þe samyn for þe *commoun* wele. Nochtþeles, dredand that grete troubill suld follow gif his purpoß wer diwulgaitt or it come to effect, he devisit ane subtill slycht to bring all mysdoaris and brokin men to his iustice, and þairfor causit þe nyctbouris of þame quhilkis wer maist oppressouris and thevis to appele þame in singular batall agane ane certane daye befor ane publik iuge; and quhen þir brokin men war enterit in þe barreß quhair þai suld haif fochtin aganis þair nyctbouris, þai war all takin be force of armyt men and hangit on iebaittis, according iustlie to þair demerittis, to þe grete pleseir of þe pepill. Throw þis punycioun þe remanent mysdoaris war dantit in sik maner þat mony 3eris few rubberyis war herd in þe cuntre. Eftir þis King Makbeth went throw all þe boundis of his realme, and wes haldin þe sikker targe of innocent and pure pepill, and maist deligent punesair of iniuris done aganis þe *commoun* wele. He gaif his laubouris to causß 3oung men to increß (II. 262) in gude maneris and kirkmen to doo þair dyvyne *seruice*. He slew sindry thanis of Caithnes, Sutherland, Strathnavern and Rosß, becaus grete troubill raiß in þe realme be þair sedicioun. He brocht Gallowaye in gude peace, and slew þe tyrane Makgyll, quhilk contempnit mony 3eris afoir þe Kingis autorite. Attoure, he maid sic lawis for þe *commoun* wele of Scotland that he was wourthy to be novmerit amang nobill kingis, gif he had succedit to þe croun be iust titill. And becaus his lawis war foundin proffittabill, I haif colleckitt þame in þis werk to mak þame the mair patent, as followis :

He that is within ordouris sall nocht ansuere afoir ane prophane iuge, bot salbe remittit to his iuge ordinare. The tent part of all froittis growing on þe grounde salbe gevin to kirkmen, and God to be adoritt witht orisoun and offering. He þat perseveris in contempcioun aganis þe Kirk, standing cursit ane 3ere, and will nocht be reconnsalit to þe samyn, salbe inmye repute to þe *commoun* wele, and his gudis confiscatt, gif he perseueris *with* indurat mynde ij 3eris. He þat is maid knycht salbe sworn to defend wedois, *commonis* and pupillis, and he þat is maid king salbe sworn in þat samyn *maner*. The eldast dochter sall succede to þe heretage, fail3eing of þe eldast son; and gif ony woman mary withoute leif of

þe lord of þe ground, scho sall tyne hir heretage. Na man  
 sall possede landis, rentis, officis or bigingis, but the Kingis  
 405 licence. | Na office salbe heretage, bot during þe Kingis pleseir.  
 Na man sall sitt in prophane and temporall accionis withoute  
 commissioun of þe King. All convencioun, office and iustice  
 salbe led *in* þe Kingis name & autorite. He that makis band  
 with his nyctbouris to ony vther effect þan to þe Kingis  
 mynde salbe repute tratoure. He that makis convocacioun  
 of the Kingis liegis salbe put to deth and his gudis confiscatt,  
 and all þe pepill þat ar gaderit on þe samyn maner. He that  
 buggis with ane man to kirk or *merkett* or ony vther conuencion  
 salbe puneist to þe deth, bot gif he be his seruand and levand  
 be his industry. Ane horß fed be þe commonis to ony vther  
 vse þan lauboring of þe erd salbe<sup>1</sup> eschaete to the King.

(II. 263) Fulis, menstrualis, bardis and all sik idill pepill, bot gif þai  
 be *specialye* licent be þe King, salbe compellit to seyke sum  
 craft to wyn þair leving. Gif þai refuse, þai salbe drawin  
 like horß in þe pleuch & harrois. The son þat is put in þe  
 fee of þe land within þe life of his fader, be licence of þe King,  
 salbe disherist eftir, gif his fader be fundin criminabill to þe  
 Kingis maieste. All woman þat is marijt with ane baroun  
 or lord, howbeit scho haif na barnis to him, sall haif þe thrid  
 of his land eftir his deth, and þe remanent salbe reiosit be þe  
 airis. All nobillis quhilkis makis affinite of ony regionis within  
 þame self, quhairthrow þai may appere strenthy aganis þe  
 King, salbe put to deth. Ane man þat beris arnes and  
 wappynis, to ony vther effect þan to þe Kingis weiris, sall  
 haif þe samyn confiscatt with all vther his movabill gudis.  
 The Kingis capitane þat byis ony landis *within* the boundis  
 of his capitanry sall tyne baith þe land & moneye; siclike,  
 gif he marijs his son or dochter with ony folkis duelland within  
 his boundis, sall tyne his office, and it sall nocht be lefull to  
 his son nor his mawis to brouke þat office.

Thir and siclyke lawis war vsit and observitt be King  
 Makbeth, throw quhilk he governit þe realme ten 3eris in gude  
 iustice, howbeit þe samyn wes contrair his naturall inclinacioun,  
 mair gevin to conquess þe favoure of þe pepill, and to stabill  
 þe realme to him, than to ony sycht of þe *commoun* wele.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *salb*.

(II. 264)

How Banquho was slayne be Makbeth, and his son  
Fleance slayne in Walis; how Walter, þe son of  
Fleance, come in Scotland, and of þe genology<sup>1</sup> of  
Stewartis. Ca v

406 **S**chort tyme eftir Makbeth returnit to his innative cruelte,  
and become furious, as þe nature of all | tyrannis is quhilkis  
conquessis realmez be wrangwis menis, traisting all pepill  
to doo siclike cruelteis to him as he did afoir to vtheris. Forthir,  
remembring þe weirdis gevin to him, as is<sup>2</sup> rehersit, þat  
Banquhois posterite suld reioise þe crowne be lang progressioun,  
he callit Banquho and his son Fleance to ane supper, quhilkis  
suspeckitt na thing leß þan his treson. Makbeth, quhen þe  
bankett wes done, thocht he wald nocht slay þame oppinlie, for  
rumour of pepill, bot laid ane band of armyt men to slay thame  
at þair returnyng hayme. Thir men quhilkis war laid in waitt  
to þis effect slew Banquho, nochtþeles Fleance eschapitt be  
covirt of þe nycht, and sauffitt, as apperit, be singular favoure  
of God to ane bettir fortoun.

Fleance, eschaping in þis wise, and seyng new waching laid  
for his slauchter ilk daye, fled in Walis, quhair he wes plesandlie  
ressaut be þe Prince þairof, and maid sa familiar that he lay  
with þe Princes dochter, and maid hir with childe. The  
Prince of Walis, fynding his dochter foulzeitt, slew Fleance,  
and held his dochter, becaus scho consentit to his pleseir,  
in maist schamfull *seruitude*. At last scho wes deliuer of ane  
son, namyt Walter, quhilk grew finalie, quhill he was of  
xx þeris, richt lusty, of gretar<sup>3</sup> curage and spreitt þan ony man  
þat wes nurist in landwert, as he wes. And þocht he was

(II. 265) haldin with þe Prince of Walis, his gudeserr, in law estaitt,  
þite he had ane hye mynde, and abill to na thing mair þan to  
attempt grete chargis. It happynit at last þat he fell at  
contencioun with his companzeoun, quhilk obieckit<sup>4</sup> to him

<sup>1</sup> MS. *genoly* : corrected from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *it* : correction from A.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *grete* : correction from A.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *brekit* ; a later hand makes the correction, which is confirmed by A. and printed text.



that he was *nocht* gottin of lauchfull bed, and for þat causþ he wes sa impacient þat he slew his companþeon, and syne fled in Scotlannd to seyke support of his freyndis. At his cuming he happynnit in cumpany with þai Inglismen quhilkis come in Scotland with Sanct Margarete, and had him sa plesandlie in euery sort that he conquest beneuolence of all þe Qwenys familiaris. Eftir þis he wes send with ane grete powere in þe Ilis, Galloway and vther partis of Scotlannd, to pvneish tirannis and lymmaris of þe cuntre, quhom he dantit with sic<sup>1</sup> manhede and prudence that he wes maid Stewartt of Scotlannd, to ressaif þe Kingis malis & rentis oute of all partis of þis realme.

This Walter Stewartt had ane son, namyt Alane Stewartt, quhilk eftir passit *with* þe Duke of Lorane and Robert, bastard of England, in the Halyland, quhair þai did mony wailþeand dedis aganis þe Turkis, fra þe Incarnacioun of Criste j<sup>m</sup> lxxxxix þeris. Off this Alane wes gottin Alexander Stewart, quhilk foundit þe Abbaye of Paslaye, quhair mony religious men  
 407 has bene of þe ordoure | of Sanct Benedict. Of Alexander was gottin Walter Stewart of Dundonald, quhilk faucht wailþeandlye in support of Alexander þe First at Largis,<sup>2</sup> as we sall eftir schaw. This Walter had ij sonnys, þe first namyt Alexander, quhilk faucht *with* his fader at þe said feild of Largys<sup>2</sup>; his secund son, namyt Robert Stewart, gat þe landis of Terbowtoun, and marijt þe aire of Cruykstoun, fra quhom descendit þe Erlis of Levenax and Dernlie.<sup>3</sup> Attoure of þis Alexander Stewart þat foundit Pasley wes gottin sindry sones, Iohnnez & Iames, quhilkis succedit elikewise to sindry lordschippis; and Iohnne Stewart eftir deth of his bruper Iames marijt þe aire of Bowtill, and gatt on hir Walter Stewart, quhilk succedit to þe landis of Bonkill, Renfrew,<sup>4</sup> Rothes, Bute, Kyle and Stewarttoun eftir þat his fader wes slayne at þe Fawkirk. This Walter Stewart marijt Mariory, dochter to King Robert Bruse, of quhom wes gottin Robert, þe first

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *sic*: insertion from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Largin* and *Largyn*, with *s* written above but *n* not crossed out. *Largs* is meant.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *Dernlie*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *Rewfrew*.

(II. 266) King of þe Stewartis.<sup>1</sup> Off this Robert come Robert, þe  
 (II. 267) thrid King of þat name ; of King Robert þe Thrid come Iames  
 þe First, of quhom come Iames þe Secund, and of him King  
 Iames þe Thrid ; of Iames þe Thrid come Iames þe Fourte,  
 quhais son, Iames þe Fyfte, is now regnand with grete felicite  
 abone ws in þe 3ere of þe translacioun of þir cronykillis, j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup>  
 and xxxj 3eris. Bot we will return to oure history quhair  
 we left.

(II. 268) How King Makbeth slew his nobillis for þe proffitt  
 of þair landis and gudis ; how he biggitt þe castell  
 of Donsynnane, and slew Macduffis wyfe and his  
 barnis ; off þe orisoun maid to Macolm Canmore be  
 Makduff. Ca vj tum

**N**a thing succedit happelie to Makbeth eftir þe slauchter  
 of Banquho, for ilk man eftir his slauchter began to  
 haif fere of þair lyfe, and durst nocht compere quhair he wes,  
 throw quhilk followitt ilk daye mor displeseir.<sup>2</sup> For quhen  
 þis tiran persaut all men havand him in dreid, he began to  
 dreid all men in þe samyn maner, and be that way grew maist  
 odius to his subdittis, slaying his nobillis be vane causis for  
 breking of his new lawis, or ellis eschaieting þair gudis. And  
 quhen he had gottin grete proffitte be slauchter & proscriptioun  
 of his nobillis, he began to put his handis mair pertlie in þair  
 blude, becaus þe proffitt þairof apperitt ilk day moir sweit.  
 For euery man quhom he mystraistit war slayn be this waye,  
 and þair gudis spendit on ane strang gard to keip him fra  
 iniuris of þame quhilkis had him in hattrent. Forthar, þat  
 he mycht inuaid þe pepill with mair tyranny, he biggitt ane  
 strang castell in þe hicht of Donsynnane, ane hill in Gowry,  
 x mylis fra Perth. This castell wes biggitt *with* huge expensis,  
 for na stuff mycht be carijt to þe samyn but grete difficulte.  
 And 3ite he cessit nocht fra þe biggyng þerof, bot causit all þe  
 408 thanis | of ilk schyre to byg þe said castell, þair cours aboute.  
 At last it fell to Macduff, Thayn of Fyffe, to byg his part of

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Stewart* : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *dispeseir*.

þe said castell, and becaus he durst *nocht* cum to his werk, in auenture þe King put handis in him, as he did afoir in vther nobillis of þe realme, he send craftis men with all provisioun, *commanding* þame to doo sa in his absence þat þe King mycht haif na occasioun to be movitt aganis him. Sone eftir Makbeth come to vesy his castell, and becauþ he fand *nocht* Makduff (II. 269) at þe samyn, he said: "This man will *nocht* obey my charges quhill he be ryddin *with* ane bridyll. Nochttheles, I sall gar him draw like ane aver in ane cart." And fra thens he mycht nevir se Makduff with pacience, othir becaus he thocht his powere oure grete, or ellis schawin to him be *prophecy* of þe forsaid wycches þat Makduff suld invoid him with displeasur. And becaus quhair men takkis suspicioun of vther, small offence is occasioun of gretè iniuris, he had slayne Macduff be sum slycht, wer *nocht* ane wyche, in quhom he had grete confidence, said, to put him oute of all fere, he suld neuer be slayne with man þat was born of wyffe, nor zite vyncust quhill þe wode of Birnane war *cumin* to þe castell of Donsynnane. Makbeth, spretit be þis wourdis of þe wyche, devodit him of all fere, traisting þat he mycht doo quhat he plesit but ony punycioun eftir following; for be<sup>1</sup> þe taa *prophecy* he belevitt it was impossibill to wyncuþ him, and be þe tothir impossibill to slaye him, bot þir fals illusionis of þe devill brocht him to extreme *damage*, and gart him rage in slaughter of his subdittis, but ony fere of his life.

Makduff, effrayit of his lyfe be sindry aduertesing, tuke purpos to pas in Ingland, to bring Malcolme Cammore in Scotland to resist þe tyranny of Makbeth, and zite þe samyn wes *nocht* devisit sa secretlye bot Makbeth gat knowlege þerof, for all kingis, as þe proverb sayis, has scharp sycht and lang eeris. This king had in euery grete hous of Scotland part of men, quhilkis war corruppit be his money, to revele all þe wourdis or doyngeis in ony houþ, throw quhilk he oppressit all þe nobillis of þe realme or þai mycht fulfill þair<sup>2</sup> *attemptatis* aganis him. This tyran wrocht þir and vther slychtis to eschew þe terribill end of cruelte, quhilk *procedis* be impulsiou of conscience, bringand euery man þat is gyilty in perpetuall

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *be*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *þir*.

sollicitude, but ony securite of his lyfe. On þe samyn maner Makbeth, evir in fere of inymyis for his tresonabill murdir, come haistlie *with* ane grete power about Makduffis houß, and þai quhilkis war within þe houß, traisting na evill, randrit þe samyn sone eftir his *cuming*. Howbeit, he left na thing of his cruelte, bot slew baith Makduffis wyfe and his barnis  
 409 with all vtheris personis quhom he fand in þat castell, | incontinent confiscatt Makduffis gudis, and put him to þe horne.

Makduff, banyst in þis maner, fled in Inland to Macolme Canmoir, to se gif he mycht fynd ony waye at his hand to  
 (II. 270) revenge þe slauchter maid sa cruelly on his wyiff and bayrnis, and declarit finalie to Macolme þe grete oppressioun done to him be Makbeth, and schew als how þe said tiran wes richt odius to all his pepill for þe slauchter of his nobillis & *commonis* and *vperis* sindry cruelteis *nocht* wourthy to be rehersitt. And quhen he saw Malcolme siche for compassioun of his sorrowis, he sayid: "How lang sall þou suffer þe murdir of þi fader and vther freyndis to be vnpuneist? Quhen sall þou be saciatt *with* þe affliccioun of þi realme, quhilk, beand opprest, mycht *nocht* defend þe? Attour, þou was þat tyme of sa tendir age þat þou mycht *nocht* debaitt aganis sa bludy monstur, throw quhilk we haif continewall troubill. Attour, nane wes þat tyme of King Edwardis blude regnand in Inland to haif maid support to þe. And thocht we condiscendit sum tyme to mak þis tyran king, to oure grete *dammage*, 3ite now for experience of his cruelte we desyre na thing mair þan to be *exoneritt* of his *tyranny*. Þe pepill murnys, accusing þair wilfull ignorance consenting to sa hye myscheiff in þair singulair perdiccioun. Nochþeles, þair only esperance is in the, traisting be þe samyn to be deliuerit of calamite. Heirfor, leß þan þe affliccioun of þi pepill and þi bannising be þi maist pleseir, dresß þe to deliuer þi pepill of *tyranny*. King Edwarde, þe maist humane and gracious prince, will *nocht* fail to support þe with all pissance as þou desyris, becaus his realme wes sum tyme oppressit be *tyrannis* and finaly deliuerit be grace of God and his avne *manhede* oute of þair cruell handis. All þe nobilite of Scotland has þis tyran in extreme hattrent for displeaserr done alswele aganis þe *commoun* proffitte as þair

singular vtilite, and þairfor desyris na thing sa mekill as to sla him quhen þai may haif sufficient occasioun, for þis tyran inaccessis ay moir rageand in cruelte þat he fyndis þe pepill humane to him. Thai quhilkis ar maist obedient to his empyre ar haldin maist suspect for þair beneuolence, and þai quhilkis rebellis aganis his autorite ar invadit to þe deth. Quhat man maye govern him with sik prudence, bot sum tyme he salbe fundin displesand to þe perverst maneris of þis tyran? Nochþeles, gif þou knawis *nocht* quhat beneuolence þe pepill has<sup>1</sup> to þe, þou may vnderstand sum part be þir wourdis. The pepill ar murdrist in all partis, as þis bludy flescher takis in hede, and thairfor þou nedis *nocht* to doute bot þi returnyng in Scotland salbe richt plesand to þe pepill. Thir soroufull calamiteis suld *nocht* onlye be lamentit be effeminatt pepill, bot als revengit be wailþeant campionis, sen þou be dyvine ordinance ar *nocht* onlye sauffitt fra invasioun of þi inmyis to bettir fortoun, bot als to deliuer þi pepill of all affliccioun."

(II. 271)

How Macolme Canmoir schew him self vnabill to be ane king for sindry vices, and come in Scottland; and how Makbeth was slayne. Ca vij

410 **T**hocht Macolme wes *commovitt*, herand sic oppressionis and cruelteis done to þe pepill, ʒite be grete prudence he thocht to dissimill, to tak experience of Makduffis mynde, to se gif he war *cumin* to þe samyn effect as he desyrit, or be menys of Makbeth to put him be tresoun in his inmyis handis, and *perfor* ansuerit: "I am richt sorowfull for þe grete troubill fallin to my countre, and þocht I haif grete affeccion þairto, ʒite for certane irremediabill vices following me I am vnabill to governe þe realme, or to releif þe pepill *perof* fra þair affliccioun: first for þe immoderatt lust, þe abhominabill fontane of all vices, quhilkis ragis in me with sik vndantit renʒeis þat, gif I war maid King of Scottis, I wald defloir virgynnis and matronis, throw quhilk my intemperance suld

<sup>1</sup> MS. *as*.

be mair importabill þan þe bludy tyranny of Makbeth. Attoure, I haif ʒite ane vice maist vnsemand to ane prince, reiosing in na thing sa mekill as in vayn detraccioun and lesingis, quhairthrow I dissaif *nocht* alanerlye euery man þat gevis me credit, bot als euery man reiosis to dissaif me in þat maner. Heirfor, sen constance, verite and iustice ar maist semand in euery prince, & na thing sa repugnant to þame as lesyngis, þou may consididyr how vnabill I am to govern ony realme. Forthir, to mak ʒow mair pacient in aduersite, I will remembyr ʒow (II. 272) ane fabill. Ane tod was oureset with ane byke of fleis continewallie sowkand oute hir <sup>1</sup> blude. And quhen ane passingere be þe gaitt demandit þis tod gif scho wald haif þir fleis skalitt fra hir body, scho ansuerit<sup>1</sup> Na, becaus þir fleis quhilkis satt on hir woundis war all full of hir blude, and for fouth *perof* satt with litill displeseir, and gif þai wer skalit, vtheris, quhilkis wer moir ʒevery and tvme, suld lycht in þair rowmes and sowke oute þe residew of hir<sup>1</sup> blude, *quhilk* wer vnproffittabill. Heirfore, suffer me remane quhair I am, in auentur sik displeseir fall amang ʒow be my vicious maneris þat ʒe sall eftir chais þe me oute of ʒoure realme with moir schayme."

To this ansuerit Makduff: "Howbeit þir maneris be repugnant to ane prince, ʒite mak þi self King of Scotland, and latt me and vther þi freyndis haif þe administracioun *perof*." And quhen he saw þat Macolme wald nothir obeye his first nor ʒite his last desyris, he sayid: "Gif nothir þe lufe of þi cuntre nor ʒite oure daylye affliccioun maye moiff þe in miseracioun of þe pepill, I praye God turn the in sum bettir mynde, or ellis to suffer þe *nocht* to remane lang in schayme & derisioun of þi nacioun. For now I am destitute of all gude esperance, and *perfor*, þat I sall *nocht* see þe rwyne of my cuntre, I will pas in vncouth landis, and, as ane Cristin man suld, I sall will it all þe gude I maye, howbeit now I maye support it with na pyissance." At last, quhen he was makand him to depart with grete indignacioun, Macolme held (II. 273) him be þe sleiff, and sayid: "Be of gude confort, for I refusit  
411 onlie to haif experience of þi mynde, becaus Macbeth | has oftymes be sik ways desirit my slauchtir. And the moir

<sup>1</sup> MS. *his*.

slaw þat I wes to fulfill þi desiris, I salbe the moir properant to fulfill þame." Incontinent þai embrasitt wther, and tuke awisement hou þai mycht best provide for þair singular and commoun wele.

Sone eftir Makduff send *lettres* to þe nobillis of Scotland, schawin þe conspiracioun maid aganis þe tiran Makbeth, praying þame, sen Macolme was iust heritour to þe croun, to assist to him, þat he may recovir þe samyn. In þe mene tyme Macolme purchest þe Erle of Northumberland to cum *with* x<sup>m</sup> men to help him to recovir his realme. Thir tythingis *cumin* in Scotland drew þe nobillis in twa sindry faccionis, of þe quhilk þe tane assistit to Makbeth and this wther to Macolme, throu quhilk rayß oftymes frequent skarmising betuix þir partis, for þe nobillis quhilkis war of Malcolmez opinioun wald nocht ieoparde þame to chance of batale quhill his *cumin* out of Yngland to þair support. Makbeth, seyng at last his inemyß increas ilk daye *with* mayr pyssance and his freyndis grow leß, fled in Fife, and abaid *with* þe freyndis quhilkis war of his opinioun at Donsynnane, *with* purposß to fecht *with* his inemyß erar þan to fle out of þe realme schamefullie but ony straik. His freyndis gaiff counsale othir to tak peace *with* Macolme, or ellis to fle haistelie *with* his tresour and gold in þe Ilis, quhair he mycht fee sindry gret capitanis and cum agane *with* new army aganis Macolme. Nochtþeles, he had sik *confidence* in his fretis þat he belewit fermlie *neuer* to be wincust quhill þe Wode of Birnan war brocht to Donsynnane, nor 3it to be slane *with* ony man borne of ane woman.

Macolme, folloving haistlie on Makbeth, come þe *nicht* afoir his wictorie to þe Wod of Birnane; and quhen his army had refreschit þame ane schort tyme, he *commandit* ilk man to tak ane branche of þe wod, and cum þe nixt morow arrayt in þat samyn maner in þair inemys sicht. Makbeth, seyng him cum *in* þis gyse, wnderstude þe prophecy was completit þat þe wiche schew to him, nochtþeles arrayt his men. Skarslie had his inymyß cassin fra þame þe branschis  
(II. 274) and cumand forthwert *in* batal, quhen Makbeth tuke þe *flycht*, on quhome follovit Makduff *with* gret haitrent, sayng: "Tratour, now þi insaciabill crewelte sall haue ane end!"

Dan sayd Makbeth: "Þou followis me *in* wayne, for nane þat is borne of ane wife may slay me." Þan said Makduff: "I am þe samyn man, for I was schorne out of my moderis wayme"; incontinent schure of his heid, and brocht þe samyn on ane staik to Macolme. This was þe end of Makbeth in þe xvij 3eir of his regne, quhilk in the begynnynge of his empire did mony proffitabill thingis for þe commoune wele, and sone eftir be illusioun off dewillis wes degeneratt fra his honest begynnynge in maist terribill crewelte, and slane fra 412 þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> lxj, quhilk was *in* þe xvj | 3eir of þe proscriptioun of Malcolme.

Off the deth of Edmond, Canute, Herrald and Hardicanute, Kingis of Ingland; hou the crowne of Yngland was recouerit fra Danys, and Godovyne vorit for the innocent slauchtir off Alarude. Ca viij

**N**ow we will schaw hou þe empire of Ingland was takin fra Danys, and restorit to King Edward, iust heritour þerof.

Quhen Canute and Edmond had partit þe realme of Ingland betuix þame be concord, as said is, þe realme was *in* gude peace foure 3eris nixt following, for ilkane of þame dred þe pyssance of vther, and desirit to haif had þe haill empire vnder þair singular dominioun. In þe samyn tyme was ane wikkit & maliuolus man, namytt Edrik, quhilk tuke purpos to attempt ane hardy wassalage, to cum in favour be þe samyn to ane of þir twa princes. This Edrik, sett in þis maner to haue thankis or comoditeis, avatit quhen King Edmond was sittand at his eyfs, and straik wp throu þe schere in his bowellis, throu quhilk þis Edmond decessit. Edrik eftir þis schamefull slauchter went to Canute, and salute him King of all Yngland. Canute, astonyst of þir tythingis, began to demand hou þe (II. 275) mater stude mair deligently, and quhen he fand King Edmond slane, he thocht na thyng sa gude as to gif reward to Edrik accordyng to his tresone, and gart hing him on ane iebaitt for his laubouris. Canute, exonerat be þis way fra all suspicioun



of King Edmond's deth, succedit with benevolence of all pepill to þe haill empire of Yngland. Sone eftir ane counsall was sett, in þe quhilk þe nobillis deliuerit baith King Edmond's landis and his twa sonnys, Edward and Edwyne, in þe handis of Canute ; quhome he held certane tyme in gret benevolence, bot sone eftir changit his purpoß and thocht to slaye þame baith, þat þe realme mycht be þe mair sover to his posteritie, and send þame baith to Valgarius, Regentt of Swerdrik, with quiette *lettrez*, commandyng to slaye þame baith. This Regent, knawand þe innocence and nobill blude of þir twa childerin, was movit with sik reuth þat he send þame baith to Salamon, King of Vngarye, and maid Canute to wnderstand þat his chargis wer done as he devisit.

At last Canute decessitt, eftir quhome succeditt his sone Herald, namyt for his grett swythnes Hairfute, quhilk reiositt þe crowne of Ingland onelie twa ȝeris ; eftir quhome succeditt his bruper Hardicanute, maist vicious & proude tiran þat evir  
 413 rang aboun Inglisemen, | for he wald nocht suffir his bruperis banys rest vnder erd, bot tuke vp þe samyn, and for mair dispite sett his bruperis hede on ane staik in þe hiest part of Loundoun, to his oppin schayme, and þe residew of his body kest in Tamys. He maid ane law þat euery Ingliseman sall bek and discover his hede quhen he mett ane Dane, and gif ane Ingliseman and ane Dane come baith to þe brig to giddir, þe Ingliseman sall tary quhill þe Dane be passit *our* þe brig. The Inglisemen, displesit of þir vnpleasand lawis, conspyrit aganis þe Danys in all partis of Ingland, and callit all þe soidiouris of þe Danys to ane sowpare, and slew þame all, quhen þai war full of wynis, on ane nycht, throw quhilk þai deliuerit Ingland fra tyranny of Danys. Hardicanute, herand all his were men slayne in þis maner, disparit of his wele, slew him self ; eftir quhais slauchter þe crown of Ingland returnyt to Inglis blude. For þe Inglisemen, deliuerit þus fra tyranny of Danys, send ane of þe grete princes of Ingland, namyt Godovyne, quhilk marijt afoir Canutt's docthter, in Normandy, to bring þe said twa sonnys of Eldrede, quhilkis he gat on Emma, dochter to Robert, Duke of Normandy, as we haif schewin, in Ingland, to ressaif þe crown *perof*. This Godovyne,

becaus he marijt Canutt's dochter, thoct to conquess þe  
 (II. 276) croun to his avne son, and þairfor at his cuming in Normandy  
 devisit to distroye baith þir sonnys of Eldreid be poyson.  
 The eldast son, namyt Alarudus, wes slayne be þis maner,  
 bot Edward eschapit be mirakill of God, and come sone eftir  
 in Ingland, quhair he ressaut þe croun. Godovyne, seyng  
 þat his attemptatis come nocht to purpos, durst nocht return  
 agane in Inglandd.

This Edward wes ane man but ony rancour, and sa reuthfull  
 to þe pepill þat he wes repute ane mirrou of vertew. Quhen  
 Godovyne askitt grace at him for þe slauchter of his bruder,  
 he nocht onlye remittit þe offence, bot als maid his son Herral  
 Duke of Oxfurd. Bot God sufferit nocht his cruelte lang  
 vnpuneist. For sone eftir he wes standing at þe burde afoir  
 þe King, and becaus he saw þe nobillis lament þe deth of  
 Alarude, þe Kingis bruther, he eitte ane part of brede, saying,  
 God gif þat brede wory him gif he poysonit Alarude; and  
 incontinent he fell down woreitt on þe brede. The nobillis,  
 astonyst be þis miracle, gaif loving to God þat he had puneist  
 þis tyran, and commandit his body þerfor to be burijt vnder  
 þe galljous. Bot we will return to oure history, quhair we  
 left.

Off King Macolme Canmore and his actis, and how  
 he punest sindry conspiracionis aganis him; of þe  
 deth of King Edward; and how þe Bastard of  
 Normandy conquest Ingland. Ca ix<sup>m</sup>

414 | **M**acolme Canmore be support of Eduarde, King of  
 Inglande, recouert his realme in þe viij 3ere of þe said  
 Edwardis regne, and wes crownit at Skoyn þe xv day of Aprile,  
 fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> lxj. Eftir his coronacioun he commandit  
 ane generall conuencioun of his nobillis in Forfair, in þe  
 quhilk he revardit all þai quhilkis assistit to him aganis  
 Makbeth with landis and offices, commanding þat euery man  
 haif his landis namytt eftir his surname. He maid mony  
 of his nobillis erlis, lordis, baronis and knychtis. Mony of

(II. 277) þame quhilkis wer thanys afoir war maid erlis, as Fyfe, Menteth, Atholl, Levenox, Murray, Caithenes, Rosß and Anguse. Þir war þe first erlis amangis Scottis, as oure cronikillis beris. Mony new surnamis come þis tyme amang Scottis, as Cawder, Lokart, Gordoun, Seytoun, Lawder, Wawane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmonth, Liberton, Strath~~h~~auchin, Cargyll, Rettray, Dondas, Cokburn, Mar, Myretoun, Menzeis, Abircrummy, Leslye, *with* mony vther namez of landis quhilkis gaif names to þair possessouris for þe tyme. Vtheris gat þair surnamis be offices, as Stewart, Durward, Banerman, Forman. Mony vþeris propir names of wailþeant campionis war turnyt in generall surnamis, as Kennedy, Grahame, Haye, *with* mony vtheris quhilkis war oure prolixtt to novmer. In þis samyn consale King Macolme maid mony civill and religious lawis to þe honour of God and þe proffitte of his realme, and gaif to Makduff and his airis, becaus he wes þe principale bringare of him in þe realme, thre preuilegis : first, þat þe Erle of Fyfe sall croun þe King ; the secund, þe Erle of Fyfe sall strik þe wangarde in all batallis, quhen þe King is to pas on his inymis ; the thrid, þat he sall haif fre regalite within him to replege ony man *pertenand* to him fra þe Kingis lawis to his avne court, with mony grete poyntis as 3ite remanis to vther princes of þis realme. In þe samyn counsale licence wes gevin to all fre baronis to mak drawwellis to drovun criminabill wemen, and to mak galljous to hyng thevis. He abrogatt all þe lawis laitlie maid be Makbeth.

Quhill King Macolme was gevin to sik besynes, tythingis come þat Luchtacus Duff wes *cumin* with ane grete novmer of pepill to Skoyn, and maid him self king ; nochtþeles, he wes slayn be Makduff, and his cumpany put to flycht. Eftir þis followitt gude peace foure 3eris, quhill at last ane grete novmer of thevis come in Merß & Loutheane, invading þe cuntre with herschippis & slauchter, aganis quhom wes send Patrik Dunbar, quhilk slew þe principall hedisman of þis conspiracioun, and tuke xl of þame presoneris, quhilkis war all iustifjt eftir on iebaittis. King Macolme, þat na vertew suld be vnreverditt, maid þis Patrik Dunbar Erle of Marche, and gaif him þe landis of Cokburnispeth vnder þis condicioun,

pat þe Erlis of Marche sall purge Lowtheane & Merß of all thevis. In memory heirof he bure in his baner ane thevis hede strinklid with blude. Eftir þis King Macolme wes  
 (II. 278) aduerteist of ane conspiracioun maid aganis him, nochtþeles,  
 415 went *with* | pert curage and spreitt to þe hunting, quhair þe conspiratouris devisit to slay him, and drew þe principale movar þerof in *commonyng* quhill þai wer baith severaitt fra euery cunpany, and incontinent pullit oute his swerde, saying: "Þou has devisit my slauchter; now is best tyme; debaitt þi self, and slay me gif þou doov." This man quhilk was conspiritt aganis him, knowing his singular manhede, fell on kneis, and desyritt grace, quhilk wes grantit vnder þir condicionis, that he attempt na sik tresonabill besynes in tymes *cuming*.

Quhill sic thingis wer done in Scotland, Edward, King of England, becaus he had na airis of his body, send his ambassatouris in Vngarye, to bring hayme þe twa sonnys of Edmond, namyt Edwyne & Edward; bot Edwyne wes mony zeris afoir decessit, and this vther, Edward, marijt on Agatha, dochter to þe King of Vngary, on quhom he had ane son, callit Edgare, with twa dochteris, Margarete and Cristyne. Sone eftir Edward come with his wife and childerin in England, quhair he was maist plesandlie ressaut, for King Edward wald haif gevin to him at his first *cumyng* þe crowne of England. Howbeit, he refusit, saying he wald *nocht* be sa inhumane to tak þe crowne during his emez lyfe. Here is ane thing to maist admiracioun of all peple, and maist wourthy to haif emprising: ane man refusit þe crowne offerit to him *with* beneuolence, quhilk all pepill covettis with maist desyre, regarding na thing þat may follow, be fyre or swerd, to haif þe samyn. Nochtþeles, þe felicite of þir two succedit *nocht* lang to England, for Edward of Hungary sone eftir decessit. Þe King tuke sik doloure þat he leiffitt *nocht* behynd him, throw quhilk raiß ilk daye mair contencioun for þe crowne. For thocht þe crowne pertenit iustlie to Edgair, son to Edward of Vngary, zite þe nobillis assistit to Herald, Duke of Oxforde, quhilk was son to Godovyn afoir rehersit, and maid him king.

Herald, maid King of England in þis maner, began to govern þe realme in gude iustice, and cessit fra all slauchter, as sendill

is sene with þame þat vsurpis þe croun be wrangwis menis, and sufferit Edgare with his moder & sisteris to pas at liberte in all boundis quhair þai list, howbeit þe said Edgair was richtwis air to þe croun, throw quhilk apperit þat he had fortoun in contempcioun, traisting na thing mycht succede aganis his felicite. Nochtþeles, Agatha, havand suspicioun of (II. 279) troubill eftir following, kepit hir son Edgair secretelie with grete deligence in hir chalmer; quhill at last King Herald, as na besynes war to doo at hayme, tuke purpoß to pas in Flanderis, and wes drevin be contrarius wyndis in Normandy amang his vnfrendis, becaus his fader Godovyne afoir slew Alarude, quhilk was nepott to Williame, Bastard of Normandy. Nochtwithstanding, he send his ambassatouris to þe said Williame, Bastard of Normandy, schawing þat he was *cumin* for ane singular herand, and desyrit to meit him at Rowane.

416 The Bastard of Normandy, movitt be *cuming* of | sa grete ane prince, *commandit* þe pepill to doo him all reuerence as efferit, and þe nixt daye come to þe King to inqyre his erand. King Herald ansueritt, he send *nocht*, as vther princes vsit, ambassatouris to trete his materis, bot was *cumin* personalie to desyre his dochter in mariage, þat perpetuall peace mycht succede betuix þair pepill. Williame, traisting na fraude nor dissimulacioun with King Herald, condiscendit plesandlye to his desyris, and sone eftir þe mariage was maid with all triumphe and glaidnes þat mycht be devisit, and eftir þis King Herald returnit in England with his new wife, and brocht with him mony nobillis for pleseir, as apperit, of his said wyffe. Nochtþeles, within schort tyme he changit purpoß, and *commandit* within thre dayis eftir be his *proclamacioun* na *Normanis* to be fundin in his realme, vnder payn of deth, and in þair insufferabill contempcioun causit his vicious rebaldis to fulze his new quene. And 3ite he was *nocht* saciatt with þis cruelte, bott cuttit hir neyß and eeris, and send hir agane with ane fischar baitt in Normandy. Williame, Bastard of Normandy, movitt with thir importabill iniuris, come with ane grete army in England, and slew King Herald at Towinsbrig, and tuke þe croun of England þe xxv day of December, þe 3ere of God j<sup>m</sup> lxxvj 3eris.

(II. 280)

How King Macolme was marijt on Sanct Margarete, and ressaut all hir freyndis in Scotland; how þe abbay of Halyrudehous was fundaitt; how sindry armyis of Ingland war disconfyst be Scottis, and aggreit be peace.

Ca x

**E**dgare, seing þe croun of Ingland conquest, as said is, be þe Bastard of Normandy, was disparit to succede ony waye to þe croun, and þerfor, to eschew all danger appering, gat ane schip, *with* purpoß to return with his moder & sisteris in Vngary. Nochtþeles, be contrair wyndis he arrivitt in ane port of Forth callit now þe Qwenis Ferrye. King Macolme, quhilck was þis tyme in Dunfermling, herand þe cuming of þis schip, send his famularis to se quhat folkis þai wer quhilckis arryvitt in þat maner within his watter, and to quhat erandis þai come. And quhen he fand þame Inglismen, and discending of þe blude ryall of King Edward, quhilck did sum tyme to him sa mony pleseris, he come with his honorabill tryne to þe schip quhair þai war. Edgair on þat samyn maner arrayit him *with* his moder & sisteris in þair best advise, and wes ressaut be King Macolm with maist tendirnes, and brocht within his palace.

417 | Schort tyme eftir King Macolme, seand þe excellennt wisdome and gude maneris of Margarete, eldast sister to þe said Edgare, *proponit* to Agatha hir moder to haif hyr in mariage, and Agathaa, knowing wele hir dochter *nocht* abill to gett sa nobill ane prince in þis warld, condiscendit glaidlye to his desyris. Sone eftir, be convencioun of all þe nobilite of Scotland, eftir þe Octavis of Paische, Quene Margarete and King Macolme wer spousesit. The 3ere nixt following þe dait afoir rehersit Williame, Bastard of Normandy and Conquerour of Inglannd, herand þis mariage maid betuix King Macolme and Quene Margarete, dred þat sindry faccionis suld follow in his realme be assistaris of Edgaris freyndis, and þerfor banyst all þe lynage and blude þerof, throw quhilck grete novmer of peple come in Scotland to King Macolme, and gat landis fra him for þair gude behavingis. Than come

(II. 281)

pir : Lyndesayis, Vauß, Ramsaye, Lowell, Towris, Prestoun, Sandelandis, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Maxwell, with vther sindry. Als, mony come *with* Qwene Margarette oute of Vngary, as Creichtoun, Fothringhayme, Giffert, Maull, Borthuik. The samyn tyme come sindry pepill oute of France, as Freseir, Sinclair, Boißwyle, Mowtath, Montgumry, Campbell, Boyis, Betooun, Tailifere and Boithwell, with mony quhilk we may *nocht* schew for *prolixite*. Thir men quhilkis come oute of Ingland to Edgair brocht mekill siluer & gold with þame, with mony haly reliquies, amang quhom was þe blak croce, ane precious relike, in honour of þe quhilk wes biggit eftir ane abbaye in Lowtheane be King Daid, quhilk is now callit þe abbaye of Halycroce.

Eftir þis *proscripcioun* Williame þe Conquerour send his herald to King Macolme, desyring Edgair to be deliuerit in his handis, certifeing, gif he refusit, to tak him be force of batall. King Macolme, seying grete troubill appering gif he randrit *nocht* Edgare in his fayis handis, and perpetuall dishonour following gif he so did, ansuerit þat King Williamis desyris was *nocht* respondent to equite, and þairfor þai war *nocht* to be grantit. Eftir þis repulß King Williame denuncitt weere to Scottis. In þe menetyme all þe pepill of Northumberland assistit to King Macolme, becaus he was þe erlis sister son. Sone eftir was send in Northumberland ane valzeant capitane of þe blude of Normandy, namyt Rogere, with ane grete army. Nochtþeles, he was put to flycht be Scottis & Northumbrianis. King Williame, litill effrayitt of þis disconnfitour, send þe Duke of Glosister *with* ane new army in Cumbyr, aganis quhom war send þe Erlis of Marche and Menteth, quhilkis kepit þe boundis of Scotlannd fra all invasioun of þe said Duke. King Williame, aduerteist hereof, send ane new army *with* mair pyssance in Northumberland, quhilkis finaly slew grete novmer of Scottis & Northumbrianis. King Macolme, movit *with* þir iniuris, rasit ane army of all pepill vnder his dominion, and be support of Northumbrianis followitt  
 418 *with* na leß deligence | þan hatrent, and slew ane grete multitude of þame, and þe remanent put to flycht, syne with grete  
 (II. 282) triumphe and victory returnit in Scotlannd. King Williame,

na thing brokin with þir displeseris, send his son Robert with gretar powere þan afoir in Northumberland. Nochtþeles, quhen he had remanit lang tyme at þe Watter of Tyne, and durst assailþe na thing wourthy to haif memorye, he maid peace betuix þe twa kingis, vnder þir condicionis: King Macolme sall haif þat part of Northumberland quhilkis lysis betuix Twede, Cumber and Stayne Mure, and sall mak perpetuall obedience to all Kingis of Ingland for þe samyn, and in þe myddis of þis Stayne Mure salbe ane croce with þe King of Inglandis ymage on þe tane syde and þe King of Scotlandis<sup>1</sup> on þe tothir, to signifye þe tane salbe marche to Inglismen and þis vther to Scottis; this croce is callit now þe Reir Croce, þat is to say, þe Croce of Kingis; and als þat Valdiosus, son to þe Erle of Northumberland, sall haif King Williamez nece in mariage, and salbe maill fre for xx 3eris eftir following.

How King Macolme dantit sindry conspiratouris in his realme; of his fervent deuocioun and liberalite to þe Kirk; with ane complante of riottus chere.

Ca xj

**T**he twa kingis aggreit in þis maner, followitt in Scotland part of troubill. The men of Gallowaye and Ilis raifis *with grete novmer* of peple, and maid grete slauchter and herschippis in all partis quhair þai come. King Macolm, to repreß þir attemptatis, send Walter, þe son of Fleance afoir rehersit, *with* ane band of chosin men, quhilk dantit all þir lymmaris with sik felicite that he was maid Stewart of Scotland and callit Stewart to his surname. Eftir þis troubill succedit ane gretare. The Murrays gaderit to þair opinioun þe inhabitantis of Rosß, Cathanes, with sindry vther pepill *þeraboute*, and nocht onlye slew þe Kingis *seruandis* and ministeris of iustice, bot als be assistance of Makduncane maid mair herschippis and slauchter þan wes maid ony tyme afoir. To pvnneiß þir cruelteis wes send Makduff with ane grete cumpany in Marre. Nochttheles, þe inhabitantis *þerof*

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Scotland*.



purposit to corrup him with moneye, and to stop his invasioun be þe samyn. Sone eftir King Macolme come to Monymvsk, quhair he wes aduerteist þat all þe north of Scotland and þe Illis wer confideratt *with* þir Murrayis aganis him. The king, effrayitt be þir tythingis, demandit his thesaurar gif ony landis war in þai boundis pertenyng to þe croun, and fra he wes aduerteist þat þe barony of Monymvsk pertenit þerto, he vowitt it to Sanct Andro to send him victory aganis his inymyis. At last, quhen he wes cumin to Speye, and saw his inymyis of mair multitude þan his army, his bannerman began to trymbill, and becaus he 3eid *nocht* sa pertlie forþwert  
 419 | witht it as he desyrit, he tuke þe banner fra him, and gaif it to *Schir* Alexander Carron, quhilk gat mony riche landis for þat samyn office, bot his nayme was turnyt to Skrymgeoure, of þe quhilk is discendit ane nobill houß, perseverand 3ite vnder þe samyn surname. Quhen King Macolme was cumin oure Speye, quhair þe armyis war reddy to fecht on all sydis, þai war severit and put sindry be *interuencioun* of prelaittis, and trewis takin vnder þir condicionis, þat þe *commonis* quhilkis war aganis þe King sall pas hayme, and þe nobillis to cum in þe Kingis will, life & landis sauff. *Nocht*þeles, mony of þame war spoulzeit of þair gudis, and haldin in perpetuall preson to þe end of þair lyffe.

Eftir þis King Macolme, be persuasioun of his haly Qwene, gaif him hale to vertu, and began to doo haly werkis, in sic maner þat few war fundin eftir in Albioun of mair deuocioun þan he wes, and was sa obedient to his haly Qwene þat he left na thing vndone þat pertenit to þe werkis of piete. The deuocioun of þir twa haly levaris brocht mony pepill be þair imitacioun to clene lyffe. Thai straiff quhilk of þame twa suld be maist fervent in þe luff of God. Agatha and hir vther dochter, namyt Cristyn, movit to religioun be þair exempill, left þe cumpany of pepill and went to ane privatt lyfe, gevand þame haill to þe loving of Crist. It is said þat þe pece maid, as said is, betuix Inglis & Scottis, þat Edgare  
 (II. 284) went to Williame, King of Inghland, quhair he gatt certane landis to sustene his estaitt, eftir quhilk he went *neuer* fra King Williamis presence, bot haldin *with* him in gude felice

to þe end of his life. Forthir King Macolme cessit *nocht*, be impulsoun of his haly wyfe, fra gude werkis, gevand extreme deligence to recover þe thingis þat wes tynt afoir be negligence of ony his predicessouris. Afoir þis tyme war in Scotland foure bischoppis, Sanctandrois, Glasgow, Gallowaye & Murthlak. Sanctandrois & Murthlak stude in þat samyn maner as þai stand now, bot Galloway & Glasgow wer all disert, quhill þai wer restorit to þair auld dignite be King Macolme, and twa bischoppis ekitt to þame, Murraye and Cathanes.

It is said þat sik insolence raisþ þat tyme amang oure eldaris, quhen þe maneris, langage and *superflew* chere of Inglismen come first amang ws, that þe nobillis went to King Macolme, complenyng þat þis *vennymous* pest was burgeand fast in *perdicioun* of his pepill, and prayitt him to remove þe samyn, that þe pepill mycht leiff as þair eldaris did afoir. For oure eldaris eitt bot anys in þe daye, desyring na *superflew* delicaittis *quhilki*s war socht curiouslye be sey & land, bot alanerly sa mekill as nature requyritt to þair necessaire sustentacioun, havand þair bodijs in ythand exercicion, throw quhill þai grew mair strang and grete of bodijs þan we ar in þir dayis, lyke gyantis with huge bodijs, grete armys & leggis, cumand like ferþ lyonis with huge strenth aganis þair inmyis, & wer astonyst *with* na *manis* pyssance, exceding far<sup>1</sup> all strenth of man þat is now. King Macolme gaif grete labouris to expell  
 420 þis sprouttand pest fra | his pepill; nochþeles, þe vnhappy  
 ingyne of *man is*<sup>2</sup> mair subdewitt to evill þan ony gude  
 werkis; howbeit þai war afoir contentit of skairþnes, knawing  
 na imtemperatt nor ryottus surfett, ʒite, fra þai taistit þe  
*vennemous* lust *perof*, þair rageand insolence inressitt ilk  
 daye safar þat na thing mycht refreyn þe samyn. And ʒite  
 þai riottus and *superflew* maneris *quhilki*s war brocht in þis  
 realme be *cuming* of Inglismen ar of litill comparasoun to  
 sik thingis as ar vsit in *our* dayis. In þai dayis þe nature of  
 man was *nocht* sa oureset with *superflewite* as now, for

<sup>1</sup> MS. *fra* : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *is* : A. reads *þe ingyne of man is sa vnhappy þat it is more reddy to evill*.

þan þe pepill eitt bot twyifþ on þe daye, havand bot twa coursis, bot now þe auaricious taist of manis wayme is sa desyrous þat na froute growing vnder þe hevin be land or  
 (II. 285) sey may be sufficient to satisfy þe hungry appetite of men, havand þame in maist *commendacioun* quhilkis maye devoir maist, comparit iustlye to nature of wolffis. *Nochttheles*, it proffittis litill to complene be my wourdis, for þis rowst is *runnyn* safer þat it may be purgitt na maner of waye. The pepill salbe erar aluterly distroyitt, or þis vice be now brocht awaye. Bot we will returne to oure history.

Off þe deth of King Williame, Bastarde of Normandy ;  
 of sindry nobill actis done be King Macolme ; of his  
 deth and Sanct Margarete ; and of sindry *merwellis*  
 sene in Albioun. Ca xij<sup>m</sup>

**E**ftir þis King Williame þe Conqueroure decessit, þe xx 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> lxxxvj 3eris, and left behynd him thre *sonnis* : Robert, Duke of Normandy, Williame *with* þe Rede Face, quhilk succedit *after* him to þe croun of England, and Hary Bewclere, to quhom he left grete ryches and iowellis. The samyn tyme King Macolme biggitt þe kirk of Durehame fra þe ground, Williame beand Bischop *perof* and Turgott Priour, quhilk was eftir Bischop of Sanctandrois and wraitt þe life of Sanct Margarete and King Macolm in his wlgare langaige. He decessit in Sanctandrois, bot his body was brocht to Durehame, becaus he was Priour sum tyme *perof*. King Macolme, be persuasioun of þis Turgott, biggitt ane kirk in Dunfermling, quhilk was ordanit to be þe *commoun* sepulture of all kingis in tyme *z* *cuming*. *Perfor*, quhai list to knaw þe lyfe of King Macolme *Canmore* and his blissit Quene, Sanct Margarete, may recur to þe said Turgitt, quhilk schewis þe samyn at lenth. Amang mony nobill werkis quhilkis he did it was *nocht* litill to be *commendit* þat he abrogatt and distroyitt þe wikkitt law, maid be King Ewyne þe Thrid, *commanding* half ane *merk* of moneye to be payit

to þe lord of þe ground in redempcioun of þe wemenis chastite,  
 (II. 286) callit þe *merchettis* of wemen ; quhilk law was *nocht* vnlyke  
 to þe thing þat wes vsit in Lovane, quhaire þe gude man  
 421 redemit þe vse of his wyfe with grete | sovmez of money fra þe  
 lord of þe ground.

King Williame with þe Rede Faice, eftir that he had ressaut  
 þe croun of Ingland, invadit þe Kirk with intollerabill iniuris,  
 and reft fra þe samyn all þe landis and rentis quhilkis war  
 gevin to it afoir. He kest doun mony abbayis, becaus as he  
 allegitt, þai war impediment to his hunting, and slew sindry  
 quhilkis war repugnant to his doyngis. He banyst Anselme,  
 Bischop of Cantirbary, and wald suffir nañe of his lynage to  
 byde in his realme, becaus he reprevit his doyngis ; sone  
 eftir, herand þat Scottis had ane grete part of Cumber and  
 Northumberland, rasit his army, and come within þair rowmez  
 or ony weeris war denuncitt to þame, and quhen he had takin  
 þe castell of Anwyk, he slew all personis quhom he fand within  
 þe samyn. King Macolme, to resist sik thingis in þe begynnynge,  
 come *with* ane grete army in Northumberland, and segitt þe  
 castell of Anwik. And quhen þe castell be lang segeing was  
 brocht to grete distres, and reddy to be randeritt, ane knycht  
 of Ingland, intending to doo ane hardy wassallage, come  
*with* ane swift horß oute of þe castell, but armour, berand þe  
 keyis of þe castell on his spere poyntt, to signify þe castell  
 reddy to be randerit. The waiche, seand him in sik maner,  
 take na suspicioun, bot brocht him with grete ioy & merynes  
 to þe Kingis palzeoun. The King, herand þe noyis of his army,  
 come oute of þe palzeoun, to se quhat newis was fallin in þe  
 army. This Inglisman, seand þe King, held oute þe keyis to  
 him, and quhen þe King was lukand maist deligentlye to þe  
 keyis, þis Inglisman ran him *with* þe spere oute throw þe  
 left ee, and strayk þe horß incontinent with þe spurris, and  
 fled to þe nixt wode. The King fell doun dede among his  
 nobillis. It is said þat King William of Ingland, quhen he  
 was aduerteist of his hardy wassallage, changitt his surname,  
 calland him Perß Ee, of quhom ar discenditt þe lynage of  
 Perseyis, quhilkis ar now Erlis of Northumberland. The

Scottis eftir þe slauchter of King Macolme skalit fra þe sege, and returnytt hayme, and berijt King Macolme in þe abbay of Tynmouth within England, bot he was takin vp eftir be Alexander his son, and berijt in Dunfermling befoir þe Trinite altare. Eftir þe deth of King Macolm followitt ilk daye mair (II. 287) displeseir, for Edwarde, Prince of Scotland and eldest son to King Macolme, was hurt at ane skarmusing nocht far fra Anwik, throw quhilk sone eftir he decessit, and was berijt in Dunfermling. Quene Margarete, herand þe deth of hir husband and hir son, fell in grete malancoy, and decessit þe thrid day eftir in þe castell of Edinburgh, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> lxxxxvij 3eris, in þe xxxvj 3ere of þe regne of King Macolme.

The samyn tyme mony vncouth merwellis war sene in Albioun. Be invndacioun of þe Almane seyis mony townis, castellis and woddis war drovnyt, baith in England & Scotland. The samyn 3ere all þe landis of Godovyne, quhilk is reherisit afoir, was coveritt *with* sandis, and callit 3ite Godovynis 422 Sandis. The pepill belevitt þis vengeance *cumin* to him | and his posterite for þe slauchter of Alarude, as we haif schawin. The samyn tyme sindry landis of Murraye gatt grete skaith. Mony castellis and townis war cassin doun be þe sey fludis. Sik thovnder was þat samyn tyme þat baith men & bestis war slayn, and grete housis cassin doun. In Lowtheane, Fyfe and Anguse baith treis and cornis tuke neyd fyre.

In þe tyme of King Macolme was ane Generall Consale haldin at Claremonnt, in þe quhilk Urbane, þe secund Paip of þat name, institute þe houris and matynis of Oure Blissit Virgyne Mary, to be sayid daylie in hir loving, *commanding* þe pepill to haif hir in speciall reuerence ilk Settirdaye. The samyn tyme wes distroyitt be þe Sarracenis Lycia, quhilk is ane grete part of Asia, and þe banys of Sanct Nycholace brocht owte of þe samyn to Barre. Bot we will return to oure history.

(II. 288)

Off King Donald, and how þe sonnys of King Macolme fled in England ; how Duncane, bastarde son to King Macolme, vsurpit þe croun, and was slayne for his tyranny ; how Edgaire recouerit his realme, and of the deth of Donalde. Ca<sup>m</sup> xiiij

**K**ing Macolme had vj sonnys with Sanct Margarete : Edward, quhilk wes slayn, as said is ; Etheldrede, quhilk deit in his tendir aige, and was berijt in Dunfermling ; Edmonnd, quhilk renuncit þe warld, and leiffitt ane haly life in England ; the tothir thre war namytt Edgar, *Alexander* and Daud. Sum autouris sayis þis Edmond was put in presoun and slayn be his eme, Donald Bayn. This Donald eftir þe deth of King Macolme his bruper come oute of þe Ilis, quhair he eschewitt þe displeaserr of Makbeth, and come in Scotlannd be support of þe King of Norwaye, to quhom he promittit to geif þe Ilis of Scotlannd to his perpetuall dominioun, sa þat he openit þe croun be his support. At last þis Donald tuke þe croun *with* small difficulte, for þe pepill, detesting þe riottus and imtemperatt maneris brocht amangis þame be Inglismen, assentit sone to his opinioun, becaus he was nureist with thair auld ryittis and seuerite amang þe Ilis, and belevit *perfor* to recover þe temperance of pair eldaris. Edgare, bruther to Quene Margarete, herand þat Donald Bayne had takyn þe croun of Scottis, brocht quietlye his thre nepottis, Edgare, Alexander and Daud, with þair twa sisteris, in England. And quhen he had kepit þame certane tyme, ane knycht, namyt Organis, movitt of malice, and traisting to gett revard *perfor*, accusit him of tresoun, saying he nureist his sister sonnys & dochteris within England. Bot this malice was nocht lang vnþveist, for þe said Organe was slayne in singular batall be ane frend of Edgaris, throw quhilk he was assolzeitt fra all suspicion of tresoun.

(II. 289) Quhen Donald Bayne had ressauit þe croun at Skoyne, he fand part of þe nobillis nocht afald to his opinioun, havand 423 mair beneuolence | to þe childerin of King Malcolme þan to him ;

throw quhilk he happy<sup>n</sup>nit to saye among his familiaris eftir collacioun þat his nobillis suld estely<sup>1</sup> repent þair doyngis,<sup>2</sup> bot gif þai war sworn to tak his part alanerlye aganis all vtheris. Nochtþeles, þir wourdis war depair prentit in þair myndis þan he belevitt. In þe menetyme þis Duncan, bastard son to King Macolme, was send oute of Ingland be support of King Williame, secund<sup>3</sup> son to þe Bastard of Normandy, to put Donald Bane fra þe crone. Donald, aduerteist of his cuming, mett him *with* ane grete army. Nochtþeles, quhen þe batallis war reddy to iovne, mony of þe nobillis & commonis of Scotland come fra Donald to *Schir* Duncan þe Bastard, throw quhilk Donald was constranytt to flee in þe Ilis. This Duncan come in Scotland to Skoyne, and tuke þe croun, and becaus he was mair exercit in chevelrye than ony administracioun of iustice, he traistit na thing iust nor richt bot as it succedit be þe swerde and richt of batall, throw quhilk infinite troubill and diuisionis followitt in þe realme. Donald Bane, aduerteist *þerof*, corruppit be money þe Erle of Mernis, namyt Makpender, to slaye King Duncan. Makpender, sekand occasioun lang tyme to bring his purposß to effect, come in Menteth, quhare Duncan wes, and slew him slepand in his bed, and becaus þis Duncan was ane tyran gevin to cruelte and blude, few menit his slauchter, or thocht it evill done. Eftir his slauchter Donald was restorit to þe croun, quhilk he broukit afoir *Schir* Duncan vj monethis, and King Duncan on þe samyn maner broukit þe croun vther vj monethis, and sa þe realme wes in continewall troubill thre þeris be þair tyranny. The nobillis, na les repugnant to his autorite þan obeisand to þe samyn, socht occasioun all wayis to finisß his empire. In þe menetyme raißß herschippis in sindry partis, maid be devisioun among þe nobillis, and 3ite þe weeris continewitt with Inglismen, howbeit na thing followitt þat was wourthy to be put in memory.

At last Magnus, King of Norway, went *with* ane grete flott

<sup>1</sup> This reading appears to be the scribe's intention : *eselie* is partly crossed out, a carat inserted, and *estely* written by the scribe in the left margin, agreeing with the *haistelie* of the printed text or A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *doyngings*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *secunid*.

aboute þe Ilis, and garnyst all þe strenthis & municions þerof  
 with his soidiouris, and maid þe samyn lawis and institucionis  
*quhilkis* ar ȝite vsit in þe Ilis. The nobillis, havand grete  
 indignacioun þat þe Ilis of Scotland suld pas vnder vncouth  
 (II. 290) empire, send þair oratouris to Edgare, quhilk was fourt son  
 to Macolme, desyryng him *with* grete instance to recovir his  
 faderis heretage and croun of Scotland. Edgare eftir þis  
 send his ambassatouris to his eme Donald, promitting, gif  
 he wald exoner him of þe croun plesandlie, sen it pertenit  
 nocht to him, to deliuer to him grete lordschippis in Loutheane.  
 Thir oratouris *quhilkis* went in þis behalf war sa tretit be Donald  
 þat þai war put in preson and finaly slayn. Nochtþeles, Edgare,  
 son to King Macolme, be persuasioun of Edgare his eme,  
 come in Scotland *with* ane grete powere send in his support  
 be Williame, King of Ingland. And quhen he was *cumin* to  
 424 | Durehame, he gat ane visioun in his sleip: gif he rasit þe  
 baner of Sanct Cuthbert, he suld haif victory. The nixt  
 morrow he raisȝ tymelye, and enterit in þe abbay of Sanct  
 Cuthbert, quhair he gart doo divyne *seruice with* maist reuer-  
 ence, and sone eftir, as he was *commandit* in his visioun, he  
 displayit Sanct Cuthbertis baner. King Donald come aganis  
 him with ane grete powere, bot his army, seand Sanct Cuth-  
 bertis baner, left him, throw quhilk he wes suddanly put to  
 flycht; and quhen he was passand in þe Ilis, he was takin  
 be þe pepill þerof, and brocht to Edgare, be quhom he was  
 put in presoun, quhare he sone eftir decessit. Eftir þis victory  
 Edgar went to Dunfermling to vesy þe sepulturis of þe blissit  
 Quene, Sanct Margarete, and his remanent brethir, eftir þis  
 maid ane convencioun of his nobillis at Skoyne, quhare he  
 ressaut þe croun, and was vntit be Godrik, Bischop of Sanct-  
 androis, the ȝere of God j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>o</sup> & ane ȝeris. For Sanct Margarete  
 purchest, schort tyme afoir hir deceß, fra Paip Vrbyne that  
 eftir hir all Kingis of Scotlannd suld be vntitt, and þairfor  
 Edgare was þe first King of Scottis þat was vntitt. This  
 preuilege was confermit eftir be Paip Iohnne, þe secund of  
 þat name, ij ȝeris afoir Edgaris coronacioun.



(II. 291)

How þe Haly Land was recouerit fra þe Saracenis ; of þe inuencioun of þe spere þat persit Oure Saluatoris hart ; how Malde, eldast dochter to King Macolme, was marijt on þe King of Ingland, and þe 3oungest dochter marijt on þe Erle of Bullony ; of þair successioun ; and of þe deth of King Edgare.

Ca<sup>m</sup> xiiiij

In the tyme of King Donald mony nobill men passit to þe Haly Land, as Robert, Duke of Normandy, Godfride, Duke of Lorane, þe Erle of Blesen, þe Erle of Flandris, *with* mony vther princes of France ; and becaus þai went to inuaid þe Saracenis, and gaif large feis to weermen to that samyn effect, þai gaderit ane gretar army þan wes sene in ony tyme afoir. Thai went first throw Greice and Constantinople, and come eftir þat oure þe seyis callit Hellespontt with displayitt banner throw Litill Asia, and wan ane strang toun, namyt Antioche, in þe land of Siria, quhair þai war warnit be ane visioun of Sanct Andro þe Apostill how þe spere þat persit Cristis hart was hyd vnder þe erde in þe kirk of Sanct Petir. Eftir þis þai did mony wailþeand dedis. Þai wan sindry castellis and townis. At last þai tuke Ierusalem, þe hede toun of Iowry, þe 3ere fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> lxxxix. And becaus þe Haly Land was recouerit in þis maner fra Saracenis, þe pepill maid frequent *pro*cessionis throw all partis of Cristyndome for þe happy victory fallin to þe Cristin princes. Eftir  
 425 þis fell ane grete disputacioun | amang þame quhai suld be King of Iowry, ilk man refusing þat honour, and knawing him nocht wourthy to sustene sa grete charge. At last be generall voittis Robert, Duke of Normandy, was chosin to be king. Nochttheles, becaus he was aduerteist that his bruther, King Williame of Ingland, was decessitt but ony airis of his body, he refusit þe croun of Iowry, traisting mair expedient for him to haif þe empire of Ingland with þe Duche of Normandy þan to be King  
 (II. 292) of Iowry, and þairfor gaif his *rycht* þerof to þe Duke of Lorane. Eftir þis mony of þe Cristin princes returnit hayme ; bot þis Robert, Duke of Normandy, was frustraitt baith of þe

croun of Iowry and Inghland, for quhen he had refusit þe tane, his bruther, Hary Bewclere, preventit him of þe tothir. This Hary Bewclere marijt Mald, eldest sister to King Edgair of Scotlannd, and þe Erle of Bullony, namyt Eustacius, marijt þe nixt sister, callit Mary, on quhom he gat bot ane dochter, quhilk was heretoure of Bullony, and marijt eftir on Steyn, Erle of Marche in Inghland and Erle of Maritane, quhilk was sister son to King Hary Beuclere, and succedit eftir him to þe croun of Inghland, as we sall eftir schaw. King Hary Beuclere gat twa sonnys, namytt Williame and Richard, & twa dochteris, namyt Eufame & Mald. Bot we will returne to oure history.

King Edgair, for þe beneuolence schawin to him be Sanct Cuthbert, gaif all þe landis of Coldinghame to þe monkis of Durehame, and gaif þe toun of Bervik to Canulphus, Byschop of Durehame; and becaus þis Canulphus ymagynit certane tresoun aganis King Edgare, he tynt þe keping of Berwyk, and was depryvitt be King Edgair of his benefice. Quene Mald, eftir þat scho wes marijt on King Hary Beuclere, gaif hir to singular vertu, following þe lyfe of hir blissit moder, Sanct Margarete, throw quhilk scho was ane mirroure of gude leving to all pepill of Inghland. King Edgare had na vncouth weeris nor troubill in his dayis, and gouernit his realme in gude peace, halding his pepill in mair veneracioun þan terroure, quhill at last he decessit at Dundee, and was berijt in Dunfermling, þe 3ere fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> & j<sup>e</sup> ix 3eris, and in þe ix 3ere of his regne.

(II. 293)

Off King Alexander þe Ferß and his actis; how Daid his bruper was maid Erle of Hundyngtoun and Northumberland; of þe weris maid betuix Hary Beuclere and France; of his doloure be þe deth of his sonnys; and of þe deth of King Alexander. Ca xv

Edgare decessit, as we haif schawin, succedit þe v son of King Macolm, namit Alexander Ferß becaus he dantit thevis with singulair manhede. In þe begynnynge of his regne

þe Murrayis and Rosß, seyng him continewally exercitt in contemplative *materis*, as his fader & moder vsit of befoir, maid diuerß reiffis and extorsionis in þe cuntre, with grete herschippis and slauchter baith of men, wyiffis and barnys quhair þai come. King Alexander, to repres þir attemptatis *with* mair deligence in þe begymnyng of his regnne, come on þir conspiratouris *with* ane haisty cumpany or þai wer  
 426 aduerteist, and cessit | nocht quhill þe principale movaris of þis troubill war punest to þe deth. Eftir this, quhen he was returnand throw þe Mernys, ane woman fell on kneis befoir him in dolorous arraye, complenyng þat hir son and husband war baith slayn be þe maister of Mernis. King Alexander, movitt *with* þe complant, lychtit doun of his horsß, and come nevir on him quhill he saw þe Erlis son hyngit for his offence ; eftir this tuke purposß in his returnyng to repair þe castell of Baledgare, quhilk was foundit afoir be King Edgare in Gowry, quhare grete multitude of thevis vsit to remane in þe wode and invade ofttymes þe pepill *with* slauchter and herschippis. Þe King gatt certane landis fra the Erle of Gowry, and gaif þame, becaus þai war hewesoun, to þis castell. Nochttheles, quhen he was gevin in maist besynes to big þe castell, þe thevis, dredand þis castell to be ane awband to þame, conspyritt aganis him, and corruppit his cubicular with money, quhill þai war sufferit to ly in wait within ane closaitt of þis castell, throw quhilk þai mycht cum within þe nycht to slaye þe King quhen he was slepand. Nochþeles, quhen þai war *cumin* within þe chalmer, the King was aduerteist be providence of God, and pullit haistlye his swerd, quhilk  
 (II. 294) was hyngand on his bed hede, and slew first his cubicular, becaus he was perticipant with þair<sup>1</sup> treson, and eftir sex of þir *lymmaris*, be support alanerly of God and his avne handis. The remanent, effrayitt on this maner, gaif bakkis, on quhom followitt his *servuandis*, quhilkis war awalkynnit be þe grete noyiß in his chalmer, and brocht sindry of þir *lymmaris* to þe King, quhom he demandit be quhat occasioun þai pretendit his slauchter ; and þai, but ony delaye, schew how þair tresoun was done be impulsoun of sindry grete men assisting *perto*.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *his* : correction from A.

þe King, aduerteist secretly quhat personis þai war, tuke purpoß to pas haistlye in þe Mernys & Murraie, quhair þir conspiratouris war. Nochttheles, quhen þai war aduerteist of þe Kingis cuming, þai gaderit all þair folkis to stop his ourecuming at Speye. The King, seyng þame gaderit on þis wise aganis him, send his banerman, Alexander Carroun, with ane cumpany of chosin men oure Speye, be quhais cuming þir conspiratouris war put to flycht, and mony of þaim takin, quhilkis war put in maist cruell maner þat mycht be devisit to deth. Attoure, þe King cessit nocht quhill þe principale movaris of þis rebellious wer puneist on þe samyn maner, throw quhilk he was eftir in sik terrour to mysdoaris þat mony 3eris eftir followitt gude rest and tranquillite in his realme. This Alexander Carron be his singular wassallage slew sindry of þir conspiratouris with ane crukitt swerd afoir þe King, and was callit *perfor* Skrymgeour, þat is to say, Ane scharp fechter, and gat armys, in þe quhilkis is ane lyoun rampand with ane crukitt swerd. *Vperis* sayis þat he was callit Skrymgeoure becaus he slew ane Inglis man in singular batall. The cheif of þis surname is Constabill of Dundee, havand in his baner ane swerd crukit in maner of ane huke.

Sik thingis done, *Alexander* biggit þe Abbay of Skone, of  
 427 channons regular, | and dedicatt it in þe honour of Trinite and  
 Sanct Mychaell, as we may se in oure dayis. Nocht lang eftir  
 King Alexander come to Sanct Columbis Inche, quhair he  
 was constraunt be tempest of seyis to remane thre dayis,  
 sustenand his lyfe *with* skairß fude be ane herymite quhilk  
 duelt in þe samyn, havand ane small chapell in þe honoure of  
 Sanct Columbe. And becaus his lyfe was sauffitt be þis  
 herymyte, he maid ane vow to big ane abbaye in þe honoure  
 of Sanct Columbe, and was nocht lang frustraunt of his voitt,  
 bot biggit ane abbay of channons regular, and dedicatt it in  
 þe honoure of Sanct Columbe, with sindry landis and rentis  
 to sustene þe Abbot and convent þairof. Eftir þis he dotate  
 þe kirk of Sanctandris with certane landis, namyt þe Bairrynk,  
 becaus ane bair, quhilk did grete iniuris to þe peple, was  
 (II. 295) slayne in þe said feild. þe teith of þis bair ar xvj inche lang  
 and foure inche thik, and hyngis now with chen3eis on þe

stallis of þe qwere befoir þe hye altair. This *Alexander* completit Dunfermling, and dotaitt it *with* mony landis & possessionis.

Quhill King *Alexander* was gevin to sik besynes, his bruther *Dauid* levitt in Ingland *with* his sister *Quene Mald*, and marijt *Mald*, þe *Bastard* of *Normandijs* wife, quhilk was dochter to *Voldiosus*, Erle of *Hundyngtoun* and *Northumberland*, throw quhilk þe said *Dauid* was maid Erle of *Hundingtoun* & *Northumberland*, and gat on þis heritour of þir erledomez ane son, namit *Hary*. The samyn tyme *Mald*, dochter to King *Henry Bewclere*, was marijt on *Henry* þe iiij, *Romane Empriour*, and sone eftir *Quene Mald* decessitt, quhais body wes berijt in *Westmureland*, fra oure *Redempcioun* j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> xx 3eris. The thrid 3ere eftir decessit *Mary* hir sister, Countes of *Bullony*, quhilk was ane woman of singular deuocioun, as hir epithaphis schawis, quhilk is writin abone hir sepulture in *Lundoun* in þe *Abbay* of *Sanct Saluatoure*. Eftir deth of *Mald* King *Henry* had iij 3ere<sup>1</sup> continewall weeris aganis *France*, *with* sindry chance of batall, bot at last peace wes maid betuix þe twa realmez, throw quhilk King *Henry* returnit in Ingland. And eftir his returnyng his iij sonn<sup>is</sup>,<sup>2</sup> *Williame*, *Richard* & *Eufame*, cumand be þe seyis with ane grete novmer of nobillis, war drovnit be tempest, and nevir man sauffitt þat was in þis navy, throw vehement storme þat was in þe seyis. King *Henry*, destitute of all his childerin in þis wise, except *Mald* his dochter, quhilk wes marijt on þe *Empriour*, tuke sic displeseir þat he wald suffir na consolacioun nor blyithnes to be maid in his palace, throw quhilk na thing was bot affliccioun & dolour, euey man clothit in dule wede. It is said þat he tuke sic malancoly for tynsale of his sonn<sup>is</sup> þat he was neuer sene lauch eftir, nor 3ite ressaif ony consolacion in his mynde. Schort tyme eftir King *Alexander* decessit, but ony airis of his body, and was brocht with solempne triumphe to *Dunfermling*, quhar he was berijt beside his faderis sepulture, þe xvij 3ere of his regne, fra oure *Redempcioun* j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> xxv 3eris.

<sup>1</sup> MS. iij thre 3ere.

<sup>2</sup> So MS.

(II. 296)  
428

How the Cwmyngis and sindry ordouris tuke þair begynnynge; | off King Daudis liberalite to þe Kirk in damage of his successouris and commoun wele; of þe deth of Hary Beuclere, and how Steyne his nepoitt was maid king; of þe Bataill of Allertoun, and how peace was maid betuix Scottis and Inglis.

Ca xvj

In þe tyme of King Alexander the Cwmyngis tuke þair begynnynge be Iohnne Cwmyng, quhilk was promovit to certane landis be King Alexander for his singular manhede and vertu. This surname of small begynnynge raif sa hie in multitude of pepill and pyssance of landis þat þair importabill hicht was þe caus of þair avne rwyne. The samyn tyme began þe ordour of chevelry and Knychtis of Rodis. The samyn tyme (II. 297) began þe ordour of Quhite Monkis, of quhilkis ar now mony religious placis full of deuoitt men in all partis. The samyn tyme decessit þe grete doctoure Hew, quhais singular & profound werkis ar red in all partis, and in þat ilk tyme Sanct Bernard decorit þe ordour of Cistius with singular erudicioun and haly lyfe. This ordour was begunnyn be Sanct Robert in þe 3er fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> lxxxv, bot Sanct Bernard decessit in þe Abbay of Clarewall, quhair he was abbot, fra þe Natiuite of Criste j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> & l 3eris, and wes berijt in þe said Abbaye with Sanct Melchiade, Scottis man. Bot we will return to oure history.

Eftir þe dede of Alexander his bruther Daud come oute of Inghland and was crovnit at Scoyne þe 3er of God j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> xxiiij 3eris, and did grete iustice eftir his coronacioun in all partis of his realme. He had na weeris during þe tyme of King Henry, and was sa pieteous þat he satt in daylye iugement to caus his pure commonis haif iustice, and causit þe accioun of his nobillis to be decernit be his vther iugis. He gart ilk iuge refound þe skaith þat come to the party be his wrang sentence, throw quhilk he decorit þe realme with mony nobill actis, and eieckit þe vennomit custome of ryottus chere quhilk was inducit be Inglismen quhen þai come with Qwene Margarete,

because he knew þe samyn was noysum to all gude maneris,  
 (II. 299) makand his pepill tendir and effeminatt. He biggitt xv abbais  
 in Scotland, and dotate þaim *with* sindry landis, rentis and  
 possessionis, quhais names eftir followis: Kelso, Iedburgh,  
 Melroß, Newbottill, Caldstreme, Dundranane, Halyrude Houß,  
 Cambuskynnetht, Kynloß, Dunfermling, Holme in Cumber,  
 the ij nunrijs of Carlile and Northberwik, twa abbais besyde  
 þe New Castell, þe tane of Sanct Benedictis ordoure and þe  
 tothir of Quhyte Monkis; and by thir abbayis foundit foure  
 bischoprikkis, Roß, Brechin, Dunkeld and Dunblane, and  
 dotaitt þame sa richelie that he left þe croun sa indigent and  
 pure þat his successouris *mycht nocht* sustene þair emperiall  
 estaitt eftir him, as þai did afoir; throw quhilk it gaif þame  
 429 occasioun to bring grete housß to *nocht*, to get þe landis to  
 (II. 300) þairfor King Iames þe First, quhen he come to his sepulture  
 at Dumfermeling, said þat he was ane sair sanct for þe Croune,  
 as he wald signify þat he dotat þe Kirk *our* richelie and left  
 þe Croune *our* pure. For in weritie he tuke fra þe Croune lx  
 thousand *libri* Scottis, quhilk is possedit now be þe Kirk, to  
 na leß damage of *commoun* wele þan *perdicion* of gude  
 relligioune. For gif he had *considerit* prudentlie þe maner of  
 deuote relligion, he had *noþer* dotat þe kirkis *with* sic riches  
 nor zit biggit þame *with* sik cost and magnificence.<sup>1</sup> For  
 þe gret rentis of þe kirkis ar now noht onely occasioun to all  
 prelattis, as þai ar now wsitt, to rage in maist insolence, bot  
 als ane sickir nett to draw all maner of gold & siluer out of  
 þis realme. Houbeit, leß damage wald succeid gif þe abbais,  
 as þe *commoun* law *commandis*, war prouiditt be þair *ordinaris*,  
 and þe *ordinaris* be the *primat*, and þe *primat* be þe counsall  
 provinciall. For within þir lxx 3eris na maner of benefice  
 3eid to Rome, and sen syne we se quhat infynite gold and  
 siluer is tane out of þis realme be *þer* promotionis. And  
 þairfore, gif þe Kyng and wise counsall of Scotland putt *nocht*  
 remeid to þir importable skaithis, within few 3eris na gold  
 nor siluer salbe left in þis realme, throu quhilk þis realme

<sup>1</sup> Level with the next sentence is a marginal note, apparently in the same hand: *verba translatoris*, and a hand pointing upwards.

salbe brocht to sic irrecouerable<sup>1</sup> pouertye for continuall provisioune of bullis þat it salbe bot ane facill pray to inemyß, and may nocht sustene þe gret charges as it hais done afore in our eldaris tyme. Bot we will returne to þe historie.

King Daid had ane sone Hary, quhilk was gottin, as we haue schawin, on Mald, þe heretoure of Hundingtoun and (II. 301) Northumberland. This Hary was mariit on þe Erle of Warranis dochter, & gat on hir thre sonnys, Macolme, William & Daid, and thre dochteris, Adama, Mald & Margarete. Schort tyme eftir Mald, King Daidis wiffe, decessit in hir tender & fresche 3eris, and was berijt at Skoyne, fra our Redemption j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> & xxxij 3eris, in þe vij 3eir of King Daidis regne. King Daid, for þe grett lufe þat he had to his first wife, passit þe residew of his dais but ony mariage or cumpanye of wemen.

Sik thingis done in Scotland, Mald, dochter to King Henry Beuclere, returnit in Yngland, becaus hir husband þe Emprour was decessit but ony successioun. At hir cuming in Yngland hir fader King Henry maid ane convencioun of al þe nobillis of Ingland, and causit þaim to mak hir his heretour, syne marijt hir on ane nobill man, namytt Gawfride Plantaginet, Erle of Angeous, to quhome scho bure ane sone, namyt Hary, quhilk was eftir King of Ingland, callit be þe pepill þe sone of þe Emprice. The samyn tyme þe Duke of Normandy, namytt Robert, decessit but ony airis of his bodye, throu quhilk þe Duchery of Normandy come to Henry Buclere his bruper, quhilk levit nocht lang eftir his bruper Robart, and decessit be ane haitt fevir fra our Redemptioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> xxxiiij 3eris ; 430 throu quhilk succedditt | gret troubill in Ingland. For the Emprice Mald was at Angeous in gret dolour for þe continuall infirmite of hir husband Gawfride, hir sone Henry havand nocht twa 3eris in aige. In þe menetyme Stene, Erle of Bullovny, sistir sone to Hary Bewclere, come with ane gret army in Yngland to wsurp þe croune ; sone eftir his cuming send his ambassaturis, desiring þe gouernance of the realme quhil Hary, iust heritour þerof, war of lauchfull aige. And becaus he was cummyn of þair native blude and his petitions ressonable, he was mayd king, and sone eftir garnist sindry castellis and

<sup>1</sup> MS. *irrecouerable*.



municionis of the cuntre *with* his capitanis, and gart þe nobillis be sworne to assist to him in all materis; eftir þis send his ambassatouris to Kyng Dauid, desiring him to cum in Ingland to mak his homage for þe landis of Cumber, Northumberland<sup>1</sup> and Hundingtoun. To þis ansuerit King Dauid that he maid his homage afore to Mald his wife, and sen he had gevin his

(II. 302) faith and homage for þe said landis to hir, he wald *persevere* in his constance, and gif þe samyn to na new inuasouris. King Stevin, movit be þis ansuer, send ane army in Northumberland, quhilk was þat tyme wnder þe empire of Scottis, and maid slauchteris and herschippis. The Scottis, movit *with* þir iniuris, cessit nocht quhill þai wrocht als mekle displese in Yngland. In þe nixt zeir þe Erlis of Marche, Menteith and Anguse went in Ingland *with* ane gret power. King Stevin, to repres thir iniuris, send þe Duke of Glocistir *with* ane strang army, quhilkis faucht *with* þe Scottis at Allertoun, quhair þe Ynglismen war disconnfist and þe Duke of Glocistir *with* mony nobillis and gentilmen of Yngland brocht in Scotland. King Stevin throu þis disconnfitour was constrenit to redeme his nobillis *with* huge money, and in part of payment of pair redemptioun gaifoure all rycht & clame þat he or his successouris mycht haif ony way to Northumberland, Cumber and Hundingtoun. Nochþeles, eftir þe redemptioun of his nobillis he was penitent of þis quieteclame, and come sone eftir in Northumberland to recover þe samyn *with* þe foirsaid wther landis to his dominioun. King Dauid, to resist his iniuris, gaderit ane gret power *with* full purposß othir to ding Inglismen out of all landis pertenand to þaim be iust titill, or ellis all attanys to de. Nochtþeles, quhen he was cumin to Roxburgh, come to him þe Bisshop of zork to trete peace, quhilk was maid for thre monethis, sa þat Ynglismen deliuerit Northumberland fre to Hary, King Dauidis sone. And becaus þe Ynglismen kepit nocht þair promysß, King Dauid come haistelie in Northumberland, and slew euery Inglisman þat he fand in þe samyn. King Stevin, movit *with* þir displeseris, come *with* ane gret army to Roxburgh. Nochtþeles, he was constrenit to returne hayme but ony offence mayd to Scottis,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Nothumberland*.

becaus his nobillis wald *nocht* assist to his purpos, throu quhilk peace was maid sone eftir vnder þir conditionis : Northumberland sall remane *with* Hary, King Daudis sone, be *rycht* of his moder, and Cumber to remane with him be  
 431 auld richt, and the Kyngis of Scotland | to mak homage for þe samyn to þe King of Inglandd for þe tyme.

(11. 303)

How Hary þe Emprice son was aggreit *with* King Stevin ; of þe deth of Hary, Prince of Scotland ; of þe orisoun maid be King Daud to his nobillis ; how Macolme, his first nepott, was maid Prince of Scottlandd, and Williame, his secund nepott, Erle of Northumberland ; of þe deth of King Daud ; and of sindry grete clerkis. Ca xvij

**T**he peace ratifijt in þis maner, King Stevin returnit to Kent and King Daud to Cumber, quhare he reparit þe toun of Carlile with new wallis. Thir war þe deid's of King Stevin þe thrid ȝere of his regne. The ȝere nixt following þe Emprice Mald gaderit ane grete army of Franchemen & Inglismen assistand to hir opinion, and come in Ingland to recover hir heretage, levand behynd hir Gawfride hir husband with hir ȝoung son in Angeous. At hir *cuming* baith þe Erle of Cester and Glocister with mony vther þair allya went to hir opinioun, and becaus þe residew of all þe nobillis assistit to King Stevin, þe decisioun of þis pleye continewitt *with* lang weeris in Ingland with sindry chancis of fortoun. In þe menetyme Hary hir son marijt Elenor, quhilk was heretoure to þe Duchery of Turing and of þe Erledomez of Poyter's<sup>1</sup> and Mans, throw quhilk he was supportitt and come with ane grete army in Ingland. Nochþeles, quhen þe batallis war reddy to iovne on all sydis, peace was maid betuix King Stevin and Hary in þis maner, that Hary sall haif ane part of þe landis *pertenand* to þe croun of Ingland to sustene him during þe life of King Stevin, and eftir his deth to succede to þe haill empire of Ingland. This Elenor was marijt afoir on

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Pryter* B : A. reads *Poiter* B.

Lodovik, Dalphyn of France, and partit with him becaus scho was oure neir to him in blude, and bure to this Hary ane son namit Richard, quhilk was heretoure of Ingland *pereftir*, of þe Duchery of Normandy, Angeous and Gaskony be richt of his fader, and was heretoure of þe Duchery of Turing, Poyterß <sup>1</sup> and Manß be his moderis richt.

(II. 304) Sik thingis done in Ingland, Hary, son to King Dauid of Scotland, decessit with grete lament of pepill, levand behynd him, as we haif said afoir, thre *sonnis* of small aige, and was berijt in þe abbay of Kelso, þe 3ere fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> lij 3eris. The deth of þis Hary was na leß displesand to King Dauid for his singular vertu & gude maneris þan þe deth of þe *sonnis* of King Hary Bewclere was to þe said Hary, howbeit þair deth was vnlike. Efter þe deth of Prince Hary þe nobillis *convenit* furth of all partis of Scotland to mak consolacioun to King Dauid for þe doloure he tuke throw þe deth of his son Hary. 3ite, becauß þis Hary left behynd him iij *sonnis* and iij dochteris on live, þai thocht þe realme wele garnyst. Nochtþeles, þir wourdis did him mair displeserr þan ony consolacioun. And *perfor*, seyng þame tak <sup>2</sup> sik sollicitude for his hevynes, he callit þame to ane bankett, and sayid in þis maner: “Tendir freyndis, 3oure trew faith  
432 and perseuerand deligence for | my wele is richt patent þis  
daye, howbeit na experience in tyme bigane had bene þairof. For I se 3oure myndis gevin to me with na les compassioun on my hevynes þan ony of 3oure avne *sonnis* had decessit, and *cumin* to mak consolacioun to me for þe doloure takin in þe deth of my son. And becaus we may *nocht* randir 3ow condigne thankis at this tyme, we supersede it quhill we may doo it mair plesandlie. And now it is eneuch to confesß all thingis þat is in me, baith body and saule, is adiectit to 3ow. Forthir, concernyng þe mater þat 3e ar *cumin* for, schawing 3oure humanite towart me, 3e may haif my mynde in few wourdis. My parentis, quhom I beleif ekit amang þe novmer of sanctis for þair singular & deuote life, institute me in my 3outh to wirschip God *with* maist reuerence, quhilk

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Pryterß*: A. reads *Poiterß*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *tuk*: correction from A.

dois na thing in vane, bot euery thing disponis be his infinite wisidome to sum gude fyne. Quhen I considdir þe wise and devoitt preceptis of my parentis, baith aduersite and gude chance & euery vther thing ar paysit be me with equale ballance. Oure fader, moder, brethir and sisteris ar passit fra þis fragill life, and we man follow; and þerfor, sen we ar mortall, all aduersite suld be sufferit be ws with equale beneuolence, leß þan we be corrupitt life list thirll oure self to eternall deth. Heirfor I suld reiois erar þat God gaif me ane son be his speciall favoure, quhilk has conquest beneuolence (II. 305) of þe pepill be his gude havingis, than to sorow in his deth. For quhat iniure is it þocht I craif þe gere fra þow quhilk 3e haif possedit lang tyme be my only favoure & beneuolence? And 3ite I beleif I sall nocht be lang absentit fra my son, traisting be will of him þat is maist pissant King to be suddanlie brocht to him & vther my freyndis, quhilkis ar now of mair preeminence & gloir þan þai war in þis sorowfull waill. Heirfoir I reiois þat þe mercifull & omnipotent<sup>1</sup> God has gevin sikkir esperance to beleiff my son passit to þat permanent gloir quhare we intend all to cum, besekand God þat we may be wourthy, quhen oure saule mon seveir oute of þis corporall presoun, to pas to þe felicite quhare we traist he is goyn."

Eftir þis orisoun þe nobillis went to þair lugeing, havand grete admiracioun of þe Kingis constante deuocioun & mynde. Sone eftir King Dauid causit Macolme, eldast son of Hary afoir rehersit, to be declarit Prince of Scotlannd, and gart all þe nobillis be sworne in his opinioun. Eftir this he went in Northumberland, and maid Williame, his secund nepoitt, Erle þerof, and þereftir went to Carlile, quhair he maid Hary, Prince of England, knyght, and tuke his aith þat he suld neuer tak Northumberland, Cumbir nor Huntingtoun fra þe empire of Scottis. Schort tyme eftir King Dauid fell in ane hevy malady, quhilk perseveritt with him to þe end of his lyfe; and quhen he<sup>2</sup> fand him self febill, he went to þe kirk with grete reuerence to tak þe Blissit Sacrament, and sone eftir

<sup>1</sup> MS. *omipotent*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *quhen he*: correction from A., agreeing with printed text and Latin.

433 randritt his happy saule to God, þe xxix 3er of his regne, and was berijt in Dunfermling, | fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> liij 3eris. This nobill prince was *nocht* litill commendit in his tyme for his singulare vertew, quhilk he <sup>1</sup> had abone ony man in his realme, with singulair piete to þe pure pepill, and had sik pryvidence þat he *nocht* onlye purgit his realme fra corruppit & vicious lymmaris bot als causit his *seruandis* to be exercit with all maner of vertew. Nevir vicious wourde was herd oute of his mouth; na insolence within his houß; na riottus banketting, fairsing nor surfatt collacionis wes vsit in his cumpany; all wourdis, werkis and doyngis of his *seruandis* war ay direckitt to sum gude fyne, but ony sedicioun, devisioun or displesoir, with sik cherite and concord þat all his *seruandis* (II. 306) semytt wele vnder ane mynde and amite.

In þe tyme of þis King Dauid wer mony grete clerkis, as Richard, Scottis man, Channoun of Sanct Victouris abbaye, quhair he was eftir berijt, Petir of Lumbardy, Doctour of Theology and Bischop of Pareiße. Siclike was in þai dayis Graciane, þat gaderit all þe decreis togiddir in ane volume. And sa endis þe xij Buke.

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *he*: insertion from A.

## Liber Tridesimus.

(II. 307) Here begynnys þe xiiij Buke of Corniklis.

Off King Macolme þe Madyn ; of grete mortalite and darth in Scotlannd ; how Swmerlaid for his conspiracioun was chasit in Ireland ; how King Hary take Macolme in his weris aganis France, and of sindry slychtis devisit aganis Macolme be þe said Hary. Ca j

**D**auid berijt on þis wise in Dunfermling, his nepott Macolme wes maid king, havand bot xiiij ȝeris of aige ; and þocht he was *nocht* ganand to sustene sa grete charge for his tendir aige, ȝite he apperit for his maneris & vertew to be ane nobill prince. He wes nurist fra his first ȝouth with sa clene lyffe, but ony cumpany of wemen, þat he was namit Macolme þe Madyn. In þe first ȝere of his empire Hary, Prince of England, take þe croun, throw quhilk King Stevin take sic malancoly þat he decessit. The samyn tyme was ane miserabill darth and pest throw all boundis of Scotland, to þe grete mortalite of man and best ; quhilk thing gaif occasioun to *Summerlede*, Thayn of Ergile, to vsurpe þe croun, seyng þe tane half of þe pepill slayne be pest, and this vther be hunger. And þairfor, 434 havand þe King's | small aige in contempcioun, he come *with* ane grete band of pepill to þe effect forsaid, and slew or ellis herijt all þame be þe gaitt quhom he fand repugnand to his purpoß. Swmerlede attempitt hier materis in þis wise þan was effering to his estaitt, as oft tymes occurris in sic personis

as *cumis* fra humyll fortoun to maist riches and honouris. Nochtpeles, his felicite was *nocht* permanent, for Gilcriste, Erle of Anguse, vincust him be force of batall, and slew ij<sup>m</sup> of his men, throw quhilk Swmerlede fled in Ireland.

The fayme of þis victoury, dyvulgatt throw all partis of Ingland, maid King Hary þe Secund to beleiff þat King Macolme suld increß þe mair insolent eftir þis victory, and pretend sum hyer materis, and þerfor he send ane herald to King Macolme, chargeing him to cum to Lundoun to mak homage and *seruice* to him for þe landis of Cumbir and Hundingtoun, siclike as Daudid his gudeserr did afoir to Hary þe First, with certificacioun, gif he failzeitt, he suld tak fra him all þe saidis landis. King Macolme obeyitt þis charge, howbeit it was vnder þis condicioun, þat it suld *nocht* be na *preiudice* to þe liberte of Scotland. King Hary, becaus he had þat tyme weeris aganis Lodovik þe vj, King of France, constrenyt King Macolme to pas with him in France; for King Macolme, pocht he had ane saufconduct to pas and repas, 3ite he durst *nocht* gaynstand King Harijs charge at þat tyme. Attoure, he was meyk and mair desirous of religioun and peace þan of batall, and pocht he knew it detestabill and iniurious to pas in werelfare aganis his confideratt frend, þe King of France, 3ite he thocht, becaus he was constranyt, he mycht haif sufficient<sup>1</sup> mater to excuse him self, quhen tyme occurritt, and þairfor obtemperatt þe Kingis mynde in all poyntis. In þis waage King Hary invadit France with grete iniuris, and segitt þe riche toun of Tullouß, and causit King Macolme to be in all iurnais *with* him, þat he mycht incur þe extreme hattrent and indignacioun of France, traisting þerthrow þe lige betuix Scotland & France to be dissoluit. At last King Hary, brokin *with* grete slauchter of his nobillis, returnit in Inglandd, and licent Macolme to pass hayme in Scotland.

King Macolme eftir his returnyng in Scotland thocht na thing to be done quhill he maid his obedience to þe Paip, and þairfor send Williame, Bischop of Murraye, and Nycholayus his secretare to Rome, quhilk maid his obedience to Eugenius (II. 309) þe Thrid, and returnit *with* grete felicite to Scotland. Eftir

<sup>1</sup> MS. *sufficient*.

þair returnyng ane convencioun was maid of þe nobillis at Skoyne, in þe quhilkis þe lordis reprevitt him þat he of his vane foly suld pas in werefair aganis þair freyndis sa lang confideratt *with* þame in blude, amite and frendschip. Nochþeles, King Macolme excusit him self *with* humyll wourdis, saying he was constranytt to doo þe samyn be King Hary, in quhais handis he come vnvarlye, quhilk he suld remede eftir, quhen he was cumin to mair pissance and craft of chevelry, and vnderstude þe King of France wald haif litill hatrent or indignacioun aganis him, quhen þe verite war schawin.

435 King Hary, nocht | satisfyitt þat he gaif occasioun of sedicioun betuix Macolme and his nobillis in tymes bygane, bot als to renew þe samyn with mair displeseir, send ane vther herald to King Macolme, chargeing him to cum agane to ʒork. Eftir his cuming King Hary complanit to his nobillis þat King Macolme revelit all þe secrettes of his army to Franche men, to þe grete slauchter of his pepill, and *perfor* thocht þe samyn sufficient resoun to deprive him of þe landis of Cumber, Huntingtoun & Northumberland. Þocht King Macolme previt þir ymaginacionis of vayn effect, ʒite King Hary, afoir his returnyng in Scotlannd, send wourde to þe nobillis *perof* þat he had renuncitt all clame þat he had to Northumberland, Huntingtoun and Cumber, to mak him odious to all his realme & liegis. King Macolme at his returnyng in Scotland, na thing knawing of þir tresonis wrocht aganis him be slycht of Inglismen, was segitt in þe castell of Birtha be þe Thayn of þe Waill of Erne. Nochtþeles, fra þai fand þe verite, þai skalit fra þe sege, and askitt him mercy. King Macolme, movit be thir iniuris, and seand his landis haldin wrangwislie fra him, rasit his army, and maid weere on King Hary. Eftir sindry chauncis of batall ane convencioun was maid at Carlile, and peace maid in þis maner: Norththumberland sall pas to þe empire of King Hary, and Cumber & Huntingtoun to remane as afoir vnder þe empire of King Macolme.



(II. 310)

How King Macolme puneist sindry conspiratouris,  
and how þe Murrayis for þair rebellioun war distroyitt  
and put oute of Murraye. Ca<sup>m</sup> ij

This troubill mesit in þis maner, raisð sone eftir ane vther, howbeit it was *nocht* of sa grete mater. Anguse, Thayne of Gallowaye, seand his attemptatis mycht *nocht* cum to effect quhen þai war quietelie done, come with ane grete cumpany to vsurpe þe croun. Nochtþeles, his army wes disconnfist be Gilcreist, Erle of Anguse, and him self chasit to Quhitern, quhare ane gyर्थ is dedicatt in þe honour of Sanct Niniane. King Macolme, becaus he wald *nocht* violatt þe girth, gart hald þis Anguse within þe samyn, quhill he was constranit to cum in will. The King, to repreß his insolence, tuke mekill of his landis, syne lete him pas, havand for him his son in plege. Anguse, seand þat he mycht *nocht* sustene his estaitt quhen his landis war takin fra him as affair, schoiff his hede in Halyrude Hous, quhair he decessit ane channoun þerof.

Eftir þis raisð ane vther siclike contempcioun *with* mair cruelte. The Murrayis, be avise of Gildo, þair capitane, come with ane grete cumpany of Murrayis, and herijt Rosß, Bogewall, Mar, Gareoch, Buchane and Mernis, and slew þe Kingis *seruandis* quhilkis war send to inquirye þe motive of þir iniuris. To repreß þir attemptatis, King Macolme send Gilcrist with ane army in Murraye ; *nocht*theles, þe Murrayis put him to flycht. King Macolme, aduertist of þis disconnfitour,

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come witht displayitt banner oure Speye, quhair he was victorius on þe Murrayis, and for þe cruelte done afoir in his contempcioun *commandit* nane of þame to be sauffitt, except wiffis, barnis & agit personis, to be exempill to all vther his subdittis to move rebellioun aganis him in tymes *cuming*.

(II. 311)

The Murrayis on þis wise neyr distroyitt in all partis of þe realme, the King *commandit* new inhabitantis and pepill to cum in þair landis, þat þe samyn suld *nocht* be left waist. Eftir þis *Summerlede*, Thayn of Ergile, quhilk was banyst, as we haif schawin, in Ireland, traisting King Macolme to be

odius to his nobillis and *commonis* for his cruelte vsit aganis þe Murrayis, thocht expedient to assailþe þe chance of fortoun, and come with ane certane nakit men in Scotland. Bot his attemptatis come to mair infelicite þan afoir, for he was wincust at Renfrew, and brocht presoner to King Macolme; quhom he gart hyng on ane iebaitt.

Off þe mariage of King Macolmes sisteris; how þe Bischof of Sanctandrois persuadit Macolme be lang orisoun to mariage; off King Macolmes liberalite to þe Kirk; how Thomas of Cantirbery was banyst oute of Ingland; and of King Macolmes deth.

Ca iij

**M**acolme, void of all sollicitude of batall, and havand inynmyis in na partis, sett his ingyne to *gouern* his realme in iustice. And becaus he had twa sisteris richt lusty and reddy to maryage, namit *Margarett* and Adame, he marijt þe first on þe Duke of Bertanze and þis vther on þe Erle of Holande; sik thingis done, set ane counsale at Skoyne to devise for certane materis concernyng þe *commoun* wele. Þe nobillis beand assemblit, raiß vp ane man of singular prudence, Arnald, Bischof of Sanctandrois, and said in þis wise: "Ane thing is, maist nobill Prince, þat I wald saye for þe *commoun* wele, praying þairfor þi Hienes to geif eeris þairto, for it sall pertene na leß to þi singular wele þan proffitt of þi *commite*. Nocht lang ago þou take purposß to pas þi tyme but froutte of mariage; and sen þou take þe samyn in þi tendir youth, howbeit it was be zele of vertew, zite gif þou will gif eeris to me, quhilk nevir exhortit þe to vane purposß, þou sall change þi mynde, as vnproffittabill to þi singular & *commoun* wele. For quhatt thing may be mair honest þan mariage, quhilk was nocht institute be Mynois of Crete nor Ligurgus of Lacedemon nor Solon of Athenis, houbeit þai (II. 312) war maist civill and prudent men in þair constitucionis, bot alanerlie be God, as maist honest and proffittabill to þe nature of man. And gif that wise & provident *Begynnare* of þe

world had fundin ony vther thing mair proffittabill, he had  
 commandit it for þe wele of man. Attour, quhat is mair  
 naturall þan it þat bringis all levand creature in þe world? &  
 437 þocht þou wald allege Criste & mony | vther his sanctis leiffitt  
 chaist, I say sic life is nocht ordanit for publike personis, nor  
 ʒite for euery staitt, bot for sik personis quhom God has  
 chosin to be religious or to preche his lawis. And sen þou  
 art nocht chosin to sik office, bot to governe þi pepill in iustice  
 and to leffe successioun of þi body þat maye proffitte þe  
 commoun wele eftir þi deth, quhat thing may be mair plesand  
 or proffittabill to þe þan to haif ane lady to þi fallow, quhilk  
 may geif þe consolacioun in all þi doloure or aduersite þat  
 maye fall, to doo þe pleserr in þi hele, to meisþ þe quhen anger  
 apperis, to cure þi body and refresþ þi spreitt quhen þou art  
 wery? And dispair nocht bot sum lady may be foundin  
 rycht agreabill to þi condicionis. Vther privatt personis  
 mycht haif sollicitude or grete danger in espying sik thingis,  
 bot þou sall haif na fere þerof. Finalye, quhat thing is mair  
 dulce & plesand to kingis and princes þan to haif childerin  
 of þair bodeis, quhilkis ar maist necessair to þame baith in  
 weere & peace? In peace, þat þi commoun wele may be  
 gournit maist faithfullye be þame; in tyme of weere þat  
 þai may be þi luffetennent and invincibill campionis, quhilk  
 salbe in na les terrour to þi fayis þan municionis to þi pepill.  
 Thairfor said þe prudent and wise philosophouris, Men ar  
 nocht cumin in þis warld onlye for þair avne wele, bot sum  
 part for þair frendis, children and proffitte of þair realme,  
 specialye þai quhilkis ar maid be God & nature publik personis.  
 Thairfor, gif it be maist commendabill, maist honest and  
 proffittabill to þame quhilk levis children behynd þame to  
 proffitt þe commoun wele, traist fermlye þow sall nocht doo  
 (II. 313) ane thing mair displesand to God þan to defraude þe realme  
 of all successioun."

Quhen Bischoþ Arnald had assailʒeit with þir and mony  
 vther ressonis to persuaid þe King to mariage, þe King was  
 mair repugnand to þe samyn þan afoir, for he was institute  
 sa in his ʒouth þat he gaif his virginite to Criste. Nochþeles,  
 God provydit þat þe realme suld nocht want ayiris to govern

þe samyn in iustice. In þe samyn tyme King Macolm fell in hevy malady, and tuke peace with his *nichtbouris*; sone eftir foundit þe Abbay of Sanctandros, quhilk is biggitt, as wee see, *with* maist magnificence, and dotatt þe samyn *with* small rentis, quhilkis causit þe Priour & channonis of þat abbay to leiff þat tyme in maist fervent deuocioun & *seruice* of God, siclike as vther preistis war in þai dayis, *nocht* gevin to auarice and immoderatt lust for *superflew* rentis of þair *beneficis*, bot onlye to þair contemplacioun. Few dayis following he founditt þe Abbaye of Cowpir, quhilk is dotatt now eftir þe ordour of Cistius, in þe honour of oure Blissitt Ladye, witht mony riche landis and possessionis. The samyn tyme Roger, Bischop of zork and Legaitt to þe Paip, was banyst oute of Scotland, becaus he tuke indignacioun þat þe  
 438 courte of King Macolme, quhilk was | sa nobill and iust prince, suld be patent to vicious pepill. The samyn tym Thomas of Cantirbery, ane man of singular life and deuocioun, was exilit oute of England. Forthir, xiiij dayis afoir King Malcolmes deth ane comete apperitt with lang and terribill bemys. King Macolme at last decessit at Iedburgh, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> lxx zeris, quhais body was brocht *with* funerall triumphe to Dunfermling, and berijt in þe samyn.

(II. 314)

How King Williame dantit þe thevis of Scotland; how þe iniure of thevis ar mair importabill to Scottis þan vncouth weris; the motive of sindry weris betuix King Williame and King Hary; how King William was *disconfist* *with* all his army, and brocht presoner in Normandy to King Hary. Ca iiij

**M**acolme berijt in Dunfermling, as said is, Williame his bruther, callit for his singular iustice the Lyon, was maid king. Eftir his coronacioun he *thocht* na thing sa honest as to revenge þe iniuris done be England to his bruther, and þairfor send his ambassatouris to King Hary, desyring to be restoritt to Northumberland, quhilk pertenit to him be kyndly heretage. King Hary ansuerit, he suld doo him all resoun

and iustice in þis mater ; nochtþeles, *commandit* him to cum to Londoun, as his eldaris did afoir, and mak homage for þe landis of Cumber and Hundingtoun. King Williame eftir þis charge come to Londoun, and quhen he had maid his obedience for þe saidis landis of Cumber & Hundington, he desyrit Northumberland to be restoritt to him. King Hary ansueritt, þat mycht nocht be, becaus þai landis quhilkis ar annexitt to þe Croun maye nocht be severit fra þe samyn be his privatt autorite ; nochþeles, promittitt to assemblitt his nobillis to ane counsale to fulfill his desyris, gif þai war fundin ressonabill, quhen tyme occurris mair expedient. In þe mene-tyme King Hary went with ane strang army in Normandy, and tuke King William with mony vther nobillis of Scotlannd in þe said iurnaye, for King William wald nocht refuse his chargis at þat tyme, þat sik thing suld nocht be iust caufs to repell his desyris. Nochtþeles, quhen he had tarijt lang tyme in þis army, and was in na esperance to recovir his landis, he desyrit licence to return hayme ; quhilk beand with grete difficulte grantitt, King William *with* his nobillis come throw England þe maist properant waye he mycht, quhill he come in Scotland, and gaif his besynes to pvneisß all criminabill personis be his iustice, syne garnyst sindry strenthis of his realme with strang capitanis to dantt all thevis and oppressouris, specialie in sik placis quhair maist frequent iniuris war done to þe pepill ; quhilk thing, be my estimacioun, was ane nobill

(II. 315) act. For gif ane prudent man will considir, þai sall fynd  
 439 þe skaith & dammage | done be thevis in þis realme mair displesand and skaithfull to þe *common* wele þan ony weris of England. For oft tymes we see innocent pepill and *passingeris* murdris be cruell thevis for sobyr gere in þair waage, and zitt þir displeseris ar bot small in respect of vther cruelteis and iniuris done be thir thevis. Quhen þai ar gaderit, þai birn þe cuntre, and slais þe *commonis*, quhilkis may nocht resist, *with* mony vper cruelteis and importabill iniuris, mair skaithfull þan weris, howbeit þai be nocht oppynlye. Attoure, þe slauchter & herschippis maid be weris ar nocht sa myserabill and vnwourthy to be rehersit as þir <sup>1</sup> cruelteis done be strang

<sup>1</sup> MS. *þair*.

thevis and tratouris. For in euery chance of batall sum consideracioun is concernyng þe estaitt of all pepill, bot thir bludy flescheouris, tyrannis and thevis makis herschippis and slauchter but ony mercy quhare þai cum. And þairfor þe prudence of þis nobill prince in danting of sik strang lymmaris was mair to be commendit þan to haif slayne mony thousand vncouth inmyis.

Sik thingis done, King Williame send his ambassatouris agane to King Hary, desyring Northumberland to be restoritt to him, certifeing, gif þe samyn wer *nocht* done with favoure, it suld be takin be force of batall. King Hary, seand þat he behuffitt othir to lefe Northumberland or ellis to fecht, be avise of his nobillis restoritt King Williame to sa mekill of Northumberland as was inhabitt afoir be Macolme his gudeserr. King Williame thocht *nocht* þe samyn to be refusitt, howbeit he wald *nocht* omytt þe rycht þat he had to þe haill landis. King Hary within few ȝeris eftir, penitent of þis contract, thocht to tak it agane to his dominioun, and persuadit þe residew of Northumbrianis, quhilkis stude vnder his empyre, to provoke þe Scottis be frequent herschippis to batall, that he mycht haif sum occasion to invaid þe Scottis to recovir þe landis of Hundingtoun, Cumber and Northumberland to his empyre. Quhen þir iniuris and herschippis war maid on þe Scottis, the Wardane of Scottis bordoure desyrit restitucioun; and becaus na thing was done according to iustice, the Wardanis rasit grete cumpanyis and maid herschippis & slauchter on athir syde. ȝite, becaus King Hary was þis tyme in France, and þe corni to be wonnyn, thai war content on all sydis to defend þair awn, but ony forthir invasioun of vther, quhill þe nixt ȝere. The nixt sommer King William rasit ane grete army of all pepill vnder his empyre to invaid þe bordouris. The wangard was gevin to Gilcrist, quhilk for his singular manhede and vertew, provin oft tymes in þe tyme of King Macolm, had marijt his sister. The reirward was gevin to ane cousing of þe Kingis namyt Rothland. In þe myddilward  
440 was King William. | Quhill þe Scottis war arraying þame in þis maner, King Hary send ane herald, desyring him to skail his army but ony forthir invasioun on his pepill, and he to

refound his expensis *with* ane grete sovme of money. It was ansuerit be King Williame, he movit *nocht* were for desyre of money, and ȝite wald *nocht* fynis it for þe samyn. Attoure, he was *nocht* þe first þat gaif occasioun of weeris, and wald haif levitt in peace, gif he mycht ony waye haif gottin his awin. Nochtþeles, afoir his army was rasiit, he couth fynd *nocht* of Inglismen bot scharp wourdis, but ony redress or reasoun, and þan quhen his army was in þair sycht, þai intendit be fenȝeitt wourdis to brek him, becaus þai mycht *nocht* evaid. And ȝite he wes *nocht* sa inhumane nor desirous of blude, bot wald skail his army and leif in peace, gif he mycht haif Northumberland, quhilk pertenit to him be iust heretage, restoritt to him. The Inglismen, herand þis ansuer, þat þai mycht haif sufficient lasar to ordoure þair army, and to hald King Williame in vane esperance of his desyris, send vther ambassatouris, *promitting* to geiff him, as þe proverbe sayis, goldin montis. In þe menetyme þai convenit to ane avisement within þe nycht, and devydit þair army in twa *cumpanyis*, devising þe tane to invaid þe Scottis in þe brek of þe daye, and þe tothir to pas be ȝond þame, to cum on þair bakkis witht huge noyis & clamour quhen þe first army was iunand. This slycht of Inglismen was gyditt with sik prudence þat þai come to þe army of Scottis or þai gatt ony aduertising, throw quhilk þe Scottis war gretumlye effraitt. Nochtþeles, þai ruschitt ferslye to þair army, and come forthwert *with* grete manhede to meitt þair inymyis. Incontinent þe Inglismen maid þame to fle be craft of weirfair, traisting, gif þe Scottis war deviditt and brokin in þe chais, þai suld *nocht* cum haistlie to giddir. And as þai belevitt, sa come; for þe Scottis, beleving *nocht* bot victory, followit sa ferslye on þair inymyis þat þe King was left in þe myd feild, but ony garde or support. In þe menetyme þe Inglismen quhilkis war laid in waitt, seyng þe King left with few novmer of pepill, come with displayitt banner on his bak, and incontinent þe Inglismen *quhilkis* maid þame to flee returnyt be sound of trumpatt, and put þair followaris to flycht. King Williame, seyng þe feld disconnfist and him self circulitt with inymyis on all sydis; assailȝeitt be lang debaitt to deliuer him self of inymyis ;

at last, fynding na remede, randeritt him self to inmyis. Litill slauchter was maid in þis feild. Þe Inglismen eftir this victory brocht King William presoner in Normandy, quhare King Hary was for þe tyme, in þe ix 3ere of his regne, fra oure  
 441 Redempcioun | j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>o</sup> lxxiiij 3eris. And þocht King Williame was takin at Anwyk in this maner, 3ite þe were continewitt still on all sydis betuix Ingland & Scotland. For quhen þe Inglismen had takin possessioun of Northumberland, and began to invaid Cumber and Hundingtoun, þai war dungin  
 (II. 317) oute of þe samyn be Gilcreist and Rotheland, quhill at last peace was takin vnder þir condicionis, that during þe captiuite of King Williame Northumberland sall remane vnder þe dominion of Inglismen, and Cumber and Hundingtoun to be, as þai war afoir, with Scottis.

How Sanct Thomas of Canterbury was martiritt ;  
 how King Williame was ransonit ; how Gilbert of  
 Gallowaye, cumand *with* ane grete cumpany to  
 clame þe croun, was chasit, and his army disconnfist ;  
 of vncouth marvellis sene in Albion. Ca v<sup>tum</sup>

**T**he samyn tyme Thomas, Bischop of Canterbury, quhilk was banyst of befoir for his obstinatt mynde in defence of þe liberte of Halykirk, was reconnsalit to King Hary be request of Paip Alexander, Lewis, King of France, and Philip, Erle of Flanderis. Nochtþeles, þis reconnsaling succedditt to his grete dammage. For within schort tyme eftir King Hary, rycht impacient to sustene þe hatrent within his breist quhilk he had consauit aganis Sanct Thomas, send his familiaris & houshald men, namitt Williame Bretoun, Hew Morwell, Williame Trace and Reginald Fittes, quhilkis finaly slew þis haly bischop at þe meß within the kirk of Canterbury befoir þe hye altar of Sanct Benedict apon þe v day following þe Natiuite of Criste. The 3ere nixt following King Hary, returnyng oute of Ireland eftir þat he had put it to grete affliccion for rebellioun aganis his empyre, arrivitt in Normandy, and come to þe cathedrale kirk of Rowane, quhare he purgitt



him be his grete aith befoir twa cardinalis and all þe pepill þat he was innocent of Sanct Thomas slauchter. Nochtþeles, within few dayis he become sa penitent þat he come in his lynnyng clathis to þe sepultur of Sanct Thomas, quhare he with mony teris askit mercy for his slauchter. The thrid þere eftir Sanct Thomas was canonisit be Paip Alexander, and ekit to þe novmer of sanctis. The samyn þere was sene ane merwellis sterne standing still in þe west batht day & nycht with mony vther sternys aboute þe samyn.

Quhen þe vnhappy chance of King Williame wes dewulgatt throw þe realme, his bruper Daid, Erle of Lewcestir, be  
 (II. 318) licence of King Hary come in Scotlannd to governe þe realme  
 442 quhill his bruther war redemytt. Sone eftir his cuming | quhen he had stabillit þe realme in gude iustice, he send Richard, Bischop of Sanct Androis, with mony vper nobillis in Normandy to King Hary to mak King Williamis ransoun, quhilk was maid finalye vnder þir condicionis: King Williame to pay twa <sup>1</sup> hundreth thousand libri striueling for his redempcioun, the tane half to be payitt with argent content, and Cumber, Hundingtoun & Northumberland to ly in plege vnder dominioun of Ingland quhill þe tothir <sup>2</sup> hundreth thowsand war debursit. Attour, King Williame sall move na were aganis Ingland for þe retencioun of þir landis fra his empyre. And for the mair securite of þe premisß, foure of þe strangest castellis within Scotland salbe deliuerit in Inglißmenns handis, quhilkis war Berwik, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Striueling.

Sik thingis dressitt, as we haif schawin, followit new troubill in Scotlannd. Gilbert of Gallowaye, ane cruell & vnhappy man, tuke purpoß to conquess þe croun, and maid grete slauchter & herschippis on þame quhilkis war repugnant to his desyris. He put oute his bruperis eene and cuttit his handis, becaus he reprevitt his faltis. Aganis quhom was send Gilcrist with ane grete cumpany, for Gilbert had gaderit ane grete army of lymmaris and brokin men quhilkis assistit to his

<sup>1</sup> A later hand has underlined *twa* and written *ane* in the left margin.

<sup>2</sup> A later hand has underlined *hundreth thowsand* and written *half* in the right margin. In both passages A. agrees with the MS., and the printed text with the later hand. The Latin agrees with the later hand.

faccioun. *Nocht*theles, his army was disconnfist be Gilcriste, and him self chasit in Ireland.

The nixt ȝere Hugo, Cardinall of Sanct Angell, was send in Ingland to reforme þe kirkis þairoff. And quhen he had reformit þe kirkis of Ingland, he come in Scotland, and *summond* all þe bischoppis þerof to Northamtoun; eftir þair *conuencioun* began to persuaid þame be lang orisoun to obey to þe Archibishop of ȝork, saying euery vther realmez had ane bischop to here þair complantis, þat þai mycht eschew grete expensis & labouris in devolving þair causis to Rome; and becaus na metropolitane kirk was in Scotland, quhare þai mycht convene to þair consultacioun, best was to obey to þe Archibishop of ȝork, quhairthrow þai mycht eschew lang labore & grete expenss, havand decisioun of þair accionis *with esy proces*s be þair superiour. To this ansuerit ane ȝoung man of gude erudicioun and lyfe, quhilk was send to þis counsale to suffer na thing to be done preiudiciall be þis Cardinall  
 (II. 319) to þe King nor his realme, in þis maner: Scotland, sen it tuke first þe faith of Criste, was nevir subdewitt to ony bischop, bot alanerlye to Cristis Vicar, þe Paip, and þairfor it was *nocht* ressonabill to desyre Scottis to be subdewitt to Inglismen, quhilkis has continewall weeris *with* þame. Atour, it war mair honest to labour concorde or peace amang þame þan to geif occasioun of batall. Attour, na thing was done be þe bischoppis of Scotlannd wourthy to deprive þame of þair liberte. Attour, gif ony wrangis war done in Scotland, þai mycht be decidit sufficientlye within þe realme be civill or  
 443 prudent men, and | all grete chargis, siclike quhen þai occurrit, be þe King. For þir ressonis þe King desyrit oure Haly Fader þe Paip to thirle *nocht* his realme to inymyis, sen it offendit nevir to his seitte. With þir & mony vther ressonis Gilbert defendit the liberte of Scotland, and was þairfor maid eftir Bischop of Cathnes, in þe quhilk he perseverit in haly life, and was ekit amang þe novmer of sanctis.

Sindry *merwellis* war sene þe samyn ȝere in Albion. On Mydsummer Day, callit þe Natiuite of Sanct Iohnne þe Baptist, was sik ane vehement schoure of haille þat it slew mony small bestiall. The pepill þat war oute of housis in þis menetyme

war strikkin to þe erd be violence of þe samyn. In September þe son obscurit of his lycht twa howris, but ony eclipsis or interposicioun of clowdis. In ȝorkschyre was sa huge thvndyr with vncouth flammys þat mony abbayis & kirkis war brynt thairwith. Nocht lang eftir þis tyme was biggitt þe Abbay of Abirbrothott, of þe ordoure of Sanct Benedict, dedicatt to Sanct Thomas of Canterbury, and dotate be King Williame maist richelye, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>o</sup> lxxvij ȝeris. The samyn tym the Abbay of Hadingtoun was foundit be Adama, Quene, King Williamis moder, quhilk decessit sone eftir it wes dotatte.

(II. 320)

How Paip Alexander send to King Williame ane roise full of balme; how Gilcriste was disheresit for þe slauchter of his wyfe; off grete cruelteis done be Turkis to Cristin pepill; how King Williame dantit þe thevis, and tuke Gilcriste in favouris.

Ca<sup>m</sup> vj

Schort tyme eftir King Williame send þe Bischope of Sanctandris and þe Abbot of Abirbroth to Paip Alexander þe Thrid to mak his obedience at Rome. Paip Alexander, reiosit þerof, send to King Williame ane goldin rois full of balme, with sindry preuilegis concernyng þe liberte of Halykirk.

The samyn tyme Gilcrist, Erle of Anguse, hangit his wife for suspicioun he had aganis hir of adultery. King Williame, movitt witht þis contempcioun, banyst him oute of Scotland, and kest doun his houß vnto þe ground. This Gilcrist had ane bruper, namyt Bredus, quhilk afoir þis troubill gatt þe landis of Ogilwy, of quhom þe Ogilvyis tuke þair begynnynge. This ilk tyme King Williamis wyfe decessitt, quhais lynage is nocht schawin be our corniklis. Hir dochter Adama was marijt on þe Erle of Laodyncy. Schort <sup>1</sup> tyme following King Hary gart rander þe castell of Edinburgh, be request of þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. *schoot*.

Bischof of Durehame, to King Williame. This King Williame eftir deth of his first wyfe marijt Emengarda, dochter to þe Erle of Bewmont, quhilk was nepott to þe Bastard of Normandy. Eftir þis mariage the peace was roboratt in sik maner betuix England & Scotland þat nane of þame ressaut athir rebellis  
 444 within þair realmez, throw | quhilk happinnit þat Gilcrist, quhilk was banyst for slauchter of his awin wife, mycht *nocht* remane in England nor Scotland, nochþeles changit his habitt in pure arraye to mak him vnknawin, and returnit in Scotland, quhair he & his twa sonnys leiffitt lang tyme ane miserabill lyfe amangis þe woddis & cavis of þe cuntre.

The samyn tyme þe Soldane invadit þe Halyland *with* hevy weeris, and recoverit Ierusalem *with* mony vther townis quhilkis war þat tyme vnder dominioun of Cristin men, quhom þis Soldane held in na mair reuerence þan þai war doggis, and couth *nocht* be saciatt of þair blude, bot slew mony of þame with his awin handis. Be his rageand cruelte war slayn xxx<sup>m</sup> fute men, j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> horsmen, sik as war bischoppis, (II. 321) prelaittis and maisteris of hospitalis. | The fayme of þir miserabill calamiteis, quhen þai war diulgatt, maid þe pepill to lament *with* sorowfull murnyng. Attour, incredibill novmer of nobill men war haldin in captiuite, quhilkis send þair ambassatouris to all Cristin princes for support to þair redempcion, schawing þe miserabill affliccioun quhilk þai sufferit, quhair þair townis war segitt and þame self brocht to captiuite, quhais infynit sorowis war sa importabill þat þai may *nocht* be rehersit but teris, nor hard *with* pacience, moving euery pepill to miseracioun. And þerfor King Hary promittit to cum haistlie with ane army to þair supportt. Nochþeles his purpoß was impeschitt be sindry troubillis quhilkis followitt in his realme; for his son Hary, quhilk was crownit be him afoir, conspirit be assistence of sindry his grete nobillis to put him oute of his realme, and þerfor he was constranit to ceß fra his purpoß.

Schort dayis eftir following King Williame come *with* ane grete power in Roß aganis Macvulþeon & Makbene, quhilkis war thevis of þe Ilis, and had invadit mony 3eris afoir Roß,

Caithnes & Murraie, returnyng ay in þe Ilis quhen þai had spulzeit þe cuntre. Thir thevis, knowing þe cuming of King Williame, fled in þe Ilis. To repreß þir iniuris and troubill, King Williame send *part* of schippis *with* marinaris aboute þe Ilis, and in þe menetyme happinnit þir *lymmaris* to return in Murraie, cessing fra na maner of herschippis and cruelteis on þe pepill. Incontinent þir schippis quhilkis war send afoir aboute þe Ilis brynt þair langfaddis, throw quhilk þai mycht *nocht* haif refuge to flee, and *perfor* þai war all takin and h yngitt apon hie quhelis.

Eftir þis King Williame come to Abirbrothok, quhar he *commandit* þe craftismen to big þe said Abbaye *with* maist magnificence, and to ceß for na expenß to mak it maist richelye to þe honour of God. At his returnyng to þe castell of Birtha he saw be aventure Gilcriste & his twa sonnys castand scheraldis for þair mete ; *nocht* knowing quhat þai war, becauß þai war disagysitt, nochpeles he had grete *merwell* þat sa plesand 3oung men, as apperit, war occupijt *with* sa wile labour.

445 | Incontinent Gilcriste with his beld hede fell on kneis afoir þe King, and sayid, “ Gif ony mercy be for tynt men in þe, maist reuthfull Prince, quhen þai ar punyst maist cruellye for þair offence, I beseyk the, for þe mercy and lufe þat Criste had to all synfull pepill, quhen he sparit *nocht* to sched his precious blude for þair redempcioun, to haif sum reuth and piete of me and þir my miserable sonnys, quhilkis has sufferit grete displeseir with me, but ony cryme be þame *committit*, and to rëssaif ws agane in þi fauouris.” And quhen the King had demandit him quhat he was, and for quhat caus he was brocht in miserye, þe teeris fell sa fast doun fra his een with ithand sychis þat he mycht *nocht* schaw lang tyme quhat he was ; at last sayid, “ I am Gilcriste, maist vnhappy and miserabill creature in erde, quhilk, allace, put my handis in þi blude, and was þairfor disheresit of my landis, and exilit in Inglandd (II. 322) with my twa sonnys. And becaus I mycht *nocht* suffer þe schaymfull iniuris daylie done to me be Inglismen, obieckand dalye þe grete felicite þat I had sum tyme in my derisioun, and als mycht *nocht* leiff sikkir þair for þe lawis maid laitlie

aganis outelawis of athir realmez, I was constranit to cum here with my sonnys, quhare we leiff in maist miserie on þe rutis of herbis in þe summer, and now in wynter to sustene oure miserabill lyvis with þis vile laboure, as þow seis. Heirfor, gif ony piete be in þi hart, or gif þi indignacioun be mesit be lang tyme byrunnyng, haif mercy on *our* reuthfull lyvis, and forgeif ws oure offence. For we desyre nocht to be restorit to oure heretage & honour, bot alanerlie to oure liberte, þat we may wirk and sustene oure lyvis on þe frute of oure handis. And gif þou will condiscend heirto, it sall nocht onlie be to þe perpetuall honour & faym, bot als salbe to þi<sup>1</sup> grete meritt, schewing þi self ane Cristin prince, and to haif revarde of Criste, þe Gevair of mercy and peace." The King, movitt be þir wourdis, and remembring þe grete manhede quhilk he had sa oft provin afoir at sindry ieopardeis for þe honour & commoun wele of Scotland, & seyng him deieckitt fra grete honour in extreme miserye, nocht onlye remyttit all his offenscis, bot petewislie embrasit him in his armys, commanding him to be of gude confort, syne gaif him horsis and money to follow him to Forfair, quhare he restoritt him & his sonnys to all þair landis, except sa mekill as war gevin to þe Abbay of Abirbrothok. Eftir þis Gilcrist perseuerit in gude faith to þe King, and becaus his eldast son decessit sone eftir but ony airis, and his vther son vnabill to mary, he gaif mekill of his heretage to Abirbrothott. Eftir his deth his son was of na leß deuocioun, for he gaif þe residew of his landis to þe said Abbaye. And þairfor Gilcriste and his twa sonnys ar berijt in þe said Abbaye befoir Sanct Kathrynis altair, as þe superscrip-  
446 cioun of þair sepulturis schawis. And þocht | King Williame was gevin in þis wise to þe bigging of þe Abbaye of Abirbrothok, 3ite he left na thing vndone that mycht pertene to ane gude prince, and governit his realme in iustice, gevand his besynes na leß to revarde gude and vertewis men þan to puneis all lymmaris. He maid sindry lawis to puneis thevis and oppresouris of þe cuntre, quhilkis war *our* prolix to insere in this buke.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *þe* : correction confirmed by A.

(II. 323)

How King Williame recouerit his landis; how Richard, King of England, and Philip, King of France, went *with* grete army in Iowry; off þair wassallage and troubill; how Erle Dauid eftir grete troubill come in Scotland, and biggit þe Abbaye of Lundoris.

Ca<sup>m</sup> vij

**N**ocht lang eftir this King Hary, þe son of Mald þe Emprice, decessit, to quhom succedit his son Richard, becaus Hary, his first son, was laitlie decessitt. King Richard eftir his coronacioun, full of curage and spreitt, gaderit ane army to pas haistlie in þe Halyland, & maid peace *with* his nychtbouris on all sydis, þat na troubill suld follow be þame in his absence, and randritt Berwik, Roxburgh and Striueling to King Williame with sa mekill of Northumberland as was takin fra him in þis last batall at Anwik, and gaif oure þe landis of Cumber and Hundingtoun to King William, bot he held þe strenthis of þame garnyst with his capitanis. Attoure, he dischargitt þe residew of King Williamis ransoun, except x<sup>m</sup> *libri* striueling to support his weeris. Quhen King Williame had ressauit all his landis and castellis, as said is, he maid his bruther Dauid Erle of Hundington, and send him with v<sup>m</sup> men to support King Richard in his weeris.

King Richard left his bruther Iohnne governour quhill his returnyng, and maid Arthoure, Duke of Normandy, his sister son, to be heretoure to þe crovn of England, failzeing successioun of him & his bruther; sone eftir come with nobill men, dukis, erlis & baronis, to Massilia, ane port of Provance, quhare he pullit vp salis with ane hundreth and fyfty schippis to pas to Ierusalem. The zere þat he went in þis iurnaye was fra oure

(II. 324)

Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>o</sup> lxxxxj zeris. Philip, King of France, come oute of þe port of Ianyis with mony nobill men *spirituale* and *temporale*, and arryvitt at Achon, quhilk was þat tyme vnder dominioun of Sarracenis. Nochttheles, he beltit þe samyn *with* ane strang sege. Quhill King Philip was liand at Achon, King Richard arryvitt in þe Ile of Cypir, and tuke purpoß to purge þe samyn of þe inymis of God or he went.

ony forthir; sone eftir displayit his banner, and come *with* bludy swerd throw þis Ile, putting þe inhabitantis þerof to maist terribill affliccioun, syne tuke þe King þerof with his  
 447 dochter presonere. And quhen he had deliueritt | þis Ile to Cristin pepill, he pullit vp salis to meit King Philip at Achon, and be aventure mett ane grete flott of Saracenis, quhilkis war cumand in support of þis toun, and be maist cruell bergane put ane grete part þerof vnder seyis and þe remanent to flycht, syne went forthwert to King Philip. The sege continewitt lang tyme at þis toun throw þe grete defence þat Saracenis maid within þe samyn, howbeit þe vtter vallis war brokin in sindry partis be force of rammys and vther instrumentis of chevelry. At last King Philip throw infirmite fallin to him be lang weris was constrant to return to France. Nochttheles, King Rychard determyt *nocht* to depart quhill þe samyn war expugnat. In þe menetyme happinitt ane Scottis man, namyt Olivere, quhilk was banyst oute of Scotland for thift, and fled amang þe Saracenis, and be lang conuersacioun *with* þame had þair langage *perfitelie*, nane of þame knawing quhat he was,—this Olivere was ane soidiour in ane toure of þis toun, quhair na trynchis nor oute wallis war be 3ond þe samyn, and happinitt be aentour to se amang þe waiche of Erle Dauid Huntingtonis ane frend, namyt Iohnne Durvard, with quhom he was lang tyme afoir *acquentit*, and incontinent desyrit him vnder assouerance to *common* of sindry materis. Eftir lang *commonyng* þis Olivere sett ane houre to geif *entereß* to Erle Dauid with all his army in þe toun, and brocht sindry his companzeonis with huge promittis to þe samyn opinioun. The houre sett Erle Dauid come *with* ane grete power of men to þe toure afoir rehersit, quhair he gatt *entereß* with his army, and incontinent with huge noyis & clamour come throw  
 (II. 325) all þe toun, to þe grete slauchter of all pepill fundin in þe samyn. King Richard, seand þe nixt morrow þe Scottis standertt on þe wallis, enterit in þe toun, and within schort tyme brocht ane grete castell, quhilk stude *nocht* far fra þis toun, to rwyne. Attour, he had takin mony vther grete townis & municionis of Iowry, quhilkis war takin afor be cruelte of Saracenis fra Cristin pepill, war *nocht* ane contencioun raisß



betuix Inglißmen & Franche men for ambicioun & honouris. At last, quhen King Richard had cassin doun þis toun of Acon, and was returnand in Italy, ane suddand tempest severit his navy, throw quhilk he wes destitute of freyndis, and finalye be tresoun of certane evill Cristin men was brocht to Hary, Romane Empriour.

The schip þat þe Erle Daid was in till be rageand tempest was brokin, throw quhilk mony of þame quhilkis war in þe schip war pereist and he, nerrovly eschaping of his lyfe, *with* ane few novmer brocht to land, and wes be þe inhabitantis *perof* brocht to Alexandria, quhair he was haldin lang tyme in presoun, quhill at last he was bocht be merchandis of Venyß, and deliueritt in þair handis. First he was brocht to Constantinopill, and efter þat to Venyß, | quhare he was redemit  
 448 be marchandis of Inglandd, and brocht be þame to Flanderis, quhare he pullit vp salis to pas in Scotlannd. And in þe mene-tyme, quhen he was litill departit fra þe land, he was drevin be vnmercifull tempest *nocht* far fra Norway and zetelande with incredibill dangere. Finalie, quhen he had maid ane vow to big ane kirk of oure Lady, gif he war fortunatt to eschaip þat dangere of seyis, he arryvitt in Taye beside Donde, *nocht* far fra Sanct Nycholace Chapell, but ony ruder or takle, and gaif thankis to God and þe Blissit Virgyn for deliuering of him fra sik extreme *perrell*. The place quhair he arryvitt was callit Donde, þat is to saye, The gift of God, quhilk was callit afoir *Allectum*, becaus he was deliuerit fra extreme danger be gift of God. King Williame, herand that his bruther Daid, quhom he belevitt mony zere afoir decessit, was returnit in his realme, come *with* maist deligence to Dunde, quhar he ressaut him *with* all merynes and ioye þat *mycht* be devisit, and gaif thankis to God and to þe Blissit Virgyn Mary þat deliuerit his brup<sup>er</sup> fra sa mony dangeris and troubill and put haill in his native landis; eftir þis gart mak generall *processionis* throw þe realme to geif thankis to God for þe samyn; syne maid ane convencioun of his nobillis, in þe quhilk was gevin licence to Erle Daid to big ane abbaye in  
 (II. 326) quhat part he plesit of Scotland and to dote it with landis & rentis at his pleseir. King Williame gaif mony preuilegis to

Dunde, quhilkis induris to þir dayis. Daudid, *nocht* refusing þe beneuolence of his bruther, biggitt ane abbay in Fife, callit Lundoris, eftir þe ordour of Sanct Benedict. Ane thing is þair richt *merwellous* : na man is sene in þat abbaye hurt with edderis, quhilkis lysis in þe myddis of ane waill circulit *with* wode and rynnand watter, throw quhilk þai burgeoun *with* mair plentwis novmer þan is sene in ony partis ; howbeit na man gettis skaith *þerof*, for we haif sene ʒoung barnys playe amangis þame but dangere or hurt eftir following.

How King Richard returnit in Ingland ; how King Williame punyst grete lymmaris in his realme ; off þe natiuite of Prince Alexander ; of þe deth of King Richarde and coronacioun of King Iohnne ; how þe Paip send ane suerde to King Williame. Ca viij

449 **K** yng Richarde schort tyme eftir was redemytt with sa huge moneye þat mekill of all þe siluer and goldin wescheall of Ingland was connʒeitt for his redempcioun ; nochþeles, he was finaly deliueritt, and ressauit in Ingland with grete triumphe. King William | herand þat King Richard returnit in þis wise in Ingland, come *with* his bruper Erle Daudid to Londoun, and gaif him ij<sup>m</sup> mark striueling, becaus he had waistit all his money be weris and redempcioun. Throw thir humaniteis Richard & Williame grew to giddir in maist tendir beneuolens. In þe menetyme raiß ane suspicioun in Ingland of certane personis *quhilkis*, as þe noyis was, conspirit to tak þe croun. Incontinent þe personis quhare þe suspicioun apperitt war takin, and becaus na thing *mycht* be provin aganis þame, þai war assolʒeit fra all suspicioun, throw quhilk all troubill cessit.

Eftir þis King Williame fell in grete infirmite within Ingland, and becaus þe fayme ʒeid of his deceß, grete troubill raiß in all partis of Scotlannd, for sindry lymmaris, traisting all iustice to expire be his deth, invadit þe pepill with herschippis, fyre and slauchter in all partis. *Nochttheles*, þir lymmaris, knawing þat he was *conualescitt*, fled to ane myschevous man

namyt Herald, Thayn of Cathnes and Orknaye, on quhom followitt King Williame *with* sik deligence þat þai war all (II. 327) takin and *commanditt* to be puneist according to þair demerittis. The principall movar, Herald, was brocht to þe King: first his eyne was put oute, syne he was gelditt, and hyngitt eftir apoun ane gallouß, and all his freyndis war gelditt on þe samyn maner, þat na successioun suld follow of þame in tymes *cuming*.

The nixt 3ere followitt mair darth þan evir was sene afoir, for þe boll of bere mycht skairslye be coft for v crovnis; and þe nixt 3ere, quhilk was fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> j<sup>c</sup> nynte & nyne, was mair haboundant & plente þan evir was herd afoir; quhilk 3ere King Williamez wife, namit Armangarda, was deliuer of ane son, namit Alexander. The samyn 3ere King Richard of Ingland decessit, to quhom Iohnne his brup<sup>er</sup> succeditt. The thrid 3ere following Alexander was maid Prince of Scotland. The samyn 3ere was send ane legaitt fra þe Paip to King Williame, and *presentit* to him ane swerd with hyltis and scheyith of gold sett *with* mony precious stanys. He gaif him als ane bonatt of tyre of purpoure hew, to signify that he was defensor of þe faith, and gaif him mony indulgence concernyng þe liberte of Halykirk within his realme. It was *commandit* be King Williame þat Settirdaye salbe haldin halyday fra xij howris furth at none, quhilk salbe schawin to þe pepill be sound of bell, and na prophane labouris to be exercitt fra that tyme furth to Monunday, and þe pepill to persevere alanerlye in dyvyne *seruice*. Grete punicioun was ordanit for þame quhilkis war fundin rebelland *þerto*.

450  
(II. 328)

How King Williame and King Iohnne war confideratt to giddir be mariage; of King Williamis haly lyfe and liberalite to þe Kirk; and how þe toun of Perth take begynnyng. Ca ix<sup>m</sup>

**K** yng Williame went sone eftir this to Lundoun to mak homage to King Iohnne for þe landis of Northumberland, Cumber and Hundingtoun; and quhen he had maid þe samyn, King Iohnne desyrit him to pass *with* him in France aganis

King Philip, and becaus he refusit þe samyn, for þe band þat his eldaris maid afoir *with* France, King Iohnne clamyt agane his landis forsaidis, and sone eftir tuke ane grete novmer of gudis oute of þe samyn in maner of poynd for þe proffitte bigane. Nochpeles, þe nobillis of Inghland, knawing it difficill to haif were baith *with* France & Scotlannd, causit þe samyn to be redressitt. The nixt zere was sa vehement frost in Scotland þat na pleuch mycht be put in þe lannd afoir þe myddis of Marche; attour, þe ayill was sa frosin þat it was sald be pund wechtis; eftir quhilc followitt huge snaw, to þe grete mortalite of bestiall; als ane continewall erd quaik was fra þe Epiphany Daye to Februar. Eftir þis wynter King Iohnne endis his weris on France, and to haif occasioun of batall aganis Scottis he began to big ane castell fornens Bervik. King Williame send his ambassatouris to King Iohnne, desyring him to seyke na occasioun of batall, and to big na municionis formentis his strenthis; and becaus he gatt *nocht* bot repulse of his desyris, he come *with* ane grete powere and kest doun þe said castell be force. King Iohnne, movitt *with* þis iniure, rasit ane strang army to cum *in* Scotland, and King Williame, to prevene his travaill, mett him on þe bordoure. Nochtpeles, þair armyis, quhen þai war reddy to fecht, war severit be intervencioun of prudent men, throw *quhilc* baith þe armyis skalit, and þe twa Kingis returnyt to zork, quhair peace & amite was roboratt betuix þame vnder þir condicionis :

(II. 329) King Williamis twa dochteris, Isobell & Margarete, sall mary twa sonnys of King Iohne, Hary & Richard, to þat fyne, gif ane deitt, þe tothir sall succede to þe croun; for quhilkis King Williame sall geif sufficient tochtir; als þe castell quhilc was cassin doun laillie be King Williame sall remane in þat maner, nevir to be edificaitt in tyme zuming; in plege of þe tochtir and obseruacion of all þe promiss, nyne of þe nobillest men of Scotland salbe deliuerit to King Iohnne. In þis samyn conuencioun King William resignit þe landis of Northumberland, Cumbir & Hundingtoun in þe handis of

451 King Iohnne, þat þai mycht be gevin agane be him to | <sup>1</sup> his son Prince Alexander, for siklike consuetude was obseruatt in

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *to* from foot of preceding page.

reiosing of þir landis be Scotland þat þai suld be haldin of þe King of England, and faith and homage to be maid to him for þe samyn be all Scottis quhilkis gat þe samyn in possessioun.

The samyn tyme, quhen þir twa Kingis war at 3ork, was brocht to þame ane childe of grete bewte and heretour to sindry landis besyde 3ork, havand grete malady, for ane of his een was consumytt be flux of evill humouris, his hand pynytt awaye, and na power of his toung nor 3ite his ta syde. The medicinaris, knowing nocht þe cauß of his malady, iugit his seyknis incurabill, becaus he was troubillit with contrarius maladyis. King Williame, seand this childe in þis infirmite, maid ane croce on him, and incontinent he was restorit to his hele; quhairthrow apperit King Williame was of haly life. At his returnyng in Scotland he dotate be his magnificence sindry abbais of Scotland: Newbottill, Melroß, Halyrudehous & Dunfermling. He dotatt als þe sete of Abirdene, as his charteris 3ite schawis, with sindry preuilegis. He foundit ane new bischopry, callit Ergile, with landis to sustene þe samyn.

(11. 330) Schort tyme eftir, quhen he was enterit in þe castell of Birtha witht his nobillis, the watter of Taye and Awmond raiß sa grete þat mekill of þe wallis of Birtha was cassin doun, and mony pepill perist. King William, his wife, childerin & nobillis eschapitt nerrowly of þair lyvis. Be þis flude pereist King Williamis son, namyt Iohnne, sowkand his nureiße, with xij wemen & xxj of þe Kingis familiaris, throw quhilk raiß na leß doloure and lamentacioun þan is with þe peple quhen þair townis ar takin with inymyis. For þe invndacioun and preß of rageand watter apperis to me mair terribill and dangerous þan ony fyre, for þe fyre incresß with small begynnyng, and schawis sa sone þe self þat it invadis þe pepill mair in þair gudis þan in þair bodeis, and sone slokin, quhar men ar deligent. Be contrar, na witt nor deligence of man may resist þe inundacioun<sup>1</sup> of watter, for it enteris at durris & wyndoys with sik violence þat na remede is aganis it, bot gif ane man fynd hastlye schippis or baittis; and quhen sic thingis can nocht be gottin, howbeit þe pepill pas to þe hede of þe houß, 3ite þai ar nocht sauffitt, bot þe watter gangis abone

<sup>1</sup> MS. *inudacioun*.

all, and puttis þame to miserabill deth, throw *quhilkis* sindry housis quhilkis has standin afoir on land ar *nocht* bot seye. King Williame, seand þe castell of Birtha distroyitt be invndacioun of watter in þis wise, foundit þe tovne of Perth, callit be ane man of þat name þat gaif þe ground quhair this toun was first biggitt. King Williame gaif sindry preuilegis to caufþ the samyn rise in honour and riches, bot it is callit now Sanct Iohnnez Toun, quhilk was foundit on this maner fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> x þeris.

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How King Iohnne subdewitt Ireland and Walis ;  
 how King William | puneist sindry conspiraturis ;  
 how England and Ireland war maid tributare to þe  
 Paip ; of King Williamis deth ; of sindry marvellis  
 and grete clerkis ; and how sindry ordouris of freris  
 began. Ca x<sup>m</sup>

The þere<sup>1</sup> nixt following King Iohnne subdewitt þe maist part of Ireland to his empire, and þe nixt þere *perestir* subdewitt all Walis. The samyn tyme raiþ in Caithnes grete troubill, for Gothrede, son of Makvulþein, quhais rebelloun was schewin afoir, maid grete herschippis in Rosþ and sindry vther boundis *peraboute*. His cumpany inressit ilk daye mair be assistancē of brokin men and *lymmaris* of Lowch-quhabbir & Ilis. To repreþ þir attemptatis King Williame (II. 331) send þe Erlis of Fife, Atholl and Buchane *with* vj<sup>m</sup> men, quhilkis be sett batall wincust þe said Gothrede, and brocht him presonere to King Williame, quhom he gart hede with mony vtheris quhilkis war brocht to him on þat samyn maner.

The samyn tyme raiþ ane grete dissensioun betuix King Iohnne of England and Innocentius þe Thrid, Paip. King Iohnne tuke be *generall* exaccioun þe teynd penny of all landis and fruttis pertenyng to þe Kirk, and puneist þame with grete cruelte quhilkis he fand repugnand to þe samyn. And becaus certane bischoppriis & abbayis within his realme war *nocht* obeysand to him, he tuke possessionis of all þair landis,

<sup>1</sup> MS. begins the chapter *Iere*.

and reft fra þame all þair gold & siluer iowellis, and banyst þe religious men *perof*. Paip Innocent, traisting sic cruelteis nocht semand to Cristin princes, sa þat vther princes suld nocht invaid þe Kirk *with* siklike auarice, persuadit King Iohnne mony wayis to decist fra sik extorsionis, and to redrefþ all iniuris done be him to þe Kirk. And becaus he couth na waye divert his mynde fra þe samyn, he denuncit him cursitt, and depyvitt him, safer as he mycht, of all honour & dignite, makand inuocacioun to all Cristin princes to cum *with* þair armyis aganis him for þe defence of þe liberte of Halykirk. King Iohnne, seand him of na pissance to resist sa mony armyis devisit aganis him in all partis, fenzeit him self penitent, and to haif absolucioun for þe offence þat he had committit aganis þe Kirke, gaif oure þe realmez of Ingland & Ireland to Paip Innocent and his successouris, vnder þis condicioun, to paye for vij 3eris to cum x<sup>m</sup> markis striueling to þe Paip and his successouris for þe twa realmez of Ingland & Ireland, quhilk pensioun is 3erelie payitt to our dayis. Sik thingis done, King Iohne was assoilzeit fra all censuris led aganis him for his contempcioun.

Schort tyme eftir King Williame, brokin *with* lang 3eris, decessit at Striueling, þe xlix 3ere of his regne, fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> xiiij, and was berijt in Abirbroth befor þe hie altar of þe samyn. The 3ere afoir his deth twa comettis apperitt  
 453 in | þe moneth of Marche, richt terribill to þe sicht of pepill; the tane of þame schayne ay afoir þe son, and þe tothir afoir his dounfalling. Þe nixt 3ere ane calf was sene in Northumber-  
 (II. 332) land, with hede and crag lyke þe avne nature and þe remanent like þe nature of horsþ. Þe nixt wynter was sene twa monys in þe lift, siverit fra vther, hornit naturalie as þe mone vsis to be in hir inressing or wanyng.

In þe tyme of King William war mony nobill clerkis, as *Dominicus*,<sup>1</sup> Span3eart, quhilk was *professit* Channoun of Sanct Augustynis ordour, and sone eftir left þe samyn, and began þe ordoure of freris callit *Predicaturis*. The samyn tyme was Sanct Francis, quhilk began þe ordoure of Minouris, callit *Graye Freris*, of quhom mony abbais ar richelye new biggitt

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Dominicus*.

in all partis of þe world. The samyn tyme was Ioachim, Abbot in Calaber, quhilk wrait þe *Commentaris* on þe Bukis of Apocalipß. That ilk tyme was Rodulphus of Cullane, quhilk brocht þe bodijs of þe Thre Kingis oute of Perß to Constantinopill and eftir þat to Cullane, quhare þai remane now in grete veneracioun of þe pepill. This tyme Petir Comestore wrait þe History Ecclesiastik. Amang ws wer in þai dayis sindry haly men, as Vdard, Bischop of Breichin, Eustachius, Abbot of Abirbroth, quhilkis war excellent precheouris. King William foundit þe Abbay<sup>1</sup> of Balmvrinoch, bot it was dotaitt be Ermengard his wyfe. Schort tyme afoir þis war institute þe monkis of þe Trinite, callit þe Redempcion of Captivis. Twa of þame war send in Scotland be Paip Innocent, to quhom King Williame gaif his palace riall in Aberdene to big þair abbaye, and was of purpoß to geif þame sindry vþer thingis, gif he had levitt.

(II. 333)

Off King Alexander þe Secund and his actis ; how King Iohne of Ingland invadit þe Kirk *with* grete exaccionis ; how þe Paip & kirkmen war corruppit be his money to assist to his opinioun ; how King Alexander renewit þe band of France ; and of þe deth of King Iohne. Ca xj

454 **W**illiams decessit in þis wise, his son Alexander was crovnit at Skoyne. Eftir his coronacioun he went to Abirbrothok, quhare he remanit xiiij dayis, doing funerall obsequies for his faderis saule, throw quhilk na thing was left vndone be him þat mycht pertene to þe honour of ane nobill prince ; sone eftir *commandit* na playis nor bankettis to be vsit for ane ȝere to *cum*, that þe pepill mycht lament þe dede of his fader, for quhom war solempne cerymonis done in all partis, and his familiaris war cled in dule weid all þe ȝere following. The first convencioun | of nobillis þat he sett was in Edinburgh, quhare he ratifjt all thingis done be his fader, and proclamyt all men to reiose þe officies perpetuallie quhilkis war gevin

<sup>1</sup> MS. *abbot*.



be his fader, exceppand þe chancellor, quhilk was gevin to þe Bischop of Dunblane, and þe constabulary to Alane, Thayne of Gallowaye. Eftir þis counsale he gaif sindry landis to sustene his moder, and maid prudent men to be iugis in euery toun to exerce iustice to þe pepill, and sone efter send his ambassatouris to mak his obedience to þe Paip.

The samyn tyme raiß grete dissensioun betuix King Iohnne & his nobillis for sindry hye vices quhilkis rang in him, specialiye auarice, fontane of euery vice, throw quhilk he had sik birmand desyre to conques gudis that he wald admytt na heretoure to þair landis quhill he had for þair enteress þe iust valour of þair heretage for ane zere. He tuke zerebye pensionis of abbottis and bischoppis, contrair þe liberte of Halykyrk, and quhen ony prelat decessit, tuke all þe rentis of þe place, quhill þe successoure enteritt. The prelaittis of Ingland, richt impacient to suffer sik exaccionis, sollistitt sindry grete princes of Ingland aganis þe King, and finalye dressit þair purpos with sik menys of Kingis of France and Scotland þat þai promittit to cum in Ingland to þair support. King Iohnne, herand sik rebelloun maid aganis him, to eschew þe present dangere maid aggreance with his prelaittis, and promittit be his grete aith *nocht* onlye to abstene fra sik *perverst* maneris, bot als to doo na thing in tyme *zuming* but awise of his nobillis.

(II. 334) *Nochtheles*, þis aggreance indurit bot schort tyme. For King Iohnne was sa blynditt *with* auarice þat he returnytt to his evill maneris, and send his ambassatouris to Gwalo, ane Cardinal of Rome, complanyng of þe violence of his subdittis aganis him, quhilkis be þair menis has persuaditt þe Kingis of France and Scotland to invaid him in sik maner þat he maye *nocht* governe his realme in liberte. Paip Innocent, becaus he had ane zeriele pensioun of King Iohnne, was þe mair *commovit* at þis complante, and promittit to debait with maist favoure. In þai dayis war maist auaricius pepill, as zite is, in þe courte of Rome, and *perfor* euery thing was grantit þat *mycht* bryng ony importance to þame, but ony sicht to reasoun or conscience. Amang all sik auaricious personis nane was mair vicious nar grede þan Gwalo, quhilk purchest for his singular proffitt all thingis þat wes desyritt be King Iohnne.

Necessair is now to se þe lyvis of þe auld faderis and prelaittis of kirkis þat war afoir oure dayis, of quhilkis the prelaittis now present beris nocht bot þe name, na thing following þair lyfe. For þai auld faderis war gevin to imitacioun of Criste in powerte, piete, humilite and iustice, drawing þe  
 455 pepill be | þar continewall preching in *seruice* of God with equale affecciou to pure & riche, nocht arraying þame with gold, siluer or precious abilþeamentis, nocht vsing þe courte, nor *accompanyitt* with weirmen and bordellis, contending to excede þe lust and insolence of princis, doyng na thing be dissaitt, bot levand witht pure conscience and verite. Nochtþeles, the kirkmen ar now pollute with maa vyces þan ar sene with ony temporall estaitt, sen riches was first apprisit amang þame.

King Iohnne, nochtwithstanding his *promyß* and obligacioun maid afoir be his grete aith, quhen he was aduerteist be Gwalois writingis, promittit to defend him in all materis, began to invaid his nobillis spirituall & temporall *with* mair exaccionis þan he did afoir, regarding na thing bot onlye to conquest gudis and riches. The nobillis, richt impacient to sustene þir extorsionis, sollistit Lowis, Dalphyn of France, & Alexander, (II. 335) King of Scotland,<sup>1</sup> to cum *with* grete armyis in þair support. King Iohne, havand litill confidence in his subdittis, fled to ane strenth, throw quhilk Lowis come but ony obstakle to Lundon, quhare he was ressauit plesandlye be þe pepill. Eftir þis he send to King Iohne, desyryng him to abstene fra all exaccionis, and nocht to iniure his pepill in tyme cuming *with* sik extorsionis, becaus sik thingis makis princes nocht onlye odious to þair subdittis, bot als to all mortall pepill; attour, desyrit him to refounde all skaithis quhilkis his subdittis has sufferit be his *tyranny*, kepand his faith to þame, as he afoir promittit; and gif he thocht sik premissis to be fulfillit, to send his son with *vþer* his nerrest frendis to remane in plege for obseruacioun *þerof*. King Iohne, havand his confidence in na thing mair þan in his moneye and in Gwalo Cardinall afoir rehersit, wald here na condicioun of peace,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *france*, crossed out by a later hand, which has written the obvious correction in the right margin.

saying he suld *nocht* be lang but revengeing of þir attemptatis. Lowis, herand þis ansuer, rasit his army with sindry Inglismen of his opinioun to invaid King Iohnne. Nochþeles, he thoct it was bot vane to lede ane army throw þe cuntre, quhilk mycht succede to þe grete dammage & herschippis þerof, revengeyng na iniuris on him þat was þe motive of þair troubill. King Alexander, herand sik thingis done in Ingland be Lowis, Dalphyn of France, come *with* ane army to Lundon but ony offence done to þe pepill be þe waye. And quhen þir twa princes had *commonit* on sindry materis, þai left þair armyis in Ingland, and went in France, quhar þai renewitt þe band betuix France and Scotland, syne returnit too Londoun; throw quhilk King Iohnne tuke sone eftir malancoley, and decessit.

(II. 336)

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How Hary was maid King of Ingland; how Gualo Cardinall did grete troubill in Ingland and Scotland be his | auarice; how King Hary and King Alexander invadit athir realmes with grete herschippis and slauchter; and how þai war aggreit. Ca xij

Iohne, King of Ingland, decessit on þis wise, raiß ane contencioun amang þe nobillis, gif his son Hary suld be admittit to þe crowne or disheresitt for þe grete troubill done in his faderis tyme. *Nochtþeles*, it was concludit at last þat Hary his son suld be crownit. Sone eftir King Alexander returnit in Scotland. In þe samyn tyme was ane generall counsale at Rome, in þe quhilk was iiij<sup>c</sup> and xij bischoppis and viij<sup>c</sup> abbaittis. In þis counsale Paip Innocent cursit all þame quhilkis war inymyis to King Iohnne of Ingland, and in speciall cursit Lowis, Dalphyn of France, and Alexander, King of Scotland, with all *vþeris* of þair opinioun, allegeand þame invasouris of þe liberte of Rome, becaus Ingland was tributar to þe Paip. Schort tyme following Gwalo, þe auaricius cardinall afoir rehersit, come in Ingland, quhare he crownit King Hary, and incontinent cursitt all þame quhilkis invadit his fader, putting all placis quhare þai come vnder interdicioun.

Lowis, seand þe maist part of Ingland assist to King Hary and Gwalo, tuke absolucioun, quhilk was *nocht* coft but large money, syne returnyt in France. Attour, þis auaricious Cardinal held mony of þe princes of Ingland vnder censuris, quhill þai war constranyt to by þair absolucionis *with* huge moneye, for he had na sycht to honest nor vnhonest accionis, bot alanerlie, as vther prelaittis vsis, to þair proffitte.

King Hary sone eftir þis come *with* ane grete army in Scotland with grete herschippis and slauchter in all partis quhare he come. Nochþeles, he was sone chasit oute of þe samyn be King Alexander, and tynt mony of his castellis & strenthis in Northumberland. King Alexander sone eftir went to Northhayme, and quhen he had lang tyme lyin at þe samyn, but ony esperance þat it suld be randritt, he skalit his army, and returnit in Scotland. King Hary, herand þat his army was skalit, come *with* ane new powere in Scotlannd, and tuke baith þe toun and castell of Berwyk ; eftir þis brynt  
 (II. 337) and herijt all þe sey campe to Hadingtoun, and saffitt nane þat was founde be þe waye, except wiffis, bairmys & preistis ; and becaus he mycht *nocht* tak Dunbar, he returnit *with* his army in Ingland. The samyn tyme Gwalo, quhais auarice is afair rehersit, traisting to fynd sufficient tyme to conqueß grete money of Scotlannd, put þe samyn vnder procesß of  
 457 interdiccioun, and persewitt King Alexander, becaus | he invadit Ingland, with maist terribill cursingis. At last, quhen the Scottis war movitt *with* maist hattrent be þir importabill iniuris, and þe samyn appering to end *nocht* but vter myscheif and exterminioun of baith þair realmez, the Bischoppis of zork and Sarisbery come in Scotland to King Alexander, be quhais interuencioun peace was maid vnder þir condicionis : King Alexander sall rander to Inglismen þe toun of Carlile, and King Hary þe toun of Berwik to Scottis ; the haill domin-ioun of Cumber to remane *with* King Alexander, with þe half of Northumberland to the Ree Croce ; and King Alexander to be assolzeit fra all censuris led aganis him be Gwalo. The twa Kingis aggreit on þis wise apon all debaittis, King Alexander was assolzeit, and his realme deliuerit fra interdiccion.

In þe menetyme Gwalo, þat he suld *nocht* depart *with*

tyme hand, *summond* all þe prelaittis of Scotlannd to Anwyk, becaus he had maist iurisdiccion on þame, *with* purpos to troubill þame, quhill euey ane of þame eftir þair facultee had gevin him moneye for þair absolucioun. Syndry of þame, to be exoneratt of troubill, gaif him large moneye, bot *vperis* thocht þat þai had troubill eneuch afoir, and tuke indignacioun þat spirituall materis suld be sa oppynlie sold for money, and refusit þairfor his desyris. Incontinent Gwalo *summond* þame to Rome, traisting to astunys þaim be lang travaill to condiscend to his purpoß. Nochpeles, þai war litill effrayit þair*with*, bot finalye went to þe Paip, quhare þai complenit of þe insufferabill iniuris done in Ingland & Scotland be Gwalo; throw quhilk he was condampnit to pay grete sovmez of money to þe Paip, and all þe bischoppis quhilkis went to Rome assoilzeit fra his peticioun.

The samyn tyme Dauid, Erle of Huntingtoun, decessitt, and wes berijt in ane Abbay of Ingland namyt Seucia.

(II. 338)

How King Hary and King Alexander war allyatt be mariage; off þe Translacioun of Sanct Thomas of Canterbury; off sindry legaittis send in Scotland be þe Paip to conqueß moneye. Ca xiiij

**H**ary, King of Ingland, eftir his *cuming* to perfite age was mair desyrous of peace þan weere; throw *quhilk* ane *conuencioun* was maid at zork, quhair þe twa Kingis war allyatt to giddir in þis maner: Iahan, King Harijs sister, was marijt on King Alexander, and þe twa sisteris of King Alexander war *contractitt* on twa grete princes of Ingland, fraoure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> xx zeris; quhilk zere was þe Translacioun of Sanct Thomas of Canterbury in presence of King Hary and all his nobillis *spirituall* and temporall.

The nixt zere Egidius, ane cardinall, was send be þe Paip Innocent in Scotland to purches moneye to furnys ane new  
458 army to pas in Haly | land, and quhen he had gottin na litill moneye to þis effect in Scotland, and spendit it be his insolence, he sayid at his returnyng to þe Paip þat all þe money þat

he gatt in Scotland was reft fra him be brigandis in his passage. Schort tyme eftir his *cuming* to Rome ane vther legaitt was send to þe samyn effect in Scotland. King Alexander, aduer-teist afoir his *cuming*, convenit his nobillis to ane counsale, in þe quhilk ane bischop sayid to him as followis : “ Howbeit sindry thingis presentlye occurris quhilkis effrayis me to schaw þai materis quhilkis ar preiudiciall to þe *commoun* wele, ʒite, maist nobill Prince, quhen I considir þi humanite, faith and constance gevin to na thing mair þan defence and wele of þi liegis, I can *nocht* cese for accionis of *commoun* liberte to schaw þe swith, detesting þe tyranny of Romane legattis quhilk has bene done to ws þe ʒere afoir past. For þocht þe *tyranny* be vntollerabill quhilk is exercit be kingis or princes discending be lineall successioun to þair faderis realme or heretage, mekill mair is þe tyranny vnsufferabill quhen it is exercitt on ws be men of vyle & obscure lynage, to quhom þe Prince is haldin in na terroure. Heirfor, gif þe (II. 339) huge extorsionis and manifest wrangis done to ws þir ʒeris bigane had *cumin* to ws be þe Papis mynde, þai war to bene sufferit in sum maner ; bot *lymmaris* quhilkis ar *promovit* to beneficis for þair horribill vices has *nocht* onlye putt our cuntre vnder *proceß* of interdiccioun, but ony *commissioun* of þe Paip, bot als now invading ws with new iniure, thirling þe *preuilegis* grantit to oure ald faderis to þair auaricius *wynnyng*. Quhatt trew<sup>1</sup> man may suffer þir oppressionis, *speci*alye sen þair auarice has na fyne, havand oure simplicite and meiknes in maist proude contempcioun ? Þe ʒeris afoir passit ʒe complanit þe iniuris done be Gwalo, quhen he *nocht* onlie held ʒoure realme vnder interdiccioun, bot als held mony of þe prelaittis vnder cursing, quhen þai war *nocht* obeysand to ʒarrow money at his pleseir for þair absolucioun. Attoure, þis *peralous* fontane of all vice, Gwalo, howbeit he was send for concord, be his sedicioun and auarice gaif sik occasioun of batall þat baith þe realmes, war *nocht* þair hattrent was þe mair haistlye mesit, had *cumin* to vtter exterminioun. And sen sik thingis ar patent, quhat nedis þame to be remembrit

<sup>1</sup> MS. inserts *na* between *trew* and *man* : apparently a scribal error uncorrected.

to 3oure displeer? Attoure, eftir þat þai war exoneratt of Gwalo, come in his place ane new legaitt of na bettir liffe, bot erar war, for quhen he had gottin large money fra ws for redempcioun of presonaris and rasing of new armyis aganis þe Turkis, he spendit it all in his insolence, and fenzeit him at his returnyng to haif bene rest be brigandis in his waage. And sen we haif experience of twa legaittis be importabill skaithis done be þame to ws, we salbe repute wode fulis to admitt þe thrid. Beleif 3e þat þis new legaitt be of vther  
 459 condicionis þan his fallowis afoir | rehersitt? And gif ony man list demande me quhat is to be done in þis mater, I say nocht alanerlie suld þis legaitt be refusit, bot als na vther legaitt in tyme3 cuming admittit in þis realme. For sen we haif perfite knowlege quhat wrangis and extorsionis has bene be sik personis, it is nocht necessair to fall in þe samyn fowsee as afoir. For gif ony of 3ow has superfluew moneye, 3e maye dispoyn it erar to pure folk þan to sik corruppit vse of vicious legaittis." Becau3 þir wourdis war apprevitt be þe counsale, the legaitt was nocht admittit in þe realme.

Sone eftir þis counsale Iahane, sister to King Hary, as it was afoir contrackitt, was marijt on King Alexander, and siclike King Alexander's sister Margarete on Hubert, Grete Iustice of Ingland.

(II. 340)

How King Alexander puneist sindry conspiratouris in his realme; and of þe cuming of Blak and Gray Freris in Scotland.

Ca xiiij

**T**he peace roboratt in maner forsaide, followitt cyvill debaitt be Gillespy Ros3, quhilk slew ane grete novmer of his avne marowis, quhen þai war repugnant to pas *with* him aganis þe Kingis autorite, and come *with* þe remanent to Inuernes, quhilk he brynt, syne herijt all þe landis *peraboute*; aganis quhom was send Iohnne Cwmyne, Erle of Buchquhane, quhilk slew him finalye *with* baith his sonnys, and brocht pair heedis to þe King. This troubill repressit as said is, raif3 ane vther; for þe men of Cathanes brynt Adam, þair

Bischof, becauſs he cursit þame for nonpayment of þair teyndis. King Alexander, herand þis terribill cruelte, come oute of Edinburgh with ane chosin cumpny, and cessit nocht quhill he hyngitt iiij<sup>o</sup> men, quhilkis war participant with þis cruelte afoir rehersitt. Attoure, þat na successioun suld cum of þis wickitt seyde, he gelditt all þair sonnys. In memory herof þe place quhair þai war gelditt is callit ȝit the Baugez Hill. Attoure, he disheresitt þe Erle of Caithnes of his landis, becaus he maid na support to Bischof Adame, nor ȝite tuke pvnicioun on þir lymmaris, quhen þai had committit þis cruelte. King Alexander for þis punycioun was gretely commendit be þe Paip. Sone eftir he went to Aberdene, and decorit it with mony preuilegis, howbeit þe samyn was dotate afoir with sindry commoditeis be vther kyngis. The bullis quhilkis war grantit be sindry papis concernyng þe liberteis of þe Kirk of Scotlannd war gevin in keping to Sanct Gilbert, quhilk succedit immediatlie to þe sete of Cathanes efter þe cruell slauchter of Bischof Adame. The thrid ȝere eftir following þe Erle of Cathanes come to King Alexander, quhen he was sittand with his moder in þe Epiphany Day in maist triumphe at his ȝoule, desyring peteouslie to haif grace, and (II. 341) schewing him innocent of Bischof Adamis deth, and was restoritt to his honour & landis be ane sobir composicioun of money. Nochtþeles, þe syn þat was vnpuneist be man was sone eftir puneist be God; for he was slayne be his seruandis 460 quhen he was slepand in his bed, and | þe houſs quhare he was slayne brynt, þat na man suld haif suspicioun of his slauchter bot cumin be suddand aventure. And sa he pereist in þe samyn maner as Bischof Adam did, of quhais deth he was participant, as it was clerelye provin þereftir.

The samyn tyme sindry Blak Freris war send in Scotland be Sanct Dominik. It is said þat King Alexander, quhen he went in France to renew þe band with King Philip, þat he prayitt Sanct Dominik to send of his freris in Scotland to instruk his pepill, and þerfor þir freris war plesandlie ressaut, and kirkis erecoitt in þair contemplacioun. And þocht þir men quhilkis war send be Sanct Dominik leiffitt, as þai war institute be him, in singulare lyffe, ȝite, as oft tymez happinnis,



all thingis fra gude begynnynge fallis in werß maneris : all þair successouris declynit fra gude religioun in maist rageand insolence and lust, and continewitt in vicious lyfe iij<sup>o</sup> 3eris, quhill at last þai war reformit in oure dayis be Freir Iohnne Adamsoun, ane man of singulare erudicioun and lyffe, quhilk was professit in theologie with ws at Aberdene. On the samyn maner war send in Scotland Freir Minouris of Sanct Francis ordoure, quhilk in siclike wise war sindry 3eris eftir þe deth of Sanct Francis *nocht* sa religious as he was. Nochpeles, þai ar in oure dayis men of best religioun, specialye amang ws. Bot we will return to *our* history.

(II. 342)

How King Alexander puneist sindry conspiratouris, and aggreitt King Hary of England with his nobillis ; off his new mariage, and natiuite of his son Alexander ; how mony nobillis of Scotland war slayn in Iowry ; and of þe deth of King Alexander. Ca xv

Lang peace perseuerit eftir þis in Scotland, quhill at last **L**Alane, Lord of Gallowaye and Constabill of Scotland, decessit, quhilk devydit afoir his deth all þe landis of Gallowaye amang his thre dochteris. His bastard son gaderit x<sup>m</sup> men, traisting to recover þe lordschip *perof*. At last, quhen he had invadit þe cuntre with grete troubill, he was slayn be þe Erle of Marche and Walter Stewart, *with* v<sup>m</sup> men of his opinioun. The remanent was othir takyn or ellis banyst þe realme. Þe eldast dochter of Alane of Gallowaye was marijt on Rogere Quynntyne, quhilk was maid Constabill of Scotlannd, and broukit it continewallye be his successioun quhill þe tyme of King Robert Stewartt, in quhais tyme þis Rogere of Qwyntyn was disheresit & forfaltit for certane *crimez committit* aganis þe Kingis Maieste, and þe Constabulary gevin to þe Hayis of Erroll.

Sik thingis done in Scotland, King Alexander was aduerteist of grete divisioun ryssin betuix King Hary of England and his nobillis ; and *perfor* to meisß þe samyn he went to Lundoun with Iahane his Qwene & Isobell his sister. And quhen he

had aggreit King Hary & his nobillis of all debaitt<sup>is</sup>, he  
 461 |<sup>1</sup> marijt Isobell his sister on þe Erle of Northfok. And in þe  
 menetyme Iahan his Quene decessit but ony successioun,  
 quhilk thing causit King Alexander to return with grete  
 lament in Scotlannd. The nixt 3ere, quhilk was fra oure  
 Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> xxxix<sup>2</sup> 3eris, King Alexander, havand na  
 successioun, marijt Mary at Roxburgh, dochter to ane nobill  
 (II. 343) man, Ingeliane, Erle of Gowere, on quhom he gat ane son,  
 namyt Alexander. The samyn 3ere King Hary dantit Walis,  
 and slew þe principale movaris of rebelloun aganis him.  
 The samyn tyme Iohnne Cwmyn, Erle of Anguse, was send  
 as ane ambassatour to King Lewis of France, and decessit  
 or he did his message.

Eftir þis Alexander went throw all þe boundis of Scotland  
 with his wyfe Mary; and quhen he come to Hadingtoun,  
 Patrik, Erle of Atholl, was slayne within þe nycht, and þe  
 houfß quhare he was slayne brynt, be quhat personis it was  
 vncertane, houbet ane wehement suspicioun was þat Iohnne  
 Bissart and Walter his eme war autouris þairof, throw quhilk  
 þai war bannyst, and þair gudis confiskatt. Eftir þis ane  
 convencioun was sett at Perth, in þe quhilk counsale sindry  
 preuilegis war gevin to þe Kirk of Scotlannd, quhilk ar 3ite vsit  
 in þe samyn. That ilk tyme Summerlede, Thayn of Ergile,  
 son to Summerlede afor rehersit, maid grete herschippis in  
 þe cuntre. Patrik, Erle of Marche, gart him cum with ane  
 cord aboute his halfß, reddy to be hyngitt at þe Kingis pleseir,  
 and gat him grace be þat waye.

The samyn tyme in King Haryis courte of Ingland war  
 mony sedicious personis, traisting grete *commodities* to fall  
 to þaim be weris. And þocht þe samyn war contrarious to  
 þare *common* wele, 3ite þai traistit þe oppressioun quhilk þai  
 vsit on þe pepill to be vnpuneist during þe weris, becaus lawis  
 & iustice has na place in tyme of batall. Thir men, in hope  
 of þair singular proffittis, inflammit King Hary, in contrar  
 his faith, to invaid Scottis with batall, and to haif occasioun

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *he* from foot of preceding page.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *lix*: an obvious mistake. The correction agrees with the printed text. The MS., however, follows the Latin.

þerof, began to big þe castell fornentis Berwik, quhilk was cassin doun afoir be King William, be condicioun of peace nevir to be edifyid in tymes cuning. And þairfor þe samyn had bene sufficient occasioun of weere betuix Inglis & Scottis, war nocht þe nobillis of England inhibitt the samyn, as contrar to þair band & promys, throw quhilk all occasioun of batall cessitt.

The 3ere nixt following come ambassatouris fra Lowis, King of France, schewing him reddy to pas in Halyland, and desiring support of Scotland þairto. Sone eftir war send Patrik, Erle of Marche, David Lyndesaye of Glennesk and Walter Stewart of Dundonald *with* ane grete novmer of chosin men to support King Lowis in þe said iornaye, quhilk war  
462 all slayne be pest and swerd in Egipt, | and nane of þame  
(II. 344) returnytt fra þat tyme furth. King Alexander leiffitt nocht lang, and decessit in ane ile of Ergile eftir grete infirmite þe xxxv 3ere of his regne, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> xlix 3eris.

In þe tyme of King Alexander war mony nobill clerkis, as Hugo, Cardinall, of þe ordoure of Frere Predicaturis, quhilk maid þe *Commentare* on þe Bybill, Sanct Gilbert, Bischop of Caithnes. It is sayd þat þe haly bischop Sanct Dutho wes in þai dayis preceptoure to Sanct Gilbert; vtheris sayis he was lang 3eris afoir þis tyme; nochtþeles, in quhatsumeuir tyme he was, treuth is he was ane singulare man of erudicioun & life, richt acceptabill baitht to God & man for sindry myraclis daylie kythitt be him to oure dayis. His body lvis in Ros, haldin amang þe pepill in grete veneracioun.

How King Alexander þe Thrid translatit þe banys of Sanct Margarete; how Lowis, King of France, was takin with þe Soldane; how King Alexander wes haldin in captiuite *with* þe Cwmyngis; and of his mariage *with* King Hary; and of þe biging of Sanct Mongois kirk.  
Ca<sup>m</sup> xvj

Alexander þe Secund berijt on þis wise, his son Alexander þe Thrid, havand bot ix 3eris in aige, was maid king. Eftir his coronacioun come to him ane Hyeland man *with*

ane buke, quhilk was maid schort tyme be him afoir, *contenand* all þe genology of Scottis kingis fra the begynnyng of þe realme to his dayis. Þis Hieland man was richelie revarditt be þe King for his labouris. And becaus King Alexander had bot ix 3eris in aige at his coronacioun, þe pepill beleiffitt *nocht* bot importabill troubill and contempcioun of þe Kingis autorite in all partis. For þir ressonis ambassatouris war send in þe Kingis name to King Hary to renew peace *with* him, *with* this direccioun, gif King Hary condiscendit to peace, to ask his dochter in mariage to King Alexander. Thir ambassatouris war plesandlie tretit, and obptenit þair desyris.

King Alexander in þe secund 3ere of his regnne convenit all þe prelaittis and baronis of his realm, and tuke þe banys of his grandame, Sanct Margarete, and put þame in ane precious fertoure of siluer. And quhen hir blissit reliquies war brocht forthwert with maist veneracioun, þai abaid still at þe sepulture of King Macolme hir husband, and wald na waye be severitt fra þe samyn. Quhill þe peple wes astunyst (II. 345) be þis vncouth myrakill, *nocht* knawing þe cauß *perof*, ane agitt man, movitt be þe Haly Spreitt, exhortitt þe pepill to here him, and sayid: " Sanct Margarete has hir husband in na leß reuerence now, quhen he is dede, þan quhen he was on lyve, and *perfor* will *nocht* pas to þe place quhair 3e devisit 463 hir blissit banys to rest, quhill | þe banys of hir husband be translait with hir and berijt to giddir; " quhilk thing done, scho was brocht eselye to þe samyn place quhare scho lysis to þis daye in grete veneracioun of þe pepill, baith berijt in ane place. The samyn tyme Lowis, King of France, fechtand aganis þe Saracenis in Egipt, was takin presoner be þe Soldane.

During þe tendir aige of King Alexander the realme of Scotlannd was governit in grete felicite be his nobillis. Sone eftir his *cuming* to *perfit*e aige he maid him to repreß sindry extorsionis done be his nobillis in þe tyme of his *nonage*, and *summond* þe Erlis of Menteth, Atholl and Buchane and þe Lord of Strathbogy, quhilkis war all Cwmyngis, and put þame to his horne, becaus þai comperit *nocht* to his iustice. Thir nobillis, movitt *with* þis displeser, sett þame to reveng þe samyn, and tuke þe King in Kynrosß *with* ane grete powere

of men, and brocht þe King to Striueling, quhare þai held him in captiuite and ward ; throw quhilk ilk day raiß mar troubill in þe realme þan was sene afoir, becaus þe King was haldin in captiuite, quhilk suld haif done þame iustice, and haldin þame in peace and quyete. The house of Cwmyngis war in þir dayis full of riches, landis & manrent, for by þir thre erlis and lord forsaid thair war thretty knychtis and landit mèn all of ane surname. Schort tyme eftir Walter, Erle of Menteth, quhilk was cheiff to all þe Cwmyngis, was poysonytt be his (II. 346) wyfe, throw quhilk þe remanent Cwmyngis war constrenytt to releiff þe King of ward, and to tak remissioun for þair contempcioun vsit aganis his maieste. This woman þat slew hir husband, þe Erle of Menteth, fled with hir new luffare in Ingland, quhare scho deit in miserye.

The samyn tyme be Paip Vrbane þe Fourte wes institute þe Fest of Corpus Christi, to be ilk Thursdaye eftir þe Trinite Soundaye. The Carmelittis Freris come at þis tyme in Scotland, and erekitt ane chapell of oure Lady vtouth þe wallis of Perth in þair kirk. It is said þat ane monk of Melroß, admonyst þe samyn tyme be ane visioun in his sleip, fand ane part of þe Haly Croce nocht far fra Peplis in Lowdeane within ane caiß ; and nocht far fra þe samyn þaj fand ane pig, craftelye ingravitt, and certane banys in þe samyn wondin in silk ; nochttheles, it was vncertane quhais banys þai war ; bot quhen þai oppynnit þe caiß quhar þe Haly Croce wes inclusit, mony miraculis war kythitt be þe samyn. King Alexander, movitt be deuocioun þerof, biggitt ane abbaye in in honour of þe Haly Croce, in þe quhilk ar now monkis eftir þe ordour of þe Trinite.

Schort tyme following King Alexander went to 3ork, quhar he ressauit Margarett, dochter to King Hary, in mariage with grete triumphe. Mony nobillis, erlis & baronis of Scotland come at þis tyme with King Alexander to 3ork, quhilkis 464 | war ressauit be King Hary with incredibill expensis, lachand na triumphand chere, singing, dansing of menstralis and all vther thingis quhilkis mycht be devisit for þe pleseir of man. Sone eftir King Alexander returnit in Scotland, & within few dayis following baith þe Kingis conuenit with þir nobillis at Werk,

to redress iniuris on all sydis. All personis quhilkis war fondin neglegent in þair offices war depyvitt, and vtheris put in þair rowmes. At last rais ane contencioun betuix þe new officiaris and þe auld, becaus þe auld officiaris wald gif na compt and reknyng of all thingis in þair tyme, throw quhilk apperitt troubill haistlye to ryiß. Nochttheles, King Alexander, havand na thing in mair detestacioun þan civill weeris, remittit part of his devittis, and be þat way aggreit þame on all debaittis. The samyn tyme þe kirk of Glasgow was biggitt with grete magnificence, maist part be liberalite of William, Bischop þerof, quhilk levitt nocht lang eftir þe completing of þe samyn.

(II. 347)

Off grete darth in Albion ; how Acho, King of Nor-  
waye, invadit Scotland with grete cruelteis ; of þe  
orisone maid to him be þe ambassatouris of Scotland ;  
and off his ansuere. Ca xvij

**T**he nixt ȝere throw continewall weitt þat was in hervist all þe cornis for þe maist part war corrupitt, throw quhilk followitt ane miserabill darth throw all þe boundis of Scotland and Ingland. Acho, King of Denmark & Norvaye, herand how Scotland was troubillit in this maner, belevitt to fynd sufficient occasioun to subdew it to his dominioun, & arrivit *with* ane grete flote in þe Ilis, quhilkis war continewallye haldin vnder þe empire of Danys fra King Edgaris tyme to þai dayis. Eftir þis King Acho come in Arane & Bute, for nane of þe Ilis war vnder þe dominioun of Scottis except alanerlye thir twa. Nochtpeles, quhen he had subdewit þaim at his pleseir, in esperance of mair felicite he arrivit in Albion, and quhen he had takin þe castell of Aire be lang sege, he began to waist all þe boundis liand þerabout. King Alexander, richt sorowfull of thir tythingis, becaus he belevitt him nocht sufficient to resist þe cruelte of Danys eftir sa frequent victorijs fallin to þame, thocht na thing sa gude as to brek his inmyis be lang tary, and to þat samyn effect send twa prudent men, quhilkis said to King Acho in þis maner : “ Wer nocht oure King & nobillis, be anciant consuetude obseruatt

sen þair first begynnynge, sekis redres of all iniuris done to þame, afoir þai invadit þair inymyis *with* batall, þou suld *nocht* see ambassatouris send to þe, bot erar ane army cumand in þe contrar *with* maist afull and weerly ordinance. Wee get nevir sa huge spoulze, nor zite sa triumphand victoryis of oure inymyis, as quhen þai invaid ws *with* maist wrangis,

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and will *nocht* here ressoun nor redress. | We think na thing sa gude as to eschew batall quhair we maye haif redress.

(II. 348)

Quhat fury may be gretar þan to doo þe thing be suerde or fyre þat may be tretit be fair wourdis? Nochþeles, quhen oure honorabill and iust desyris ar refusit be inymyis, fyndand þame mair desyrous of were þan peace, then we ryis with maist hatrent to revenge þair contempcioun, but ony tary. Herfor, we ar send fra oure Souerane to inquire quhat occasioun þou has to invaid his realme and subdittis in violacioun of peace, quhilk has bene obseruit betuix him & Danys þir hundreth zeris bigane, and cumand *nocht* onlye to refe fra him Bute & Arane with vther landis, quhilkis he has reiosit in peace, bot als cumand to hery *vper* his landis, censing fra na maner of cruelte þat maye be devisitt on his pepill. Quhat offence, quhat cruelteis, has his pepill done aganis þe to invaid his realme with sik afull ordinance, slaying wiffis, childerin and febill personis withoute ony mercy or ransoun, howbeit maist cruell tyrannys has miseracioun of sik personis? Quhat furious ire has movit þe to byrne þe kirkis of God & sanctis, to þe grete murdir of his pepill, and puttand all placis quhare þou cumis to herschippis & rwyne? Nochtþeles, gif þou dredis *nocht* God, quhilk governis all thingis þat wese be his providence, gif þou dredis *nocht* sanctis nor vengeance to cum on þe be punysioun of God, zite þou suld dreid þe twa maist pyssant Kingis of Albion, allyatt to giddir with maist tendir blude, quhilkis sall cum on the *with* sik fury þat þou maye *nocht* resist þe preifs of þair chevelry. Heirfor, sen þow may depart with honour, redress all iniuris in tyme, erar þan quhen þou art brocht to extreme disperacioun, and sall fynd na thing bot repulß, þocht þou wald ask mercy."

Thir wourdis war said be þe ambassatouris to put sum terror to þis maist hardy King Acho. Nochþeles, he ansuerit

to þame in þis maner : “ 3e beleif, maist wise ambassatouris, to astonyfs ws be 3oure ferfs & aull wourdis, traisting ws sa full of dredoure that we will desist fra oure purpos be 3oure onlye mannassing & wourdis. 3e ar far aberrant fra resoun and prudence, gif 3e sa ymagyn. And quhar 3e aggrege oure iniuris be reffing of certane Ilis fra 3our dominioun, we vnderstand 3e ar na lauchfull iugis to geif ony decisioun of ony 3our iniuris or richtis. Nochþeles, gif 3e desire þe cause of 3our (II. 349) invasioun, we saye Bute, Arane and all þe Ilis of Albion pertenis to ws and oure pepill be auld heretage, and for þat caufs ar cumin to tak als mekill proffitt of 3oure landis presentlye as 3e haif takin of þame in tymes bigane. Thairfor, schaw to 3oure King, we compt nocht his mannassing nor boist. Nochþeles, gif he be mair desyrous of peace þan batall, and covettis to eschew þe direpcioun & byrnyng of his townis or slauchter of his pepill, or gif he desyris nocht to see vtter exterminioun of his realme afoir his een, commande him to send me x<sup>m</sup> markis striueling, and þe Ilis to pass vnder oure perpetuall dominioun.”

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How King Alexander come with ane grete army aganis King Acho ; off þair orisonis maid to þair armyis ; and how King Acho wes disconnfist at Largis. Ca : xviji

Kyng Alexander, movitt with þis ansuere, and seying na waye to eschew batall, thocht na thing sa gude as to assailþe þe chance of batall, and gaderit xl<sup>m</sup> men to meit his inymyis, quhilkis war deviditt in thre batallis. In þe richt wyng was Alexander Stewart, havand with him all þe men of Ergile, Levenox, Atholl and Gallowaye. In þe left wyng was Patrik Dunbar, havand with him þe men of Lowtheane, Fyffe, Marche, Berwik<sup>1</sup> and Striueling. In þe myddilward was King Alexander with þe remanent pepill of Scotlannd to support þe wyngis quhen danger occurritt. Thir batallis (II. 350) war arrayitt in sik maner þat euery clan had ane capitane

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Berwik*.



assignit to þame of þair awin langage to exhort þame to honour & manhede. King Alexander, seying his inmyis in sicht, causit meß to be done to his army, and sayid to þame in þis maner : “ Wee haif maid now, beluffitt freyndis, oure orison to God, be quhais providence and wisdom euey thing is gouernit in erd, to send victory to þame quhilkis has maist richt & iustest cauß of batal ; desyring 3ow herefore to haif sik faith and confidence in him þat is inmye to theves and revaris þat 3e may *with* invincibill curage distroye 3oure inmyis. Beleif 3e ar *nocht* to fecht aganis þaj inmyis quhilkis invadis 3oure landis be iust clame, bot onlye aganis þame quhilkis traistis, for þe penurite of vittalis þat presentlye occurris, to fynd sufficient oportunitie to conqueß 3oure landis ; and *nocht* content of þai landis quhilkis þai haif reft fra ws þir mony 3eris bigane, bot als *cumin with* new tyranny to dwell in 3oure maist invart landis. Heirfor, 3e suld remembre *nocht* onlye of þair importabill iniuris, bot how necessair is now to fecht aganis þame for defence of 3oure wyffis, barnys, liberteis and landis, and na securite restis of 3oure lyfe bot in 3oure handis. Schortlye, *nocht* remanis bot othir to wyncuß 3oure inmyis with manhede, or ellis to leif vnder miserabill *seruitude*, and suffer 3oure wiffis and dochteris foulzeitt *with* barboure pepill. Remembre als þat 3e ar *nocht* to fecht now onlie for 3oure native cuntre, bot als for þe lyvis of þame quhilkis ar maist dere and tendir freyndis. Considdir als þat *nocht* onlie I bot all Scotland seis 3ow fecht, and notis baith 3our manhede and cowartry. Thairfor, my wailzeand and traist freyndis, belt 3ow erar with manhede and curage þat 3oure mater is onlie in 3our pure defence. Considdir how 3oure inmyis invadis 3ow onlie for praye & spoulze of gudis, and salbe þerfor sone vincust, quhen þai see 3ou gevin *with* perseuerand constance to debaitt þe samyn. Heirfor, maist forsy *campionis*, refresche 3oure bodeis with mete, and cloth þe samyn maist deligently with armoure, þat 3e may, be support  
467 and grace of God, haiff | victory on þir dispitfull thevis.”

Skairslie war þir wourdis sayid be King Alexander quhen King Acho began to exhort his army in maner following :  
(11. 351) “ War *nocht* 3oure manhede is provin to me lang tyme, maist

forsy campionis, with sikkir victory in 3oure handis, it had bene vane to haif ieoparde my body þis daye with 3ow, or to haif assail3eitt vncertane thingis for certane. It had bene mair lesum, gif 3e war febill and astonyst pepill, to haif levitt ane harde and sobyr lyfe at hayme with miserabill and grete laboure, þan to haif ieoparde 3ow in batall aganis 3oure strang inmyis. Nochttheles, sen 3e with deliuerit purpoß ar votit to follow gude fortoun with me, se how occasioun and sufficient oportunitie schawis quhat verteu and revarde sall follow to ilk man for his labouris. 3e se now þat 3e desirit maist, the army of 3oure inmyis full of riches & tresoure, quhilkis ar to be gottin now be onlie preis and dynt of swerde. And nocht alanerlye, gif 3e happin to haif þe gloir of victory, sall fall to 3ow þe riche tresoure of þis army, bot als þe haill realme of Scotlann salbe offerit to 3ow at 3oure pleseir, throw quhilk 3e salbe revarditt *with* maist magnificence. For quhen 3oure inmyis ar wyncust, *euery* ane of 3ow salbe revardit *with* landis at his pleseir, and 3e salbe als riche in tymes *cuming* as 3our inmyis ar at þis tyme. Forthir, sen grete chargis maye nocht be done but *perrell*, latt ws consididir how difficill þis batall salbe aganis *our* inmyis, quhilkis ar mair febill þan ony vther pepill for þe darth þat now apperis amang þame, throw quhilk þai ar destitute of all corporall strenth, and sall geif bakis to ws or þai cum to ony strakis, for þai ar bot ane schadow of pepill, and may nocht vse nor weild þair wapinns for þare febilnes, throw quhilk þai salbe slayne like scheip. And becaus þai be in mair novmer þan 3e, þair spoul3e salbe to 3ow þe mair riche. Be contrair, gif disconfitoure fallis to 3ow, quhilk God forbyd, na thing sall follow bot deth and irrecoverabill hurt. Howbeit, I beleif na thing lesß þan sik thingis. Nochtþeles, gif ony sik misaventure fallis, revenge 3oure deide, þat 3e be nocht slayne like miserabill bestis quhilkis ar offerit in sacrifice, and fecht with perseuerand batall quhill 3e be dede, becaus 3e maye nocht sauff 3oure lyvis be fleyng. For we ar circulit on *euery* syde *with* inmyis, and oure schippis severit safer fra ws þat we may haif na refuge þairby, and þairfor na rescourß is to ws gif we be disconnfist. Attoure, quhat foly, quhat extreme miserye, is to *euery* creature to

(II. 352) lefe þe wapinnis quhilkis may defend his lyfe, and takis esperance to debaitt his lyfe be his only feitt! Heirfor, sen 3e haif sikkir experience quhat felicite & troubill may fall to 3ow be manhede and cowartry, suffir nocht 3oure handis to  
 468 |dull in sleuth, þat 3e<sup>1</sup> may be propiciant fortoun haif victory, quhilk is now in 3oure handis, throw quhilk incredibill riches and felicite sall succede.”

Skarslye<sup>2</sup> war thir wourdis finissit quhen baith þe armyis began to arraye þame in vther sycht. Acho, knowing King Alexander in þe myddilward, come with all his vyolance on þe samyn ward, traisting, gif þe samyn war expugnatt, þe remanent batallis sone to be ourethrawin, for þai war waik throw þe multitude of pepill þat was in þe<sup>3</sup> myddill batall. Nochtþeles, it was cruellye fochtin in all partis, specialye quhare þe Kingis faucht, becaus þai ruschitt ay too þai partis quhilkis apperit wayk, exhorting þair folkis to schaw þair manhede and curage, omitting na thing þat mycht pertene to þe office of gude capitannis. King Acho maid him incontinent *with* maist violence to pas throw þe army quhare Alexander facht. Nochttheles, his violence was repressitt, for King Alexander had sa grete novmer of pepill in his army þat he stuffitt þe batall with fresche men in all partis quhar it failzeit. And þocht maist cruell bergane was in þis myddillward, 3ite þair was na leß bergane in þe weyngis, quhill at last þe left weyng of Danys was disconnfist, and þe richt weyng on þe samyn maner, and incontinent be sounde of trumpett brocht þame fra þe chace to þair standarttis, and come *with* þame to support King Alexander in þe myddilward, quhar he was fechtand *with* vncertane victory. The Norwayis, seyng þame *cum with* recent victory on þair bakkis, tuke flycht, on quhom followitt þe Scottis *with* grete cruelte throw all Cwynnghame, and maid huge slauchter on þame, quhill þe nycht put ane end to þair laboure.

The nixt morrow King Acho, quhilk was eschapitt with ane few novmer, fled to þe castell of Aire, takin laitlie afoir be him, quhare he gatt tythingis þat his flott, quhilk contenit

<sup>1</sup> MS. þe.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Sskarslye.

<sup>3</sup> MS. repeats *in þe*.

fifty schippis, war all pereist except iiij schippis throw vniuersall tempest, and þe marynaris quhilkis eschakit eftir þe tynsale of þe schippis wer all slayne be þe inhabitantis of þe cuntre. King Acho, brokin in þis maner, gat þir foure schippis, and fled to Orknaye. In þis batall afoir rehersitt war slayne xxiiij<sup>m</sup> Norowanys and of Scottis v<sup>m</sup>. This batall was fochtin (II. 353) at Largis fra our Redempcion j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> lxiiij 3eris. Acho at his cuming in Orknaye send for new army oute of Norwaye & Denmark to invaid þe Scottis aganis þe nixt summer; and becauþ he decessit in December, all his army skalit, and þe weeris cessit.

Off þe natiuite of Prince Alexander; off þe message send be Magnus, King of Norrowaye, to King Alexander, and of his ansuere; how Kyng Alexander recouerit þe Ilis of Scotland fra Danys. Ca xviii

469 **F**ollowitt grete blythnes in Scotland eftir þe deth of King Acho, for þe samyn daye he decessit in Orknaye was born in Scotland Alexander, Prince of þe samyn, gottin be King Alexander on Margarete, sister to King Hary, throw quhilke na thing was bot triumphe, ioy and merynes in all partis of Scotland. Efter deth of King Acho succedit his son Magnus, ane richt Catholik prince, quhilke send his ambassatouris þe nixt 3ere to King Alexander, desyring to haif peace with Scottis and to geif þame Arane and Bute with fre beneuolence, sa þat remanent Ilis mycht stand peceabillye vnder his empire. To þis ansuerit King Alexander that þe Ilis pertenit be auld heretage to Scottis, and þairfor he wald haif na peace with Danys, quhill þai war all recouerit to his empire. The ambassatouris beand depeschitt in þis maner, Alexander Stewart and Iohne Cwmyne war send with ane grete powere in þe Ile of Man, quhilke was haldin fra þe empire of Scottis j<sup>o</sup> lxvij 3eris, and recouerit it noch but bludy and strang batall; and þereftir King Alexander send þe Erlis of Atholl, Carrik, Marche, Ergile and Levenox with ane grete army in þe remanent Ilis, and brocht þame all to þe empire of Scottis. King Magnus, herand þe Ilis recoueritt in þis sort be þe Scottis, send his

Chancellor to King Alexander, desyryng þe Ilis othir to be restoritt to him as þai wer afoir, or ellis to haif ane ʒerelye tribute þairof. And þocht þis Chancellor was nocht satisfijt of his desyris, ʒite perpetuall peace was maid betuix þe twa Kingis of Scotland & Norwaye vnder þir condicionis: King Magnus and his nobillis sall exoner þame of all richt & clame þat þai haif to þe said Ilis, for quhilkis King Alexander sall paye ʒerelye j<sup>o</sup> markis striueling and in þe begynnynge iiij<sup>m</sup> (II. 354) markis. Attour, Margaret, King Alexanderis dochter, havand bot ane ʒere in aige, salbe gevin in mariage to Haugonane, þe son of King Magnus, quhen þai war cumin to perfite age. Attour, þe place quhair þe twa Kingis faucht last salbe maid ane hospitale of pure folkis. Forthir, afoir þe peace was ratifijt in þis maner, sindry Scottis, quhilkis fauorit þe King of Norwaye aganis King Alexander <sup>1</sup> war iustifijt.

The samyn tyme King Hary and his son Edward had weere aganis Symon Montfort and vtheris sindry nobillis of England, and requestit King Alexander of Scotland for support aganis þame. King Alexander send sone eftir Alexander Cwmyn with v<sup>m</sup> chosin men in England, quhilkis supportit King Hary in sik maner þat þe maist part of his inymyis war distroyitt, and þe remanent constrant to seyke his mercy. This troubill dantit, as sayid is, followit ane vther be Rogere Mortymere; howbeit, it was sone pacifijt, for þe said Rogere wes takin be .470 force with mony vtheris of his faccioun in þe castell | of Rewlarde, and put to deth.

How King Alexander invadit þe Kirk be evill counsale, and was penitent for þe samyn; how he send mony nobill men with King Lowis aganis þe Saracenis; how Robert Bruse, Lord of Annandale, maryit þe Heretoure of Carrik. Ca xx<sup>m</sup> 2

Alexander, havand lang peace but ony sollicitude or fere of inymyis, was abusit be his familiaris, quhilkis had na sicht to þe common wele, bot alanerlie to þair singulare advantage,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *aganis þe Danys*: correction from A. Latin: *contra Scotos*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *xjx<sup>m</sup>*.

began to invaid þe Kirk *with* grete exaccionis, putting his handis in sindry monkis & religious men. The Bisshop of Sanctandrois, desyring to put ane end to sik oppressionis, cursit sindry of þe Kingis counsalouris and familiaris, throw quhilke he incurritt sik indignacioun at þe Kingis hand þat he was bannyst in France, and put to þe horne. Nochþeles, þe King was sone eftir penitent, and tuke þe Bisshop to his favouris, and redressit all wrangis done to þe Kirk.

The samyn tyme was send in Scotland ane legaitt to gadir money in support of þe Papis armyis aganis Sarracenis. This legaitt was *nocht* ressaut, bot *commandit* to schaw his erandis on þe bordouris. Nochþeles, he desyrit foure *markis* striueling for euery *parroche* kirk of Scotland and lxxx *markis* for euery abbacy. *Attour*, he send to þe King certane *actis* quhilkis he maid in his waage, desyring þame to be *obseruatt* in Scotland for þair singulare & *common* wele. It was ansuerit to him be avise of þe King and his clergy that his realm nedit *nocht* to haif ony preceptis of him, bot alanerly sa mony as the Generall Counsale or þe Paip *commandit*. *Attoure*, þe maa preceptis war gevin to leiff wele, þe maa brekaris and transgressouris war fundin þairof. Anentis þe money desyrit be him, (II. 355) he thocht vnresonabill to desire sa grete sovmez. Nochþeles, he suld send ane army, as he thocht expedient, in support of þe Paip, in auenture, gif he gaif þe moneye desyrit be þis legaitt, it mycht pereifß be dangere of seyis or vtherwayis be þe gaitt. Sone eftir he send j<sup>m</sup> *markis* striueling in support of Clement þe Ferd aganis þe Saracenis. *Attoure*, he send to King Lowis, as his ambassatouris afoir desyritt, ane thousand armytt men *with* the Erlis of Carrik and Athoill and mony vther nobill capitanyis, quhilkis war all slayne in Aphrik throw excessyve heeit and pest. In þe samyn 3ere fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> lxx Edwarde, King Harijs son, quhilke passit *with* Lowis of France in þis samyn iornaye aganis Saracenis, herand þe deth of King Hary his fader, returnit in England.

The samyn tyme Martha, dochter to þe Erle of Carrik  
471 quhilke wes slayne at þis last iornay in Aphrik, happy<sup>n</sup>nit | be auenture, quhen scho was at hir hounting, to meit Robert Bruse, Lord of Annandale in Scotland and Cleyuland in

Inglanð, quhilk was nepote to Erle Daud Hundingtoun. Finaly scho was sa inamorit of him þat scho tuke him haistelye to hir palace, and spousit him but ony tary. Be þis mariage was gottin Robert Bruse, quhilk wes eftir King of Scotland quhen þe lynage of King Alexander failzeitt. King Alexander, commovitt þat Martha, Heretoure of Carrik, had marijt Robert Bruse but his avise, deprivitt hir of þe Erledome of Carrik, howbeit scho was iust heretoure þairof. Nochtþeles, within schort tyme eftir scho was restoritt to þe samyn.

How Ferquhard Roß wan þe Erldome of Roß for his wassallage ; off sindry actis done be King Alexander, and of his deth. Ca xxj

Schort tyme eftir twa brethir of King Edwardis come in Scotland to vesy þair sister, Quene Margarete, and hir son, syne brocht King Alexander with his Quene to Lundoun to þe coronacioun of King Edwarde, quhilk was done with all triumphe þat mycht be devisit. The samyn tyme was ane nobill man of Normanis blude in King Edwardis hous, richt expert in chevelry and of huge strenth ; and quhen he had ourethrawin all men þat delt *with* him in werslyng, he was wyncust be Ferquhard Roß, Scottis man, to þe grete blythnes of all vther Scottis present for þe tyme. King Alexander, reiosit of this victory, gaif him þe Erledome of Roß to his revard. Off this Ferquhard war descendit v erlis of þat surname, bot þe sext was namyt Walter Leslye, in quhais son, namyt Alexander, þe Erldome failzeit for falt of successioun. The samyn tyme Alexander, Prince of Scotland, was maid Erle of Hundingtoun, and maid his homage, as vse was, to King Edwarde for þe samyn.

(II. 356)

Eftir þe returnyng of King Alexander oute of Inglanð raiß certane troubill in Scotland. Syndry Hyeland men of Atholl raiß aganis Iohnne Cwmyng, Erle þerof, becaus he biggit ane were houß in Atholl to resist þair oppressioun. Nochtþeles, þair contencionis war pacifjt be singulare prudence of Reginald Cheyne. The samyn tyme was ane grete contencioun betuix

Iohnne Cwmyng and Walter Bullok for þe Erldome of Menteth. Iohnne clamyt þis Erledome be reasoun of successioun, saying þe land was tailzeit to þe surname, and Walter clamyt þe land becaus he marijt þe Erlis dochter. And quhen þai had debatitt lang for þe samyn, Williame Freserr, Chancellare of Scotland, was chosin iuge and amicabill compositoure betuix þame, and gaif ane sentence that Iohnne Cwmyng sall reioise þe tane half of þe Erldome *with* þe name *perof*, and Walter sall reioise þe vther half.

The samyn tyme Edward, King of England, tuke trewis with þe Soldane, and returnit fra þe Halyland þe ʒere fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> lxxiiij; quhilk ʒere wes borne ane vþir  
 (II. 357) son of King Alexanderis, namit Dauid. Ane counsale was  
 472 haldin þe samyn ʒere at Leonß,<sup>1</sup> in þe quhilk | war summond þe Provincialis and Ministeris off all begand freris; and becaus þair was sa mony ordouris of þame, ilk man desyryng to fynd ane new ordoure in þair tyme, all thir ordouris war reducit to foure ordouris, quhilkis ar ʒite approbate, and generall edict maid þat na vther ordouris suld be fondin or autoreist, and þat na man suld attempt to begyn ony new tytill of vayn religioun, quhairthrow þai mycht leif in idilnes apoun þe froittis of vther menis labouris. Forthar, eftir lang trewis takin in Aphrik with þe Grete Turk, the armyis of Cristin princes returnyt hame, and incontinent þe said Turk cessit fra na maner of cruelte on all Cristin pepill þat abaid behynd þir armyis in Aphrik, nochtwithstanding þe trewis gevin be him. The Cristin princes, movit for þis cruelte, maid ordinance with new expedicioun to cum in þe Halyland. The Scottis gaif þe tent penny of all þe landis in þair realme to support þis iornaye. Nochþeles, sik invy and contencionis raisß amang þe Cristin princes sone eftir þat þe iornaye cessit, to þe grete dammage of þe Cristin faith.

The samyn tyme Margarete, King Alexanderis wife, decessit in þe toun of Cowpir with hir son Dauid, quhilk was secund son to King Alexander. Þe King, richt sorowfull of þir displeaserris, and havand grete sollicitude for his successioun, marijt his eldast son Alexander on þe Erle of Flanderis dochter, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Londoun*: correction from A.



þe 3ere nixt following marijt *Margarete* his dochter on *Haugonan*, King of *Norrowaye*. Eftir hir mariage sindry nobillis of *Scotland*, returnyng oute of *Norrowaye*, pereist be tempest of seyis. Sone eftir followit grete troubill to King *Alexander*, for baith his son *Alexander* decessit, but ony successioun of his body, and his dochter *Margarete*, quhilk was marijt on þe King of *Norrowaye*, levand behynd hir ane madyn, quhilk had bot ij 3eris in age ; throw quhilk *nocht* onlie þe King bot als all *Scotland* wes brocht in grete affliccioun and malancoly. Ilk man be his avne fantasye iugit sindry displeseris to follow, as we sall schew eftir. Sone þereftir King *Alexander* send hayme his gude dochter in *Flanderis*, and be avise of his

(II. 358) nobillis marijt þe Erle of *Champnays* dochter with grete triumphe at *Jedburgh*. *Nocht*þeles, þis triumphe indurit schort tyme, for þe samyn 3ere, quhen he was ryngand ane ferß horsß at *Kingorn* with maist insolence and gawmondis, he was dongin oute of þe sadill, and brak his crag, þe xxxvij 3ere of his regne, and was berijt in *Dunfermling* fra þe *Incarncioun* j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> lxxxvj 3eris. It is sayid þat þe day afoir þe Kingis detht þe Erle of *Marche* demandit ane prophete, namyt *Thomas Rymour*, alias *Lermonth*, quhat tythingis suld be þe nixt daye. This prophete sayid, þair suld be ane wynd þe nixt day or none to þe grete calamite and displeser of all *Scotland*, throw quhilk wourdis all þe pepill war astonyst. The nixt day, quhen þe dennair was neyr reddy, and þe lift appering lowyn, but ony dyn or tempest, þe Erle send for þis prophete, and reprevit him of his vane prophecy. This prophete ansuerit *nocht* bot none was *nocht* gayn 3ite. And incontinent ane man come to þe<sup>1</sup> 3ett, saying þe King was slayn. Than said *Thomas*, “3one is þe wynd þat sall blaw to þe grete

473 calamite and troubill of *Scotlannd*.” | This *Thomas Lermonth* was ane man in grete admiracioun to þe pepill, schawing sindry thingis as þai fell, howbeit he schew þame ay vnder obscure wourdis. Schort 3eris afoir King *Alexanderis* deth all *Walis* was subdewitt to the King of *Inglannd*, and þe Prince þerof slayne ; his bruther was drawin sindry be wilde horsß, and his quartaris sett on sindry grete townis of *England*, to

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits þe : inserted from printed text.

be exempill to all vther pepill of Ingland to rebell aganis þair Prince.

Mony marvellis war sene in þe tyme of Alexander þe Thrid : in þe xvij 3ere of his regne, ane huge novmer of wormys throw all þe boundis of Ingland and Scotland, þat nocht onlie þe leewis & froittis of þe treis war consumyt with þame, bot als þe herbis in þe gardyngis. The samyn 3ere þe watter of Tay and Forth raisþ with sik invndacioun of spaitt þat mony townis war drownit and mony men and bestiall pereist. The xx 3ere of his regne apperit ane comete of merwellis quantite, schynand ilk daye with terribill bemys toward þe south. Þe xxiiij 3ere of his regne apoun þe Epiphany day sa huge tempest of wyndis raisþ with haill of vncouth magnitude þat mony townys war cassin down be þe samyn. In þe menetyme raisþ throw þe grete preß of wyndis ane vncouth fyre in sindry boundis of Scotland, and brynt stepillis and bellis to nocht. (II. 359) Aberdene and Perth war baith brynt that samyn tyme, mony pepill and bestiall slayne and brynt vnder nycht, with mony vther townys, quhilkis war oure prolixtt to schaw. The xxxiiij 3ere of his regne was þe first cuming of þe pest in Scotlannd, to þe grete mortalite of pepill. In the triumphe and secund mariage of King Alexander, quhen euery man was ganging in þe traifs with his wife, dansing with all glaidnes þat mycht be devisit, apperit in þair sycht ane ymage of ane dede man, nakitt of flesche & lyre, with bair banys afoir þair een ; throw quhilk þe King and þe remanent pepill war sa astonyst þat þai left þe gyse with grete effraye and displeseir. In the tyme of King Alexander war mony singular clerkis, as Thomas De Aquino, ane man of singular lyfe and erudicioun in theologie ; Boneaumentur of þe ordour of Freir Minoris ; als Mychell Scott, richt excellent in medicyne, quhilk for his singular erudicioun was na les tretit with Edwarde, King of Inglannd, than with Alexander, King of Scottis. And sua endis here þe xiiij Buke of þir Cronikillis.

Here endis þe xiiij Buke.

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## Liber Decimus Quartus.

(II. 360)

Here begynnys the xiiij Buke.

How Scotland was gyditt be vj governouris ; how þe mariage betuix þe Madyn of Norrowaye and King Edward failþeit ; how Bruse and Ballioll contendit for þe crowne ; how þe decisioun þerof was committit to King Eduarde, and how he maid Ballioll king. Ca : j

**A**lexander decessit miserabilie, as we haif schawin, left na airis testamantar nor ȝite gottin of his body to succede to þe crowun, throw quhilk þe realme come in grete troubill and wes but ony king vj ȝeris and ix monethis, quhilk gaif occasioun of mony horribill cruelteis quhilkis followitt eftir in all partis of þe realme ; for all lymmaris & sik personis as war dantit afoir be fere of iustice began with oppin renȝeis to ourhail<sup>1</sup> þe pepill with insufferabill displeseris. Nochtþeles, it was governit all þai saidis ȝeris be sex regentis ; for Williame Fraser, Bischop of Sanctandrois, Duncan, Erle of Fyfe, and Iohnne Cwmyng, Erle of Buchane, war regentis in þe north, Robert, Bischop of Glasgow, Schir Iohnne Cwmyng and Iames, Grete Stewart of Scotland, regentis in þe south. Edward, King of England, callit Lang Schankis, seand þe realme of Scotland destitute but ane hede, tuke purpoß to conquess þe samyn ; and becaus he knew þe Madyn

<sup>1</sup> The word is not clear, being interlined, but *ourhail* seems to be intended.

of Norrowaye, quhilk was gottin on King Alexanderis dochter, was iust heretoure to þe crowne of Scotland, he send his ambassatouris in Scotland, desyring þis Madyn of Norrowaye to be gevin to him in mariage. The nobillis eftir lang consultacioun assentit to his desyris vnder þir condicionis, that þe realme of Scotland suld be als fre in peace and quiete, but ony subieccioun of seruitude, in his tyme as it wes afoir in þe tyme of King Alexander, and gif na successioun followitt betuix King Edward and þis Madyn of Norrowaye, þe croun sall return to þe nerrest airis of King Alexander last decessit. Sik thingis done, twa nobill and wailþeand knychtis, namyt *Schir Michel Scott* & *Schir Michel Wemis*<sup>1</sup> war direct as ambassatouris to bring þis Madyn oute of Norrowaye to þe effect forsaid. Nochþeles, thir ambassatouris, quhen þai war past myd waage, aduerteist þat this Madyn was decessit, returnytt | hayme but ony expedicioun of þair erandis, throw quhilk all amite failþeit betuix Inglis & Scottis.

Sone eftir followit grete troubill in Scotland be frendis of King Alexander contending for þe croun, to þe grete dammage & violacioun baith of þe law of God & man, specialie Iohnne Ballioli and Robert Bruse, nepote to þat Robert Bruse þat marijt Isobell, 3oungest dochter to Erle Dauid of Hundingtoun, on quhom he gatt ane son, namytt Robert, quhilk for his singulair manhede wes maid eftir Erle of Carrik, and was fader to þis Robert þat clamys now þe croun. Iohnne Ballioll was gottin on Margarete, eldast dochter to þe said Erle Dauid of Hundingtoun, for Alane, Lord of Gallowaye, quhilk marijt þe said Margarete, had on hir twa dochteris, of quhilkis þe eldast, namyt Doruigilla, was marijt on *Schir Iohnne Ballioll*, fader to þis Iohnne þat contendis aganis Robert Bruse for þe croun. Iohne Ballioll clamyt þe croun becaus he was cumin of þe eldest dochter of Erle Dauid, and was be þat reasoun (II. 362) nerrest aire to King Williame, for nane vther was sa neyr of blude to him on lyve. On þe tothir syde Robert Bruse, howbeit he was descendit of þe 3oungest dochter to Erle Dauid,

<sup>1</sup> The scribe has interlined the correct reading, *michel wemis*, above *Iames Wernis*, but omitted to cross out *Iames Wernis*.

3ite he was *cumin* of þe first maill, for his fader was first born, and clamyt þe croun for þat reassoun to pertene to him. This debait and clame was sa favouritt be sindry assistence on all sydis þat it couth *nocht* be decyditt, howbeit it was oft tymes brocht afoir þir *governouris* and *regentis*; and becaus þai dred, gif þai declarit þe tane of þaim king, þe tothir suld vsurpe þe croun be force, thai remittit þe decision of þe richt *perof* to King Edward of Ingland, with powere to constreyne þame baith to stand at his sentence.

King Edward ressaut þe *ambassatouris* quhilkis war send to him in þis effect with grete beneuolence, and promittit to cum with ane certane nobillis to Berwik; and quhen he was *cumin* thairto, and had hard þe iuris of Ballioll & Bruse, he wald *nocht* decyde in sa difficill mater quhill he had sindry prudent & wise assessouris concurrand *with* him, and *perfor* desyritt xij Scottis of maist erudicioun to assist to him, and promittit to tak als mony personis of siklyke erudicioun in Ingland, throw quhilk all difficulte suld be cleirly socht furth and þe iust verite alanerlie to triumphe; and quhen he had writin þe ressonis and iuris of baith þe partijs, he returnit to Lundoun. Nochþeles, as daylie occurris, þe ingyne of mortale pepill ar sa fragill, and neuer but corrupcioun, þat nane beris *commissioun* nor office quhare ony *proffite* is þat maye part with þe samyn quhill þair handis be wele vinctitt *perwith*. On þe samyn maner King Edward couth *nocht* keip his handis clene in þis *commissioun* gevin to him apoun þe decisioun of þis debaitt. For sone eftir his returnyng to Lundoun he brocht certane resolut men oute of France to decyde apoun this mater, and *commandit* þame to be wareant and doubill in þair deliuerance, to þat fyne þat quhen þai war foundin wareant  
476 and *nocht* of ane mynde in decisioun of þis pley, | he mycht þe erar mak quhom he list of þame twa king. Nochþeles, þe mast part of þir men of law iugit with Robert Bruse for his singulair manhede and vertu manifest to þame be *inquisicioun* *perof*, and als becaus he was *cumin* of þe first maill and Iohnne Ballioll of þe secund. Vtheris, quhilkis war subornatt be King Edward, declarit Iohnne Ballyoll to haif maist richt, becaus

(II. 363) he was cumin of þe eldest sister. King Edward, traisting sufficient tyme to conques þe realme of Scottis, returnyt to Berwik, quhare he gaderit þe xxiiij men of maist erudicioun, as wes devisit afoir, to geif finall sentence in þis mater. And quhen he was cumin *with* baith þe partijs and his assessouris in ane quyete chalmer, quhair it was devisitt to sitt on þis mater, he causit þe samyn to be kepit *with* maist deligence but ony ischeing or enteres þairto, and concludit to mak him king þat wald be sworn to hald þe croun of him as superiour *perof*; and *perfor* tuke purpoß to assailþe first þe mynde of Robert Bruse, becaus he had singular vertew, gif he wald hald þe croun of Scottis of him as superiour *perof*, to mak him king, and gif he fand him repugnand þairto, to assailþe þe mynde of Iohnne Ballioll. Nochþeles, Robert Bruse, havand mair respect to þe liberte of þe realme þan to ony singular proffitte to put þe realme in seruitude, ansuerit þat he wald *nocht* randyr his native cuntre, sen it has bene fre to his dayis, to *seruitude* of Inglismen. King Edward than assailþeitt þe mynde of Iohne Ballioll, quhilk had sa blynd desyre to þe croun þat he curitt *nocht*, sa þat he *mycht* reiose þe samyn, quethir he held it in liberte or *seruitude*. Finalie, quhen Ballioll had gevin his faith to King Edward to mak him homage, he gat þe sentence gevin for him. It is said þat þe Erle of Glomere, ane man of grete prudence and autorite in Ingland, seand King Eduard declair Ballioll king, sayid to þe King in þis maner: "Remenbir, O King, quhat is done be þe þis daye, *nocht* gevand iust sentence in þis mater; and pocht þe samyn now be hyd, it salbe *rycht* manifest quhen þe grete iuge, þat rypis þe conscience & secretis of euery manis mynde, sall cauß þe to ansuere for it in þe horribill Iugement. Þow has gevin now iugement on ane king: þan sall iugement be gevin on the." Schort tyme eftir Iohnne Ballioll went with grete triumphis to Scoyne, and was crownit on þe Epiphany Daye, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxij 3eris.

(II. 364)

How Ballioll rebellit aganis King Edward eftir þat he maid him homage, and how he was allyatt witht King Philip of France; how King Edward wan Berwyk be tresoun, and slew all þe Scottis in þe samyn.

Ca : ij

477 **B**allioll schort tyme eftir his coronacioun come to þe New Castell, quhare he maid homage to King | Edward for þe realme of Scotland, contrair þe mynde of all his nobillis, gevand him self and his realme in seruitude, quhilk was defendit in liberte to his dayis. Howbeit, small felicite come be þe samyn. For within schort tyme eftir King Edward depryvit him of þe croun of Scotland, safer as he mycht, becaus þe said Ballioll refusit to support him aganis France and allegit þat his band was maid but avise of þe thre estatis, throw quhilk it was vayn and dissoluit in þe self. King Edward, to dant þe Scottis mair eselye, send his ambassatouris to þe King of France, with quhom he was confideratt with lang peace, the King of Francis dochter to be marijt on Edward, þe King of Ingland's son; howbeit, he purposit, quhen Scottis war brocht to vtter rwyne, to invade France as he did afoir. Sik thingis done, he send for Robert Bruse, and was reconnsalit with him in sik familiarite þat he promittit to mak him king of Scottis, and in esperance þairof gaif him þe keping of sindry grete castellis of Scotland, quhilkis war for þat tyme in Inglismens handis.

(II. 365) King Ballioll, dredand be þir slychtis of Inglismen extreme dangere to cum to his realme, send Williame, Bischop of Sanctandros, with *Schir* Iohnne Sowlis and *Schir* Ingerame Vmfra in France to renew þe band with Philip þe Fourte, King of France, quhilk was finaly done vnder þir new condicionis: the dochter of Charlis, Erle of Valence and Angeos, quhilk was bruther to King Philip of France, salbe marijt on King Balliollis son, and sall haif all þe landis quhilkis þe Ballioll possedit in France, namytt Dampare, Harecure & Horny, for quhilkis King Iohnne sall ressaif lx<sup>m</sup> crownis, in name of tocthir.

Within schort tyme eftir King Ballioll was aduerteist þat King Edward was cumin with ane grete army to Berwyk with purposß to sege þe samyn, and þairfor be consale of his nobillis send mony of all þe gentilmen of Fiffe and Loutheane to Berwyk for defence þairof. The Inglismen come with ane grete flott to Berwyk. The Scottis quhilkis war send be King Ballioll for þe defence of þe toun tuke xvij of þair schippis and þe remanent chasit fra þe sege. King Edward, mair provocatt þan brokin be þis displeaserr, come with doubill army mair þan afoir to tak þe said toun; and becaus he couth nocht gett it be force of armys for þe grete defence þat þe nobillis maid within it, he thocht to assailze þe samyn be tresoun and slycht, and maid him to raiß his army fra þe sege, syne went abowte to ane nothir part, and returnit with fenzeitt ansenzeis, baneris and Sanctandriß croce all on þair harnes on þe Scottis maner, and send certane lymmaris of Scotland afoir þe toun, saying Iohanne Ballioll was cumin with his army in defence of þe toun, commanding to haif þe portis oppin at his cuming. The fuliche pepill of þe toun, reiosing of þe cuming of þe King, as þai belevitt, oppynnit þe portis, and come furth of þe toun

478 on all partis, | traisting nocht onlie to be deliuerit of þe fere of inymyis, bot als to be of pissans to meitt þame with playn batall, gif þair inymyis wald assailze þame. Nochtþeles, quhen þe Inglismen war neir þe portis and war knawin be þair langage and habitt, þe Scottis maid þame to return to þe toun, bot þai war prevenit be þair inymyis. Incontinent King Edward enterit in þe toun with all his army, and slew nocht onlye þe soidiouris and weirmen, bot als barnis, wemen and agit personis, but ony reuth, mercy or ransoun, and left

(II. 366) na creature of Scottis blude on live within þat toun. The 3ere þat þis toun was takin was fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> lxxxxvj 3eris. O Edward, maist furious tyran, how mycht þow rage in sik cruelte on þe pepill, but ony excepcioun of aige, quhair na occasioun of iniuris was, and quhare þe pepill was nocht subdewitt be force of armys? Þir cruell tygris ruschitt throw all þe toun, and sauffitt nane in kirk nor tempill quhair þai mycht be apprehenditt. The stremys of blude ran sa haboundanlye throw all þe partis of þe toun þat ane myln



mycht haif gayne be þe samyn. In this toun war slayne vij<sup>m</sup> men with maist part of þe nobillis & gentilmen of Fyffe and Loutheane.

How King Ballioll was disconnfist at Dunbar, and tynt all þe strenthis of Scotland, be tresoun of Robert Bruse; how Ballioll gaif oure þe crown to King Edwarde, and fled in France. Ca: iij

**K** yng Ballioll, herand þe miserabill slauchter of his nobillis at Berwik, gaderit ane army with grete hatrent to revenge þe samyn, and faucht with King Edward at Dunbar, quhare he wes disconnfist and mony of all þe nobillis of Scotland takin and slayne. Eftir þis disconfiture þe Erlis of Montrofs and Menteth fled *within* þe castell of Dunbar, quhair þai war segit sa lang quhill þai war constranytt for lak of vittalis to be randrit to King Edwarde and þair lyvis to be sauffitt, bot þai war all slayne eftirwart be tyranny of King Edward, *nochtwithstanding* his promys. It is sayid þat Robert Bruse was þe caufs of þe disconfiture of þis last feild at Dunbar. For in þe begynnyng of þe batall he promittit to King Edward to cum fra Ballioll with all his freyndis & kynnismen *quhilkis* wald assist to him, throw quhilk þe Scottis war disconnfist, for quhen þai saw þame self betrasit be þair awin marrowis levand þame at sik extreme dangere of inymyis, þai tynt curage, and war slayn lyke schepe but ony defence. Eftir þis disconfiture Robert Bruse come to King Edward, desyring þe revard of his tresoun, quhilk, as he belevit, suld haif bene þe realme of Scotland, according to Edward's promys; 479 bot he was dissaut, *nocht* knawing all tratouris, sa | lang as þai may proffitt, plesandlie tretit with þair inymyis; bot quhen þai haif done þair tresoun, þai ar haldin noch onlie abhominabill to þair freyndis, bot als to þair fayis, in quais (II. 367) favoure þair tresonis war committit, and gettis *nocht* but repulfs of þair desyris. Attoure, King Edwarde had na lefs desyre than þe Bruse had to conquess þe crown, as apperit be his wourdis sayid in þis maner: "Belevis þou þat we haif

na vther erandis adoo bot to conques realmes in þi favour? ”  
 Bruse, seand him dissauit þus be tresoun of Edward, returnytt  
 with sorowfull chere in England, nocht content with him self  
 for þe tresoun þat he had committit aganis his freyndis, and  
 promittit, quhen tyme occurrit, to revenge þe iniuris done be  
 King Edward in his maist cruell maner.

Eftir þis King Edward tuke baith þe castell of Edinburgh  
 and Striueling, with purpoß to persew þe Balioll to vtter  
 exterminoun. The Ballioll, effrayitt at last of his lyfe, was  
 reconnsalit to King Edward, and renuncit þe croun of Scotland  
 in þe fourte 3ere of his regnne, transferring all richt þat he  
 mycht haif or had þairto in King Edward. Eftir þis King  
 Edward convenitt all þe nobillis of Scotland at Berwik, quhair  
 þai war sworn to be lele & trew subdittis to him in tymes  
 cuming, and for þe mair securite þerof constranytt þame to  
 randir all þe strenthis & municionis of Scotland, baith be sey  
 & land, in his handis; sik thingis done, send Iohnne Ballioll  
 with his son Edward to Lundoun, quhair þai war kepitt in  
 strang ward lang tyme, quhill at last he sufferit Iohnne Ballioll  
 to return in Scotland, levand his son in plege that he suld move  
 na rebelloun aganis him. Iohne Ballioll eftir his returnyng,  
 seyng him self nothir chereist with commonis nor nobillis of  
 Scotland, fled in England, and eftir þat in Normandy to his  
 faderis heretage, quhare he become blynd and consumytt  
 be lang aige, eftir quhais deth his son Edward succeditt to his  
 heretage in France, as we sal efter schaw.

(II. 368)

How King Edwarde come with grete army aganis  
 France; how þe Erle of Buchquhane maid grete  
 herschippis in England; off Williame Wallace and his  
 wassallage aganis Inglismen. Ca iiij

King Edwarde, nocht removing þe batall oute of his mynde  
 that he superseditt on France, garnyst all þe municionis  
 of Scotland to resist þe rebelloun of Scottis, syne went with  
 ane grete army in France, levand behynd him Hew Cassing-  
 hayme to be Protectoure of Scotlannd to his returnyng, and

belevitt litill iniuris to be attempitt be Scottis for þe grete affliccioun done to þame in his weris afoir rehersit. Nochþeles, tyranny is of sik nature that it may nevir haif sufficient targe, nochtwithstanding quhatsumevir garesoun be laid in defence þerof, for na pepill bene in erde oppressit *with seruitude* bott will deliuer þame þerof quhen ony sufficient oportunitie occurris. The nobillis of Scotland sone eftir þe departing of<sup>1</sup> King Edward *convenit* to giddir *with* ane mynde to recovere þair  
 480 liberte. In þis counsale war chosin xij nobill men to | be governouris of Scotland within þair awin boundis and to resist þe tyranny of Edward, amang quhome Iohnne Cwmyng, Erle of Buchane, was principall, ane man of grete prudence baith in were & peace. This Erle of Buchquhan rasit ane grete army, and come in þe north of England, quhare he cessit fra na maner of cruelte on þe pepill þerof, waisting all þe landis of þe samyn with fyre and swerde. At last he segitt þe toun of Carlile, bot it was sa stranglye defenditt þat it couth nocht be takin.

In the samyn tyme was ane 3oung man, quhais fader was ane knycht, namyt Wallace, of grete stature and corporall strenth abone all vther men in his dayis, with sik prudence  
 (II. 369) and craft of chevelry þat nane was fundin *peregall* to him. This Wallace fra his first 3outh *persewitt* Inglismen with extreme hatrent, and be sindry ieopardeis did mony wail3eand acttis in support of Scottis, and was of sik incredibill fortitude at his *cuming* to perfite aige þat he wyncust oft tymes othir thre or iiij Inglismen at anys in singulare batall. Quhen þe fame of his illustir wassallage was blawin throw þe realme, mony nobill men, to exeme þame fra *seruitude* of Inglismen, assistit to his opinioun, throw quhilk he was sa strang þat he *mycht* na way be *circumvent* be tresoun of Inglismen; at last behad him sa manlye at all ieopardijs þat he was chosin be generall wotis, quhen maist troubill apperitt, governoure of Scotland, to deliuer þe samyn of tyranny; sone eftir ressaut þe army quhilk Iohne Cwmyng had for þe tyme, and constranyt euery Scottis man to obey him, othir

<sup>1</sup> The scribe wrote *of England* and accidentally crossed out *of* as well as *England*.

be force or beneuolence ; syne come forthwert *with* displayitt  
 banner, invading Inglismen in all partis quhar þai mycht  
 be oure takin, and wan be force of armys þe castellis of Forfare,  
 Dondee, Brechin and Montroß, and slew all soidiouris Inglis-  
 men fondin in þe samyn. Wallace, proude of þir feliciteis,  
 come with his army to Abirdene to deliuer þe samyn fra þe  
 tyranny of Inglismen, and in his waag take Dunnottir, quhen  
 þe principall capitanis war furth of þe samyn, and slew euery  
 persoun þat he fand *perintill*, and garnyst it in þe strangest  
 maner : eftir þis went within þe nycht to Aberdene, quhilk  
 was left waist at his cuming, and becaus þe castell wes garnyst  
*with* sik provisoun þat it mycht nocht be takin but grete  
 murdir of peple, he left þe samyn and returnit in Anguse.  
 King Edward, herand þir doingis in France, send Hew Cassin-  
 game with ane grete army to invaid Wallace in his scharpest  
 maner. Wallace, knawing þis army to cum haistlye on him,  
 left þe seige of Cowpir, and went to þe brig of Striueling to  
 resist þair cuming. At last he slew þe said Hew Cassinghame  
 (II. 370) be strang batall, & put his army to flycht, syne returnit to  
 þe said seige of Cowpir, quhilk was randrit sone to him eftir  
 his returnyng. Mony Scottis send þair ambassatouris to  
 Wallace eftir þis victory, promitting to support him with  
 money & vittalis, gif he wald ressaif þame in favouris. Sindry  
 481 vther castellis war randrit to hym, quhilkis | war garnyst  
 be him with all provisionis. Eftir þis he skalit his army, and  
 come to Striueling with ane certane of his maist tendir freyndis ;  
 and becaus he saw ane miserabill darth rysing in þe cuntre,  
 he sett his besynes to releiff þe pepill *perof*, and to sustene  
 þame on þe froittis of England. For þir ressonis he *commandit*  
 all þe pepill vnder his dominioun to be reddy agane ane  
 prefixitt daye to pas on þair inymyis, and maid sik punycioun  
 on þame quhilkis war repugnand to his *proclamacionis* þat  
 þe remanent pepill, for fere þairof, assistit to his purpof.  
 Sone eftir with thre batallis arrayit in maist afull ordinance  
 he brynt and herijt all Northumberland to þe New Castell,  
 and be fame of his huge chevelry became in sik terrour to his  
 fayis þat he returnit with riche spoulzee and triumphis in  
 Scotlannd.

Off King Edwardis message send to Wallace, and of Wallace ansuere and grete prudence in chevelry; how þe Scottis war disconfist at þe Falkirk be þair awin sedicioun; and how þe King of France purchest peace to Scottis.

Ca v

**K** yng Edward, herand þe grete herschip and slauchter done to his pepill, returnit with grete displeasur in England, and send his ambassatouris to Wallace, saying, gif he had bene in England, Wallace durst nocht haif done sik cruelteis to his pepill. To thir wourdis ansuerit Wallace, he tuke bot his tyme of England quhen King Edward was oute of England, siclike as King Edward tuke of Scotland quhen he fand þe realme destitute of ane hede, makand him to conquest þe realme eftir þat þe nobillis had chosin him with beneuolence to decide þe iuris of twa partijs contending for þe croun; (II. 371) “attoure, þat King Edward maye vnderstand me gevin in perpetuall defence of Scotland, and nocht onlie to deliuer it of seruitude, bot als to revenge þe affliccioun done to þe samyn throw him, schaw that I sall halde my Paische in England, gif God fortouns me to be on lyve, in dispyte of all pepill þat will bere armour for him.” At last, quhen King Edward and Wallace war baith cumin to þe place assignit, the daye of batall was sett on all sydis. Howbeit Inglismen war in doubill mair novmer þan Scottis, 3ite Wallace with pertt curage, na thing effrayitt of þair multitude, come first to feild; and quhen þe armyis war reddy to iovne, þe Inglismen left thair palzeonis, and maid þame to flee. In þe mene tyme þe Scottis, proude eftir mony victorijs, and seand þan þair inymyis geif bakkis, mycht skairslye be refrenyt fra chaisf of þair inymyis. Incontinent Wallace, quhilk knew na thing bettir þan dissaitt of Inglismen, ran with ane swift horfß afoir þe Scottis, exhorting þame to ryn nocht wilfullie to þair awin perdiccioun, devisit be dissait of inymyis, becaus þe haisty fle yng of inymyis was nocht bot colourit fraude, throw quhilk it wes sufficient to þame to haif victory but ony straik. The Scottis, repressit thus of þair wilde fury be prudence of

þis nobill campioun, war sauffitt *with* þair honour and lyvis, and returnit in Scotland with infinite spoulze and riches.

Nochtþeles, as þe pepill supportitt Wallace ay þe mair þat he grew in manhede and pissance aganis Inglifsmen, on þe  
 482 samyn maner þai began to invy him quhen <sup>1</sup> he | was cumin  
 be his wailzeand dedis to maist felicite and honour, specialye  
 þai quhilkis war grete men and princes of þe realme, havand  
 grete invy that ane man of obscure lynnage suld ryif in sa  
 grete reuerence be his vertu abone þame, throw quhilk raiß  
 grete sedicioun in Scotland, specialye be Cwmyngis and  
 Robert Bruse, quhilkis invyitt Wallace maist. King Edward,  
 knowing þis new sedicioun, send his ambassatouris to þe  
 (II. 372) principale men quhilkis invyitt Wallace maist, and quhen  
 he had gottin þame boundin to his opinioun, he come *with*  
 ane grete army in Scotlannd. Wallace, knowing na thing off  
 þis tresoun devisit aganis him, rasit his army to meitt King  
 Edward at þe Fawkirk. Eftir his cumin raiß ane odious  
 debaitt betuix þe Stewart, Cwmyn and Wallace, quhilk of  
 þame suld haif þe wangard. The first twa thocht hevvy þat  
 ane man of obscure lynnage and small begynnynge salbe preferrit  
 to þame: the thrid þocht þe charge was gevin to him be þe  
 thre estatis of Scotland. Nochtþeles, þai war constranit to  
 cum forthwart aganis þair inmyis with breistis bolding mair  
 to þair avne þan to þair inmyis displeasur. King Edward,  
 knowing þair sedicioun, come *with* mair deligence in batall,  
 and quhen þir batallis war reddy to iovne, the Cwmyngis  
 fled oute of þe feild with all folkis of þair opinioun. Robert  
 Bruse, quhilk was þis tyme with þe army of England, thynkand  
 nocht enouch to invaid þe Scottis with batall, bot als to eik  
 his iniure *with* mair tresoun, come on þe bakkis of Scottis,  
 quhen þai suspekitt na thing leß þan his invasioun, throw  
 quhilk þai war miserabillie slayn on all sydis. And þocht  
 þe Scottis war murdris on þis maner, 3ite Wallace left na thing  
 vndone þat mycht pertene to þe devoir of ane walzeant  
 campioun, exhorting his folkis sum tyme to be nocht effrayitt  
*with* þai inmyis quhom þai afoir disconnfist with onlye fere

<sup>1</sup> MS. *quhe*.

of þair terribill visage, sum tyme rusching throw his inymyis to þair grete slauchter, and schawin his folkis quhat was to be done. Nochtþeles, all þe Scottis quhilkis faucht þat daye with him, ouresett with multitude of Inglismen and þe companyis of Robert Bruse cumand on þair bakkis, war slayne. Wallace, seand him self circulit on all partis with inymyis and destitute of freyndis, maid ane gait with bludy swerd throw his inymyis and deliueritt him self in þat maner. In þe meynetyme ane strang capitane of England, namyt Freir Briangis, followitt on Wallace with grete ferocite; nochtþeles, he wes slayn with sik cruelte be Wallace þat Inglismen for fere þerof cessit fra ony forthir chaisß on Scottis.

In þis vnhappy batall was slayn Iohnne Stewart of Bute with all his folkis, quhilkis war left be Wallace in extreme dangere quhen he mycht haif deliuerit þame þerof. Als  
 (II. 373) Makduff was slayne in þis batall, with Schir Iohnne Grahame, quhais deth was richt displesand to Wallace. Mony vther nobill & wailþeand men war slayne in þe samyn maner, quhilk waroure prolixitt to schaw. It is sayid þat Robert Bruse,<sup>1</sup> eftir þat he had cumin on þe bakkis of Scottis, said to Wallace on þis maner: "O Wallace, quhat presumptuus foly is in þe, knawing þi self desert and left be þe commite and nobillis of Scotland, to fecht with sik vane audacite aganis þe pyssance  
 483 of þe riche King | of England? Seis þou nocht þi self rynnand to vtter confusioun? Consideris þou nocht sa irrecouerabill dammage approaching to þi displeseir?" To þis ansuerit Wallace: "O Robert, þi falsaitt and tresonabill slychtis may na wayis effraye me to lefe þe defence of my native countre aganis þe maist proude tyran Edward, inymye þerof. Thairfor, maist tressonabill dissavare and levoir of þi realme quhen maist dangere occurritt, pas to þe gallous, for þou sall nocht faill ane myschevous end be punicioun of God, quhen þou belevis lest, for þe frequent iniuris done sa oft tymes aganis þi native cuntre. I compt na payne nor deth in defence of my countre, and sall cesß nothir nychtis nor dayis for defence þairof. Howbeit, maist schaymfull torment

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *Bruse*, which is supplied from A., which agrees with the Latin and printed text.

is ordanit for þe, baith dede and qwyk, for þi manifest tresoun done sa oft tymes aganis þi realme."

This batall was strekin on þe Magdalen Daye, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxviiij ȝeris. Thairfor the Inglismen nomerit þe samyn ay eftir for ane happy day to fecht aganis  
(II. 374) Scottis. Wallace eftir þis disconnfitoure come to Perth, and becaus he mycht *nocht* suffir þe invy of nobillis rying ilk day aganis him, he exonerit him of all autorite. The samyn tyme Philipp,<sup>1</sup> þe Fourte of þat name, King of France, havand grete miseracioun of þe calamite fallin to his confideratt freyndis of Scotland for þe accioun alanerlye of France, send his ambassatouris to Edward, Prince of England, quhilk was contrackitt in mariage of befoir with his dochter, and purchest peace to Scottis fra þe Fest of All Sanctis to þe Witsonnday nixt following.

How Inglismen war disconnfist at Rosling; how King Edward conquest grete rowmes in Scotland; and how þe Forbesis tuke þair begynnynge. Ca vj

**T**he Scottis, brokin with continewall weris, send þair ambassatouris to Paip Boniface, complenand of þe grete affliccioun done to þame be King Edward, sett in perdicioun of þair liberte to conquest þair realme, and þairfor desyrit þe Paip, as *propiciant* fader to all pepill, quhilk had mair empire abone Inglismen þan ony vther realme, to interpone his autorite and *constrene* King Edward to decist fra all invasioun of Scottis, quhilkis war content to stand at þe Papis sentence concernyng þe decisioun of þair liberte and all pleyis amang þame, sen þe samyn may *nocht* be iustlye decydit be þe swerd, for insufferabill *dammage* fallin to þe pepill be blynd desyre of nobillis contending for þe croun. The<sup>2</sup> Paip,  
(II. 375) eftir þat he had takin ryip deliberacioun in þis mater, decernit Scottis to haif iust accioun of batall in defence of þair liberte aganis King Edward. The Scottis, reiosing of þis sentence, chesit Iohnne Cwmyng to be governoure of þair realme. King

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Philipp*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *To*.



Edward, aduerteist of þis rebelloun, send ane grete army towart þe boundis of Scotlannd, and come to Perth, invading þe cuntre *with* grete troubill. Mony of þe nobillis, becaus þai mycht *nocht* suffir thir iniuris, war randritt, and *vperis*, quhilkis had mair sycht to þair liberte þan *seruitude*, fled to þe woddis, and chesit Symon Freserr to be college in þair weeris to Iohnne Cwmyng; syne gaderitt ane powere of viij<sup>m</sup> chosin men to revenge þe iniuris done be Inglismen; and finalye slew euery ane of þame þat was *our*takin, and þe remanent chasit oute  
 484 of | þe cuntre. King Edward, *commovitt* with þis wassallage, send Rodulphe in Scotland *with* xxx<sup>m</sup> men. This Rodulphe eftir his *cuming* to Rosling tuke litill respect of Scottis, bot alanerlye as he war *cumin* to tak all Scotlannd at his *pleserr*, and þairfor purposit to pas throw þe remanent boundis of Scotlannd with thre armyis at thre sindry partis, ilk army havand x<sup>m</sup> in novmer. Iohnne Cwmyng & Symon Freserr rasiþ pair folkis, traisting na thing sa gude as to assailþe chance of batall with ane of þe thre armyis, with purpoß, gif ony felicite succedit, þe remanent to be þe mair facill praye. Incontinent þai exhortit pair folkis to fecht for þe defence of pair wiffis, liberteis and gudis, and faucht with invincibill curage, þat þai put þe first batall of Inglismen to flycht. Skairslye had þai gaderit þe spoulþe of Inglismen, quhen þe secunnd batall come on þame *with* mair cruelte þan þe first. *Nocht*theles, throw curage of þair recent victory þai iovnit with incredibill manhede; and skairslye was þis battall vincust, quhen þe thrid batall come on þame *with* fresche powere;  
 (II. 376) and þocht þe Scottis war woundit & slayne in grete novmer, þite be hortacioun of þair capitaneis þai ruschitt aganis pair inymyis *with* new curage, and eftir lang batall put all pair inymyis to flicht, howbeit few of þame had bene sauffitt, war *nocht* þe Scottis wer ouresett be lang fechting. This victory succedit to þe Scottis on Sanct Mathewis Daye, fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> & ij þeris. It is ane dowte gif evir ony victory wes *wonnyn* afoir *our* dayis *with* mair manhede & honour, xxx<sup>m</sup> Inglismen *with* lang *provisioun* and sett batall wyncust *with* skairfs viij<sup>m</sup> Scottis, and *perfor* ilk man belevitt þis victory *nocht* *cumin* but singular grace of God.

Nochtpeles, þe Scottis kepit schort tyme þis victory, for King Edward, knowing þis disconnfitoure at Rosling, rasit ane army to invaid Scotland baith be seye & land. The Scottis, seand his ordinance sa grete, fled to þair strenthis, throw quhilk King Edwardis army went but ony obstakill throw all Scotland fra sowth to north partis þerof, and skairslye war fundin ony man to resist þame, except Wallace and sa mony as assistit to him, quhilkis levitt in þe montanis and woddis to eschew þe fury of Inglismen. King Edward, herand þat Wallace lay at waitt, abyding sum tyme to invaid Inglismen, desyrit him be his sindry message to be sworn Inglisman, and to haif þerfor grete erledomez and lordschippis within England. Nochpeles, þe said Wallace refusit, saying his liberte was mair to him with small rentis þan possessioun of ony landis in England vnder seruitude.

The castell of Striueling was kepitt in þir dayis be ane wailþeand knycht, Schir Williame Olifere, aganis King Edwarde. Nochttheles, quhen he had bene continewallye segitt thre monethis, for lak of vittalis he was randrit to King Edward vnder þir condicionis, that all personis quhilkis war with him in þe said castell suld haif fre pas port to depart at þair pleseir but ony forthir invasioun of Inglismen. Nochpeles, þis tiran King Edward send Schir Williame Olifere as presoner to England, contrar his faith and promys, and eftir þis wan sindry castellis of Scotland be force, and slew all þat war foundin in þe samyn; amang quhome þe castell of Vrquhard (II. 377) was takin, and nane left on live except ane woman grete with childe, of quhome þe surname of Boys and Forbes discendit. This woman sauffitt in þis maner was wife to Alexander Boyf, larde of þe said castell, howbeit it was 485 vnknawin for þe tyme, | becaus scho was in pure arraye. Eftir þe taking of þis castell scho fled in þe Ilis & Ireland, quhair scho bure hir son, quhilk returnit in Scotland eftir þat it was recouerit oute of Inglismenis handis be King Robert Bruse, and desyrit at him to be restorit to his faderis heretage, quhilk was occupijt for þat tyme with vther possessouris. Nochtpeles, King Robert, very quhat was to be done in þis mater, considering it was nocht semand to ane prince to tak

þe landis agane fra nobill men quhilk was gottin for reward of þair manhede, and als it is *nocht* iust to spoulze þe man of his faderis heretage, havand his fader, his freyndis & all his gudis tynt in defence of þe realme, and þairfor devisit ane myd waye, gevand him certane landis in Mar of litill leß proffitte þan þe landis of Vrquhard, and bad him stand content pairof to keip *vperis* vntrouillit. And *þerfor* þe man þat wes callit afoir Boyß was callit<sup>1</sup> Forbest, becaus he slew ane bair of huge magnitude be his singlar manhede; off quhom þe illustir houß & surname of Forbeß eftir descendit.

Off sindry grete cruelteis done be King Edward aganis Scottis; how þe Bruse and Cwmyne war confideratt, & how þe Cwmyng was slane. Ca vij

Scotland subdewit in þis maner, King Edward gart distroy **S**all þe auld lawis and constitucionis in Scotland, traisting þairthrow to caufß þe Scottis and Inglis incret to giddir *vnder* ane blude, amite and faith. He brynt als all þe cronikillis of Scotland with all maner of bukis, als wele of divyn *seruice* as of vther materis, to þat fyne þat memorye of Scottis suld pereiß. Grete punicioun was maid on þame quhilkis war repugnand to þir chargis. He gart Scottis write bukis eftir (II. 378) þe Vse of Sarum, and constranit þame to say eftir þat Vse. Attoure, he banyst all Scottis quhilkis had ony singular erudicioun, and put þame in Oxfurd, dredand þat þe nobillis of Scotland be þair doctryne suld incret in vertew and sum tyme deliuer þair realme of *seruitude*. Attoure, þis tiran had sik vane arrogance þat he kest him to distroye all þe antiquiteis of Scotland; and eftir þat he had passit throw sindry boundis of Scotland, he *commandit* þe rounde tempill besyde Camelon to be cassin down, quhilk was biggitt, as we haif schawin, in þe honour of Claudius Emprour and þe goddes Victory, *nocht* suffering be his invy sa mekill of þe antiquiteis of oure eldaris to remane in memory. Nochþeles, þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *callit*, which is supplied from A., agreeing with printed text.

inhabitantis sauffitt þe samyn fra vtter eversiou, putting þe Romane signes and superscripcionis oute of þe wallis *þerof*. Als þai put awaye þe armys of Iulius Cesar, and ingravitt þe armys of King Arthure, *commanding* it to be callit Arthuris Hoif. Attoure, King Edward afoir his returnyng in Ingland, þat na memory suld remane of Scotland, þair bukis beand vniuersaly brynt, he send þe chiar of marbill owte of Scotland to London, and put it in Westmonaster, quhair it remanis  
 486 | 3ite ; syne callit all þe nobillis of Scotland to ane convencion at Santandrois, quhair he tuke new band of þame to be lele to him but ony rebellou in tymes *cuming*. All þe nobilite of Scotland war bundin to him þat daye except Wallace, quhom na land nor riches mycht brek fra þe defence of þe liberte of Scotland. King Edward, to hald þe Scottis at his opinioun, left behynd him ane wailzeant knyght, Odomar Valence, to be Gouvernour of Scotland, syne returnyt with grete triumphe to Londoun.

In þe menetyme Robert Bruse<sup>1</sup> and Iohnne Cwmyne<sup>2</sup> Rede convenit to giddir, quhair þai lamentablyly regratit þe calamite fallin to Scottis be tyranny of King Edward. Robert offeritt first þe crowne to þe Cwmyne, promitting to debaitt him with his vtter pissance. Attour, gif þe Cwmyng thocht þe charge importabill, the Bruse desyritt, sen he had maist richt *þerto*, to suffir him succede, for quhilkis he suld geif þe Cwmyng grete landis and *privilegis* to his vther possessiou þat he broukitt of befoir in Scotland ; and quhen þe Inglismen war dongin oute of Scotland, the Cwmyng suld be nerrest to him in honour & dignite ; and quhen þai war baith boundin to þir *promiss* with interchengitt writingis, þe Bruse returnit in Ingland. This rebellou of Robert Bruse procedit becaus he was haldin  
 (II. 379) ay with King Edward in suspicioun for þe richt þat he had to þe croune of Scottis, and *þerfor* durst *nocht* remane lang in Scotland, for King Edward had slayn him afoir, gif he mycht haif gottin his brethir to giddir. Eftir þis confideracioun þe Cwmyne thoch this powere and autorite wald be of litill effect in Scotland, gif þe Bruse war King, and *þerfor* send ane secrete *seruand* to King Edward, schawin þe writingis laitlye maid

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *Bruse*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Cwmyne*.

betuix him and Robert Bruse, desyring King Edward, gif he intendit to reiose Scotlannd but troubill, to put þe Bruse haistelye to dede. King Edward gaif litill faith to þe writingis at þe first sycht, trasting þame to procede be invy of Cwmyng, dredand þe pyssance of Robert Bruse to pas abone him. Nochtþeles, he callit þe Bruse to him, demanding gif he had cognoscence of his awin write. The Bruse denyitt þe *lettrez* with grete constance, schewing þe samyn *proceeding* onlie be invy of Cwmyng, and *perfor* desyrit to be avisit with þe *lettrez* for ane nycht, and he suld preiff þame fenzeit, vnder þe payne of tynsale of all his landis & erledome *quhilk* he had within England. King Edward, becaus he gaif litill faith to þir *lettrez*, gaif þame to þe Bruse; howbeit it was done with grete foly, for he suld haif haldin him vnder sikkir festinance, quhill he had bene *profoundly* resolut in þis mater. Nochtþeles, it was þe werd & will of God þat þe Bruse suld be sauffitt to recover þe realme of Scotland owte of *seruitude* & *tyranny* of Inglismen. The Erle of Glomere sone eftir his departing fra þe Kingis presence send him ij angell nobillis with twa scharp spurris, throw quhilk þe Bruse conieckitt in his mynde þat na thing was proffittable for him bot alanerly to flee

487 *with* all deligence; incontinent tuke thre of | þe best horsß in his stabill, and becaus it was ane vehement snaw, he gart ane smyth schoo his horsß bakwarttis, þat nane suld follow him be his fute steppis; incontinent departit oute of Lundoun with twa traist seruandis with all deligens he *mycht*, and come þe vij daye to Lochmabane, quhair he mett his bruper Daid Bruse and Iohnne Flemyng; syne went forthwert in þe cuntre, quhill at last he mett ane 3oung man, namytt

(II. 380) Flemyng, berand writingis fra þe Cwmyng to King Edward to slaye him in all haist. Bruse, eftir þat he had knawin þe tenour of þir writingis, inquiryt quhair þe Cwmyng was. The Flemyng schew þat he was in þe Freris of Drumfresß. Incontinent he slew þe Flemyng for bering of þir writingis, and come haistelye in þe qwere of Drumfresß, quhar he fand þe Cwmyng, and eftir þat he had accusit him of his tresoun, straik him with ane swerd in þe wame; syne fled haistlye oute of þe kirk, and mett Iames Lyndesaye and Rogere

Kirkpatrik, his tendir freyndis, and sayid to þame, " I trow þe Cwmyng be slayne." To quhom þai ansuerit, " Has þou attemptit sa grete ane mater, and left it vncertane ? " Incontinent þai went to þe Cwmyng, inquiring him gif he had ony dede strakis, or gif he mycht recover, havand ane gude syourgiane ; and becaus he ansuerit he had nane, bot mycht recovere, þai straik him thre or foure v<sup>per</sup> strakis mair cruellye, and sone eftir he gaif þe gaist, þe ʒere of God j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> & v ʒeris.

How Wallace was betrasit be þe Menteth ; off King Robert Brusez coronacioun and his grete miserie ; how he conquest Scotland ; and how þe Douglasſ take þair begynnyng. Ca viij

**T**he samyn tyme Wallace was takin tresonabillye be Schir Iohnne Menteth and vther Scottis in quhom he had maist confidence. For King Edward promittit be generall edict sindry landis *with* grete sovmez of moneye to ony persoun þat wald bring him on force in his handis ; throw quhilk þe said Wallace was brocht to Londoun, quhair he was cruelly martyritt be tyranny of King Edward, and his quartaris send to sindry grete townis of Scotlannd to be hongin vp in þe samyn to his schayme. This end maid þe nobill Wallace, maist forsy campioun þat was in his dayis, quhilk levit alanerlye fre of *seruitude* quhen all vther Scottis had randrit (11. 381) þame self and þair cowntre in seruitude of Inglismen. It is writin þat ane herymett saw him be visioun fleand to þe hevin þe samyn heure þat he was martiritt at Londoun, bot we hald it in maner of fabill, howbeit Wallace for his singulare vertew in defence of his cuntre is wourthy to haif þe fame of immortalite.

Robert Bruse eftir þe slauchter of þe Cwmyng send to þe Paip for absolucioun for pollucioun of þe kirk throw þe slauchter of þe Cwmyng ; and to attempt ane thing maist bauld aganis 488 King Edward, and to | mak him þe bettir to resist his tyranny in tymes cuming, come with ane grete power of freyndis to

Scoyne, quhare he was crovnit þe xxvj day of Marche, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> vj 3eris. And quhen he had gaderitt all þe pepill þat he mycht to invaid King Edward, he was bot ane few novmer, for þe maist part of Scotland wes aganis him. King Edward, aduerteist of þe rebelloun maid aganis him be King Robert, send ane grete powere of Scotland with Odomare his lufetennent, quhilk faucht *with* King Robert at Meffayn þe xix day of Iunij, quhare King Robert was put to flycht. And þocht few of his men was slayne at þis tyme, 3ite þe pepill 3eid fra him, traisting ane evill signe to begyn with sik disconnfitoure. Odomair Wallence eftir þis victory exilit all þe wyffis of þame quhilk assistit to King Robert, throw quhilk mony nobill wemen and ladyis war constranytt to pas to þe montanys, desertis and woddis to eschew þe fury of Inglismen. King Robert, disconnfist on þis wise, come in Atholl, quhair he faucht aganis þe Cwmyngis and Inglismen, and wes put to flycht on þe samyn maner as afoir, bot few of his men slayne, throw quhilk he was destitute of freyndis, gangand vagabound with few personis in his cumpany amangis þe montanis and woddis, sustenand his miserabill lyfe on ruttis & herbis. And in þis myschance he had twa maist faithfull *seruandis* to him, þe Erle of Levenox & Gilbert Haye. Nochtþeles, quhen þai saw sa scharp persute aganis him in all partis, þai fled for powerte to seyke þair necessaris, howbeit þai stude perpetuallie at his opinion, throw quhilk King Robert was constranit to lurk amang þe deserttis with ane or twa *seruandis*. And 3ite his miserye was sa detestabill þat his *seruandis* cessit *nocht* to haif him in derisioun & skorne, and tuke purpoß, howbeitt he was þair maister, to lefe him in his miserye. Finalye all þe freyndis of þame quhilkis tuke his opinioun war slayne in all partis quhare þai mycht be apprehendit, and þair gudis confiscatt. His thre brethir, Nigell, Thomas & Alexander war takyn *with* mony vþer nobillis and wail3eant *commonis* and slayne. His wife was brocht be Williame Cwmyng to King Edward to Londoun,

(II. 382) quhare scho was haldin in presoun mony 3eris. King Robert, herand thir and mony vther insufferabill affliccionis done in *perdicion* to him and his freyndis, had sik fortitude in all

aduersite that na thing mycht brek his invincibill curage, for he was sa accustomaitt with euery troubill and weeris in his 3owth þat he curitt nocht to sleip on þe cauld erd, nor 3ite to drynk þe watter in stede of ayill or wyne. Attoure, ane thing is þat apperis to haif *cumin* be miracle of God: quhen his freyndis war neir put to vtter exterminioun, 3ite he cessit neuer to haif gude esperance sum tyme to recover his realme & liberte of his pepill.

At last, quhen he had bene vagabound in sindry partis to eschew þe tresoun of þame quhilkis war wattand to put him to deth, he come in þe Ilis, quhare he was plesandlie tretitt be ane ald freynd, off quhom he gatt sik support of men & 489 wappynis þat he tuke new | curage to assailze his inymyis. Sone eftir he tuke þe castell of Carrik, and slew all þe Inglismen quhilkis war fundin in þe samyn, syne delt þe spoulze þerof with grete liberalite to his weremen. His freyndis, quhilkis war lurkand vnder covert and herand of his doyngeis, began to gadir to him oute of all partis.<sup>1</sup> Sone eftir be þair assistance he wan þe castell of Inuernes, and slew all þe soidjouris þerof, and with siclike felicite wan mony vther municionis and strenthis<sup>2</sup> in þe north, and becaus he had na pyssance to keip þame aganis Inglismen, he kest þame down in all partis quhare he 3eyd. At last, quhen he was *cumin* to Glennesk, he gat aduertesing þat Iohnne Cwmyng with sindry Inglis̄men and Scottis war gaderitt aganis him, and þairfor, becaus þe ground was strenthy, tuke purpoß to abyde þame batall in þe samyn. Iohnne Cwmyng with thir Inglismen & Scottis quhilkis war gaderitt to geif him bataill, seying King Robert na thinge effrayitt of þair *cuming*, send þair ambassatouris to haif trewis, to eschew þe present dayngere quhill þai had gaderit mair stranglye aganis him. Nochtþeles, quhen þai had eschewitt þis present dayngere, þai gaderitt agane with mair powere, and followitt him in maist cruelte. Bot King Robert bure him sa wail3eantlye þat oft tymes be his singlar (II. 383) vertew put þame to flycht, and maid slauchter on þame,

<sup>1</sup> MS. adds *to King Robert*, which is not needed and is omitted by A., Latin and printed text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *strenthi*.



howbeit þe samyn was bot small, as occurris ofttymes at skarmusingis and ieopardeis.

The fame of þir honorabill actis causit him to wyn þe favoure of sindry nobill men to assist to his mynde, amang quhom was Iames Douglas, ane man of grete spreitt and manhede, quhilk was tendir and familiare cousing to Williame Lambertoun, Bischop of Sanctandrois. This Iames Douglas, to support King Robert at his powere, tuke þe said Bischoppis gold and his horsß with sindry vther wailþeand 3oung men of his opinioun, and went quietlie to King Robert, as Bischop Lambertoun suld haif knawin na thing *þerof*, howbeit he assistit wele *þerto*, bot he durst *nocht* oppinlie, in auenture gif ony infeliciteis had eftir followitt þat mycht haif *cumin* to his displeseir. This Iames Douglas was tendirlye ressaut be King Robert, and *continewitt* in his seruice baith in tyme of were and peace to þe end of his life. Off this Iames descendit þe illustre surname of Douglasß, quhilkis war evir þe sikkir targe and weere wall of Scotland aganis Inglismen, and wan nevir landis in Scotland bot be þair singulare manhede and wassallage. Nochþeles, þai *inressit* sa grete sone eftir þat þair hycht and pyssance was sa suspect to kingis quhilkis *succedit* eftir þame þat it wes þe cauß of þair declinacioun, as we sall eftir schaw.

(II. 384)  
490

Off the deth of King Edward Langschankis ; how  
Edwarde | Carnaver his son was maid king ; how  
King Robert faucht aganis Inglismen with sindry  
victorijs ; and how King Edward come *with* ane  
grete army in Scotland. · Ca ix

**E**dward þe tyran of England, dredand þe Scottis be þir feliciteis to ryiß ilk daye in mair insolence, come *with* ane mair afull ordinance in Scotland þan evir he did afoir. Nochþeles, at his *cuming* to þe bordouris he fell in ane hevy malady, and decessit suddanlye but ony confessioun or sacramentis of Haly Kirk. It is sayid þat in þe houre of his deth ane nobill knycht, *Schir* Williame Banester, fell in ane extasy, and saw King Edward skurgitt and with innovmerabill

cumpany of devillis convoyitt to hell. The knycht incontinent fell in ane hevvy malady, and couth haif na rest, quhill he was brocht to ane oppin place befor all þe pepill to schaw þis visioun as it fell on King Edward, and quhen he had schawin þe samyn to þe pepill he *convalescitt*, and perseverit in gude lyfe and pennance to his deth. We can *nocht* declair quethir þis nerracioun be ane trew history or ane fabill, howbeit þe samyn appere trew, for his *vnmmercifull* cruelte wes done aganis Cristin pepill abone þe rigour of armys. For quhen he was in his last extremis he *commandit* fyfty barnis quhilkis war takin at Kildrymmy to be slayn, but ony compassioun of þair innocence and aige. Eftir his deth þe nobillis of England take his son Edward oute of Carnavar and maid him king. This Edward, following his faderis fute steppis, maid ane *conuencioun* of all þe nobillis of Scotland, *spirituale* and temporall, at Drumfress, quhare mony of þame war sworn to mak homage and faith to him as to þair *superiour* and king.

(II. 385) Vtheris, quhilkis traistit be deth of King Edward Langschankis grete alteracioun and troubill to follow be imprudence of his son throw his evill and 3oung counsale, becaus he was governit *specialye* be ane Petir Vaston þat was haittit *nocht* onlie *with* Inglis̄men bot als with Scottis, *nochtþeles* euery ane of þame comperit at þis tyme to eschew mair dangere appering. Edward returnit son eftir in England to renew his army, and send his ambassatouris in France, desyring support to his weeris.

In the menetyme Iohnne Cwmyng gaderit ane grete power of Inglis & Scottis to persew King Robert to þe deth and to conquess̄ honour þairthrow. King Robert, howbeit he was in grete infirmite for þe tyme, 3ite he sonezeit *nocht*, bot causit him to be borne on ane hors̄ littair to þe campe aganis his inymyis. The Cwmyng with *vþeris* Scottis and Inglismen in grete novmer abaid at ane strenth, traisting be þair onlie multitude to put King Robert to flycht. *Nochtþeles*, quhen þai saw him na thing effrayitt, þai gaif bakkis, on quhom  
491 | followitt King Robert with sik properant fury þat mony of þame war slayn and *vþeris* brocht presoneris to him. This victory was gottin at Inuerowry, x mylis fra Aberdene, and wes sa plesand to King Robert þat he gatt his hele *þerthrow*.

The nixt ȝere Donald of þe Ilis come with ane grete cumpany of Inglis & Scottis to invaid King Robert. Nochþeles, he was wyncust at þe Watter of Dere be Edward Bruse, and his cumpany put to flycht. King Robert eftir sindry chancis of bataill succeding to him with grete felicite on þis maner enterit in Ergyle with ane strang army, and nocht onlie subdewitt þe samyn to his opinioun, bot als tuke Alexander, Lord of Ergile, oute of ane strang castel þerof, and banyst him with all his gudis and freyndis in England, quhare he sone decessit. The nixt ȝere King Edward come *with* ane grete army to Renfrew, and sone eftir returnit in England with few werkis wourthy to haif memorye. The samyn ȝere, for continewall weris in þe ȝeris afoir passit, raiß sik darth in Scotland þat nothir vittalis nor bestiall mycht be gottin in ony partis þerof, throw quhilk þe darth was sa grete þat þe pepill eitt horsß and vther sindry forbodin flesche to sustene þair lyvis.

(II. 386)

Off sindry grete actis and merciall dedis done be King Robert aganis Inglismen; of þe condicioun of trewis takin betuix Edward Bruse and þe capitane of Striueling; how King Edward come *with* iij<sup>c</sup> thousand men to reskew Striueling; of þe victory fallin to Erle Thomas Randaill. Ca x

**K**ing Robert þe nixt ȝere following chasit and slew Inglismen in all partis quhair he come, and put þame be force oute of all castellis quhair þai war, and enterit twiß in England, putting þe landis and pepill þerof to herschip and slauchter, and returnit in Scotland, but ony invasioun of Inglismen, with innovmerabill riches, spoulȝe and praye of bestiall, throw quhilk he put England to na leß affliccioun and troubill than King Edward put Scotland þe ȝeris afoir. Eftir þis he wan þe toun of Perth, and slew all Scottis and Inglismen quhilkis war fondin in þe samyn, except barnis, wiffis and agit personis, quhilkis war sauffitt be his mercy. He fillit all þe fowseis of þe toun, and kest down þe wallis to þe grond. Eftir þis he gat

randrit to him þe castellis of Drumfreiß, Bute, Aire, Lanark, with mony vther castellis in Scotland. The samyn 3ere þe castell of Roxburgh was takin be *Schir* Iames Douglas on Fasterns Evin, quhen Inglismen war gevin all nycht to þair lust and insolence, havand na respect to þe keping þerof. The samyn 3ere Erle Thomas Randaill, sister son to King Robert Bruse and Erle of Murraye, wan þe castell of Edinburgh. Finaly all castellis quhilkis war takin be King Robert  
 492 war cassin doun, except þe castell of | Berwik, throw quhilk followitt grete troubill eftir in Scotland.

The samyn 3ere Edward Bruse segitt þe castell of Striueling traisting, gif he had wonnyn it, to bring him self in na litill honour to his posterite, and þocht he assailzeit þe samyn with all maner of ingyne and practik þat mycht tak ony houß, 3ite all his laboure was in vayne; for þe castell was nocht only strang be wallis, bot als richt strenthy be nature of þe crag, standing on ane hye moitt quhare na passage was bot at ane part. In þis castell was ane wal3eant knycht, *Schir* Philip Mowbraye, Scottis man howbeit he followitt þat tyme þe opinioun of Inglismen, havand sufficient vittalis to defend it lang tyme. Edward, richt sorowfull in his mynde quhatt was to be done, quhethir he suld lefe þe sege or continew still  
 (II. 387) at þe samyn to his importabill expensß, thocht rycht degrading to his honour, sen he had takin sa grete charge apon hand, to<sup>1</sup> decist cowartlie þerfra, and þerfor tuke purposß to assailze þe mynde of *Schir* Phillippe, capitane þerof, to see gif he wald randir þe houß with pleseir, and to mak him als familiar to King Robertt as he was with King Edward afoir. And becaus þe capitane refusit to rander þe houß in þis sort, he assailzeit him on ane new burd, howbeit þe samyn succeditt with mair felicite than prudence: gif þe capitane gat na releiff of King Edward within þe 3ere nixt following, to rander þe castell of Striueling to Scottis. This condicioun of pece was maid be Edward Bruse with grete foly, for na prudent men mycht beleiff ony vther bot þe riche and pissant King of England wald cum in support of his mater, havand sa lang daye to be provyditt þerwith. Attoure, it was aganis þe art of chevelry

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *to*.

to geif sa lang trewis, quhill þair inymyis mycht sufficientlye be armytt to invaid þame with batall. And þocht þir condicionis of trewis takin be Edward Bruse war foundin rycht vnplesand to King Robert, ȝite he wald nocht be repugnand þairto, þat na sedicioun nor troubill suld follow þereftir betuix him and his bruther, howbeit he vnderstude þe batall was to be led all wayis aganis þe King of Ingland.

King Edward send in þe menetyme to all lordis & princes quhilkis war freyndis to him to haif support aganis þe Scottis, promytting to devyde Scotland amang þame eftir his victory; and þerfor nocht onlye þe nobillis and pepill vnder his empire, quhilkis war conducit be him, bot als vther sindry infinitt pepill come with him on þair auentouris, quhilkis had bot small insyght at hayme, traisting to purches be his conques and victory landis & riches sufficient to sustene þair estaitt in tyme cuming, and in esperance þerof brocht þair wyffis and childerin with all þe gudis quhilkis þai mycht turfs, baith on futte & hors. The landis quhair King Edward gat support to þis batall war þir quhilkis followis: Holland, Zeeland, 493 | Brabant, Flanderis, Picardy, Bolonye, Gasconze, Normandy, with mony vther regionis quhilkis war all þat tyme othir confideratt with Ingland or ellis vnder þair dominioun, and by þame sindry Scottis men quhilkis for felicite succeding to Inglismen tuke þair part þis tyme contrair þair native prince. The novmer þat come at þis tyme in Scotland with King (II. 388) Edward extendit to j<sup>c</sup> & l<sup>m</sup> fute men and als mony hors men, and by þis infinite novmer of scudlaris and cariage men with þair wyffis, childerin, madynnis and seruandis, as þai war sickir to sitt doun perpetuallye in Scotland, throw quhilk þe novmer was sa grete þat na ordoure nor craft of chevelrye mycht be obseruatt amang þame, for þe men of were, wyffis & childerin war all myxt to giddir, throw quhilk rais ane hug reird and clamour in all partis quhair þai come throw diuersite of tongis. King Edward, be þis incredibill novmer of pepill richt proude & insolent, tuke litill sollicitude or thocht of batall, for quhen he was approaching nere þe merchis of Scotlannd, he tuke avisement with his nobillis with quhat cruell and maist schaymfull torment he mycht best pvneis

King Robert and vther his nobillis, presумыng be vane arrogance to put þame to *murdir* and pyne, as þai had bene sikkir in his handis. Attoure, he brocht with him ane Carmilite monk to discrive his conques & victory on Scotland, and nocht onlye þe King bot euery man in his cumpany vsit maist detraccioun on þe Scottis.

On the tothir syde King Robert did all thing with grete prudence & industry, and *with xxx<sup>m</sup>* men ferß and wele exercit in chevelry come pertlie aganis his inymis, and satt down with his ordinance on ane playne abone Bannoburn, vncertane quheper he did þis for þe grete confidence þat he had in his folkis or to cauß þair fais to haif þame in grete dredoure, as it followitt. For quhen þe Inglismen began to wounder how he durst cum with sa small powere aganis þair huge ordinance, it was sayid be ane agitt and wise capitane, nane of þe armyis suld haif victory þat day but cruell bergane, knawing þe grete vertew & manhede of King Robert and his forsy championis sa lang exercitt *with* innovmerabill slauchter and victorijs. Attoure, þis Robert maid deip fowseis in þe place quhare þe battell was sett, & dang stakis with scharp poyntis rying vp, coveritt *with* scheraldis, with sik ingyne þat fute men mycht pas on þe samyn, bot quhen ony grete preß come abone þe samyn of horßmen, þe lofting suld brek, and þe horßmen othir to be revin on stakis or ellis to haif na oute passage fra þe  
 (II. 389) samyn. Sik thingis done, he abaid still in þe said place, abyding *with* grete curage þe *cuming* of Inglismen. And quhen baith þe armyis war approching to vther within ane  
 494 myle, | King Edward in þe menetyme send viij<sup>c</sup> horßmen ane prevaye gaitt to þe castell of Striueling to aduerteiß þe capitane afoir namytt of his *cuming*. King Robert, seying þame proceeding forthwert, send Erle Thomas Randaill *with* v<sup>c</sup> men to sauff þe countre fra þair invasioun, quhilk mett thir Inglismen with incredibill manhede, throw quhilk it was fochtin cruelly lang tyme with vncertane victory in þe face of baith þe armyis. In the menetyme Schir Iames Douglas dred at Erle Thomas, quhom he had in singulare affeccioun, suld be wincust be multitude of Inglismen, and incontinent fell on kneis befoir King Robert, desyring licence to support his frend; and

becaus he gatt nane, haistelye he ruschitt oute of þe army be his privatt autorite with ane cumpany of chosin men to þe effect forsaid. Nochtþeles, quhen he was cumin neir þe place quhare þe Erle faucht, and saw þe victory inclynand to him *with* huge murdir of Inglismen, he stude still, þat he suld *nocht* be his cuming refe him þe gloir of victory, quhilk he had conquest *with* sik felicite and manhede, and incontinent with triumphand victory returnit to his campe. This victory was sa plesand to all þe army of Scottis that euery man tuke curage þairby *with* sikkir esperance of mair felicite.

(II. 390)

Off Sanct Felanys mirakill ; how þe twa Kingis, Robert and Edwarde, exhortitt þair armyis to bataill ; how Inglismen war disconfist at Bannokburn, and King Edward wes chasit be the Douglas to Dunbar ; off grete riches þat fell to Scottis be þis victory ; hou Flemingis & Antwarp tuke þair begynnynge. Ca xj

**T**he Inglismen, littill astonyst of þis disconfiture, howbeit þai saw þe Scottis doo þis wassallage be mair manhede þan novmer of pepill, nochþeles, becaus þe Scottis suld *nocht* increß mair ferß throw þe said victory, þai sett batall to fecht *with* thame on þe morrow. King Robert maid his folkis, quhilkis war in few novmer, reddy for batall on þe samyn maner, casting him all wayis to bring his inymyis in þe fowseis afoir devisitt, and in þe menetyme *commandit* ilk man to mak þair confessionis and ask *mercy* for þair offensß, þat þai may be reddy þe nixt daye to ressaue þe Blissit Sacrament eftir meß, throw quhilk þai mycht haif þe bettir esperance to haif victory. On þe tothir syde þe Inglismen belevitt *nocht* bot huge praye of landis and gudis to fall to þame be small  
495 laboure | of ane daye, and belevit na thing erar þan at þair first iovnyng to put þair inymyis to vtter exterminioun.

The nycht afoir þe batall King Robert, richt wery and havand grete sollicitude for þe wele of his army, tuk na rest, bot vacand in his deuote contemplacioun, revoluand all ieopardijs and chance of fortoun in his mynde, makand his

orisoun to God and Sanct Felayne, quhais arme, as he belevitt, sett in siluer wes closit in ane caiß within his pailzeoun, to haif þe mair propiciant fortoun be þe samyn. In þe menetyme the caiß chakkit to suddandlye but ony mocion or werk of mortall creature. The preist, astonyst be þis wounder, went to þe altare quhare þe caiß laye, and quhen he fand þe arme in þe samyn, he cryitt, "Here is ane grete mirakill!" and confessit how he brocht þe tvme caiß in þe feild, dredand þat it suld be tynt in þe feild, quhare sa grete ieopardy apperit.

(II. 391) The King, reiosit of þis mirakill, past þe remanent part of þe nycht in his prayeris with gude esperance of victory; the nixt morrow gaderitt all his army to meß, to ressaif þe Body of God, to mak þame haif þe mair curage aganis þair inymyis. In his army was ane deuote man namyt Mauritius, Abbot of Inchafferaye, quhilk said meß to þe army on ane hye moitt, and ministerit þe Eucharist to þe King and his nobillis, and causit his preistis to mak ministracioun þeroff to þe residew of þe army.

Eftir this King Robert callit þe pepill to his standart, and sayid in þis wise: "I beleif, maist forsy campionis, nane is amang 3ow vnknawing how necessair is to ws to fecht þis daye aganis oure inymyis. 3e see þe Inglis army gaderitt nocht onlye of Inglismen bot als of all vther nacionis lyand þame aboute, and cumin aganis ws with þair wiffis and childerin, nocht onlie to duell in oure boundis, bot to banyß ws oute of þe samyn, to manure oure landis, to frequent oure housß and templis, finalie to bring ws to sik vtter exterminioun þat oure fayme & memorye sall pereiß. Oure inymyis has takin lang consultacioun, howbeit þe samyn was in foly, with quhat cruelte and horribill torment þai sall pyne ws, or evir we be wincust or cumin in þair handis, nocht knawing 3oure invincibill curage & manhede sa lang exercit in chevelry, quhilk is richt patent to me be lang experience. Nochtþeles, gif 3e will knaw quhatt wailzeand men þir bene quhilkis invadis 3ow with sik vane minassing, maist forsy and invincibill campionis, 3e sall vnderstand þai ar þe refuse of all realmes, but ony practik or experience of chevellry, and continewally sen þair first 3eris drownit in lustis amang effeminatt huris, and becaus



þai haif na landis, bot erar, gif þai had ony, waistit þe samyn  
*with* thair patrymonþe & gudis in þair wyle & corruppit vsis.  
 And þocht þai febill and myschance bodeis intendis to cast  
 3ow, maist wailþeand pepill, oute of þoure native landis and  
 496 rowmes, 3ite it salbe na mair | difficulte to slay þame þan  
 scheip. Attour, þocht þai war dotatt *with* maist vertu, 3e  
 suld nothir be effrayitt nor 3ite fule hardy, for þe mair þat  
 oure accioun is iustare þan þair is, þe mair confidence suld we  
 haif þat God will stand fauorabill to ws, for multitude of  
 pepill aualis *nocht* quhan God is propiciant; and we fynd  
 now laitle God fauorabill to ws be singulare mirakill, quhilk  
 (II. 392) we vnderstand is cumin to þoure eeris. Heirfor, be of gude  
 curage, as 3e ar, aganis þone confusit multitude, and beleif  
 þe mair pepill is aganis 3ow, þair praye and spoulþe salbe to  
 3ow mair proffitt."

On þe tothir syde Edward commandit þe capitaneis of his  
 army to remembre, gif þai schew þame self wailþeand for ane  
 heure or twa, þai suld possede infinitte gudis and riches and  
 ressaif þe realme of Scotland in reuard of victory, off quhilk  
 he desyritt *nocht* bot þe superiorite; attour, prayit thame to  
 remembre quhat irrecouerabill schayme suld follow, sen þai  
 war departitt sa far oute of þair avne countreis, to return  
 bakwert. Quhen þai war *proceeding* forwertt in arrayitt  
 batall, þai *mycht* skairslie be severitt fra embrasing of þair  
 wiffis and childerin. Nochþeles, be hortacioun of thair capitaneis  
 þai come to gude arraye. Þe archearis stude arrayit amang  
 þe horsþ men apon euery weyng and þe batall ay in þe myddis  
 of þame, traisting þair inmyis *nocht* of pissance to sustene  
 þair grete ordinance.

In þe menetyme King Robert causit all his folkis to lefe  
 þair horsþ behynd þame and come on fute to batall, þat it  
 suld be necessair to þaim to fecht but ony respect to fleying.  
 Mauritius, quhilk said meþ afoir to þe army, tuke þe croce  
 in quhilk þe crucifix wes hungin, and ereckit þe samyn afoir  
 þe army, *commanding* þame to be of gude curage and haif  
 hoip in it; and quhen þe armyis began to approche, þe Scottis  
 fell on kneis, *commending* þame with deuotte mynde to þe  
*mercifull* & *omnipotent* God. The Inglismen, seing þame on

pis maner fall on kneis, cryitt with schill noyisß, þair inymyis war ʒoldin but straik, bot quhen thai saw þame ryisß and come forthvert with maist fury in batall, þai began to be effrayitt. Nochþeles, baith þe armyis ruschitt to giddir with sik preß that ane huge pepill war drevin at erd on all sydis. The Archearis quhilkis war arrayitt in þe vtter<sup>1</sup> skyrtis of þe weyngis, schott incredibill novmer of arrowis, to þe grete damage of Scottis. Incontinent ane huge pepill, quhilk was left to keip þe cariag of Scottis, seying þair maisteris in (II. 393) sik extreme dangere of bataill, tuke þair sarkis abone þair clathis, *with* towellis and napkynniss bundin to þair speris, and come down þe hill fornentis þair inymyis with maist aufull & terribill noyisß. The Inglismen, fechtand þan in maist cruelte aganis Scottis *with* vncertane victory, and seyng þis new ordinance cumand down þe hill on þair face, belevitt 497 þame othir to be angellis *cumin* in support of | Scottis, or ellis ane new army to þair disconnfitoure. And becaus þai mycht *nocht* sustene þe rageand fury of Scottis þan present, þai belevitt to be vtterly distroit gif þai perseueritt ony forthir in batall, and þairfor gaif bakkis; on quhom followit þe Scottis with insaciabill ire, makand incredibill slauchter in all partis quhare þai come, specialie quhair King Edward fled. Schir Iames Douglas with iiij<sup>c</sup> chosin men, na thing irkitt with continewall murdir on his inymyis, followitt King Edward with lang chaisß to Dunbar, quhair he was ressaut be Patrik Dunbar, Erle of Marche, *with* xv erlis, and convoyit be sey to Berwyk be ane fischair boitt, to be exempill of þe vnsikker staitt and gloir of princes. Þocht King Edward was þis daye at morrow maist proude *with* innovmerabill pyssance of dukis, erlis and baronis, noch vnlyke sum tyme to þe grete army of King Exoraxis,<sup>2</sup> ʒite he was constranit to sauff his lyfe in ane pure fischare baitt, as said is.

In þis batall war<sup>3</sup> slayne l<sup>m</sup> Inglismen, the Duke of Glocister, with ij<sup>c</sup> knychtis, amang quhom was slayne Schir Geelis of Argente, quhais deth was sa displesand to King Robert for

<sup>1</sup> A different hand has interlined *vtter*, the correct reading, above *vther*, but not crossed *vther* out.

<sup>2</sup> A later hand notes in the right margin *Xerxes*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *was war*.

the familiarite þat he had with him in Ingland þat he reiosit na thing of þe victory, and þairfor was hevelye reprevitt be his nobillis þat he apperitt dolorous eftir sa grete felicite fallin to his pepill. Off Scottis war slayne skairslye iiii<sup>m</sup> men, with twa knychts, *Schir* Williame Aldbrig and *Schir* Walter Ros. The spoulze was sa huge of gold, siluer and vther iowellis gottin in þe said feild þat all þe Scottis war richitt be þe samyn, nochtwithstanding þair huge powerte fallin to þame of befoir be continewall weeris, for þai gatt at þis tyme litill leß money and riches be redempcioun of Inglis presoneris quhilkis war takin amangis þame þan of spoulze in þe feild. King Robert's wife, quhilk was haldin viij 3eris afoir in Ingland, was interchangit for ane duke of Ingland. The goldin and silkin clathis of quhilkis King Edwardis pailzeonis war maid  
 (II. 394) war distribute amang þe abbais of Scotland to be westmentis and frontalis to þair altaris, of quhilkis mony 3ite remanys tooure dayis. Attoure, þe freir Carmilite quhilk was brocht, as we haif writin, be King Edward to put his victory in versis was takin in þis feild, and commandit be King Robert to write as he saw, quhilk maid þerupon þe rousty versis begynnynge þus "De planctu cudo," &c, howbeit þai war in þai dayis plesand enewch to vnletterit pepill.

It is sayid þat þe nycht afoir þis batall twa elrage men of vncouth habitt come to þe Abbott of Glasenbrig within Ingland, desyring lugeing, quhair þai war plesandlie ressauit, and schew how þaj war gangand to help þe Scottis at Bannoburn. The morrow, quhen þe Abbott come to vesy þame, he fand þame awaye, and þe beddis na thing alteritt fra þe samyn arraye as he left þame afoir, and þairfor it was belevitt þat þai war  
 498 angellis send be provisioun of God to defend þe | Scottis in þair iust materis aganis þe tyranny of Inglismen. The samyn daye þat þis battall was strikkin ane knycht with schynand armour schew to þe pepill at Abirdene how þe Scottis had gottin ane huge victory of Inglismen, and sone eftir wentoure Pentland Firht, and was haldin be þe pepill to be Sanct Mawnis, Prince sum tyme of Orknaye; and for þat caufß King Robert dotatt þe kirk of Orknaye with v libri striueling of þe custumis of Aberdene to furneiß brede, wyne and walx

to þe said kirk. Als King Robert revardit Robert Flemyng with þe landis of Cummernald for his faithfull *seruice* done at þis tyme and afoir, of quhom ar discenditt ane nobill houß perseverand ȝite in grete honour to þir dayis.

(II. 395) It is sayid þat twa knychtis of Brabant, quhilk come be request of King Edward to þis batall, herand þe nycht afoir þis batall maist iniurious detraccioun of King Robert in þe Inglisß army, besocht God to send King Robert victory, and for þe samyn cauß war banyst oute of þe army be oppin *proclamacioun*, he þat *mycht* bring ony of þair heedis to King Edward suld haif to þair revarde *j<sup>c</sup> markis* striueling. King Robert, herand þis þe day eftir his victory, revarditt þame with spoulze of þe said batall, with quhilkis þai returnit in Braban, and biggitt þe toun of Antwarpe, in þe quhilk war þe armys of þe Bruse maist curioslye ingravin in all partis of þe said toun, to be ane *perpetuall* memoriall of þe said beneuolence þat þir twa knychtis had to King Robert for his liberalite.

This glorious victory succedit to Scottis on þe Natiuite of Sanct Iohnne þe Baptist, fra *our* Redempcioun *j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup>* and *xiiij ȝeris*.

How þe croun of Scotland was tailzeitt to King Robert and his airis ; how Edward his bruther was maid King of Ireland, and slayne in þe samyn be Inglismen ; and how King Robert sufferitt grete distreß in Ireland. Ca xij

**B**annoburn disconnfist in þis maner, King Robert sett ane counsale at Air, in þe quhilk be generall counsale of all þe thre estatis he gatt þe crowne of Scotland tailzeitt to him and his airis maill, and failzeing *þerof* to þe airis maill of his bruper Edward, and failzeing of þe airis maill of þame baith þe crowne to return to Mariory, his dochter, and to þe airis gottin of hir body quhatsumeuir. Attour, giff King Robert and Edward his bruther happinnit to deceß or þe airis of Mariory war of perfyte aige, that Thomas Randall, quhilk

was Erle of Murraie and his sister son, suld be *Gouverneur* of Scotland quhill þe airis forsaide's war *cumin* to perfeccioun.

499 This | Mariory was gottin be King Robert on þe Erle of Marris sister, and marijt be avise of his nobillis on Walter, þe Stewart of Scotland. King Robert sone eftir marijt Elizabeth, dochter to þe Erle of Hullister, on quhom he gatt ane son, Daid, and twa dochteris, Margarete and Mald. Þe first was marijt on þe Erle of Sutherland, and bure him ane son, namyt Iohnne; þe secound, Mald, decessit in hir (II. 396) infance. King Robert eftir þe mariage of Mariory, his first dochter, went throw all þe boundis of his realme, and *nocht* onlye confermytt þair auld *preuilegis*, bot als dotatte sindry townis and baronis of his realme *with* new prerogativis, *specialie* þe townis of Perth, Donde and Aberdene, as apperis 3ite be his charteris.

The nixt 3ere, quhilk was fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> & xv 3eris, the princes of Ireland, oppressit be lang *tyranny* of Inglismen, and traisting, becaus sa huge victory was gottin be Scottis, to recouere þair liberte, send þair ambassatouris to King Robert, desyring him to send his bruper Edward to ressaif þe croun of Ireland. Edward, *nocht* refusing þair desyris, went<sup>1</sup> with ane few novmer of chosin men in Ireland, quhair he be assistance of þe peple *perof* wan ane grete toun namyt Vlconye *with* na litill slauchter of Inglismen. Sone eftir all þe princes of Ireland with ane mynde maid him king, and send ambassatouris to þe Paip, desyring him to conferme þe thing þat þai haif done for þair *commoun* wele, becaus þai mycht suffer na langare þe *tyranny* of Inglismen, complenyng sindry iniuris done aganis þair *preuilegis* and richtis be ane Inglis bischop, quhilk has brocht þame to importabill *seruitude*, and sa frequent slauchter maid daylie on þame be Inglismen þat þai war na mair estemytt þan doggis; and þocht Inglismen war oft monyست to depart oute of Ireland be þe Papis autorite, 3ite þai war na thing obeysand *þerto*, bot thirlitt þe samyn ilk daye with mair *tyranny*. The nixt 3ere King Robert, knowing in quhat dangere his bruther stude aganis Inglis̄men, left ane garesoun of chosin men to keip his bordouris, and come

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *went*: supplied from A., agreeing with printed text.

with ane strang army to support his bruper in Ireland, quhare he sustenit sik miserabill distreß þat his army was constranytt to eitt horß, throw quhilk mony of his army deitt of hungyr. At last, quhen he was within ane dayis iornaye to his bruper to haif supportit him sufficientlye with þe residew of his army, þe said Edward, *nocht* abyding his *cuming*, faucht vnprudentlye *with* Inglismen, vncertane howdir he knew *nocht* his bruperis *cuming*, or gif he be birnand desire of batall dred his bruther to refe him þe glore of victory. *Nochtþeles*, Edward, seying þe curage of his men fail, þat he suld *nocht* tyne þe honour of his nacioun, faucht *with* na leß manhede þan perseuerand constance to þe deth.

(II, 397)

How King Edward was disconnfyst be Erle James of Douglas; of grete vassallage done be Williame Sinclair, Bischop | of Dunkelden aganis Inglismen; and how Berwik was recoueritt. Ca xiiij

500

Edward of England, herand þe passage of King Robert in Ireland, thocht þe tyme was than expedient to conques Scotland, and come with ane strang powere in þe samyn, aganis quhom come Schir James Douglas, quhilk was left Gouvernour of Scotland to King Robertis returnyng, and put King Edward to flycht, howbeit þe victoury succedit *nocht* but huge slauchter on athir syde. In þis batall, as þe Cornikillis of Scotland schawis, Erle James slew thre of þe maist wailþeand campionis of England with his awin handis. King Edward, disconnfist on þis maner be the Douglas, becaus his army prosperitt *nocht* be land, send ane grete navy in Scotland to invaid þe samyn be þe seye, quhilkis brynt and herijt þe land on euery syde þame aboute. The Erle of Fife, herand þir grete invasionis, come *with* v<sup>c</sup> men, traisting to tak sa mony of þame as war vagabound throw þe cuntre. *Nochttheles*, quhen he saw þame of mair power þan he mycht resist, he fled abak, and in þe menetyme mett William Sinclair, Bischop of Dunkeld, quhilk was cumin with lx wele arrayitt men to batall and reprevitt him quhy he fled sa cowartlye, *nochtþeles* brocht

him agane quhair þe Inglismen war, exhorting his folkis to haif gude esperance in God, and þe remanent charge committit to his cure. Incontinent *with* grete curage and spreitt þai sett on þir Inglismen, and slew v<sup>o</sup> of þame at þe first iovnyng, and þe remanent chasit to þair schippis *with* sa ferß persute þat þir Inglismen war constranytt to flee to þe bairtis quhilkis war nerrast þame, and enterit *with* sa grete novmer þat þe bairtis sank or þai come to þair schippis. Bischop Sinclair for þis honest wassallage was ay callit eftir King Roberttis Byschop.

The samyn tyme Robert Stewart, son to Walter Stewart & Mariory Bruse, was born, quhilk was eftir King of Scotland, (II. 398) the 3ere fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> & xviiij 3eris. Erle Thomas Randall enterit in þe north partis of England, and brocht ane huge praye of gudis oute of þe samyn but ony troubill done to his army, and recouert Berwyk be industry of ane Inglisman, namytt Spalding, be quhom it was deliueritt eftir þat it had bene in Inglismenis handis xx 3eris. His posterite broukitt 3it certane landis in Anguse for þe samyn caufs. The 3ere nixt following King Edward segitt Berwik *with* ane grete army, and returnit hayme, becaus he couth nocht tak it, with litill honoure. The samyn tyme Mariory Bruse, King Robertis dochter, decessit ; & sone efter lang peace & trewis war takin betuix Inglis & Scottis.

501

Of þe Blak Parliament ; how King Edward complainit to þe Paip for þe iniuris of Scottis ; off þe orisoun maid be þe Papis legaitt to King Robert, and of his ansuere. Ca xiiij

**K** yng Robert, havand his realme but ony troubill of inmyis maid ane convencioun of his nobillis at Perth, and desyritt all his nobillis to schaw þair haldingis. The nobillis eftir lang avisement pullit oute þair swerdis, and sayid þai had na vther eidentis to schaw for þair landis. King Robert, rycht effrayitt of þis sycht, dissimulit his hattrent for ane tyme, and sayid þai schew þame self nobill men, sen þai debatit

þair landis be þe swerd. Nochtþeles, he bure grete hattrent in his mynde aganis þame, and determit to revenge thair proude contempcioun quhen evir he fand sufficient oportunitie. Sindry of þe nobillis, aduerteist at þe King was movitt with grete hattrent aganis thame, thocht best to attempt ane thing mair cruell aganis him, afoir his purposß come to effect, and þerfor war confideratt amang þame self to put him in King Edwardis handis. Nochttheles, þe samyn was nocht lang hyd to King Robertt, for ane of þe conspiratouris revelitt þe haill tresoun, and þat þe verite þerof suld be þe mair patent (II. 399) King Robert gart certane quiette personis ly be þe gaitt to tak þair writingis, quhilkis finalye brocht þe band & lettrez contenand þe hale tresoun devisit aganis him. King Robert, eftir þat he had considerit þe lettrez degestlye, send for þe nobillis to cum to him with all deligence, as ane grete mater war occurrand, quhilk mycht nocht be dressit but þair consultacioun. Eftir þair cuming he demandit þame gif þai kend þair hand writtis & seelis, and becaus þai mycht nocht deny, þai war send to sindry castellis to remane in ward quhill he war forthir avisitt. Sone eftir he went to Berwik, and brocht Schir Williame Sowlis, capitane þerof, fra Berwik to Perth, becaus he was participant with þe said tresoun; eftir þis sett ane convencioun of his nobillis at Perth, quhilk was callit þe Blak Parliament, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xx 3eris. And first he accusit his sister son, Daid Abirnethy, becaus he knew þis tresoun, howbeit he assistit nocht pairto, and wald nocht revele it in tyme. 3ite þe King wald þat he had bene sauffitt, gif he mycht haif done it eselye. Nochþeles, becaus nane was to laubour for him, he was hedit. The nixt morrow all þe remanent nobillis quhilkis war of þis conspiracioun war convickitt of tresoun, and becaus þe Kingis sister son was hedit afoir for arte of þis tresoun, þai war all hedit on þe samyn maner but ony mercy. The samyn tyme þe Erledome of Buchquhan was deviditt betuix Williame Haye & Williame Keth.

That ilk tyme King Edward send writingis to þe Paip, complenyng þe iniuris done be Scottis, saying þat he was sa cruellye invadit be þame þat he mycht nocht pas with his



502 army aganis þe Turkis, | as vþeris his eldaris has done afoir, nor ʒite cum oute of his realme to support or invaid ony vther pepill, and þairfor desyrit þe Papis Halynes, gif he desyrit peace amang Cristin princes, to repreß þe wilde fury of Scottis rageand in maist cruelte aganis him. With thir and vþer (II. 400) siclike wourdis he movit þe Paip to grete hattrent aganis Scottis, howbeit he was þe crop & rute of all þe weeris betuix England & Scotland. Sone eftir ane legaitt was send be þe Paip to King Robert, complenyng of þe iniuris & trouble done be his pepill aganis Inglismen, saying þe Cristin faith mycht neuer be sikkir sa lang as Cristin princes war at continewall debaitt amang þame self, as wele apperitt ; for þe Grete Turk, cruell & maist vnmercifull inmye to Cristin pepill, had conquest laitlye grete boundis of Crissindome, and ekand daylie his empyre with new conquest, throw quhilk sindry realmez ar drawin fra þe dominioun of Crissindome. The legaitt eftir þir wourdis was removitt quhill þe King had takin avisement with his nobillis quhat wes to be ansueritt on þis mater. Þe haill nobilite of Scotland, beand present at þis conuencioun, with lang & degest deliberacion concludit for mair dispyte to invaid Inglismen with new army, and thocht þe wourdis of þis legaitt war nocht wourthy to haif ansuere, for ilk man mycht clerelie vnderstand þe Paip was nocht sa myschance bot he knew wele þe motive of þir weris, sen þair cause bene sa oft deuoluit afoir him. Nochtþeles, sindry vther lordis, quhilkis war of leß hattrent, thocht best nocht to contempne þe Papis Halynes, and þairfor decernit plesand ansuere to be gevin to his legaitt, þat þe Paip suld nocht beleif þame inmyis to reasoun or wele of Cristin faith, schewing þame desyrous of na thing mair þan of peace with þe King of England, gif he war respondent þerto, howbeit þai knew þe dissaitt and slycht of Inglismen to mak þame seme sa propiciant to þe faith þat þai wald move were aganis Scottis in þe Papis autorite. Attour, Inglismen mycht haif na clame to þe croun of Scotlannd, for it has bene reiosit with Scottis in sik liberte þat lxxxxvj kingis be lang progressioun has lineallye succedit to þe samyn, ay of ane blude, but ony interrupcioun, quhill laitlye Inglismen, quhen þai saw þe successioun of King Alexander failþe, maid

pame to conquess þe croun of Scotland; and for þat cause wald first dant þe invasioun of Inglismen, and eftir þat wald be correckitt at þe Papis mynde. The legaitt, depeschitt in þis maner, returnit hame but ony expedicioun of his desyris.

(II. 401)

How King Edward eftir grete cruelteis done be his armye in Scotland was disconnfist be King Robert at Byland; how þe Hammyltownis tuke þair begynnynge; and of King Edwardis deth. Ca xv

503 A schort<sup>1</sup> tyme following King Robert enteritt *with* ane grete army in England, and waistit þe | landis *þerof with* fyre & swerd, quhill he come to þe Ree Croce in Stane Mure. King Edward, movitt with þir iniuris, rasit ane grete army, and come in Scotland *with* ane hundreth thousand armyt men on fute & horß. King Robert, aduerteist of his cuming, gart bring all þe cornis and bestiall within strenthis, quhare þai mycht nocht be gottin to support þe army of England. Nochtþeles, þe Inglismen come to Edinburgh, bot þai war constranytt *within* xv dais to depart for penurite of vittalis, and ȝite *within* few dayis eftir þai returnit in Scotland, cessing fra na maner of cruelte on þe pepill *þerof*. Thai spoulzeit þe Abbay of Melroß, and slew sindry agitt monkis of þe samyn, quhilkis mycht nocht flee. Als þai spoulzeit þe Eucharist oute of þe caiß of siluer quhare it hang, and kest it in ane treyn kyst; comparit iustlye to barnis of Lucifer, quhilkis intendit to spoulze God oute of his awin hous. Attour, þai brynt Dryburgh with mony *vper* religious abbayis and placis. King Robert to revenge þir iniuris come þe samyn ȝere in England, and waistit all landis and townis quhair he come vnto ȝork, and faucht *with* King Edward at Byland, and put his army to flycht<sup>2</sup> *with* grete slauchter baith of Inglismen & Normannis, of quhilkis mony war takin and ransonit *with*

<sup>1</sup> The *s* of *schort* is not visible in the MS., though there is room for it. It may be missing through a mistake of the illuminator, who should have made a capital *S* instead of *A*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *to flycht*: supplied from A., agreeing with printed text.

grete sovmes of money. King Robert returnit *with* grete felicite in Scotland.

The 3ere following, quhilk was fra *our* Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xxiiij 3eris, King Robert send ane ambassatoure to þe Paip, and was reconnsalit be þe samyn, fra he vnderstude als welc þe dissaitt of Inglisemen as þe verite of Scottis. King Robert als send ane vther ambassatoure to renew þe band betuix France & Scotland, and ekitt þir condicionis in þe samyn : gif successioun failþeitt of ony of thir twa kingis, vncertane quhai suld be þair air, þe clame & richt of þe croun salbe deciditt be þe nobillis of baith þe realmez, and þai sall *nocht* exclude onlie tyrannis, gif ony of þame wald vsurpe þe croun, bot als defend þe iust heretoure *perof* ; and to ratifye þis band *with* mair sikkirnes þai *nocht* onlye eitt þe Body of Criste to giddir, bot als ratifijt þe samyn be þe Papis autorite.

The samyn tyme ane Inglisman of nobill blude, namit Hamton, to eschew þe hatrent of King Edward fled to King Robert in Scotlannd. Þis Hamtoun eftir þe Battell of Bannoburn was in þe King of Inglandis house at Loundon, and had ane singulare favoure to King Robert, ofttymes avansing his grete manhede & vertew, quhill at last Iohnne Spensare, quhilk had grete familiarite *with* King Edward, howbeit he was of vile and obscure lynage, tuke sik displeasur for avansing of King Edwardis inymye þat he pullit hastily his swerd, and hurt Hamtoun, howbeit he was litill þe war. Hamtoun, impacient to sustene þis odious outrage, becaus he was ane man of hye spreitt and invincibill curage, cessit *nocht* fra continewall waitt, quhill at last he slew þis Spensair. And becaus he was consultit be his freyndis to eschew þe Kingis hattrent, quhilk commandit to puneifþ him for his cruelte, he fled *with* grete deligence in Scotland, quhare he was tendirlye ressaut be King Robertt, and gat þe landis of Cadzow, quhais posterite perseveris 3ite amang ws, spred in grete novmer of pepill, and is now decoritt *with* þe Kingis blude, callit Hammyltoun, sum part chengit fra þe name of þair first begynnar.

504 Quhill sic thingis war done in Scotland, King Edward gouernit þe realme of Ingland baith in were & peace be counsale

of Hew Spensare, ane man of small lynage and montit to hie honour in sik maneris þat þe King held his Quene, his freyndis & nobillis in contempcioun, alanerlie consultit be him. The nobillis, impacient to suffir ane man of sa vile lynage abone þame, be avise of þe Qwene & hir son, þe Prince of Ingland, tuke King Edwarde be force of armys to ward, and slew þis Spensair *with* mony vperis þe Kingis tresonable counsalouris. The ievellouris *quhilkis* kept þe presoun quhare King Edward wes, to put him haistlye to deth, be avise of his son, pressit doun ane hevvy burd on his wame; and becaus he deitt *nocht* sa haistelye as þai desyrit be þis punicioun, þai put ane horne in his fundament, and eftir þat put ane wand of haitt irne oute throw þe horne, quhill þai brynt þe inwart partis of his  
 (II. 403) body, to caus þe peple vnderstand þat he deit of na outewert woundis, bot alanerlye of naturall infirmite; eftir quhais deth his son Edward Wyndishore<sup>1</sup> succedit in his place, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xxvj ʒeris.

How Iohne Ballioll transferritt all richt þat he had to þe croun of Scotland in King Robert; how þe croun was new talzeit to Dauid Bruse; how þe Erlis of Douglas & Murraye did gret wassallage in Ingland.  
 Ca xvj<sup>tum</sup>

**R**obert, þe conquerour of Scotland, eftir mony his illuster dedis for þe publik wele and liberte of Scotland, howbeit he had richt eneuch to þe croun *perof*, and knowing þe Ballioll vnabill to reiose þe croun, becaus he exonerit him self of þe samyn and put þe realme in his inymyis handis, ʒite, þat þe airis of Ballioll suld haif na iust clame to þe croun eftir his deth, Schir Iames of Douglas was send in France to caufs Iohnne Ballioll, gif he *mycht*, transfer his richt in King Robert & his airis, and to geif þe Ballioll *nocht* onlye grete iowellis, bot als sindry riche landis in Scotland for his richt. It is sayid þat Ballioll at þe cuming of Schir Iames was fallin blynd be lang aige, and sayid þat he was ay vnabill to haif governit

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Wyndis hore*.

þe realme of Scotland, and nane sa abill as King Robert his cousing, sen he has sa wailþeantlie defendit it fra invasioun of maist cruell inmyis, and þerfor all richt & clame þat he had or mycht haif in and to þe croun of Scotlannd he transferritt in þe said King Robert and his airis quhatsumeuir, desiring na thing sa mekill as him & his airis to regne in perpetuall felicite. King Robert, richt reiositt of þis, convenit all his thre estatis at Cambuskynnetþ, þe 3ere of God afoir writin, quhare he maid new talþee to his son Daudid; gif he decessit (II. 404) but airis of his body, þat his nepott Robert Stewartt, gottin on Mariory Bruse his dochter, suld succede; and gart all þe nobillis be sworne to defend þis tallþe vnder þair seelis and hand writis.

The samyn tyme Edward þe Thrid, callitt Windisore, send his ambassatouris to King Robert, desiring peace, howbeit 505 it was | vnder dissaitt, for nochtwithstanding þe peace contractitt be him he invaditt Scotland with continewall battell. Nochtþeles, becaus King Robert had troubill be age and lang infirmite, þe realme was gouernit be Erle Thomas Randell and Schir Iames Dowglas, quhilkis war þat tyme nocht onlie twa maist wailþeand campionis of Albioun, bot als of all vther partis of þe warld. Thir twa invincibill chiftanis enterit in Northumberland with xx<sup>m</sup> men, aganis quhom come Edward with ane hundreth thousand Inglismen. Nochttheles, þir twa campionis waistit all Northumberland,<sup>1</sup> and come agane in Scotland with sik deligence þat þe Inglismen mycht nocht invaid þame for þat tyme. The Inglismen incontinent enterit in Scotland, wirkand grete murdir and herschippis in all partis quhare þai come, to cauß þe Scottis cum in batall for þe defence of þair landis and gudis; and quhen þai had lyne thre dayis at þe watter of Tyne, and mycht nocht cum our þe samyn becaus it wes rissin abone þe brais, tythingis come þat all Northumberland was brynt and herijt be Scottis, and 3eid sa fast throw þe countre, but ony residence, þat na man wist quhare to fynd þame. In þe menetyme war send owte exploratouris on swift horß to se quhare þe Scottis war, quhilkis fand þame within iij mylis to þe campe of Inglismen,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Noothumberland*.

arrayitt on ane hill, reddy to fecht. Edward rasit his campe incontinent, and come fornentis þe Scottis quhair þai war. The nixt day, quhen baith þe armyis war arrayitt in vther sycht, þe Scottis, beand of small novmer in regard of Inglismen, held þame at ane grete strenth on þe hyll. Quhen þe Inglismen had standin all daye, and durst *nocht* brek þair arraye, þai returnit to þair palzeonis, and send ane herald to Scottis, desyring þame, gif þai durst fecht, to cum to þe planys, quhare þai mycht meitt þame ; as it had bene na prudence to capitanis to garnyß þair army *with* maist ordour & strangest municiou þat mycht be devisit. Bot þair herald was send agane with derisioun. And quhen þe armyis had lyne thre nychtis in vther sicht, and durst *nocht* invaid vther, þai returnit baith to þair palzeonis. The nixt daye þe Scottis left þis hill quhilk þai war last on, and tuke ane nothir hyll, na les strang and ganand to þair army þan þe first. The Inglismen, seying þis, come ay mair approcheand to þame. *Nocht*þeles, becaus þe (II. 405) Scottis was bot in few novmer, þai tuke litill regard to þair waiche. The Douglas, seying þis, tuke purpoß to assailze ane mater of grete audacite, to be na les terroure to his fayis þan honour to him self, and incontinent chesit ij<sup>c</sup> vailzeand & deliuer men *with* swift geldingis, and slippitt quietelye by þe waiche of Inglismen, quhilkis war at þat tyme all on sleip, except ane certane, quhilkis war awalkinnit be dyn of horsß feitt, and gaif grete schouttis. *Nocht*þeles, *Schir* Iames Douglas come but ony noyiß to þe Kingis palzoun, and slew all personis quhom he mett be þe gaitt, and becaus þe army raiß sa hastlye þat he mycht *nocht* abyde, he cuttit þe towis of King Edwardis palzeouns, and returnit to þe camp of 506 Scotland but | ony displeær to him self or his folkis. The Inglismen eftir þis effraye war þe mair vigilant in tymes cuming, for þai had bene aluterlye disconnfist gif the army of Scotland had invaidit þame þe said nycht.

The Scottis, traisting þis vassallage sufficient for þis tyme, returnit hayme but ony *dammage* to þair army. The Inglismen, knowing þame departit, tuke consultacioun quhat was to be done, and becaus þair army was irkitt be lang walking, þai

thocht best to put ane end to all þair weris, howbeit þai wald nocht haistely skail þair army. Sone eftir þai war aduerteist þat mekill spoulze and riches was left in þe campe of Scottis, and þerfor þai send ane cumpany of weirmen to espy gif ony hid slycht war lurkand in þis mater ; and quhen þai fand inymyis in na partis, þai ran *with* reiosit myndis to þe spoulze forsaid. In þe begynnynge of þe campe þai fand v<sup>c</sup> bestis, quhilkis war slayne afoir be Scottis, þat þai suld nocht cum qwyk in þair inymyis handis, quhen þai mycht nocht be esely drevin with þe remanent careage. Thai fand als x<sup>m</sup> pair of bottingis, skatteritt throw all þe boundis quhare þe army of Scotland laye, quhilkis war left behynd þe careage men becaus þai war impediment to þair ganging. The Inglismen, becaus þai fand na vther riches, beleiffitt nocht bot sik thingis war left to þair derisioun, and þerfor returnit hayme but ony proffitt or honour fallin to þame be þis waage.

The samyn zere Walter Stewart decessit, quhais son Robert was eftir King of Scottlannd, and þe nixt zere following Quene Elizabeth decessit, moder to þe Prince Dauid, and was berijt at Dunfermling, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xxvij zeris. The samyn zere King Robert wan þe castell of Northhayme, and eftir þat segitt Anwik, quhair mony nobill men of Scotland war slayne. Nochpeles, afoir þe end of þis zere King Edward send his ambassatouris in Scotland to trete peace, and renuncitt all richt and clame þat he had or mycht haif to þe realme of Scotland, and declaritt it als fre as it was in þe tyme of King Alexander þe Thrid vnder þir condicionis : þat Northumberland salbe þe marchis of Scotland on þe est partis and Cumber to be þe marchis on þe west bordouris þerof ; attoure, for þe grete iniuris & skaithis done be Scottis to Inglismen, King Robert sall pay to King Edward xxx<sup>m</sup> libri striueling ;  
 (II. 406) and þat þe peace sall remane *with* mair sikkirnes, King Edward marijt his sister Iane on Dauid Bruse at Berwik in presence of Quene Elizabeth hir moder *with* mony of all þe nobillis baith of Scotland and Ingland.

Off þe deth and loving of King Robert Bruse, and of  
his testament and legacy. Ca xvij

**K** yng Robert levitt *nocht* lang eftir þis mariage, and decessitt  
at Cardros in lepre, quhilk fell to him in þe lattir end of  
his aige, þe xxiiij 3ere of his regne, fra oure Redempcioun  
j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xxix 3eris, ane of þe maist wail3eand princes þat was in  
507 | ony part of þe warld in his dayis, havand experience bairth  
of gude & evill fortoun ; his realme beand tynt, his freyndis  
and brethir all slayne except *alanerly* his bruder Edward, he  
perseveritt *with* sik innative manhede and invincibill spreitt  
that he recouerit his realme and liberte, quhen mony of all  
þe grete baronis of Scotland war aganis him. Attoure, he  
was in na leß honoure & apprysing amang his inymyis þan  
amang his freyndis ; for quhen King Edward happinitt to  
*commoun* at ane solempnit bankett of sindry princes, con-  
cernyng þe gloir of armys and chevelry, quhen þe nobillis war  
disputand in sindry purpoß *þerof*, thai fell at ane questioun,  
quhilkis war þe thre maist wail3eand and forsy championis  
þat war in þair dayis, and quhen þai had contendit lang,  
thai proponit this questioun to be discussit be ane herald  
that was king of armys. This herald, quhilk was principale  
*þerof*, richt stupefact for þis questioun, becaus *nocht* *alanerlye*  
þe King bot als sindry of þe nobillis that war with him belevitt  
for þair singulare manhede to be novmeritt amang þir thre,  
*nocht* þeles it happinitt far fra þair purpoß, for þis herald  
*nocht* onlie knew all þe nobillis of England, bot als all vther  
nobillis and wail3eand princes quhare he travalit, havand all  
þair dedis in recent memorye, and began to novmer þame as  
(11. 407) followis : the first maist wail3eand campiou was, as he allegit,  
Hary þe Emprour, becauß he subdewitt thre kingis, thre  
realmez, and debaittit his imperiall dignite *with* perpetuall  
felicite to þe end of his lyfe ; the secound was Schir Geelis  
of Argentee, becaus he was victorious in thre sindry batallis  
aganis Saracenis, and slew thre of þair principale capitanis  
*with* his awin handis ; the thrid, gif it war *nocht* displesand  
to his prince to schaw þe verite, was Robert Bruse, King of



Scotland. Incontinent all þe Kingis hall was in ane gyld, becaus þe herrald sa pertlie schew þe verite, but ony fere, in presence of his prince. Nochtþeles, þe herald humilye desyritt silence in þe Kingis name, saying, " I belevitt nevir bot þe verite was ay plesand & thankfull to þe, richt illuster Prince, and þerfor I beseyk þi Hyenes to tak *nocht* my declaracioun in displeasur, gif I haif failzeit in ony thing aganis þi Maieste. For gif it be necessair to ony man to be wincust, it is leß dishonour to be wincust *with* him þat is maist wailzeand þan *with* him þat is maist cowart. Attoure, to schaw þow how far I avance þe grete manhede of King Robert, quhilk ze may evill suffir to be novmerit *with* thir twa first campionis, howbeit, gif þe verite war schawin, I suld *nocht* prefer him alanerlie to sik men, bot als to þir twa maist wailzeand afoir rehersit ; becaus þe grete actis and wailzeand dedis done be þe Empriour Hary war *nocht* done be his awne manhede and prudence, bot erar be counsale of his nobillis ; be contrar, King Robert was exilitt his <sup>1</sup> realme, and recouert þe samyn be his onlie manhede, contrair þe grete pyssance of þi maist nobill fader, and finalie stabillit his realme with sik tranquillite þat he apperit mair terribill to his inymyis of England and  
 508 | vtheris his inuasouris þan evir þai war afoir to his subdittis. Attoure, nane is on lyve þat will reproche his honour, or will deny þir premisß, bot he will preiff the samyn with his handis in singular bataill aganis þame, and þe honoure to be adiugitt to him þat is victorius. Attoure, he had sic incredibill manhede and strenth þat nane was in his realme þat movitt ony rebelloun aganis him."

King Robert schort tyme afoir his deth gaderitt all his nobillis to ane counsale, and commendit to þame þe governance of his son Daid, quhilk had þat tyme bot vj 3eris in age, and gaif his counsale afoir his deth to þame of sindry hye materis concernyng þe governance of Scotland. First, nevir to mak ane Lord of þe Ilis, þat he suld doo na thing in þe samyn but þe Kingis licence, and to send ilk 3ere certane factouris to ressaif þe malis and froittis thairof, becaus þe pepill of þe  
 (II. 408) samyn ar evir flowing in þair myndis, and sone brocht to

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *his*.

rebellioun aganis þe King, and fra þai be fallin þairintill, it is extreme laboure to dant thame for þe straitnes of land and seyis. Secundlye, nevir to sett batall with Inglismen, nor ieopard the realme apoun þe chance of a batall, bot resist Inglismen erar be frequent skarmusing þan ony sett batall, to that fyne, gif Scottis be disconfist, þai may haif sum new pyssance to resist þair inymyis. Thridlye, he inhibitt þat Scottis mak ony perpetuall peace with Inglismen, þat þai mycht be ay exercitt in were, and to haif þair wappynnis reddy for þe samyn effect, becaus þe ingyne of man growis dull and febill be lang peace & slewth, and for lak of vse and experience may *nocht* sustene sa grete changis of batall, quhen þai ar effeminatt with lang peace. And becaus Inglismen will neuir keip peace to Scottis quhen þai see ony avantage, thairfor he thocht best nevir to haif peace with Inglismen abone thre or foure ȝeris, and quhen lest occasioun of weris apperis be Inglismen, to be þan maist vigilant þat þai cum *nocht* on Scottis without aduertesing. Attoure, he desyritt his lordis to cheiſe eftir his deth ane of þe maist walȝeant campionis of his realme to pas with his hartt to Cristis Sepulture, becaus he was voittitt in his lyfe to haif passitt with ane grete army in defence of þe Cristin faith aganis þe Saracenis, albeitt he was impeschitt be vther vottis; eftir quhais deth Schir Iames Douglas, houbett his presence had bene maist necessar to þe defence of þis realme, was chosin be þe nobillis to þe said effect.

And sua endis here þe xiiij Buk of þir Cronikillis.

509

## Liber Decimus Quintus.

(II. 409)

Here begynnys þe xv Buke of þe samyn.

How Daudid Bruse was maid king, and Erle Thomas Randell Gouvernoure of Scotland ; of his grete iustice ; and how he was poysonit be tresoun of ane freir of Inglande. Ca : j

(II. 410)

**Q**uhen King Robert was decessit in this maner, his son Daudid Bruse wes maid king, and becaus he was vnabill to governe þe realme for his nonage, Erle Thomas Randell was maid gouvernoure, for nane was þat daye compare to him in manhede and prudence except Schir Iames Douglas, quhilk was, as we haif schewin, voittit to þe Haly Land. Erle Thomas wes gouvernoure als̄ foure þeris during þe infirmite of King Robert. And becaus þe pepill was brokin with lang weeris, he thoct best, quhill þai wer refreschitt, to mak peace with Ingland. Sik thingis done, he sett his besynes to govern þe realme in peace, commanding his officiaris to doo iustice in all partis, and, þat þai suld *nocht* remane vnmyndfull of þair weeris, chargeing þame to haif þair wappinns & harnes ay reddey to battall. Forthir, to nureiſ̄ gude men in iustice and to puneif̄ evill men, quhilkis war repugnand þairto, he *com-*mandit þat sadill̄s, brydill̄s and all vther instrumentis *perten-*

(II. 411)

and to þe vse of husbandry suld ly þair furth baith day & nyct, and gif ony thing war takin awaye þat þe *schirreff* of þe schyre suld caus̄ it othir to be restoritt to þe awnaris or ellis to pay it on his awin purf̄s, throw quhilk sik extreme punicioun

was maid on thevis þat baith thyft and pykery war dantit in all partis and mony brokin men repressitt of þair insolence, quhilki's belevitt to vse sik oppressionis on þe pepill in tyme of peace as þai vsit afoir quhen þe cuntre was troubillit be civill contencionis. Attour, þat vertew suld be vsit & autoreist in pis realme, he commandit þat na vagabound<sup>1</sup> pepill, menstrualis nor iugillouris be ressauit in ony toun withoute þai had sum craft to debait þair leving, becaus þaj war proffitabill alanerlye in tyme of batall. Be þis way he purgitt þe realme of mony idill lymmaris. It is sayd þat sik securite and iustice was in his tyme þat ane cairle, becaus he mycht nocht  
 510 stele | vther menis gudis, staw his awin pleuch irnis, þat he mycht haif þe valour þerof. Nochtpeles, sik extreme deligence was maid in serching of his pleuch irnis be þe schirref þat þai war foundin with him self, and was hyngit þerfor. Erle Thomas, becaus it is difficill to repreß þame fra stouth þat has bene hantit þerwith, had ay with him ane strang gard of bodin men, throw quhilk he puneist þe rebelloun of lymmaris in all partis quhair þai apperitt. All personis þat comperit to his iustice was puneist with mercy, and þai quhilki's war rebelland þerto war othir slayne or ellis takin eftir be his gard, as happinitt nocht lang eftir at Halydoun, quhair thre skoir of grete men war gaderit to giddir, and becaus þai contempnit ane officiar passing in his name, his gard come on þame but ony tary and hyngitt þame on iebaittis. Throw pis iustice na rebelloun was sene in pis realme mony 3eris eftir, with sik tranquillite that nocht alanerlye thevis and lymmaris war dantit, bot als þe realme inressit with riches, to þe terrour of thair fayis.

King Edward, seyng pis grete felicite succeding to Scottis, and dredand þame to revenge auld iniuris be singular manhede and proves of Erle Thomas, thocht na thing sa gude as to attempt þe thing be slycht þat he mycht nocht doo be force, þat eftir deth of Erle Thomas þe realme mycht be patent to his iniuris, knawing King Dauid 3oung and mony of þe nobillis movitt in grete hattrent aganis his houß, becaus þair faderis war slayne in þe Blak Parliament, and Schir James Douglas

<sup>1</sup> MS. *vagobound*, with *a* written above the *o*, which is not, however, crossed out.

voittit to þe Halyland; and þerfor tuke consultacioun be quhat ingyne & slycht he mycht distroye Erle Thomas; at last tuke purpoß to slaye him be vennoun. And becaus it wes dangerous to attempt þis mater be ane Scottis man, for reveling of his tresoun be sum auentoure, he thocht it necessair to haif ane man of grete spreit and audacite, quhilk couth dissimill and saye ane thing *with* mouth, thynkand ane nothir in hart. And quhen he had serchitt lang tyme, he couth fynd nane sa abill to fulfill his purpoß as ane freir, howbeit simpill pepill hald men of sik ordoure of singulare halynes, becaus þai can hyde þair detestabill iniquite vnder schadow of ane coule, for oft tymes sik men has na respect to schaym nor displeær aganis God. For þir ressonis he instruckitt þis freir as he had bene ane medicinare, havand speciall remedeis aganis þe gravaiill, in quhilk infirmite þe said Erle was hevelie cruciatt, commanding attoure þis freir to vse venomous pocionis amang his vther seropis, and þromyttit, gif Erle Thomas was slayne be his industry, to revard him maist richelye. This freir, subornatt in þis wise, at his cumin in Scotland fenzeit him to haif knowlege of mony nobillis baith in England & France, and nocht onlye curitt þame of sindry gravaiillis, bot als be his crafty pocionis brak confermytt stanys, and restorit þe pacient to his hele. Attour, he was aduerteist þat

511 | Erle Thomas, ane of þe maist wailþeand campionis in þe warld, was cruciatt in þe said malady; nochtþeles, gif þe said Erle wald geif him credit, he suld be deliueritt within schort tyme of all malady. This freir had ane vther lymmair instruckitt in þe samyn maner to be his college and to bring his purpoß þe bettir to fyne, quhilk schew in all partis quhair he went þat þis freir had perfyte cognoscence in sic materis. Erle Thomas, aduerteist of sik thingis, demandit þis frere, quhen he was brocht to his presence, gif he mycht releiff him ony waye of his importabill doloure. The freir anßueritt he mycht, and tuke him glaidlie on hand, and, as he was instruct, he commandit þe Erle to obserue ane diete, sone eftir gaif him soft seroppis, and quhen he was admittit to mair familiarite, he gaif him ane venomous pocion, howbeit þe venome was nocht haisty dede, bot erar to consume ane man *with* lang

*process.* This freir, eftir þat Erle Thomas had dronkin þe *vennonne*, to fynd occasioun to gett awaye, sayid þat he had ane singular medycyne in Inghland, quhilk was nevir vsit be him bot quhen all *vper* medycyne failzeit, and *perfor* he wald pas in Inghland to bring þe samyn with maist deligence. Incontinent he returnit to King Edward, saying all thing was done as he devisitt, and *perfor* best was to raiß his army in haist, þat he mycht be in Scotland in þe troubill of his deth, throw quhilk he mycht conquess þe realme as he list.

(II. 413)

In þe menetyme Erle Thomas fand certane dolouris ilk daye mair inccessing in his wame, and becaus he herd tell þat King Edward was *cumin* with ane new army aganis him, and na returnyng of þe freir at his sett daye, he tuke ane vehement suspicioun of his tresoun, and fand sone eftir be *medicinaris* þat þe *vennonne* was sa sonkin in his bowellis þat it wes *nocht* remediabill. *Nochtpeles*, becaus he mycht *nocht* ryde nor gang to meitt King Edward, he gart turfs him in ane cheriott. The motive þat King Edward had to raiß were at þis tyme, as he allegitt, wes forfalt of redres on þe bordouris. King Edward, herand at last þat Erle Thomas was *cumand* in arrayitt batall to meitt him, send ane herald in Scotland to trete peace, howbeit he was send erar to espy how all materis stude þan to ony vther purpos. Erle Thomas, herand of þis heraldis *cuming*, arrayitt him in his best abulzeament, and satt in ane chier, dissimuland his grete infirmite, as na thing halitt him, and gart þe herald cum afoir him to schaw his message. At last, quhen þe herald had desyritt certane thingis *nocht* respondent to reasoun, he ansuerit þat he suld schaw sone quhat rycht Inglismen had to sik wrangwis desyris, and incontinent gaif all the precious abilzeament, as he stude in presence, to þe herald. King Edward, herand þat Erle Thomas was in gude hele, skalit his army, and brynt þe freir, according wele to his demerittis. Erle Thomas sone eftir skalit his army, and, returnyng hayme, decessit at 512 Mussilburgh, fra þe Incarnacion | j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> & xxxij zeris.

(II. 414)

How þe Erlis of Marche and Mar war maid *gouernouris* of Scotland ; how þe Douglas went with þe Kingis hart in þe Haly Land, and of his wassallage and deth ; how Edward Ballioll come in Scotlannd to conques þe croun ; and of þe Batall of Dipyne. Ca ij

**E**rle Thomas decessit in þis maner, ane counsale was sett be þe nobillis, in quhilk be generall voittis of þe thre estatis Patrik, Erle of Marche, and Donald, Erle of Mar, wer chosin *gouernouris*, þe first to govern þe realme on þe south syde of Forth, and þe tothir to govern on þe north syde. Sik thingis done, raiß grete troubill in Scotland be Edward Ballioll, son to Iohnne Ballioll afoir rehersitt, in þe maner following. Quhen Schir James Douglas was makand his provisioun to pas *with* King Robertis hart in Halyland, Herford, Officiall of Glasgow, lede proceß of cursing apoun ane myschevous *lymmare* namit Twynane, becaus he was dilatit sindry tymes of adultery, and wald *nocht* obtempir þe correccion of Halykirk. This Twynane, becaus sik proceß was led on him, tuke þe Officiall forsaid quhen he was gangand to Aire, and held him in captiuite, quhill he payitt ij<sup>c</sup> *libri* striueling. Schir James Douglas, richt *commovitt* þat Twynane had put his handis in þe Kirk, serchitt him sa scharplye quhill he was constranit to fle in England. Forthir, sen we are fallin now in *commonyng* of the Douglas, we will schew þe remanent of his life.

(II. 409)

Quhen Schir James of Douglas wes chosin, as maist wourthy of all this realme, to pas with King Robertis hartt to þe Halyland, he putt it in ane caiß of gold with mony precious *vnþementis*, and went with <sup>1</sup> Williame Sinclair, Robert Logane and mony vther nobill men to þe Haly Graiff, quhair he berijt it *with* all honour and reuerence. Eftir þis he went with his folkis to vther Cristin princis quhilkis had scharp weris for þe tyme aganis þe Saracenis, and be his singular vassallage dantit þe inymyis of Criste, and be frequent victorijs wan

(II. 410)

<sup>1</sup> MS. inserts *him* : corrected from A. Printed text reads *tuke with him*.

grete honour to all Cristin pepill. At last, quhen he had com-  
pletit all chargis *commandit* be his souerane *with* na leß  
honour þan magnificence, he pullit vp salis to haif returnit in  
Scotland, and in þe menetye be contrarius wynd was drevin  
in ane angill of Spanze, quhar he fand þe King of Arrogon  
reddy to fecht aganis þe Saracenis, quhilk war *cumin* with  
grete navyis to invaide his realme. The Douglas, to mak his  
manhede and singulare vertew patent als wele in þis vncouth  
land as in all vther partis quhare he come, went to þe King  
of Arrogane, and faucht in sindry ieopardeis *with* grete felicite,  
quhill at last, havand oure grete confidence in fortoun, *quhilkis*  
513 | bringis mony nobill men to deth, he become negligent,  
havand his inymyis at contempcioun, throw quhilk he was  
slyne with all his folkis. This is þe end of þe Douglas, maist  
wailzeand knycht þat was in his dayis, quhilk had bene maist  
necessair for defence of þe *commoun* wele of Scotland, gif he  
had bene fortunatt to return. Bot now I will follow my  
purpoß.

(II. 414) Twyname exilit, as we haif schawin, in Inglandd, herand  
þe deth of Erle Thomas, went in France to Edward Ballioll,  
and persuadit him be mony ressonis to cum in Scotland to  
recover his faderis heretage and croun. The Ballioll, persuaditt  
be his wourdis, howbeit he had na sicht afoir to þe croun  
of Scotlannd, come in Ingland to seik support at King Edward,  
becaus he knew Inglismen ay inymyis to Scottis, and *promyttit*  
to King Edward, gif all materis succedit *with* felicite, to hald  
þe realme of Scotland vnder his opinioun and faith. King  
(II. 415) Edward, glaid of þis condicioun, *nochtwithstanding* þe marriage  
of his sister maid afoir with King Daid of Scotland, send  
vj<sup>m</sup> men wele provyditt *with* schippis to pas with him in Scot-  
land and to conques all vther freyndis þat he mycht to assist  
to him, for in þe samyn tyme mony Scottis war in Ingland,  
quhilkis schew to him, gif he arryvit in Scotland, mony of all  
þe nobillis wald assist to his opinioun. Ballioll, peruadit be  
þir resonis, arryvitt at last at Kingorne, quhare he brocht  
all his folkis on land, and sone eftir slew Alexander Seetoun,  
& put his folkis to flycht. The Ballioll, proude of þis victory,  
come with his folkis to Perth. The Erlis of Marche and Mar,



aduerteist of his cuming, rasit twa grete armyis, and come forthwart aganis him, *nocht* as þai had bene to fecht aganis weirmen, bot alanerlie as þai war to pvneifs certane thevis or lymmaris of Ingland. At last þai concludit to convene baith to giddir in Strathherne, and to invaid þair inymyis at anys. The Ballioll, howbeit he knew his inymyis *cumand* aganis him with mair powere þan he mycht resist, was na thing effrayitt, becaus þe mater was safar *proceditt* þat na fere of deth nor fleying mycht avale ; *nocht*þeles, belevitt, gif his army faucht with perseuerand constance, to haif victory be sum chance of fortoun, and *perfor* satt down with his palþeonis at Duplyne, *nocht* far fra þe Watter of Erne. The samyn nycht þe Erle of Mar come with huge multitude of pepill in þe sicht of Balliollis army, bot þe Erle of Marche wes v mylis fra him. The Scottis, becaus þair inymyis war in sa few novmer, held þame in contempcioun, and pretermittit þair waiche, passing þe *nycht* with syngyng, dansing, revelling & drynkyng, quhilkis thingis succedit þe mair vnhappely to þame þat þai war done with sa manifest contempcioun in þe faice of þair inymyis army. Be contrair, þe Inglismen, richt *circumspect* and vigilant in

514 þair doyngeis, tuke consultacioun of euery thing | þat mycht eifs or diseifs þair army, and had sa deligent spyis within þe army of Scottis þat euery thing done or sayid in þair army wes manifest to þame. The Ballioll, reiosing of þis grete foly amang Scottis, *commanditt* his army to be reddy but ony maner of noyis to invaid þe Scottis within nycht, quhen þai war drownit in sleip and dronkynnes. Sone eftir þe Scottis war gevin to þair rest and profound sleip, he come quietlie with all his army on to þe furd of þe Watter of Erne, quhilk was schewin to him be ane stayk affixitt be Andro Murray of Tillibardin, throw quhilk he come but ony noyis to þe Erle of Marris palþeoun, quhair þai slew him in his bed,

(II. 416) incontinent with hug clamour come apoun þe army of Scottis and slew þame like scheip, but ony defence, drownit in þair sleip & dronkynnes, throw quhilkis *nocht* was herd bot rummysching and granys of deand pepill, and had *nocht* bene Edward Ballioll gart ilk man in his army bynd ane quhite cloute on his arm, na man mycht haif knawin for myrknes

of nycht quhay was frendis or fayis. Nochtþeles, þe ire of Inglismen, rageand sa aganis Scottis, maid þair myndis sa cruell, becaus þai had eschapitt þe grete dangere appering to þame, þat þai couth nocht be saciatt with blude & murdyr of Scottis, and sauffitt nane þat mycht be oure takin, throw quhilk mair slauchter was maid þat daye on þe Scottis þan evir was herd afoir in ony manis aige. Off þe nobillis war slane iij<sup>m</sup>, and of *commonis* maa þan may be tauld. Few of þame quhilkis eschapitt returnit agane to revenge þe huge murdyr of þair frendis. The principall nobillis quhilkis war slane in þis feild war þe Erle of Mar, Robert Bruse, Erle of Carrik, Alexander Freserr, knycht, Williame Haye, Constabill, with all his kin sa haillely þat, war nocht his wife was deliuer of ane son, all his surname had bene aluterlye distroyitt, Robert Keth, Marscheall, *with* mony of all his surname, Daid Lyndesaye of Glenesk with lxxx of his blude, Alexander Seytoun, George Dunbar, Robert Strathachin, Thomas Halyburtoun and Skrymgeoure, knychtis, *with* mony *vperis*, quhilkis war oure prolixitt to schaw<sup>1</sup>. Few was takin except þe Erle of Fiffe.

(II. 417)

How þe Ballioll was crownit at Scoyn; how King Daid fled in France; how Perth was recouerit, and þe Balliol vincust, be þe Douglas; how Andro Murray and Williame Liddisdail war takin be Inglismen; and how King Edward segit Berwik.

Ca iij

Duplyn disconnfist, as said is, þe Ballioll went to Perth, and tuke it *with* small difficulte. It is said þat sindry Inglismen, throw ald hattrent þat þai haif aganis Scottis, went eftir þe victory to Duplyne, to se gif | ony Scottis war liand in þe samyn abill to recovir gif þai had leichis, þat þai mycht chaice oute þe residew of þair life; bot quhen þai saw sa miserabill slauchter maid on þame in þe nycht afoir, þai fell in grete miseracioun, sayng þai belevit nocht sa infinit

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *to schaw*, supplied from A., agreeing with printed text.

novmer of pepill slane be þame. The Erle of Marche, quhilc was nocht v mylis fra þis feild, as said is, herand þe Scottis disconnfist sa miserabillic at Duplyne, come with foure grete cumpanyis to Perth to invaid his inmyis. Nochtþeles, quhen he had lyne certane tyme at þe seige, þe fowseis beand fillitt and þe toun reddy to be randeritt in his handis, he changitt his purpoß, and left þe sege of þe toun, quhair he mycht haif gottin it at his pleseir and Ballioll with all his cumpany, for falt of vittalis, takin & slayne but ony straik. The Ballioll eftir þe skaling of þe seige, becaus þe pepill come fast to his opinioun, come with þe Bischop of Dunkeld and þe Erle of Fyffe to Skoyne, quhair he was crovnit þe<sup>1</sup> 3er fra oure redempcioun last rehersitt. King Dauid Bruse, havand bot ix 3eris in aige, be counsale of his freyndis fled in France with his Quene Iane, sister to King Edward, and was tendirlic ressaut be Philippe, þe vj King of France of þat name, quhare he remanit ix 3eris.

(II. 418) The nixt 3ere Robert Keth, Alexander Lyndesaye with vther sindry nobillis, to revenge þe slauchter of þair faderis at Duplyn, segitt þe toun of Perth, and wan it be strang hand þe third moneth eftir þair seige. Amang sindry vþeris slayne and takin in þe samyn was takin þe Erle of Fiffe and Andro Murraye. Þe Erle was send in ward to Kildrymmy, bot Andro Murraye for his tresoun afoir committit was heditt; and quhen þai had garnyst þe toun with strang municionis, þai gaif it in keping to Iohnne Lyndesaye. Sik thingis succeding with felice maid þame to be in esperance of bettir fortun, and þairfor Iohnne Randell, Erle of Murraye, son to Erle Thomas afoir rehersit, and Archibald Douglas, bruther to Schir Iames Douglas slane laitlie in Spanze, as said is, gaderit ane grete cumpanye aganis Ballioll, and he, wele aduerteist of þair cuming, mett þame in Annandaill, quhare it was richt kenelie fochtin on all sydis lang tyme with vncertane victory. Nochtþeles, Ballioll was disconnfist and chasit on ane horsß but brydill to Roxburgh. In þis batall war slayne Henry Ballioll, Iohnne Mowbraye, Walter Cwmyng and Richard Kirklye. Alexander Bruse, Erle of Carrik, & þe Lord of Gallowaye was

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits þe, supplied from A.

takin presonere and sauffitt be þe Erle of Murraie, becaus þai war *nocht* lang tyme afoir at þe opinioun of Ballioll.

Eftir þis victory Andro Murraie, ane nobill man of grete pyssance and rent, was maid governour, to be college to þe Erle of Marche. Thir twa *gouernouris*, knowing wele þat King Edward was to cum aganis thame *with* all þe powere of Inglandd, send<sup>1</sup> *Schir* Alexander Seytoun with mony vther  
 516 gentilmen to keip Berwik, | syne devisit þat þe tane of þame suld keip Scotland fra Inglismen and þe tothir fra Ballioll. Eftir þis Androu Murraie come with ane strang cumpany to sege Roxburgh, and faucht aganis þe Ballioll apoun þe brig, quhilk was þat tyme sum part be 3ond þe toun *perof*, bot at last þe Ballioll was disconnfist, on quhom followitt Andro Murraie *with* sik ferßnes þat he was inclusit within þe brig fra support of his folkis, throw quhilk he was takin and brocht presoner within þe castell. The samyn tyme Williame<sup>2</sup> of Liddisdaill, callit for his singulare manhede the Floure of Chevelry, faucht vnhappely aganis Inglismen in Annandale, quhare he was takin presonere and his army disconnfist. *Nocht*þeles, baith þe twa nobill men war redemytt with grete sovmez, eftir þat þai had bene vther half 3ere in Ingland.

The realme standing þus in ieopardy, þe pepill war deviditt in sindry faccionis: the tane half assistitt to þe Ballioll, and þe tothir to King Daid, þat tyme beand in France. In þe mene tyme King Edward of Ingland, seyng sa grete trouble in Scotland, *thocht* þe tyme sufficient to conques þe samyn, saying na thing wes sa difficill bot it maye be done othir in  
 (II. 419) all or sum part, gif it be oft assailzeitt, and *perfor* gaderitt ane huge army of Ingland, Normandy, Angeouß & Flandris, wagit be his moneye, and come *with* þe samyn in Scotland, *specialie* in þai partis quhare maist rebellioun was aganis þe Ballioll, saying he was *cumin* in support of Ballioll, houbet, gif all thingis had succedit to his desyris, he wald na mair haif kepit faith nor *promyß* to him þan to *vperis*. The Scottis, seyng þame nere ouresett on all handis, send Iohne, Erle of

<sup>1</sup> MS. *said*: correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> A later hand has interlined *Dowglas*.

Murraye, in France to King Daud to gett sum supportt fra King Philip of France to debait his realme aganis his inymyis. In þe menetyme King Edward segitt Berwik baith be seye & land with all þe powere he mycht. Nochtþeles, þe pepill within debatit it als wailþeantlye as he assalþeitt, and oft tymes ischitt apon þame and slew sindry of þair wachis, sum tymes invadit þair schippis and brynt þame *with grete manhede*, makand oft tymes incredibill slauchter on þair inymyis, throw quhilk þai inressitt daylye in curage and þair inymyis in desperacioun. At last Williame Seytoun, son to Schir Alexander, followitt sa ferslie at ane skarmuß aganis Inglismen þat he was takin, and his bastard bruther, quhilk was of singular manhede, invading oure ferslye þe Inglis schippis vnder nycht, fell in þe seye and pereist. At last þe seige continewitt foure monethis to giddir, throw quhilk all<sup>1</sup> vittalis began to skairß in þe toun. In þe menetyme Schir Alexander Seytoun, capitane þerof, send ane herald to King Edward, promitting, gif he wald cesß þe seige, he suld  
 517 | rander þe toun to him within ane certane tyme prefixitt, sa þat he gat na support *within* þe said tyme, and for þe sikkir obseruacioun of his promyß he gaif his eldest son & aire in plege.

(II. 420)

Off þe orisoun maid be Schir Alexander Seytonis wife, and how his sonnys war slayne be tyranny of King Edwarde. Ca iiij

Sik thingis done at Berwyk, the nobillis of Scotland conuenit to giddir, and maid Archibauld Douglas governour in Androw Murrayis place. The Douglas, to raiß þe sege of Berwik, come *with* ane strang army in England. King Edward, aduerteist þerof, send ane herald to Schir Alexander Seytoun, certifeing him, gif þe toun war nocht randeritt in haist, baith his sonnys suld be hyngitt incontinent befor his een. Alexander ansuerit þat þe trewis war nocht outerunnyn, and þerfor desyritt þe King othir to keip his faith, or ellis to deliuer his pleggis,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *at* : correction from A.

pat he mycht be at his advantage. King Edward gart incontinent raiß ane gallouß afoire þe toun, and haif baith þe *sonnis* of *Schir* Alexander þairto. Ane of þame was takin presonare and þe tothir deliuerit in maner of plege, as we haif schewin. Quhen *Alexander* saw his *sonnis* led on þis maner to þe gallous, he was movit be grete miseracion þat þai suld be sa innocentlye slayn, quhilk he mycht resist gif he war obeysand to þe pleserr of þe tiran ; and sa, be miseracioun of his *sonnis* on þat ane part, and his faith promittit to þe King & his realme on þe tothir syde, he was oft drawin in sindry purpoß, and mycht skairslye refreyne him self *nocht* randring þe toun. Forthir it is vncertane bot þe fader, wyncust be miseracioun of his *sonnis*, had randritt þe toun, war *nocht* his wife, quhilk was moder to his son, ane woman abone þe spreitt of man, oft tymes exhorting hir husband erar to suffir *with* maist pacience þe murdir of his *sonnis* þan to committ sa manifest tresoun aganis his prinçe, saying : “ My dere husband, behald degestlie quhat þou dois. Gif þou obtempir þe desire of þis tiran, gif þou violatt þe lufe þat þou has to þe realme, or ʒite þi faith promittit to þe King, for ony fere of deth to thi *sonnis*, þou sall *nocht* fail to doo na leß displeßerr to þi self þan to þi countre. And þocht oure *sonnis* dee *with* excellent fortitude in defence of þair countre, it sall succede at last to þi grete honour & wele. Considdir first how vnplesand sall þou be evir to þi nacioun, gif þou committ þis oppin tressoun, to betraiß þe toun. ʒone tiran drawis oure *sonnis* to þe deth to bring ws in oppin schayme and tresoun, quhilk sall nevir be forʒett, gif we assist þairto, to þe warldis end. Heirfor, latt ws nevir betraiß oure countre nor þe pepill committit to our<sup>1</sup> cure, bringand oure self in seruitude. And beleif *nocht* þat ʒone tyran will obserue his promyß ony bettir eftir þe toun be randeritt þan afoir. And gif ʒone maynsworn tiran  
 518 keip | na thing promittitt to þe, putting of oure toun, quhen it is randerit, to vter eversiou and oure pepill to<sup>2</sup> extreme murdir, quhilk sall *nocht* fail, gif we obtempir to his tresonabill desyris, to cum on ws, is þe slauchter of oure *sonnis* of sik

<sup>1</sup> MS. *hir* : correction from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. repeats *to*.

estimacioun that we sall redeme pair lyvis *with* sik innoverabill calamite baith of oure toun and pepill, sauffing pair lyvis be sik schamfull tresoun? Quhat pleseir or liberte sall we reiose þe residew of *our* lyfe, quhen it is pollutitt with maist cowartry and schayme? I thynk mair honour war to ws to follow sik dedis as bene remembrit in Haly Write. Was *nocht* Daniell cassin befor þe lionis be cruell tyrannis, quhen he wald *nocht* offend his God, siclike thre barnis cassin in ane birnand hwne? War *nocht* þe vij *sonnis* of Makcabee with pair moder put to all maner of tormentt, quhen þai sa constantlye refusitt to eitt swyne flesche, quhilk was inhibitt to þame be pair lawis? My dere husband, revolve now with quhat constance and plesand wultt þi *sonnis* *contempnys* þe tormentis of zone (II. 422) tyran. And wald God þat I mycht dee siklike for defence of my countre! For certane, gif I mycht *with* my deth deliuer þis toun, as now my *sonnis* maye, þou suld *nocht* see me pass *with* ony fere or murnyng, bot with grete spreitt and curage, to þe deth. For pair slauchter is na deth, bot erar redempcioun of oure liberte & lyvis. Heirfor I think my grete sollicitude, laboure, pyne & infirmite, quhilk I had in pair bering ix monethis, wele offeritt now, as in sacrifice of oure lyvis and liberte. Now I see þe effect of all my mynde, sa oft desyring þame to cum in maneris of nobill men, brocht to ane gude fyne, for þai haif payitt þe faith þat þai aucht to pair countre. Now can I *nocht* thynk þat my *sonnis* ar<sup>1</sup> tyntt, bot wonnyn to remane in indeficient honoure."

Quhen þis happy and maist constant woman had exhortitt hir husband with þir and vther siklike wourdis, scho brocht him with sorowfull and hevvy chere vnto hir chalmer, þat he suld *nocht* be oure sett be miseracioun of his *sonnis* to committ ony thing aganis his honour and wele of þe toun. *Nocht*theles, he was evir flowand in his mynde be impulsiou of lufe þat he had to his *sonnis* on a partt, and faith þat he had to his countre on þat tothir partt. In þe menetyme baith his *sonnis* war put to þe deth on þe gallousß, deyng *with* maist honour for þe defence of þe countre.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *at.*

How þe Scottis war disconnfist at Halydoun Hyll,  
and how þe castell and þe toun of Berwyk war  
randeritt to Inglismen with mony vther strenthis  
and municionis of Scotlannd. Ca v

The thrid daye following þis maist odious tyranny Archibald  
Douglas returnit oute of Northumberland, and come *nocht*  
519 far fra þe army of King Edward, to revenge þe cruelte | done  
be him. In þe mene tyme mony prudent and nobill men war  
in his army quhilkis persuadit him to invaid *nocht* Inglismen  
(11. 423) for þat tyme, becaus þair army aboundit in multitude of  
pepill daylie exercitt in chevelry, richt insolent eftir þair  
frequent victorijs, and provyditt with all municionis pertenant  
to werofair. Be contrair, the Scottis war brokin *with* þe  
weeris afoir past, þair agitt & maist exercit capitanis be  
sindry disconnfitouris slayne, and þe pepill þan present in  
his army 3oung and but ony experience of armes, and þairfor  
allegitt na thing sa gude as to decist quhill þai had sum  
practike of armis. To this ansueritt Archbald þat his folkis,  
howbeit þai war of few novmer to þair inymyis, lakitt na  
curage, and war all movitt *with* extreme hatrent aganis Inglis-  
men for þair cruelte laitlie *committit* aganis þe sonnys of Alex-  
*ander* Seytoun, and þairfor best was haistelie to pas on þair  
inymyis, quhill þair ire war *nocht* put on syde, becaus na  
exhortacioun mycht eik þair strenthis sa mekill as ire rageand  
in þair breistis. The Douglas left þis hailsum counsale, and  
*commandit* his army to refresche þame selfe with mete and  
sleip, þat þai may be reddy to fecht aganis þair inymyis, on  
þe nixt morrow.

At þe brek of þe daye he arrayitt his folkis in þair best maner.  
The vangard was gevin to Hew, Erle of Rosß, havand with  
him Kenneth, Erle of Sutherland, Symon & Iames *Freserr* &  
Iohne *Murraye*, Lufetennent to Iohnne, Erle of *Murraye*,  
quhilk was troubillit *with* grete infirmite. The secund batall  
was gevin to Alexander Lyndesaye, Alexander Gordoun,  
Reginald Grahayme & Robert Kenneth. In þe thrid batall  
was Archibauld Douglas, *Gouernour*, havand *with* him Iames



and Alane Stewarttis, brethir, richt illustir and wailzeand men, *sonnis* to þe Grete Stewartt of Scotland. On þe tothir side þe Inglismen, na thing effrayitt of this ordinance, come pertlie *with* displayitt banneris; and becaus þai knew þe ground quhare þe feild was sett be lang residence at þe seige forsaid, þai fenzeitt þame to flee at þair first ionyng to ane hill sum part staye, and fra þai war *cumin* to þe samyn, þai styntit of þair fleying, invading þe Scottis with maist awfull arraye. And becauþ þe Scottis war skatteritt in þe vaille, following þe chaisþ sa ferslye, þai war slayne büt arraye, howbeit mony of þame faucht, mair for schaym þan ony hoipe of victory, to þe deth. And þocht þai slew grete novmer of  
 (11. 424) Inglismen, 3ite þai war finalye put to flicht, on quhom was maid sa miserabill slauchter þat few of þame war sauffitt be þair fleying or 3ite takin presoneris, becauþ ane grete batall of Inglismen stude betuix þame & Scotland, throw quhilk þai war slayne on euery syde except few novmer, quhilk was sauffitt mair be irksunnes þan ony miseracioun of þair inymyis. In þis lamentabill batall war slane xiiij<sup>m</sup> men, all nobillis and gentilmen, the residew of þame quhilkis war sauffitt fra þe Bataill of Duplyne, quhais names followis: Archibald Douglas, Governour of Scotlannd, with the *sonnis* of þe Grete Stewarttis,  
 520 Iohne, Iames and Alane; þe Erle of Roß; þe | Erle of Sutherland; þe<sup>1</sup> Erle of Carrik. Part war takin, quhilkis war all heditt þe nixt morrow be *command* of þe cruell tyran King Edward, exceppand few personis, quhilkis war hyd be Inglismen for proffitte of þair ransom. This myschevous and vnhappy batall wes on Sanct Margareitt þe Virgynis Daye, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> xxxiiij zeris.

Alexander Seytoun and Patrik Dunbar, Capitanis of Berwik, disparitt of support, randeritt þe toun of Berwyk to King Edward vnder þir condicionis, þat þair lyvis & gudis suld be sauffitt vnder *seruitude* of Inglismen, and quhen þai war *cumin* to King Edwardis campe, þai maid þair aithis of fidelite to þe said Edward. Patrik Dunbar wes *commandit* to big þe castell of Dunbar apoun his awin expensþ, becaus he kest it doun afoir, quhen he was disparitt of pyssance to keip þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *þe*, supplied from A., agreeing with printed text.

samyn, and to keip it in name and autorite of King Edward ; quhilk Edward eftir þis huge victoury of Scottis returnit in Ingland, levand behynd him mony of his grete nobillis with Edward Ballioll to govern Scotlannd at þair devise. The Ballioll þan gat dominion of all Scotland, and went throw all þe boundis þairof, and garnyst all strenthis *with* Inglismen, throw quhilk few remanytt þat tyme vnder þe empyre of Scottis, quhilkis wer Dumbertan, kepit be Malcolme Flemyng of Cummernald, Lochleivyn, kepit be Alane Auldbrig, Kildrymmy, kepitt be Cristyne Bruse, Vrquhard, kepitt be Robert Lawder, and þe castell of Lowdoun, quhilk was kepitt be Iohnne Thayn.

(II. 425)

How Inglismen contemnit þe Papis autorite ; of þe contencioun betuix Alexander Mowbraye and Hary Bewmont ; and how Inglismen pereist at þe seige of Lochtleivyn. Ca vj

In þe samyn tyme Philippe, King of France, send his Iambassatouris to þe Paip, desyring him to interpone his autorite to repres þe rageand cruelte of Inglismen aganis Scottis. Bot þe Inglismen held þe Papis ambassatouris in sik contempcioun þat þai wald nocht suffer þame cum in þair presence, throw quhilk þai war constrennit to return with grete displeseir to Rome. Sone eftir ane conuencion was maid be Edward Ballioll at Perth, quhare þe nobillis of Scotland ratifijt him king, promitting be þair grete aith nevir to rebell aganis him in tymes cuming.

In þe menetyme raiß ane scharp contencioun betuix Hary Bewmont and Alexander Mowbraye. This Hary, becaus he marijt Alexander Mowbrais sister, clamyt certane landis be hir rycht. Nochtpeles, þe said Alexander gat þe landis adiugitt to him be sentence of Ballioll. Hary Tallebott and Daid Cwmyng allegit þe sentence wrangwislye gevin, throw quhilk þe debait raiß ilk daye sa hye þat it was abill to haif bene decidit be þe swerd. Sone eftir þe Ballioll went to Berwik, & Hary Tallebott, returnyng in Ingland *with* grete displeseir,

521 be auenture come apon certane Scottis, *quhilkis* | war of King Daid's opinioun, and was brocht be þame to Dunbertane, quhare he remanit to þe end of his life. The Ballioll at last, herand þat Hary Bewmond and Daid Cwmyng had garnyst sindry housis of strenth aganis vther in Atholl and Buchane, dred grete troubill to ryse be þair contencioun, and pairfor reuocatt þe sentence gevin afoir for Alexander Mowbraye, and gaif it agane for Hary Bewmond. And becaus þe partijs war grete, þe verite of þis mater was nevir deciditt *with* (II. 426) sicht of iustice, bot alanerlye be favour, throw quhilk þe Ballioll was constranytt to haif aye þe ta party his inymy quhen þe tothir become his frend. Alexander Mowbraye, movit with þis iniure, went to Andro Murraye, *Gouernour* of Scotland. Nochttheles, Hary Bewmont and Daid Cwmyng become richt tendir to þe Balliol, for Hary Bewmont gatt all þe landis clamit afoir be Alexander Mowbraye, and Daid Cwmyng gatt all þe landis of Buchquhan, quhilkis pertenit to Robert þe Stewart of Scotland. In þe menetyme Andro Murraye, be supportt of Alexander Mowbray, segitt þe castell of Dongard, quhare Hary Bewmont was for þe tyme. At last þe castell was takin, and Hary Bewmont sauffitt vnder þir condicionis, þat he suld pas in Ingland & nevir return in Scotland withoute he remanit perpetuallie at King Daid's opinioun; attoure, gif he remanit in Ingland, he sall trete peace betuix Scottis and Inglismen safar as he mycht.

The samyn tyme þe Ballioll come to Renfrew, and ressaunt all þe strenthis þairof; eftir þis past in Bute and Rothesaye, quhair he garnyst all þe municionis of þe samyn with his soidiouris, and delt þe landis amang þame quhilkis assistit to him for þe tyme, makand officiaris at his pleseir, puttand þame awaye quhilkis war repugnand to his opinioun, and putting *vþeris* in þair place. Sik thingis done, þe Ballioll sett his besynes to slay Robert þe Stewart of Scotland, traisting be his deth to stabill þe realme to his opinioun. Nochþeles, Robert was sauffitt fra his tyranny in þe castell of Dunbertane. The Ballioll, havand grete indignacioun þat sindry strenthis of Scotlannd war haldin in name of King Daid and war common ressaunt to his inymyis, and becaus þe said castellis

*mycht* be eftir sikkir occasioun of batall aganis him quhen  
 þai fand sufficient oportunitie, he rasis ane grete army be avise  
 of King Edward to tak all þe said strenthis, and first tuke  
 purpos with sindry ingeneus & subtile instrumentis to tak  
 þe castell of Lochtlevin. And becaus þis castell *mycht* nocht  
 be takin but lang seige, he left *Schir* Iohnne Striueling to ly  
 at þe sege *perof* with ane grete power quhill þe castell war  
 womyn; and to doo þair besynes mair eselye, þai sett doun  
 þair pailzeonis in þe kirkzard of Sanct Serff besyde Kynroß,  
 and pollutit þe kirk þairof with þair abhominabill lustis. This  
 castell was kepit be Alane Auldbrig and Iames Lamby. At  
 522 last, quhen þir Inglismen | had assailzeitt lang tyme to gett  
 þis castell and gevin it mony grete assaltis be sindry ingynis,  
 howbeit þai war in vane, þai devisit ane subtill slycht to tak  
 þe castell but ony straik. First þai inclusit þe watter þat  
 ran oute of þe loch with ane grete dam, and biggitt it sa straitt  
 with fail, devaitt and treis þat þe watter *mycht* be haldin in  
 quhill it rais abone þe hous; and to caus þe dam to be boldin  
 mair haistlye, þai brocht þe burnys of sindry partis to þe locch.  
 It happinitt þat *Schir* Iohnne Striueling, principale Capitane  
 of þe sege, went in his deuocioun to Dunfermling, levand  
 behynd him sa mony as he thocht sufficient to sustene þe  
 sege. Alane Aldbrig, principale Capitane within þe hous,  
 (II. 427) knawing þe grete dangere appering to him, come oute of  
 þe castell with thre cobillis, and quhen he had boritt ane  
 grete hoill throw þe fayll, he returnit but ony noyis to þe  
 castell. Incontinent þe watter brak oute with sik press þat  
 it drownitt all þe army þat was lyand vnder þe dam, and brocht  
 þame with hors, careage and all vther þair *provisioun* to þe  
 seye. It is sayd at þis vengeance come on þame for pollucioun  
 of Sanct Serffis kirk. In þe menetyme Alane Aldbrig, quhen  
 þe watter was fallin to þe ald mesoure, ischitt oute of þe castell  
 with ane grete cunpany, and slew mony of þame quhilkis war  
 eschapitt at þis tyme, and þe remanent put to flycht, syne  
 returnit with grete spoulze of þair gudis, riches and vittalis  
 to þe castell. Iohnne Striueling, herand þe calamite þat  
 wes fallin to his folkis, returnytt to þe sege, and maid ane vowe  
 nevir to part fra þe samyn quhill he had slayne all þame quhilkis

war *within* þe castell. *Nocht*þeles, quhen he had lyne lang at þe samyn, and seying þe castell mycht *nocht* be takin, he was constrenit to lefe þe seige *with* grete slauchter of his folkis. This seige of Lochlevin was in Lentern fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>e</sup> xxxv 3eris.

How King Edward come with grete armyis in Scotland, and maid Dauid Cwmyn Gouvernour þairof; how Robert Stewart and Iohnne Randell recouert sindry strenthis of Scotland; how Dauid Cwmyn was brocht to grete troubill for his rebellious aganis Scottis, & gat grace to be trew. Ca vij

The 3ere<sup>1</sup> nixt following King Edward come in Scotland with fyfty thousand men, and send lxx salis be seye, of quhilkis mony war schip brokin betuix Inchekeith and þe Northland. And becaus he saw litill rebellious in þe cowntre aganis him, he returnit in Ingland *with* þe Ballioll, and left Dauid Cwmyn, Erle of Atholl, in his place to tak þe remanent strenthis of Scotlannd and to hald þe pepill vnder his dominious. Erle Dauid, maid Governour of Scotland in þis maner, be insolence of proude dominious tuke possessioun of all þe landis in Murray & Buchquhane quhilkis pertenit to Robert Stewartt, | and *nocht* onlye gat þe inhabitantis þerof sworn to his opinioun, bot als confiskatt þe gudis of þame quhilkis war repugnand þairto, putting þair bodijs to grete affliccioun. Robert Stewart, knawing þir iniuris, send for sindry his freyndis to cum to him, day & place affixitt, to revenge þe samyn. His freyndis sone gaderit in grete novmer, & be avise of Dougall Campbell of Lochhowe tuke þe castell of Dunhome, and slew all personis foundin in þe samyn. The commonis of Bute & Arane, glaid of þis happy begynnyng, gaderitt to meitt Robert Stewartt. *Nocht*þeles, quhen þai war cumand be þe gaitt, þai war stoppitt be Alane, Schireff of Carrik, and Iohnne Gilbert, Capitane of Bute, with sindry vþeris of þair opinioun. At last þai war constranytt to fecht, and gat sik victory þat

<sup>1</sup> MS. begins the chapter *Tere*.

Alane was slayne and Iohne Gilbert takin presonere. And quhen þai war cumin to Roberttis presence, bringand with thame þe hede of þe tane and þis tothir presonere, þai desyrit þe revard of þair victory, to be fre fra all customes in tymes cuming, quhilk was grantit to þame. Sik thingis dywlgatt throw þe cuntre maid sindry Scottis in esperance to recover þair liberte.

In þe menetyme Thomas Bruce, Erle of Carrik, and Williame Charteris come with ane grete powere of *commonis* fra þe opinioun of Ingland to Robert Stewartt. The samyn tyme Iohnne Randell, Erle of Murraye, returnit oute of France and arryvitt at Dunbertane, quhare he was ressauit be Robert Stewartt *with* maist honour, becaus he was ane nobill man and of na les manhede & wisdomes þan his fader, Erle Thomas, was afoir. This nobill man, seyng grete novmer of pepill assisting to þe opinioun of Robert Stewart, began to exhortt him to recover þe realme, saying þe tyme was *nocht* expedient to sauf men fra þair inmyis *within* howsis, sen sa mony peple of his opinioun war deliueritt to exoner þame self of *seruitude*, and ilk day new power increasing sa fast to him þat he mycht othir be force or ellis beneuolence bring þe remanent pepill to King Daidis opinioun. Sone eftir Robert Stewart & Iohnne Randell, Erle of Murraye, come *with* grete power in Cliddisdaill, Renfrew, Kyle, Cwnynghame and þe *Schirefdome* of Aire, and brocht þe samyn with Ros & Murraye to King Daidis opinioun. Eftir þis Erle Iohnne of Murraye went *with* ane strang army to Aberdene to revenge þe iniuris done be Erle Daid of Athoill, quhilk Daid, seyng þe peple gadir ilk daye *with* new power to recover þair liberte, fled to þe montanis & desertis, quhair he was brocht to sik miserye be ferß persecucioun of þe Erle of Murraye þat he was constranyt lang tyme to sustene his life on ruttis & herbis. At last, quhen he saw na way to eschew, he come in lamentabill weid, peteouslye desyring grace, quhilk was grantit to him plesandlye, becaus he was ane man of grete blude, manrent & landis, and gart him swere to be als trew to King Daid as he was afoir to King Edward, with certificacioun, gif he sett his besynes als deligentlye to recover þe liberte of Scotland

524 as he was afoir reddy to subdew it to Inglismen, | he suld be na leß autorist *with* King Daud þan he was afoir with King Edward, and gif he war fundin rebelling þairto, he suld be maist schaymfullye punyst for his tresoun. Sik thingis done, þe Erle of Murraye and Robert Stewartt come to Edinburgh, quhare þai *with* generall eleccioun war chosin Governouris of Scottlandd. In þe mene tyme Williame Douglas (11. 429) returnit oute of England, ransovnit *with* huge sovme of moneye. Eftir þis mony vther Scottis left þe opinion of Inglis men, as Laurence Prestoun, Iohnne Heryng & Iohnne Halyburtoun, knychtis, *with* mony vperis, quhilkis abaid eftir perpetually at þe faith of King Daud. Schort tyme following ane conuencioun was maid be þir Gouvernouris at Derse to avise on sindry grete materis concernyng þe commoun wele, quhilke day comperit thir nobill men following: Alexander Murraye, new ransonit oute of England, William Douglas, Patrik, Erle of Marche, Daud Cwmyng, Erle of Atholl, & Alexander Mowbraye. Nochþeles, becauð þe said Erle Daud come mair stranglye þan reassoun wes, þe nobillis durst attempt na thing at þis tyme aganis Inglismen, and þairfor skalit but ony vther actis done be þame.

How King Eduarde come in Scotland *with* grete armyis, and how mony of his navy perist for þair offence aganis Sanct Columbe; how þe Duke of Gyldir was wyncust, þe Erle of Murray betrasit, and how Erle Daud Cwmyn was slayne. Ca viij

**K**ing Eduarde and þe Ballioll, herand þe rebellioun of Scottis on þis wise, gaderit ane grete army to invaid þe Scottis, and come *with* fyfty thousand men to Perth, and brocht j<sup>c</sup> lxxx schippis. Thir schippis sone eftir þair cuming in Forth maid grete herschippis be fire and swerd on all partis þerabout, and eftir þat spoulzeit þe Abbaye of Sanct Columbe, bot þair sacrilege was nocht lang vnpvnest; for quhen þai war returnand in England, þair navy be violence of storme was brocht to grete affliccion, sum of þame pereist and vperis

brokin on craggis. The residew of þair navy quhilk eschapitt þis vniuersale weddir, knawing þat þai incurritt þe hattrent of God and Sanct Columbe for þair sacrilege, returnit to þe said Abbaye, and maid grete offerandis in recompense of þair offence, syne returnit hayme but ony displeseir.

The samyn tyme þe Duke of Gildir, cumand *with* ane grete powere throw Ingland in support of King Eduard, was disconnfist on þe Burrow Mure besyde Edinburgh, and chasit to þe castell of Edinburgh, quhilk was þat tyme in Inglis *menis* handis. *Nochttheles*, he was constrenytt be lang sege to cum in þe Governouris will, his gudis tynt and his lyfe onlye to be sauffitt. *Nochttheles*, þe Governouris of þair  
 525 hu- | manite randritt to him all his gudis, and sufferitt him to depart, eftir þat he was sworne nevir to adhere to Inglismen.  
 (II. 430) Quhen þe spoulzeis of þis batall war gaderit, ane woman was fundin of huge stature, quhilk slew ane wailþeant man, Richard Schaw, in singular batall in þe first ionyng. Forthir, becaus þis Duke of Gildir was ane frend of Phillippe, King of France, he was convoyitt be þe Erle of Murraye *with* ane quiete novmer to þe bordouris, and in þe mene tyme ane cumpany of Inglis & Scottis, quhilkis war laid in wait, tuke him be force of armys and randeritt him in King Edwardis handis.

The samyn tyme Daud, Erle of Atholl, beleving new felicite to fall to Inglismen, becaus þe Erle of Murraye was takin, returnit to King Edward at Perth, for he wes afoir of flocht, *nocht* knawing to quhat part he suld assist. Erle Daud, quhen he had gevin his faith agane to King Edward, was maid Governour of Scotlannd to hald þe samyn vnder his empire. Eftir þis King Edward returnit *with* þe Ballioll in Ingland, for he dred, gif Scotland war conquest be þe Ballioll, þat þe Ballioll suld rebell aganis him. Erle Daud, richt insolent eftir þis autorite, began to exerce new tyranny on þame quhilkis war repugnand to King Edward, sum of þame spoulzeit of þair landis and gudis, and vtheris put to deth. The nobillis, havand extreme indignacioun þat he, quhilk was constranit þe þere afoir to leiff on þe ruttis & herbis and sauffitt be þair beneuolence, suld exerce sik tyranny on þe pepill, gaderitt all þair powere to giddir, howbeit þai war



*nocht* compair to him, bot traisting erar be þair manhede and curage to revenge his tyranny þan ony multitude of pepill. The principale men of þis faccioun was Patrik, Erle of Marche, Andro Murray & Williame Douglas. Daid Cwmyng, herand þair cuming, left þe seige of Kildrymmy, quhare he was for þe tyme, and gaif þame batall, quhilk was fochtin lang tyme with vncertane victory. At last, quhen victory was inclinand to Erle Daid be multitude of pepill þat assistit to him, Iohnne Crag, Capitane of Kildrummy, come oute of þe castell *with* iij<sup>c</sup> fresche men, throw quhilk victory succedit to Scottis. Erle Daid, disparitt of gude chance, þat he suld *nocht* cum qwyk in his inymyis handis, ruschitt *with* ane cumpany of his tendir freyndis amang þe grete preß of his inymyis, quhare he, fectand *with* vtter manhede, was slayne be Alexander Gordoun. In this batall war slayn Walter Bryde, Robert Cwmyn, *with* mony vther gentilmen & commonis. Schir Thomas Cwmyn was takin presonere and heditt þe nixt daye for his tresoun. Robert Menzeis eschapitt be his fleying to his castell of Cammoir, and becaus grete novmer of pepill enteritt *with* him, but ony provisioun of vittalis, þe castell mycht *nocht* be defenditt, and was randeritt þerfor on þe nixt morrow, eftir þat þe pepill þerof was sworn to King Daidis opinioun.

(II. 431)

How Androu Murray was maid Gouvernour of Scotland, and recouert sindry strenthis; how King Edwarde come in Scotland *with* ane grete army, and of his syndry wassallagis done in Scotland.

Ca ix |

526 **D**aid, Erle of Athole, slayne on þis wise, ane conuencioun was maid be þe nobillis, in þe quhilk Andro Murray was maid Governour in þe place of þe Erle of Murraye, quhilk was takin vnhappely, as said is, *with* Inglismen. This Androu, eftir þat he had lyne lang tyme at þe sege of þe castell of Cowpir, was aduertist þat þe Cwmyngis maid grete troubill in þe

north of Scotlannd, and *perfor* thocht it mair necessair to support þe cowntre þan to seige ony castellis. The Cwmysns, knawing his *cuming*, mett him *with* sett batall, bot þai war wyncust. In þis batall war slayne Robert Cwmyrn, Williame Cwmyrn and Thomas Caldor, nobill men, houbet þai war invasouris of þe *common* wele. This victory gottin, as said is, be Andro Murraye brocht all þe north of Scotland vnder þe empire of King Daud. Few Inglismen remanit eftir in þai partis, except sa mony as war *within* þe castell of Dongard, quhilkis war all<sup>1</sup> slayne except þe Capitane *perof*, Hary Bewmont, quhilk was sauffitt on þe samyn maner as afoir, to pas in England, & sworn nevir to cum in Scotlannd. Eftir þis þe Governour went to þe castell of Lundoris, quhare þe Countes of Atholl was for þe tyme and hir childerin. This Countes, knawing þat scho was abill to be segitt, send hir *lettres* to King Edward, desyring his support but ony tary. King Edward, movitt *with* hir regraitt, come *with* xl<sup>m</sup> men in þe north of Scotlannd. Andro Murraye, astunyst be multitude of pepill, at his first *cuming* left þe seige, throw quhilk King Edward rescoursit þe castell of Lundoris, and garnyst it *with* strang municionis & vittalis. Eftir þis he come throw Murray *with* bludy swerd, censing fra na maner of cruelte þat *mycht* be devisitt, and in his returnyng throw Mar he kest doun þe tovn of Aberdene. His navy, *quhilk* was arryvitt in Forth, began on þe samyn maner as þe tothir did afoir to

(II. 432) spoulze þe Abbay of Sanct Columbe, and þair sacralege wes nocht lang vnpvnyst, for ane of þe schippis þat was ladin *with* Sanct Columbis gudis sank but ony tempest to þe seye ground. King Edward at his returnyng to Perth, becaus it was cassin doun of befoir, *commandit* it to be reparitt with new vallis, strenthis and bastailzeis on þe expensis of thir vj abbayis: Abirbrothok, Cowper, Lundoris, Balmvrynocht, Dunfermling & þe Abbay of Sanctandris; and þocht þe expens þairof war rycht hevvy, ȝite þe Abbottis obeyitt to his chargis. Efter þis he maid Hary Bewmont Capitane of þe castell of Sanctandris, quhilk returnit *with* him oute of England contrar his

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ar.*

faith maid afoir at þe sege of Dongard. Alsa he maid Hary Farrar Capitane of þe castell of Lutheris, William Montigew Capitane of Striueling, and Williame Feltoun Capitane of Roxburgh, and Thomas Vrthreid Capitane of Perth. Quhill sik thingis war done in Scotland be King Edward, come to him his bruther Helcane, quhilk had laitlye invadit þe Scottis *with* sik cruelte, eftir þat þaj had cumin to King Edwardis opinioun, þat mony of þame war slane in kirkis & templis. And becaus þis odious tyran Helcane brynt þe kirk of Sanct Bute *with* | j<sup>m</sup> personis in it, King Edward straik him throw þe body *with* ane swerd afoir þe altare of Sanct Iohnne, saying, “Þis haly place salbe na mair securite nor refuge to the þan vther howsis of God has bene afoir fra þj tyranny, quhen sa mony innocent pepill war distroyitt but ony sicht to rycht or wrang.” Sik thingis done, King Edward returnit in England, levand behynd him þe Ballioll *with* ane grete powere at Perth. The samyn tyme Hary Bewmontt slew all Scottis quhom he mycht apprehend, specialye þame þat war at þe slauchter of Dauid Cwmyn.

In þe menetyme Andro Murraye was aduerteist of King Edwardis departing, and come fra þe montanis *with* ane sobir cumpany, quhair he eschewitt þe grete fury of Inglismen. At last, quhen he had invaditt þaim at sindry ieopardijs *within* nycht, he come *with* ane cumpany of chosin men to þe castell of Kyncelevin, and *within* schort tyme following take it be force, and kest it doun. Eftir þis, seying þe Inglismen ryse aganis him *with* mair powere þan he mycht resist, he fled in þe Mernis, quhare he wan þe castell of Kynneff, and kest it to þe ground. Passand forthir in þe samyn maner, he brynt Dunnottir. On þe tothir syde þe Inglismen maid na les slauchter and herschippis in all partis quhare he come, (II. 433) persewing þe said Androu, throw quhilkis þe Mernis, Anguse, Stermonth and Gowry for continewall reiffis, murdir & affliccioun done to þaim war left waist. At last þis Andro, to resist þe persecucioun of Inglismen, gaderitt all þe peple of Murraye, Mar & Buchquhan, and faucht at Panmvre in Anguse, quhare he was victorius *with* huge slauchter maid

on his inmyis. In þis batall war slayne Hary Montfortt, quhilk was send laitlie be King Edward in support of Ballioll, *with* *iiij<sup>m</sup>* nobillis and gentill men, throw quhais deth raiff grete doloure in sindry partis of Ingland, seand þair pissance gretumlye brokin for þe tynsale of sa mony nobillis. Eftir þis victory Andro Murraye passitt throw Fiffe and Anguse, and kest doun þe castell of Lowcheris with all vther castellis of Fyffe, except alanerlye þe castell of Cowpir.

How Williame Tallebatt and Richard Montford war wyncust be Scottis and þair armyis put to flycht ; off þe deth of Andro Murraye ; off sindry wassallage done be Robert Stewartt and þe Douglas ; and of grete darth in Albyoun. Ca x

**K**ing Edwarde, herand þe victory fallin in þis maner to his inmyis, send twa wailzeand capitanis, Williame Tillebott and Richard Montfortt, in Scottlannd *with* twa grete armyis in support of Ballioll ; aganis quhom come Williame Keth, Laurence Prestoun and Robert Gordoun *with* ane grete novmer of pepill, and put baith þair armyis to flycht. Richard Montford was slayn and Williame Taillebott takin presoner, quhilk payit *ij<sup>m</sup> mark* striueling for his ransoun. The Inglis-  
 528 men, *nochtwithstanding* þis disconfitour, assemblit *with* new ordinance to sege þe castell | of Dunbar, bot it was sa vailzeantlie debaittitt be þe Countes of Marche, callit Blak Anna, þat þai war constranyt to depart fra þe sege *perof*.

The 3ere following was ane miserabill darth in all þe boundis of Scotland, to þe grete mortalite of þe pepill, becauð þe land  
 (II. 434) lay waist but ony stoir or cornis for continewall weris afoir past. The soidiouris quhilkis war in þe castell of Cowpir for lak of vittalis left þe castell desertt, and fled to Kyngorn, quhare þai hyritt ane schip within nycht to fle in Ingland. Nochtpeles, be ane evill marynare þai come on ane sand bed,

traisting þe samyn firme land, becaus it wes vncoueritt with watter, throw quhilk þai pereist all at þe nixt flude.

The samyn tyme ane man of grete spreitt, namytt Robert, becaus he favouritt Scottis men in þe toun of Edinburgh, quhare he was soidiour, was constranytt for contempcioun to bere ilk daye grete stanys on his bak to þe reparacioun of þe toun. At last, becaus he was irkitt *with* lang laboure, and refusit to bere sik chargis, þe Capitane straik him *with* ane clube quhill þe blude sprang oute of his hede. Robert, movitt *with* þis iniure, lay ilk day in waitt, quhill he saw his tyme, and at last slew þe Capitane, and come to Williame Douglas þe nerrest waye he mycht, persuading him to pas with maist deligence to Edinburgh, quhare he suld fynd his inymyis gevin to *nocht* bot insolence of þair wayme. Williame Douglas, persuaditt be his wourdis, come with ane gude novmer of men *within* þe nycht to þe said toun, quhare he maid sik slauchter on þame þat þai war constrenit to be þe mair vigilant in tymes *cuming*.

Nocht lang eftir Andro Murraye, *Gouvernour* of Scotland, decessitt, to þe grete *dammage* of þe *commoun* wele *þerof*, and was beryitt in Rosmarky, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> & xxxviiij þeris; eftir quhais deth Robert Stewartt tuke on him all þe charge of þe realme, and be support of Williame Douglas put þe Inglismen oute of Tevidale, Tweddail and Nyddisdail, and restoritt þai landis to þe empire of King Daud. The Inglismen, movitt be þir iniuris, come *with* ane grete powere be avise of Lord Berclaye. At þe first ionyng þe Scottis war astunyst, vncertane for quhat caus, & gaif bakkis, on quhom followitt þe Inglismen *with* maist rageand cruelte, and maid sik murdir þat Robert Stewart was bot þe thrid persoun þat eschappitt at þis skarmyß, the residew all  
(II. 435) slayn and takin. Nochþeles, within few dayis eftir he faucht *with* mair felicite aganis Iohnne Striueling, and slew and tuke ane grete novmer of his cumpany. The samyn tyme Williame Douglas wan þe castell of Hermitage be strang hand, and slew all personis foundin in þe samyn, and sone eftir he tuke ane grete provisioun of vittalis, quhilk was *cumand* to

support ane army of Inglismen liand for þe tyme at Melroß, and stuffitt þe castell of Hermitage *with* þe samyn. The samyn day þe said Williame Douglas faucht v. sindry batallis  
 529 aganis Williame Abirnethy, off quhilkis he tynt foure, | and in þe last þe Douglas was victorious and tuke Abirnethy presonere, quhilk was send eftir be *commande* of Robert Stewart to Dounbertan.

Eftir þis victory Williame Douglas was send ambassatoure in France to King Dauid for certane hye materis concernyng þe realme. Robert Stewartt, seyng þe chance of fortoun succeding to him with þir feliciteis, gaderit ane grete powere to sege þe toun of Perth, and devidit þame in foure sindry buscheamentis: in þe first was Patrik, Erle of Marche; in þe nixt war all þe Scottis of þe west boundis; in þe thrid was Williame, Erle of Roß; in þe fourte was Mawrice Murraye, Lord of Cliddisdale; and come with all þair ordinance to þe said toun. Nochþeles, þe Inglismen defenditt it sa wailþeantlie þat he was dongin abak *with* all his cumpany. And in þe menetye Williame Douglas returnit oute of France with ane grete powere send furth of þe samyn, throw quhilk þai gat curage of new to recover þair toun. And in þe menetye Williame Bellok, Inglisman, tuke þe castell of Cowper; howbeit he was sone put oute of þe samyn be þe said Williame Douglas, this Williame Bellok beand sufferitt to depart with his gudis sauffe, and þe Scottis quhilkis assistit to him for þe tyme sworn in tymes *cuming* to assist to King Dauidis opinioun. Sone eftir þai returnit to þe sege of Perth, quhare grete slauchter was maid on all sydis. Nochttheles, quhen þe Scottis war disparit to recover þe said toun, it was randeritt to þame be Thomas Vter, his lyfe and gudis beand sauffitt, þe 3ere fra oure redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> xlj 3eris; quhilk 3ere was sik darth in Scotland and Inland þat þe pepill was constranit to eitt horsß, houndis and vther siklyke forbodin flesche. It is said þe hungir was sa grete þat men abhorrit nocht to eitt þair *nichtbouris* barnis.

How þe Ballioll fled in Ingland ; off grete wassallage done be Robert Stewart and Williame Douglas ; how King Dauid returnit in Scotland ; hou Alexander Ramsay did grete actis aganis Inglismen, and how þe Douglas was banyst for his slauchter. Ca xj

**P**erth ressauf on this wise and garnyst *with* strang municionis, þe Governour went with his army to Striueling, and take it þe viij daye eftir þat þe seige was laid þairto, vnder þir condicionis, þat Thomas Fulky, Capitane þairof, mycht pas *with* his wife, barnis and gudis but ony impeschement in Ingland. Edward Ballioll, seyng þir feliciteis succede to Scottis, fled in Ingland.

In þe menetyme þe castell of Edinburgh was wonnyn be subtell menis of Williame Douglas, William Bullok, Walter Freserr, Walter Towris and Iohnne Sandelandis, knychtis, in maner following. The Douglas had ane *seruitour*, Walter Towris, quhilk come oute of his schip be *commande* of þe Douglas in Forth, fenzeing him self to be ane merchand with  
 530 sindry wynis to sell oute of | France, be ane devisit slycht brocht twa punsionis. The nixt daye he drew certane gallownis of þis wyne, and past *with* þe samyn to þe castell of Edinburgh, quhare he *commandit* þe stewart to cum furth, and gaif him þe taist of his wynis, quhilk fand þame sa delecious þat he demandit gif þai mycht be gottin for money, and sayid, “ þou sall doo ws ane hye pleser gif þou will provyde ws certane wescheall of þis wyne, becaus wyne has bene to ws þir mony 3eris in grete penurite. We cure *nocht* quhat money we geif, sua þat it may be had.” Attour, to mak him þe mair sikkir of þis wyne, he gaif him money in hand, to þis Towris, *commanding* him to bring þe wyne at þe brek of þe day to þe castell, and he suld be reddy to ressaif þe samyn. The nixt morrow þis Towris come airlye with þe twa punsionis. Incontinent þe 3ettis war oppynnit be þe portaris to ressaif þe wyne. At last, quhen þe cairtt wes cumin within þe 3ett, þis Towris pullit oute ane waige, and incontinent þe cairt fell down with þe punsioun in þe myddis of þe 3ett, and stoppit þe samyn to

cloiſ. The Douglas, quhilk was *nocht* far fra þis slycht, come haistlie *with* bodin men to þe zettis, and slew þe portaris in defence þairof, syne enterit in þe said castell *with* bludy swerd, sauffing nane on live quhilkis *mycht* be fundin within þe said castell; throw quhilk raiſ ane huge noyis and rummesing of deand pepill sekand defence of þair lyvis in sindry hyrnis of þe said castell, howbeit it was in vane, for þai war all slayne.

Thus was þe realme pacifijt, na inymyis apperand, baith Ballioll & Inglismen eieckitt oute of all partis of þis realme. Sone eftir þe Governour send ambassatouris to bring King Dauid oute of France, quhilkis war finalie ressauit with grete triumphe at Pareiſ be King Phillippe. Sone eftir King Dauid with his Qwene Iayn and sindry grete nobillis of Franchmen & Scottis come happelye throw þe seyis, and arrivitt at Innerbervy, quhare he was ressauit *with* grete triumphe of pepill, quhill he come to Perth. At his cuming Alexander Ramsaye of Dalhousy, ane of þe maist walzeand men þat was in his dayis, gaderit ane strang powere, and enterit in Ingland, and þai quhilkis war in þe merchis of Ingland gaderit þair soidjouris of all strenthis of þe bordouris to meit þe said Alexander. *Nocht*-theles, be craft of chevelry þe said Alexander left þe maist part of his army in waitt to abyde þair avantage, and went forthwart *with* þe residew þerof aganis his inymyis, commanding þame to cum with huge clamour & noyis on þair

(II. 437) bakkis fra þai saw his folkis pasſ by þe army of Ingliſmen. The Inglismen, seyng him *with* few novmer of pepill, come

531 forthwert with grete audacite & curage, and in þe | menetyme þe Scottis fenzeit þame to fle, on quhom followitt þe Ingliſmen in grete hattrent, and incontinent þe Scottis quhilkis war laid in wait come on þair bakkis; throw quhilkis þe Inglismen war invaditt on all sydis, and put to flicht. Sindry war slayn and part war takin, amang quhom þe Erle of Sarisbury was takin with þe Capitane of Roxburgh & mony vperis. Alexander Ramsaye, knawing þe Capitane of Roxburgh takin *with* mony his soidiouris, come incontinent with ledderis to þe wallis, and wan þe said castell, *nocht* but grete difficulte. Eftir þis victory he interchengit þe Erle of Sarisbury *with* þe Erle of Murraye, syne come to Perth, quhare he was tendirly ressauit be King



Dauid, and gat þe Capitanery of Roxburgh with mony vther landis of Tevidale to his revard. Nochtþeles, Williame Douglas, becaus he had þe landis of Tevidale afoir in mantenyng for his gude *seruice* and faith observitt to King Dauid, thocht hevyr þat Alexander Ramsaye suld be preferritt to him in þis wise, fra thens began to be als grete inmyy as he was frend afoir to þe said Alexander, howbeit he dissimulit his hatrent for þe tyme. At last he tuke þe said Alexander in þe kirk of Hawik, þe thrid moneth eftir his returnyng, and held him in presoun within þe castell of Harmitage quhill he decessitt. King Dauid, richt *commovitt* for þe tynsale of sa nobill ane man, thocht, gif sik attemptattis war vnpvnyst, it mycht geif occasioun to *vperis* to conspire aganis him in hyear materis, and gart serche him *with* maist deligence to be puneist for his attemptattis. Nochttheles, the Douglas drew him fra þe Kingis hattrent, abiding in þe montanis & vther deserttis of Scotland, quhill Robert Stewartt & vther nobill men remembrit þe King of þe grete manhede and vertu be quhilk þe Douglas sa oft tymes had resistit his inmyyis and brocht þame to disconnfitoure, schawing als þe tyme nocht ganand to distroy sa nobill ane man, throw quhilk he was finaly reconsalit to þe King and restoritt to þe landis of Tevidaille as he wes afoir.

(11. 438)

How King Dauid rewardit þe airis of þame þat war slayne at Duplyne and Halydonhill, and invadit England sindry tymes with grete herschippis and slauchter.

Ca xij

Scotlande beand on þis maner pacifijt, and Inglismen Seieckitt oute of all partis þairof, King Dauid sett ane counsale at Perth, in þe quhilk he *commanditt* þat þe names of all Scottis quhilkis war slayne at Duplyn & Halydounhill in defence of þe realme suld be gevin to him in bill, als *commandit* þame quhilkis war on live to schaw þair present wassallage, þat he mycht revard þame according to þair merittis.

532 Quhen þai war all conventit | and he aduertist particularly

nocht onlie of pair eldaris, bot als of euery ane of pair avne wassallage, he revarditt þame richelye *with* gold, siluer, landis and iowellis, þat þai suld reioise na les *with* þe present felicite þan þai war soroufull afoir for þe tynsale of pair freyndis. Nane was þat couth schaw ony of his freyndis or kynnismen slayne, or did vassallage with his awin handis, bot was rewarditt with gudelye recompense; amang quhom was Hew Boece, Baroun of Drisdail, grand*serr* to Maister Hector Boece, autour of þir Cronikillis; becaus his fader was slayne at Duplyn, he gat in recompens þerof be þe Kingis liberalite þe heritoure of þe Barony of Balebryde, quhilk Barony is ȝite posseditt be þe airis of þis Hew.

Quhen King Dauid had revarditt þe nobillis of his realme on þis wise, he thocht na thing sa gude as to revenge þe grete iniuris done to his pepill be Inglismen sa mony ȝeris afoir. Sum prudent men gaif him counsale to ceß fra batall, quhill þe pepill war *conualescitt* and recoueritt pair gudis, quhilkis war rest fra þame afoir be continewall weris. Attour, þe tyme occurrit to manure pair landis, to releiff þe pepill of grete darth, quhilk rang in þe countre be occasioun of weris afoir rehersitt. To þir wourdis ansuerit King Dauid, he wald assalȝe (II. 439) þe chance of fortoun to bring his pepill nocht alanerlye in grete riches be spoulȝe of Inglismen, bot als to revenge þe iniuris done be þame sa mony ȝeris afoir, and pairfor *commandit* euery man to be reddy agane ane certane daye. The day beand *cumin*, he maid þe Erle of Murraye Lufetennent to his army, quhilk enteritt sone eftir in Northumberland, quhair he remanit ane moneth, invading þat cuntre *with* fyre & suerd, syne returnit in Scotlannd *with* grete riches and praye of men and gudis. Sone eftir King Dauid rasitt all þe power of Scotland, and enterit in Inghland *with* displayitt baner. The Inglißmen, nocht of pyssance for þe tyme to resist his army, gaderitt all pair gudis to grete strenthis, and sum tyme invading Scottis with frequent skarmusingis. In þe menetyme v knychtis of Scotlannd, namytt Stewartt, Eglintoun, Cragy, Boyde & Fowlartoun, persewing Inglismen oure ferslye, war takin be Inglismen. Nochþeles, þai war haistlye redemit be King Dauid *with* grete ransoun. King Dauid, seying him self

ilk daye waisting his tyme, and na apperance of batall, returnit in Scotlannd *with* purpoß to renew his army and to invaid his inmyis with new displeserr, or þe countre mycht be assemblit aganis him. Nocht lang eftir he returnit in England *with* all þe power of Scotland, and was troubillit sua *with* continewall weitt and hail pat he mycht nocht invaid þe cuntre and skairslye debaitt him self and his army vnperest *with* vehement storme of weddir. On þe tothir syde þair inmyis was assemblit aganis þame, ouresett *with* tempest on þe samyn maner. King Daud, þat his purpoß suld nocht  
 533 be all in vane, kest doun certane howsis on þe bordouris | of England, syne returnyt in Scotland but ony vther trouble to his army.

(II. 440)

How King Daud at þe request of þe King of France invadit England, and was takin at Durame, and all þe nobilite of Scotland takin or slayne ; how Inglismen conquest grete boundis in Scotland. Ca xiiij

**T**he samyn tyme Edward, King of England, segitt Calice, þat tyme beand vnder dominioun of France, and þerfor King Phillippe of France send his ambassatouris in Scotland to King Daud, desyring him eftir his band to cum *with* his army in Ingrannd to draw þe Inglismen fra þe sege. The samyn tyme the ambassatouris of King Edward war send to King Daud, promitting, gif he wald condiscend to sikkir peace, nocht invading England *with* batall, to deliuer Berwik in his handis *with* Edward Ballioll to be puneist at his pleseir, becaus he was, as þai allegit, þe grete occasioun of weeris sa lang continewing betuix Scottis & Inglismen. The nobillis went to þair counsale, quhare þai war devydit in sindry opinionis, ilk man eftir his fantasy. Sum be raige of insolent youth and for auld hatrent aganis Inglismen war desyrous of batall. Vtheris, quhilkis war irkitt *with* continewall weeris & desyrit peace, thocht þe offeris of Inglismen war nocht to be contemptnit, sen sa mony commoditeis mycht follow be þe samyn, and þairfor desyritt þe nobillis to be nochtoure proude

for þis present felicite, bot remembring erar þe calamite in tymes bigane, sayng, "Gif we contempne þis oportunitie, we sall get nevir it agane. Attour, quha sall beleif vther bot perpetuall peace to ws, gif he be takin awaye or distroyitt þat was occasioun of all oure weeris?" To this ansueritt King Daud and vþeris þat wer of þe opinioun of France, the memory of þe infinite pleseris done afoir to þame be King Phillip was nocht oute of þair myndis, and þairfor wald nocht be vnthankfull to him quhilk nocht onlie ressauit him quhen maist troubill apperitt, bot als debaittit him aganis his inymyis quhen he was exilitt of his realme. Attoure, þe band quhilk was afoir renewitt be King Robert his fader persuadit þame to assist to þe opinioun of France. Thairfor, gif þai war nobill men, havand sicht to gude dedis done for þair commoun wele (II. 441) & liberte, na thing wes sa gude as to revenge auld iniuris of þair inymyis. Be this waye was concluditt to haif batall with Inghland be impulsiou of King Daud, quhilk was desyrous to doo sum thing wourthy to haif memory, þat he be comparit in sum part to þe gloir of his fader. The ambassatouris of Inghland departit on þis wise but ony expedicioun of þair desyris, and þe ambassatouris of France satisfyitt at þair pleseir.

Quhill þe nobillis of Scottland war gaderand þair poweris to invaid Inghland, Daud, Erle of Ros, slew þe Lord of þe Ilis, with vij of þe nobillest of þat countre; quhilk beyng done, he returnit with his cumpany to Ros. Sindry belevitt grete troubill to follow for þis slauchter. Nochttheles, King Daud superseditt þe pvnicioun þerof vnto ane tyme mair ganand. King Daud afoir his | iornaye creatt Williame 534 Douglas Erle thairof, syne come in Inghland, quhare he waistit gret landis of þe samyn be fyre & swerd. It is sayid, King Daud was monyst be ane visioun in his sleip to invaid na landis of Sanct Cuthberttis, vtherwayis his weris suld haif ane miserabill end. Nochþeles, quhen he was awalkynnit fra his sleip, he thocht all sik visionis & dremys bot fantasijs, and þairfor commandit his army for contempcion þairof to cefs fra na landis nor townis quhare þai past. At last þai come with bludy swerd to Durame, quhare Sanct Cuthbert is

patroun, and spoulzeit it with sik cruelte þat þai left na thingis in þe samyn, nor ȝite in þe landis þairaboute, that mycht be turst, syne kest doun þe castell of Liddildale to þe ground. Þe Erle of Northumberland, impacient to sustene sa grete iniuris, come oute of France *with* ane grete powere fra King Edward. Nochttheles, afoir his cuming he send ambassatouris to King Daid, desyryng him to return in Scotland, and to invaid þe pepill of Ingland *with* na forthir iniuris, remenbring him, gif he war repugnand þairto, þat God suld nocht fail to puneifþ him for his cruelteis, attour to remembre, quhen he was passand oute of Scotland in France, þat sindry of his schippis pereist afoir his sicht, becaus þai invaditt þe landis of Sanct Cuthbert.

King Daid, havand þair wourdis in derisioun, devyditt his army in thre partis, *commanding* þame to be reddy agane þe nixt daye. The vangard wes gevin to Robert Stewartt, his nepott, and to Patrik, Erle of Marche. The secunde batall (II. 442) was gevin to Iohnne Randell, Erle of Murraye, and to Williame, Erle of Douglas. In þe myddilward was King Daid *with* þe residew of all his nobillis. The morrow afoir þe batall þe Erle of Douglas past furth to spy þe army of Ingland. Nochtpeles, he eschakit nerrowly *with* his life, and l of his men slayn. The Inglismen deviditt þair army in þe samyn maner in thre bataillis, and quhen þai war nocht far severit <sup>1</sup> fra vther, Daid Grahame come *with* v<sup>c</sup> speris apoun þe skyrtis of þe Inglis archeris to haif brokin þame, bot he was invadit sa cruellye þat his horfþ was slayne vnder him *with* mony of his men, and him self nerrowly eschaping. The Scottis, nocht-*withstanding* baith þir disconfitouris, ruschitt forthwert aganis þair inymyis, and faucht *with* maist furious hattrent on all sydis, quhill at last Robert Stewart and þe Erle of Marche in þe wangard, eftir þat þai had focht in lang tyme *with* vncertane victory, and seyng þair folkis declyne sum part of þair curage, fled fra King Daid be sounde of trumpett to ane strenth; quhais fleyng brocht grete disconnfitoure to all þe army of Scottis, for þe samyn batall þat faucht aganis Robert Stewart and þe Erle of Marche come on King Daid with sik

<sup>1</sup> MS. looks more like *siverit*.

535 terrill noyis þat þe Scottis quhilkis faucht in þat batall war  
 put to flycht ; throw quhilk King Dauid was left with small  
 cumpany in þe feild. And 3ite he pretermittit na thing þat  
 mycht pertene to þe office of ane forsy campioun, | exhorting  
 þame with all honest persuasionis þat he mycht to batall,  
 and in þe menetyme he ruschitt forthwertt with ane knott of  
 wailþeand men quhare he saw maist preß of Inglismen, to haif  
 put þame to disconnfitoure, þat þe residew of his folkis mycht  
 haif curage to return in batall. Nochþeles, nane abaid with  
 him bot sa mony as had mair sicht to þair honoure þan lyfe,  
 fechtand with perseuerand manhede to þe dede ; and King  
 Dauid, destitute, but ony help, cessit *nocht* to persevere in  
 ithand bergane, quhill he was ouresett with grete novmer of  
 pepill aganis him and twa speris hingand in his body. And  
 þocht he mycht *nocht* fle, nor 3ite brek þe said speris, he wald  
*nocht* suffir him self to be 3oldin, thynkand na thing sa odius  
 as to remane on live eftir sa grete slauchter maid on his nobillis,  
 and þerfor cessit *nocht* to provoyke his inymyis with maist  
 dispitfull wourdis to slay him. *Nocht*theles, þe Inglismen,  
 seyng þat he mycht *nocht* eschaip, sett þair besynes to tak  
 (11. 443) him qwik. In þe menetyme *Schir* Iohanne Coupeland desyritt  
 him to be 3oldin, becaus his swerd & wappinnis war brokin  
 and dongin oute of his handis. He tuke þis Coipland on þe  
 chaftis with his neiff, þat twa of his fordir teith flew oute.  
*Attour*, na gretar felicite was in þe reirward, quhair þe Erlis  
 of Murraye and Douglas faucht, for þe Erle of Murraye was  
 slayne and the Erle of Douglas takin.

In this batall war slayn þe Erlis of Murray & Strathhern,  
 þe Constabill, þe Chalmerlane, þe Marscheall & Chancellare  
 of Scotland, with huge novmer of vther knychtis & nobillis.  
 The King was takin with v erlis, of Douglas, Fiffe, Sutherland,  
 Wigtoun & Menteth. Ane spere hede was dongin in King  
 Davidis hede with sik violence þat it mycht *nocht* be drawin  
 furth quhill he vesijt Sanct Niniane in Scotland, and þan þe  
 wounde oppinnit, and þe hede fell oute. This batall was  
 strikkin at Durehame in þe moneth of October, fraoure  
 Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> xlviij 3eris. The Inglismen eftir þis  
 victory ressauit þe castellis of Roxburgh & Hermitage, and

but ony resistence subdewitt Annandale, Gallowaye, Merfs, Tevidale, Tweddale & Ettrik Forest, and maid marchis at Cokburnis Peth & Sowtray Ege.

(II. 444)

How Williame Douglas recouerit sindry landis oute of Inglismenis handis ; how þe Erlis of March and Douglas maid were in England for þe desyre of France ; and how King Edward did grete cruelteis in Scotlannd.

Ca xiiij

The nixt 3ere þe Ballioll come furth of England *with* þe Erle of Northumberland, and herijt Loutheane & Cliddisdaill, and brocht þe spoulze þairof in Gallowaye, quhare he remanit for ane tyme. Þe Scottis at last eftir grete slauchter done on þame maid Robert Stewartt Governour, and he maid Dauid Lyndesaye, bruper to Dauid Lyndesay afoir slayn at Durehayme, Capitane of þe castell of Edinburgh. The samyn tyme Williame Douglas, nepott to Schir Iames Douglas þat was  
536 slayn in Spanze, | chasit þe Inglismen oute of Douglasdaill, Ettrik Forest and Tweddale. Iohne Cowpeland, Capitane of Roxburgh, movitt with þir iniuris, gaderit ane grete powere aganis þe said Williame Douglas. Nochtþeles, Copland was disconfist, and chasit to Roxburgh. The samyn 3ere was sa grete pest in all partis of Scotlannd þat þe thrid part of þe pepill decessitt. Þe 3ere of God j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> & l 3eris was slayne at Aberdene ane nobill and wailzeand knycht, Schir Dauid Berclaye, be Iohnne Sanct Michaell, throw persuasioun of Schir Williame Douglas, quhilk was haldin þat tyme presonere in England with þe Erle of Douglas. Attoure, þis Williame sone eftir his returnyng with þe Erle of Douglas oute of England was slayne be ane Williame Douglas, his god son, for þe slauchter of Alexander Ramsaye, throw quhilk þe House of Douglas was at weere lang tyme amang þame self.

(II. 445)

The samyn tyme King Iohnne of France, son to King Phillip, send ane nobill man, Ewgenius Gerantyre, with xl nobill men in Scotlannd, exhorting þe nobillis *with* grete sovmez of gold & siluer to mak were on England. The Scottis,

becaus þair capitanis war slayne or takin at Durehame, ressaute þir Franche men in maist tendirnes, and sone eftir þe Erlis of Douglas & Marche come in Ingland *with* ane army, and maid grete herschippis; bot maist herschip was maid be Williame Ramsaye of Dawhowsey; and quhen he was returnit *with* grete praye & riches to þe residew of þe Scottis cumpany, the Inglismen followitt him sa scharpeye to haif recoueritt þair gudis þat mony of þame war takin & slayn, amang quhom *Schir* Thomas Graye & Thomas his son, Iohnne Darras *with* vther sindry war takin. The Franche men *quhil*kis war in þe Scottis army coft sindry presoneris in Ingland, and slew þame in sythment of þe slauchter of þair faderis, *quhil*kis war laitlye slayn in France be vther Inglismen. The Erlis of Douglas & Marche, proude of þis felicite, come haistelye with ledderis to þe wallis of Berwik, and tuke þe samyn *with* huge slauchter on all sydis. Off Scottis war slayn Thomas Wauß, Andro Scott of Balwery, Iohnne Gordoun, Williame Sinclair, Thomas Prestoun, Robert Boithwall, Alexander Mowbraye, knychtis. Of Inglismen war slayn Alexander Ogill, Capitane of þe toun, Thomas Persee, brup̄er to þe Erle of Northumberland, and Edward Graye.

The Scottis, sone eftir þat þe toun was womyn in þis maner, war aduerteist þat King Edward was cumand on þame *with* ane grete army, and becauß þai had na provisioun to resist his sege, þai brynt þe toun, and kest doun ane grete part of þe wallis *perof*, and syne returnit in Scotland *with* ane grete praye of gudis. Nochþeles, King Edward at his *cuming* gaderitt ane grete novmer of craftis men to repair þe samyn, syne went to Roxburgh, quhare Edward Ballioll transferritt all rycht þat he had to þe croun of Scotlannd in þe said King Edward vnder þir condicionis, þat he perseveir with perpetuall  
 537 hattrent aganis all Scottis. King Edward | eftir þis come  
 (II. 446) *with* his army to Hadingtoun, makand grete herschippis & slauchter in all partis quhare he come. At last he come to þe Quhite Kirk, abyding þe *cuming* of ane grete flott of Inglismen to invaid Scotlannd be seyis. In menetyme certane Inglismen spoulzeit þe said kirk, and returnit *with* þe spulze *perof* to þair schippis, and incontinent raiß ane north wynd,



and raschitt all his schippis on sandis and cost sydis, throw quhilk þai pereist, and nane was sauffitt bot sa mony as swam to land. King Edward, movitt *with* this troubill, for contemptcioun of God, becaus his navy was pereist in þis *maner*, persewitt all kirkis, abbayis & religious placis *with* maist cruelte. It is sayid, ane Inglisman, quhen he was spoulzeand þe Quhite Kirk, þe crucifix fell apon his hede, and dang oute his harnes. Sik thingis was done fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lv ʒeris on þe Daye eftir þe Purificacioun of Oure Lady, namytt Candilmes.

How King Iohnne of France *with* mony nobillis of France and Scotland war disconnfist at Poeterß ; how King Edwarde satt in his gloir betuix twa captive kingis ; how King Daid was redemit, and puneist his nobillis for þair fle yng at Durehame ; and of þe deth of King Iohnne. Ca xv

**S**one eftir King Edwardis departing in Ingland Williame Douglas recoueritt þe landis of Gallowaye and subdewitt þe samyn to þe empire of King Daid. Dryisdaill on þe samyn maner wes recouerit be Kirkpatrik.

The nixt ʒere, quhilk was fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lvj ʒeris, in þe moneth of September Richard,<sup>1</sup> son to Edward Wyndisoir, quhilk was Prince of Walis and heretoure to þe croun of Ingland, come in France *with* ane grete army, and invadit þe samyn *with* sik weirly ordinance þat sindry boundis of France, withoute his fury war þe sonnair repressit, apperit to pas vnder his dominioun. Williame Douglas, quhilk was eftir Erle of þe samyn, herand sa grete invasioun maid be Inglismen in France, come on his avne beneuolence with ane grete powere in France. King Iohnne, spretit in grete curage be his *cuming*, gaderit ane huge army to chais þe said Prince oute of his realme, and come with þe samyn to Poeterß. The Prince of Walis, seyng him self of na pyssance in compair of sa grete ordinance aganis him, fenʒeit him be subtill slycht

<sup>1</sup> So MS.

to be astunyst, and rasit his army, makand him to depart towart Ingland, to þat fyne þat þe Franche men and Scottis (II. 447) suld brek þair arraye to follow on his army. Incontinent þe Erle of Claremont, quhilk was Marscheall of France, come with mony nobillis þerof with sik properant fury on þir Inglismen, 538 or he wist, þat he was slayne with all | his cumpany with þair archeris. Prince Richard, proude of þis gude begynnyng, and seand his army ereckitt in maist manhede & curage throw þis victory, determit to follow fortoun, and come in maist afull arraye quhair King Iohnne of France was liand with þe residew of his army. Incontinent baith þe armyis iovnit, and faucht with incredibill hatrent on all sydis, quhill at last þe Dalphyn of France fled with þe maist part of all þe army, throw quhilk King Iohnne was left nakitt in þe feild with his 3oungest son, callit Philipp Hardy becaus his swerd was fundin drawin in his hand. Thus was King Iohnne takin presonere, and send in Ingland, quhare King Edward ressauit him with grete honour. Williame Douglas was brocht oute of þe feild be ane band of forsy and wailþeand men, bot Archibald Douglas, son to Schir Iames Douglas þat was slayne in Spanþe, was takin & deliuerit of captiuite be Schir Williame Ramsaye of Culluthy. Quhen þe said Archibald wes brocht afoir þe Inglismen with his coitt armour and gilt harnes, as he faucht in þe feild, þis Williame Ramsaye gaif him on þe chaftis with his neiff, and sayid, " Tratoure, þou art þe deth of þi maister, becaus þou has cled þe in his armour, quhilk suld haif debatit him," and sone eftir causit þis Archibald to draw of his buttis, throw quhilk he was ransonitt with fourty schillingis Inglis. Forthir, King Edward brocht King Iohnne & King Daid to his hall in zule, and satt betuix þame crownit with diademe and scepture, to be in perpetuall memorye of his triumphe and vassallage, havand na respect to þe vnsikkir stait of man, as na vnhappy chance of fortoun mycht succede sum tyme to him.

Eftir þis King Daid was brocht to Berwik be þe Erle of Northampton, quhair mony of þe nobillis of Scottlannd mett him to mak his redempcion. Nochttheles, becaus þai couth nocht aggre on his ransoun, þai sufferit him to return to Londoun. In þat ilk tyme Rogere Kirkpatrik was lugit with

James Lindesaye, and within þe nycht murderist be his tresoun, for quhat cauß it is vncertane. Nochttheles, James Lindesay was takin be *seruandis* of Robert Stewartt, and iustifijt for his cruelte. Schort tyme efter King Dauid was redemit be avise of baith þe realmez, and payit v<sup>c</sup><sup>1</sup> thousand *markis* striueling for his ransoun in argent content, and gaif pleggis to pay als mekle, throw quhilk mony of all þe nobillis *sonnis* of Scotland war laid in plege of his ransoun, and  
 (II. 448) decessitt all in þe pest. King Dauid sone efter his returnyng in Scotlannd maid grete pvnicioun of sindry capitannis quhilkis left him in þe feild of Durehaym, becaus þai gaif occasioun of fleying to *vperis*. First he brak þe tailze maid to Robert Stewartt of þe croun of Scotland, failþeing successioun maill of þe said King Dauid, and transferritt þe samyn talze in Alexander Sutherland, quhilk was gottin on his 3oungest sister, and causitt all þe nobillis of Scotland to be sworn to  
 539 keip þe samyn. The Erle of Sutherland, traisting | þe croun to cum to his son Alexander, delt mekill of his erledome to his frendis, quhilkis war Hayis, Sinclair and Gordoun. Nochttheles, þe said Erle was frustraitt of þe croun be þe deth of his son Alexander, and becaus he denudit him fra possessioun of sindry his landis, he couth nevir recover þame agane. Robert Stewart eftir þe deth of Alexander Sutherland was reconsalit to King Dauid and maid heretoure to þe croun vnder þe samyn talze as afor. King Dauid on þe samyn maner tuke sindry landis fra þe Erle of Marche for his fleyng, and puneist mony vther baronis on þis wise for þair fleyng fra him in þis vnhappy battell of Durehame, to be exempill in tymes cuming quhatt froitt followis to lefe þair prince in ane battell amang his inymyis. The samyn tyme þe prelattis gaif þe x penny of all þair froittis in Scotland to King Dauid.

Quhill sik thingis war done in Scotland, þe realme of France was cruelly invadit be Inglismen, and was in grete displeasur for þe captiuite of þair King. At last King Iohnne gaif baith his *sonnis* in plege, and come to Pareiß, quhare he peteouslye regratit his captiuite, saying he couth fynd na sik wailþeand men, as *Schir* Gawyn & Rolland, as was in King Charlis tyme,

<sup>1</sup> A later hand underlines and puts *v* in left margin.

to laboure for his redempcioun. In þe menetyme stude vp ane nobill man, quhais manhede was oft tymes provin in batall, and inymy to þe kingis slewth, and sayid, mycht þai fynd sik kingis as Charlis, þai suld fynd sik as Rolland & Gawynez enew; quhilk wourdis war prentit depair in King Iohneze mynde þan ony man belevitt, becaus he hard his slewth and cowartry accusit. Schort tyme eftir he returnit in England, and send his sonnys in France, and was nocht lang eftir his cumyn þair on live, for he decessit at Londoun in captiuite the 3ere fraoure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lx 3eris; howbeit Gascunze, Gyane, Calice and mony vther landis of France war deliuerit to Inglismen for ane part of his ransoun afoir his deth, to remane vnder þair perpetuall dominioun, but ony homage to be payitt in tymes cuming to ony Kingis of France; for þe quhilk King Edward exoneritt him of all richt þat he <sup>1</sup> had to þe croun of France.

(II. 449)

Off þe residew of King Daudis life, and of his deceß; off sindry mervellis sene in Albion; and of sindry grete clerkis. Ca xvj

**N**ocht lang eftir þis King Daud callit his baronis & lordis to ane consale, for in þe tyme of his captiuite in London he promittit to transfer þe croun of Scotland in King Edwardis son, gif þe realme of Scotland wald assent þairto. And quhen he had proponit þis to þe lordis, thai ansueritt all with ane voce, thai wald nevir consent þairto quhill þai mycht bere ony armour. And þocht þe King wes rycht commovitt, as apperit in þair presence, 3ite he was rycht ioyfull þerof. The lordis, traisting þe King commovitt at þair ansuere, belevitt 540 þat he | suld puneiß thame, and thairfor thocht best to invaid him afoir he wrocht ony dammage on þame. Nochtþeles, quhen þai saw þe King cum aganis þame with mar novmer þan þai mycht resist, þai come in will, and tuke remission for þair rebelloun.

The samyn tyme Iayn, King Daudis wife, decessit but ony

<sup>1</sup> MS. þe.

succession of hir body. Sone eftir King Dauid marijt ane plesand virgyn, namit Margarete Logy, dochter to *Schir* Iohnne Logy, mair for hir excellent bewte, as he allegitt, þan ony frute of mariage ; *nocht*theles, he partitt *with* hyr certane 3eris þaireftir, becaus scho had na barnis. Eftir þis King Dauid reparitt all þe strenthis of Scotland, specialie þe castell of Edinburgh. In memory heirof ane toure of the samyn is callit 3ite *Dauidis* Towre. He gaif grete labouris to conqueß þe favoure of þe grete men of þe Ilis, becaus mony Hieland men that samyn tyme invaditt þe realme with grete herschippis. At last he corruppitt sindry of þame with large moneye to betraifß thair marrowis, throw quhilk grete *lymmaris* war dantitt, and þe realme brocht to grete peace. King Dauid, (II. 450) seyng his pepill brocht on this maner to tranquillite, he tuke purpoß to pas to Ierusalem to vesy þe sepulture of Criste. *Nocht*þeles, quhen he had provyditt all thingis necessair for þe samyn, he decessitt in þe castell of Edinburgh, þe xxxix 3ere of his regne, and was beryitt in Halyrude Houß, fraoure Redempcioun ane thousand thre hundredth lxx 3eris.

Sindry merwellis war sene in Albion the samyn 3ere : ravynnys, cayß and pyottis clekkitt þair birdis in wynter contrair þe nature of thair kynde ; and in the xvj 3ere of his regne all þe 3owis war 3eild but ony *lammys*. Sa grete multitude of myse and rattonis war in all boundis of Scottlannde that þai mycht nocht be distroyitt. Sa huge haboundance and spayitt of watter was in sindry partis of this realme that mony grete howsis and townys war deieckitt be þe samyn.

The samyn tyme war mony nobill clerkis, specialie Iohnne Dunß of the Ordoure of Sanct Frances, ane *man* of maist excellent erudicioun in theology, and Richard Middiltoun, quhais werkis ar singulare abuffe all vtheris. Als war in þai dayis Williame Okkam, Inglisman, Gregoure Aryminin, Bokingaym, with mony *vþeris* doctouris of Parisß. And sa endis here the

## Liber Decimus Sextus.

54<sup>I</sup>  
(II. 451)

Here begynnys the xvj Buke.

How Robert Stewart was maid King of Scottis ;  
of his sornis and dochteris ; and how þe crowne was  
tailzeit to þame. Ca j

**K**ing Dauid decessit in manere afoir rehersit, the nobillis  
convenit at Linlithgow to cheiſs ane successoure to  
þe crowne ; quhilk day, mony of þe nobillis beand of  
þe opinioun of Robert Stewartt, come Williame Douglas with  
ane grete power of men, clamand þe crowne be richt of Edward  
Ballioll and Dauid Cwmyn, saying þat he was surrogatt in  
baith þair richtis ; throw quhilk apperit þat þe said Williame  
wald vsurpe þe crowne, bot gif the samyn war gevin to him  
*with* beneuolence. Nochtþeles, his attemptatis war repressit  
be George, Erle of Marche, Iames Lindesay of Glenesk, Hay,  
Constabill, Erskin, Capitane of Dunbertan, *with* mony vtheris,  
quhilkis he belevitt to haif fauoritt his accioun. In þe mene-  
tyme Robert Stewart be generall voittis of all þe nobillis,  
(II. 452) becaus he was nerrest ayr to King Dauid, was crownit on Oure  
Lady Daye in Lentern, þe lvij zere of his aige, at Skoyne.  
Eftir his coronacioun, to haif þe sikkir beneuolence of þe said  
Williame, Erle of Douglas, he gais his eldast dochter, Eufamea,  
in mariage to Iames Douglas, aire to þe said Williame. Be  
þis waye þe Stewarttis come to þe crowne, quhais successioun  
regnis zite *with* grete felicite in þe vij persoun fra þis first King  
Robertt.

Quhen King Robert ressaut þe crowne of Scotland, he <sup>1</sup> had

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *he*, supplied from A.

to his wyfe Eufamia, dochter to þe Erle of Roß, on quhom he had twa sonnys, Walter and Daud, and ane dochter, quhilk was marijt on þe Douglas, as said is. King Robert, afoir he tuke Ewfamea to his wyfe, had þe dochter of *Schir* Adam Mure in *lemmarye*, quhilk bure him thre sonnys, Iohnne, quhilk succeditt eftir King Robert to the croun, Robert, Alexander, and twa dochteris, off quhilkis þe eldest was marijtt on Iohnne Dunbar, *bruper* to George, Erle of Marche, but ony avise of hir fader, and þe secund dochter on Iohnne Lyon. Schort tyme eftir ane counsale was sett at Perth, in þe quhilk King Robertt, be persuasioun of þe Erle of Douglas, accusit Iohnne Dunbar for þe tresonabill seducing of his dochter to mariage *withoute* his avise. *Nochtpeles*, it was ansueritt be George, 542 Erle of Marche, that his *bruper* | marijt King Robertis dochter afoir he was King, beand bot Erle of Rothesaye and Lord of Bute, Renfrew, Bonkill and Stewartoun. This persute come be impulsiou of þe Douglas, intending to mak debaitt betuix King Robert and þe Dunbar. *Nochttheles*, King Robert, havand gude remembrance of þe grete manhede and wassallage done be *pat* nobill house, *nocht* onlye remittit þe iniure done be his gude son Iohnne Dunbar, bot als maid him Erle of Murraye, *reseruand* part of landis pertenyng to<sup>1</sup> þe said erldome, namyt Baidzenoch, Lochquhabir, Pettye and Braithtlye. This erldome continewitt *nocht with* Dunbarris bot during þe life of Erle Iohnne & his son, be quhom þe successioun failzeitt except ane dochter, quhilk was marijt on the Douglas, with quhom it perseveritt quhill þai war forfaltitt *perof*. King Robert at his coronacioun maid sindry erlis, baronis & knychtis, amang quhom Iames Lindesay of Glenesk was<sup>2</sup> maid Erle of Crawford.

The thrid ȝere of his regne Ewfamea his *Qwene* decessitt, eftir quhais deth King Robert marijt Elizabeth, his *lemmayn* afoir rehersitt, for affecciou he had to hir barnis, to mak þame lauchfull, and maid Iohnne, hir eldast son, Erle of Carrik and Stewart of Scotland, and hir seconde son, Robert, Erle of Fiffe & Menteth, and hir thrid son, Alexander, Lord

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *to*, supplied from A.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *was*, supplied from A.

of Baidzenoch. He maid als Daid, his eldest son gottin on his wyfe Ewfemia, Erle of Strathherne, and hir secund son, (II. 453) Walter,<sup>1</sup> Erle of Athole, syne tailzeit the croun in þis maner : that Iohne, his son gottin on Elizabeth Mvre, sall succede first, and failzeing of his successioun maill the croun to pas to Robert, and in defalt of his airis maill to pas to Alexander, and failzeing þerof to Daid, and þereftir to Walter ; forþtir, becaus þe life of man is vnsikkir, *commandit*, gif successioun maill failzeit amang all his sonnys, the croun to pas to þe nerrest of his blude. Thir thingis done at Scoyne, all þe nobillis and *commonis* war sworn to obserue þe *promisß* in all poyntis, and to defend þe samyn in þair maist sovere manere.

How þe Erle of Marche brynt Roxburgh ; and how  
Inglismen war sindry tymes disconnfist be þe Scottis.  
Ca ij

The bordouris of England, quhilkis leiffis alanerlye be þair weeris and spoulzee, be invy of fortoun eftir sa lang felicite in Scotland, war brocht to extreme pouerte throw lang peace, and þairfor, to fynd occasioun of weere, slew certane familiaris of George, Erle of Marchis, at þe Fair of Roxburgh. George, richt impacient to suffer þis extorsioun, send ane herald to Hary, Erle of Northumberland, Wardan of þe bordoure of England, desyrand þe slaaris of his men to be randeritt and þe iniuris done be þame redressitt. At last, quhen he had send sindry tymes to þe said Wardane to þe effect forsaid, and gatt *nocht* bot ansuer full of derisioun, he thocht expedientt to supersede þe revengeing of þir iniuris quhill mair sufficient oportunitie occurritt. The nixt zere, quhen sindry marchandis had *convenit* at Roxburgh, he gaderitt ane grete powere with his bruper, þe Erle of Murray, and tuke þe said toun be 543 lang sege, putting þe samyn | to vtter direpcioun, sauffing nane þat he fand within þe said toun on live ; and quhen he had brynt þe samyn, he returnit to Dunbar. The Inglismen,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *David*, crossed out by a later hand which has interlined *Walter*, the correct name.



(II. 454) *commovit with þis displeer*, come with ane grete army in Scotland, and brynt þe landis of *Schir Iohne Gordoun*, becauð þai lay on *marche with þe Erle of Marchis landis*, and come *with sik rageand cruelte þat þai sauffitt nothir man*, wiffe nor barn quhom þai *mycht apprehend*, regarding *nocht quhat misery þai sufferitt*, sua þat þai *mycht noy þair inymyis*. *Schir Iohne Gordoun*, richt desyrous to revenge þis iniure, come in England *with ane grete powere*, and brocht oute of þe samyn ane huge prayee of men and gudis but ony obstakill, aganis quhom come *Iohnne Lilburn with ane grete army*, and Gordoun, na thing *essonþeand*, mett him *with na leß manhede þan pert curage*, throw quhilk was maist kene fechting lang tyme with *uncertane batall*. For þe Scottis was wincust v tymes þat daye, and als oft tyme victorious on þair inymyis. At last þe victory *succedit clerely to Scottis*, the Inglismen *disconnfist*, *Lilburn þair Capitane brocht presonere in Scotland*.

Hary Persy, Erle of Northumberland, come *with vij<sup>m</sup> men* to Dunse to revenge þir iniuris; and þat samyn nycht þe *hyrdis fillit sindry ledderin pokis full of small stanys*, and band þe samyn to þair horß, & *incontinent chasit þame aboute þe campe quhare þair inymyis laye with sik noyis and clattering þat þe Inglismen mycht skairslie be haldin fra fleying*, throw quhilk þai war sa *astonyst þat þai passitt all þe nycht but sleip*, dredand thair inymyis *invading þaim on euery syde*. In þe menetyme þair horß war *skatteritt in sindry partis of þe contre*, throw þe samyn *effraye*, and sa þe Inglismen, sekand spoulþe of þair inymyis, war maid praye to þe samyn. This ilk morrow *Thomas Musgraye, Inglisman, Capitane of Berwik, cumand to support þe Erle of Northumberland*, come be aenture on *Schir Iohnne Gordoun*, and faucht aganis him in maist *cruell bergane*, quhill at last þe said *Musgraye was brocht presonere in Scotland and his folkis disconnfist*. And noch onlie war þe Scottis *victorious in þe est partis of Scotlannd*, bot als on þe west bordouris, quhare *Schir Iohnne Iohnestoun faucht with Inglismen in sindry & frequent skarmusyngis*, and was ay *victorious*.

(II. 455)

How þe Abbay of Sanctandrois was brynt ; off grete pest in Scotland ; how Inglismen war disconfist at Sulwaye ; of þe message send be King Charlis off France ; and how þe Lyonis tuke þair begynnyng.

Ca iij

The samyn tyme Paip Gregoure þe xj send ane legaitt in Scotland to King Robert, commanding him to intromett with na gudis pertenyng to þe Kirk eftir þe prelaittis deth. The samyn 3ere the Abbay of Sanctandrois was brynt be thundyr, or ellis be ane craw berand stykkis to hir nest quhilkis war in fyre ; and Berwyk was takyn be Schir Iohnne Gordoun within the nycht, howbeit it was nocht lang kepitt  
544 be him, for he was dongin oute | be þe samyn way þat he enteritt.

Eftir this the Erle of Douglas come with xx<sup>m</sup> men to þe Fair of Pynnyre within England, and spulzeitt þe merchandis of all gudis fondin at þe said Fair, syne returnit in Scotland with incredibill praye of men and gudis, and throw þe samyn gudis þe pestilence was brocht in Scotland, quhilk rang continewallye twa 3eris eftir with greter <sup>1</sup> mortalite þan evir was hard afoir in ony manis dayis. This was þe thrid tyme þat þe pest come in Scotland, quhilk was in þe 3ere fra þe Incarnacion j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lxxx 3eris. The Inglismen, to recover þe herschippis maid be the Erle of Douglas at Pennyre, come in Scotland be Sulwaye, and gaderitt ane grete praye of gudis oute of sindry boundis þairof. In þe menetyme þe tyde come sa apon þame þat þai war inclusit amang þair inymyis be streme of watter. Sindry of þame war slayne, vperis takin, and grete novmer pereist in þe revere.

(II. 456)

King Charlis þe Sext, herand þe fame of þir illustir dedis of Scottis, send his ambassatouris to King Robert in Scotland, exhortand him to follow fortoun and nocht ceß fra þe present felicite, invading his inymyis with continewall batall, and promittit to revard him condignlye, gif he be continewall

<sup>1</sup> MS. grete.

weris constranyt þe army of Ingland to cum oute of France. Thir ambassatouris renewitt þe band of France *with* Scottis, and sone eftir war depeschitt, and *with* þame was send Walter Wardlaw, Bischop of Glasgow, with mony vther nobill men to renew þe band on þe samyn maner in France.

The samyn 3ere Iohnne Lyon, ane man of singulare prudence and mauch to King Robert, was slayne vnhappelye be Iames Lyndesaye, Erle of Craufurd. It is sayid þis Iohnne Lyon was ane lusty man, dotitt *with* mony giftis of nature and fortoun, *with* excellent bewty, and for his gude maneris sa plesand to euey creature þat he was maid Secretar to þe said Erle, and eftir þat maid sa familiar to King Robertt þat he lay with his dochter Elizabeth & maid hir *with* childe. At last, quhen he had schewin all þis caiß, as it happy~~nit~~it, to þe Erle of Craufurd, he was *nocht* onlye remittit of his offence maid aganis þe King, bot als be menis of þe said Erle gat Elizabeth, þe Kingis dochter, in mariage *with* mony riche landis, callit þe Glammys; of quhom ar descenditt þe nobill houß of Lyonis. In memory hereof þai bere þe lyoun in þair armys with lilleis & tresoure in þe samyn maner as þe King beris, exceppand alanerlye þat þai bere ane blak feild for ane rede. Iohnne Lyoun eftir þis mariage grew ilk daye in maist tendirnes *with* King Robertt, throw quhilk þe Erle of Craufurd tuke sik disples~~err~~ þat he slew him at Forfair. King Robert, *commovitt* for þis contempcion, bannyst þe Erle of Craufurd sindry 3eris oute of Scotland, quhill at last he was reconsalit be intercessioun of þe Erlis of Douglas and Marche to þe Kyngis favour, and gais grete sovmes of  
545 money and | <sup>1</sup> landis for þe samyn, attoure feft sindry preistis to say funerall obsequies perpetuallie for Iohnne Lyonis saule.

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *and* from foot of preceding page.

(II. 457)

How Londoun was put to direpcioun; how þe Douglas wan Lochmabane; of grete cruelteis done be Inglismen aganis Scottis; how sindry of þame war slayne in Fife, and vþeris pereist be þe seyis; how þe King of France send grete support to Scottis.

Ca iiij

Iohnne Gant, Erle of Longcastell, was send þe samyn tyme to trete peace with King Robert, and quhen he was returnyng hayme with iij þeris peace grantit be King Robert, he wes aduerteist þat grete troubill and sedicioun was rissin betuix þe *commonis* and *nobillis* of Ingland be Iohnne Stroo, be quhom Londoun was takin and put to schaymfull direpcioun; and þairfor the said Erle, for fere of þe said troubill, returnit in Scotland, quhare he was plesandlie tretitt be King Robert, quhill Iohnne Stroo was quarteritt and þe *commonis* dantitt.

Eftir þe outtrynyng of þe trewis afoir rehersitt Archibald Douglas, Lord of Gallowaye, richt impacient to sustene þe iniure daylie done to his folkis in Gallowaye and Anandirdaill be Inglismen quhilkis war in þe castell of Lochmaban, come with grete powere be support of þe Erlis of Douglas and Marche. And quhen þai had lyne with continewall sege at þe said house thre monethis, thai faucht *with* ane grete powere of Ingland, quhilk come oute of Carlile to reskew þe said houß, and put þame be lang bergane to flycht, throw quhilk þai gatt baith victory of þair inymyis and þe house randeritt to þame on ane daye, bot þe houß was cassin down to þe ground. Richard, King of Ingland, herand how Lochmaban was takin be sik violence, dred þat Roxburgh suld nocht resist þe Scottis, gif it war segitt on þe samyn maner, and þairfor send *Schir* Iohnne Grayestok with ane grete provisioun of men, vittalis and armour to strenth þe said castell. Nocht-peles, he was takin be wassallage of þe Erle of Marche and brocht to Dunbar *with* all his ordinance. And quhen sa mony goldin and siluer wescheil war brocht to Dunbar, ane fule, quhilk þe Erle of Marche nureist in þe castell, sayid, Inglismen (II. 458) war nocht wise to tyne sa mekill riches but ony straik. King

Richard, herand þir sindry iniuris done be Scottis, send þe Erle of Longcastell *with* grete armyis in Scotland baith be seye and land, and quhen he had dantit baith þe Merß and Lowtheane, he come to Edinburgh with purpoß to birn þe samyn. Nochttheles, he tuke bot ane content of moneye, and returnit in England. His navy come in Forth besyde Sanct Columbis Inche, and herijt all þe cuntre *with* fyre and swerd, and in þair returnyng brynt þe Abbaye of Sancte Columbe, bot þe kirk was sauffitt be mirakle. It is said, ane Inglisman put fyre thryiß in þe kirk, and it 3eid oute, and þe Inglisman ran wode. Eftir þis with new cruelte þai landit agane in Fiffe, and spoul3eitt mony townis þerof. At last Thomas & Nycholaus Erskynnis, Alexander Lindesay & Williame Cwnyngghayme of Kylmawris sett apon þame in 546 Fiffe, and slew sa huge novmer of þaim | þat few returnit to þair schippis, amang quhom xl war drevin sa fast to þe seyis þat þai clam all on þe capill quhair þe ankyr laye, and besocht þe marinaris *with* lamentabill cryis to hayill þame in þe schip. The marinaris, dredand þe schip to be takin, becaus þe Scottis followit sa fast in þe chaisß, slippit þe ankir, throw quhilk mony of þame pereist, and vtheris quhilkis come to land war slayne be Scottis. Sik weris war done be Inglismen the 3ere of God j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lxxxv.

The samyn tyme the Erle of Douglas expellit þe Inglismen oute of Tevidail, and recoueritt all þe strenthis þairof, quhilkis war haldin vnder þe dominioun of Inglismen fra þe feild of Durehame to þai dayis. This was þe last wassallage of Williame Douglas, ane of þe maist wail3eand men þat was in his dayis, for he decessit sone eftir be ane haytt fevir in þe castell of Douglas, to quhom succedit his son Iames Douglas, ane richt wail3eand man, and of na leß curage & manhede þan his fader. He was send eftir *with* ane army be King Robert, and herijtt all þe boundis of England to þe New Castell, and brocht innovmerabill multitude of gudis oute of þe samyn. In þe menetyme come ane herrald fra King Robert, *commanding* þe Erle of Douglas to return in Scotland but ony tary to geif his counsale in sindry grete materis, specialie becaus þe Admirall of France and Iohne Vrene, Erle of Wallence, was

arryvitt in Scottlannd with ij<sup>m</sup> men of were, with I<sup>m</sup> crownis and *with* grete haboundance of wyne & floure to sustene þe weeris of Scotland. At þe returnyng of þe said Douglas it was concluditt be þe haille avise of all þe nobillis of Scotland (II. 459) *with* all þair powere to invaid Ingland. Sone eftir þe King gaderitt ane army of I<sup>m</sup> men, and maid Robert his son, quhilke was Erle of Fiffe, Lufetennent to þe said army, and maid þe Erlis of Douglas, Marche and vther nobill men þat come oute of France to be capitaneis vnder him, quhilkis enterit sone eftir in Northumberland, and kest down þe castellis of Werk, Furde and Cornall to þe ground, syne returnit in Scotland, becaus þai mycht *nocht* tary for storme of weddir, with infinite praye of gudis.

How Franche men and Scottis segit Carlile and Roxburgh; how Scottis and Inglis invadit *vperis* with grete herschippis & cruelteis; how Williame Douglas, son to þe Lord of Gallowaye, for singulare vassallage aganis Inglismen gat King Robertis dochter in mariage. Ca v

At þe begynnyng of þe nixt *summyr* þe Admirall of France come with ane grete army of Franche men and Scottis oure Soulewaye to Cumbir, and waistit all þe boundis þairof quhill he come to Carlile. And quhen he had lyne at þe seige pairof, be desyre of King Robert he rasis þe army, and come to Roxburgh. And in þe menetyme raisis ane contencioun betuix þe Franche men and Scottis, þe Franche men desyrand, gif þe castell war *wonnyn*, to be randeritt to þe dominioun of France. And becaus þe Scottis refusitt sik thingis, þe army severit but ony mair felicite | succeeding. Eftir þis þe Admirall returnit with all his cumpany in France to resist Inglismen, quhilkis invadit sindry boundis þairof. Eftir the departing of Franchemen þe Scottis come with ane grete power in Ingland, and remanit twa monethis, cessing fra na maner of cruelteis þat mycht be devisit, syne returnit *with* grete praye of men and gudis in Scotland. King Richard

eftir his returnyng oute of France to revenge þir iniuris come *with* grete ordinance throw Merſ and Loutheane, putting baith landis, townis & kirkis to vtter euersioun, and þe pepill but ony miseracioun of aige to maist cruelte. Attoure, he brynt Melroß, Dryburgh and Newbottill, and slew all þe religious men of þe samyn, bot þe Abbay of Halyrude hous was sauffitt be þe Erle of Longcastell, and þe kirk of Sanct Geill, and eftir þis he returnit in England. In þe menetyme Elizabeth, spouß to King Robert, decessitt. Forthir, thir

(II. 460)

iniuris done afoir be Inglismen war *nocht* lang vnpuneist, for Robert Stewartt, Erle of Fiffe, enterit *with* ane grete army in Cumber, and brocht ane huge praye of men & gudis oute of þe samyn, eftir þis, returnyng throw Westmureland and Northumberland, herijt all þe boundis þairof, and returnit but ony *dammage* in Scotland. Amang sindry spoulezis gottin at þis iornaye was send ane charter of certane landis gevin be þe King vnder þir wourdis: "I, Kyng Ethelstane, gevis here to Paulane, Oddane & Roddane, als gude and als fair as evir þai myne wair, and thairto witnes Mald my wyfe."

(II. 461)

Be quhilk charter apperis mair faith was gevin to wourdis of kingis, princes and vther pepill in þai dayis þan ar gevin now, becaus þe ingyne of man sekis sa mony slychtis and new inuencionis þat na wourdis can be foundin sufficient to strenth sik donacionis and charteris gevin in *our* dayis.

In þis last iornaye aganis Inglis̄men Williame Douglas, son to Archibald Douglas of Gallowaye, wan grete fame & honoure, for abone mony vther his wailþeand dedis he brynt þe sub-barbillis of Carlile, havand bot twa seruandis in his cumpany, and maid sa incredibill slauchter on þe soidiouris þairof þat he kest sindry of þame *our* þe brig and *vperis* slew quhilk kepitt þe passage of þe said brig. Eftir þis, quhen þe said toun was segitt, he followitt sa ferslye apon þe said soidiouris quhilkis ischit furth þat he was takin presonere be foure Inglis̄men, and his wappynnis dongin fra him; and quhen he was to be brocht within þe toun, he fellitt twa of þame *with* his neiff, and þe tothir twa chasitt, throw quhilk he recoursitt him self fra his inymyis. King Robert for þis maist honorabill vassallage of Williame Douglas gaif him in mariage

his dochter Geelis, quhilk excellettt all vther wemen in bewte for þai dayis, for it is said þis Geelis had sik incredibill bewte þat it was in grete admiracioun to all pepill. It is said þat þe King of France was sa inamoritt with þe lufe of þis virgyn þat he send ane pantoure in Scotland to paynt hir visage to þe quyk; and quhen he saw þe pictour þerof, he was sa inflammytt with hir lufe þat he send his ambassatouris in Scotland to desyre hir in mariage. Nochtþeles, he was frustraitt þerof, and preventit be Williame Douglas. |

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How Robert Stewart and Williame Douglas revengit þe iniuris done be Ireland; how King Robert send twa armyis in England, and of þair vassallage; how Williame Douglas vyncust Hary Persee in singulare batale; and how he segitt þe New Castell. Ca vj

**T**he samyn tyme certane Ireland men followand þe opinioun of England come with sindry buschementis in Gallowaye, and tuke prayis oute of þe samyn. Robert Stewartt and (II. 462) Williame Douglas to revenge þir attemptatis went wiht ane grete powere in Ireland, quhare þai segitt ane strang toun, namit Carlingfurd. Þe citsanis þerof, havand na confidence to resist this invasioun, purchest trewis for certane sovmes of moneye, and in þe menetyme gaderitt ane cumpany of v<sup>c</sup> bodin men, and sett apon þe said Robert, beleving na thing leß þan þair invasioun within trewis. Nochtþeles, þe said Robertt faucht aganis þame with sik manhede and cruelte þat few of þame eschapitt. Vtheris of þame, quhilkis sett apoun Williame Douglas, faucht with na bettir fortoun, and þairfor þe saidis Robert and Williame returnit agane to þe said toun, and brynt þe samyn all in pulder, eftir þat þai had spoulzeit it and takin þe hedismen þairof for þair presonaris. This wayage succeding with sik felicite, Williame & Robertt, eftir þat þai had bryntt & heryitt sindry townis and portis of Ireland, past with lx schippis in England, invading þat countre with grete herschippis & slauchter.

In þe menetym grete novmer of Inglismen enterit in þe



Merß, castand down grete towris and biggingis. King Robert to repreß þis invasioun *convenit* all his nobillis at Aberdene, in þe quhilk was concluditt to raiß þe powere of þe realme with all deligence to revenge þe herschippis maid on þe pepill, and sone eftir þai rasitt twa grete armyis. The first was gevin in governance to Robert Stewartt, Erle of Fife, *with* þe Erlis of Menteth, Archibald Douglas of Gallowaye & Alexander Lyndesay of Wauchope, havand xv<sup>m</sup> men in novmer to pas *with* þe samyn in Cumber; the second army to be gevin to Iames, Erle of Douglas, and George, Erle of Marche, *with* þame Iames Lyndesay, Erle of Craufurd, Iohnne Dunbar, Erle of Murraye, and Haye, Constabill of Scotland, *with* siklike novmer as afoir to invaid Northumberland *with* all iniuris þat mycht be devisitt; throw quhilk nocht was hard but rummesing of deand pepill with spraich of wiffis & barnis, and in vther partis nocht war sene bot terribill flammys, bringand grete townis & biggingis to pulder, and sum tyme grete prayes of men & gudis brocht oute of all partis to þair armyis. At last baith þair armyis mett to giddir at þe New Castell, eftir þat þai had past with fyre & swerd throw all þe boundis of Northumberland & Cumber.

In þe menetyme þe Erle of Douglas chesit x<sup>m</sup> wailþeand men to sege þe New Castell, quhilk standis apoun þe watter  
 549 of Tyne, | quhare he sersitt be grete deligence in quhat  
 (77. 463) place he mycht haif maist avantage to invaid þe toun. The samyn tyme was in þe toun Hary Persee, Erle of Northumberland, sa aigitt be lang 3eris that he was vnhabill to battell, havand *with* him twa sonnys, lusty and richt wailþeand in dedis of armis, Hary Perseye, quhilk was callit for his continewall prikking Haitspure, and Rodulp Peirsee. This Hary Persee, *alias* Haitspure, havand grete confidence in his singular manhede and lang vse of armis, come furth of þe portis vnder assouerance, desyring to fecht *with* þe Erle of Douglas in singlar battell. The Douglas, na thing soneþeand þairof, becaus he exceditt all men in his dayis of corporall strentht, glaidlye condiscenditt to meitt him in quhatt sort he plesit. Incontinent þai come baith to þe campe, convoyitt *with* grete honour and triumphe on baith þe sydis. Syne *with* maist

proude curaige apon þair bardit horfþ þai ran to giddir with lang speris. Eftir sindry tornaementis the Douglas, richt war in all his doyngis, nocht onlye sauffitt him self fra displeserr of his inymye, bot als be his huge strenth and singulare manhede dang the Peirsee oute of his sadill. The Inglismen, quhilk stude afoir þe port abyding þe chance of fortoun, come suddanlye to þe Peirsee, and brocht him agane *within* þe toun, throw quhilk na lefþ honoure succedit to þe Douglas than dishonour to þe Persee.

Sone eftir þe Douglas callit all his capitanis befoir him, schawand in quhat part þe toun mycht be maist esely takin, syne come *with* all his ordinance to þe wallis to leddir þe samyn eftir þat þe fowseis was fillit with hay & treis. Nocht-þeles, þe toun was sa wailþeandlye defenditt þat he was con-stranit to return fra þe sege with grete slauchter of his folkis, and þairfor began to mak þame consolacioun, schawand na thing was þe caufþ þat þai wantit þe toun bot penurite of ledderis, quhilkis war nocht sufficient to þe hycht of þe wallis, and þerfor, quhen sik thingis war provyditt, best was to assalþe agane þe toun with new chance of fortoun.

{II. 464}

How Inglismen war disconfist at Ottirburn, þe Erle of Douglas slayne, the Peirse brocht presoner in Scotland ; and how þe Hepburns tuke þair begynnyng.

Ca vij

**T**he Douglas, aduertist within þe nycht þat Inglismen war gaderitt *with* mair multitude of pepill þan he mycht resist, brocht quietlie his army awaye to abide sum vther tyme and bettir chance. And quhen he had brocht þame v mylis, he gart his army tak þair rest, becaus þai gat na sleip sindry nychtis afoir be continewall seige of þe toun. The Inglismen eftir þe spring of þe nixt daye come ouree Tyne, and stude in arraitt battell afoir þe toun to fecht aganis the Scottis, and quhen þai war aduerteist of þair departing, ilk man with maist deligence sped him to þe chaifþ, and ouretuke  
550 þe army of | Scottis within þe nycht, throw quhilk euery man

maid him to batall. The Douglas exhortitt his folkis to remembre þair auld manhede & frequent victorijs, be quhilke þai oft tymes has put þair inymyis to flycht, havand þe grete multitude of inymyis in na dredour, sen it was na difficulte to wincufþ þame quhilke has bene sa oft tymes afoir be þame disconfist. Attour, þai war þat tyme na maa þan þai war afoir at Bannokburn, quhar xxx<sup>m</sup> brocht thre hundreth thousand to vtter exterminioun; remembring als of þe grete manhede of Wallace, quhais visage na Inglisman mycht sustene, desyring þame to haif gude sycht to þair manhede and wassallage, provin *with* sa grete felicitye in þe þeris afoir passit, becaus þis new & recent victory suld be mair apprisitt þan ony auld gloir of vther victorijs past of befor. And becaus he knew all þe folkis in his cunpany, and was exercitt *with* þame mekill of his dayis; he exhortit euery ane of þame all maist be him self to remembir þair manhede and vertew, þat þai may be wourthy to haif þe gloir of chevelry in reuard of þair labouris. On þe tothir syde Hary Persee, vtherwayis Haitspur, exhortit his folkis to fecht for defence of þe cuntre, þair parentis, childerin, wiffis & gudis, becaus þai war of sik pissance þat þai mycht distroy þair inymyis at þair pleserr; and becaus victory was sikkir in þair handis, and þair inymyis perturbatt, best was to pas forthwertt *with* grete curage, throw quhilke þair inymyis maye be wyncust at þair first ionyng.

Incontinent be sound of trumpett baith þe armyis ionytt in maist fury, and faucht lang with vncertane victory, quhill (II. 465) at last þai war severitt be þe nycht, and returnit to þair campis to fecht *with* þe licht of þe mone, eftir quhais rying þe batellis ionytt *with* mair fury þan afoir. And quhen þe forbront of Scottis war slayn, þe Inglismen began to put þe Scottis abak; and but doute þai had womyn þe ansenþeis of þe Douglas and put his army to disconnfitoure, war nocht Patrik Hepburn *with* his son and vther þair frendis had cumin haistlye to his support, be quhais grete manhede þe batall was renewitt. Incontinent þe Douglas come with ane hevy maiþ of mair wecht þan ony man mycht weild in þai dayis, and ruchitt amang þe grete press of his inymyis, quhair he *with* maist rageand fury maid sik terribill slauchter on his inymyis þat

þai war finalye putt to flycht alanerlye be his manhede. Nochþeles, þe skarmusing and chaisß of Inglismen continewitt quhill þe brek of þe nixt morrow. In þe menetyme Hary Persye and his bruper Rodulpe war takin in þe feild be Keth, Marcheall of Scottland. In þis batall was slayn v<sup>c</sup> Inglismen, all nobillis, sindry als takin, amang quhom war, as said is, the twa Perseis, Robert Ogill, Thomas Halbartt, Iohnne Lilburn, Williame Wanlutt, Robert Heltoun, Iohne Coiluile & Patrik Lowell, knychtis, *with* mony vther nobillis in sik multitude þat þe takaris war of small novmer in compair of þe huge novmer of presoneris. Bot 3ite þis victory succedit *nocht* to Scottis but grete slauchter of mony nobill men; for  
 551 quhen þe feild | was clierlye disconnfist, þe Erlis of Craufurd, Marche and Murraye enterit in þe Douglas palzeoun, quhair he was returnit eftir þis victory, and fand him all maist dede, thrise strikkin throcht þe body, and ane dedis wounde in þe hede, quhilkis was gevin to him be Inglismen quhen his hewmont was *nocht* bondin wele on þe samyn. And quhen þai saw him liand in sik dolorouß arraye, þai fell down in teeris & murnyng. Than þe Douglas *with* sik curage as he mycht said to þame in þir wourdis: " My hartlie frendis, avoyde all þis lament & doloure oute of 3oure breistis, and reiose of þis present victorye, quhilk is grantit to 3ow *nocht* withoute speciall favour of God. Wee haif ieopard oure lyvis þis daye for þe honour þat is succeditt now to ws. Thairfor turn 3oure teeris & doloure in hymnis and orisonis for my saule, remembering erar my gude dedis þan to for3ett þe samyn be ony myschance eftir falling. And gif 3e desyre to recompense my indeficient kyndnes sa oft sustenitt for 3oure wele and eyß, praye þe reuthfull and maist pyssant God to haif miseracion of my saule, desyryng 3ow finalye to chereiß verteu & manhede for þe defence of 3oure realme and liberte, halding 3oure self in sik perpetuall concord þat 3e maye daylye increß in honour and amitee to þe terrour of 3our fayis." Skairsly war þir wourdis sayd quhen he, oure sett *with* huge pyne, randeritt his saule to God; and was, quhill he levitt, ane of þe maist wailzeand campionis that evir decoritt þis realm with maist honoure; eftir quhais deth sik sorowfull chere followitt in his army

that nothir þe present victory, spoulþeis nor grete riches fallin to þame be chance of fortoun mycht contene þair eeyn fra continewall teeris. Nocht lang eftir be cuming of Robert, Erle of Fyffe, þe dolour, howbeit it was sum part cessitt, was renewitt, for þocht þis victory succedditt to Scottis with grete murdir of Inglismen, 3ite nane was in þat army bot wald haif bene content to haif changitt his life for þe Douglas.

It is sayd, in þe tyme of King Dauid þe 2<sup>1</sup> was ane presonere of Inghland, namyt Hepburn, quhilk was takin in þe weris afoir rehersitt. This Hepburn, quhen þe Erle of Marche was in dangere of his lyffe be raige of ane insolent & vndantitt horß, come pertlye to his brydill, quhen na vther durst refrene þe horß; and becaus he saffitt þe Erlis liffe, he gatt certane landis in Loutheane, quhais posterite is growin in sa grete pissance of landis & surname þat now by sindry nobill knychtis quhilkis ar now in oure dayis ar descenditt of þe samyn blude mony nobill Erlis of Boithwell, of na les honour, nobilite, landis and blude þan ony vther erlis or baronis ar in þis realme, and of þat samyn surname has bene mony nobill prelaittis of singulare erudicioun and lyfe.

(II. 467)

Off þe Bischop of Durehamis wassallage aganis Scottis; how Robert, Erle off Fiffe, was maid Gouvernour; of his wassillage; how Aleaxander, bastard son to King Robert, was puneist for his tyranny; and of Kingis Robertis deth.

Ca viij |

552 In þe tyme of this last bataill of Ottirburn, quhilk was strikkin apon Sanct Oiswaldis Daye in August, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> lxxxviiij, the Bischop of Durehame come with vij<sup>m</sup> men to þe New Castell. Nochttheles, quhen he herd þe Inglismen disconnfist, he 3eid na forthir. It is said þat Lyndesay of Wauchhope was returnand in Scotland eftir þis victory with ane grete novmer of presonaris, and sufferitt

<sup>1</sup> A later hand has crossed out *thrid* and interlined 2, the correct figure.

Mathew Raidman, quhilk was presonere to him, to depart hayme, havand na securite bot his faith to return quhen he desyritt. Sone eftir this Lyndesaye be wilsum & vnknawin gaitt come apoun þe Bischop of Durehamis army, throw quhilk he was takin *with* all his cumpany. Nochþeles, he was deliueritt fre be menis of Mathew Raidman to depart but ony ransoun. The Scottis for his humanite done to Lyndesaye sufferit mony presoneris of England to pas hayme but ony ransoun. This Bischop of Durehayme come with þir Inglismen to þe bordouris, bot quhen he herd þe Scottis gaderitt aganis him, he returnit within þe nycht to þe New Castell. Eftir þe deth of Iames, Erle of Douglas, his cousing Archibald, Lord of Galloway, was maid Erle.

Schort tyme eftir sik thingis done, King Robert, brokin *with* lang aige, becaus he mycht *nocht* sustene þe governance of his realme, chesitt his son Robert, quhilk was Erle of Fiffe, to be Governour, becaus his eldest son Iohnne was hurt be ane straik of ane horß on his legg, and mycht *nocht* travale throw þe realme. The samyn tyme was send be King Richard to þe bordouris þe Erle <sup>1</sup> Marcheall of England to be Wardane *perof*, becaus Hary Perse and his bruther war haldin presoneris in Scotlannd. This Erle at his first *cuming* reprevitt þe bordouraris of England of þe misaventure fallin to þame afoir att Ottirburn, saying it was grete schayme to þaim to be wincust be Scottis, þai beand ay foure for ane. At last he maid his grete aith, quhare evir he fand ony Scottis he suld geif þame batall, howbeit he war few and þai in grete novmer. Nochtþeles, as oft occurris, sik vane ostentacioun succedis *nocht with* grauite and honoure to þe end. This Erle *nocht* lang eftir, quhen Robert, Gouvernour of Scottis, was *cumin* in Northumberland with ane small army, tuke him to flycht. And quhen þe herald demandit him quhy he was vnmyndefull of his voitt, he ansueritt þat sik chargis was gevin be þe King þat he suld *nocht* ieoparde sa mony lusty and wailþeand pepill but sikkir advantage. Robert, eftir þat he had waistitt all Northumberland, returnit in Scotland *with* huge praye of <sup>2</sup> men and gudis

<sup>1</sup> MS. *erle of marcheall*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. repeats *of* from end of preceding line.

(II. 468) Eftir þis come þe ambassatouris of Ingland & France to Scott-land, schewing peace takin betuix þair realmes and Scotland includit in þe samyn, gif þe nobillis þerof wald be contentit.

In þe menetyme Alexander Stewartt, bastard, was degeneratt fra condicioun of his nobill eldaris, and be assistence of thevis, revaris and vther strang lymmaris brynt þe Cathedrale Kirk of Murray, quhilk | was lantern and ornament of þe north of Scotlannd in þai dayis, becaus þe Bischop of Murraye wald nocht assent to his wrangwous desyris. Eftir þis he past to Aberdene to slaye Adam, Bischop þerof, becaus, as he allegitt, he fauoritt þe Bischop of Murraye. Nochttheles, quhen þe said Bischop of Aberdene was cumin to his presence with his quhite hair, þe pepill þat was in his cumpany, movitt with þe samyn, sauffitt him fra cruelte of þe said Alexander. King Robert, impacient to sustene sa grete oppressioun and cruelte done be his son Alexander, take him, quhen he come to his presence, and put him in strang presoun, quhare he remanit to þe end of King Robertis deth, quhilk sone eftir decessitt at Doundee, mair be lang aige þan ony infirmite, þe xix 3ere of his regne, lxxvj of his aige, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> lxxxx, and was berijt befor þe altar of Skoyn.

This Robert was ane nobill prince with singular felicite abone ony prince afoir his dayis, grete luffair of iustice and religioun, for in his wourdis was perfitte faith and constance but ony violacioun of his promys, and sa grete luffair of iustice þat he wald nocht suffir þe pepill to sustene þe dammage done to þame throw strampyn doun of þair corn be multitude of pepill þat was at his coronacioun, bot payitt þe samyn with large moneye. And quhen he was to depart of ony toun, he gart serche gif ony of his familiaris had takin ony gere in þe toun but payment, þat þe samyn mycht be payitt be his thesaurair. Attoure, he was sa grett favorar of pure pepill þat he desistitt nocht quhill þair accions war discussitt. He had all cunning men in grete reuerence, and supportit þame with his gudis, quhare he fand þame indigent.

Off King Robert þe Thrid ; how Williame Douglas was slayne on Danskinbrig ; and how þe Clannys of Clancaye and Clanquhattane faucht at Perth.

Ca ix

**R**obert þis nobill prince decessit in þis maner, his son Iohnne was crownit þe Sonndaye afoir þe Assumpcioun Daye of Oure Lady. And becaus þe nobillis thocht þat Iohnne was ane vnchancy name, becaus King Iohnne of France was takin presonar, as we haif schawin, with Ingland, thairfor he was callit be his fader Robertt. The samyn ȝere Williame Douglas, Lord of Nyddisdaill, was chosin be þe nobillis of Spruse to pas with ij<sup>c</sup> and xl salis aganis þe Saracenis. Nochþeles, he (II. 469) was slayne tresonabillie be Cliffertt, Inglisman, on þe brig of Danskyn, throw quhilk<sup>1</sup> þe grete vassallage þat he mycht haif done aganis Saracenis was expyritt be invy of fortoun, þat endit þis nobill campioun, as said is. Nocht lang eftir was schawin þat Duncan Stewart, son to Alexander Stewartt, þe Kingis bruper afoir rehersitt, was cumin in Anguse with ane grete powere of brokin men, and slane Walter Ogiluy with his sonnys & frendis in defence of þe cuntre. Nochttheles, þe said Duncan was disconfist be þe Erle of Craufurd, and sindry of his complicis slayn for þair conspiracioun.

Sone eftir rais ane vther troubill be Clancaye & Clanquattall, bringand þe cuntre to grete affliccioun be thair continewan weeris. At last Thomas Dunbar, Erle of Murray, and David 554 | Lindesaye, Erle of Craufurd, becaus þai couth nocht dant þir clannys for þair grete pyssance, convenit þe hedismen of þame to ane counsale ; and quhen þai had schawin þe grete troubill þat fell in þe cuntre throw þair debaitt, þai desyritt xxx men of baith þair clannys, quhilkis war principall, to cum in ane feild with scharp swerdis, but ony harnes ; quhilkis of þame war victorious suld haif dominacioun abone þe tothir. Baith þe clannys, glaid of þis condicioun, come to þe North Inche besyde Perth with iugis sett in skaffaldis to discus þe

<sup>1</sup> *quhilk* is inserted in the left margin in what appears to be a later hand.



verite. And becaus ane of þir clænnis wantit ane man to perfurneis furth þe pleye, þai conduit ane grete carle for money to debait þair accioun, howbeit þis man na thing pertenit to þame in blude. Thir twa clænnis stude arrayitt *with* grete hatrent aganis vther, and sone eftir be sound of trumpett ruschitt to giddir, takand na respect to þe wounding of þame self, sa þat þai mycht distroy þair inymyis, and faucht in þis maner lang tyme with vncertane victorye. Gif ane fell, ane nothir was putt in his rovme, quhill at last þe Clancais war all slayne, except ane þat swam throw þe Revere of Taye and sauffitt him self in þat maner. Of Clanquhattanis nane bot xj personis war left on live, and sa sair wounditt þat þai mycht skairslye hald þair swerdis in þair handis. This debaitt was fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxvj.

(II. 470)

How King Robert maid his son Duke of Rothesaye and his brupir Duke of Albany; and how þe Erle of Craufurd vincust þe Lord Wellis at Londoun in singulare batall.

Ca x

**T**he 3ere<sup>1</sup> fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> lxxxxix ane Parliament was haldin at Perth, quhair King Robert eftir mony constitucionis done for þe commoun wele maid Dauid, his eldast son, havand xviiij 3eris of aige, Duke of Rosaye, and Robert his bruther, quhilk was Governour and Erle of Fyffe,<sup>2</sup> Duke of Albany. Thir war þe first dukis þat war in Scotland, for sik triumphant namis of digniteis war nocht vsit of befoir, becaus ilk man kest him to wyncuþ his fallow erar *with* wertew þan honouris.

During þe peace betuix Inglis and Scottis frequent cumpáneis war of Inglis in Scotland, and siklike of Scottis in England, throw quhilk oftymes mony honorabill tournamentis war betuix Scottis and Inglis for defence of þair honouris and gloir in armys, amang quhom was nocht litill apprisit þe honorabill victory gottin be Dauid, Erle of Crawfurd, on

<sup>1</sup> MS. begins the chapter *Tere*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. & *Duke*.

þe Brig of Londoun aganis Lord Wellis in this maner. Lord Wellis was send ambassatoure in Scottland concernyng certane hye materis betuix þe twa Kingis of Inglis & Scottis. And quhen he was at ane solempne bankatt quhair Scottis and Inglis war *commonyng* of grete dedis of armys, this Lord Wellis sayid, "All wayne ostentacioun of wourdis has na froitt, for giff ony Scott had desyre to knaw þe *manhede* of Inglismen, schaw him self, and I salbe reddy to mak him knaw þe samyn." Incontinent Erle Dauid sayid, "Gif my souerane will suffir me, I sall fecht witht þe in quhat sort  
 555 þou pleifs." Sone eftir be consent | of King Robert Lord Wellis chesit þe Brig of Londoun for þe place, and Erle Dauid chesitt Sanct Georgis Daye, becaus he was sum tyme ane wailzeand knycht. Sone eftir Lord Wellis departit towart Londoun, and quhen þe day was approcheand, Erle Dauid come *with* xxx personis wele abilzeitt to Londoun. The daye of bataill cumin, baith þe partijs war convoyitt *with* grete triumphe to þe Brig. The nobillis war sett to vesy on athir syde, amang quhom was King Richard, arrayitt *with*  
 (II. 471) maist magnificence. Sone eftir be sounde of trumpett þai ran to giddir *with* strang grondin speeris, quhilkis with huge preß flew in schonder in þe air. Than þe pepill cryitt þat Erle Dauid, contrair þe lawis of armour, was bondin in þe saddill. Erle Dauid, herand þis *murmour*, demontit of his horß, and but ony support ascendit agane in his saddill. Incontinent *with* new speris þai ruschitt þe secund tyme to giddir with birnand ire to conquess honour. Bot in þe thrid rynk Lord Wellis was dongin owte of his sadill with sik violence þat he fell to þe ground *with* grete lament of Inglismen. Erle Dauid, seying him fall, lap of his horß and tuke him in his armys, quhill he was recoueritt, þat þe pepill mycht vnderstand he faucht for na hattrent, bot alanerlie for þe gloir of victorye, and in signe of mair humanite, he vesijt him anys ilk daye, quhill he recoveritt his hele. Eftir þis he remanit thre monethis be request of þe King at Londoun, quhare he was tretitt *with* all honour þat mycht be devisitt. In þe menetyme, as oft occurris, war frequent *contencioun* betuix þe *seruandis* of nobill men, Inglis & Scottis, ilk man contendand to decoir

pair nacioun *with* maist loving, quhill at last ane Inglisman provokitt Donald, Maister of Stabill to Erle Dauid, to fecht in singlar battell *with* grondin swerdis, but ony defence of armour, and be consent of þe King & nobillis of Ingland Donald chesitt þe streitt of Lunden to be þe place of battell, and þe Inglisman chesitt þe thrid day eftir. The place quhar þai suld haif fohtin was circulit in maner of barreis, þat nane of þame suld part quhill þe victory war patent. Nochtþeles, quhen þe daye was cumin, þe Inglisman durst nocht appere, and sa Erle Dauid & his company had double victory.

Eftir þis Erle Dauid maid ane solempn bankett, in þe quhilk war mony of all þe nobillis and princes of Ingland. And þocht Inglismen war wincust at sindry turnamentis be Scottis, 3ite þai couth nocht cesß fra vane loving of þame self, for quhen heraldis of Ingland war commending Erle Dauid of his singlar wassallage, ane Inglisman sayid, "It is nocht marwell þocht Scottis be now illustir and wailþeand, becaus þai war gottin be oure eldaris, quhen þair faderis was banyst and þair realme conquest." Than sayid Erle Dauid, "It is no marwell þat Inglismen be degeneritt, for þai war gottin be cukis & freris of Ingland, quhen þe grete nobillis of Ingland gatt ws in Scotlannd." Sik thingis done, Erle Dauid returnit in Scotland *with* mony nobillis of Ingland; and becaus he vyncust Lord Wellis apoun Sanct Georgis Day, he founditt |  
 556 sevin preistis to syng for him in Oure Lady Kirk of Dunde in þe honour of Sanct George.

(11. 472)

How Schir Robert Morlo was vyncust be Hew Traill; how Hary, Duke of Longcastell, conquest þe cron of Ingland, & deprivit King Richard. Ca xj

Nocht lang eftir Schir Robert Morla, Inglisman, come in Scotland, reddy to fecht aganis ony man þat wald assailþe him in singulare batall, and vyncust Archibald Edmonstoun and Hew Wallace. Bot at last he was vyncust be Hew Traill, and decessitt at Berwik sone eftir for displeasur. Sindry

vther *tornamentis* war the samyn ȝere be Inglis and Scottis with variant chance of fortoun.

The samyn ȝere King Richard of Ingland marijt Isobell, dochter to King Charlis þe vj, King of France. And becaus scho had bot x ȝeris in aige, and *mycht nocht* sustene þe dett of mariag, King Richard went be avise of his nobillis to dant þe rebellioun of Ireland and to remane in þe samyn quhill scho wes of mair aige. Afoir his passage þe nobillis inquiritt him, failȝeing of him self, quhai was richt heretoure to þe croun of Ingland, to quhom he ansueritt, his nepott, þe Duke of Clarence dochter son, was iust heretour. For King Edward Wyndisoir had v *sonnis*: first Edward, Prince of Walis, fader to þis King Richard; the secund Lionel,<sup>1</sup> Duke of Clarence; the thrid Iohnne Gant, Duke<sup>2</sup> of Longcastell; fourte Edward Langlie, Duke of ȝork; the v Thomas Wodestok, Duke of Glocister. And becaus Rogere Mortymer was þe Duke of Clarence dochter son, King Richard determytt him iust heretoure to þe crovne of Ingland. Sone eftir King Richardis departing oute of Ingland Hary Gant, son to þe Duke of Longcastell, *conspyrit* aganis him *with* mony vther grete nobillis of Ingland. King Richard, herand þis rebellioun, come in Walis, quhare he gatt *writingis* fra his nobillis nevir to rebell aganis him in tymes cuming, sa þat he wald be reconnsalitt *with* þame, remitting þair offence in tymes bigane, and he to regne with mair honour and felicite þan he rang afoir. Nochþeles, King Richard, returnyng to Londoun in þis maner, was takin be þe gaitt be þe Erlis of Darby, Northumberland, Westmureland and sindry *vþer* grete princes of Ingland. All his familiaris war put to þe maist schaymfull deth, throw quhilk King Richard tuke sik fere þat he renuncitt all richt þat he had to þe croun of Ingland, and sone eftir (II. 473) was adiugitt to *perpetuall* presoun. Nochttheles, eftir lang incarceration he gat furth of preson, quhair he was, vnder þe habitt of ane woman, and come in Ireland, eftir þat come in Gallowaye, quhair he maid *seruice* to ane nobill man, MakDowall, and eftir þat, fra he was knawin, he was brocht

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Oneill*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Dude*.

to King Robert þe Thrid, be quhom he was tretitt in grete reuerence. *Nocht*þeles, becaus he was deieckitt fra his imperiall 557 estaitt, he gaif him to his contemplacioun to þe end | of his life, and was berijt in þe Blak Freris of Striueling. Eftir his expulsoun fra þe croun his wife Isobell, havand xij 3eris in aige, returnit to Pareiß, & wes redemit be hir fader with grete ransoun.

It is sayid þat ane herymitt come to King Hary eftir his coronacioun, and monyst him be autorite of God to restoir þe iust heretoure to þe croun ; vtherwayis, gif he war rebelland þairto, grete vengeance and calamite suld fall to his house. King Harye, dredand þat þis herymittis wourdis suld be occasioun to þe pepill to rebell aganis him, gart put him haistelye to deth. And as þis herymitt schew, sa followitt, for grete slauchter & troubill succedit continewallye betuix þe airis of King Richard and þe Houß of Longcastell, quhill at last Hary þe vij marijt ane sister of King Richardis, dochter to King Edward þe Ferd, *quhilk* was iust heretoure to þe croun, throw quhilk all debaitt cessitt.

(II. 474)

How Archibald, Erle of Douglas, dissoluitt þe spouses betuix þe Erle of Marchis dochter and þe Duke of Rosaye ; and how þe Erle of Marche rebellit aganis Scotland ; and of þe deth of Erle Archibald. Ca xij

**T**he samyn tyme King Robert wedditt his son, þe Duke of Rosaye, on þe Erle of Marchis dochter. Archibald, Erle of Douglas, richt *commovitt* þat þe Erle of Marche suld be preferritt to him, marijt his dochter Mariory on þe said Duke at Boithuile be avise of Robert, Duke of Albany. The Erle of Marche wes richt displesitt þat he was frustrait herof. *Nocht*þeles, afoir þe mariage was completitt, he went to þe King, inquirand gif it was semand to ane prince to brek his condicioun, and gif he wald stand at his last promysß, but ony sycht to þe first contract. And becaus he gatt na plesand

ansuere, he maid ane wov to revenge þe contempcion done to him *with* all displeserr þat he mycht. Sone eftir he went in Ingland, levand his houß of Dunbar wele stuffitt in keping of his sister son, Robert Maitland. Archibald, Erle of Douglas, eftir þe departing of þe Erle of Marche, come to þe house of Dunbar, desyring þe samyn to be randeritt to him, and finalye maid this Robert Maitland sa astonyst þat he randeritt þe houß to the Douglas. George, Erle of Marche, knawing þe houß takin fra him be þe Douglas, send for all his freyndis, and come in Ingland, and determytt to invaid þe Scottis *with* all displeserris þat he mycht do. King Robert, dredand troubill to ryse be his rebelloun, send ane herald, desyring him be his writingis to cum in Scotland, and to haif all iniuris reparitt at his pleserr. And becauß þe said George refusit, quhill he had revengitt sum displeserr on þe Douglas, to return in Scotland, King Robert send his *writingis* to King Hary of Ingland, desyring him, gif he wald intertene peace *with* Scottis, to put þe said George oute of his landis of Ingland, and to suffer na rebellis of Scotlannd to haif þe ressett *within* (II. 475) his realme. And becaus King Hary denyitt þis, þe peace was dissoluit betuix Scottis & Inglis.

Sone eftir Hary Persee, alias Haitspure, and þe Erle of Marche come in Scotland *with* grete armyis, and invadit þe 558 samyn *with* | grete slauchter and herschippis. Archibald, Erle of Douglas, knawing þair *cuming*, sett apoun þame be þe gaitt, and reft fra þame all þair praye, and chasitt þame *with* grete slauchter to Berwik, syne returnit *with* þe gudis to Edinburgh, quhair he was plesandlie ressauitt. Sone eftir he decessitt in þe hait fevir. This Erle of Douglas was ane nobill man of singlar manhede & vertew, havand preistis and religious men in grete reuerence. He foundit þe College of Boithuile and þe novnryis of Lyncloadane, quhillk was chengitt eftir in ane College of prestis, becaus þe nonnys war of evill life. Eftir þe deth of Archibald, Erle of Douglas, his secund son was maid Erle, becaus his eldast son, Williame, was decessitt afoir, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup>.

Off King Harijs vassallage done in Scotland ; how  
 þe Duke of Rosaye was slayne in presoun be Robert  
 Duke of Albany ; and how þe Scottis war disconnfist  
 at Nesbitt be George, son to þe Erle of Marche.

Ca xiiij

Schort tyme following King Hary come in Scotland *with*  
 Sane grete army, invading þe cuntre *with* small iniuris, and  
 desyritt *nocht* bot at his bannere mycht be ereckitt on þair  
 wallis, and thairfor Scottismen had nevir sa plesand inymye.  
 He did grete humaniteis to þe pepill in all placis of Scotland  
 quhare he was lugitt, *attour*, declaritt to þe nobillis of Scotland  
 þat his army come in þair realme mair be impulsoun of his  
 nobillis þan ony hattrentt þat he had to Scottis. At last þe  
 Duke of Albany gaderit ane grete army to invaid him. *Nocht*-  
 þeles, quhen he was aduerteist þat King Hary was segeand  
 þe castell of Edinburgh, quhare þe Duke of Rosaye was for  
 þe tyme, he decistit fra ony forthir invasion, becaus he desyritt  
 na thing sa mekle as þe dede of þe said Duke of Rosaye.  
 King Hary returnit sone eftir in England.

In þe menetyme Anna, King Robert's wife, decessitt, throw  
 quhill grete infelecite succedit eftir to hir son, þe Duke of  
 (II. 476) Rosaye ; for during hir life he was dantitt fra vices, bot eftir  
 hir deth he began to raige in all maner of lust & insolence,  
 fulzeand virginis, matronis & nunnys othir be bland persuasion  
 or violence. And *nocht* content of þir detestabill crymes, he  
 wrocht sindry enormiteis, ilkane abone vther, quhill at last  
 þe pepill complanit to his fader, King Robert, of his importabill  
 iniuris, desiring him to repreß and chaistefy his insolent youth  
 be sum grave & wise preceptouris þat mycht dant his vicious  
 life. King Robert, irkitt ilk daye *with* continewall complantis  
 of þe pepill, send writingis to his bruper, þe Duke of Albany,  
 to intertene his son, þe Duke of Rosaye, and to lere him honest  
 and civill maneris. The Duke of Albany, richt glaid of þir  
 writingis, tuke þe Duke of Rosaye betuix Dundee and Sanct-  
 androis, and brocht him be strang hand to Falkland, quhair  
 he inclusit him in ane toure but ony mete or drynk. It is sayid

þat ane woman, havand grete miseracioun on þe Duke, schott doun mele throw riftis of þe toure, quhairby his lyfe was sustenit certane tyme. Incontinent þis woman, fra it was knawin, was put to deth. And on þe samyn maner ane nothir  
 559 woman gaif him mylk of hir pap throw | ane lang reid, and þerfor was slayne *with* grete cruelte, fra it was knawin. Than was he destitute of all mortale supple, and brocht finalye to sik miserabill hungir þat he eitt *nocht* alanerlye þe fylth of þe toure quhare he was, bot als his awin fyngeris, and decessitt *with* grete martirdome; quhais body was eftir berijt in Lundoris, and kytht miraclis mony 3eris eftir, quhill King Iames þe First began to pvneis þis cruelte, and fra thyns þe miraclis cessitt.

The samyn tyme George, Erle of Marche, to revenge þe iniuris done to him afoir, come<sup>1</sup> *with* þe Erle of Northumberland in Scotland, and brocht ane grete praye of men and gudis furth of þe samyn. To revenge þir attemptatis þe<sup>2</sup> Erle of Douglas rasis ane grete army of Loutheane men, and maid grete herschippis and slauchter in Northumberland, and syne returnit *with* grete riches and praye of gudis in Scotland. Eftir þis prosper waage Patrik Hepburn enteritt in Ingland *with* ane grete cumpany of men, and brocht litill leß prayis oute of Ingland þan þe Erle of Douglas army did afoir. In þe menetyme he wes aduerteist be sindry his freyndis þat Inglismen war cumand on him *with* mair multitude of pepill þan he mycht resist, and þerfor consalit him to depart hayme baith *with* his honour and proffitt. *Nochtpeles*, he refusit þis counsale, and faucht *with* sik incredibill manhede aganis Inglismen þat he was victorious. And in þe menetyme George Dunbar, eldest son to þe Erle of Marche, come *with* j<sup>c</sup> speris & fresche geldingis, and put þe Scottis to flycht. In þis bataill was slayne Patrik Hepburn of Heialis *with* mony gentilmen of his hous, and sindry takin, as Iohne & Williame Cokburn,  
 (II. 477) Robert Lauder of Bas, Iohne & Thomas Haliburtoun. This bataill was strikkin at Nysbitt in þe Merß þe xxij day of Iunij, fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> & ij 3eris.

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *come* from end of preceding line.

<sup>2</sup> MS. repeats *þe* from end of preceding line.



How þe Scottis war disconnfist at Hommyldoun, and mony of þair nobillis slayne or takin; how Hary Haitspure and Thomas Perse his bruther war slayn at Schrevisbery, and þe Erle of Douglas takin.

Ca xiiij

**N**esbitt disconnfist in this wise, followitt ane nothir disconnfitoure mair displesand. For Archibald, Erle of Douglas, to revenge þe iniuris done be Inglismen come *with* x<sup>m</sup> men to þe New Castell, and brynt & herijt þe cuntre in all partis quhair he come. In his army war þe samyn tyme Murdoch, eldast son to Duke Robert, Erle of Fiffe, & Thomas, Erle of Murraye, George, Erle of Anguse, *with* mony vther nobillis of Scotland. Forthir quhen þai war returnand hayme *with* infinite prayee of riches & gudis, mett þame Hary Persee, *alias* Haitspure, and George, Erle of Marche, and put þame to sik affliccioun be dynt of arrowis þat þai war put to flycht. Nochtþeles, be hortacion of Adam Gordon and Schir Iohne Swyntoun þai returnit in bataill *with* litill mair felicite þan afoir, and war put be dynt of arrowis to vtter disconfitour. In þis vnhappy bataill war slayne Schir Iohnne Swynton, Adam Gordon, Iohne Levingstoun of Callandar, Alexander Ramsay of Dalhowsye, | *with* sindry vþer nobillis and gentill men of Scotland. The Erle of Douglas was takin, and tynt ane of his eeyn; *with* him Murdoo, son to Duke Robert, *with* þe Erlis of Murray and Anguse, Abirnethy of Saltoun, *with* xxiiij knychtis. Hary Persee, proude of þis felicite, come *with* his victorious army throw Merß and Loutheane *with* purpoß to subdew þe samyn to þe dominion of Ingland, and (II. 478) sone eftir be pyssance of þe Erle of Marche he come in to Tevidale, makand grete herschippis and slauchter on þe inhabitantis þerof, and segitt þe castell of Coklawis, bot it was sa wailþeandlie defenditt be Iohne Grenelaye þat Inglismen irkitt of lang seige, and departit fra þe samyn eftir þat Grenelaye had gevin pleggis, gif he gat na rescourß *with*in twa monethis, to rander þe houß in Inglismenis handis. This Bataill of Hommyldoun wes strikkin on þe Rude Daye in harvist fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>o</sup> & iiij 3eris.

Eftir þe departing of Inglismen Iohne Gledstansys went to Duke Robert, Governour, schawin how þe castell was condicionatt to be randeritt, *without* it gatt supportt agane þe terme affixitt. Mony of þe nobillis, quhen þai war *convenit* to þis effect, thocht bettir to tyne þe castell of Cokclavis þan to ieopard þe pepill in defence *perof*, becaus þai war sa brokin in þe weeris afoir rehersitt; throw quhilkis þe said castell had bene desert, war *nocht* þe Governour swer he suld pas in reskours of þe said castell, howbeit nane of his nobillis wald follow him. In þe menetyme raiß sik displeaserr betuix King Hary of England and Hary Haitspure þat it was *nocht* necessair to send ony support in rescourß of þe said castell. *Nochttheles*, Hary Perse, fenþeand him to pas aganis þe Scottis, rasitt ane grete army be support of þe Duke of 3ork and þe Erle of Staufurd, havand *with* him als in cumpany þe Erle of Douglas, quhilk was takin afoir at Hommyldon, *with* mony his freyndis to support him aganis King Hary vnder þis condicioun: gif þe King of England was disconfist and put fra þe croun, the said Erle of Douglas suld be ranson fre, and haif Berwyk randeritt to him in revard of his assistance.

King Hary, knawing þair rebellioun, come *with* arrayitt batall to Schrewisbery, quhare þe Persy was assemblit *with* all his ordinance for þe tyme. *Nochþeles*, quhen þe batallis war reddy to iune, þai war severitt be *interuencioun* of George, Erle of Marche, and King Hary sworne, gif it war acceptabill to his nobillis, to exoner him self of þe croun erar or sa grete effusioun of blude suld be maid in his default. Thir wourdis, schewin to þe said Hary Persy and *vperis* of his opinioun, maid þame to geif credence *perto*, and *perfoir* severitt þair armyis in sindry partis, þat þai mycht þe bettir be furneist of vittalis. Incontinent þe King sett apoun þaim *with* arrayitt battellis, (II. 479) and slew þe said Hary Persee & Thomas Persee his bruper *with* mony vther nobillis & hedismen of þair faccioun. The 561 Erle of Douglas, quhilk assistit to þe said Hary Persee | be condicioun afoir rehersitt, faucht þat daye *with* incredibill manhede, and slew thre men arrayitt with þe King of Englandis coitt of armour; and quhen he saw þe fourte cum in<sup>1</sup> þe

<sup>1</sup> MS. *cum in in*: perhaps the reading should be *cumin in*.

samyn arraye, he *mar*wellitt be quhatt way sa mony kingis war *cumin* aganis him. At last, quhen *þe* feild was disconfist, he was takin, and nane of his cumpany sauffitt bot him self, becauþ he was blasonit be *þe* herraldis for ane of *þe* maist wailþeand campionis in Albion. And þocht *þe* victory succedditt to King Hary, 3ite it was *nocht* but slauchter of his maist forsy campionis, bot mair huge novmer war slayne of his contrair part. Hary Persee, Erle of Northumberland, knowing baith his *sonnis* slayne in *þe* said Batall of Sschrewisbery, traistit na felice to abyde in England; becaus he was far *rumyn* in aige, he come in Scotland *with* ane grete cumpany of his faccioun, havand with him his nepott, and wes ressauit be Hary Wardlaw, Bischop of Sanctandris, *with* all magnificence and honour þat mycht be devisitt.

(II. 480)

How Duke Robert excusitt *þe* deth of Duke Rosaye; how Iames, Prince of Scotland, was takin at Flamburgh Hede *with* Inglismen; and of *þe* tenour of his faderis *writingis* direct to King Hary. Ca<sup>m</sup> xv

**K** yng Robert *þe* samyn tyme was aduerteist þat his son *þe* Duke of Rosaye was decessitt, as we haif schewin, in *þe* toure of Falkland, throw quhilk he grew ilk day in maist sorowfull chere, at last send for his bruper, *þe* Duke of Albany, and accusitt him for *þe* tresonabill slauchter of *þe* Duke of Rosaye, his son. Duke Robert be mony colouritt dissaittis and vane ressonis schew him innocent of his slauchter, and promittitt, gif *þe* King wald pass *with* him to Edinburgh, to deliuer *þe* *lymmaris* bundin in his handis quhilkis was occasioun of his *sonnis* deth. *þe* King gaff traist to his wourdis, and richt desyrous to revenge his *sonnis* deth come oute of Bute in ane cheriott. And quhen he come to Cragyhall, *þe* Duke deliueritt in his handis certane myschevis *lymmaris* to be puneist for *þe* slauchter of *þe* said Duke, howbeit þai nevir saw *þe* said Duke in þair dayis. Þir *lymmaris* war accusitt and puneist to *þe* deth. *Nochtþeles*, *þe* Duke was ay haldin in grete suspicioun to *þe* King, becaus he apperitt to invaid

þe croun quhen þe Kingis sonnys war slayn, and þerfor King Robert besocht God to send vengeance on his posterite & blude þat was þe dede of his son. Sone eftir he returnit to Bute, and send his secound son, Iames, Prince of Scotland, to Walter<sup>1</sup> Wardlaw, Bischop of Sanctandrois, to keip him fra all invasioun of inymyis in þe castell þerof, to be nureist *with* þe son of Hary Haitspure, quhilk was nepott to þe Erle of Northumberland and equale in aige to þe said Iames. At last þe Bischop of Sanctandrois, knawing Duke Robert sett *with* vtter besynes to conques þe croun, come to King Robertt, inquiring be quhatt wayis his son mycht be best sauffitt fra invasioun of his inymyis; be quhom it was finaly concluditt  
 562 to send him othir in France or England, | quhare he mycht  
 (II. 481) eschew all tressoun devisitt aganis him.

Sone eftir ane schip was *providitt with* all necessaris and tendir supplicacionis, direct baith to þe Kingis of France & England, to ressaif him vnder þair proteccioun & beneuolence, gif it happin him to arrive *within* ony of þair landis. Henry, Lord Sinclair & Erle of Orknaye, was chosin to þis besynes, and sone eftir he pullit vp salis at þe Basß, havand þe said Iames and þe 3oung Persee with mony vther nobillis and gentilmen<sup>2</sup> of Scotland in his cumpany. In þe menetyme þe Prince, wery be infirmite of seyis, desyritt to pas to land, and was takin at Flamburgh Hede be Inglismen apon þe seyis on þe xxx day of Marche, fra oure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>e</sup> iiij 3eris, ix 3ere of his aige, and xviiij 3eris haldin in captiuite in England; and was brocht to King Haryis presence, and presentit to him King Robert his faderis tendir supplicaciouns, quhais tenour eftir followis: “ Robert, King of Scottis, to Hary, King of England, greting. Thi grete werkis, iustice and clemence, howbeit þai<sup>3</sup> had bene vnknawin to ws, 3ite þe samyn mycht haif bene patent be governance of þi last army in Scotlande, quhen mair riches & pleseir war done vnto oure subdittis þan ony werelie invasioun; and thairfoir we may nocht cefs to loiff þi magnificence & wisdom, for

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Waler*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *gentilman*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. omits *þai*.

þe singulare pleseir done all tymes to oure subdittis, and þairfore we will persevere in ferme kyndnes *with* the to þe vtter end of oure liffe. For þocht þe realmez and nacionis contend amang þame self, invading vther be battell for vsurpacioun of gloir and landis, þite na thing followis quhairthrow we suld haif occasioun to invaid vtheris be weeris, contending alanerlye quhay sall persew vther with maist beneuolence, affecciou and humanite. And gif ony displeouris occurris to be ony occasioun of ony dissencioun betuix *our* realmez, we will laboure all wayis to drefß þe samyn to thi pleserr & concord. Forthir, becaus we haif sollicitude in preserving oure childerin fra invasion of þame quhilkis ar sett to þair exterminioun, we ar constrenit to seyke support at vncouth princes, howbeit þe invasioun of inymyis is sa grete that na defence may be sufficient aganis þe samyn, bot gif þai be preseruit be faith of nobill men, for þe world is now sa full of perversitt malice þat na cruelte nor offence may be devisitt in erd bot þe samyn may be wrocht be impulsiou of gold & siluer. Heirfor, becaus we know þi Hienes dotitt *with* sa mony illustir and nobill vertewis, havand sikkir humanite, faith & clemence, and *with* sik pyssance and riches þat na prince in *our* dayis may compair þairto, desyring þairfor þi humanite to be propiciant to ws. Attour, we beleiff it is *nocht* vnknawin to þi Maieste how oure eldast son, Dauid, is devoritt miserabillye in presoun be oure bruther, þe Duke of Albany, quhom we chesitt to be Governour, quhen we war fallin in decrepitt aige, to oure sonnys, subdittis and realme aganis þe invasioun of vncouth inymyis; and þairfor besekis þe þat þis berar, Iames, *our* secound and alanerly son, may haif sikkir targe to leif vnder þi faith & iustice, to be | sum  
 563 memorye of oure posterite, knawand þe vnstabill condicioun of manis lyfe sa suddanlie alteritt, now floresand and suddanlye falling to vtter consumpsiou; attour, desyring þe to remembir þat kingis and princes, quhen thai haif na securite bot in þair awne pepill, has bot fragill and vnsikkyr empyre, becaus þe myndis of pepill ar in continewall wariance, mair inconstant þan wynd. *Nocht*theles, quhen princes ar roboratt be amite

of vther vncouth kingis, þair nychtbouris, na pyssance may be sa strang þat may eiek þame fra imperiall estaitt. Forthir, gif it be *nocht* expedient, as God forbeid, thir oure desyris to be herd, ʒite ane thing we praye, quhilk was ratifyt in our last trewis and condicioun of peace, þat þe supplicacionis maid be ony of þe twa Kingis of Ingland or Scotland sall stand in maner of sauftcondit, quhilk we desyre to be obseruatt to þis oure alanerly son. And þe gracious God mott conserue þe,<sup>1</sup> maist illuster and nobill Prince. Gevin, &c."

(II. 483)

Off sindry vertewis lernit be King Iames þe First in Ingland during his captiuite; of þe deth of King Robert þe Thrid & his loving; how þe Erle of Marche was reconsalit to þe Kingis peace; and how þe Douglas gat sindry of his landis. Ca xvj

Quhen King Hary had red þir *lettres*, he callit his lordis to ane counsale to avise quhat was to be done in þis mater. The lordis at þair cuming war deviditt in sindry opinionis. Sum of þame, quhilkis war irkitt *with* lang weeris, thocht King Robertis desyris to be fulfillit, becaus his son was *cumin* of his beneuolence to seyke refuge aganis inymyis. Vperis war fer discrepant fra þis mynde, saying, Iames was takin in tyme of were, and his fader, King Robertt, *nocht* onlye invading Inglismen with continewall weeris, bot als ressavng all þair inymyis with grete honouris, allegeand als þat sindry Scottis come in support of Hary Persee and vther conspiratouris at þe last Battell of Schrewisbery; and þerfor it was concluditt to keip him as lauchfull presonere. *Nocht*-theles, be beneuolence<sup>2</sup> of King Hary war chosin wise and expert *preceptouris* to instruct him in verteu & science, þat it apperitt finalye he was na les resolute in euery science þan he had bene perpetuallie occupijt bot in ane. He was wele lernyt to fecht *with* þe swerd, to iust, to turna, to worsill, to syng, dance,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *pi*.<sup>2</sup> MS. *benolence* or *beuolence*.

and was ane expert medicinar, richt crafty in playing baith lute and harp and sindry vther instrumentis of musik. Attour, he was expert in grammair, oratory and powetry, and maid sa flowand and sentencious versis þat apperitt wele he was ane naturall and born poete. He was als ane cwnyng theologe, for he leeritt all þir science during þe xvij 3eris of his captiuite ; and was haldin all þe tyme of his residence in Ingland in grete admiracioun to þe pepill for his singular vertew, and þerfor

564 his captiuite succeditt to his maist | gloir and honour.  
 (II. 484) King Robert, herand how his son was takin on þis maner be Inglismen, tuke sik displeserr and malancole þat he levitt nocht eftir, and decessitt þe xvj 3ere of his regne, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iij<sup>c</sup> and vj 3eris. Eftir his deth his body was brocht *with* funerall triumphe to Pasley, quhar he was berijtt *with* his Qwene afoir rehersitt. King Robert was ane man of grete stature, richt liberall & gracious in all his werkis, houbeit he was men3eit be ane straik of ane horß, as we haif schewin, richt fervent in his deuocioun, and sa mercifull to þe pepill þat he wald suffer na iniuris done aganis þame but punycioun ; and gif he mycht haiff passit throw þe cuntre but impediment of his feitt, þe realme suld haif bene governit *with* na leß felicite in his dayis þan it was in ony vther princis tyme afoir. Duke Robert eftir his deth was chosin be new eleccioun Governour, and gyditt þe realme eftir þe Kingis deth with bettir iustice þan afoir.

In þe menetyme þe castell of Iedburgh was takin be þe men of Tevidale and cassin doun to þe ground. Archibald Douglas, herand þat King Robert was decessitt, maid ane waye for his redempcioun, & returnit in Scotlannd. Noch lang eftir ane counsale was sett to restoir George, Erle of Marche to his honour and landis. Eftir lang disputacioun it was concludit þat he suld want ane part of his landis, namytt Annanderdale & Lochmabane, and þe said landis to pas vnder perpetuall dominioun of þe Douglas. Be thir condicionis was þe Erle of Marche restoritt to his landis & peace.

(11. 485)

How þe Duke of Albany maid his son Erle of Rosß ;  
 how Donald of þe Ilis was disconfist at Harlaw ;  
 how þe Vniuersite of Sanctandrois tuke begynnyng ;  
 how grete vertu & pollesy was brocht in Scotland  
 be Iames þe First ; how grete troubill fallis in þis  
 realme be promocioun of vicious and ignorannt  
 prelaitt's. Ca xvij

Grete troubill raiß eftir þis be Donald of þe Ilis. For  
 William, Erle of Rosß, son to Hew Rosß, quhilk was slane  
 afoir, as we haif schawin, at Halidoun Hill, had twa dochteris,  
 of quhilkis þe eldast was gevin in mariage to Walter Leslye  
 with þe Erledome of Rosß ; on quhom he gatt ane son, namytt  
 Alexander, and ane dochter, quhilk was gevin in mariage to  
 Donald of þe Ilis. Þis Alexander marijt þe Duke of Albanyis  
 dochter, quhilk was Governour for þe tyme of Scotland,  
 and gatt on hir ane dochter namit Eufame, quhilk was heretoure  
 to þe Erledome of Rosß. The Duke of Albany persuaditt  
 þis Eufame, quhen scho was 3oung, but ony knowlege or  
 experience, to resigne þe said Erledome in his handis, vnder  
 þis condicioun, gif scho decessitt withoute ony airis of hir  
 body, þat þe said Erledome sall cum to his secund son, and  
 gif his secund son decessitt but ony airis maill gottin of his  
 565 body, þat his bruper Robertt sall succede, and fail3eing airis  
 gottin be him on | þe samyn maner þe Erledome of Rosß  
 sall return þan to þe croun. Thir thingis done with grete  
 slycht & wisdom, Eufemia decessitt, slayn, as we beleiff,  
 be industry of Duke Robertt, þat þe Erledome suld cum to  
 his son. Be this waye Iohne, Duke Roberttis secound son,  
 quhilk was Erle of Buchquhane afoir, was maid Erle of Rosß,  
 quhilk decessitt nocht lang eftir, levand bot ane dochter  
 behynd him, quhilk was marijt on Williame Seytoun, knyght,  
 quhairthrow it happinitt þat þe Seytounis clamyt þe dominioun  
 of Buchquhon. Donald of þe Ilis, herand his wiffis antt <sup>1</sup>  
 decessitt, come to Duke Robertt, desyrand þe landis of Rosß

<sup>1</sup> So MS., but it should be *niece*.



to be gevin to him as his lauchfull heretage. And becaus he gatt evill ansuere fra þe Gouvernour, he come *with* ane grete cumpany oute of þe Ilis, subdewing Rosß to his empire, and nocht content of þis felicite, he come throw Murraye, Strathbogy and sindry vther boundis liand *peraboute*. Syne he come to Garioth, to birn Abirdene. In þe menetyme come Alexander Stewartt, bastard son to Alexander, Erle of Buchquhan, quhilk was son to King Robert þe Secound, and faucht aganis þe said Donald at Harlaw with vncertan victory and sa huge slauchter maid on all sydis þat þai war baith constrenit to seveir and fle to þe montanis. In þis bataill ix<sup>c</sup> Hieland men war slayn, *with* Macclayn & Mackantosche, principale capitanis vnder Donald of þe Ilis; and of þe party aduersair war slayne Alexander Ogiluy, Schiref of Anguse, Iames Skrymgeour, Constabill of Dundee, Alexander Irwyn of Drum, Robert Mauld of Panmure, Thomas Murraye, Williame Abirnethy of Saltoun, Alexander Stratoun of Lowrenstoun, Robert Daudisoun, Provest of Aberdene, knychtis, *with* mony vther. Donald, disconnfist on þis maner, past *with* grete deligence þe samyn nycht to Rosß, and eftir þat fled in þe Ilis. Nochttheles, Duke Robertt come sone eftir *with* ane grete army in þe Ilis, quhaire Donald come to his will, and sworn nevir to invayd þe realme agane *with* ony iniuris. This batall was strikkin in Mar apoun Sanct Iames Evin, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iiiij<sup>c</sup> xj zeris.

Schort tyme afoir Donaldis passing in Rosß Patrik Dunbar, second son to þe Erle of Marche, past in þe Merß *with* j<sup>c</sup> bodin men, & wan Fastcastell, and tuke Thomas Holdene, Capitane *perof* vnder Inglismen, presoner. That samyn tyme þe brig of Roxburgh was brokin be industry of Williame Douglas and Gawyn Dunbar, son to þe Erle of Marche, and þe toun of Roxburgh brynt.

In þe 3ere forsaid began þe Vniuersite of Sanctandris. Mony excellent clerkis war brocht oute of sindry cuntreis to be *preceptouris* in þe samyn, throw quhilk was grete confluence of 3oung pepill owte of all partis in Scottlannd for desyre of letteris throw þe grete execucioun of vertew quhilk began to sprede maist *spetialye* eftir þe returnyng of King Iames

þe First. For þis nobill prince was sa full of vertew & science  
 that he held all men of vertew & erudicioun in grete reuerence,  
 gevand his perpetuall besynes to cauß his pepill increß in  
 all honest craftis & vertew, to bring þame self in honour &  
 gloir to þair posterite, devoding þame of idill and rude maneris,  
 566 *with* quhilkis þai war | afoir lang accustomitt. At his first  
 returnyng in Scotland he thocht na thing sa gude as to bring  
 craftsmen and expert clerkis oute of vncouth realmez to  
 (11. 487) decoir his *commoun* wele. He brocht in Scotlannd xvij  
 Doctouris of Theologie, viij Doctouris of Decreis, *with* mony  
 vther expertt men in all science, and promovitt þame all to  
 sindry prelacijs. Attoure, nane was þat tyme þat had ony  
 singlar verteu or *cunynng* bot was dotaitt be him in sik  
 maner þat he mycht leiff be his magnificence. Attoure, he  
 promovitt nane to grete prelacijs, bot gif he war of singular  
 erudicioun and life, and *perfor* grete felicite succeditt to his  
 realme in his dayis, as the prouerbe sayis, Happy ar þai pepill  
 þat has ane philosophour to þair king. Bot allace, how far  
 is now oure tyme different fra þai dayis! For I beleiff nane  
 has sik eloquence nor fouth of langage þat maye sufficiently  
 deplour þe sorowis and irrecouerabill displeser falling to ws  
 for laik of letteris and vertew in oure princes. In þai dayis,  
 quhair maist grave personis of maist erudicioun and vertu  
 war socht oute of all partis to be in cumpany *with* þe princes,  
 to nureiß þame in vertu & princely behavingis, now nane ar  
 chosin to þat office bot þai quhilkis ar maist ignorant and  
 myschevous pepill, nuresand þe princes in vice and insolence,  
 throw quhilk na leß infelicite has fallin to þe prince þan to  
 þe pepill þairof, nane rasit in dignite, office, honour or benefice  
 bot maist vnhappy and auaricious pepill, takand þe revard  
 þat is ordanit for verteu & devoring þe pepill but ony *miseracion*  
 or conscience.

(II. 488)

How Grahame, Erle of Strat~~h~~herne, was slane be þe Drummond; how Franche men war disconnfist at Blange be King Hary; off grete diuisioun in þe Kirk; how Erlis off Buchquhane and Wigtoun went *with* grete armyis in France in support þairof; how France and Ingland war aggreitt. Ca xvij

**T**he samyn tyme Iohnne Drummond slew tresonabilly Patrik Grahame, Erle of Strat~~h~~hern, nochtwithstanding þe assouerance takin betuix þame afoir. At last þis Drummond was takin and disheresitt for þe said cryme.

Nocht lang eftir raiß grete weeris betuix Charlis þe vj, King of France, and Hary þe v, King of Ingland, becaus King Charlis held sindry landis of France fra King Hary, howbeit þai pertenit to him be iust heretage. At last King Hary be lang sege wan þe toun of Humflew, syne come with proude banner throw Picardy, and waistitt all þe bondis þairof, quhill he come to Blaynge. And in þe menetyme, quhen he was returnand in Ingland, come on him sindry grete princes of France, and gaif him batall. Nochþeles, þai war all slayne, and þair army disconnfist. In þe menetyme King Hary was aduerteist of grete rebelloun maid aganis him in Walis, and þairfor, nochtwithstanding þis victory he was constrenitt to return in Ingland, quhair he was put to flicht and x<sup>m</sup> of his army slayne. And nochtwithstanding þis disconnfitour, King Hary come agane with ane new army in Walis, and brocht þame at last to irrecouerabill subieccioun.

Quhill sik thingis war done in Ingland, Williame Halyburtoun wan þe castell of Werk, and slew all þe soidiouris þat  
567 war þairin, | howbeit it succedditt sone eftir to his grete infelicite. For sindry Inglismen, quhilkis knew all þe secrettis of þe place, clam vp throw ane scheid, and brak þe wall in sik maner þat þai maid ane quiette passage to Inglismen, throw  
(II. 489) quhilk all þe Scottis fondin in þe samyn war slayn.

Aboute þis tyme was ane grete diuisioun in þe Kirk, thre Papis creatt at anys, and þairfor was þe Counsale of Con-

stanciane, in þe quhilk þe thre Papis war eieckitt and þe fourte creatt be þe said Counsale.

In þe 3ere fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiiij<sup>c</sup> and xix 3eris King Charlis send þe Erle of Wandoun and þe Chancellair to Duke Robert, Governour of Scotlannd, to desyre support aganis Ingland, promitting landis, officis, digniteis to all Scottis þat wald cum in defence of his realme. Sone eftir Iohnne Stewartt, Erle of Buchquhane, secound sone to Duke Robert, and Archibald Douglas, Erle of Wigtoun, with vij<sup>m</sup> men provyditt with all maner of ordinance according to bataill, war send in support of France. King Hary, richt commovitt þat sik ordinance was send aganis him, to cauß þe samyn to return oute of France gart þe wourde pas throw all boundis of his realme þat his army was cumand in grete ordinance aganis þe Scottis, and þerfor þe Scottis bare all þe nixt sommer in ordinance, abidand þair cuming apoun þe bordouris. In þe menetyme King Hary past in Normandye, and oppressitt Franchemen with sindry batallis, subdewing Rowand to his dominion, forthir passand throw sindry boundis of France. Quhen he was in þe hie triumphe of victory, reddy to ressaif þe haill dominion of France, he was wyncust be ane lady, and gaif his besynes fra chevelry to lust and amouris, and þerfor maid peace with King Charlis, takand his dochter Kathrene in mariage vnder þir condicionis : gif King Charlis decessitt afoir King Hary, þe said King Hary sall succede to þe croun of France ; attour, gif Hary decessitt first, and gatt ane son apoun þe said King Charlis dochter, þe said son sall succede to þe croun of France eftir þe deth of King Charlis ; be quhilk condicioun King Charlis son was spoulzeitt of all richt þat he had to þe croun of France, and King Charlis to regne alanerlye during his life. Nochþeles, þis peace schort tyme induritt, and þairfor þe saidis Erlis of Buchquhane and Wigtoun with þair ordinance war þe mair plesandlye intrettit be þe King & Dalphyn of France, and gat þe toun of Castellone with þe castell þairoff, to remane in þe samyn quhill þai had schawin sum honest and notabill wassallage.

How þe Duke of Clarence was slayne with mony of all þe princis of Ingland at Bawge be þe Erlis of Buchquhane and Wigtoun; of þe deth of King Hary and King Charlis; of þe returnyng of þe said Erlis in Scotland. Ca xix

In þe menetyme þe Erlis of Buchquhane and Wigtoun war aduerteist that Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was cumin with x<sup>m</sup> men to sege þe toun & castell of Bawgee with vther sindry landis of Orleance quhilkis pertenit to þe Dalphyn of France. At last þe Erle of Buchquhane, dredand þe subtyll slychtis of Inglismen, send his cousing, Schir Iohne Stewart 568 | of Dernly, knyght, to spy þe army of Inglismen, quhilke was sone eftir chasit to þe Scottis, schawing þat þe said Duke with all his ordinance wes come in arrayitt battell apoun pame. Þe Scottis incontinent went to þair harnes, and mett þe Duke of Clarence on ane plane besyde þe toun forsaide, quhair baith þe armyis ruschitt to giddir in maist rageand fury. At þe first ionyng þe Duke of Clarence was hurt in þe face with ane spere be þe knyght Swyntoun, and eftir þat was slayne be þe Erle of Buchquhane. The residew of Inglismen, seyng þe slauchter of þe Duke and mony vther grete princes of Ingland, gaif bakkis, on quhom þe Scottis followitt with sik cruelte þat þai cessitt noch fra continewall murdir and chaifs of Inglis̄men quhill it was far runnyn within nycht. In þis batall war slayn þe Duke of Clarence, þe Erle of Riddisdaill, Lord Ros̄, Lord Graye, with huge novmer of vther nobillis, and in þe samyn war takin þe Erle of Summersyde with his bruper, quhilkis war breper to King Iames þe Firstis wyfe, þe Erle of Humtlyngtoun, with sindry vther princis of Ingland. This batall was strikkin on Paische Evin, fra oure (II. 491) Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xxj 3eris. The Dalphyn of France, glaid of þis victory, gaif sindry landis to þe Erle of Buchquhane, and maid him Constabill of France.

King Hary, richt commovitt of þis calamite and slauchter of his bruther, þe Duke of Clarence, come with ane new army in France, havand with him Iames, Prince of Scotland, traisting

to draw þe Scottis oute of France be his autorite, for þe Dalphin of France ilk daye raiß in mair pissance and honour be wassalage of sindry chosin champions of Scotland. King Hary schort tyme eftir send to þe said Prince to cum to þe counsale, quhair he was avising *with* his nobillis be quhat ingyne and slychtis he *mycht* best invaid his inymyis. King Hary at þe *coming* of þe said James began to schaw quhat displeseir and importabill iniuris bene done to him be Scottis baith in Ingland & France, contrair þe mynde of his fader, King Robertt, remembering how he schew sik *propiciant* favoure to Scottis that he pretermittit na thing þat *mycht* draw þame in perpetuall amite and kyndnes, and thairfor desyritt þe said James to pas to þe Scottis quhilkis war in France, *commanding* þame in his autorite to return in Scotland, and promittit, gif he brocht þe said purposß to effect, *nocht* onlye to deliuer him of captiuite, bot als to send him in Scotland with grete triumphe, riches & honour. To þir wourdis ansueritt James in þis maner: "In safer as þou, maist illustir Prince, has schawin or will schaw ony humanite towart me, I sall geif my besynes þat þai sall *nocht* depart fra my memory, and gevis þe thankis þairof now safar as I maye. Bot concerning þe mater now laitlie desyritt, I *marwell* mekill that Thi Hienes consideris *nocht* litill how I may haif na autorite abone ony pepill in Scotlannd; for sa lang as I am bot ane priuatt man and haldin vnder captiuite, the Scottis ar *nocht* oblist to obtempir my desyre. *Nochtþeles*, gif I war fre, and þe Scottis maid my lauchtfull subdittis, I wald glaidly doo all thingis to þi pleseir, as I saw materis occurrand; heirfor prayis þe, richt illustir Prince, to charge me *nocht* with ony thingis quhilkis may nothir be dressit be me, nor zite semand to my honour, howbeit I *mycht* drefß þe samyn." Eftir his  
569 departing fra þe counsale King | Hary sayid, "Maist happy pepill sall þai be þat happinnis to gett zone nobill man to þair prince."

In þe menetyme sindry ieopardeis and frequent skarmusing was betuix Inglißmen and þe Dalphyn of France. This tyme all Normandy and Gaskony þe Inglißmen had vnder þair dominioun, havand na pepill in mair hattrent þan Scottis, and hyngitt þame in all partis of France quhair þai gatt ony

victory abone þame, howbeit þai vsitt na sik cruelteis on  
 (II. 492) Franche men nor vther pepill. Quhen King Hary had distroyitt  
 sindry boundis of Briam *with* grete herschippis & slauchter,  
 he invadit þe landis and kirk of Sanct Fiacre, and *þerfor* be  
 vengeance of God he was strikkin *with* sik irrecouerabill  
 infirmite þat it mycht be curitt be na ingyne of man. At  
 last, quhen he had demandit þe medicinaris of his malady,  
 and was aduerteist be þame þat it was þe lepre and malady  
 of Sanct Fyacre, discending of þe blude ryall of Scotland,  
 he ansueritt, " I see *nocht* bot all Scottis ar born in perdicioun  
 of ws, quhilkis ar sa grete inymyis to ws levand and dede,  
 at hayme and on feild, persewand ws with na leß hattrent  
 now, quhen þai ar ekitt amang þe novmer of sanctis, þan  
 quhen þai war in þis present lyfe." This infirmite of King  
 Hary, ilk day incressing mair, causit him be brocht to Corbell,  
 quhare he miserabillye decessitt, and was brocht in ane caip  
 of lede in Ingland, and berijt amang vther princes of Ingland.  
 The samyn 3ere Charlis þe Sext, King of France, decessitt.  
 And in þe menetyme Bettfurd, Lufetennent to þe said King  
 Hary, returnit in Ingland, and þe Burgundianis on þe samyn  
 maner cessitt fra þair invasioun of France, throw quhilk  
 Franchemen war in peace certane tyme. Eftir þis þe Erlis  
 of Buchquhane & Wigton returnit in Scotland, and segitt  
 Berwik. And becaus þai returnit haym but effect of þair  
 purposß, þair iornay was callitt þe Dertyn Rayd.

(II. 493) Off Duke Robertis deth, and how his son Murdocht  
 was maid Governour ; how þe Erlis of Buchquhane  
 and Douglas war slayne at Vernoll ; of grete vassallage  
 done be þe Madyn of France, and of hir deth.

Ca<sup>m</sup> xx

**N**ocht lang afoir þir doyngis Duke Robert, Erle of Fyffe  
 and Menteth, decessitt, quhilk was Governour of Scotland  
 xv 3ere eftir þe deth of King Robert þe Thrid, his bruper ;  
 eftir quhais deth his son Murdocht succeditt to all his landis  
 and digniteis, and governit þe realme quhill Iames þe First

was redemitt oute of England. The 3ere nixt following ambassatouris war send be King Charlis þe vij to Duke Murdocht in Scotland, desyring þe Erlis of Buchquhane and Wigtoun to return in France to resist þe weeris of Inglismen. Sone

(II. 494)

eftir be avise of þe Governour war send in France þe said Erle of Buchquhane and Archibald, Erle of Douglas, with x<sup>m</sup> men. King Charlis, richt glaid of þair cuming, ressauit þame with grete triumphe, and gaif þe Duchery of Turyn to þe Erle of Douglas, becaus he was ane nobill campioun, howbeit he was mair wailþeand þan chansy at all iornais.

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The samyn | tyme Bettfurd, Grete Lufetennent of England, returnit in France with ane grete army and segitt ane castell in Normandy, namyt Iveire, and brocht it to sik necessite that þe Capitane þerof promittitt to randir þe samyn to Inglismen, gif he gatt na rescourß within ane schort tyme. King Charlis, knawand þe castell forsaid in sik dangere, send þe Duke of Lansoun with þe Erlis of Buchquhane & Douglas, havand with thame grete ordinance baith of Scottis, Italianis and Franche men. In þe menetym þai war aduerteist þat þe Inglismen had gottin þe castell forsaid randerit to þame, and takin ane vther toun of Normandy, namit Wernoll. Incontinent þai went to harnes, and arrayitt þame apoun þe playne nocht far fra þe toun. And quhen þe armyis war reddy to ioyne, the Duke of Lansoun, havand grete invy þat Scottis men suld increas in ony landis or honouris within France, come awaye with ane gret part of þe army of France. The Erlis of Douglas & Buchquhane, nochtwithstanding this contencioun of chiftanis, ruschitt fordwertt with pert curage aganis þair inymyis, and faucht with incredibill manhede to þe deth. In this vnhappy bataill war slayne Iohnne, Erle of Buchquhane, Archibald, Erle of Douglas, with Iames his son and air, with mony of all þe Scottis cumpany. Thair bodiis

(II. 495)

war berijtt with grete lament of pepill in þe kirk of Sanct Graciane within þe toun of Turyn. And of France war slayne þe Erle of Wentodore, þe Schiref of Narbone, with mony vther, and war takin þe Marscheall of France, with mony vther nobillis of France.

Eftir þis disconfiture succeditt grete calamite and displeseir



to Franche men in all partis of þair realme. Few partis þairof war vntakin or ellis segitt be Inglismen, throw quhilk þe Franche men had bene þat tyme brocht to vtter exterminioun, war *nocht* Iane, þe Madyn of France, clothitt baith in *manis* array and hardyment, ereckitt King Charlis fra extreme disperacioun in esperance of bettir fortoun. This madin come oute of Lorane, send *nocht* but speciall favoure of God, be quhais hardyment & happy victoryis King Charlis recoveritt his realme, and eieckitt Inglismen oute of all boundis þairof, and stabillit his cuntre in gude felicite. Bot at last scho was takin at Lusinburgh be þe Burgundianis, and sauld to Inglismen, quhilkis brocht hir sone eftir to Rowane, quhare þai accusitt hir of socerye and incantacionis, saying þat scho, aganis þe lawis and constitucionis of men, bure armoure and *manis* clathis vnder þe figure of ane woman. Finalie þe cruell tyranny of Inglismen was sa grete þat þai wald here nane of hir ressonis nor excuse, bot brynt hir cruellye, becaus þai tynt þe dominioun of France be hir industry and wassallage. It is sayd, sa lang as scho kepitt hir virginite scho was victorious in euery batall, but ony experience of fortoun aduersair, and fra scho was corrupitt and tynt hir chaistite, scho fell in all thir *inconuenientis* afoir rehersitt.

How Robert Pettillo, Scottisman, recouerit certane landis of France fra dominioun of Inglismen; how Walter and Alexander Stewarttis conspirit aganis Duke Murdak, thair fader. Ca xxj |

571 **S**chort tyme eftir Robert Pettillo come oute of Scotlannd *with* ane grete army to King Charlis þe vij, and supportitt him in sik maner þat King Charlis recoueritt sindry boundis of his realme be his laboure and vigilant industry, and restorit Gascony to þe dominioun of France, and þairfor he was callit be þe *inhabitantis* þerof Petie Roy of Gascony.

(II. 493) Bot we will returne agane to Duke Murdac, *Gouernour* of Scotland, quhilk was, as we haif schawin afoir, abill to na thing leß þan to þe administracioun of þe realme for mony

and sindry vices þat rang in him, but ony fortitude in aduersite or temporance in prosperite, sum tyme appering maist febill & maist astuneist creature, and be na resoun mycht be ereckitt in esperance of bettir fortoun quhen ony troubill apperitt, sum tyme mair cruell in excercicioun of iustice þan þe mater requyritt, and sa neglegent in chestifeying of his sonnys, Walter and Alexander, þat þai finalye conspiritt aganis him ; vncertane howder it *proceditt* be his soft indulgence, þat he mycht *nocht* puneifþ þair vices for affeccion, or becaufþ þair inquiteis war sa grete that þai *deseruit* mair punicioun þan he wald vse on þame, for þai war delatitt of sindry crymes be þe pepill. This Walter incurritt sik extreme indignacioun of his fader for þe violent takin away of ane falcone of his hand, and becaus he was inhibitt be his faderis servandis, he slew þe halk apoun <sup>1</sup> his hand. Duke Murdac, rycht *commovitt* at þis iniure sayid, " O Walter, becaus þou and þi brup<sup>er</sup> may *nocht* sustene my soft empyre, I am constranit to bring him (II. 495) in þis realme þat salbe ane skurge to ws all thre." And sa endis here þe xvj Buk of thir Corniclis.

<sup>1</sup> MS. repeats *apoun*.

## Liber Decimus Septimus.

(II. 496) And begynnys the xvij Buke of þe samyn.

How ambassatouris war send in Ingland for redempcioun of Iames þe First, and how he was maid king ;  
and of sindry his actis. Ca j

**W**alter, havand litill respect to þir wourdis sayid be his fader, Duke Murdoch, began to haif his fader ilk day in mair contempcioun, throw quhilk Duke Murdoch detemit to execute his purpoß, vncertane quheper it come be provisioun of God or be impulsoun | of hatrent þat he had aganis þe vndantit tyranny of his sonnys. Schortt tyme following he convenit all þe nobillis to ane counsale at Perth, and sollistit þame to send ambassatouris in Ingland for redempcioun of Iames þe First, Prince of Scotland, þat he mycht succede to his realme. Oft tymes grete felicite succedis be contencioun of vnhappy partis invading vther *with* athir iniuris. Sone eftir war send in Ingland Henry, Bischop of Aberdene, Archibald, Erle of Douglas, Williame Haye, Constabill of Scottlannd, Richard Cornwall, Archidene of Lowtheane, and Alexander Irwyn of Drum. Be þir ambassatouris was finalie dressitt þat þe said Prince sall return to his realme, paying for his redempcioun ane hundreth thousand markis striueling in argentt content, and pleggis to be gevin of þe nobillis of Scottlannd to ly in hostage for him, quhill ane  
(II. 497) nothir hundreth thousand mark striueling war payitt for composicioun of his ransone.

This nobill Prince for his singulare vertew and honest

behavingis had mony freyndis in Ingland, amang quhom was maist tendir to him Iohnne Bewfurd, Erle of Somersyd, son to þe Duke of Longcastell, and his bruper þe Cardinall. Thir twa convoyitt þe said Prince with his Lady, Iane, dochter of þe said Erle of Somersyde, to þe bordouris of Scotland, fra quhom he gatt mony goldin and siluer iowellis *with* mony precious hyngaris, in quhilkis war þe history of Hercules maist curiouslie wrocht. Eftir þis he come to Edinburgh on Cair Sonndaye afoir Paische, quhair all þe nobillis of Scottlannd mett him with maist triumphe and honoure. The pepill gaderitt with grete confluence oute of all boundis, richt desyrous to see him, becaus he was þair native prince and *nocht* sene be þame mony 3eris afoir. Sone eftir þe solempnite of Paische was done, he went to Skoyne, quhair he was crownit *with* his Quene be Murdach, Duke of Albanny, Gouvernour of Scotland, þe xx day of Maij, fraoure Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xxiiij 3eris. At þis tyme come *with* King Iames oute of Inglandd sindry nobill men, quhilkis gatt grete heretage in Scotland, amang quhom was Andro Graye, quhilk eftir be beneuolence of þe Prince marijt Helene, dochter of Rogere Mortymer, heretoure to þe Lordschip of Fowlis. Be þis waye þe Grayis succeditt to Fowlis, of quhom ar discenditt þe illustir surname of Grayis.

King Iames eftir his coronacioun returnit to Edinburgh, quhair he convenit all officiaris þat intromettit *with* ony of þe Kingis rentis sen þe deceß of his fader, King Robert, and quhen be lang compt he had foundin how all þe Kingis proffittis & rentis war waistitt be his eme, Duke Robert, and Murdach, Gouvernouris, amang þair frendis, and na thing left to sustene þe croun except <sup>1</sup> certane customez of burrowis & *vper* townis, howbeit he was rycht displesit, he schew gud vult <sup>2</sup> in þe menetyme. And quhen he had bene avisitt with all eidentis & charteris pertenyng to þe croun, he sett ane generall counsale at Edinburgh, in þe quhilk þe pepill complenitt to him of mony importabill extorsionis done to þame sen þe deceß of his fader, King Robertt, specialie be Walter Stewart, son to Duke Murdach.

(II. 498)

<sup>1</sup> MS. *cexcept*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. omits *he schew gud vult*, which is supplied from the printed text.

573 The king, herand þir complantis, tuke | Walter Stewartt, and send him to remane in ward in þe Basß. Macolme Flemyng of Cummernald and Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnoch war warditt on þe samyn maner in Dalketh, becaus þai oppressitt þe pepill *with* sindry iniuris. Nochttheles, be request of lordis þai gatt remissioun, quhen all partijs war syutht, and ane large sovme of money gevin to þe King for þair composicion. In to þis samyn counsale King Iames gaif his aith to debait þe liberteis of þe King to þe end of his life, and all þe baronis eftir him gaif þair aithis on þe samyn maner. The actis þat war maid in þis counsale ar *nocht* necessair to be inseritt in þis volume, becaus þai ar *commoun* in all partis of þis realme. Ane thing was done be him in þis counsale, be quhilk apperis his singulare moderacioun and prudence: quhen money couth *nocht* be gaderitt eselye be generall exaccionis apon þe pepill for his redempcioun, he vsitt sik prudence þat þe samyn was rasitt on þe pepill but ony grete *dammage* or *displeserr*.

(II. 499)

How Duke Murdach and his sonnys war heditt at Perth; how þe Lord of þe Ilis for his rebelloun was warditt in Temptalloun; and how þe Erlis of Mar and Caithnes war slayne at Innelochty. Ca ij

**N**ocht lang eftir þe King sett ane counsale at Perth, in þe quhilk Duke Murdach<sup>1</sup> with his<sup>2</sup> vther son, Alexander, war takin and put in presoun in Falkland. In þe menetyme Archibald, Erle of Douglas, Williame Douglas, Erle of Anguse, George Dunbar, Erle of Marche, Adam Hepburn of Halis, Thomas Haye of zester and Walter Ogiluy *with* xx vper nobill men war put in ward in þe castell of Sanctandrois for certane oppressionis done be þame agane þe pepill. Iames Stewartt, quhilk was þe thrid son to Duke Murdach, *commovitt* þat his fader was putt in ward, come to Dunbartane *with* ane grete cumpany of brokin men, and *nocht* onlye brynt þe toun, bot slew j<sup>o</sup> men in þe samyn, besyde wyffis and barnis.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Robert*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *þis*: correction from A.

The King to revenge þis cruelte come on þe said Iames *with* sik deligence þat he chasitt him in Ireland. Nocht lang eftir þis Duke Murdacht and his sons, Alexander and Walter, war convickitt of sindry poyntis of tresoun aganis þe Kingis Maieste, and heditt at Perth, be quhayis forfaltoure þe erledomez of Fyffe, Menteth and Rosß with sindry vther landis war confiskatt in þe Kingis handis. All þe nobillis quhilkis war warditt for þe tyme in Sanctandrois castell war gretelye effrayitt be þis scharp iustice. Nochtþeles, þai war fre eftir deliueritt of ward be the Kingis favoure.

The nixt ȝere, quhilk was fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xxvij ȝeris, þe King past to Inuernes, and put <sup>1</sup> Alexander, Lord of þe Ilis, in þe castell þairof, and heditt Anguse Duffe, Kennett Moir, Iohnne Rob, Williame Leslye, Alexander Macmirkyn & Alexander Makury for þair oppressioun and (II. 500) troubill done to þe pepill. The nixt day he accusit þe said Lord of þe Ilis for intertenyng of thevis, and nocht bringand þame to his iustice quhare þai mycht haif bene apprehenditt. 574 | Nochttheles, becaus þe said Lord promittit in tymes *cuming* to remede sik thingis, he was splacitt and restoritt to his liberte. Schort <sup>2</sup> tyme eftir this Alexander, vnmyndfull of þe singulair favoure done to him be þe King, brynt þe toun of Inuernes, and segitt þe castell þairof, quhill at last he was aduerteist of þe Kingis autorite *cumin* aganis him, fled in þe Ilis; quhair he was brocht to sik miserye, becaus þe pepill wald nocht assist to him aganis þe Kingis mynde, þat he knew nocht quhair to hyde him. And becaus he mycht haif na sikkirnes of his lyffe for sindry pepill þat lay in waitt for him, he tuke purpoß to submytt him in þe Kingis will, becaus he was sa gracious to him afoir. Nochttheles, be counsale of his freyndis he thocht best to assalze þe Kingis mynde afoir his *cumyng*, þat he mycht be at his avantage, gif þe King wald nocht ressaif him in favoure. Be þis counsale ane of his freyndis was send to þe King, desyrand licence þat he mycht remane in þe Ilis, schewand him penitent in sik maner þat,

<sup>1</sup> MS. omits *put*, which should come at the end of a line: supplied from A. The printed text reads *tuk*, but the Latin is *relegauit*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *Schor*.

gif þe King wald remitt his offence bigane, he suld remane at his faith in tymes *cuming*, and nevir invoid his pepill with iniuris. The King ansueritt to þis messinger, he wald here na appontment, *withoute* þe said Alexander comperit to his presence, subdewand him to his will. Alexander, seand his message sindry tymes frustraitt, clothitt him self in pure and vncouth abilzeament, and fell on kneis in Halyrudehous befor þe King quhare he was sittand at his orisoun on Paische Daye, desyring peteouslye grace for His sayk þat dedenzeit *nocht* to send His alanerlye Son oute of þe hevin to purge be His deth þe syn of man. The King, *commovitt* be þir wourdis, be intercessioun of þe Quene & vther nobillis, gaif him grace, *commanding* him to remane quhill þe *seruice* was done. Eftir þis þe King began to revolve, gif he admittit þis Alexander to his landis and honouris, and sufferitt him to depart on þat maner, þat he suld invoid þe pepill *with* new iniuris, and þairfoir send him to remane in Temptalloun in ward, þat na occasioun of troubill suld ryse be his frendis. Attoure, his moder Eufame, dochter to Walter, sum tyme Erle of Rosß, war warditt in Sanct Columbis Inche, becaus scho gaif hartacioun to wirk iniuris on þe pepill.

In þe menetyme Donald Balloch, cousing to þe said Lord of þe Ilis, *commovitt* becaus he was haldin in ward, gaderitt all þe chiftanis of þe Ilis, promittand þame grete revard to support him, þat he mycht revenge þe iniuris done to þe said Alexander, and come with ane grete cumpany in Lochquhabir. Alexander, Erle of Mar, and Alane, Erle of Caithnes, knawand þe said Donaldis *cuming*, gaderitt ane grete cumpany to resist his inuasioun. Nochtþeles, þe Erle of Caithanes was slayne be þe said Donald, and þe Erle of Mar put to flycht, and all þair cumpanyis disconnfist at Inverlochtye. Donald eftir þis victory come throw Lochquhabir, and returnit *with* þe herschippis and gudis þairof in þe Ilis. The King, *commovitt with* þis cruelte, come to Donstaffage with ane strang cumpany to haif passit in þe | Ilis. In þe menetyme all þe hedismen and clannys *þerof* come to þe King, saying, þai war constranytt be þe said Donald contrair þair will to invoid þe countre. The King ressaut þame in faouris, and send sindry of þame in

þe Ilis with *vþeris* his seruandis to serche þe said Donald in all partis þairof. Donald, seand him invaditt on all sydis, fled in Ireland, bot iij<sup>o</sup> of his assistaris war brocht to þe Kingis iustice, and hyngitt on iebaittis. Schort tyme eftir þis Donald was slayne be Odoncle, ane of þe Princes of Ireland, and his hede send to þe King.

Off grete iustice done be King Iames þe First in all partis of Scotlannd; off þe natiuite of Iames þe Secoude; and of sindry actis done be þe said nobill Prince. Ca iij

This troubill dantitt in maner forsaid, King Iames passitt throw all þe boundis of his realme, and puneist all revaris, theiffis and invasouris of his pepill to þe deth. Na remission gevin afoir be þe Governour was admittitt afoir his iustice, becaus þai war expirit, and mycht indure na langare than þe Governouris autorite cessitt, and þairfor it was foundin grete derogacion to þe *commoun* wele and þe law of God þat sa mony slauchteris, reiffis, oppressions and vther tresonis done in þe cuntre war vnpuneist. It is writin, þe first twa þeris of his regne iij<sup>m</sup> pepill war slayne be his iustice for sindry auld crymes and offencis *committit* aganis þe pepill in þe þeris afoir his empire, throw quhilk þe pepill was brocht to sikkir peace and tranquillite, and all þe myschevous pepill repressitt be his swerd of iustice; quhill at last Anguse Duff of Strathherne come *with* ane grete cumpany of thevis, and brocht ane grete praye of gudis oute of Murraye & Caitnes. Anguse Murraye followitt sone eftir on him, throw quhilk it was sa cruelly fochtin on all sydes that baith þe said Anguse Murraye and Duff war slayn, and nane of þair cumpany left vnslayne, except xij personis, quhilkis levitt nocht lang eftir þair returnyng hayme. The samyn tyme was ane *vþer* grete *lymmair*, namytt Macdonald Ros, quhilk grew in grete riches throw sindry rubberijs maid on þe pepill. This *lymmair* did grete oppressionis to ane wedow in þat samyn cuntre, and

(II. 502) schod hir *with* horfs schoyn, becaus scho promyttit to gang



to þe King to schaw his oppressioun, and in mair contempcioun sett hir nakitt in þe gaitt, þat all passingeris mycht se hir in þat dolorous arraye. Schort tyme eftir, quhen þis wedow was curitt of hir woundis, scho revelitt all þis-cruelte and oppressioun done aganis hir be þis Macdonald. The King, aduerteist herof, maid consolacioun to þis wedow, saying, scho suld se him haistlye pvneist þat did hir sik oppressioun, for he was takin afoir be his autorite, and putt in presoun. The nixt daye he causitt Macdonald and xij of his complicis be harlitt throw þe toun to þaire grete schayme; and quhen sindry dayis þai war harlitt throw þe toun on þat samyn maner, Macdonald was heditt, his hede sett apoun ane port of Inuernes, 576 | and his body cassin to þe ravynnis, bot his complicis war hyngitt. Noch lang eftir Archibald, Erle of Douglas, and Schir Iohnne Kennedye war warditt in þe castellis of Lochlevin and Striueling, becaus þai murmuritt þe Kingis iustice.

The samyn ȝere, quhilk was fra our Redempcioun j<sup>m</sup> iiiij<sup>c</sup> xxx ȝeris, þe xvj day of October, the Qwene was deliuerit of twa sonnys, Alexander and Iames. The first decessit in his infance, and þe nixt was Iames þe Secound, quhilk succeditt eftir Iames þe First. Mony of all þe grete nobillis of Scotland conspiritt to þe natiuite of þe said princes; amang vperis þe Erle of Douglas, quhilk was laitlie deliuerit of ward and reconnsalit to þe King, was god fader to þe Kingis sonnys. Þe samyn daye þe King maid Williame, þe Erle of Douglas son, knycht.

And fra þe realme was exoneratt of all oppressioun, reffe, thifft and vther displeuris, on sik maner þat passingeris fand na maner of dangere be þer inymyis, þe King gaif his besynes to sik thingis as mycht decoir his realme and liegis eftirwart to þair honour and proffite. First he maid iugis to pas throw all þe boundis of his realme, þat his pepill mycht haif iustice als wele in hye and law boundis of his realme. Attour, he gaif to euery toun provestis to geif þame iust mesuris of all thingis concernyng þe interchange of vittalis, with significacion, gif ony vther mesouris war vsitt þan war markitt with þe mark of þe said provest, to be brokin, and þe vsaris þairof to be condampnit in large sovmez of moneye.

He stuffitt all þe municionis of his realme *with* strang soidiouris, namely of Fyffe, quhilk he reseruit to þe sustentacioun of his awne housþ. Eftir þis he vesijt þe Vniuersite of Sanctandrois, and comperitt oft tymes to þe generall disputacionis, and for pleseir þairof decorit þe Vniuersite *with* sindry preuilegis. Attoure, he *commanditt* þat þe said Vniuersite suld cheiþ maist qualifijt personis to haif grete prelacijs, and *vperis* of singulair erudicioun to succede to þe benefice of small rentis, throw quhilk all maner of science spred fast during his tyme. Attoure, he *commanditt* þat na man suld be admittitt to ony channouris in cathedrale kirkis, bot gif þai war Doctouris of Theologye and Decreis, at þe leist Bachelair, or ellis *cumin* of sum nobill housþ. Attoure, he *commandit* þat na man suld be admittitt to grete heretage, withoute he had cognoscence of civill law, or ellis þe lawis of þe realme; nochþeles, þis statute was sone brokin eftir his deceþ, becaus þe nobillis war exercitt mair in *marciall* dedis þan ony *vper* exercicioun of letteris. Dyvyne seruice inressitt *with* grete honour and cerymonis, and decoritt *with* crafty musik & organijs, quhilkis war *nocht* vsit afoir his tyme. Finalie, þe Scottis inressitt sa profoundlye in eury kynde of musik and playing þat þai war of na leþ craft and erudicioun þan Inglismen, howbeit þai excell maist in þe samyn.

How þe blynd Lady of Kynnoule discrivitt Williame Wallace & King Robert Bruse to King Iames; how Hary þe vj was crownit at Paryþ, & hou he was putt fra þe empire baith of England & France.

Ca iiij

577 **Q**uhen þis nobill Prince was returnyng to Perth, it was schawin to him that þe Lady of Kynnoule, ane woman of nobill lynage, howbeitt scho was fallin blynde be lang aige, was in þe tyme of Williame Wallace and King Robert Bruse, and *nocht* onlie knew þame quhill þai war on live, bot als had mony of þair dedis in qwik and recent memory.

King James, richt desyrous to here þe nobill dedis of his antecessouris, tuke purposþ to vesy þis lady on þe nixt morrow. This lady, richt reioisitt of þe Kingis cuming, decoritt hir place *witþ* tapestreis and precious hyngaris, and, day beand cumin, scho mett þe King *witþ* hir freyndis. The King finalye, eftir sindry hir honest behavingis demanding hir of mony antiquiteis, and tuke grete delectacioun in hir *commonyng*, amang sindry materis demandit hir of þe maneris and stature of Williame Wallace, and eftir þat of King Robert Bruse; to quhom scho ansueritt þat King Robert excellit all men in his dayis be excellent pulchritude and strenth of body, bot Williame Wallace was far abon him in huge stature and corporale pissance, and mycht haif dongin twa of King Robertt in singulair bataill.

Quhen King James had demandit hir of thir & mony vtþer nobill campionis, he returnit to Perth, quhair he was aduerteist that sindry of his nobillis murmvritt him for þe vptaking of certane wardis, relevis and mariage to his proffitte and vse. Sone eftir he demandit his nobillis, quhen þai war convenit to þe counsale, quheþir it was mair semand to him to leif on þair deviteis or his awne; and becaus þai ansuerit, it war mair plesand þat he levitt on his awne gere þan þairis, he ansueritt þat all þe wardis, relevis and mariageis wur his propir rentis, ordanit to his sustentacioun, howbeit þai war waistitt afoir be prodigalite of vþeris þat governit þe realme in his absence. Be this ansuere þe nobillis cessit fra

(II. 503) murmur.

The 3ere following, quhilk was fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iiij<sup>e</sup> xxxj, Hary þe Sext, King of Inglannd, come to Parys, and was crownit in Oure Lady Kirk King of France, havand xij 3ere in aige. Nochtþeles, he tynt eftir baith þe realme of England and France, and come fugitive to King James þe Thrid, be quhome he was plesandlie ressauitt. Howbeit, he was ane sikkir exempill to mortail pepill how instabill and vnsikkir is þe chance of fortoun, þat he, quhilk sum tyme was King of twa maist pyssant realmez, was expellit fra þame baith, and constranit to sauffe his life be beneuolence of vncouth pepill.

Off þe orisoun maid be þe Bischop of Sanctandrois  
 aganis þe surfett and riottus chere of bankattis,  
 brocht in Scotlande be Inglismen at þe cumyng of  
 King Iames þe First. Ca v

**T**he samyn tyme ane Parliament wes haldin at Perth, in  
 quhilk among mony actis to repreß þe importabill expensis  
 maid in ryottis chere and bankattis, brocht in þe realme be  
 Inglismen at þe cumyng of King Iames oute of Ingland, to na  
 578 leß dammage of menis bodeis þan waisting | of þair gudis,  
 in þe menetyme rais Hary Wardlaw, Bischop of Sanctandrois,  
 and sayid in þis manere: "Suppoiß mony nobill werkis and  
 dedis, maist nobill Prince, ar brocht in þis realme, as iustice,  
 religioun and polesy, with mony proffittabill and prudent  
 lawis to þi honoure and proffitte of þe common wele, and  
 na thing pretermittitt be þi vigilant industry þat may ony  
 wayis decoir þis realme, and þe mair laboure and difficill  
 besynes has bene sustenit be þi Hienes to bring þe pepill in  
 quiete & gude felicite, I thynk þi prudent constitucions suld  
 be þe mair deligentlie obseruit, that na sik pest nor vennomitt  
 custome may ryiß to bring þi proffittabill labouris sum tyme  
 among ws to *nocht*. Ane thing is herefoir, maist illustir Prince,  
 þat is sproutand new to þe irreuocabill dammage of ws, þi  
 subdittis, withoute it be þe mair haistlie inhibitt, for it sall  
 draw euery vice among þe pepill. Mony nobill men quhilkis  
 (II. 504) war fundin þi tendir frendis in Ingland ar cumin in þis cuntre,  
 richt acceptabill to þe pepill and *nocht* vncouth to þi familiarite,  
 houbeit þai haif brocht with þame þe maneris of Inglismen,  
 richt vnfroitffull to þi peple. And thoch þair maneris be na  
 thing discommendabill among þe pepill of þair native cuntre,  
 ȝite we know *nocht* gif it be maist detestabill syn, sen þai ar  
 cumin in þis vncouth realme, to persuade þe pepill in þair  
 venemous maneris, havand sa mony delicious & costlie coursis  
 to draw þame self *with* inmoderatt lust and pleseir. Quhat  
 mair horribill pestilence may be þan sik thingis amongis ws,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. *to ws amongis ws*: the scribe appears to have omitted to cross out *to ws*.

quhilkis maye persuade þe pepill in daylie lust and na vther pleserr bot fairsyn of þair wayme, howbeit na thing war mair pleserr to ws þan sik temporance as sum tyme was vsitt be oure anticessouris? And zite þis vnhappy custome procedis nocht onlye now be þair industrie, bot als be oure pepill, quhilkis ar desyrus of new maneris in perdicioun of þame self & commoun wele. Nochttheles, be quhatsumeuer waye it is cumin amang ws, it is to be contemptnit for mony incommoditeis following be þe samyn, noch onlye drawing þe pepill to euery vice, bot als waisting þair gudis. For gif temporance be nurasar of all vertew, be contrair intemperance & voracite moder to euery vice: first rysing be intemperance sik inordinate lust þat may na wayis be dissoluit fra þe samyn, eftir quhilk followis revising and defloracioun of madynnys, matronis and violacion of spousage. For quhen idill men gevis þame self to surfett raveling and bankett, þai fall sone eftir in euery kynde of vicious lustis. And þocht þair patrimonze be waistitt be sik vnlesum wayis, zite þai can nocht cesß fra þe vices sa lang accustomed be þaim, thairfor man serche vnhappy wayis to conques gudis to satisfy þair foule desyris; throw quhilk þai ar sa involuitt *with* sik detestabill vices þat þai may na wayis be refrenitt during þair life, quhill þai ar brocht to maist schamfull powerte, and than becauß þai haif na vther schyfft, on force man geif þair cursitt labouris to reffe, murdir and vther sik oppressionis of þe pepill. Attour, gif þai happin be lang aige to gett ony prudence, þai gaderitt þe gudis quhilkis suld be gevin to pure pepill or decoring of þair kirkis, and reseruis þe samyn onlye to þair lust & pleserr of wame, throw quhilk þai increß in twa contrarious vices, prodigalite and auarice. Þai ar prodigall, waisting þair gudis, and auarous, halding þair gudis, quhilkis  
579 suld | be gevin, howbeit be þe waisting of þair gudis in vther vnlesum wayis þai wald be sene liberall. And zite þai quhilkis haldis þair gudis in sik maner ar mair vicious þan þai quhilkis waistis þe samyn, becaus ilk man, quhen his gudis ar waistit, is constrenit to seyke ane mair temperatt life. Thir vperis, traisting aye to wantt, gaderis gere *with* perpetuall labour to be occasioun of þair vices, becaus desyre of gudis is nothir

saciatt *with* poverté nor foutht, na cuntre nor placis left vnserchitt to recover þe gudis quhilkis bene devoritt be þair gluttony. And fra þai be lang accustomed *with* sik vnhappy pleseiris, þai increß þan mair abill to maist horribill crymes þan ony vertewis occupacioun, becauð na vther thingis is at may bring ane man sa sone to exterminioun as sensualite. In þe tyme of King Macolm þe Thrid þe pepill was vsitt to eitt twise of þe daye, howbeit afoir his tyme þai eitt bot anys, be Inglismen þat come *with* him for þe tyme. Nochtþeles, quhen þe prudent pepill persavitt þe temporatt maneris of þair eldaris abrogatt, thai went to þe King, desyring him to bring þame to þair auld maneris in þair leiffing. Nochtþeles, becaus þe pepill war sa facill to euery pleserr, þai couth na maner of wayis be renzeit fra þe samyn, throw quhilk þis small sponke of surfett bankettis is rissin in sik bleið þat it may *nocht* esely be dantitt, withoute þi Hienes put end þerto in tyme. In þis regioun sum tyme war maist strang and forsy pepill lyke gyanttis, howbeit now be delicious and intemporatt chere þai ar growin of leß strenth þan þair eldaris war, like as apperis be Romanis: sa lang as þai war gevin to þair eldaris contenance and vertewis disciplyne, þai war estemitt *with* euery pepill, quhill at last þai war gevin to sik inmoderatt lust þat þai tynt *nocht* onlye þair empire, bot war ane facill praye to euery pepill. Heirfoir, maist illustre Prince, sik thingis ar to be consideritt þat wee may eschew sik inconuenientis appering to ws be dammage falling to oure pepill. Sen oure nychtbouris, Inglismen, Danys & Norrowanis levis in waitt on euery syde to invaid ws, gif þai mycht see ony sufficient oportunité, and has bene doungin oute of þis cuntre be favoure of God and manhede of oure pepill eftir þat þai had conquest mekill of all þis realme, and sen temperance is þe nuresare of sa mony vertewis and intemperance of sa mony vices, latt ws for oure vtter besynes to keip ws als wele vnsubdewitt *with* vices as inymyis."

Quhen þir wourdis war sayid be þis Wardlaw, Bischop, all þe nobillis concluditt in ane purpoß to devoid þame of all new and wickitt consuetude, howbeit þai wist *nocht* how þe

samyn mycht be best dressitt. At last it was devissit þat þe nobillis suld be licent alanerlye quhen solempne dayis occurrit to haif bakin mete and sik deligaittis, howbeit sik kynde of meittis war *nocht* vsit afoir in þis realme. Finalie, becaus þe nobillis war licentt in þis maner to þair banketting, þe intemperance þerof is dayly rissin to þe huge voracite þat is now *present* in oure dayis, na foule in þe air, na fysche in þe seye ar sufficient to satisfy þe hungry appetite of gluttonis, quhill þe wame be blawin *wit* sa grette fowth be continewall (11. 505) fairsing þat þe personis vsing þe samyn may *nocht* draw þair haynde. And þerfor I beleiff þe grete dammage cumin to ws baith in tyme of were & pece *procedis* mekle be þis gluttony & drunkynnes. |

580

How King Iames þe First brocht sindry craftismen in Scotlannd; how Paule Crow, heretike, was bryntt; how þe Charteris of Perth was fonditt.

Ca vj

Sik thingis done, King Iames brocht oute of Ingland and Flanderis ingenious men of sindry craftis to instruct his pepill in vertewis occupacioun, becaus Scotland was continewallie exercitt in weeris fra þe dede of Alexander the Thrid to þai dayis, and all þe craftismen and vtheris war constrenit to pas to þe weeris, and þe maist part of þame distroyitt be þe samyn, throw quhilk þe pepill was mair gevin to excercicioun of weeris þan ony civill accionis. For all þe ingenious and craftismen war slayne within þe space of j<sup>e</sup> 3eris, quhilk is bot þe aige of ane man, throw quhilk þe craft and ingenious operacioun couth *nocht* be restoritt be þame quhilkis war left on live, for euery operacionis wrocht be þe hand of man ar mair fragill þan sik thingis quhilkis be wrocht be *lettrez*.

Schort tyme eftir þis counsale was takin be Bischoþ Hary in þe Vniuersite of Sanctandrois, ane man of Boheme, namittt

Paule Crow, inducing new and wane superstitionis on þe pepill, specialie aganis þe Sacrament of þe Altare, veneracioun of sanctis and confessioun to be maid to preistis. Nochtþeles, fra he was fondin obstinatte in his opinionis he was brocht (II. 506) afoir þe theologis, and all his opinionis condampnitt. And becaus he perseveritt to þe end of his pleye, but ony reuocacioun of his vane opinionis, he was deliueritt in temporall menis handis. At last þai fand be scharp examinacioun þat he was send oute of Boheme to preche þe heresijs of Viccleiff and Husß to þe Scottis, and þairfor he was brynt cruellye to þe deth. The King commenditt mekle þis punycioun and þe autouris thairoff, and gaif þe Abbacy of Melroß to Iohnne Fogo, monk of Cisteris, becaus he was principale hammyr of heresy aganis þe said Paule.

King Iames, quhen þe realme was brocht to grete tranquillite & peace in þis maner, past oft tymes as ane privatt man amang his liegis, specialie amang his merchandis, becaus þair howsis war biggitt *with* mair magnificence þan *vperis*. And quhen he had consideritt þe maneris of þair banketting, he reprevitt þair inhumanite, becaus þai sufferitt men to paye in þair housis, quhen þai war callitt to þair dennaris & supperis. Schort tyme eftir þis nobill Prince fonditt þe Abbaye of Charteris monkis besyde Perth, becaus þis ordour was new institute in Ingland, and brocht ane Inglisman,<sup>1</sup> namit Oiswald, to þe said Abbaye to instruk vther monkis eftir þe tenour of þair fundacioun. Aboute þe samyn tyme sindry ambassaturis war send in Scotland be King Hary, desyring þe band to be dissoluitt betuixt Scotland and France, and promitting, gif þe counsale of Scottlannd wald assent þairto, to geif oure Berwik with all þe landis liand betuix Twede and þe Ree Croce in Northumberland. King Iames, knowing noch bot dissaitt in þair promittis, depeschitt þame but ony impetracioun of þair desyris. |

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Inglismen*.



581  
(II. 507)

How þe Erle of Marche was forfaititt ; off sindry  
actis and vassallage done be þe Erle of Mar.

Ca vij

The 3ere following, quhilk was fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup>  
iiij<sup>c</sup> xxxiiij, King Iames tuke Iohnne Dunbar, son of þat  
Erle of Marche þat rebellit aganis King Robert þe Thrid, his  
fader, and warditt him in þe castell of Edinburgh. and sone  
eftir send Williame Douglas, Erle of Anguse, Williame  
Creighton, Chancellare, Adam Hepburn of Halis, to ressaiff  
þe castell of Dunbar, with scharp writingis to þe capitanis  
and keparis þairof to deliuer þe said castell but ony tary in  
þair handis. The keparis þairof, richt astonyst be þir writingis,  
randeritt þe castell to þe saidis personis. The 3ere following  
þe King sett ane Parliament be avise of thre estatis, and  
forfaltitt þe said George, Erle of Marche, for tresonabill  
rebellioun and vther crymes committit be his fader aganis  
King Robert þe Thrid, or ellis for þe tresonabill ressaving of  
King Edward Langschankis be Patrik Dunber eftir his dis-  
connfitoure at Bannokburn.<sup>1</sup> The said George schew sindry  
remissionis maid to him be Dukis Robert and Murdach,  
Governouris, 3ite þir remissionis avalit nocht, for it was allegitt  
be the King þat þe tresoun done be þe fader maye be puneist  
in his son and airis, conforme baith to civill lawis and vther  
privatte constitucionis of princes. Thus þat illustir & anciant  
House of þe Erledome of Marche, quhilk flureist sa mony  
3eris to þe grete defence & municion of þis realme, be offence  
and tresoun of ane man was brocht to rwyne. Nochþeles, þe  
King, movitt be sum miseracioun, certane 3eris eftir gaif þe  
Erledome of Buchquhane to þe said George ; and becaus  
þis Erledome was bot of sobir rentis in compair of þe landis  
of Marche, þe King gaif him iiij<sup>c</sup> markis 3erelie oute of þe  
said Erledome of Marche, in maner of pensioun, quhilk was  
broukitt be þe said George and Patrik his son during þe empire  
of King Iames þe First.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Bannokkurn*.

The samyn zere Alexander Stewart, Erle of Mar, bastard, as said is, of Alexander, Erle of Buchquhane, was ane man of singulair manhede and vertew. For in his tendir zere he was at þe sege of Leodynn, quhen it was takin be Phillip, Duke of Burgundy, and for þe grete gloir þat he wan at þe said iornaye he was marijt eftir on Iames,<sup>1</sup> aire to þe Erle of Hollande. Nochtþeles, he was eftir put fra hir, vncertane (II. 508) quethir þis woman repudiatt him becaus scho had ane vther husband, or becaus þe inhabitantis desyrit nocht to be myngitt with vncouth blude, or gif he was dongin oute be wayis of þe said Duke of Burgundye, throw quhilk he was constranit to return in Scotland. Eftir his returnyng he send oft his ambassatouris, desyryng þe proffittis of þe said Erledome of Holland, becaus he marijt þe heretoure þerof, and becaus þai denyitt him, he invaditt þame sindry tymes be seyis. At last he tuke sindry of þair schippis ladyn with marchandice, and held þe samyn as lauchfull price for detencioun of þe proffittis of þe said Erledome sa mony zere fra him afoir, 582 and eftir þat brynt and drownit sindry of þair schippis. | The Hollandaris, movitt be þis displeseir, war constranit to aggre with þe said Erle of Buchquhane, and purchest j<sup>c</sup> zere peace with Scottis. Attoure, þe said Erle was rycht civill in his prudent industrijs, for he brocht oute of Hungary in Scotland sindry grete horß and meris to spreid þe cuntre be þair generacioun, throw quhilk within few zere eftir þe cuntre was fillit full of grete horß and strang geldingis, howbeit afoir his tyme war nocht bot small naggis. He was maid Lufetennent to þe King of all þe north partis of Scotland for his grete wisdom, quhill at last he decessitt and was berijt in Dunkeld. Eftir his deth all his landis, riches and conqueß war confiskatt in þe Kingis handis, becaus he was gottin of vnlauchfull bed.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *Jacobae*.

How Denmark and France was confideratt *with* Scotland be new condicionis; how King Iames dochter, Margarete was marijt on þe Dalphyn of France; and how þe Persee was disconfist be the Douglas at Piperden. Ca viij

**N**ocht lang afoir þis tyme ane herald was send be þe King of Denmark in Scotland, desyring þe 3erelie tribute aucht to him mony 3eris bigane of þe Ilis, according to þe promysß maid be King Alexander. The King ressauit þis herrald tendirlie, and quhen he had schewin grete liberalite towartt him, he send Schir Williame Creichton *with* þe said herrald in Denmark, and dressitt all materis sa plesandlie þat nocht followitt eftir bot gude peace and amite betuix þe twa realmez of Scottis & Danys. The samyn tyme ambassatouris war send be Charlis þe vij to renew þe band betuix Scotland and France, and to roboratt þe samyn with mair permanent felicite Margarete, eldast dochter to þe said King Iames, (II. 509) was gevin in mariage to Lowis, Dalphyn of France. Incontinent grete provisioun was maid of schippis, and mony of þe gretast nobillis of Scottlannd send to convoy hir in France, with ane hundreth & fourty lusty ladeis, matronis and virgyinis, amang quhom was v sisteris of þe said Margarettis. Forthir, quhen þis provisioun was maid, and þe schippis reddy to þe wyndis, come ane herrald of England, desyring þe King nocht to send his dochter in France, and schewe, gif he war repugnant þairto, scho wald be takin with all hir cumpany be Inglismen liand apoun þe seyis abyding hir cuming. Nochtþeles, King Iames, havand þe boist of Inglismen at defiance, gart þame pull vp salis with þe mair deligence. And in þe menetyme þe Inglismen quhilkis war laid in waitt of þe said Margarete and hir cumpany be aentoure come apoun þe grete flott of Spaynearttis, houbet þai traistit nocht bot to haif cumin apoun þe Scottis cumpany, throw quhilk þe Inglismen gatt grete skaith be strang fechtig aganis þe Span3earttis on þe seye. And in þe menetyme, quhen baith þir flottis war fechtand maist beselye, the Scottis navy come throw þe seyis but ony

sicht of inmyis, and landitt at Turyne, quhare þaj war |  
 583 ressaui*t* *with* grete triumphe be King Phillipp, and þe mariage  
 maid solempnitlye betuix his son Lowis þe Dalphyn and þe  
 said Margarett.

Quhill sik thing*s* war done in France and Scotland, Hary  
 Persee of Northumberland come *with* iiij<sup>m</sup> men in Scotland,  
 vncertane quethir he come be his avne or þe Kingis autorite.  
 Williame Douglas, Erle of Anguse, to resist his invasioun  
 come *with* ane cumpany of chosin men, amang quhom was  
 Adam Hepburn of Halis, Alexander Ramsaye of Dalhowsy  
 and Alexander Elphynstoun of þat ilk, and mett þe said Hary  
 Perse at Piperden, quhare it was foctin cruellye *with* grete  
 slauchter and murthir on all sydis, bot þe Scottis war at last  
 victorious. In þis batale war slayne of Scottis Alexander  
 Elphinstoun, *with* ij<sup>c</sup> gentilmen & *commonis* of Scottlannd.  
 Of þe party aduersair war slane Hary Cliddisdaill, Iohnne  
 Ogill, Richard Persee, with iiij<sup>c</sup> Inglismen, and iiij<sup>c</sup> of þame  
 brocht presoneris *with* all þair spoulþe in Scottlannd.

(II. 510)

Off the tresonabill slauchter of King Iames þe First.  
 Ca ix

Piperden disconnfist in þis maner, King Iames tuke con-  
 sultacioun with his nobillis quhat was to be done aganis  
 Inglismen, sen þai had violatt þe peace within þe trewis afoir  
 contrackitt ; and þerfor be avise of his nobillis he come *with*  
 ane grete army to Roxburgh. And quhen he had lvin at þe  
 sege of þe samyn, and þe house reddy to be randeritt, þe  
 Qwene come at þe post to þe army, schawand how sindry  
 grete princes of þe realme war conspiritt aganis him. The  
 King, aduerteist of þis conspiracionis, for fere of his life skalitt  
 þe sege, and returnit to Perth. Þe principall of þis coniu*r*acioun  
 was his eme, Walter, Erle of Athoill. This Erle, desyrand to  
 conquess þe croun, persuaditt afoir Duke Robertt, Governour,  
 to slaye þe Duke of Rosaye afoir rehersitt, and siklyke to  
 slaye þe said King Iames his bruper quhen he was bott Prince  
 of Scotland, howbeit he was be providence of God deliueritt

fra his tiranny in Ingland. This Erle of Athoill belevitt, quhen Duke Robert had putt þame baith doun, to fynd ane new ingyne to haif distroyitt þe said Duke Robertt and his successioun. Becaus Duke Robertis sonnys war all distroyitt be þe Battell of Vernoll and iustice of þe said King Iames, he persuaditt twa pert men, Robert Stewartt, his nepott, and Robertt Grahame. Þis Robert was afoir at þe Kingis horn for sindry grete offencis done be him aganis þe Kingis autorite, and had na thing in mair hattrent þan þe King. And þocht þair tresonabill devise was stoppitt sum thing be interuencioun of þe Qwene, zite becaus þe King knew nocht in speciall þe namez of þame quhilkis war on þis wise conspiritt aganis him, he mycht þe leß eschew þe tresoun devisitt aganis him. And þairfor þir vnhappy creatouris had þe mair espirance to bring þair cursit purposß to fyne, and come nocht lang eftir

584 to þe Blak Freris of Perth, quhair þe King | was lugitt for þe tyme, and corruppitt þe portaris and ischearis in sik maner þat þai gatt entereß in þe Kingis hall, and eftir þat come to þe durris of his invarrt chalmer, abyding þe cuming of ane of þe Kingis familiaris, quhilk was participant with þair tresoun, to gett entereß be þe samyn. In þe menetyme ane of þe Kingis seruandis, namytt Walter Stratoun, oppinnytt þe dure to ressaiff þe wyne to þe Kingis collacioun, and quhen he saw þame aufullye arrayitt at þe dure he cryitt "Tresoun!" with ane hiddeous schowte. Nochttheles, he was slayn in

(II. 511) defence of þe dure. And in þe menetyme, quhen þai war slayand him, ane zyoung madyn, namyt Kathren Douglas, quhilk was eftir marijt apoun Alexander Lowell of Ballumby, stekitt þe dure; and becaus þe grete bar was hid awaye be ane tratoure of þair opinioun, scho schott hir arme in to þe place quhare þe bar suld haif passitt; and becaus scho was bot zyoung, hir arme was sone brokkin all in schoyndre, and þe dure dongin vp be force, throw quhilk þai enteritt and slew þe King with mony terribill woundis, and þe Quene hurtt. The remanent of his seruandis returnit at last in þe chalmer, and fand þe King bullerand in his blude, and ane Patrik Dunbar, bruper to George, vmquhile Erle of Marche, left for dede in þe chalmer in his defence.

This nobill Prince was of myd stature, braid schulderitt and small waistitt, all his membris maist craftely proportionatt, na thing failzeing in him þat mycht fall be nature, and with þat maist vertuous Prince þat evir was afoir his dayis, richt iust in all his lyffe and scharp punysair of vice. He was slayn þe xxj day of Februar, þe xliiij zere of his aige and xiiij zere of his regnne, fra þe Incarnacioun j<sup>m</sup> iiiij<sup>c</sup> xxxvj zeris. His body was berijt in þe Abbaye of Charteraris, quhilk was founditt be him schort zeris afoir.

Off þe scharp punicioun maid for his slauchter ; and  
of sindry marwellis sene in Albioun. Ca x

**I**T is sayid, þis nobill Prince gaif nevir remissioun for slauchter bot ane in his life, quhilk happinitt in þis maner. In þe kirk of Perth, quhen þe pepill war at þair contemplacioun and salue, ane zoung childe, richt desyrous to revenge his faderis slauchter, pullit ane dagar oute of ane manis scheith þat was slepand in þe kirk, and come to þe man þat slew his fader, sittand at his orison, and with grete force dang þe said dagare throw his body. The Provest, quhilk was present in þe kirk, closit haistelye þe kirk dure, commanding to serche quhay wantit þis dagare. And becaus þis innocent man, quhilk was slepand afoir, wantit his dagare, and þe samyn fundin meitt for his scheith, he was condampnitt þe nixt daye to be slayne for þe said murthir. In þe menetyme þis childe, *with* spreitt na thing effrayitt, fell on kneis afoir þe said Prince, and schew how he to revenge his faderis slauchter was þe werray slayair of þis dede man. The King, havand grete admiracioun þat þis childe in perdicioun of his avne life  
585 was testimoniall of þe verite, *nocht* | onlie absolut þe condampnit man fra þe detth, bot als remittit þe slauchterer, becaus he sauffitt þe innocent fra deth.

It is said þat þis Grahame was ane man of law, and offtymez iniuriouslie defenditt *prophane & vnlesum accionis* contrair þe Kingis autorite ; and quhen he was demanditt how he durst be sa malapertt, to stand contrair þe Kingis accionis,

he ansueritt, he durst lepe in hell, þocht hevin & hell war at his chois. Vþeris sayis, he ansuerit on þis maner quhen he was inquirit how he durst slay sa nobill ane Prince.

The nobillis, richt sorowfull of þe slauchter of þis nobill Prince, be scharpe deligence tuk þir fornammytt tratouris, and brocht þame to Edinburgh, and puneist þame on þis maner. The Erle of Atholl, principale movare of þis conspiracioun, was distursitt of all clathis, except brekis to hyde his *membris*. First þai maid ane instrument of tre, like þe drawar of ane well, and festynnit it in ane cartt, syne band þis Erle apoun þe poynt of þe said drawar, syne 3eid *with* þe said cart throw þe toun, sum tyme rasand þis tratoure, þat þe pepill mycht see him, hye in þe air, syne lette him fall down with ane swak apoun þe gaitt. Eftir þis þai crovnitt him with ane croun of haitt irne, becaus ane wyche sayid to him, he suld be crovnit afoir his detth, throw quhilk he levitt all his  
(II. 512) life in vane hoipe, traisting ay be vane illusionis to conques þe croun. The nixt day he was harlitt *with* his complicis at horsʒ talis throw all streetis of þe toun. The thrid daye his wayme was oppiʒnitt, and all his bowellis takin oute and brynt in þe fyre afoir his eeyn. Eftir þis his hart was takin furth of his body, and cassin flichterand in þe fyre. Eftir all tormentis his hede was schorn fra his body, and his body quarteritt. His nepott was hyngitt and drawin and quarteritt. Robert Grahame, becaus he was principale slayair of þe King, was harlitt throw þe toun in ane cart, and þe hand þat slew þe King bundin to þe samyn, and haitt irnis schott throw all partis of his body quhair þai belevitt was nane haistear dede, syne quarteritt on þe samyn maner.

In the samyn tyme was in Scottland Eneas Siluius, ambassattoure of Eugenius, þe fourte Paip of þat name, ane man of singular erudicioun, and send be þe said Paip to draw peace betuix Scottis and Inglis, and was eftir Paip of Rome. Nocht þeles, quhen he was doand his erandis in Scottland, this nobill Prince was slayn in maner forsaid. And quhen he hard þat sik cruelte was committitt aganis sa nobill ane Prince, he sayid, all Scottis war vnpuneist to be on live, gif sik cruelte war vnpuneist. For the said Paip tuke purpoʒs to mak peace

betuix all Cristin Princes, þat þai mycht the bettir invaid the Turkis and Sarazenis.

In the tyme of King Iames þe First war sindry marwellis sene in Albion. Ane sow had ane litter with dogg's heddis. Ane calf was sene with ane hors's hede. Ane comette apperitt afoir þe Kingis dede with terribill bemys; and sa vehement  
 586 frost | was þe wyntir afoir þat wyne and ayill was sauld be pund wechtis, and meltit agane be þe fyre. Ane suerde was sene fleand in þe air, to na les dredoure than admiracioun of þe pepill. And sa endis þe xvij Buke of þir Cronikillis.<sup>1</sup>

Here endis þe Translacioun of þe Cronikillis of Scotland, drawin be Maister Iohnne Bellantyne, Channon of Ros, in oure wlgair langage at þe desyre of þe Richt Hye, Richt Excellent and Nobill Prince Iames, þe Fifte of þat name, King of Scottis, and writin be þe hand of Maister Daid Douglas, Notare Public, seruitoure to Maister Iames Douglas, Archidene of Murraye.

Ad Lectorem et Zoillum Disticon :—

Vtere si qua placent nostrum lacerare volumen,  
 Aut ede vtilius, desine liuor edax.

<sup>1</sup> In the printed text there follows the Epistle direkit be the Translatoure to the Kingis Grace. See Vol. I. of this edition, pp. 15-20.

The remaining pages of the MS. are not numbered, but for convenience they are numbered here within square brackets.



[587]  
(I. civ)

The Translator sayis to his buke as followis :—<sup>1</sup>

Now marciall buke, pas to þe nobill Prince,  
King Iames þe Fifte, my Souerane maist preclair,  
And gif sum tyme þou gettis audience,  
In humyll wise vnto His Grace declair  
My walkrife nychtis and my laboure sair,  
Quhilk ithandlie has for his pleseir tak,  
Quhill goldin Titan with his birnand chare  
Past all þe signis in þe Zodiak ;

Quhill besy Ceres with hir pleuch and harrowis  
Has fillit hir grayngis full of euery corne ;  
And stormy Chiron with his bow and arrowis  
Has all þe clowdis of þe hevynnis schorne ;  
And schill Triton with his wyndy horne  
Oure quhelmyt all þe flowand occiane ;  
And Phebus turnit vnder Capricorne  
The samyn greis quhare I first began.

(I. cv)

Sen þou art drawin so compendious  
Fra flowand Latyne in to wlgar proiſs,  
Schew now quhat kingis bene maist viciouſs,  
And quhay has bene of cheuelry þe roiſs,  
Quhay has þair realme in honoure maist reioſs,  
And with þair blude oure liberteis has coft,  
Regarding noch to de amang þair fois,  
Sa þat þai mycht in memory be brocht.

<sup>1</sup> Round the margin, enclosing the verses but below this introductory phrase, is a broad band of illumination, with the inscription :—

*Domine ihue | rex glorie Saluum fac Regem nostrum Jeco- | bum  
quintum Regem Sco- | cie illustrissimum nobilissimum.*

[588]

Schew be quhat danger and difficill wayis  
 Oure anticessouris at þair vttir mychtis  
 Has brocht þis realme with honoure to oure dayis,  
 Ay fechtand for þair liberteis and richtis  
 With Romanis, Danys, Inglismen and Pichtis, |  
 As curtaß redaris may throw thy proceß ken ;  
 Thairfore þow ganys for na cative wichtis,  
 Allanerly bot wnto nobill men,

And sic personis as cowatis for to heir  
 The wailþeant dedis of our progenitouris,  
 And how þis cuntre baith in peace and weir  
 Bene gowernit wnto þir present houris,  
 How forcy chiftanys in mony bludy stouris,  
 As now is blawin be my wlgar pen,  
 Mayst wailþeantly wan landis and honouris,  
 And for þair wertew callit nobill men.

Nobilite sum tyme ane loving is  
 That cumis be meritis of our eldaris gone,  
 As Arestotill writis in his Rethoricis.  
 Amang nobillis, quhay castin þame repone,  
 Man dresß þair lyfe and werkis euey one  
 To mak þame wourthy to haue memorie,  
 For honour to þair Prince or natione,  
 To be in glore to þair posterite.

(I. cvi)

Suppone ane nobill gevis him to nocht  
 Bot wicious sleuth and lust immoderate,  
 The fame obscuring þat his eldaris socht,  
 And fra þair wertew found degenerate,  
 The moir his eldaris fame is elevate,  
 The moir þair lyfe to honour did approche,  
 Thare glore and honour ay interminate,  
 The moir is ay wnto his wice reproche.

Thus ar þai haldin of lynage maist obscure,  
 Þocht þai haue riches, land or dignite,

[589] That birnis ay with awaricious cure, |  
 Passyng þair tyme but glore or honeste,  
 Quhen crafty poetis can nocht fynd nor se  
 In all thair werkis wourthy to describe ;  
 The sonys may clame to na nobilite,  
 Becaus þe fader hes sa wrechit live.

Amang þe oist of Grekis, as we hard,  
 Two knychtis war, Achilles and Tersete,  
 That ane mayst wailþeant, þis wþer mayst coward ;  
 Better is to be, sais Iuuenale þe poete,  
 Tersites sone, havand Achilles spreit  
 With manly forþ his purpos to fulfill,  
 Than to be lord of euery land and streit,  
 And syne mayst coward, cumin of Achill.

(I. cvii) Man callit is moist nobill creature,  
 Becaus his life maist resone dois assay,  
 Ay sekand honour with his besy cure,  
 And is na nobill quhen honour is away.  
 Thairfore he is maist nobill, man þow say,  
 That is of nobillis cumin doune mayst clere,  
 Syne fra his eldaris castis nocht decay,  
 Bot dois in nobill dedis persevere.

The preß of armys and of nobill dedis,  
 As Plinius wrate in Story Naturall,  
 Na leß be wit þan manhede ay procedis,  
 Quhen þai ar wourthy to be memoriall.  
 Ane hird of hartis is maist strang at all,  
 Hawand ane lyone agane þe houndis sour,  
 Than hird of lyonis arrayt in batall,  
 Havand ane hart to be thair governour.

[590] Quhen ferß Achilles was be Paris slane,  
 Amang þe Grekis raiß ane suttell pleid |  
 Quhay was mayst nobill and prudent capitane  
 Into his place and armour to succeed,

Quhay culd þame best in euery *perrell* leid,  
 Sauffyng þair honour as þai did afore,  
 The manly Ajax wan nocht for his manheid,  
 Quhen wise Wlisses bure away þe glore.

Manhede but prudence is ane fury blynd,  
 Producing *nocht* bot schame and indengece ;  
 Prudence but manheid *cumis* oft behynd,  
 Houbeit it haue na leß experience  
 Of thingis to cum þan gone be sapience.  
 Thairfore quhen wit and manhede dois concur,  
 Hie honour risis with magnificence,  
 For glore to nobillis is ane grundin spur.

(I. cviii)

To sik nobillis sen þow bene dedicate,  
 Schaw cleirlie how be my gret deligence  
 Ilk story be þe selff is separate  
 To mak þame bowsum to þine audience.  
 Schrynk *nocht* þairfore, bot byde at þi sentence,  
 Sen þow art armyt with invincibill treuth.  
 Of gentill redaris tak benevolence,  
 And cure of *wþeris* na invy nor ruth.

Paß now to lith with all þi sentence hie,  
 Groundit but feyd or assentacione  
 In naturall and morall philosophe,  
 With mony grave and prignant orisone  
 Maid to þe redaris erudicione,  
 But wourdis wayst or ʒit superfluus,  
 Consultit oft with Scoticronicone  
 To mak þi mater moir sentencius.

[591]

Bryng nobill dedis of mony ʒeris gone  
 Als fresche and recent to our memorie |  
 As þai war bot into our dais done  
 That nobill men may haue baith laude and glorye  
 For þair excellent palme of wictorye ;  
 And ʒit, becaus my tyme hais bene sa schort,  
 I think, quhen I haue opportunitie,  
 To ryng þair bell into ane wther sort.

(I. cix) Leir kingis to hait all pepill wicious,  
 And náne of þame into þare hous resaif,  
 Suffering na serwandis awaricious  
 Oure scharp exactionis on þare subditis craif,  
 That nocht be done without þair honour saif,  
 Sekand na conqueß be wnlesum wanys.  
 Schaw mony ressonis how na king may haif  
 His baronis hartis and þair geir at anys.

(I. cx) Persuade all kingis, gif þai haif ony sicht  
 To lang empire and honoure singulare,  
 To conqueß favour and lufe of euery wicht,  
 And euery wrangnyß in þair realme repare.  
 For quhen þair realmez ar oppressit sare,  
 Fyndand na iustice in þair actionis,  
 Þan rysis noys and rumour populare,  
 And drawis þe nobillis in syndry factionis.

Declare þe causis quhy þat nobill rang  
 In maist excellent fame and honeste,  
 And be þe contrar quhy þis tiran strang  
 Endit with sorow and all calamite.  
 That ane had honour, þis nocht bot miserie.  
 Schaw how na gard nor armour may defend  
 Wnhappy life and cursit tyrannye,  
 Gif þai continew, but mischevous end. |

[592] Schaw how gret baronis for þair ewill obeysance,  
 Aganis þare Prince making rebellione,  
 Deieckit bene fra þair hie governance,  
 And brocht to fynall exterminione.  
 Schaw how na houß of gret dominione,  
 Na man of riches nor excellent mycht,  
 May lang continew in þis regione,  
 Becaus þe pepill may nocht suffer hycht.

Schaw how of kirkis þe superflew rent  
 Is aduersare to gude relligione,

Makand prelatis mair sleuthfull þan fervent  
 In ithand prayer and deuocione.  
 Schaw how þis realme for þair promociõne  
 Na maner of gold or siluer may posseid,  
 And þairfore sall nocht faill euersione,  
 Without þe counsale fynd in tyme remeid.

(I. cxi)

Schaw how 3oung knyghttis suld be men of were,  
 With hardy spreit at euery ieoparde,  
 Like as þair eldaris bene sa mony 3ere,  
 Ay to defend þair realme and liberte,  
 That þai nocht be þair sleuth and cowardrye  
 The fame and honour of þair eldaris tyne.  
 Apprise ilk state into þair awyne degre,  
 Ay as þai leif in morall disciplyne.

Schaw furtht ilk king, quhill þow cum to þe Prence  
 That ryngis now in gret felicite,  
 Quhais ancyant blude be hie preeminence  
 Decorit is in maist excellent gre,  
 Without compare of hie nobilite,  
 With giftis mo of nature to him gevin,  
 Gif nane abusit in his 3euthede be,  
 Than euir was gevin to nobill wnder hevin. |

[593]

Þocht þow paß furtht as bird implume to licht,  
 His gracious eiris to my werk implore,  
 Quhair he may se, as in ane mirrour bricht,  
 Sa notabill storeis baith of wice and glore,  
 Quhilk nevir was sene into his toung afore ;  
 Quhairthrow he may be prudent governyng  
 Als wele his honoure as his realme decore,  
 And be ane wertuous and ane nobill king.

And sen His Hienes daily dois increß  
 In hie honoure of state imperiall,  
 Pray him amang his princelie besynes  
 Thy Translatour vnto his favour call,

That writis in proiſs and werſs heroicall  
To euery purpoſs quhare His Hienes liſt.  
Gif nocht may pleyſs him in pi boundis all,  
Than cheiſs þe ſang, and I ſall thraw þe wriſt.

Heir endis the Ballat apone þe Translatione  
of Maſter Hectoꝝr Boece Cronikillis.





## APPENDIX.

By DR E. A. SHEPPARD.

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### JOHN BELLENDEN.

FOR some centuries now John Bellenden has remained a luminous but mysterious personage in the world of letters. He is known to-day as the translator of Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*, and of part of Livy's *History*, and as the author of four elaborately dull poems. He is known also to have been an ecclesiastic, and in all editions of his works, and in numerous anthologies, is distinguished by the title "Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross." This is, in effect, the sum of the traditional knowledge of the man and his works. The literary biographers have been as valiant in conjecture as in eulogy, but the facts they supply are meagre. In the space of nearly four centuries very little definite addition has been made to the information supplied by contemporary writers. There is, instead, a constant tendency on the part of later biographers to quote suggestions of their predecessors as facts, upon which to erect further theories.

The earliest biographical notice<sup>1</sup> of Bellenden is that given by Bale in his *Summarium* of 1548<sup>2</sup>: "Ioannes Bellenden, natione Scotus, theologie scholasticæ magister & archidiaconus Morauiensis, accuratissima sedulitate in literis semper a iuuëtute uersabatur. . . ." Bellenden's "floruit" is given as 1536. Conrad Lycosthenes (Wolffhart) in 1551<sup>3</sup> gives a very brief notice of Bellenden and his works, supplied

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<sup>1</sup> *A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets* (J. Geddie, S.T.S., 1912) contains lists of editions and references, both biographical and critical. Early notices are printed *in extenso*. The list of references (continued up to 1903) is full though not complete, while several notices of Bellenden have appeared since 1912. There are some errors—*e.g.*, with regard to the editions of Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Illustrium Maioris Britannicæ Scriptorum . . . Summariū*. 1548 (f. 225<sup>b</sup> f.).

<sup>3</sup> *Elenchus Scriptorum omnium . . . a . . . D. Conrado Gesnero . . . editus . . . nunc . . . in compendium redactus & autorum haud poenitenda accessione auctus per Conradum Lycosthenem Rubeaquensem*. Bas., 1551 (the entry relating to Bellenden (col. 514) is starred as a new addition).

by Bale: "Ioannes Bellenden natione Scotus, scripsit Cosmographiam, historiae Albaniae descriptionem lib I. Claruit anno 1536." This cryptic statement is copied without alteration or comment by succeeding editors of Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (in 1555, 1574, and 1583),<sup>1</sup> Bale, after the publication of his *Summarium*, had been collecting fresh information;<sup>2</sup> and, in his *Catalogus* of 1559,<sup>3</sup> various alterations and additions appear in the notice of Bellenden. "Ioannes Balantyne" or "Bellendenus" is described as "ex orientali Scotia oriundus, scholasticæ theologiæ doctor & archidiaconus Moraviensis"; "accuratione non modica scientias humanas fere omnes atque diuinas acquisiuit"; his "floruit" is still given as 1536, but, it is added, "Romæ tandem obiisse dicitur." This choice of 1536 for Bellenden's "floruit" accounts for much otherwise incomprehensible conjecture: cf. below, the year 1536 selected by David Buchanan as the approximate date of Bellenden's death, by Nicolson as the year in which he was Archdeacon of Moray, and by bibliographers innumerable as the date of Davidson's edition of the *Chronicles*.

Francis Thynne in 1587,<sup>4</sup> paraphrasing the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, says that "John Bellendon or Ballentine" "florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the fift." Gray in 1611<sup>5</sup> similarly paraphrases the statement in Bale's *Summarium*: "Interea Musarum Memoriae feliciter litabat Joannes Balantyn, Archi-Diaconus Moraviensis, accuratissima sedulitate in Literis a puero usque educatus . . . vivens Anno Christi 1536." Dempster in 1627<sup>6</sup> gives a summary of the account in Bale's *Catalogus*, with an addition of his own: "Iacobvs (sic) Ballantyn S. Theologie

<sup>1</sup> *Appendix Bibliothecæ Conradi Gesneri . . . per Iosiam Simlerum multo auctior ædita . . . Tiguri, 1555 (f. 59<sup>a</sup>, col. 2); Bibliotheca instituta . . . a Conrado Gesnero . . . in duplum post priores editiones aucta per Iosiam Simlerum Tigurinum, Tiguri, 1574 (p. 344, col. 2); Bibliotheca instituta . . . a Conrado Gesnero . . . amplificata per Johannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum . . ., Tiguri, 1583 (p. 409, col. 2).*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Index Britannicæ Scriptorum . . .* (R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediæval and Modern Series, Part IX.*, 1902). "Balantinus" is noted (p. 496) in a list of Scottish writers obtained by Bale from Nicholas Brigham, who may therefore be the source of the additional information given in the *Catalogus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Scriptorum Illustrium maioris Brytannie . . . Catalogus, Part II.*, Bas., 1559 (cent. XIV., p. 223).

<sup>4</sup> *A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland . . .*, appended to Thynne's continuation of the *History of Scotland* in the 1587 edition of Holinshed (p. 462, col. 2). Thynne used Gesner (cf. his account of Boece, p. 463, col. 1) in the 1583 edition; cf. his account of John Laing, p. 378, col. 1, first added in the 1583 edition).

<sup>5</sup> *Oratio de Illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, habita a Magistro Grayo, Gymnasiarcha Academiæ Novæ Abredoniæ, A.D. 1611.* Published by Raban, Aberdeen, in 1623 (*Gilbertus Gray. Ane Oration*), and reprinted in Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters, Vol. I.*, 1708 (p. xxx).

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum Lib. XIX.* Bonon., 1627 (lib. II., p. 107). Dempster in his *Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam . . .* (Bonon., 1622) notes as an historian "Iacob Ballantyn MDL."

Doctor, Archidiaconus Moraviensis" "obiit Romæ anno, vt puto, MDL." David Buchanan<sup>1</sup> draws on Bale's accounts, and adds the following information. Bellenden belonged to "honestâ Bellendorum familia"; "adolescens in rure natali prima literarum fundamenta jecit"; "deinde ad Academiam Andreapolitanam missus, decurso philosophiæ studio inter magisterii candidatos ita emicuit ut inter stellas luna minores"; after which he proceeded to France, "ubi scholasticæ theologiæ operam dedit, susceptisque supremis in ea facultate insignibus, solum natale haud multo interjecto tempore repetiit, atque ibidem vocatus Moraviam, factus est archidiaconus"; "Romæ tandem obiisse fertur circiter annum gratiæ 1536, regnante apud Scotos Jacobo Quinto." Con in 1628<sup>2</sup> numbers Bellenden among the defenders of the old faith in Scotland: "Iacobus (*sic*) Balandenus Moraviensis Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus, in celebri Sorbonæ schola Magistri laurea donatus, sūmo studio popularium suorum animos hæresi laborantes, cum scribendo, tum disputando conatus est liberare," and adds a statement which may, but not certainly, be interpreted as meaning that Bellenden, as hammer of heresy, was associated with the writer James Laing.

Vossius,<sup>3</sup> bewildered between Wolffhart and Bale, unaccountably gives 1520 as the date of Bellenden's *Cosmographia*. The *Catalogue of Scottish Writers*, printed by Maitland from a manuscript of Robert Wodrow,<sup>4</sup> has a brief mention of Bellenden in which the errors of Wolffhart and Dempster are combined: "Bellenden (Jacobus), Gesnero per errorem dictus Joannes, scripsit *Cosmographiam*. Item, *Historiæ Albanæ Descriptionem*."

The eighteenth-century writers as a rule are careful to document their accounts; but since their authorities are merely the cataloguers and biographers already mentioned, none of the information they give is of much value. They add, however, a liberal seasoning of conjecture to the inherited "facts." Nicolson<sup>5</sup> is more concerned with criticism than biography, saying of Bellenden merely that he was Archdeacon of Moray, and "dy'd at Rome about 1550"; but he adds a footnote—"AD of Murray A.D. 1536": a fact for which he alleges no authority. With Mackenzie in 1711<sup>6</sup> begins the attempt to provide Bellenden with a niche in history. Mackenzie, inspired by a passage in the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* ("And fyrst occurrit to my remembring / How that I wes in service with the kyng . . ."), identifies the poet

<sup>1</sup> *Davidis Buchanani de Scriptoribus Scotis libri duo* (p. 98 f.). First printed by the Bannatyne Club (ed. D. Irving, Edin., 1837). Undated, but assigned by Geddie to 1627.

<sup>2</sup> *De Duplici Statu Religionis Apud Scotos Libri Duo . . .*, Rom., 1628 (lib. II., p. 167).

<sup>3</sup> *De Scientiis Mathematicis*, 1650 (*Gerardi Joannis Vossii De Artium et Scientiarum Natura ac Constitutione Libri Quinque . . .*, 1696; lib. III., cap. xlv., p. 148).

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, J. Maidment, Edin., 1833 (p. 74).

<sup>5</sup> *The Scottish Historical Library . . .*, W. Nicolson, Lond., 1702 (p. 109, and p. 10, note). Also edd. of 1736 and 1776: *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries*.

<sup>6</sup> *The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation . . .*, G. Mackenzie, Edin., 1708-11-22 (Vol. II., p. 595 ff.).

with an eminent contemporary, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoll, lawyer and statesman, and describes him as "clerk register" under James V., and "clerk register" and "Lord of Session" under Mary. Tanner<sup>1</sup> follows Mackenzie to the extent of making Bellenden "clerk register." The 1754 edition of Scotstarvet<sup>2</sup> states that Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoll, described as "justice clerk," "entered into orders and was archdean of Murray and canon of Ross, and was reckoned among the learned men of that age and a poet." Lord Hailes<sup>3</sup> ridicules Mackenzie's identification of the two Bellendens, but both Campbell<sup>4</sup> and Warton<sup>5</sup> again assert it, though quoting Dempster to the effect that Bellenden died in 1550. Campbell has theories to expound: he suggests that Bellenden was educated in France, his writings being "frequently intermixed with words of Gallick derivation," and that he was in some sort a tutor to James V. The article on *Ballenden* in the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>6</sup> likewise identifies statesman and poet, and places Bellenden's death in 1550. This account is retained unaltered even in the sixth edition of 1823.<sup>7</sup> The only biographical detail given by Pinkerton<sup>8</sup> is that "Ballenden died at Rome 1550." Sibbald<sup>9</sup> carries the biographical synthesis a stage further. Of the poet Bellenden, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoll, and a "Dean of Moray, Lord of Session," who "resigned" in 1587, he says "they seem all . . . to be one and the same person." This triple character, it appears, died in Paris.

Irving, in the 1804 and 1810 editions of his *Scottish Poets*,<sup>10</sup> reassembles statements of Bale, Con, Dempster, Mackenzie, Lord Hailes, Campbell, Sibbald, and others; but is at pains to disprove the theory of the identity of John Bellenden, the translator, and Sir John Bellenden of

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* . . ., T. Tanner, Lond., 1748 (p. 66).

<sup>2</sup> *The Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen* . . ., by Sir John Scott Scotstarvet . . ., Edin., 1754 (p. 129, note).

<sup>3</sup> *A Catalogue of the Lords of Session* . . ., Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 1794. (A reprint, with additional notes, of the *Catalogue* first published Edin., 1767) (note 16).

<sup>4</sup> *Biographica Britannica*, Lond., 1748 (article by Dr John Campbell, p. 460 f.). In the 2nd ed. (A. Kippis, Lond., 1778) Campbell's original article is retained (Vol. I., p. 572). In *The General Biographical Dictionary* (A. Chalmers, Lond., 1812-17) the account of Campbell is copied verbatim, except that certain of the notes are omitted.

<sup>5</sup> *The History of English Poetry* . . ., T. Warton, Lond., 1774-78-81 (Vol. II., p. 321—note on a passage in Lyndsay's *Prologue to the Complaynt of the Papingo*). So also in later edd.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* . . . By a Society of Gentlemen in Scotland, ed. W. Smellie, Edin., 1771.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* . . ., 6th ed., Edin., 1823 (article *Ballenden*). Intermediate edd. appeared in 1778-83, 1797, 1810, 1817.

<sup>8</sup> *Ancient Scottish Poems* . . ., J. Pinkerton, Lond., 1786 (Vol. I., p. cix f.).

<sup>9</sup> *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* . . ., J. Sibbald, Edin., 1802 (Vol. II., p. 48).

<sup>10</sup> *The Lives of the Scottish Poets* . . ., D. Irving, Edin., 1804 (Vol. II., pp. 119-33); 2nd ed., 1810.

Auchnoull. He makes no new contribution to the sum of facts or theories. Stark, in his *Biographia Scotica*,<sup>1</sup> apart from the statement that Bellenden died at Rome in 1550, gives only vague, if unexceptionable, generalities.

Maitland, in his edition of Bellenden's *Boece*,<sup>2</sup> gives an elaborate biographical preface, in which he adduces several new facts. He quotes an entry from the matriculation rolls of St Andrews University—"1508. Jo. Ballëtyn. nac. Lau(doniæ)"; quotes two entries from the Acts of Parliament for 4th September 1528, from which "there is some reason to suppose that about the year 1528 Bellenden held the situation of secretary to the Earl of Angus"; "Bellenden in all likelihood shared at first in the disgrace of the family of Douglas, and this was probably the dismissal to which he alludes in the *Proheme of the Cosmographie*." Entries from the Lord Treasurer's Accounts are quoted, showing that the translation of the *Boece* was completed in 1531, and a "manuscript copy" delivered to the King in 1533; and that about the same period (*i.e.*, 1533) the translation of the first five books of *Livy* was carried out. Entries from the Register of the Privy Seal are quoted to show that Bellenden was granted the emoluments of the benefices of Sir John Duncanson, parson and "chanter" of Glasgow, and Sir Alexander Hervy for the years 1536 and 1537. Maitland then says "(Bellenden) was afterwards presented by the King to the vacant Archdeanery of Moray, and he got a prebend in the Cathedral of Ross, but the date of these appointments is uncertain." He concludes his account by a fusion of the statements of Bale, Con, and Dempster as to Bellenden's orthodoxy and death at Rome.

Irving, in his 1839 edition of the *Scottish Writers*,<sup>3</sup> incorporates all the facts brought forward by Maitland, but rejects Maitland's theory that Bellenden was "associated with (Sir David Lindsay) in directing the studies of his prince," for, as he notes, James V.'s preceptor was Gavin Dunbar, and there is no mention of Bellenden's having been employed in such a capacity. Irving also disputes the identification of the poet with the John Bellenden who was secretary to the Earl of Angus in 1528—"in a transaction of this nature we should expect to find (Angus) employing a lawyer rather than a clergyman"; and quotes the statement of Hume<sup>4</sup> to the effect that the secretary was Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull. Chambers's *Dictionary*<sup>5</sup> also, while

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia Scotica*, J. Stark, Edin., 1805 (art. *Ballenden*).

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray and Canon of Ross: The History and Chronicles of Scotland . . .*, T. Maitland, Lord Dundrennan, Edin., 1821-22 (Vol. I., p. xxxvi ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *Lives of Scottish Writers*, D. Irving, Edin., 1839 (Vol. I., p. 12 ff.). Except for quotations, the account in the 1861 ed. (*The History of Scottish Poetry*) is exactly similar.

<sup>4</sup> *The History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, written by Maister David Hume of Godscroft*, Edin., 1644 (p. 258). Other edd., 1648, 1743, 1748.

<sup>5</sup> *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, ed. R. Chambers, Glasg., 1835 (Vol. I., p. 111 f.). So also in later edd.—1855, 1856, 1868-70, 1875.

following Maitland's account in general, "can scarcely reconcile the circumstance" of Bellenden's being in 1528 "a Douglas's man," "with the favour he is found to have enjoyed a few years after with James V., whose antipathy to that family was so great as probably to extend to all its connections." Irving's account reappears in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1842), and again in the eighth edition (1854). The only additional surmise is that as "Bale refers his birth to the eastern part of the kingdom (Bellenden) may have been born in the county of Haddington or Berwick." Nichol,<sup>1</sup> in a brief critical account, says that Bellenden was "secretary of the Earl of Angus, afterwards (1536) Archdeacon of Moray." Joseph Irving<sup>2</sup> gives a mere summary of Maitland's account. Ross<sup>3</sup> gives a biography which is founded on Maitland's and corrected in part from (David) Irving; thus, Bellenden is presumed to have recovered the royal favour "after the fall of the Douglasses." Ross states also that the translation of *Boece* was "finished in 1533"; and that "after he had finished his historical works Bellenden was appointed archdeacon of Moray and canon of Ross."

The *Dictionary of National Biography* makes some remarkable statements. Bellenden's "floruit" is given as 1533-87, on the authority of a statement of Sibbald's, which the *D.N.B.* wrongly attributes to Maitland. For other assertions no authority is alleged, though their origin is usually clear. Bellenden "is generally supposed to have been a native of Haddington or of Berwick." When returning to Scotland after taking his degree at the Sorbonne "he brought over with him Hector Boece's *Historia Scotorum*, Paris, 1527, and having gained access to the court of the young monarch was admitted to high favour." "His translation (of Boece's *Chronicles*) was delivered to the king in 1533 and appeared in 1536"; "from various incidental expressions the folio must have been semi-privately printed for the king and nobles and special friends"; "his office at court as 'clerk of his comptis' included undoubtedly the superintendence of his sovereign's education"; "he was appointed archdeacon of Moray during the vacancy of the see, and about the same time canon of Ross." With regard to the identity of the Earl of Angus's secretary in 1528, the *D.N.B.* again quotes the statement of Hume. In short, all the less happy imaginations of Sibbald, Maitland, Irving (of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1854), and perhaps Ross, are carefully garnered in the *D.N.B.*<sup>4</sup>

The editor of the *Abbotsford Series of Scottish Poets*<sup>5</sup> draws to a certain extent on the account in the *D.N.B.*—e.g., "Bellenden is believed

<sup>1</sup> *A Sketch of Scottish Poetry up to the time of Sir David Lyndesay . . .*, J. Nichol, preface to *The Minor Poems of Sir David Lyndesay* (E.E.T.S. ed. of Lindsay's Works, Part V.), 1871 (p. xxxiii).

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Scotsmen*, J. Irving, Paisley, 1881 (p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish History and Literature to the Period of the Reformation*, J. M. Ross, ed. J. Brown, Glasg., 1884 (p. 239 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> The same account is given in both 1885- and 1908- edd.

<sup>5</sup> *Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets: Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. G. Eyre-Todd, Glasg., 1892 (p. 107 ff.).

to have been a native of Haddingtonshire." Not only is it taken for granted that Angus's secretary was Sir John Bellenden, but the poet Bellenden's loss of place at Court is ascribed to the "seizure of power by the Douglasses in 1524"; "it seems, moreover, that it was upon the downfall of that house that he returned to favour." Bellenden's appointments as Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross are placed "about the same time" as the gift of the emoluments for 1536 and 1537. Except for these details, the account of Maitland is followed.

Millar,<sup>1</sup> as a literary historian, is not much concerned with dates, but places Bellenden's birth "about 1495" and his death "at some date unknown between 1550 and 1587." Forbes Leith<sup>2</sup> gives a very brief account of Bellenden, of which only the opening sentence, conjecture hardened into fact, is exceptionable: "John Bellenden Archdene of Murray was born at Haddington about 1495." As an Appendix he gives a list of sixteenth-century Masters of Arts, in which various M. John Bellendens and Bannatynes appear, but of which only one entry—"1539 . . . D. D. Sorbonne. Archdeacon Moray"—is explicitly associated with the poet.

The account in the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>3</sup> is a cautious blend of statements of Maitland and the *D.N.B.* Bellenden's "floruit" is given as 1553-87: "he is said by some authorities to have died at Rome in 1550, by others to have been still living in 1587." Miss Mackenzie,<sup>4</sup> who draws on Millar's *Literary History*, gives Bellenden's dates in round numbers as "1495—after 1550."

The most recent account of Bellenden is that given by Hamer in his edition of Sir David Lindsay's *Works*.<sup>5</sup> Here Bellenden's dates are given as *c.* 1490-1587; and besides various statements derived from Maitland and the *D.N.B.*, the following theories are advanced:—

"Lindsay speaks of him as 'ane cunning clerk,' thereby acknowledging his priesthood, but when Lindsay was writing Bellenden was apparently only a new arrival at court. It is assumed that enemies drove him from court in 1533. Davidson's edition of Bellenden's *Boece* (*c.* 1536) next describes him as Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross. It is sometimes stated that he signed the Household Accounts, but this is incorrect. It was a Thomas Bellenden who signed the accounts in 1537 and 1538, and was also auditor in 1538."

Where the statement referred to occurs it is impossible to say—none of the biographers quoted above makes any such assertion.

<sup>1</sup> *A Literary History of Scotland*, J. H. Millar, Lond., 1903 (p. 113 and p. 120 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVth. Century . . .*, W. Forbes Leith, Glasg., 1915 (pp. 6, 46, and Appendix).

<sup>3</sup> Substantially the same as that in the 9th ed. (1875-79), and the 11th ed. (1910-11).

<sup>4</sup> *An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714*. A. Mure Mackenzie, Lond., 1933 (p. 183).

<sup>5</sup> *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed. D. Hamer, S.T.S., Vol. III., 1934 (Notes to *The Testament of the Papyngo*, § 51).

Other incidental references to Bellenden will be dealt with later<sup>1</sup>; but the foregoing summary gives some idea of the confusion of fact, theory, and fiction in which this "elegant writer of the 16th century" has been involved.

An attempt is here made to collect and relate the references to Bellenden given in contemporary records. As these records are at best imperfect, and as only a portion of those still available has been examined, no more than fragmentary materials for a biography are here presented. Moreover, at the outset, a certain difficulty has to be acknowledged. Mackenzie's identification of Mr John Bellenden, cleric and poet, with Sir John Bellenden, knight, lawyer, and statesman, was a gross error; but there are several Mr John Bellendens appearing in Scottish records of the early sixteenth century who are unimpeachably clerics, and who, other evidence apart, may or may not be the poet in question. A difficulty here is the lack of definition in the clerical function and status at this period. A notary, for instance, who is also of necessity a cleric, may hold not merely a benefice but a cure of souls; and a pluralist dignitary of the Church is frequently employed as a secular official at Court. Yet the style of either of these persons in any given document may not comprehend more than one of the positions which he fills, ecclesiastical or secular. The difficulty of identification in Bellenden's case is further complicated by the fact that not only is his name a common one, but it may appear in any one of about six dozen forms.<sup>2</sup> Again, a territorial designation is a

<sup>1</sup> The following notices of Bellenden, listed by Geddie, have not been traced: *Lives of Scottish Poets . . .*, by G. M-n (by the Society of Ancient Scots), Lond., 1821-22 (Vol. II. (1821), Part IV., pp. 19-25); *The Book of Scottish Poems Ancient and Modern . . .*, J. Ross, Edin. and Lond., 1878 (pp. 301-2).

<sup>2</sup> There are three distinct forms of the name in common use during the first half of the sixteenth century—Bannatyne, Ballantyne, and Bellenden. The first seems to be the more usual form in the western counties—Ayr, Bute, &c.—the forms with -l- being more general in the eastern counties. But everywhere the three forms and their variants are used interchangeably, often in the course of a single document. The following variant spellings have been noted:—

- (1) Ban-ach)thing, tine, tyne; -auchtyn; -otyne;
  - Bann-ach)tin(e, tyn(e, ttyne; -an)teine, tine, tyne; -en)tine, tyne; -a)teine, thin(e, thyne, thtyne, tin(e, tyn(e; -etyn; -ytyne; -och)tine, tyne; -o)tine, ttyn;
  - Ben-atyne;
  - Benn-achtyne; -atyne;
  - Bon-atyne;
  - Bonn-atyne;
- (2) Bann-a)ddene, dyne; -an)dene, dyne;
- (3) Bal-en)tyne, tun; -intein;
  - Ball-an)teine, tin(e, tyne, tyin, ton; -en)tein, tyn(e; -in)tine, tyne; -yn)tine, tyne;
  - Balnatyne;
  - Bell-anetyne; -an(tin, tyne; -en)tin, tyn(e; yngtyn;
  - Bill-entyne;
- (4) Ball-an)den(e, dyn; -en)den(e, dine, dyn(e; in)den(e, dine, dyn;
  - Bel-indain;
  - Bell-anden; -en)dain, dein, den(e, dyn(e; -indene.



useful distinguishing mark, but is frequently omitted. So that a John Bellenden, who, when designated "of Corhouse," or "of Pittendreich," for example, causes no trouble, may be a source of confusion when he appears as "Sir," or "Mr.," or plain "John Bellenden" among his landless namesakes—the priests, the notaries, the writers, the "customaris," the "wobstars," and the "marinaris."

Several families of Bellenden (or Bannatyne) are traceable in Scotland during the sixteenth century, most of whom seem to be connected with one or other of two houses—Bannatyne of Kames, in Bute, first appearing in the time of (?) Alexander III.,<sup>1</sup> and Bannatyne of Corhouse (or Corroks) in Lanarkshire (Lesmahagow), first appearing in 1361.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that these two families are themselves ultimately derived from the same stock, but no documentary evidence is forthcoming to support the suggestion. With the house of Bannatyne of Kames are connected the families of Bannatyne of Kelly, in Renfrewshire, established at least from 1488,<sup>3</sup> Bannatyne of Kerrylamont, in Bute, established at least from 1491,<sup>4</sup> and Bannatyne of Castlehill in Ayrshire, traceable from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> With the Bannatynes of Corhouse are connected the family of Bannatyne of Newhall, Haddingtonshire,<sup>6</sup> possibly the family of Bannatyne of Newtyle, Co. Forfar,<sup>7</sup> and the family of Bellenden of Auchnoull, later of

<sup>1</sup> *A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire . . .*, G. Robertson, Irvine, 1823 (Vol. I., p. 50 ff.); *History of the County of Bute*, J. E. Reid, Glasg., 1864 (p. 246 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, J. B. Paul, Edin., 1908- (Vol. II., *Bellenden of Broughton*); *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire described and delineated . . .*, G. V. Irving and A. Murray, Glasg., 1864 (Vol. II., pp. 213-16); *Annals of the Parish of Lesmahagow*, J. B. Greenshields, Edin., 1864 (p. 67 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> *A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire* (Vol. I., p. 70 f.); *A General Description of the Shire of Renfrew . . .*, G. Crawford, contd. by G. Robertson, Paisley, 1818 (p. 129). It may be noted that Bannatyne of Kames and Bannatyne of Kelly in the seventeenth century bear the same arms—gu., a chevron arg. between three mullets or, differenced in the second case by a bordure arg. (*An Ordinary of Scottish Arms*, J. B. Paul, Edin., 1904.)

<sup>4</sup> *History of the County of Bute* (p. 250 f.).

<sup>5</sup> *History of the County of Ayr . . .*, J. Paterson, Ayr, 1847-50 (Vol. I., p. 208).

<sup>6</sup> *A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire* (Vol. I., Appendix, p. 379 f.). The arms of Bannatyne of Corhouse and Bannatyne of Newhall, as borne in the seventeenth century, are somewhat similar: in the first case, arg., a cross between four mullets az.; in the second case, arg., on a cross az. between four mullets gu., a crescent or (*An Ordinary of Scottish Arms*).

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Litera Prosapia Thomæ Bannatyne*, of date 1671 (*Analecta Scotiæ*, J. Maidment, Edin., 1834-37 (Vol. I., p. 178)), "Dom. Ricardus Bannatyne Baro de Corhouse" (*fl.* 1476) and "Dom. Joannes Bannatyne de Newtyle, eques auratus" are brothers. The genealogy, however, is not reliable. There are several obvious errors: the great-grandfather of Thomas Lord Newtyle is called "James" instead of "John," and both this John, who was a Writer to the Signet, and his son James, Writer to the Signet and burgess of Edinburgh, are styled "Dominus," "de Newtyle," and "ex senatoribus regiis"—by which last, apparently, is meant "Senators of the College of Justice." But

Broughton, Co. Edinburgh, which has been traced back to one John Bellentyne, who died before 1486.<sup>1</sup> Kinship between the families of Corhouse and Auchnoull is proved by a charter, dated 4th December 1568, of John Bannatyne of Corhouse, who leaves certain lands, failing his sons James and William and their heirs male, to Lewis Bannatyne, son of John Bannatyne of Auchinoul, knight and Justice Clerk.<sup>2</sup> And Bellenden of Auchnoull and Bannatyne of Newtyle also are related. Sir Lewis of Auchnoull in 1585 refers to Lord Thomas of Newtyle as his "cusing."<sup>3</sup> Bellenden of Stenhouse in Orkney,<sup>4</sup> and Bellenden of Kilconquhar in Fife,<sup>4</sup> are cadet branches of the house of Auchnoull and Broughton. According to Lord Fountainhall,<sup>5</sup> the Bellendens of Lasswade, Co. Edinburgh, were "descended from" the Bellendens of Broughton. The relationship of other families of Bannatyne and Bellenden is uncertain—e.g., Bannatyne of Glenmaddy in Nithsdale, said to be traceable from c. 1460,<sup>6</sup> and Bellenden of Pittendreich, Co. Edinburgh, probably connected with Bellenden of Broughton.

It is the family of Bellenden of Auchnoull of which John Bellenden the translator is believed to have been a member. So far, no direct confirmation of the theory in the form, for instance, of a document signed and sealed by him, has appeared. There is, however, a certain amount of indirect evidence. The affinities of the Bellendens of Auchnoull may have been ancient enough, but as far as its own record extends, the family is a "new" product of the reign of James IV. The "founder" is Patrick Bellenden, steward to Queen Margaret Tudor, who in March 1499 had a charter from the Earl of Morton of the lands of Auchnolnys-hill, bar. Caldorcleir, Co. Edinburgh.<sup>7</sup> His wife was Mariota Douglas,

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the document is worth noting, merely as a curiosity, for the particulars it gives concerning the family of Newtyle. The "eques auratus" mentioned above, for instance, is that John Bannatyne, "bastardus," fuller and Burgess of Edinburgh, who is thought to be the father of John Bannatyne, Writer to the Signet, whose grandson George compiled the *Bannatyne Miscellany* (cf. *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, W. Tod Ritchie, S.T.S., Vol. I., 1934 (p. xxi); *Protocol Book of John Foulter III.* (Reg. Ho.), (ff. 329, 330)).

<sup>1</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, I. c. The source of this information is not stated.

<sup>2</sup> *A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire*, I. c. Robertson, however, does not state where the charter he quotes is to be found.

<sup>3</sup> *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (S.T.S.), Vol. I., p. xxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, I. c.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall (1646-1722), a passage from whose "diary" is quoted in *Churchyard Memorials of Lasswade and Pentland* (A. Reid, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, 1906-7 (p. 81 f.)): "The mother of Andrew Lauder, my fader's fader, was Jean, otherwise Elizabeth, daughter of the Ballendens of Lasswade, who were descended from the Ballendens of Broughton."

<sup>6</sup> *Folklore and Genealogies of Upper Nithsdale*, W. Wilson, Dumfries, 1904 (p. 246). The arms given as of this family are those of Bannatyne of Kames.

<sup>7</sup> *Rot. Scacc*, Vol. XIII., p. 258; XIV., p. 9; *Treas. Acc.*, Vol. IV., pp. 414, 446. Confirmation of charter mentioned, *R.M.S.*, 4 Jan. 1538-39.

who was nurse to the young King James V.<sup>1</sup> The Earls of Morton, therefore, were the superiors of the family of Bellenden of Auchnoll, and the tradition of loyalty to the house of Douglas was maintained by the successors of Patrick. His grandson, Sir John Bellenden, in his testament dated 19th September 1576,<sup>2</sup> after naming his heir Lewis and his son James, who succeeded to the estates of Kilconquhar, commits his "remanent bairnes" "to my Lord Regent's grace and my Lord Angus," and orders Lewis to serve these noblemen as he and his forbears had done. Again, Patrick Bellenden's seal carries the device of a stag's head couped between three cross crosets fitchee,<sup>3</sup> and his successors use a similar device.<sup>4</sup> What relation Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood from 1484 to 1550, bore to Patrick (who in 1486 was parish clerk of Holyrood)<sup>5</sup> is unknown, but his seal, if not identical, is similar—a stag's head couped.<sup>6</sup> He may have been the uncle or the brother of Patrick. It may be noted finally that, although the Bellendens of Auchnoll are "new men," they are easily the most conspicuous and the most important of the Bellendens who appear during the sixteenth century. Mr Thomas, son of Patrick, and his son Sir John, are in their turn Director of Chancery, Justice Clerk, and on occasion Ambassador to England.<sup>7</sup> Sir John is one of the lawyers commissioned by Mary of Lorraine in 1559 to write a description of Scotland for the benefit of the French Court.<sup>8</sup> Further, both Mr Thomas and Sir John appear to have had literary tastes, if they were not themselves precisely men of letters.<sup>9</sup>

Turning to John Bellenden, poet and translator, we find that there is a tradition, for which Bale is the ultimate authority, that he belonged to the east of Scotland. Bellenden himself certainly had a rent of the tithes of Broughton from the Abbey of Holyrood,<sup>10</sup> but this fact is of little significance here. Again, throughout Bellenden's translation

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 350, 459; Vol. XV., p. 89; Vol. XVI., pp. 82, 328, 444, 453, 552, 567, 585; Vol. XVII., pp. 15, 93, 224, 289; Vol. XVIII., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *The Scots Peerage*, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish Armorial Seals*, W. R. Macdonald, Edin., 1904 (No. 154).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 155, 156, 157, 158, 159. *Hist. MSS. Commissions Report*, 1894, Appendix, Part III., Marchmont MSS., No. 20—seal of Katherine Bellenden (daughter of Patrick) appended.

<sup>5</sup> *The Scots Peerage*, I. c. For Robert Bellenden, cf. *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis* . . . , Bann. Club, Edin., 1840 (Introduction, p. xxxii f.).

<sup>6</sup> *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *R.M.S.*, *R.S.S.*, *Treas. Acc.*, *Rot. Scacc.*, &c., *passim*. A summarised account of their career is given in *The Scots Peerage*, I. c.

<sup>8</sup> *Discours Particulier d'Escosse escrit . . . par messires Jacques Makgill Clerc du registre et Iean Bellenden clerck de la justice* . . . (Bann. Club), Edin., 1824.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Bellenden is a part transcriber of the Lambeth MS. of Gavin Douglas's *Æneid* (cf. *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, S.T.S., Vol. I., p. xxxvii). In Edin. Univ. Lib. are a *Materia Medica* (Peter Pena and Mathew de Lobel, Lond., 1570) and a Greek Testament (Paris, 1550) bearing the signature of Sir John Bellenden.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. p. 431.

of the *Chronicles*, his devotion to the Douglas cause is conspicuous. One may refer especially to Book XIV., Chapter 8, where his testimony seems even injudiciously vehement :—

“ Of this James discendit þe illuster surname of Dowglas. quhilkis war euir the sicker targe & weirwal of Scotland aganis Inglismen, & wan mony landis be þair syngular manheid & vas-salage For it is said in þe brucis buke :—

Sa mony gud as of þe Douglas hes bene  
Of ane surname vvas neuir in Scotland sene.

For thay decorit þis realme with mony noble actis, & be glore of marciall dedis grew in gret estimation. Nochtheles thair hicht and gret pissance baith in manrent and landis was sa suspect to the kingis (quhilkis succedit efter þame) that it was the caus of thair declination, and zit sen that surname wes put down, Scotland hes done few vailzeant dedis in Inland.”

—Davidson’s ed.

There is, too, a very pointed reference in the *Proheme of the History* :—

“ Schaw how gret baronis for thair euyll obeysance  
Aganis thair prince makand rebellyon  
Deieckit bene fra thair hie gouernance  
And brocht to finall extermynion.  
Schaw how na hous of gret dominion,  
Na men of riches, nor excellent mycht,  
May lang continew in this region.  
Becaus the pepyll may not suffer hycht.”

—Davidson’s ed.

It is noteworthy that certain of the early manuscripts have a significant variant reading for the last line :—

“ Becaus þe kingis may nocht suffer hycht.”

—MS. A.

One further point may be mentioned. In the printed edition of the *Chronicles* (Book XII., Chapter 16), after the account of the foundation of Holyrood Abbey, there occurs the following passage :—

“ þis abbay was laitly in gouernance of ane gud man den Robert Bellenden abbot xvi zeris. He delt ilk owlk iiij bowis of quheit & xl s. of syluer amang pure houshaldaris and indigent pepyl. He brocht hame þe gret bellis the gret brasyn fount xxiiii capis of gold and sylk. He maid ane chalice of fyne gold, ane eucharist with sindry chalcis of siluer. He thekkit þe kirk with leid. He biggit ane brig of leith ane othir our Clide, with mony othir gud workis, quhilkis war our prolix to schaw. Nochtheles he was sa iniurijt be sindry othir prelatis, becaus he was not geuyn to lust & insolence efter þair maner, þ<sup>t</sup> he left the abbay, & deit ane chartour monk.”

This notice of the Abbot would scarcely have been inserted by anyone, not either a monk of the Abbey or a relative ; the particulars are too minute to have been preserved over a period of thirty years, unless

by personal knowledge or family or monastic tradition. John Bellenden was not a monk of Holyrood, but he may well have been a kinsman of the Abbot. It is possible that he was a younger son of Patrick Bellenden, and hence the brother of Mr Thomas Bellenden, and the uncle of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul.

The date of John Bellenden's birth is unknown, and the first entry in contemporary records which can be assigned to him occurs in the matriculation roll of St Andrews University.<sup>1</sup> "Johannes Ballentyn," of the Lothian nation, matriculates "in collegio"—*i.e.*, as a member of St Salvator's College, in 1508; and, after the prescribed four years' interval, in 1512, a "Johannes Ballanton" gains his licentiate. According to the regulations of the University at that time, the student must be over fourteen years of age at the time of his incorporation,<sup>1</sup> but the rule was not always observed. Assuming, however, that "John Ballentyn" was fourteen at the time of admission, the date of his birth would be *c.* 1495. The description "nationis Laudoniæ" is a very general one, and implies merely that the student was a native of some part of Scotland included in the bounds of the archdeaconry of Lothian—*i.e.*, roughly, any district south-east of Stirling. The only reasons for assigning these entries to John Bellenden the poet are, that the latter is known to have been a Master of Arts, and, according to seventeenth-century tradition, of St Andrews University; and that he was probably a member of the family of Bellenden of Auchnoul, in Lothian. The dates also, assuming that Bellenden entered the University at the normal age, would agree with the known facts of his life.

There are, however, other claimants. Mr Tod Ritchie in his introduction to *The Bannatyne Manuscript*,<sup>2</sup> appears to assume that the "John Ballentyn (or Ballanton)" here mentioned is one John Bannatyne, Writer to the Signet, grandfather of the compiler of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*. Apart from considerations of date, the identification is impossible, because the Writer to the Signet is never once described, nor does he describe himself as "Master"—a title which, if he had held the degree, he would surely have claimed, and which must have occurred among the score or more of extant references to him. There are two other possible claimants: one is Master John Bannatyne, secretary to Cardinal David Beaton (*fl. c.* 1536-41), and the other is Master John Bannatyne, Notary Public, of Newbottle (*fl.* 1518-*d.* 1557), who signs himself as "Master of Arts" and "clerk of the diocese of St Andrews." The weight of probability, if not proof, however, favours John Bellenden the poet.

Bellenden's next appearance is as a Court official. In his poem the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* occurs the following passage:—

" And fyrst occurrit to my remembering  
How that I wes in seruice with the kyng  
Put to his grace in zeris tenderest,  
Clerk of his comptis, poucht I wes inding

<sup>1</sup> *Early Records of the University of St Andrews*, ed. J. M. Anderson (S.H.S.), Intro., p. xxx; cf. also p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, S.T.S., Vol. I., p. lxxxvi.

With hart and hand and euey othir thing  
 That mycht hym pleis in ony maner best.  
 Quhill hie inuy me from his seruice kest,  
 Be thaym that had the court in gouerning  
 As bird but plumes heryit of the nest."

—Davidson's ed.

Entries in the *Exchequer Rolls*<sup>1</sup> show that a Master John Bellenden was "clerk of expenses" ("clericus expensarum") in the King's household from 1515 to 1522. The office itself, and the date at which it was held, agree so well with Bellenden's description that there can be no doubt that he is the person mentioned in the Rolls. It may be remarked that such a position in the royal household would be readily attained by a kinsman of Patrick Bellenden, late steward to the Queen. Master John Bellenden is also termed "abbreviator compotorum,"<sup>1</sup> a title which gives a better idea of his duties. He would seem to have been responsible for the preparation of the digest of the various household accounts—the "liber dietarum," "liber expensarum ad extra," "liber clerici garderobe"—which, at irregular intervals of a year or more, was presented at the Exchequer for audit.<sup>1</sup> At this period each of the households of the King, the Queen, and the Governor had its "clerk of expenses"; and these officials seem to have drawn substantial yearly pensions, as well as allowances for food and drink, and livery clothes.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to decide how far amounts paid to individuals in certain years are representative and customary, but it would seem that about the time of Bellenden's service the clerk of expenses in the King's household received a yearly fee of 10 lib. from the Comptroller, and probably an equal sum from the Treasurer.<sup>3</sup> The record of payments to John Bellenden in this capacity, however, is fragmentary. He receives a payment of 50 shillings for the Martinmas Term of 1516; and in May 1522, in an account covering a period of three years and nine months, a payment of 30 lib. There are no identifiable references to him in the *Treasurer's Accounts* at this period. During 1513-14 and 1514-15 Mr John Chesholm is clerk of expenses in the King's household, and receives a salary of 10 lib. yearly, augmented in the latter case by a gift of 30 lib. Later in 1515 he is referred to as "clerk of the Exchequer," receiving a yearly fee of 10 lib.<sup>4</sup> The first reference to John Bellenden as holding the office is of date August 1515; and it would seem that he is the successor, rather than the deputy or the colleague, of Mr John Chesholm, who is not thenceforth referred to as "clerk of expenses." John Bellenden apparently retained his office until August 1522; but after that date Mr John Cantlie, Archdeacon of St Andrews, appears as clerk of expenses in the King's house-

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Rolls*, Vol. XIV., pp. 119, 228, 321, 466; XV., pp. 88, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rot. Scacc.*, Vols. XIV., XV.; *Treas. Acc.*, Vols. IV., V.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XIV., p. 55 (Mr John Chesholm); Vol. XV., p. 200 (Mr John Cantlie). *Treas. Acc.*, Vol. V., p. 435 (Sir George Scott): cf. p. 438, where it appears that Sir George Scott, as "abbreviatour of the Kingis expens of houshold," receives a yearly fee of 20 lib. from the Treasurer in 1530-31.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 8, 11, 42, 55, 87, 102, 199.

hold.<sup>1</sup> August 1522, therefore, is the date of Bellenden's much resented dismissal from the King's service. Bellenden, as we have seen, was a "Douglas's man," and the author of his dismissal was no doubt the Duke of Albany, who had returned to Scotland for the second time in November 1521, and was busy all through the succeeding year in the attempt to consolidate his position in the country. "Hie inuy me from his service kest": Bellenden was an unimportant sufferer in the struggle between powerful factions.

For several years from 1522 onwards Bellenden's name disappears from the records. It is possible that it was at this time that he went to Paris, to the Sorbonne, and took the degree of Doctor of Theology with which Bale credits him. In 1528, however, entries relating to Bellenden appear in the Vatican Archives.<sup>2</sup> On 14th September 1528 Sir James Douglas, Canon of the Cathedral of Ross and Rector of "Lynnalar" (? "Lymnalar"—*i.e.*, Lumlair) resigns, through a procurator, his canonicate and prebend in favour of John "Bellentyne," "clerici sancti Andree diocesis." The fruits of the benefice are reserved to James Douglas during his lifetime, "loco pensionis annue que transeat ad successores"; and in the event of Bellenden's death or demission Douglas is to have the right of regress. Bellenden, by the same procurator, gives his consent. The original instruments in each case are stated to be of date 2nd May 1527. Bellenden henceforward is styled "Canon of Ross" (he is so described when witnessing a document of 3rd February 1531-32)<sup>3</sup>; but he did not touch the fruits of the benefice until 1542. On 1st June of that year John "Bellandean," through a procurator, binds himself to pay to the Camera the annate of the canonicate and rectory of "Limlar," which is said to be vacant on the resignation of Robert Kincaid (apparently a "successor" appointed by James Douglas), who likewise binds himself to pay the annate, in case of regress.<sup>4</sup> Bellenden therefore had little profit from this benefice. Lumlair was not in itself a lucrative prebend: its annual value is assessed by the Papal Camera in 1542 at twelve pounds sterling, and by its rector in 1561 at one hundred marks, or £66, 13s. 4d. (Scots).<sup>5</sup> It was one of the seven prebends of the second foundation in the Cathedral of Ross.<sup>6</sup> The rector, as a resident canon, had his manse and croft in the canonry, and his vicar choral to deputise for him in the choir. According to thirteenth-century statute he was bound to reside the whole year round; but according to sixteenth-century practice would be in residence only for a few months in each year. Bellenden retained the rectory of Lumlair until his death, but he cannot in practice have

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XV., pp. 88, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, f. 124 f.

<sup>3</sup> *R.S.S.* 1532 (Vol. 1513-46), No. 1333.

<sup>4</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.33, f. 138.

<sup>5</sup> From *The Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices*, quoted in *Origines Parochiales* (C. Innes (Bann. Club), Edin., 1850-55 (Vol. II., p. 481 f.)).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *The Charters of the Priory of Beaully* (E. C. Batten (Grampian Club), 1877), where, under Charter No. xxi., an account of the bishopric of Ross is given. Cf. p. 200 ff.

resided except during the years 1542-45, and then only for a few months annually. The rectorship, during his tenure of it, was probably never more than a sinecure.

In 1528 also a "Master John Ballentyne" appears in the rôle of secretary to the Earl of Angus. The reference in the *Acts of Parliament*<sup>1</sup> is not explicit. We are told merely that "maistir Iohnne ballentyne seruitour and secretar to Archibald Erle of Anguss" appeared before Parliament on 4th September and entered a formal protest against the citation of Angus, his brother, and his uncle as traitors to the Crown. The secretary's position is picturesquely dangerous. As Master David Hume observes,<sup>2</sup> his "was both an honest part toward his patron and a wise and stout part in itself," but public adherence to the Douglas cause at this stage could mean only banishment and forfeiture, or worse. Perhaps because it has this flavour of the heroic, the incident is appropriated for the career of the Writer to the Signet before mentioned.<sup>3</sup> Not only, however, is it unlikely that a man who in 1532 is described as "seiklie" and "of gret aige" would in 1528 interrupt a lucrative career for such a thankless task, but there is actually a record of John Bannatyne the Writer's having received his usual salary for the half-year August 1528 to March 1529. Even more conclusive are the words of Angus's protest; the accused will not appear because "we can gett na procuratour nor aduocat to speik for ws"—surely a remarkably feeble excuse, if the Earl's own secretary were a man of law. For the same reason, it seems, we may rule out that Master John Bannatyne, Notary Public, who on later occasions draws instruments for the Earl of Angus. Hume's identification of Angus's secretary with Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul<sup>4</sup> is flatly impossible, because in 1528 Sir John Bellenden was only eight years old. But there are no objections to be made to Master John Bellenden, the poet, as Angus's secretary; and, to support the identification, we have his continued and outspoken championship of the house of Douglas. James V. was sufficiently implacable to his enemies to make such adherence highly dangerous—much more dangerous, however, in the case of a layman than that of an ecclesiastic, and by 1528 Bellenden was already in orders. It may be noted also that certain of the extant letters<sup>5</sup> from the Earl of Angus at this date are written in a hand which

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, 1528, Vol. II., pp. 322, 324.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, p. 258 (1644 ed.). An approving notice of the Secretary's conduct is given in *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland* . . . (G. Crawford, Edin., 1726 (Vol. I.), p. 70): "We may here observe that the Earl had the fate of all disgrac'd Ministers, to be forsaken of all his friends: For tho' he had very many relations there, and many more whom he had obliged by Offices of Kindness, yet there was no Man within those Walls who offered to speak one single Word in his Favour, save one generous Friend, Mr John Bellenden, who had been his Secretary, who had the Courage and Kindness to offer some Defences in his Name . . ."

<sup>3</sup> *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (S.T.S.), Vol. I., p. xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*, I. c.

<sup>5</sup> *L.P.* (1528, Vol. IV., Part II.), Nos. 3776, 3777, 4105, 4115, 4116, 4298, 4717, 4729, 4730, 4731, 4922, 4923; also 5565.



has some points of similarity to Bellenden's. The only known specimen of the latter's handwriting<sup>1</sup> is the draft MS. of the *Livy* (B.M. add. MS., 36, 678), which is very hastily written and in parts almost illegible. Angus's letters are, of course, carefully written; and the effect of "labouring" a naturally bold, rapid, and highly cursive hand is greatly to change its character. The comparison, however, is one from which only the most definite positive results would be of value. Bellenden may have written none of these letters, and still have acted as "seruitour and secretar" to the Earl of Angus.

What penalty Bellenden suffered for this office to his patron is not known;<sup>2</sup> but in April 1529 a precept of remission is granted to Master John Bannatyne and his servant, William Fleming, for their treasonable assistance to the house of Douglas.<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been the turning-point in Bellenden's fortunes. He appears to have chosen the literary road to the royal favour, and for a few years pursues it with some success. By the end of 1530 he is known as a rising poet,<sup>4</sup> and is busy on a commission from the King<sup>5</sup>—the translation of Boece's recently published *Scotorum Historiæ*. This is completed and paid for during the following year. By the middle of 1533, Bellenden has completed a translation of the first two books of *Livy*, and has presented "ane new cornikle" to the King.<sup>6</sup> During the ensuing six months a further three books of *Livy* are translated; but here Bellenden's literary labours seem to have ended.

The reason is, no doubt, that by August 1533, the same month in which he presented his new chronicle to King James, Bellenden had received preferment in the Church. On 27th August 1533<sup>7</sup> James Douglas, through a procurator, binds himself to pay to the Camera the annate for reservation of fruits and regress to the archdeaconry of Moray; and John "Ballentynn," through the same procurator, binds himself to pay the annate of the archdeaconry, to which he is provided, when the reservation of fruits shall have ceased. When, or if ever, Bellenden received the fruits of the archdeaconry (assessed at twenty pounds sterling by the Camera) is not known. Douglas must have died some time before June 1542, when Robert Kincaid is found to be in possession of the fruits of Lumlair rectory;<sup>8</sup> but this fact is not very helpful here.

What qualifications the poet and translator had for directing the legal affairs and the administration of a diocese is not clear, and of the way in which he carried out his duties not a hint can be gathered.

<sup>1</sup> In Edinburgh University Library is a scrap of paper taken from an old binding which carries the signature, possibly Bellenden's—"Magister Joannes Bellenden me jure ep<sup>o</sup>njs possidet." (Facsimile No. I.)

<sup>2</sup> *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, 1513-1575* (Bann. Club, 1833) has the following entry: "Wpoun the ffyft day of September (1528) the said Archibald erle of Angus, and Alexander Drummond of Carnok, was foirfaltit in this Parliament and all that haid companie with thame wer put to the horne."

<sup>3</sup> *R. Privy S.S.* 1529, Vol. II., No. 56. <sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 455 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 437.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 437 f. and p. 448.

<sup>7</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, f. 267 F. <sup>8</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 425.

So far, only one entry has appeared in which Bellenden is officially styled "Archdeacon of Moray": this is a confirmation, under the Great Seal, of a charter dated 20th December 1538, which he witnesses. The Archdeacon's office was an onerous one, and it may well be that Bellenden found it incompatible with literary pursuits. At any rate, about the end of 1538, he effected an exchange of benefices with another churchman. Archibald Dunbar, who from January 1537 had been precentor of Glasgow, at least from January 1540, and very possibly before that date, signs documents as Archdeacon of Moray. From March 1539 Mr John "Ballenden" (or "Bellantyne") witnesses documents as precentor of Glasgow.<sup>1</sup> Instruments relating the resignation of each benefice in favour of Dunbar and Bellenden respectively, or the admission of the new canon in each case, have not appeared; but the evidence as it stands seems conclusive. Such exchanges were forbidden by canon law, but were commonly practised by sixteenth-century ecclesiastics. As the archdeaconry of Moray, deriving its revenues from the parishes of Forres and Edinkylie, was worth considerably less than the precentorship of Glasgow, with the rectory of Kilbride—£146, 13s. 4d. as against £266, 13s. 4d. in 1561<sup>2</sup>—there must have been some financial arrangement between Dunbar and Bellenden. In October 1539, Robert Clerk, subchanter of Glasgow, died;<sup>3</sup> and from then onwards until 1551<sup>4</sup> Archibald Dunbar held the succentorship and its prebend of Durisdeer. There may be some connection between Dunbar's acquisition of this benefice and his surrender of the precentorship some twelve months before.

Archibald Dunbar, however, had not been the unchallenged possessor of Glasgow chantry, and his successor inherited his difficulties as well as his benefice, whose chequered history needs some explanation. As early as 1523 one John Duncanson<sup>5</sup> had laid claim to the precentorship

<sup>1</sup> R.S.S. 1538, No. 1877; *Librum Rubeum ecclesie Moravien*: (*Moray Cartulary II.*) 1540, ff. 156<sup>b</sup>-163<sup>b</sup>, 182<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>, 1541, ff. 155, 165<sup>b</sup>-173, 264<sup>a</sup>-6<sup>a</sup>; *George Makeson's Protocol Book*, 1539; *Excerpta e libris protoc. M. C. Simonis*, 1537, f. 11<sup>b</sup>-12<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 4623, Vol. II., ff. 179<sup>b</sup>, 200<sup>a</sup> (copy of MS. of *Assumption of Thirds of Benefices* (1561)). In addition to the "personage and vicarage of Kilbride," "the personage and vicarage of Thankerton" (£26, 13s. 4d.) is stated to pertain to the "Chantor." It did pertain to John Stevenson, last precentor of Glasgow and a notable pluralist, in 1561, but was not normally a prebend attaching to the precentorship. The assessment of the precentorship by the Apostolic Camera varies: in 1543 it is put at 30 lib. sterling, in 1545 at 60 lib. sterling (cf. *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.33, f. 143, 171). The archdeaconry of Moray is assessed at 20 lib. sterling in 1533 (*P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, f. 267 F.).

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 4631, Vol. I., f. 158 (date given as 10 Oct. 1539). The MS. contains various excerpts from the Registers of Glasgow Cathedral, including a list of obits: the list is printed in *The History of Glasgow*, R. Renwick and J. Lindsay, Glasg., 1921 (Vol. I.), p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. letter presenting Mr John Hamilton to the succentorship of Glasgow, vacant by the resignation of Archibald Dunbar, 6th July 1551 (*R.S.S.*, xxiv, 88).

<sup>5</sup> His name is given either as "Duncani" or as "Duncanson."

of Glasgow at the Court of Rome. Duncanson was a priest of the diocese of Glasgow,<sup>1</sup> a protonotary,<sup>2</sup> and, at least during Albany's administration (1521-22), King's Chaplain,<sup>3</sup> but as early as 1512,<sup>4</sup> and thenceforward during the greater part of his career, he appears to have been in residence at the Court of Rome. From this strategic position he impetrates for benefice after benefice, either on his own behalf or as a procurator on behalf of others. In January 1523-24<sup>5</sup> James V. addresses a protest to Rome against Duncanson in the matter of Glasgow chantry, but, it would seem, without avail; for from 1524-25 onwards,<sup>6</sup> although his right to the benefice is strenuously denied by the King, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Cathedral Chapter, Duncanson is consistently termed "precentor of Glasgow." On 19th March 1524,<sup>7</sup> indeed, he resigns the precentorship in favour of Sir Alexander Hervy, also a clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, but the resignation cannot have been effected. In 1529, Duncanson, with Alexander Hervy, attempted to purchase the archdeaconry of Moray in the Court of Rome "as reservit be familiarite of umquhile schir Thomas Nudry."<sup>8</sup> But since the see of Moray had been vacant, following the death of Bishop Robert Schaw in 1527,<sup>9</sup> for about two years, the right of presentation to all benefices within the diocese had reverted to the Crown; and, in fact, Master James Douglas, the Crown presentee, had been since 1527 in lawful possession of the archdeaconry. The case was brought before the Lords of Council in December 1529.<sup>10</sup> Alexander Hervy renounced all right to the archdeaconry, but both he and Duncanson, convicted of barratry, were declared outlaws and put to the horn, their goods, including the fruits of any benefices they might hold, becoming escheat to the Crown. Outlawry, however, had no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hib. et Scot. Historiam Illustrantia*, p. 526 f.—a petition for the presentation of Thomas Car to the abbacy of Kelso (Oct. 1517); Duncanson is described as "venerabilis vir Dominus Johannes Duncane, clericus glasguensis diocesis, Sanctissimi Domini nostri scutifer, procurator et solicitator dicte cause."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Reg. Ho. Charters*, No. 966 (4 Jan. 1524-25); Bull of Clement VII. (4 May 1525), quoted in *Carte Monialium de Northberwic* . . . (C. Innes, Bann. Club, 1847), pp. 39, 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. III., Nos. 1874, 1939.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I., No. 1135.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., No. 78 (letter of Jas. V. to Cardinal of Ancona, dated 31 Jan. 1523-24).

<sup>6</sup> *Reg. Ho. Charters*, No. 966 (4 Jan. 1524-25); *Latin MS.* 200 (Rylands Lib.), orig. instrument relating settlement of a dispute over the vicarage of the parish church of Abercherdo, dioc. of Moray (27 Sept. 1526) (cf. *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, f. 121); *Protocol Bk. of Sir John Cristison* (S.R.S.), No. 127 (2 Sept. 1534); so until 3 Sept. 1544 (cf. *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, 9.33, &c., *passim*).

<sup>7</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.32, f. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas's predecessor in the archdeaconry of Moray.

<sup>9</sup> *The Bishops of Scotland* (J. Dowden, ed. J. M. Thomson, Glasg., 1912), p. 168 f. On 9 Dec. 1529 the vicar-general is still in authority "sede vacante."

<sup>10</sup> *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 1501-54, p. 319.

effect on Duncanson. In 1530,<sup>1</sup> in spite of the protests of the Dean and Chapter, he was admitted to hold not only the precentorship, but also the rectory of Glasgow, called "Glasgow primo." This irregularity seems to have been viewed with disapproval even by the less reputable members of the Scottish Church. One of the offences alleged against Sir James Salmond by the Papal Camera at his trial in 1537<sup>2</sup> is that—

"dictus Jacobus publice et pertinaciter (etiam aliis Scotis impugnantibus eius opinionem) dixerit et affirmaverit papam non posse dispensare cum domino Johanne duncanj ad obtinendum duos Canonicatus sub uno tecte."

Duncanson, however, remained safely in Rome, and dealt with his (confiscated) benefices as he saw fit. On 11th January 1532 he agrees to pay an annual pension of twelve marks from the revenues of the precentorship of Glasgow to Sir Archibald Sympson for the saying of certain masses.<sup>3</sup> James V. in 1534<sup>4</sup> makes an unsuccessful plea to Rome against Duncanson; but by 1536 the Dean and Chapter seem to have revolted against the imposition of a precentor-cum-rector perpetually established in Rome, and in fact a fugitive. After repeated citation of Duncanson (which he had disregarded), Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, on 9th January 1536-37, declared him ejected from the precentorship and Archibald Dunbar admitted in his place.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile King James had been bestowing the dues of Duncanson's benefices, as Crown property, in a series of gifts,<sup>6</sup> by which on two occasions Mr John Bellenden profits. In September 1537 Bellenden receives from the Crown a gift of the fruits of the parsonage and chantry of Glasgow "and utheris pensionis and benefices pertenying to Schir Johne Duncany," and the fruits of Alexander Hervy's benefices (unspecified) for the year 1536. In 1538 he receives a gift of these persons' incomes for 1537.<sup>7</sup> But as in January 1537 the precentorship had passed to Archibald Dunbar, the second gift, although this is not clearly specified, com-

<sup>1</sup> *Excerpta e libris protocollorum M. C. Simonis* (Nat. Lib.), f. 8<sup>a</sup> (4 June 1530).

<sup>2</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9,65 (*Arch. di Stato*: a notary's copy of evidence in the case against Sir Jas. Salmond, David Bonar, and John Smith, Scotsmen, 12 Feb. 1537).

<sup>3</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9,32, f. 202 f. The name "Sympson" is a conjecture from "Syrison" or "Syxson" of the transcript.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers*, Vol. VII., No. 360 (22 March 1533-34).

<sup>5</sup> *Ex. e lib. prot. M. C. Simonis*, 157, ff. 11<sup>b</sup>-12<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *R.S.S.*, II., Nos. 2141, 2288, 2802, 2806, 3581, 4336. The most noteworthy of these entries is No. 2141, whereby "Thomas Daudsoun imprentar" receives the gift of all goods "quhatsumever" (including the fruits of benefices) of "Schir Johne Duncain Alexander Harvy and Schir Patrik Mure chaplane" (letter dated at Stirling, 26 Aug. 1536). Duncanson, however, seems to have been supplied with funds from Scotland, in spite of the official confiscation of his property: cf. the list of remittances to him in Rome, from Henry Forsycht, prebendary of Monymusk, during the years 1532-34 (*Protocol Book of Sir John Christisone* (S.R.S.), No. 127).

<sup>7</sup> *R.S.S.* 1537, Vol. II., No. 2368; 1538, Vol. II., No. 2522; cf. *Treas. Acc.* for 1538, Vol. VI., p. 374.

prises Hervy's goods and the fruits of the parsonage of Glasgow, but does not include the fruits of the chantry. The later history of the parsonage, or rectory, and its fruits is interesting. King James awarded the fruits for 1538 to one William Linlithgow,<sup>1</sup> and in December 1538 Henry Sinclair, later Dean of Glasgow, was admitted to the rectory; <sup>2</sup> but Duncanson persisted in his claim to the benefice, and meanwhile (12th January 1538)<sup>3</sup> had conveyed his alleged right in it to Cardinal Trani. The result was a three years' struggle<sup>4</sup> between the King and Sinclair on the one hand and the Cardinal and Duncanson on the other. Considering these facts, and Duncanson's reputation as a mischief-maker—according to Archbishop Dunbar there is "none more double in our realm" than he, and James declares him to be "veterator technis" ("grown grey in stratagems")—Bellenden could scarcely hope for peaceable possession of his new benefice.

His tenure was not immediately disturbed, however, and during the interval there occur certain additions to his wealth and property, which it will be convenient to notice here. Composition for the gifts already mentioned was paid during the year 1538 in two sums of three hundred pounds.<sup>5</sup> In 1538 also Bellenden had received from the monastery of Holyrood a nineteen years' tack of the "teynd schevis" of the town and regality of Broughton, "with þe bern, bernzard and stabillis pertening perto and þer pertinentis." The original letter of tack, dated at Holyrood 26th October 1538, is referred to, but unfortunately not quoted in full, in an instrument of date 17th April 1543-44,<sup>6</sup> whereby it is related that, in accordance with a letter of assignation (not quoted), dated at Edinburgh 26th November 1538, and drawn by Master John Bellenden, who in the instrument of 1544 is called precentor of Glasgow, and with a precept of the Governor, dated at Edinburgh 12th April 1543-44, which is quoted in full, John Kincaid of Wariston, Margaret Bellenden his wife, sister of Master John Bellenden, and their son John Kincaid, have been duly entered in possession of the said property as lawful cessioners and assigns of the said Master John. The document is interesting in several ways; not least in its suggestion that Bellenden's family connections lay in Lothian and the county of Edinburgh.

In December 1540<sup>7</sup> Bellenden receives the gift of the "teynd schaves" of "Nauerstoun and mure of Kirkbryde" for the years 1538 and 1539; certain dues in money and poultry from the lands of Lekprevik and the "schelis" and mill of Kirkbryde for the Martinmas Term of 1539; and the "teynd schaves" of Flemyngtoun for the years 1538 and 1539—all of which had belonged to Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart, who on 16th August 1540 had been executed for treason, and whose property had become escheat to the Crown. During 1541 Bellenden pays composition in the sum of twenty pounds on the second gift, and thirty-three pounds on the first. From the wording of the entry

<sup>1</sup> R.S.S., II., No. 2806; *Treas. Acc.*, Vol. VII., p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Exc. e lib. prot. M. C. Simonis*, f. 12<sup>b</sup> f. (18 Dec. 1538).

<sup>3</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.33, f. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers*, XIV., i, 1345; ii, 6, 8, 483, 484, 673; XV., 933.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 430, n. 7. <sup>6</sup> *Prot. Book of Alex. Makneill*, ff. 77<sup>b</sup>-78<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> R.S.S. 1540, Vol. II., No. 3729, 3739; cf. *Treas. Acc.*, Vol. VII., p. 384.

in the *Treasurer's Accounts* it would seem that the latter sum is the fee for the tithes of "Nauerstoun and mure of Kirkbryde" only; but if so, there is no record of any composition having been paid for the remainder of the gift.

Meanwhile, however he had served the Cathedral of Ross or the diocese of Moray, Bellenden was at least a resident precentor of Glasgow Cathedral, which, as we have seen, had not latterly been so fortunate in its officials. After the close of the year 1538 only three entries of the Chapter notary survive—for February and June 1539 and for May 1540;<sup>1</sup> on all occasions the precentor is present. It is perhaps significant that the first of these entries relates to a trial for heresy. In October 1539 and June 1542 "Mr John Bellantyne precentor," with other canons, witnesses endowments made by the Archbishop to the Collegiate Church of Our Lady in Glasgow.<sup>2</sup>

According to the statute of Bishop John (1433),<sup>3</sup> the duties of the precentor of Glasgow Cathedral were as follows:—

"*De officio cantoris*: Cantoris officium cum Choris in cantuum elevatione et depressione regere Cantores et Ministros altaris in tabula ordinare: Ad illum etiam pertinet puerorum instructio et disciplina et eorundem in Choro admissio et ordinatio. Preterea in majoribus festis duplicibus tenetur interesse regimine Chori, et in omni Dominica festo . . . chori de Cantibus injungendis et incipiendis tenetur instruere. Preterea omnes Cantus ab Episcopo incipiendos ipso Episcopo in propria persona tenetur injungere."

Altogether the office was both dignified and important, but its duties and responsibilities were comparatively circumscribed, and the precentor must have enjoyed an agreeable amount of leisure. That none of Bellenden's known literary works are traceable to this period may, as Con's statement suggests,<sup>4</sup> be due to a growing preoccupation with the religious disputes of the day. But at least his reputation for literature and learning seems to have flourished. It must be more than a coincidence that, of the few identifiably early inscriptions in the surviving printed copies of the *Boece*, at least two show owners connected with Glasgow Cathedral—Alexander Dick, the redoubtable Archdeacon, and the Rector, Henry Sinclair. In Glasgow, too, a new dignity is conferred on Bellenden: in October 1542 he is elected Rector of the University, and is re-elected to the office in 1543 and 1544.<sup>5</sup>

The Rector of Glasgow University stood in authority next to the Chancellor (the Bishop of the diocese), who in practice delegated his powers.<sup>6</sup> The Rector therefore was the responsible head of the University, and supervised its administration. All members of the University, resident graduates and teachers as well as students, were represented in his election. It was the practice to elect a churchman to the

<sup>1</sup> *Exc. e lib. prot. M. C. Simonis*, f. 13<sup>a</sup> f., Nos. 59, 60, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine (Liber Ecclesie B. V. Marie et S. Anne, Glasgow)*, J. Robertson, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *Chartularium Glasguense* (Nat. Lib., Adv. MS. 34.4.5. (transcript)), Vol. I., f. clxxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 413.

<sup>5</sup> *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasg.*, C. Innes, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854, Vol. II., pp. 166-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Scottish University Studies* (A. Morgan, Oxford, 1933), pp. I, 4; cf. also pp. 10 f., 15.

office, although the clerical qualification was not statutory. But in Bellenden's case it is probable that his literary reputation was a deciding factor. It is interesting to note that, exactly twenty years before, John Major the historian had concluded his term of office as Regent in the same University.<sup>1</sup>

In 1543 a puzzling entry appears in the Vatican Archives. From this document<sup>2</sup> we learn that, on 1st March 1543, "Patrick Bellenden" binds himself, in the event of "John Bellenden's" death or demission, to pay the annate of the precentorship, the fruits of which, with the right of regress, he has reserved to himself, if and when a pension of twenty-five ducats "auri de Camera"—*i.e.*, one-third of the estimated revenue of the precentorship—ceases to be paid to John Forman. John Bellenden likewise promises, when the said pension ceases, to pay the annate of his provision to the precentorship. As far as we know the facts, the transaction is impossible; the most plausible explanation is that the scribe of the Curia has confused the Christian names of the two parties. Patrick Bellenden has never held the precentorship, and cannot therefore be resigning it; but John Bellenden may very well have desired to establish a family claim to the precentorship by transferring the title of his office to some (younger) kinsman, while he himself retained its revenues. The only Patrick Bellenden discoverable in the records at this period is Patrick Bellenden, brother german to Mr John Bellenden of "Auchnownishill," who on 24th February 1549-50 is presented to the vicarage of the parish church of Sprouston, in the diocese of Glasgow.<sup>3</sup> The identification of the two Patricks is the barest conjecture, but, if it could be confirmed, it would establish at once the kinship of John Bellenden with the house of Auchnoull, for Patrick Bellenden of the obligation is certainly a kinsman of the poet. The transfer, however, cannot have been effected: for, as we have seen, John Bellenden is still titular precentor of Glasgow in 1544.

In 1545, so the University records inform us, there was no rectorial election, because the plague was raging in the city of Glasgow ("propter pestem grassantem in civitate Glasguensi").<sup>4</sup> This was no mere local visitation. Outbreaks of plague were a common enough disaster in sixteenth-century Scotland—to be entered in diaries and chronicles with less emotion than the last hard frost, and to be dealt with by the burgh authorities as methodically and hopelessly as were "sornaris" and "vagaboundis," or any other perpetual nuisance. But in 1545 practically the whole of Scotland seems to have been in the grip of the disease. According to a contemporary, John Smith, the historian monk of Kinloss<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *A History of the University of Glasgow . . .*, J. Coutts, Glasg., 1909. There is no mention of Bellenden. Cbalmers (cf. his MS. notes on *Scots Poets* (Edin. Univ.), Vol. I., p. 56 (cf. also pp. 66, 67) and M'Ure seem to have been the only writers to connect, even conjecturally, the Rector of Glasgow University with Bellenden the poet.

<sup>2</sup> *P.R.O. Transcripts*, 9.33, f. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *R.S.S.*, xxiii, f. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 432, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> B.M., Harl. MS. 2363, f. 59 (printed in *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, J. Stuart, Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, Edin., 1872, p. 11).

“Anno m<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> xlv<sup>o</sup> xxiii<sup>o</sup> Junij grassabatur pestilencia in edinburgo leytht newbottill dundee Aberdonia et in multis aliis burgis et villis Scocie et perierunt in eadem pestilencia quam plurimj homines mulieres et peruuli et diuersi religiosi.”

In 1545 therefore, of all years, it would have been convenient and desirable to leave Scotland, and “pas bezond seyis.” It was in 1545, we note, that Ferrerius, “natalis soli dulcedine captus,”<sup>1</sup> finally departed from Scotland. John Bellenden, it would seem, did likewise. In 1546 Glasgow has a new Rector; after 1544 the precentor of Glasgow no longer appears as a witness to Scottish documents; but in April 1546-47 “Magister et Dominus Johannes Bellenden precentor glasguensis” appears in a list of Scottish ecclesiastics “de presenti Rome agentes,” who are named as procurators for the purchase of a benefice (the deanery of Restalrig) in the Court of Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Bellenden, however, had other and more urgent reasons for his departure to Rome. Between 3rd September and 17th November 1544 Sir John Duncanson died; but before his death he had taken pains to transfer to new pretenders all the benefices to which he had laid claim. On 3rd September 1544 he resigned the vicarage of the parish church of Kilbarchane, diocese of Glasgow, to Sir William Allan;<sup>3</sup> the vicarage of the parish church of Hassindean, diocese of Glasgow, to Sir John Andrew, or Anderson;<sup>4</sup> the rectory of Esse, diocese of St Andrews, to Sir John Gray;<sup>5</sup> and the precentorship of Glasgow to Sir William Fogo.<sup>6</sup> This Fogo had previously acted as procurator for John and Patrick Bellenden in the matter of the precentorship,<sup>7</sup> but on the present occasion he is not concerned for their interests. On 17th November 1544<sup>8</sup> Fogo resigned the precentorship, “non habita possessione,” in favour of Sir John Steinstoun (or Stevenson), Master of Arts, clerk of the diocese of St Andrews, and one of the witnesses to Duncanson’s original resignation. Fogo was to be allowed the right of regress in case of Stevenson’s death or demission. Both Fogo and Stevenson were, of course, present in person at the Court of Rome. On 30th March 1545 Stevenson, again in person, binds himself to pay to the Camera the annate for his provision to the precentorship. But it appears that one John Bellenden had been intruded into the benefice, and Stevenson therefore claims six months’ grace, within which he will either pay the annate or inform the Camera “de non habita possessione.” Stevenson was a worthy successor to Duncanson. A prototary, by dint of assiduous attendance at the Court of Rome, he acquired within a few years a large number of benefices.<sup>9</sup> Bellenden,

<sup>1</sup> R.S.S., III., No. 1243.

<sup>2</sup> R.S.S., Vol. III., Nos. 2237, 2238, 2687, 3014.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O. Transcripts, 9.33, f. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., f. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., f. 173.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., ff. 171, 166-7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., f. 143.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., f. 176.

<sup>9</sup> Stevenson was provost of the Collegiate Church of St Mary of Biggar, dioc. of Glasgow (P.R.O. Transcripts, 9.33, f. 171); rector of Thankerton, dioc. of Glasgow (Protocol Bk. of D. Thomas Johnnsoun (S.R.S.), No. 344 (7 Sept. 1545)); rector of Esse, dioc. of St Andrews (resigned 22 Oct. 1555) (P.R.O. Transcripts, 9.33, f. 324); and commendator of the vicarage of the parish church of Mochrum, dioc. of Whitherne (Reg. Ho. Charters, No. 2009 (18 Dec. 1565)). He was also a Lord of Session.



therefore, had every reason for hastening to Rome, that he might plead his cause before the Curia. Some kind of settlement seems to have been reached. Bellenden undoubtedly remained in possession of the precentorship, probably on the understanding that Stevenson should have the benefice when he demitted it.

Stevenson, as it happened, had only three years to wait. There is no record that Bellenden ever returned to Scotland, and Dempster's conjecture would appear to be very nearly correct. Bellenden's death occurred, "Romæ, vt puto," at some date before 10th November 1548, when John Kincaid is presented to the prebend of Lumlair, in the Cathedral of Ross, "now vacant by the decease of the late Mr John Bellenden, last possessor of the same."<sup>1</sup> An earlier letter, of 21st March 1547-48, had secured the prebend to its new holder, who is no doubt Bellenden's nephew, the son of his sister Margaret, and John Kincaid of Wariston.<sup>2</sup>

In November 1549 a Provincial Council is held in Edinburgh, and among those present is Mr John Stevenson, the protonotary, and Provost of the Collegiate Church of Biggar, who now and henceforward is styled "Precentor of Glasgow."<sup>3</sup>

### BELLENDEN'S WORKS.

Bellenden's known works are here briefly discussed. The most important of these is a translation into the Scots vernacular of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiæ* (Paris, (1527), fo.).<sup>4</sup>

The title-page of this first edition of Boece's work reads as follows:—

"SCOTORVM / Historiæ a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum & / rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari prae- / missa epistola nūcupatoria tabellis que amplissimis, / & non poenitenda Isagoge quæ ab huius tergo ex / plicabuntur diffusius. / (printer's device) / quæ omnia impressa sunt Iodoci Badii / Ascensii typis & opera : impensis autem Nobilis & / prædocti viri Hectoris Boethii Deidonani : a quo / sunt & condita & edita."

The title-page bears no date, but an address "Alexander Leo Morauiensis ecclesie cantor, Scotorum nobilitati" is dated "Ex Parrhisiorum Academia celeberrima ad Idus Martias MDXXVII ad calculum Romanum." Boece's preface addressed to King James V. is dated at Aberdeen, 1st April 1526; and a letter to Archbishop James Beaton is dated at King's College, Aberdeen, 1st May 1526. Besides dedicatory epistles, various eulogies in prose and in verse, several tables of contents, and an *index rerum & verborum*, the book contains *Scotorum Regum Catalogus*, both in full and in brief; *Scotiæ & aliorum locorum declaratio*;

<sup>1</sup> R.S.S., Vol. III., Nos. 2237, 2238, 2687, 3014.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> *Concilia Scotiæ*, J. Robertson, Bannatyne Club, Edin., 1866, Vol. II., pp. 82 f.

<sup>4</sup> For a complete description of this edition, see *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, J. F. K. Johnstone and A. W. Robertson (3rd Spalding Club), Aberdeen, 1929-30. (Vol. I., p. 31.)

*Scotorum Regni descriptio & mores; Regum Britannie . . . Series*; and the *History* itself, in seventeen books, concluding with the death of James I. in 1436.

It has been stated<sup>1</sup> that Bellenden brought Boece's work from Paris with him some time between 1527 and 1529. The date of Bellenden's sojourn in Paris is not known; but he had been established at, and dismissed from, the Scottish Court some years before Boece's *History* was published. There is, moreover, no evidence at all for assuming that it was he who introduced Boece's book to the notice of the King. As the book carries a preface addressed to James V., it is only reasonable to assume that the author himself would ensure that it came to the royal notice. And in fact, on the 14th July 1527, Boece was awarded a substantial pension—50 lib. (Scots) per annum—by King James "pro suo servitio labore et honore nobis nostroque regno in cronicarum eiusdem impressione factis."<sup>2</sup> We may assume, further, that Boece made his presentation, and received his grant, in person; for he was certainly present in Edinburgh at the time. On 15th July 1527, in Edinburgh, he acts as one of three procurators on behalf of Archibald Rede in the latter's claim to the property of his deceased uncle, Alexander Rede, a burghess of Aberdeen.<sup>3</sup>

The first independent notice of Bellenden's connection with the book is given by a series of entries in the *Lord Treasurer's Accounts*. During September and October 1531 Bellenden receives three payments from the Crown—30 lib., 30 lib., 6 lib.—in all amounting to 66 lib., "for his translatyng of the croniclis." The translation, we may conclude, had been completed and handed to the King before the date of the last payment, which was made at some time after 4th October 1531. In the earliest extant version of the *Boece*,<sup>4</sup> which is also King

<sup>1</sup> By the D.N.B. and Hamer; cf. *supra*, pp. 416-7.

<sup>2</sup> *R.S.S.*, 14 July 1527 (No. 3841: vi, 70; vii, 79). The pension was to be taken from the casualties, but was not paid; for on 26 July 1529 a new letter under the Great Seal was issued confirming the grant, and ordering it to be paid from the customs of Aberdeen (*Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XVI., p. 42). The letter, though quoted in the *Exchequer Roll*, has not been enrolled in the Great Seal register; but the precept under the Privy Seal, of the same date, is duly registered (*R.S.S.*, 26 July 1529 (No. 251: viii, 75)). The pension was duly paid in 1530 and 1531 (*Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XVI., pp. 42, 63); but in 1532, 1533, and 1534 apparently the charge could not be met by the customars, and the pension was therefore paid by the Comptroller and the Treasurer (*Lib. Resp.*, 1532 (f. 93); 1533 (f. 116); 1534 (f. 139); *Treas. Acc.*, 1533 (p. 102); 1534 (p. 213); *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XVI., *Introd.*, p. li f.). By 1535 we may assume that Boece had been presented to a benefice of at least 100 marks' value (perhaps the rectory of Tiry) (cf. *R.S.S.*, 1529, No. 251), and that the pension therefore ceased. Before 22 November 1536, Boece, described as last incumbent of the rectory of Tiry, was dead (*R.S.S.*, 1536, No. 2192, x. 177).

<sup>3</sup> *Protocol Book of (James) Meldrum*, an Edinburgh notary (penes Haddington Burgh authorities), ff. 101<sup>a</sup>-102<sup>b</sup>. Mr Hector Boece asks instruments; done "in communi platea burgi de Edinburgh," 15 July 1527.

<sup>4</sup> MS. M<sub>4</sub>

James's presentation copy, Bellenden's *Epistle* directed to the King is dated "At Edinburgh, the last day of Septembre, in þe zere of god j<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> xxxj zeris." Another early version seems to have given the date as the last day of August.<sup>1</sup> Bellenden tells us himself that the work of translation had occupied a full year :—

" In humyll wise vnto His Grace declair  
My walkrife nychtis and my labour sair  
Quhilk ithandle has for his pleseir tak  
Quhill goldin Titan with his birnand chare  
Past all þe signis in þe Zodiak . . .

" And Phebus turnit vnder Capricorne  
The samyn greis quhare I first began . . ."  
—*The Ballat apone þe Translatioun*, MS. M.

The latter expression would indicate that the end of September, or at least some time after the equinox, when "Phebus" would be "turning vnder Capricorne," saw the conclusion of Bellenden's work. The discrepancy is puzzling, but there is a possible explanation. Bellenden may have finished his translation and written his preface by the end of August 1531, as he certainly received instalments of his reward during September. The presentation copy of his manuscript would, however, take considerably longer to prepare; and in the interval he seems to have composed a poetical address which was added at the end of the volume, the whole being completed and presented to the King towards the end of October 1531, or even later. The arrangement of contents, peculiar to MS. M, by which Bellenden's poetical address follows the *History* and even the scribe's colophon, suggests some such order of composition.

In any case, Bellenden commenced his translation during the period between the end of August and the end of December 1530. His translation had been commissioned by the King: all versions of the *Boece* agree on this point.<sup>2</sup> Bellenden was not the only person to be so honoured. In April 1531 William Stewart, also at the royal command, began to compose a metrical version of Boece's *History*.<sup>3</sup> But the mere selection of Bellenden for such a task proves that he must already have commenced author. He was, in fact, by December 1530 already a poet of some considerable reputation.<sup>4</sup>

By the 13th of August 1533, at the latest,<sup>5</sup> Bellenden had presented "ane new cornikle" to the King, for which he received 12 lib. What is meant by this expression is not clear. The usual interpretation is that the "cornikle" now presented was a revised version of the previous translation. In the *Ballat apone þe Translatioun* already referred to,

<sup>1</sup> The common ancestor of MSS. A, C, B, and (R).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the description of Davidson's edition, *infra*, p. 439 f.

<sup>3</sup> *The Buik of the Cronickis of Scotland . . . by William Stewart*, ed. W. B. Turnbull (*Rolls Series*), 1858 (l. 61, 264 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sir David Lindsay's mention of Bellenden, *infra*, p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer*, Vol. VI., p. 97.

Bellenden hints that he meditates making another historical essay at some future time. Addressing his "marciall buke," he says:—

" Bryng nobill dedis of mony zeris gone  
 Als fresche and recent to our memorie  
 As þai war bot into our dais done  
 That nobill men may haue baith laude and glorye  
 For þair excellent palme of wictorye  
 And zit becaus my time hais bene sa schort  
 I think quhen I haue opportunitie  
 To ryng þair bell into ane wther sort."

—MS. M.

Unfortunately, this statement is itself not clear: Bellenden may have in mind a revision of his original work, or he may intend to write a new history altogether. As it is unlikely that Bellenden, like Leyland and all succeeding centuries of scholars, felt a deep distrust for his author's authorities and the "original" of Scottish kings which he had sponsored, he is unlikely to have prepared a rival version of the history of Scotland. This would in any case have been unnecessary, since, even in his first "implume" version, Bellenden uses his original as an aid to composition rather than a text to be sentence by sentence translated. Bellenden, however, may well have contemplated writing a continuation to the *History*, from 1436 to his own time, such as Lindsay of Pitscottie afterwards composed. Whether Bellenden actually wrote such a continuation it is impossible to say; for no such work of his is known to be extant, or is anywhere mentioned as having existed. Lindsay of Pitscottie did not know of any such work: he begins his account where Boece and Bellenden "left"—in 1437.<sup>1</sup> Bale, in 1548 and again in 1559, is not acquainted with any such work, but he adds:—

" Non desunt tamen, qui ad prædicti Hectoris Chronicon, centum annorum auctarium addidisse illum (*i.e.*, "Balatinum") ferât, a Iacobo secundo, usque ad Christi seruatoris annum 1536, in quo sub Iacobo quinto floruit."

—*Catalogus*, Part II., p. 223.<sup>2</sup>

One thing is clear: if Bale's informants were correct in their assertion, this continuation cannot have been the "new cornikle" which was presented to the King in 1533; and the 1533 production must therefore have been a revision of the earlier work. In any case, as only eighteen months or so had elapsed since the completion of the first version, and as during this time Bellenden had been busy translating *Livy*<sup>3</sup> the second is the more likely supposition.

Whether the presentation copy of 1533 took the form of a manuscript or a printed book is not known. But a version of Bellenden's work was printed by Thomas Davidson of Edinburgh at a date demonstrably later than that at which certain of the early manuscripts were

<sup>1</sup> *The Historie and Cronickis of Scotland . . . be Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie*, ed. Æ. J. G. Mackay (S.T.S.), 1899-1911 (Vol. I., p. 12; cf. also *Intro.*, pp. lxxxviii, lxxxv).

<sup>2</sup> The statement in the *Summarium* is slightly differently worded.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 448 *infra*.

written. This edition purports to be "newly correckit," and does in fact represent a revision of the early manuscript version. The interrelation of the various manuscripts and their position with regard to the printed work are discussed below.<sup>1</sup> Here we may observe that not only has Bellenden's translation been revised for the Press, but the arrangement of contents is different, and new material has been added. The earliest extant version (M) contains in this order: a table of contents, an epistle directed to the King, the *History* in seventeen books, and a poem entitled the *Ballat apone þe Translatione* in twenty-five eight-lined stanzas. In the "intermediary" MSS. (A, C, B, ? R) we find the contents augmented by a *Table of Scottish Kings* and (in C and B) by a few chapters of the *Cosmography*; the *Ballat* is placed before the *Preface*, and various changes, verbal and material, appear throughout both the poem and the *History*. The contents of the printed volume are as follows: <sup>2</sup>—

Title-page: in red, *Heir begynnis the hystory and / croniklis of Scotland*; below, the royal arms of Scotland. On the verso is a poem of five seven-lined stanzas, entitled *The excusation of the prentar*. f. (2)<sup>a</sup> *The contentis of this buke*. ff. (2)<sup>b</sup>-(6)<sup>a</sup> *The prohome of the cosmographe*, a poem of forty nine-lined stanzas. ff. (6)<sup>b</sup>-(21)<sup>a</sup> *Heir begynnis the Cosmographe and discription of Albion*; sixteen chapters; text in long lines. ff. (21)<sup>a</sup>-(21)<sup>b</sup> *Follovvis ane compendius recapitulation of all kingis of Britane, / sen the first begynnmyng thairof to the tyme of king Henry the viii*; long lines. ff. (22)<sup>a</sup>-(31)<sup>b</sup> *Followis the table of the history / contenant the mater of euery duke / craftely seuerit be thaym self*; text in double columns. ff. (32)<sup>a</sup>-(33)<sup>a</sup> *Heir begynnis the names of all Scottis kyngis, sen thair realme / began. Schavvand breuely in quhat buke, chapitoure, and leif, / in the story following thair lyuis and marcyall / dedis salbe esaly foundyn*; long lines. f. (33)<sup>b</sup> blank. ff. (34)<sup>a</sup>-(36)<sup>b</sup> *The prohome of the history, / The translataoure sayis to his buke, a poem of twenty-nine eight-lined stanzas (alias, "The Ballat apone þe Translatione," in a revised and enlarged version), followed by the printer's notice: Heir eftir followis the history and croniklis of Scotland / compilit and newly correckit be the reuerend and noble / clerke maister Hector Boece channon of Aberdene. / Translatit laily be maister Iohne Bel / lenden Archedene of Murray, chan- / non of Ros. At the command / of the richt hie, richt excellent, and noble prince Iames / the .v. of that name king of Scottis. And impren- / tit in Edinburgh be Thomas Davidson / dwellyng fornens the frere wynd. / f. i<sup>a</sup> Heir begynnis the first buke of / the croniklis of Scotland*; text begins. col. 1, *Hovv Gathelus our first pgenitour / left the land of Grece, and come in / Egipt, & maryit Scota dochter to king / Pharo, and of his cumyng to Spanze. Primo. / EFter the / maner of othir pepyl y<sup>e</sup> Scottis desyrand / to schaw thair begin / ning richt anciant schawis thame be / this present historie descendit of the / Grehis & Egiptianis*. The 17th book of the *History* ends on f. CCxlix<sup>a</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> [In a portion of Dr Sheppard's thesis not here printed.]

<sup>2</sup> A complete description of Davidson's edition is given in *Bibliotheca Aberdonensis*, Vol. I., p. 36 ff. In the description of individual copies the editors are not always accurate. The description of contents given here is taken from the British Museum copy.

is followed, ff. CCxlix<sup>a</sup>-CCl<sup>a</sup>, by *The epistil direckit be y<sup>e</sup> trāsla / toure to the kyngis grace*. All in double columns. At the foot of f. CCl<sup>a</sup> is the colophon, *Heir endis the hystory and / Croniklis of Scotland, with the Cosmography & dyscription thairof. / Compilit be the noble clerk maister Hector Boece channon of Aber- / dene. Translatit lailly in our vulgar and commoun language, be / maister Iohne Bellenden Archedene of Murray. And Im- / prentit in Edinburgh, be me Thomas Davidson, / prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace. / CVM PRIVILEGIO.*

It has been suggested, and the suggestion has been supported by a number of arguments,<sup>1</sup> that, in view of the printer's statement that the work is "compilit and newly correckit be . . . maister Hector Boece," we should ascribe some, if not most, of the changes shown in the contents and the text of Davidson's edition to Boece and not to Bellenden. There is, indeed, independent evidence that translator and author were in communication. The following passage, taken from one of the "intermediary" MSS. (C), and concluding a preliminary and imperfect version of Boece's *Description of Scotland*, can bear no other construction:—

"now we haiff schawin all thingis sa far as thay ar common among the albianis, and becauss the remanent cosmographe Is no<sup>t</sup> sufficiently correckit be the first compilar we will at his desyre continew the remanent quhill efter that It may w<sup>t</sup> better cognosance past to licht."  
—MS. C, f. 18<sup>b</sup>.

We can, therefore, be sure that Bellenden had the benefit of the author's interpretation of his text, and that he accepted emendations is a natural corollary. From the wording of the passage above quoted, one might assume that Bellenden's manuscript was submitted portion by portion to Boece for his approval before it went to Press. But whether Boece actually put pen to paper and corrected his translator's Scottish style, whether he himself altered, abridged, and incorporated long additional passages in his original narrative, is another matter entirely, and one which, at this date, cannot easily be decided.

It is argued that a "prominent scholar of the early sixteenth century" need not "necessarily" have despised the vernacular. He need not; English scholars did not; but Scottish poets, and presumably to an even greater extent Scottish scholars, did. Stewart in 1531-55, and Rolland in 1560, are still apologising for their use of the vernacular. And Scottish churchmen of the sixteenth century were fast forsaking the example of that mediæval patriot, who, even before the Pope, did not scruple to send foreign manners to the devil in "guid Scots." In the Reformation period, to the scorn of that staunch reactionary Ninian Winzet, the language even of vernacular polemics is ceasing to be "Scots" and becoming garbled English. The status of sixteenth-century Scots as a literary language, even in the opinion of Scotsmen, is very different from that of English. Moreover, while it is not impos-

<sup>1</sup> *Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece*, R. W. Chambers and W. W. Seton, *Sc. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XVII., 1919 (p. 5 ff.).

sible that Boece wrote in Scots as well as in Latin (though he certainly did not, like Bishop Lesly, think in Scots first and translate into Latin afterwards), not one identifiable relic of his skill in the vernacular remains. We have his *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*,<sup>1</sup> his *History of Scotland*—seventeen books published during his lifetime, an eighteenth and portion of a nineteenth posthumously<sup>2</sup>—his *Description of Scotland*,<sup>3</sup> and a collection of verses<sup>4</sup>—all in Latin; but not a line of Scots. Nor is Boece anywhere, by his admirers or by his detractors, said to have written in Scots. Nor, although the authors of the article in question discount this evidence, do his contemporaries suspect him of having contributed to Davidson's edition. Bale,<sup>5</sup> Bishop Lesly,<sup>6</sup> and Harrison,<sup>7</sup> who speak with admiration both of Boece and Bellenden, regard the translation as Bellenden's work entirely.

It must be admitted, further, that nothing in the character of the alterations makes it unlikely that Bellenden was their author. The rearrangement of the contents, in which even the earlier scribes indulged, can be of little significance; the printer, who adds a poem of his own, may well be wholly responsible. If, indeed, the removal of the translator's preface to the end of the volume is to be regarded as an act of summary discourtesy, it is difficult to see why Boece should have been responsible for it. Bellenden's *Epistle* is only partially original; in the earliest version quite half of it (including the references to Scot-

<sup>1</sup> *Episcoporum Murthlaen. et Aberdonen . . . vitæ*, Paris, 1522 (reprinted Bannatyne and New Spalding Clubs).

<sup>2</sup> *Scotorum Historiæ . . . libri xix. Hectore Boethio Deidonano auctore. Duo prostromi huius Historiæ libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & . . . eiusdem Scotorum Historiæ continuatio, per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedemontanum . . .*, Paris, 1574. Another edition, or a reprint with slightly altered title-page, appeared in 1575.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Scotorum Historiæ*, Paris (1527) and 1574-75.

<sup>4</sup> Laing MS. III., 225 (Edin. Univ. Lib.). The poems were published in an ? eighteenth-century edition, of which there is a copy in the National Library of Scotland. I have not seen either this or the manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Summarium*, f. 222<sup>b</sup>, and *Catalogus*, cent. XIV., p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> *The History of Scotland by John Lesly, Bishop of Ross* (Bann. Club), Edin., 1830. Lesly finished this, the vernacular, version of his *History* in March 1570-71. Inserted among events of 1531 is the following notice: "In thir daies, a singlar wele learned clerk, called Hector Boetius, doctor in theologie, and principalle of the Universitie of Aberdene, a man of gryt erudicione in all the liberall sciences, wreit the hole historie of Scotland in the Latine tongue, frome the beginninge thair of, to the death of King James the first, in the yeir of the nativite of Christ m<sup>l</sup> iiii<sup>o</sup> xxxvj yeiris, in so eloquent stile, so truelie and diligentlie collected, that none of all the wreittaris at that tyme wreit better, as the wark it self bearis recorde; quhilk wes eftirwart translated in the Scottishe language be Mr Johne Ballanden, and recited to the greit furderance and commoun weille of the hole natione." In the Latin version of the *History* (Rome, 1578) this eulogy is replaced by a notice of Boece and John Major; there is no mention of Bellenden's translation.

<sup>7</sup> Holinshed's *Chronicle* (Lond., 1577); cf. Harrison's dedication to the *Description of Scotland*.

land's "forcy campionis") is translated from Boece's own preface. In Davidson's version there is rather more original matter; but it is Bellenden's own additions that have been altered. One notes in particular a long and elaborately rhetorical outburst on the distinction between kings and tyrants, enlarged from a sentence or two in MS. M:—

" . . . Ane tyrane suspeckis all thaim that hes riches gret dominion, auctorite, or gret rentis. Ane king haldis sic men for his maist helply freindis . . . "

The King's present advisers, we are given to understand, are not all above suspicion. This seems genuine and characteristic Bellenden.

As a rule, the printed edition follows the Latin texts more closely than do the manuscript versions, but equally the printed edition departs from the Latin on occasions where the manuscripts are faithful to it. One sometimes suspects that the variations either way are made in the interests of prose style rather than of accurate translation. There is no question that the printed edition presents a text which is more lucid and, from the English viewpoint, more orthodox, in style than that of the manuscripts. On occasion, like all second thoughts, it is less forcible. On the whole, it exhibits a slightly anglicised mode of spelling; but the vocabulary is still robust Scots, and the turns of phrase, in the additional passages as in the body of the work, are wholly characteristic of Bellenden's style. The printed edition also contains errors, for which, in that age of liberty for the printer, Bellenden cannot be held responsible; and there are, in addition, some errors of a previous copyist which Davidson perpetuates.

Responsibility for the material changes is equally difficult to assign. "The print buik" is considerably more tactful in its mention of Robert Bruce than are the manuscripts; but it is just as vehement as these in its praise of the house of Douglas. Nor can it be said to demonstrate any great change in religious viewpoint; if it did, the change would surely be due to Davidson and not to either Boece or Bellenden. One might attack "hereticam prauitatem" and still feel at liberty to denounce the vices of the monastic orders, the simoniacal enrichment of prelates, and superstitious abuses generally; and Bellenden, we gather, did both. One addition in particular—that concerning the foundation of Holyrood Abbey and the virtues of Abbot Robert Bellenden—is far more intelligible as the insertion of the translator, who was undoubtedly connected with the Abbey, than as an after-thought of Boece. Moreover, Bellenden's own poem—the *Proheme of the History*—is revised and augmented.

To sum up, Bellenden clearly must have been partly responsible for the changes which appear in Davidson's edition. Whether Boece's share in the revision went beyond that of Latin-consult cannot be decided. Davidson discreetly avoids the issue. From his notice one might easily assume that Boece had "correckit" not the translation, but his own original *Historiæ*. This is, of course, a possibility, but it is not borne out by the edition of 1574-75, where the first seventeen books of the *History* are reprinted exactly as they appeared in 1527. The question of Davidson's own share in modifying and "popularising"



the opinions of both the "first compilar" and his "translatoure" seems never to have been raised.

Apart from the question of collaboration, Davidson's edition of the *Boece* presents some curious bibliographical problems. It is a folio—? 295 × ? 200 mm., and numbering ff. (36) + CCI. The original size of the volume is difficult to estimate exactly, as every copy examined has been cut down to some extent in the process of rebinding. The signatures are as follows: A-F<sup>6</sup>, A-Gg<sup>6/4</sup>, Hh<sup>6</sup>, Ii<sup>6</sup>, ( )<sup>4</sup>, Kk-Zz<sup>4/6</sup>, Rr<sup>6</sup> 6, Qq 8. The text is in black letter (95 textura, with pointed h, s<sup>2</sup>, v<sup>3</sup>, w<sup>5a</sup>, y<sup>2</sup>, and w<sup>8</sup> capital), with catchwords; chapter headings in Roman type, leaded (96 Roman, with two v's for a w, and e with a slanting cross-bar); continuous page headings, folio numbering, and book headings, in black letter (220 textura, with pointed h, s<sup>3</sup>, v<sup>3</sup>, w<sup>5a</sup>, y<sup>2</sup>).<sup>1</sup> There are many ornamental capitals. On f. CCI<sup>b</sup> is a large woodcut of the crucifixion, containing much symbolical detail.<sup>2</sup> There are two smaller woodcuts in the body of the work: one, f. xxxix<sup>a</sup>, represents a combat between knights; the other, f. Clxxxiii<sup>a</sup>, heading ch. 16, Bk. XII., the crucifixion, with reference to the legend of the Holy Cross which follows.

No one copy, of all those examined, exactly resembles another. Errors in folio numbering and the marking of signatures differ from copy to copy. The only errors of this kind common to all copies seem to be the signatures of ff. (2)-Ai, Clxxxii-Pii, CCxxiii-Xxiii (for Aii, Ppii, Xxiii), and the folio numberings xxii, lxxxv for xxvi, lxxxii. There are some small textual differences also between the various copies, but the latter have not been examined in detail for variant readings. Instances are the following lines from the *Proheme of the Cosmographie*:—

- I. 46. Qubil Morpheus the drery god of sleip—Camb. Univ. (Sel. 3. 174), Nat. Lib. I.; but "dery" in Nat. Lib. II., Edin. Univ., Rylands, Magd. Coll. Camb., Bodl. (s. Selden d. 37, and Malone 18).
- I. 114. Doith change in othir. And pought thay be richt far—Camb. Univ. (Sel. 3. 174), Nat. Lib. I.; but "Douth change in othir. And pought be rycht far"—Nat. Lib. II., Edin. Univ., Rylands, Magd. Coll. Camb., Bodl. (s. Selden d. 37, and Malone 18).
- I. 132. Unpullit, sone ar with the wynd ouriset—Camb. Univ. (Sel. 3. 174), Nat. Lib. I.; but "with" is omitted in Nat. Lib. II., Edin. Univ., Rylands, Magd. Coll. Camb., Bodl. (s. Selden d. 37, and Malone 18).

None of these small discrepancies, however, furnish evidence that the copies belong to different editions; the very variety of the errors

<sup>1</sup> *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1508-41*. F. Isaacs (Bibl. Soc. Facsimiles and Illustrations), Lond., 1930.

<sup>2</sup> This is fully described in Herbert's edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities* (Lond., 1785-90) (p. 1468 f.), and is reproduced in *Annals of Scottish Printing*, R. Dickson and J. P. Edmond, Camb., 1890. Davidson used this woodcut again for his *New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament* . . . (cf. *infra*, p. 446), as he did the woodcut of the royal arms of Scotland.

discounts their importance in this respect. The suggestion by the editors of *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, that the variant readings noted between different copies of the printed work are due to Hector Boece's revising pen, is unintelligible, since all the copies purport to be "newly correckit" by him. It is much more reasonable to suppose, as the same editors elsewhere suggest, that the variations represent changes made during the "slow process of printing," and that there is only the one edition of the *Boece* to be considered.

This edition is undated, and a variety of conjectural dates have been assigned to it. These are—1533-36 (Hamer); 1536 (Mackenzie, Tanner, Campbell, Sibbald, Cosmo Innes,<sup>1</sup> Lowndes,<sup>2</sup> Brunet,<sup>3</sup> Millar, *D.N.B.*, *Encyl. Brit.*, Forbes Leith, Chambers and Seton, Miss Mackenzie); 1537 (Leyden,<sup>4</sup> *Bibl. Aber.*); 1538-40 (Dibdin)<sup>5</sup>; 1540 (Aldis,<sup>6</sup> Duff,<sup>7</sup> Plomer)<sup>8</sup>; 1541 (Pinkerton, Eyre Todd); 1542 (Laing,<sup>9</sup> Dickson, and Edmond). Some confusion has been caused by the fact that Mackenzie, and following him Tanner, Sibbald, and others, speak of Davidson's edition as though it actually bore the date 1536. Hence Herbert speaks of three editions: one dated 1536 (Mackenzie quoted), another dated 1541, and "an edition without date." Henderson<sup>10</sup> repeats this statement. D. L. E. in the *British Bibliographer*<sup>11</sup> varies Herbert's list to 1536, 1540, and "without date." Irving, arguing from the date of Duncanson's horning, which he places in 1537, maintains that the edition cannot be as early as 1536, but does not suggest an alternative date. Maitland thinks that there were several editions prior to 1541, but suggests no definite date. Ross suggests that the work was printed "soon after" its presentation to the King in 1533.

There is a certain amount of evidence which bears on the question of date. An inscription in the copy in Innerpeffray Library (f. 1<sup>a</sup>), reads: "Liber dñi Alexandri dick archidiaconi glasgueñ anno dñi 1540." The hand is early sixteenth century, and Sir (usually Mr

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, C. Innes, Edin. 1860 (p. 265).

<sup>2</sup> *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, W. T. Lowndes, 2nd ed., 1857 (p. 230).

<sup>3</sup> *Manuel de Libraire*, J. C. Brunet, 5th ed., 1860- (col. 1031-32).

<sup>4</sup> *The Complaynte of Scotland . . . with a preliminary dissertation and glossary . . .*, J. Leyden, Edin., 1801 (diss., p. 25).

<sup>5</sup> *The Library Companion . . .*, T. F. Dibdin, Lond., 1824 (p. 263 f.).

<sup>6</sup> *A List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700*, H. G. Aldis (Edin. Bibl. Soc.), Edin., 1904.

<sup>7</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*, Part II., E. Gordon Duff, Lond., 1914 (p. 9 f.).

<sup>8</sup> *Printing: a short history of the art*, ed. R. A. Peddie, Lond., 1927. *Great Britain and Ireland*, H. R. Plomer (p. 202).

<sup>9</sup> *A Theatre of Scottish Worthies . . . by Alexander Garden*, ed. D. Laing (Hunterian Club), Glasg., 1878 (p. 181, note).

<sup>10</sup> *Scottish Vernacular Literature: a succinct history*, T. F. Henderson, Lond., 1898 (p. 304 f.).

<sup>11</sup> *The British Bibliographer*, E. Brydges and J. Haslewood, Lond., Vol. IV. (1814), *Catalogue of Early Scottish Poets*, D. L. E. (pp. 300-313).

Alexander Dick, Archdeacon of Glasgow from 1523 to 1562,<sup>1</sup> is a notable figure in the history of Glasgow Cathedral at this period; so that, although no other specimens of the Archdeacon's handwriting are known, the evidence of the inscription seems to be above suspicion. It is to be noted also that the translator, Mr John Bellenden, is consistently described by Davidson as "Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross." The latter preferment, as has been seen, dates from September 1528, and Bellenden held the archdeaconry from not later than August 1533 to not earlier than December 1538. But by the following March he is witnessing documents as precentor of Glasgow, and at least from the beginning of 1540 (new style) there is positive evidence that the archdeaconry of Moray had passed to Archibald Dunbar. In any case, by March 1538-39 the description of Bellenden as "Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross" would have been inaccurate; and we are safe in assuming that, whatever the date of Davidson's edition, it cannot be later than 1538. It may therefore belong to any of the years between August 1533, when Bellenden received his last payment for translating the *Chronicles*, and the end of 1538, when he was preferred to Glasgow.

It is clear, however, that Boece had some hand in the revision of the work; and if it can be assumed, as seems probable, that the revision was undertaken with a view to publication, then a "terminus ad quem" is automatically provided by Boece's death, which took place in 1536, some time before 22nd November.<sup>2</sup> The expression "newly correckit" itself suggests that there had been no long interval between the revision and the publication of the work.

Any closer estimation of the date must be largely conjectural; the following is merely a tentative suggestion. If the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* made its first appearance in the printed work,<sup>3</sup> then it is difficult to see how this can be later than 1533. Again, James V. did undoubtedly possess an elaborate vellum copy of the printed work—a presentation copy, by all the signs; and it is natural to assume that the receipt of such a gift would be marked by some reward to the translator. But unless this reward is the 12 lib. paid to Bellenden in 1533 for "ane new cornikle gevin to the Kingis grace," all record of it is omitted from the *Treasurer's Accounts*. Further, if the "new cornikle" is not the printed work, another (no doubt elaborately illuminated) manuscript of the *Boece*, identical, so far as the double imperfection of scribe and compositor might allow, with the printed work, is to be presumed missing. Since there is no mention nor trace

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Dick's admission as Archdeacon is related in *Exc. e lib. prot. M. Cuthberti Simonis*, f. 3<sup>b</sup>; for his resignation of the archdeaconry, cf. *Arch. di Stato* (Vatican Transcripts) (P.R.O. Transcripts 9. 33; ff. 360, 364). Various notices concerning Dick and his association with the parishes of Peebles and Manor ("Menar") are collected in *The Book of Peebles Church* (C. B. Gunn, Galashiels, 1908). He plays a great part in the Chapter politics of Glasgow Cathedral (cf. the *Excerpta* above quoted, *passim*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 436, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 451 ff., where the date of this poem is discussed.

of any such manuscript, the presumption is at best unlikely. Again, it is true that Bellenden's obligation for the annate of his archdeaconry is dated 27th August 1533, and his "new cornikle" was presented to the King before 13th August of the same year. But Bellenden's provision to the archdeaconry must have occurred some considerable time before the date of the obligation, and an edition published *c.* August 1533 would, therefore, be just late enough to describe Bellenden as "Archdeacon of Moray." For all these reasons the most probable date for Davidson's edition is 1533.

The little that is known of Thomas Davidson himself does not conflict with this theory, although the available facts are too scanty to furnish any grounds for argument. Habbakuk Bisset<sup>1</sup> describes Davidson as "ane northland man borne, on the wattirsyde of die, in scotland." The first entry in the registers relating to him is a notice in the *Exchequer Rolls* for 1535<sup>2</sup> of a grant of 10 lib. "Thome David-soun impressori de termino Pentecostes huius compoti." The account is rendered 3rd September 1535, and covers the period from 1st October 1534 to 25th August 1535. The account for the year 1536<sup>3</sup> is more explicit: "et Thome Davidsonne impressori in viginti libris pro feodo suo." As early as 1535, therefore, Thomas Davidson was in receipt of a yearly pension of 20 lib. from the Crown. In 1536, as has been noted,<sup>4</sup> he receives a grant of the escheat goods of Sir John Duncanson, Alexander Hervy, and Sir Patrick Mure. His career as a printer is as obscure as the rest. Two of his works, *Ad Jacobum Quintum . . . Strena*,<sup>5</sup> and the *History and Croniklis of Scotland*, are undated; a third, Douglas's *Palyce of Honour*, is extant only in a single fragment.<sup>6</sup> Davidson's remaining, and only dated, work is the *New Actis and Constitutionis of Parliament* (February 1541-42).<sup>7</sup> In the colophon of this work he describes himself as King's printer, and also prints on the verso of the title-page "The Copie of the kingis grace licence and privilege granted to Thomas Davidson prentar, for Imprinting of his gracis actis of Parliament." This, however, is simply the confirmation of an act authorising the printing of the Acts of Parliament, and neither appoints Davidson to the office of King's printer nor indeed names him. But

<sup>1</sup> Habbakuk Bisset's *Rolment of Courtis*, P. J. Hamilton-Grierson (S.T.S.), Edin., 1920-26 (Vol. I., p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Scacc.*, Vol. XVI., p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 480 k.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 430, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> *AD SERENISSI / mum Scotorum Regem / Iacobum Quintum / de suscepto Regni / Regimine / a diis feliciter ominato / STRENA*. Colophon states: *Impressum Ediburgi apud / Thomam Davidson*.

<sup>6</sup> Four leaves of a quarto edition—formerly in the possession of David Laing, and described by Dickson and Edmond (*Annals of Scottish Printing*, 1890, p. 133), but now apparently lost.

<sup>7</sup> *The New Actis / And Constitutionis Of Par / liament Maid Be The Rycht Excellent Prince Iames The Fift / Kyng of Scottis*, 1540 / Colophon, f. 27<sup>a</sup>: *Imprentit in Edinburgh, be Thomas Davidson, dwel / ling abone the nether bow, on the north syde of the / gait, the aucht day of Februarii, the zeir / of God. 1541. zeris.* / A final colophon, f. 27<sup>b</sup>: *EDIN-BVRGI, ex ædibus Thomæ Davidson regii impressoris. CVM privilegio.*

since, both in the *New Actis* and in the *History and Croniklis of Scotland*, Davidson describes himself as King's printer, it is obvious that he held the appointment when these works were undertaken; and as in 1535 he is in receipt of a pension from the Exchequer, the supposition is that he had already been appointed to the office by the beginning of 1535, and possibly sooner.

In passing, it may be observed that there is no justification for the theory that the *Boece* was "semi-privately printed" "in a limited edition."<sup>1</sup> A survival of at least nineteen ordinary copies, besides three vellum copies, from an early sixteenth century edition of a Scottish printed work is high in any case, but almost too good to be true if the edition were deliberately "limited." The book is a substantial one, and not easy to "thumb out of existence"; but a great number of the copies have seen very rough treatment, and there is no reason to think that the *Boece* in particular bore a charmed life. Harrison, it is true, says that Bellenden's work is little known in England "bycause we want the bookes"; but that Scottish printed books of this date would ever find their way southwards in large numbers is unlikely. The legend of excessive rarity which has fastened upon this work seems to have originated with English antiquaries of the eighteenth century, and to have been fostered by over-ingenious biographers of the nineteenth, misreading Bellenden's own poem. These biographers point to the lines :—

"Thou art so full of nobylnes per tout  
I wald nane red the bot ane nobyll man.

Thus to all nobyllis sen thow art dedicat . . .  
Of gentyll reders take beniuolence  
And cure of otheris na Inuy nor rewth."

—*The Proheme of the History*, Davidson's ed.

But the point of Bellenden's argument is that "nobylnes" is synonymous with "manly force" and "honour," and not a prerogative of birth. Bellenden certainly has an aristocratic temper of mind, and it is amusing to note how, when his work comes to Press, either he, or the more circumspect printer, softens a passage which might offend the "common reader" :—

"Thairfore he is maist nobill, man þow say,  
That is of nobillis *cumin* doune mayst clere,  
Syne fra his eldaris castis nocht decay,  
Bot dois in nobill dedis persevere."

—*The Ballat apone þe Translatione*, MS. M.

So read all the manuscripts; but Davidson's edition reads, ingeniously if somewhat inconsequently :—

"Thairfore he is maist nobyll man thou say  
Of all estatis, vnder reuerence.  
That vailzeantly doith close the latter day  
Of natyue cuntre deand in defence."

<sup>1</sup> So Maitland, *D.N.B.*, &c.

That Boece and Bellenden, with the aid of the King's printer, should set out to enlighten "the hole natione" concerning its origin and past glories, and then proceed to limit the edition lest a copy fall into unworthy hands, is a theory as perverse as it is nonsensical.

Bellenden's only other known prose work is his translation of Livy's *History of Rome*. In the period from the end of July 1533 to the 3rd of January 1533-34, Bellenden received a total of 36 lib. for "his lauboris done in translating of Livie." It would appear that the translation of the first two books was complete by 24th August 1533, and that the remaining three, which conclude Bellenden's essay, were finished by the following January.<sup>1</sup> The translation is extant in two manuscripts—the Advocates' Library MS. (A), and the Boyndlie MS. (B), both very slightly defective, and A alone including Bellenden's verse "Proloug." A portion of the author's original draft, along with part of a scribe's copy, corrected in the author's hand, is also extant (B.M. Add. MS., 36,678). Unlike his translation of *Boece*, Bellenden's *Livy* seems to have remained unnoticed until 1801, when Leyden, in his introduction to the *Complaynte of Scotland*, quotes several passages from it.<sup>2</sup> The first printed edition is that of Maitland,<sup>3</sup> which gives the text of MS. A, but with normalised spelling. The Scottish Text Society's edition<sup>4</sup> reproduces the text of MS. A, with variant readings from MS. B, and includes also the British Museum draft. The editor assigns to MS. A a date "about 1540," and to MS. B a date between 1550 and 1560.<sup>5</sup> It may be noted that, from the wording of the title to the *Proloug*—"Here begynnys the proloug apoun the traduction of titus liuius be Maister Johnne Ballantyne Archden of Murray"—MS. A would appear to be not later than 1538.

As we have seen, Bellenden accompanies his translations with poetical addresses to his patron the King. There are three of these addresses in all: *the Ballat apone þe Translatione*, which is included in the early manuscripts of the *Boece*, and which later, in revised form, and with the title *The Proheme of the History*, is printed in Davidson's edition of the *Boece*; *The Proheme of the Cosmographie*, which appears in Davidson's edition; and *The proloug apoun the traduction of titus liuius*, which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century. The first two poems appear in George Bannatyne's poetical miscellany, a compilation of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> On collation, these versions prove to have been derived from Davidson's edition. With them, George Bannatyne includes a third poem of Bellenden's on the Annunciation, which he entitles *The Benner of Peetie* (i.e., "Piety").<sup>7</sup> This poem

<sup>1</sup> *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, Vol. VI., pp. 97, 98, 206.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complaynte of Scotland* . . . , dissertation, p. 181 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *The Works of John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray and Canon of Ross*, Vol. III.; *The First Five Books of the Roman History: translated from the Latin of Titus Livius by John Bellenden*, Edin., 1822.

<sup>4</sup> *Livy's History of Rome* . . . translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1533, ed. W. A. Craigie (S.T.S.), Edin., 1901-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I., *Introd.*, pp. viii, xiii.

<sup>6</sup> *Bannatyne MS.* (Nat. Lib., Adv. MS. 19.1.1. (1.1.6)); edited by W. Tod Ritchie (S.T.S.), 1928-34, with the title *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (cf. Vol. IV., pp. 313-316; Vol. II., pp. 9-20).

<sup>7</sup> *Bann MS.*, f. 1 ff., S.T.S. ed., Vol. II., pp. 3-8.

also appears in an additional manuscript, known as the "draft MS.," which is also in the hand of George Bannatyne and which is bound up with the main Bannatyne manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The text of this copy shows various differences from that of the main manuscript.

Among Laing's MS. notes in Edinburgh University Library is a folder marked "John Bellenden," which contains, among other notices, one of a copy of Bellenden's poem on the Annunciation, said to be written on a fly-leaf of the Marchmont Library MS. of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. The scribe has entitled the poem *Ane ballat of þe cūing of crist and of þe annūitioun o' Ladye / Compylit be maister Johne ballenden*. What appears to be the copy of a printer's colophon states—*Imprentit be Johne Scot etc.* Laing has collated this version of the poem, apparently in minute detail, with the Bannatyne MS. version, entitled *The Benner of Peetie*, and with the version in the Bannatyne "draft" MS. Unfortunately, the "Marchmont" *Scotichronicon* was disposed of at the sale of the library in May 1913, and so far has not been traced.

The following is a collation of the three versions of Bellenden's poem—two from the Bannatyne MS., the third from Laing's collation of the Marchmont MS. Spelling variants are disregarded:—

Bann. MS., f. 1 <sup>a</sup> ff. (Nat. Lib.)	Bann. "draft" MS., p. 3 ff. (Nat. Lib.)	Marchmont MS. (Laing's collation)— (Edin. Univ. Lib.)
Line		
2. In to	Into	Under
5. to hir	till hir	to his
7. the	þe	(omits " the ")
8. schowris	flouris	flouris
10. had had in	had in his	had in his
19. than	than	nocht
23. Quha	quhilk	Qlk.
27. fyve	five	iiij
36. slicht	sicht	sycht
37. fund	maid	maid
44. aboif	abone	abone
45. thrwche	for	for
47. be	in	in
55. agane thay	agane þj	aganis thi
58. argumentis	argument	argumentis
60. Sum for Iustice and surh for mercie cryis	... iustice ... mercy	... mercy ... Iustice
61. in	in	on
62. aganis	agane	aganis
63. deid	deid	deith
64. satisfie	satyfie	satyfie
66. wes thair fund	was found þair	wes found thair
73. than callit	syne callit	he callit
78. fraternitie	fraternite	confraternitie
84. nor	or	nor
85. to	till	to
88. and	and	and als

<sup>1</sup> Bann. "draft" MS., p. 3 ff. S.T.S. ed., Vol. I., p. 3 ff.  
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<i>Bann. MS.</i>	<i>Bann. "draft" MS.</i>	<i>Marchmont MS.</i>
95. nicht	nicht	suld
96. frome	fra	fra
97. blissit	reuthfull	reuthfull
99. cum	cummyn	? cum
100. to	to	till
101. diuitie	diuinite	diuinitie
102. To god eterne fader omnipotent	Vnto his fader god omnipotent	Unto his fader god omnipotent
104. wes maid	he was maid	was maid
105. of	and	and
108. and	and	in
109. The Craft/the string/ The hand . . .	The Craft þe string þe hand . . .	The Craft the hand the string . . .
110. over	ouer	unto
112. makis the sound	makis þe sound	makis sound
123. The moder peur full of virginitie	The moder full of pure wirginitie	the moder full of pure virginitie
128. michtie	michty	? mistyc
132. to	to	till
151. Eterne	eternall	Eterne
152. Ane mother how to be/the virgin pure	ane moder full to be ane wirgine pure	And moder full to be ane virgine pure
155. with	and	and
160. wit	witt	? watt
161. O sone of god	O sone of god	Thow sone of god
163. ffra hivin	ffra hevin	ffra hie hevin
164. Off the blist	off the blissit	on the blist
169. mekle	mekle	cruell
171. birst fra	birst fra	brist from
174. Bring ws amang tha happie senatouris	Bring ws amang thai happie senatouris	Mak me ane of thi happy cietesouris
175. thow hes coftin	thow coftin	thow redemit
176. oure	our	my

One fact that emerges from the collation is that the version of the Bannatyne "draft" MS. more frequently tallies with the Marchmont version, which is presumably as printed by Scot, but possibly with an addition of some copyist's errors and alterations, than with the version in the Bannatyne MS. proper. The last three lines are a notable exception; but whether the Marchmont copyist, John Scot, or Bellenden himself, is responsible for the conclusion of the poem in the Marchmont version it is impossible to say. Either the Marchmont copyist is responsible (which would account for the divergence here between the Marchmont and the Bannatyne "draft" versions); or George Bannatyne arbitrarily rejected certain readings of Scot's edition; or there were at least two versions of the poem current in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be admitted at once that Bannatyne as a copyist is not above suspicion. He was himself a versifier, and was working, on his own confession, from "copeis awld mankit and mytillait," which he seems often to have felt called to emend.<sup>1</sup> If the duplicate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, J. T. T. Brown, Sc. Hist. Rev., 1904, Vol. I., p. 136 ff.



manuscript is really a "draft," then the variations between it and the completed manuscript, purposeless as many of them seem, may very well be due to Bannatyne himself, bent on improving his text. The same may be true of the variations between the Marchmont and the "draft" versions. Bannatyne, therefore, may have known and consulted only one version of the poem, which may or may not have been John Scot's edition. But there is reason to suppose that at least one other version besides Scot's would have been accessible to him. The Bannatyne MS. proper is dated by its writer October-December 1568.<sup>1</sup> The "draft" MS. is undated. Some portions of it are thought to be in a later hand than the body of the MS.;<sup>2</sup> but no indication is to be gained from Bannatyne as to the date of Scot's edition. John Scot's dated publications belong to the years 1552 to 1571.<sup>3</sup> The first edition of this poem would almost certainly appear during Bellenden's lifetime—*i.e.*, at some time before 1549. There is no confirmatory evidence for the theory, but, from the fact that Davidson is the printer of Bellenden's most important work, and from the fact that Scot, the inheritor of Davidson's types and woodcuts,<sup>4</sup> is found to be the printer of a later edition of the poem, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Davidson printed at least one early edition of the *Benner of Peetie*. It may be noted that Bannatyne copies the *Proheme of the History* from the printed edition, not from any of the fairly numerous manuscripts, and that the *Proloug* to the *Livy*, which, as far as is known, was never printed, is not included in his collection. It seems safe to assume that Bannatyne derived the *Benner of Peetie* also from printed sources only. That at least two editions should have completely disappeared is a misfortune not unexampled in the history of sixteenth century printing.

The date of composition of two of Bellenden's poems is fixed by that of the translation they accompany. The *Proheme of the History*, in its original version, belongs to the autumn of 1531, and the *Proloug* to the *Livy* to the period August-December 1533. The date of the *Banner of Piety* is unknown; that of the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* has been the subject of some conjecture. It has been suggested that this *Proheme* "bears no real relation to the work which it precedes," and that it must have been written before 1530.<sup>5</sup>

The poem is not found except in association with Bellenden's version of Boece's *Description of Albion*, which appears first in its entirety in Davidson's edition. Some early manuscripts contain portions of the *Cosmography*, but none of the MSS. contain the poem. The second stanza expressly associates its composition with the translation of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Bannatyne MS.* (S.T.S.), Vol. IV., p. 332 (MS. p. 795).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I., Introd., p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Scottish Printing* . . . , pp. 150-197.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *The Bibliography of Sir David Lindsay*, Douglas Hamer, *The Library*, Series 4, Vol. X., p. 3 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century* (Abbotsford Series), p. 113. Maitland (Introd. to his edition of the *Boece*, p. xlv) says: "It must have been written between 1528 and 1530, when James the Fifth was in his nineteenth year."

*History*, but the only connection with the *Cosmography* (or *Description of Albion*) is provided by the last stanza, or, to be precise, by its four concluding lines, which have all the appearance of a clumsily contrived addition to the original theme :—

“ Than throw this morall eruditioun  
 Quhilk come (as said is) in my visioun.  
 I tuke purpos or I forthir went  
 To wryte the story of this regioun,  
 With dedis of mony illuster campioun.  
 And þoucht the pane apperis vehement.  
 To make the story to the redaris more patent,  
 I wyll begyn at the discriptioun  
 Of Albion in maner subsequent.”

—Stanza 40, Davidson’s ed.

The objection may, however, be a modern one. As Bellenden observes, “ Nane is of sa dirk intelligence bot knawis cosmographie maist necessar to the knowlege of Historyis,” and since history is to be “ ane mirrour of vertuous leving,” geography and moral dialogues may have more in common than at first appears.

But it is at least possible that the poem was composed for another purpose, and was later adapted to serve as an introduction to the *Cosmography*. The theme of the poem, it must be admitted, argues that it belongs to some period in the region of 1530. King James V. in 1530 was eighteen years of age, and, as Maitland points out, the description of the youthful king, as well as the “ choice of Hercules ” with which he is confronted, would be less appropriate to a later year. The biographical stanzas, which of all seem the most genuinely poetical in feeling, provide another clue. Bellenden’s dismissal from Court, as has been shown, must be placed in the year 1522, when Albany came into power. In 1528 also Bellenden, it is believed, had openly taken the part of the Douglas, and may have suffered for his adherence. But by August 1533, or at whatever later date the printed edition appeared, Bellenden had secured preferment in the Church and money rewards from the King. It is true that his Church advancement at this date was by dignity not by benefice, and that the first substantial increase to his wealth occurred (apparently) in 1537. Bellenden might have felt cause for murmuring in this delay; and this might explain why, in his earlier poetical address (“ groundit but assentacione ” certainly, but scrupulously free of “ feid ”), he forgets his wrongs, and expresses a robust hopefulness of favours to come :—

“ Pray him among his princelie besynes  
 Thy Translatour vnto his favour call . . . ”

—MS. M.

and in the later revives his now ancient grievances in a pathetically worded complaint :—

“ Of fortun gud I had na esperance.  
 So lang I swomit in hir seis deip  
 That sad auising with hir thochtfull lance  
 Couth fynd na port to ankir hir firmance, . . . ”

—Davidson’s ed.

But it is to be noted that this mood of discouragement is expressly associated with the translation of the *History*. Bellenden may mean merely that he was at work on a translation already complete, but he does not say so.

A third point may be noted. A date for the poem later than 1533 seems altogether impossible, and Bellenden's "new cornikle" was presented to the King in August 1533. But Bellenden has not only given his poem a mournful autumn setting; he has dated it, in the manner beloved of his age, according to astrology. The time indicated is late autumn, after the equinox, with "Artophilax" ("I mene the ledar of the charle wane"—i.e., Arcturus) rising and the moon in Cancer. The parade of astrological terms is, of course, conventional; but there seems generally to be a basis of fact in the poet's choice of a season. It cannot be the autumn of 1533 that is indicated, nor can it be the autumn of 1531, when Bellenden had completed his first version of the *History*, and would hardly have embarked on its immediate revision. The autumn of 1532 is perhaps intended; but the autumn of 1530, when Bellenden was first beginning his translation, is also a possibility. Acceptance of the latter conjecture, however, involves not only a theory of alteration in the poem itself, but also its suppression in favour of a new poetical address, and a tardy publication some two (or more) years later.

There remains to be discussed the question of "lost works," and finally, and to some extent in connection with this, Bellenden's reputation as an author.

The earliest notice of Bellenden's works is that given by Bale in 1548.<sup>1</sup> After noting the translation of Boece's *History*, Bale adds:—

"Ex proprij quoque ingenij promptuario, quo omnia facilius intelligentur, Stoicæ (? Scotice) protulit,  
Cosmographiam historiae, li. I. Syluatica Diana fulgentibus radijs,  
Albania descriptionem, li. I. Qualiter alterationi & morti omnia,  
Ad regem Iacobum quintum, epi. I. Erasmus Roterodamus in lib. de insti."

These three works are easily recognisable as the *Proheme of the Cosmographie*, the *Cosmography* itself, and the dedicatory *Epistle* to James V., as given in Davidson's edition of the *Boece*. Bale, it appears, regards the *Description of Albion*, as well as the *Proheme* and the *Epistle*, as Bellenden's original work; Davidson, it is true, says nothing to the contrary, but it is curious that such a mistake should be made by a writer who enumerates the works of Boece himself correctly. Bale's error in naming the *Proheme* as itself a *Cosmography* produces further confusion. Wolffhart in 1551<sup>2</sup> evidently regards Bale's mention of a *Cosmography* and a *Description of Albion* as the duplication of a single work, for he runs these titles together as "Cosmographiam, historiae Albaniae descriptionem, lib. I."—and names no other production of Bellenden's. The *Catalogue of Scottish writers*,<sup>3</sup> of much later date, is equally sparing; but, whether from misreading Gesner or re-reading

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Bale, again separates the *Cosmography* from the *Description of Albion*. The ultimate, and certainly most ludicrous, error in this chain is Vossius's enumeration of Bellenden among geographers.<sup>1</sup>

Bale in 1559<sup>2</sup> has considerably augmented his list of Bellenden's original works. Besides those already quoted from the 1548 edition, he cites:—

“ Super litera Pythagoræ, Lib. I.  
De uirtute & uoluptate, Lib. I.  
Super quodam somnio, Lib. I.  
Diuersi generis carmina, Lib. I.”

From the title *Super litera Pythagoræ* (i.e., *upsilon*) we are no doubt to understand some kind of disquisition on the choice of Hercules, or “the two paths,” as Irving suggests.<sup>3</sup> There is no need to emend “litera” to “vita” as Mackenzie wished to do.<sup>4</sup> All three titles, however—*Super litera Pythagoræ*, *De uirtute & uoluptate*, *Super quodam somnio*—sound suspiciously like a multiplication of a single poem—the *Proheme of the Cosmographie*, already specified by Bale, where an allegory of virtue and vice is presented as a dream. Why Bale should have provided Bellenden with a row of dummy works is difficult to understand. He makes no reference by name to the *Proheme of the History*, or the *Banner of Piety*. He may not have known of the second, but if, as seems probable, he used Davidson's edition, he must have been acquainted with the first. Presumably he includes it under the heading *Diuersi generis carmina*, which need not, with Bale, mean a separate publication. Bale also records a tradition, already noted,<sup>5</sup> that Bellenden wrote a continuation of Boece's *History*, whether in Latin or in the vernacular is not stated.

Con,<sup>6</sup> in his brief mention of Bellenden, says merely that the latter opposed heresy “cum scribendo tum disputando.” This suggests that Con knew of pamphlets, or sermons, written by Bellenden. No such works are known to be extant; nor are they mentioned by any other early biographer, except David Buchanan, who may merely be improving on Con.

Bale's list of 1559 is copied “word in word,” without question, by the other seventeenth century biographers. Dempster omits the “first lines” quoted by Bale, and alters *Ad Iacobum quintum regem Epist. I. to Epistolæ ad Iacobum V. lib. I.*—whence Mackenzie can deduce “several letters to King James,” not now extant—but otherwise prints the list verbatim. He makes no mention of a continuation to Boece's *History*. David Buchanan gives Bale's list (distinguishing first lines omitted), states positively that Bellenden wrote a continuation of the *History* to 1536, and adds “Et alia plurima edidisse perhibetur, nimirum, super S. Scriptura Lectiones etc.”

Mackenzie, Tanner, and the rest have juggled with Bale's and Dempster's lists, and have produced various combinations of “works

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Lives of Scottish Writers*, Vol. I., p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Lives and Characters*, Vol. II., p. 599.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 438.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

not now extant." Mackenzie's conjecture of a *Life of Pythagoras* for *Super litera Pythagoræ* has caused further confusion. Many writers, from Tanner down to Maitland, have been attracted by the supposition that Bellenden wrote a continuation of the *History*.

It is possible that some works of Bellenden have disappeared, but it has to be remembered that the only authority for the existence of works other than those now extant is, in the last instance, the unsupported testimony of Bale and Con. Bale, however, is obviously trying to combine information from several sources. One such source was possibly Davidson's edition. We note that Bale's copy must have carried the reading "Quhen *siluit* Diane full of bemis bricht," or else Bale misread a badly printed "r" as "t." Another source appears to have been the lost works of the antiquary Nicholas Brigham. These or others, from which his biographical details must have been derived, might well specify the contents of Davidson's edition under different titles, from which Bale could compile a spurious list of "works." Con, since he gives details lacking in the professed biographies, may have had independent information. As an important official of the Roman Catholic Church, and probably at one time keeper of the Barberini Library, he may well have been conversant with biographical details, and even writings of Bellenden's, not accessible to Bale or Dempster.

There is, however, another argument for Bellenden's authorship of works now lost, and that is his reputation as a poet, which, it would seem, his remaining works lamentably fail to support. Bellenden's reputation is the most remarkable fact of his career. Bale praises his scholarship and his skill as a translator, and this praise, as might be expected, is echoed and magnified by succeeding biographers. Of these, David Buchanan is easily the most magniloquent :—

"Erat linguarum peritissimus, et in sacrarum Scripturarum lectione optime versatus : in literis humanioribus sive poesin spectes, sive solutam orationem, erat exquisitissimus ; orator facundus, bonus poeta, solidus theologus, concionator celebris, mathematicus haud vulgaris, et nominatim cosmographus, insignis, historiographus non temnendus, et acutus philosophus, denique in omni optimarum literarum scientia optime instructus."

But more convincing, and rather more surprising, than such testimony are the words of Bellenden's contemporaries, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount and John Rolland. Lyndsay's eulogy<sup>1</sup> has often been quoted :—

"Stewart of Lorne wyll carpe rycht curiouslie  
Galbreith, Kynlouch, quhen thay lyst tham applie  
In to that art, ar craftie of Ingyne.  
Bot now, of lait, is starte vpe, haistelie  
One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie  
One plant of Poetis, callit Ballentyne,  
Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne  
Gett he in to the courte auctoritie  
He wyll precell Quintyng and Kennetie."

<sup>1</sup>The Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount (S.T.S.), Vol. I. : *The Testament & Complaynt of our soverane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng James the Fyft : The Proloug*, stanza 6.

Rolland, in his *Prologue to The Sewin Seages*,<sup>1</sup> describes his prentice efforts to choose a subject, and tells how he took the best advice in the matter:—

“ In court that time was gude Dauid Lyndsay,  
In vulgar tounge he bure the bell that day  
To mak meter, richt cunning and expart,  
And Maister Iohne Ballentyne suith to say  
Mak him marrow to Dauid weil we may.  
And for the thrid, Maister Williame Stewart,  
To mak in Scottis, richt weil he knew that Art,  
Bischoep Durie, sum tyme of Galloway  
For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thair part.

“ And I my self with small Intelligence  
Thocht in that case to schaw my diligence  
To manifest my waik wit and Ingyne,  
At thir foursum asking leif and licence,  
With hat and hand k(n)eiling with reuerence  
Me for to leir ane lessoun or a lyne  
Of thair prettick to me ane point propyne.  
They said go to, schaw sum Experience  
And I thairfoir to thame promiseist the wyne.

“ Sa at thir four quhen I had leif purchest  
To thame (said I) quhat mater is metest ?  
For to begin (quod thay) we wald ze drew  
Sum Dialog, or argument that is best,  
And that will mak zour mater manifest.  
Sa folk may know the fals Tale be the trew,  
For Dialogs (quod I) weis get anew.  
And sa fra thame Incontinent me drest,  
And tuke gude nicht, and said gude schirs adew.”

The gibe at a superfluity of “ Dialogs,” it is true, touches both Lyndsay and Bellenden nearly, and the whole passage has a burlesque turn; but, whether in jest or in earnest, Bellenden is called “ marrow ” to Lyndsay—no mean praise.

Rolland wrote in May 1560, by which time probably all Bellenden’s known works, except the *Livy* and its *Proloug*, had been published. The colophon in John Byddell’s edition of Lyndsay’s poem (London, 1538) states that it was “ finysshed ” “ the xiiij day of Decembre in the yere of our lord 1530.” Hamer, in his edition of Lyndsay’s *Works*,<sup>2</sup> assigns to the poem a date between 19th October 1529 and 29th November 1530. However this may be, the poem was written before Bellenden’s translation of the *Chronicles*, or of *Livy*, and consequently, it would seem, before the composition of the three verse “ prohemes.” The only other extant poem of Bellenden’s on which Lyndsay might be passing judgment is, therefore, the *Benner of Peetie*. With the best will in the world towards Bellenden, a modern reader in this case finds

<sup>1</sup> *The Sewin Seages . . . by John Rolland*, ed. G. F. Black (S.T.S.), 1932: *The Prologue*, stanza 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Works of Sir David Lyndsay . . .* (S.T.S.), Vol. III., p. 67.

Lyndsay's praise excessive. Bellenden makes of the Annunciation and the Redemption something between a mediæval allegory, set in the Court of Heaven, with Mercy, Verity, Peace, and Justice in attendance :—

“ Thir ladeis foure contending beselie  
With argumentis and mony strong repplyis  
Befoir the blissit fader equalie  
Sum for Iustice and sum for mercie cryis . . .”

—Bannatyne MS.

and a wire-drawn exercise in scholastic theology. He emphatically does not “ rise to the height of his great argument ” :—

“ The samyn tyme quhen God omnipotent  
Beheld of man the greit callamitie  
And thocht the tyme wes than Expedient  
Man to redeme fra thrald captiuite  
And to reduce him to felicitie  
With body and sawle to be glorificat  
Quha wes condampnit in the lymb to bie  
ifra he wes first in Syn prevaricat.”

—Bannatyne MS.

Yet George Bannatyne, copying, “ in time of pest ” in 1568, his “ most godlie mirrie and lustie Rapsodie,” heads his collection with “ the richt excellent godly And lernit werk callit the benner of pectie compylit be the famous and renownit poet Mr Johine bellenden Archeden of Mvrray, concern(ing) the incarnatioun of our saluour chryist.” We may believe, therefore, that the contemporary taste for moral discourse triumphed over the natural preference for good poetry ; but the suspicion persists that Lyndsay, at least, knew of Bellenden as the author of other poems.

If the *Proheme of the Cosmographie* can be assigned to the autumn of 1530, Lyndsay might have seen it before his *Papyngo* and its *Proloug* were completed. His enthusiasm might then be intelligible, without assuming the existence of any other poetical work of Bellenden. The allegory creaks a little perhaps ; there are patches of extreme dullness among the three hundred and sixty lines, and the moral is drawn very heavily ; but the poetry is there :—

“ As Caruell tycht fast tending throw the see  
Leuys na prent among the wallis hie.  
As birdis swift with mony besy plume  
Peirsis the aire, and wait nocht quhare thay fle.  
Siclik our lyfe without actiuite  
Gyffis na frut, howbeit ane schado blume.  
Quhay dois thair lyfe in to this erd consume  
Without virtew, thair fame and memorie  
Sall vanis soner, than the reky fume.” . . .

“ Be than Phebus his fry cart dyd wry  
Fra south to west declinand besaly  
To dip his steidis in the oceane.  
Quhen he began ouirsile his visage dry  
With vapouris thik, and cloudis full of sky.

And notus brym the wynd meridiane  
 With wyngis donk and pennis full of rane  
 Awalkenit me, that I mycht nocht aspy  
 Quhilk of thaym two was to his lady tane."

—Stanzas 25 and 38, Davidson's ed.

It may be noted here that the proviso "gett he in to the courte auctoritie" would be appropriate as late as the end of 1530, or indeed later. Bellenden had been dismissed the Court in 1522; and though in 1530 his political errors have been overlooked and he enjoys the King's patronage, he seems never again to have held any office at Court, and certainly never to have "got authority" there. Lyndsay's words cannot be interpreted in the sense in which Hamer reads them—as implying that up to the time of Lyndsay's writing Bellenden "had held no position at court." Bellenden's own statement, as well as the impersonal record of the Exchequer accounts, is proof to the contrary. Nothing can be argued from this remark of Lyndsay's as to the date of the *Papyngo* and its *Proloug*.

But whatever poems of Bellenden's Lyndsay has in mind, the fact of Bellenden's poetical reputation remains, to the bewilderment of many literary historians.

George Bannatyne, copying the *Benner of Peetie*, "the richt excellent godly and lernit werk," the *Proheme of the croniculs* (i.e., "of the Cosmographe"), "verry lernit and morale," and the *secound prologue or proheme of the History*, "verry notable And wirdy of commendatioun," may be said to have established Bellenden's fame. Bannatyne can have omitted the *Proloug* to the *Livy*, equally moral and godly, for one reason only—that he did not know of it. The approving comments in the Bannatyne MS. belong, one may add, to the seventeenth century. Bannatyne places the first two pieces among the poems that "concernis godis gloir and our saluatioun"; the *Proheme of the History* appears, rather remarkably, among "talis and storeis weill discydit."<sup>1</sup>

When Allan Ramsay included in his *Evergreen*,<sup>2</sup> under the title of *Vertue and Vyce*, the first thirty-nine stanzas of Bellenden's *Proheme of the Cosmographe*, he gave the poet a fresh lease of popularity. Like every other poem in the collection, *Vertue and Vyce* is considerably altered from George Bannatyne's transcription of it. Ramsay, in spite of his poetic tastes, had all the eighteenth century contempt for "Gothick" modes of spelling and rhyming. One or two of his changes, as that in the *Conclusioun*, where he has altered

"Quhen he began ovirsyle his visage dry  
 With vapouris thik and cluddis full of sky . . ."

to

"When rysing Damps owresaid his Visage dry  
 With vapouris thik and cluddet all the Sky . . ."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Bannatyne MS.* (S.T.S.), Vol. II., p. 1 (*The Wryttar to the reidaris*).

<sup>2</sup> *The Evergreen, Being A Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600*, Allan Ramsay, Edin., 1724, 2 vols. (Vol. I., p. 31 ff.).



may be due to a misunderstanding of the text ; but most of the changes, and they occur in every line, are arbitrary and meaningless "improvements" on the author's spelling, scansion, and vocabulary. Allan Ramsay's estimate of Bellenden's "muse" is given, with rhetorical exaggeration, in his lines on the contents of the Bannatyne MS.<sup>1</sup> :—

" Grave Balantyne in verse divinely wyse,  
Makis Vertew triumph owre fals fleechand Vyse."

*Vertue and Vyce*, mangled though it might be, was in 1750 republished, along with Dunbar's *The Thistle and the Rose*, as a sixpenny chapbook.<sup>2</sup> A fair number of copies are extant, so that the book seems to have had a certain, but not overwhelming, popularity. Thanks to Ramsay also, Bellenden acquired a southern reputation : his "tuneful vision" wins the praise of the Reverend John Langhorne,<sup>3</sup> whatever that may be worth.

Later anthologies of Scottish verse usually include specimens of Bellenden's work.<sup>4</sup> Sibbald<sup>5</sup> has the *Proheme of the History* and what he calls *An Allegorie of Vertue and Delyte* (alias, the *Proheme of the Cosmographie*). Eyre Todd<sup>6</sup> prints selections from Bellenden's known

<sup>1</sup> David Laing's *Account of the Contents of the Bannatyne MS.*, given as an Appendix in the S.T.S. edition of the Bannatyne MS., Vol. I., p. clxvi, and in *The Sempill Ballates*, p. 255. Printed from a broadside, undated.

<sup>2</sup> A volume of 38 pages, ? 200 × 120 mm. A general title-page reads *The Thistle / And / The Rose. / Vertue / And / Vyce / Two Antient / Allegorical / Scots Poems. / Price Sixpence.* / A second title-page reads *The Thistle / And / The Rose. / A poem / In Honour Of Margaret, / Daughter To Henry VII. Of England, / Queen to James IV. King of Scots / The Thistle And The Rose, / O'er Flowers And Herbage Green, / By Lady Nature Chose, / Brave King And Lovely Queen. / Glasgow : / Printed And Sold By Robert And Andrew Foulis. / MDCCL. / p. (17)* is the title-page to *Vertue and Vyce*, which reads, *Vertue / And / Vyce / A / Poem, / Addrest To / James V. King Of Scots, / By The Famous And Renown'd Clerk, / Mr John Bellentyne, / Arch-dean of Murray. / Glasgow : Printed And Sold By Robert And Andrew Foulis. / MDCCL. /* Ramsay's version of the poem follows. Complete copies are in the Nat. Lib. (Lauriston Castle collection) and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Mitchell Library has also a copy, much cut down, containing only Bellenden's poem. The Signet copy wants the general title-page, and has the order of the poems reversed, throwing out the paging. Edin. Univ. Lib. copy wants the general title-page ; the book is bound together with another chapbook from the Foulis press : *The Speech Of A Fiye Laird . . . The Mare Of Collingtoun, The Banishment Of Poverty ; Three Scots Poems* (1751). The British Museum copy has the general title-page misplaced, following p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Genius and Valour : A Scotch Pastoral*, John Langhorne, Lond., 1764 (2nd ed.), p. 12. 1st edition, ? 1763.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Geddie, *Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets*, p. 256 ff. Schipper (*Altenglische Metrik*, 1881, pp. 520-522) quotes from Stewart (the *Metrical Chronicle*), not from Bellenden, as stated by Geddie (p. 266).

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, Vol. II.

<sup>6</sup> *Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century* (Abbotsford Series).

poems and also the *Excusation of the Prentar*, which is usually assigned to Davidson. But all the later editors and biographers are in agreement ; all find the poems unequal to their reputation, and nearly all are careful to avoid saying so. Campbell<sup>1</sup> writes : " He was unquestionably a man of great parts, and one of the finest Poets his country had to boast. It is true the language is now so altered that to attempt giving (as some have done) specimens would be ridiculous. It is sufficient to say that so many of his works remain, as fully prove this, inasmuch as they are distinguished by that noble enthusiasm which is the very soul of poetry." Maitland says<sup>2</sup> " (the poems) are generally allegorical and distinguished rather by incidental beauties than by the skilful structure of the fable." Eyre Todd remarks : " Altogether, though not of the era-making order, and though comparatively limited in quantity, the poetry of Bellenden is worthy of more attention than it has hitherto received." Millar<sup>3</sup> speaks of Bellenden as " something of a poet," Henderson<sup>4</sup> as " merely an exemplary disciple of Gavin Douglas."

That there is some lack of proportion in the praise of Lyndsay and Rolland may be admitted, but need not astonish. Poets are notoriously inaccurate in their estimation of their contemporaries, and in the age of James V. there was little scope for enthusiasm. Rolland tacitly confesses to some poverty of choice when he links the tedious rhymster William Stewart (if it is the author of the metrical *Chronicles* that he means), Bishop Dury, not one identifiable line of whose verses has survived, and the respectable minor poet Bellenden, with Lyndsay, as his masters in the art. Eulogy, moreover, was the " crafty poet's " business, and both Lyndsay and Rolland praise Bellenden in stock terms. But the writer who scrawls from memory in his copy of *Porphyry* a verse of the *Proheme of the History* ; the enthusiast who copies out all twenty-two stanzas of the *Banner of Piety* on the fly-leaves of his *Fordun* ;<sup>5</sup> George Bannatyne himself ; and in a lesser degree Allan Ramsay and the Glasgow publishers of 1750, testify to the popularity, if not the merit, of Bellenden's extant works. Since to an impressive array of classical learning and astrological lore, and a wealth of " grave sentence," Bellenden adds strong national feeling, and a blunt directness in reproof to the mighty, this popularity is not difficult to understand. In Bellenden's writings there is that kind of inspired common-sense which is instantly recognised as genius by the plain reader ; and, in addition, there is the tone of solemn authority, which for centuries, and especially in Scotland, has kept such writers pyramidally extant. The " trym termes " and " barbarus termes bland " with which Bellenden's muse is embrowed about, seem, in his day, to have given his readers as much satisfaction as a garnish of Latin quotation on polemics

<sup>1</sup> *Biographica Britannica*, r. c.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Bellenden* . . . , Vol. I., Introd., p. xliii.

<sup>3</sup> *A Literary History of Scotland*, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Scottish Vernacular Literature* . . . , p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> Noted, in an addendum, in *The Bannatyne MS.* (S.T.S.), Vol. I., p. x f. A former owner of the book was Gavin Leslye, prebendary of Kyngusy, dioc. of Moray, during the time Bellenden was Archdeacon.

afforded the politicians of the eighteenth century. Further, though Bellenden was as loyal to a threatened faith as to a patron in adversity, much of both the zeal and the dourness of the Reformers is apparent in his writings. "Idill lymmaris" of all sorts—from "menstralis" and "iugillouris" to "monkis and freris" and "prelatis vicus"—are denounced in terms only less scathing than are the "effeminate" arts they encourage. It always appears, in Bellenden's version of Scottish history, that the most depraved "tyrannis" and "monstouris" had a natural taste for music along with their other vices. That this is not simply a reflection of the opinions of Boece is shown by Bellenden's own verses:—

"Schaw now quhat kynd of soundis musicall  
Is maist semand to vailzeand cheueleris.  
As thondrand blast of trumpat bellicall  
The spretis of men to hardy curage steris,  
So syngyng, fydyng, and piping not efferis  
For men of honour nor of hye estate.  
Becaus it spoutis swete venome in thair eris  
And makis thair myndis al effeminate."

—Davidson's ed.

Like Major and other writers of the old régime, Boece and his translator castigate severely the vices of the pre-Reformation clergy and the many faults of the Church organisation. Thus although Bellenden seems to have spent the latter part of his life contending with the secessionists, there is little in his writings of which a fair-minded Protestant would disapprove, however severe in his views. In Bellenden's case, too, there seems to be another reason for contemporary esteem—simply that, as in a more illustrious example, that of Johnson, the man himself was more estimable than any of his works. It is perhaps fanciful, with a literary personality as dim and as distant as Bellenden's, to draw such inferences; but in all that we know of his life, or can read of his works, there is the mark of honesty, loyalty, and courage. His prose is no longer history or geography, nor his verse poetry, but both carry the impress of that personality, and both still retain something of their savour.



## GLOSSARY.

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THERE is no attempt in this glossary either to note every occurrence of a word or to give every spelling of the more usual Scots words, but some familiar words are included either because of an unfamiliar spelling or because of an unfamiliar significance. The scribe of the Pierpont Morgan MS. makes no distinction between U, V, and W, which are accordingly run together here initially. J is never employed except as the capital form of I, usually where modern custom would use the lower case, and is therefore disregarded both in the text of this edition and in the glossary. ȝ is put at the end of the alphabet.

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### A

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| <p>a, adj., I. 26, 27, 127, II. 33 : one, a single, a common.</p> <p>abaisit, pret. and p.p., I. 248, abasit, I. 88, 137, 147 : cast down.</p> <p>aberrand, adj., I. 344, aberrant, I. 214 : astray, in error, wandering, departing.</p> <p>abill, adj., I. 29, II. 102, habill, I. 53 : likely, capable, liable.</p> <p>abilzeament, n., II. 296, abulzeament, II. 109, 296 : garments.</p> <p>abilzeitt, p.p., II. 356 : dressed, arrayed.</p> <p>abirjoun, n., I. 32 : habergeon.</p> <p>abstrakkit, p.p., I. 88 : taken away.</p> <p>abuscheamentis, n. pl., II. 49 : ambushes.</p> <p>abusit, adj., a) I. 275 : out of the habit, b) II. 239 : deceived, misled.</p> <p>abydind, n., I. 23 : abiding place.</p> <p>acquyte, v., I. 255 : pay for.</p> <p>addressit, p.p., I. 54 : arranged.</p> | <p>adiectit, p.p., II. 189 : given over to, devoted to.</p> <p>admiracioun, n., I. 52, 57 : astonishment, marvel.</p> <p>admonist, p.p., I. 119 : warned, informed.</p> <p>adreich, adv., I. 37 : at a distance.</p> <p>aduertence, n., I. 288, 378 : warning, notice.</p> <p>aduertt, v., I. 417 : be aware.</p> <p>afald, adj., I. 36, II. 141 : united, single-hearted.</p> <p>affekkit, p.p., I. 17 : inclined.</p> <p>aggre, v., I. 81 : bring to agreement.</p> <p>aggreance, n., I. 48 : agreement.</p> <p>aggrege, v., I. 61, II. 234 : aggravate.</p> <p>air, n., I. 133, aire, I. 141, hayr, I. 377, pl. airis, I. 50, ayiris, I. 51 : heir.</p> <p>airis, n. pl., I. 57, <i>iustice airis</i> : itinerant courts of justice.</p> <p>aith, n., I. 118, pl. aithis, I. 118, aithtis, I. 82 : oath.</p> <p>alanerlie, adv., I. 45, alanerly, I. 124 : solely, only.</p> |
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- allane, adv., I. 97, him allane : by himself.
- allya, n., I. 38, II. 22, 86 : alliance.
- allyatt, p.p., II. 233 : allied.
- almouse, n., I. 382 : alms.
- aluterlie, adv., I. 24 : entirely.
- amplacioun, n., I. 271 : extension.
- angell nobillis, n. pl., II. 263 : angels (coins).
- ansenze, n., I. 99, 153, assenze, II. 73, ensenze, I. 372, pl. ansenzeis, I. 153 : emblem, banner.
- antecessouris, n. pl., I. 171, antecessouris, I. 16 : ancestors.
- applaude, v., I. 221 : approve, agree to.
- applesit, p.p., I. 46 : pleased.
- appontment, n., I. 38, II. 385 : discussion, meeting for discussion.
- apprisabill, adj., I. 417 : praiseworthy.
- apprise, v., II. 408 : estimate, approve.
- appunctuament, n., II. 124 : appointment, settlement.
- argent content, n., II. 203 : ready money.
- armez, n. pl., I. 37, armys, I. 11 : heraldic arms.
- arnes, n., II. 65, 153 : harness.
- arreß, n., I. 351 : arras.
- artacioun, n., II. 151, hartacioun, II. 385 : exhortation.
- assailze, v., I. 43, [62, assalze, I. 62, II. 384 : enter on, attack, attempt, try.
- assentacione, n., II. 406, assentacioun, I. 237 : flattery.
- assistaris, n. pl., I. 17, assistouris, I. 75 : assistants, companions, accomplices.
- assithment, n., I. 370, pl. assyithmentis, I. 38 : compensation.
- assoilzeit, pret. and p.p., II. 223, assoilzeit, II. 217, assolzeit, I. 403, II. 212, assolzeit, II. 176, 222 : absolved, excused.
- assouerance, n., I. 76, II. 210, assurance, I. 121 : safe conduct.
- astoneist, pret. and p.p., I. 112, astonist, I. 212, astonyst, I. 302, astuneist, I. 110, astunyst, I. 160, astunytt, I. 43, estonyist, I. 159, estonyst, I. 154 : afraid, astounded.
- astonis, v., I. 170, astunyß, II. 223 : alarm, fill with fear.
- astricciouns, n. pl., I. 76 : restrictions.
- astrikkit, p.p., I. 267 : bound.
- at, conj., I. 78, II. 272 : that.
- attemptaris, n. pl., I. 61 : perpetrators.
- attemptatis, n. pl., I. 60 : enterprises.
- attentik, adj., I. 72 : authentic, trustworthy.
- attentit, adj., I. 395 : tainted.
- attinate, p.p., I. 293 : weakened.
- attour, adv., I. 31 : besides.
- auditour, n., I. 91 : audience.
- autoreist, adj., I. 325, autorist, I. 326 : in authority.
- aver, n., II. 157 : cart horse.
- avise, n., a) II. 241 : knowledge, advice, b) II. 168 : wise, guise.
- aviseament, n., I. 34, avisement, II. 77, 201, awisement, II. 161 : council, deliberation.
- avisit, p.p., II. 263, avisit with þe lettrez : entrusted with the letters so that he could examine them.
- awalkinnit, p.p., II. 288, awal-kynnit, II. 29, awalkynnytt, I. 43 : awakened.
- awband, n., II. 181 : check, restraint.
- aynd, n., II. 94, haynde, II. 393 : breath.

## B

- baggit, adj., I. 205 : in calf.
- bairditt, adj., II. 146, bardit, I. 331 : caparisoned for war.
- bait, pret., I. 59 : bit, seized.
- band, n., I. 1 : alliance.
- barbour, adj., I. 97 : barbarous.
- barding, n., I. 130 : horse-armor, trappings.
- baris, n. pl., I. 314 : boars.
- barrant, adj., I. 380, barratt, I. 33 : barren.
- bassingis, n. pl., I. 250 : basins.
- bastailzeis, n. pl., II. 316, bastalzeis, I. 200, basteliis, I. 119 : fortresses.
- batallis, n. pl., I. 165, batellis, I. 109 : divisions of an army in battle.

batell, battell, n., a) I. 21 : battle,  
 b) I. 126, 129 : campaign.  
 begouth, pret., I. 49 : began.  
 behad, pret., II. 253 : behaved.  
 behechtis, n. pl., I. 360 : promises.  
 behuffe, n., I. 91 : intention.  
 behuffit, pret., I. 39, II. 200 : be-  
 haved, was bound.  
 beild, v., I. 32, pret., beidit, I. 4,  
 beildit, I. 24, p.p., beldit, II.  
 133 : build.  
 beir, n., I. 68, bere, I. 410 : barley.  
 bek, v., I. 79 : bow.  
 beld, adj., II. 207 : bald.  
 belive, adj., I. 93, belyve, I. 322 :  
 soon, immediately.  
 belt, v., I. 92 : gird, surround.  
 bergan, n., I. 138, bergane, I. 23 :  
 battle.  
 beryis, n., II. 138 : burial.  
 beselie, adv., I. 65 : intently.  
 besynes, n., I. 15, 33, 82 : activity,  
 business, care.  
 betraiß, v., II. 304, p.p., betrasit,  
 I. 296 : betray.  
 big, v., I. 23 : build.  
 biggin, n., II. 116, bigging, I. 31 :  
 building.  
 birunnyn, p.p., I. 34, byronnyn,  
 I. 230, byrunnyn, II. 64 :  
 elapsed, advanced, past.  
 bleiß, n., I. 261 : blaze.  
 bodin, adj., II. 77, 322 : lightly  
 armed, opposed to *stowitt*, II.  
 77.  
 boldin, p.p., I. 406, bolding, II.  
 256 : swollen.  
 bonatt, n., II. 213 : bonnet.  
 bordellis, n. pl., I. 415, II. 220 :  
 scoundrels.  
 bot, conj., passim : but.  
 bottingis, n. pl., II. 289 : buskins.  
 bowsum, adj., II. 406 : acceptable,  
 to the inclination of.  
 boyndis, n. pl., I. 221, 259 : bonds-  
 men, slaves.  
 brag, n., I. 162, 313 : impetus,  
 ferocity.  
 brais, n. pl., I. 261, brayis, I. 142 :  
 braes.  
 braissing, n., I. 347 : embracing.  
 broddis, n. pl., I. 417 : goads.  
 brokin, adj., I. 90, II. 102 : *brokin*  
*men*, men expelled from their  
 clans on account of crimes.  
 bront, n., I. 120, brount, I. 170 :  
 assault.

brouke, v., I. 46 : enjoy the use  
 of, possess.  
 brudy, adj., I. 24 : prolific.  
 brym, adj., I. 218, 317, 346 :  
 fierce, raging.  
 buggis, 3rd s. pres. ind., II. 153 :  
 goes as a hanger-on, parasite,  
 creature.  
 bullerand, pres. part., I. 316 :  
 bubbling, choking.  
 burd, n., II. 270 : board, side.  
 bure, pret., I. 37 : bore.  
 buscheament, n., II. 77, busche-  
 ment, I. 350 : ambush, reserve.  
 but, conj. and prep., passim :  
 without, except.  
 buttis, n. pl., II. 332 : boots.  
 by, prep., II. 185, 231 : besides.  
 byke, n., II. 160 : swarm.  
 byrß, n. pl., II. 88 : bristles.

## C

caip, n., II. 377 : coffin.  
 Cair Sonndaye, n., II. 382 : Palm  
 Sunday.  
 calssaye, n., II. 49 : causeway.  
 campioun, n., II. 256, pl. cam-  
 pionis, I. 15 : champion.  
 capill, n., II. 343 : cable.  
 careage, n., I. 298, cariage, I. 257 :  
 baggage.  
 carting, n., II. 56 : card-playing.  
 cassin, p.p., I. 46, 257 : cast,  
 intent on.  
 castis, n., II. 405 : bent, quality  
 of mind.  
 caterree, n., II. 54 : catarrh.  
 cative, adj., I. 260, II. 404 :  
 captive, wretched.  
 catis, n. pl., I. 171, katyvis, I.  
 255 : captives.  
 cavill, n., I. 46 : lot.  
 cawis, n. pl., I. 205 : calves.  
 cayß, n. pl., II. 335 : jackdaws.  
 cestifye, v., II. 81 : chastise,  
 correct.  
 cetezanis, n. pl., I. 109, cietezanis,  
 II. 49, citesanis, II. 346, cite-  
 zanis, II. 18 : citizens.  
 chaftis, n. pl., II. 332 : jaws.  
 chakkit, pret., II. 274 : clinked.  
 chare, n., II. 403 : chariot.  
 charge, n., a) I. 60, 114 : weight,  
 blame, responsibility, b) I. 338 :  
 order.

- chasty, v., II. 22 : chastise.  
 cheir, n., I. 194, chere, I. 129 :  
 behaviour, [good] cheer, spirits.  
 cheis, v., I. 59, cheiþ, I. 28, pret.  
 chesit, I. 18 : choose.  
 chenzeis, n. pl., II. 182 : chains.  
 chesing, n., I. 51 : choice, choos-  
 ing.  
 chesit, p.p., I. 2 : chased.  
 chete, p.p., I. 292 : escheated.  
 cheuailry, n., I. 23, chevalrye, II.  
 3, chevelry, I. 29, 153, chevelrye,  
 I. 26 : art of war, knowledge of  
 the art of war.  
 chiar, n., I. 25, chyar, I. 29 : chair.  
 The form *chair* is also found,  
*e.g.*, I. 25, chayre, I. 35.  
 chymmeis, n., I. 25, 49 : palace,  
 capital.  
 ciete, n., I. 24 : city.  
 cietesouris, n. pl., II. 78, citesouris,  
 I. 37 : citizens, fellow citizens.  
 cietinaris, n. pl., I. 237 : citizens.  
 circulit, p.p., I. 137 : encircled.  
 clam, pret., II. 343 : climbed.  
 cleith, v., I. 170, p.p., clethit, I.  
 180 : clothe.  
 clekkit, pret., II. 335 : hatched.  
 clenge, v., I. 200 : cleanse, clean  
 out.  
 clippit, p.p., I. 24 : named.  
 cobillis, n. pl., II. 310 : cobbles,  
 small boats.  
 coddis, n. pl., I. 79 : pillows,  
 cushions.  
 coft, p.p., I. 84 : bought.  
 coitt, n., I. 85 : *coitt armour*,  
 surcoat.  
 commissioun, n., I. 122 : *com-  
 missioun of blude*, exercise of  
 criminal justice.  
 commite, n., II. 196, 257 : com-  
 monwealth, people.  
 common, v., II. 210, commoun, I.  
 138 : confer.  
 commonyng, n., I. 24 : confer-  
 ence.  
 comoditeis, n. pl., II. 162 : ad-  
 vantages.  
 compere, v., II. 156, pret. com-  
 perit, a) I. 121, 243, II. 103 :  
 appear before a legal or political  
 tribunal, b) I. 254 : assemble,  
 c) II. 388 : appear in public.  
 componit, adj., I. 149 : well-  
 mannered.  
 compositoure, n., I. 1 : arbitrator.  
 compt, n. and v., II. 232, 234 :  
 account.  
 condicionatt, p.p., II. 364 : agreed  
 on conditions.  
 condiscendit, pret., I. 31 : con-  
 sented.  
 conduce, v., I. 211 : persuade,  
 induce.  
 connzeit, p.p., II. 212 : coined,  
 minted.  
 connzeouris, n. pl., II. 60 : minters.  
 conques, v., I. 1, conquest, I. 61,  
 pret. conquest, I. 73 : conquer.  
 consultit, p.p., II. 285, 286 : ad-  
 vised.  
 content, n., II. 343 : sum of ready  
 money.  
 controfett, p.p., I. 354 : imitated.  
 contumelius, adj., I. 294 : shame-  
 ful.  
 convaleþ, v., I. 356, p.p. con-  
 valescit, I. 276 : grow strong.  
 convencioun, n., I. 52 : agree-  
 ment, convention.  
 convikit, p.p., I. 339, convikkit, I.  
 129 : conquered.  
 cornez, n. pl., I. 58, cornis, I. 128,  
 cornys, I. 71 : crops, cereals.  
 cost, n., I. 68 : side.  
 counsalour, n., I. 91 : consul.  
 counsolabill, adj., II. 39 : to be  
 counselled.  
 countering, n., I. 34 : encounter-  
 ing.  
 counze (or connze), n., I. 214 :  
 coinage.  
 cousing, n., I. 55, fem. cousinace,  
 II. 116 : cousin, kinsman.  
 cowertlie, adv., I. 48 : covertly,  
 secretly (*cowertlie absentit thame* :  
 occultive sese).  
 cowpis, n. pl., I. 250 : cups.  
 crafty, adj., I. 68 : skilful.  
 crag, n., I. 68 : neck.  
 creparis, n. pl., I. 400 : grapnels.  
 cruciatt, p.p., I. 133 : tormented.  
 cubicular, n., II. 181 : chamberlain,  
 groom of the bed-chamber.  
 cummyr, n., I. 55 : vexation.  
 cunnyng, adj., II. 353 : learned.  
 curacioun, n., I. 70 : cure.  
 cure, v., II. 321 : care.  
 curijt, a) pret., I. 258, curit, I. 144,  
 curitt, II. 248 : cared, cared for,  
 cured, b) p.p., curit, I. 59,  
 curried, cured (of a carcass).  
 curis, n. pl., I. 56 : cares.



curius, adj., II. 105 : eager.  
 cursouris, n. pl., II. 146 : coursers.  
 cuvett, pret., I. 121 : desired.

## D

- dant, v., I. 332 : overcome.  
 dantare, n., I. 375, pl. dantaris, I. 95, dantouris, I. 44 : conqueror.  
 danteis, n. pl., I. 166 : dainties.  
 debait, n., I. 76 : defence.  
 debait, v., I. 61, pret. debait, I. 65, debatit, I. 154, dibatit, I. 179 : defend.  
 debaittis, n. pl., I. 88 : points of dissension.  
 debursit, p.p., II. 203 : paid.  
 decern, v., I. 51 : order, ordain.  
 decoir, v., I. 16, decore, II. 408 : embellish, adorn.  
 dede, n., I. 47, deide, II. 236, deyd, I. 42 : death ; *dede strakis*, II. 264 : mortal wounds ; *dede-thraw*, I. 249 : death agony.  
 dedely, adj., I. 186 : mortal.  
 dedenze, v., a) I. 140 : deign ; b) I. 143 : demean ; c) pret. dedenzeit, II. 385 : disdained.  
 defaik, v., I. 138, defayk, I. 136 : relax.  
 defayitt, p.p., I. 3, diffayit, I. 66 : defeated.  
 defendis, 3rd sing. pres. ind., I. 79 : forbids.  
 degest, adj., I. 93 : deliberate, ripe.  
 deiekkit, p.p., I. 19 : cast down.  
 delatitt, p.p., II. 380, dilatit, II. 102, 297 : accused.  
 deliuer, adj., I. 165 : active, nimble.  
 deliuerance, n., I. 31, 194 : deliuerance, decision.  
 deliuerit, adj., I. 124 : resolved, deliberate.  
 demembre, v., I. 62 : mutilate.  
 denuncit, pret. and p.p., I. 34, denuncitt, II. 174 : declared.  
 depeschit, p.p., I. 69, depescht, I. 93 : dismissed.  
 derogacioun, n., I. 113, II. 70 : prohibition, disparagement, damage, diminution of privileges.  
 devaitt, n., I. 191 : turf.  
 devise, n., II. 308 : pleasure.  
 deviteis, n. pl., I. 67, II. 106, devittis, II. 232, doviteis, II. 61 : dues, endowments.  
 devoid, v., I. 246, II. 47, devoide, I. 313, pres. part. devoding, II. 132, pret. devodit, II. 157 : dismiss from one's mind, forget, abandon, empty.  
 dewulgatt, p.p., II. 203, diwlgatt, I. 84, diwulgaitt, II., 152, diwulgatt, II. 206, dywulgatt, I. 273, dywlgatt, II. 312 : spread abroad.  
 ding, v., I. 144, pret. dang, I. 47, p.p. dongin, I. 2, doung, I. 105, doungin, I. 10, dungin, I. 95 : beat.  
 direpcioun, n., II. 11 : plunder.  
 disagysitt, p.p., II. 207 : in strange clothes.  
 disconnfyß, v., I. 172, p.p., disconfist, I. 1, disconnfeist, I. 44, disconnfijt, I. 66, disconnfist, I. 2, disconnfite, I. 66 : discomfit.  
 discovir, v., I. 79 : uncover.  
 discrive, v., I. 68 : describe.  
 disheresit, pret. and p.p., II. 150, disherisist, I. 208, disherist, II. 153 : disinherited.  
 disparit, p.p., I. 64 : cast into despair.  
 dispoyn, v., II. 225 : dispose of.  
 dissait, n., I. 97 : deceitfulness.  
 dissavare, n., II. 257 : deceiver, betrayer.  
 distursitt, p.p., II. 401 : stripped.  
 dittay, n., I. 353 : indictment.  
 doov, 2nd sing. pres. subj., II. 166 : avail.  
 dote, v., II. 211, pret. and p.p., dotaitt, I. 7, dotate, I. 307, dotatt, I. 6, dotatte, II., 279, dotit, I. 17 : endow.  
 dottand, adj., I. 184 : doting.  
 doutesum, adj., I. 93 : uncertain.  
 doviteis, see deviteis.  
 dredour, n., I. 50, 172, 188 : awe, dread, moment of dread.  
 dreband, pres. part., II. 95 : dripping.  
 dreß, v., I. 50 : address, arrange, array.  
 drogarijs, n. pl., I. 70 : drugs.  
 droncattis, n. pl., II. 62, droncattis, I. 415, dronkottis, I. 197 : drunkards.

dwynand, adj., I. 354 : wasting.  
 dyn, n., II. 243 : thunder.  
 dyngin, n., I. 11 : beating.

## E

edderis, n. pl., I. 214 : adders.  
 efferde, p.p., I. 364, effrait, I. 218,  
 effrayit, I. 93 : dismayed.  
 effering, adj. or pres. part., I. 182 :  
 in proportion, fitting.  
 efferit, pret., I. 250 : was fitting.  
 effrenaitt, adj., I. 218 : unbridled.  
 eiek, v., II. 368 : eject.  
 eik, v., I. 151, eyk, I. 387, pret.,  
 eekit, I. 81, eikkit, II. 24, ekitt,  
 II. 285 : enlarge, increase, add  
 to.  
 eild, n., I. 242 : old age.  
 eildit, pret., I. 219 : grew old.  
 eiß, n., I. 251, eyiß, I. 18, eyß, I.  
 255 : ease.  
 eldaris, n. pl., I. 105, eltaris, I.  
 365 : ancestors.  
 elikewise, adv., I. 80, 109, II. 125 :  
 likewise.  
 elrage, adj., II. 40, elragis, I. 236,  
 elrege, II. 150 : strange, wild,  
 preternatural.  
 eme, n., I. 53 : uncle.  
 emispery, n., I. 190 : hemisphere.  
 emprising, n. and pres. part., I. 19,  
 II. 166 : valuing, appreciation.  
 end, n., I. 205 : portion.  
 enhansit, p.p., I. 282, inhansit, I.  
 320 : strengthened, exalted.  
 enteres, n., I. 47, entereß, II. 210,  
 entraß, I. 389 : entrance.  
 eperthlye, adv., I. 358 : quickly.  
 equaitt, p.p., I. 295 : levelled.  
 erandis, n. pl., I. 91, 196, herand,  
 II. 167 : affairs, errand.  
 erair, adv., II. 89, erar, I. 87 :  
 sooner, rather.  
 erdlie, adj., I. 87 : earthly, mortal.  
 erwist, n., I. 408 : harvest.  
 eschaep, v., I. 338, eschaip, I. 331 :  
 escape.  
 eschaete, p.p., II. 153 : escheat.  
 eschaym, v., I. 129 : be ashamed.  
 essonzeand, pres. part., II. 339 :  
 hesitating, finching.  
 ethayn, adj., I. 334, etheyne, I.  
 330, ethin, I. 400, ethyine, I.  
 336, ethyn, I. 359 : heathen.  
 ethik, adj., I. 354 : hectic.

evaig, v., I. 36, pret., evagitt, I.  
 257 : stray, wander.  
 eversiou, n., I. 292 : destruction.  
 exeme, v., II. 253 : free, relieve.  
 exemit, adj., I. 162 : exempt.  
 exercicioun, n., I. 23 : practice,  
 exercise.  
 exercit, p.p., I. 90 : trained, given  
 to.  
 exoner, v., II. 32, 239, 312 : divest,  
 free, relieve.  
 exoneratt, adj. or p.p., I. 128, 215,  
 347 : free, freed.  
 exploratouris, n. pl., I. 123, 353 :  
 scouts, investigators.  
 exponyng, pres. part., I. 336 : ex-  
 posing.  
 expugnacioun, n., I. 270 : siege  
 and capture.  
 expugnat, p.p., II. 210, expugnatt,  
 I. 269, II. 237 : stormed, taken,  
 overthrown.  
 expyrit, p.p., I. 115 : caused to  
 expire.

## F

faa, n., I. 143, pl., fais, I. 86, fayis,  
 I. 289, fois, II. 403 : foe.  
 factis, n. pl., I. 19 : deeds, feats.  
 faid, n., I. 224 : hunt, huntsmen.  
 faik, v., I. 154 : slacken.  
 fail, n., I. 191, fayll, II. 310 : turf,  
 sod.  
 fairsing, n., II. 191, fairsyn, II.  
 391 : stuffing, farcing.  
 falsset, n., I. 62 : treachery.  
 faltouris, n. pl., I. 133 : evildoers.  
 familiaris, n. pl., I. 22, II. 338,  
 famularis, II. 168 : members  
 of a royal or noble household.  
 fantasijs, n. pl., I. 71 : intellects.  
 fard, n., I. 179, 314, II. 35 : im-  
 petus, force, press.  
 faschitt, adj., I. 42 : vexed.  
 Fasterns Evin, n., II. 270 : Shrove  
 Tuesday.  
 fataill, adj., I. 35, fatell, I. 117 :  
 destined ; *fataill chayre of mer-  
 byll* : the Stone of Destiny.  
 febill, v., I. 338 : enfeeble.  
 fede, n., I. 243, feid, I. 169, feyd,  
 II. 406 : enmity.  
 feetis, n. pl., I. 16 : feats.  
 feft, pret., II. 341 : paid.  
 feild, v., I. 155 : meet in battle.

feistit, p.p., II. 23, festit, I. 166 : feasted.  
 fembill, adj., II. 68 : athletic.  
 fensabill, adj., I. 143, 148, fensable, I. 42 : capable of self-defence, defensive.  
 fenze, v., I. 249 : feign.  
 fenzeit, pret. and adj., I. 87, 97, 231, fenzeitt, II. 201 : feigned, concealed, deceitful.  
 fere, n., I. 173 : a) fear, b) behaviour, appearance.  
 fersnes, n., I. 225, ferßnes, II. 37 : eagerness, ferocity.  
 ferß, adj., II. 5, 37, 180 : fierce, eager.  
 fertoure, n., II. 230 : shrine.  
 festinance, n., II. 263, festnance, II. 69 : imprisonment.  
 fetoure, n., I. 402 : fetidness, corruption.  
 flakis, n. pl., I. 137 : hurdles.  
 flecheouris, n. pl., II. 102 : flat-terers.  
 flescher, n., II. 159, fleschoure, I. 220, pl. flescheouris, II. 200 : butcher.  
 flewir, n., II. 89, flewour, II. 118 : stench.  
 flichterand, adj., II. 401 : palpitating.  
 flocht, n., a flocht, I. 416, of flocht, II. 314 : restless, wavering.  
 flott, n., I. 4 : fleet.  
 flytte with, v., I. 222 : mock.  
 forbront, n., II. 349 : van of battle.  
 forcy, adj., I. 166, forsy, I. 15 : mighty, valiant.  
 forfalt, n., II. 296 : failure.  
 forfaltit, p.p., II. 52, *salbe forfaltit* : shall suffer forfeiture.  
 forfaltoure, n., II. 384 : forfeiture.  
 fornens, prep., II. 214, fornent, I. 48, fornentis, I. 9 : opposite, facing.  
 forronnyn, p.p., I. 205 : outrun.  
 fouth, n., I. 103, foutht, II. 392, fowth, II. 393 : abundance, excess.  
 fowsee, n., II. 225, pl., fouseis, II. 48, fowseis, I. 179 : moat, ditch.  
 franyng, n., II. 95 : questioning.  
 freir, n., II. 227 : friar ; *in þe Freiris*, II. 263 : in the Friary.  
 fretis, n. pl., I. 261 : omens.  
 fulze, v., I. 142 : defile.

furringis, n. pl., I. 88 : furs.  
 fwlis, n. pl., I. 184 : fools.  
 fyne, n., I. 38 : end.

## G

gailzeart, adj., I. 166, galzeart, I. 35, 149 : gallant.  
 gait, n., I. 64, gaitt, I. 222 : way, path.  
 gam, n., I. 205, game, I. 205, gamyn, I. 224, gaym, I. 90 : sport.  
 ganand, adj., I. 41, 56 : advantageous, profitable.  
 ganar, n., II. 88, pl. gannerß, I. 214 : gander.  
 Gant Dayis, n. pl., I. 367 : Rogation Days.  
 ganys, 2nd sing. pres. ind., II. 404 : art of profit.  
 ganze, n., I. 406 : javelin.  
 gardewyanys, n. pl., I. 330 : baggage waggons.  
 garnes, v., I. 118, pret. and p.p., garnist, I. 104, 114 : garrison.  
 gawmondis, n., II. 243 : arrogance.  
 geir, n., II. 407, gere, I. 52 : property.  
 gener, v., I. 41 : engender.  
 gerß, n., I. 30 : grazing, grass.  
 gestis, n. pl., I. 300 : acts.  
 gilde, n., I. 174, gyld, II., 291 : uproar.  
 girnīs, n. pl., I. 205 : snares.  
 girth, gyrth, n., II. 195 : sanctuary.  
 gleibe, n., I. 73 : globe.  
 gleid, n., I. 156 : fire.  
 glorious, adj., II. 41, glorius, I. 140 : vainglorious, boastful.  
 grauate, n., I. 398 : gravity.  
 gre, n., II. 408, pl., greis, II. 403 : degree.  
 grete, adj., grete north, I. 30, grete south, I. 57 : extreme north, south.  
 gretumlye, adv., II. 201 : extremely.  
 grew-quhelpis, n. pl., I. 58 : greyhound whelps.  
 grisis, n. pl., II. 52 : piglings.  
 gude, adj. (before *dochter*, II. 243, *fader*, I. 275, *son*, I. 341) : in law.  
 gude moder, n., II. 87 : step-mother.

gudeserr, n., I. 185 : grandfather.  
gut, n., I. 210, gutt, I. 417 :  
gout.

## H

habill, see abill.  
haill, adj. and adv., a) I. 51, 55 :  
in safety ; b) I. 25, 53, II. 200,  
hale, II. 171 : entire, entirely,  
unanimously.  
haistear, adj., II. 401 : quicker.  
haistely, adv., I. 138 : quickly,  
soon.  
haldingis, n. pl., II. 281 : docu-  
mentary evidence of title.  
halking, n., I. 32 : hawking.  
hallcrik, n., I. 193 : corslet.  
hant, n., II. 104 : custom.  
hantit, p.p., I. 202 : accustomed.  
hardement, n., I. 145, hardiment,  
I. 128, hardymment, II. 379 :  
valour.  
harlitt, p.p., II. 387 : dragged.  
harnes, n. pl., II. 331 : brains.  
hartlie, adj., I. 34 : cordial.  
hatrent, n., I. 81, hattrent, I. 320,  
hattrentt, II. 55 : hatred.  
havingis, n. pl., I. 53, 69, havyingis,  
I. 264 : manners, customs.  
haynde, see aynd.  
hear, adj., I. 18, hier, II. 192 :  
higher.  
hecht, n., II. 45 : promise.  
hecht, pret. and p.p., I. 291, II.  
150 : promised.  
heill, n., I. 171, hele, I. 89 : health.  
heindles, adj., I. 138 : breathless.  
heirschip, n., I. 323, herschip, I.  
8 : harrying.  
herand, see erandis.  
herne, n., I. 99 : eagle.  
hetis, n. pl., I. 133, heyittis, II.  
118 : heats.  
hewesoun, adj., II. 181 : adjacent,  
close at hand.  
hewmond, n., II. 133, hewmont,  
II. 77 : helmet.  
hiest, adj., I. 87 : highest.  
hoif, n., II. 262, hoyff, I. 99 :  
temple.  
hommyll, adj., II. 52 : without  
horns.  
honest, adj., I. 44, II. 49 : honour-  
able.  
honeste, n., I. 96, II. 40 : honour.

horn, n., II. 399, horne, II. 158 ;  
*put him to þe horne* : outlawed.  
howder, conj., II. 380, howdir, II.  
280 : whether.  
howie, n., I. 347 : ship's hold.  
huffand, pres. part., I. 141 :  
raising.  
hurdis, n. pl., I. 214 : hoards.  
hwne, n., II. 305 : oven.  
hyngaris, n. pl., II. 382, 389 :  
hangings.  
hyrnis, n. pl., II. 322 : corners.

## I

iebaitt, n., I. 150 : gibbet.  
iedward, n., I. 225 : Jedburgh  
staff, kind of halberd.  
ieopard, v., II. 122, ieopart, I. 290,  
ieoperd, I. 171, ieopert, I. 240,  
iuppert, I. 97, iupperd, I. 93 :  
jeopardise.  
ieoparde, n., I. 162, ieparde, I. 168,  
iuperdy, I. 26, iuppardy, I. 98,  
iupparty, I. 117, pl., iepardeis,  
II. 151, iepardijs, I. 172, iup-  
pardeis, I. 98, : jeopardy.  
ievellouris, n. pl., II. 286 : jailors.  
imitacioun, n., II. 141 : following.  
impeschement, n., II. 321 : hin-  
drance.  
impeschit, p.p., I. 148 : hindered,  
embarrassed.  
impetracioun, n., II. 394 : satis-  
faction of request.  
implvme, adj., I. 16 : unfledged.  
importabill, adj., I. 16 : intoler-  
able.  
imprevit, pret., I. 271 : corrected.  
impulsion, n., a) I. 233 : invasion,  
b) impulsoun, I. 277 : instiga-  
tion.  
inarmyt, adj., I. 117 : unarmed.  
inclusit, p.p., I. 389 : shut in.  
indeficient, adj., I. 95 : abundant.  
induce, v., I. 74 : induce, intro-  
duce, instruct.  
induratt, adj., I. 72 : hardened.  
infett, p.p., I. 279 : endowed.  
infoundis, 3rd sing. pres. ind., I.  
17 : infuses.  
ingyn, n., I. 212, II. 129, ingyne,  
I. 16, 41, II. 117 : intelligence,  
plan, ingenuity, mind.  
inhansit, adj., I. 305 : strengthened,  
strong.

inhantid, adj., I. 42 : accustomed.  
innative, adj., I. 44 : innate.  
insere, v., II. 208, inseyr, I. 99 :  
insert.  
insicht, n., I. 290, insycht, II. 271 :  
household furniture, private  
possessions.  
instantlye, adv., I. 96 : at the  
present instant.  
interchangitt, p.p., I. 4 : super-  
seded.  
intercommoun, v., I. 213, II. 43 :  
confer, have dealings with.  
interminate, adj., II. 404 : endless.  
interpone, v., I. 395 : interpose.  
interteneu, v., I. 272 : entertain.  
intromett, v., II. 340 : interfere  
with, meddle with.  
intrusit, p.p., I. 61 : intruded.  
invaid, v., I. 75 : attack.  
invy, n., I. 161, inwy, I. 22 :  
envy.  
iornay, n., I. 191 : campaign.  
iovre, v., II. 177, ioyn, I. 256,  
pret., ionit, I. 350, ionyt, I. 329,  
iovnit, II. 332, iune, I. 131 :  
join in battle.  
ioyß, v., I. 25 : enjoy, possess.  
ische, n., II. 104 : exit.  
ische, v., I. 65 : sally.  
ishearais, n. pl., II. 399 : ushers.  
ischeing, n., I. 78, II. 248 : sally,  
exit.  
ithand, adj., I. 28, ythand, I. 33 :  
continual, strenuous.  
iuge ordinare, n., II. 152 : ordinary  
(eccl.).  
iugillouris, n. pl., II. 294, iuglouris,  
I. 193 : jugglers, ballad-singers.  
iunyt, adj., I. 107 : united.  
iuris, n. pl., II. 247 : claims,  
statements.  
iurisdiction of blude, n., I. 139 :  
right of inflicting capital punish-  
ment.  
iust, v., II. 368 : joust.  
iustify, v., I. 320, p.p., iustifijt,  
I. 102 : bring to judgment,  
execute.

## K

katyvis, n. pl., I. 255 : captives.  
kempis, n. pl., I. 377 : champions.  
kest, pret., I. 8, 36 : cast, directed ;  
*kest him*, II. 355 : set himself.

knoit, n., I. 173, knott, II, 328 :  
group, small detachment.  
kyith, v., I. 170 : manifest.  
kynde, n., II. 43 : sex.  
kyndlie, adj., I. 53, kyndly, II.  
198 : natural, lineal.

## L

lachand, pres. part., II. 231 :  
lacking.  
laiff, n., I. 35 : remainder.  
land gait, adv., I. 163 : inland.  
landwart, adj., I. 167, landvert,  
II. 107, landwert, II. 92 :  
rustic.  
langfaddis, n. pl., I. 63 : ships of  
war.  
lasair, n., II. 71, lasar, II. 128,  
laser, I. 109 : leisure.  
lauchfull, adj., I. 117, II. 337,  
lauchtfull, II. 376 : lawful,  
legitimate.  
lawaris, n. pl., I. 250 : lavers.  
lawit, adj., I. 243 : lay.  
lawth, n., I. 275 : lowland.  
laym, adj., I. 127 : clay.  
lefe, v., II. 200, leffe, II. 197 :  
leave.  
lefull, adj., I. 350 : lawful, allow-  
able.  
leir, v., a) II. 407, lere, I. 52, 195 :  
teach ; b) leir, I. 215, pret.,  
leeritt, II. 369 : learn.  
leiß maieste, n., II. 150 : lèse  
majesté.  
lemmarye, n., II. 337 : concubin-  
age.  
lemmayn, n., II. 337 : concubine.  
lepre, n., I. 396 : leprosy.  
lern, v., I. 73 : teach.  
les þan, conj., I. 40 : unless.  
lesingis, lesyngis, n. pl., II. 160 :  
slanders.  
lesouris, n. pl., I. 229, lesuris, I.  
159 : pastures.  
lest, pret., I. 31 : lost.  
lesum, adj., a) I. 334 : lawful ;  
b) II. 236 : pleasant.  
levair, n., a) I. 378 : liver ; (b II.  
257 : deserter.  
lift, lyft, n., I. 357, luft, II. 99 : air.  
lith, n., II. 406 : light.  
lofting, n., II. 272 : covering.  
loiff, v., II. 141, pret. and p.p.,  
lovit, I. 184, 417 : praise.

loving, n., I. 157, lovyng, I. 288 :  
praise.  
lownys, n. pl., I. 101 : rogues.  
lowyn, adj., II. 243 : calm.  
lufetennent, n., II. 265, luffeten-  
nent, II. 197, luftennent, I. 137 :  
deputy, second-in-command.  
luffe, n., I. 22 : life.  
lugeingis, n. pl., I. 200 : shelter.  
lymmair, n., II. 130, lymmære, II.  
297 : scoundrel, evildoer.  
lyne, v., I. 58 : copulate with.  
lyre, n., II. 244 : flesh.

## M

maich, n., I. 61, mauch, II. 341,  
pl., mawis, II. 153 : son-in-law.  
maill, adj., II. 247 : male.  
maill, n., II. 170, pl., malis, II.  
106 : tax.  
mailzee, n., II. 77 : armour.  
malapart, adj., I. 118, malapertt,  
II. 400 : impudent.  
man, v., II. 19, 125, 190, 391,  
mon, I. 51, II. 112, 190 : must,  
will.  
manassing, n., I. 327, mannance,  
I. 226, mannassing, II. 234,  
mannassing, I. 343, minassing,  
II. 274, mynassing, I. 223 :  
menace, threatening.  
manesworn, adj., I. 274, mayn-  
sworn, I. 34, II. 69 : forsworn,  
apostate.  
manrent, n., II. 231, 312 : vassals,  
number of vassals.  
mariage, n., II. 389 : right of  
selling permission to marry.  
marowis, n. pl., II. 225, marrowis,  
I. 167 : comrades.  
marressis, n. pl., I. 98 : marshes.  
mayn swoir, pret., II. 83, mayn  
sworn, p.p., I. 30 : blasphemed,  
forsworn.  
medicinar, n., I. 68 : physician.  
meiß, v., I. 316, meyiß, II. 15,  
pret. and p.p. mesit, mesitt, I.  
9, I. 55 : moderate, allay.  
mekilwourte, n., II. 148 : deadly  
nightshade.  
mellis, n. pl., I. 173 : mauls,  
mallets.  
mengit, pret., II. 148 : mingled.  
menit, pret., II. 177 : bemoaned.

menzeit, p.p., I. 58 : crippled.  
merchetis, n., I. 101, merchettis  
of wemen, II. 174 : fine paid  
in redemption of the *ius primae  
noctis*.  
mertrikis, n. pl., I. 88 : martens.  
mobillis, n. pl., I. 141 : portable  
property.  
moit, n., I. 137, moitt, I. 43 :  
mound, hill.  
mon, see man.  
mott, 3rd sing. opt., I. 20 : may.  
muldry, n., II. 117 : carving.  
municionis, n. pl., I. 34, muni-  
ciouns, I. 31 : fortified places.  
murderist, p.p., I. 205, murdreist,  
I. 205, murdrist, I. 77 : mur-  
dered.  
muskane, adj., II. 40 : rotten.  
mutular, n., II. 52 : mute.  
mylknes, n., I. 65 : milk and  
cheese.  
myln, n., II. 250 : mill.  
myndis, n. pl., I. 33, myndys, I.  
71 : mines.  
myngitt, p.p., II. 396 : mixed.  
mynneiß, v., I. 376, p.p. mynyst,  
I. 289 : diminish.  
myschance, adj., II. 275, 283 :  
unfortunate, ill-informed  
mystere, v., I. 195 : have the  
mastery of, exercise.

## N

nakit, adj., I. 147, nakitt, I. 71,  
II. 332, nakytt, I. 235 : naked,  
unarmed, undefended.  
navyn, n., I. 29 : navy.  
naymlie, adv., I. 371 : especially.  
neiff, n., II. 328 : fist.  
nepot, n., I. 67, nepote, I. 57, II.  
115, nepott, I. 2, II. 115 : a)  
grandson, b) nephew.  
nevo, n., I. 53 : nephew.  
neyd fire, n., II. 50, 175 : need  
fire, wild fire.  
nixt, adj., I. 25, 39 : nearest,  
next.  
novnryis, n., II. 360 : nunnery.  
noy, n., I. 158 : vexation.  
noysum, adj., I. 293 : injurious.  
nurasar, n., II. 391, nuresare, II.  
392 : fosterer.  
nureist, p.p., I. 82 : brought up.

## O

oblist, p.p., I. 136, II. 376 : obliged, under obligation.  
 obseruit, p.p., I. 45 : preserved.  
 obtempir, v., I. 115 : obey.  
 occur, v., I. 136 : go to meet.  
 oist, n., II. 405 : host.  
 onbett, adj., II. 136 : not beaten.  
 onslayne, adj., I. 63 : not slain.  
 opinioun, n., I. 90, 104, 109 : party, faction, side.  
 oppugnacioun, n., I. 292 : siege.  
 oratoure, n., a) I. 411 : oratory (eccl.); b) II. 18 : orator.  
 ordinance, n., I. 91, 94 : array, order of battle.  
 ordinaris, n. pl., II. 185 : ordinaries (eccl.).  
 orison, n., I. 4, orisone, I. 1, orisoun, I. 2 : oration.  
 ourihail, v., II. 245, p.p. ourehalit, I. 174 : overtake, fall upon.  
 our, adv. and prep., I. 353, oure, II. 165, ouree, II. 348 : over.  
 ouredrevin, p.p., I. 253 : passed.  
 outewyngis, n. pl., I. 283 : flanks.  
 oxstaris, n. pl., II. 87 : armpits.

## P

paage, n., II. 57 : child.  
 pailzeoun, n., II. 274, palzeoun, II. 174, palzoun, II. 288, pl. palvilzouns, I. 42 : pavilion.  
 paif, n., I. 327 : pace.  
 paif, v., I. 308, p.p. paysit, II. 190 : weigh.  
 parkit, pret., I. 114, percatt, I. 105 : drew up, encamped.  
 patent, adj., I. 15 : open.  
 patron, n., I. 347, patrone, I. 346 : ship's master.  
 penitent, adj., I. 171, II. 187 : dissatisfied, regretful.  
 penurite, n., I. 94, 98 : lack, scarcity.  
 percialite, n., I. 75 : factiousness.  
 peregall, adj., II. 253, perregall, I. 357 : equal.  
 perfurneif, v., II. 355 : complete.  
 perrochyn, n., I. 392 : parish.  
 pert, adj., I. 171, II. 399, pertt, I. 164 : active, quick, open.  
 pertinacite, n., I. 230 : haste, overhastiness.

pertlie, adv., I. 48, 55, II. 171, pertly, II. 148 ; a) quickly, *drew þame pertlie to thair wapynnys* : arma rapiebant ; b) openly, *askit pertlie*, aperte.  
 perualous, adj., I. 40 : perilous.  
 pig, n., II. 231 : vessel.  
 pissance, n., I. 4, pissans, II. 250, pussance, I. 26, puyssance, I. 35, pyssance, I. 44 : power.  
 plane, adj., I. 53, 55, 62 : full, complete, *be plane consent of Pavliament* : omnium consensu.  
 pleggis, n. pl., I. 9, plegis, I. 108, pliegis, I. 138 : hostages.  
 pleid, n., II. 405 : dispute.  
 plenist, pret., I. 64 : filled.  
 pleuch irlis, n. pl., II. 294 : ploughshares.  
 pley, n., I. 32, 53, pleye, II. 123 : dispute.  
 polecy, n., I. 88, 134, polesy, II. 116, pl. pollecycis, I. 275 : a) policy ; b) building of walled towns, walled towns.  
 pomp, n., I. 305, pompe, I. 86 : source.  
 popill, adj., I. 166 : inhabited only by the common people.  
 port, n., II. 348 : gate.  
 posterum, n., I. 65, postrom, I. 223, postrome, II. 96, postrum, II. 97 : postern.  
 poynd, n., II. 21 : impounding, distraint.  
 poyndit, p.p., II. 53 : impounded.  
 precell, v., I. 58 : excel.  
 prechit, pret., I. 300 : interpreted.  
 premisf, n. pl., I. 303, II. 58, 203 : conditions, proposals.  
 pretend, v., a) I. 330 : attempt, show ; b) pret. pretendit, II. 181 : intended.  
 pretermytt, v., I. 55 : omit.  
 prevene, v., I. 417 : forestall.  
 proclive, adj., I. 414 : having a proclivity.  
 procurrit, p.p., I. 168 : occurred.  
 prodicioun, n., I. 379 : treachery.  
 prolong, v., I. 42 : delay.  
 properand, adj., II. 41, properant, I. 158, II. 161 : speedy, eager.  
 prophane, adj., a) II. 61, 69 : secular ; b) II. 101 : profane.  
 propone, v., I. 91 : propose, propound.

proportit, pret., I. 387: laid down.  
 proves, n., I. 180, provis, I. 6: prowess.  
 pulder, n., I. 238, II. 346: ashes, dust.  
 punsioun, n., II. 321, pl. punsionis, II. 321: puncheon.  
 pupill, n., I. 376: minor.  
 purvyance, n., I. 330: provision of men and material.  
 pykery, n., II. 294: petty theft.  
 pyottis, n. pl., I. 381: magpies.

## Q

quent, adj., I. 38, 169, qwent, I. 38: cunning, acquainted.  
 querrell, n., I. 236: quarries.  
 quhatsumeuer, adj., I. 342: whatsoever; quhatsumeuir, I. 183, *oure quhatsumeuir werk*, our work, such as it is.  
 quhayng, n., I. 327: thong, strip of leather.  
 quhelis, n. pl., II. 207: wheels.  
 quhill, conj., a) I. 94: until; b) I. 97: while.  
 quiete, adj., I. 328, qwyete, II. 68, qwyett, I. 81, qwyette, I. 65: obscure, secret.  
 quietclaim, n., II. 187: quitclaim.  
 quietlie, adv., I. 319: secretly.  
 qwere, n., II. 183: choir.

## R

rachets, n. pl., I. 58: rachets, hounds which follow by scent.  
 ragius, adj., I. 63: raging.  
 rammesand, adj., I. 416: raging.  
 rammyst, adj., I. 205: furious.  
 rank, adj., I. 178: valiant.  
 realme, n., I. 72: kingly power (an exceptional use).  
 reclame, v., I. 86: exclaim.  
 recountring, pres. part., I. 2: encountering.  
 refe, n., I. 39, reffe, I. 52, pl. reiffis, I. 60, revis, I. 406: robbery.  
 refe, v., II. 233, reffe, I. 101, reif, I. 91, reiff, II. 85, pret. raif, I. 85, raiff, I. 300, p.p. reft, I. 93: rob, wrest, tear, split.  
 reffaris, n. pl., I. 97, revaris, I. 98: robbers.

regalite, n., I. 87, II. 165: a territorial jurisdiction granted by the King with special privileges.  
 regne, n., I. 49, 122: reign, kingdom.  
 regrait, n., I. 69, 114, regrait, I. 16: grief, complaint.  
 regratit, pret., I. 8: lamented.  
 reherß, n., I. 364: report.  
 reioiß, v., I. 32, reiose, I. 139: enjoy, possess.  
 reird, n., I. 275, rerd, I. 328: noise.  
 relevis, n. pl., II. 4: reliefs (feudal).  
 rentis, n. pl., I. 115: revenues.  
 renzeis, n. pl., II. 63, 159, 245: reins.  
 renzeitt, p.p., II. 392: restrained.  
 repellit, p.p., I. 77: rejected.  
 replege, v., II. 165: order from one jurisdiction to another.  
 repugnand, adj., I. 257, repugnant, I. 73, II. 100: disobedient, resistant.  
 rescours, v., II. 15, rescourß, I. 199: reinforce, rescue.  
 recourse, n., I. 321, rescourß, I. 329, reskourß, II. 65: reinforcement.  
 resecatt, p.p., I. 74: cut off.  
 resemblit, pret., I. 297: returned.  
 resett, p.p., I. 104: harboured.  
 ressaitt, n., I. 379, ressett, I. 141: place of refuge.  
 ressettoure, n., II. 75, pl. ressettouris, I. 376: harbourer of criminals or rebels.  
 revisair, n., I. 393: ravisher.  
 revising, n., II. 391: ravishing.  
 roboratt, v. and p.p., I. 41, 234: confirm.  
 rosett, n., I. 156: resin.  
 roust, n., I. 214, rowist, I. 100, rowste, I. 239: rust.  
 roustis, n. pl., II. 15: rancours.  
 rowkaris, n. pl., I. 277: tale-bearers, slanderers.  
 rowmez, n. pl., I. 378, rowmis, I. 91: territories.  
 rowndit, pret., II. 88, *rowndit his hede*: took the tonsure.  
 rowting, n., II. 61: bellowing.  
 rowttouris, n. pl., II. 100, ru-touris, I. 184, ruttouris, I. 75, rwtouris, I. 52: ruffians, bullies.  
 roynding, n., II. 115: whispering.



rummesand, adj., I. 258 : groaning.  
 rummesing, n., I. 253, rummisch-ing, I. 257, rummysching, I. 295 : roar, shriek, groan, shout.  
 rumpillis, n. pl., I. 391 : hind-quarters.  
 rute, n., I. 70, pl. ruttis, I. 65, rwittis, I. 19 : root.  
 ryche, v., I. 52 : enrich.  
 ryttis, n. pl., II. 176 : customs.  
 ryng, v., I. 60, pret. rang, I. 29, p.p. rongin, I. 227, rong, I. 70, roungin, I. 30 : reign.  
 rynk, n., I. 205, 229 : running.  
 rypis, 3rd sing. pres. ind., II. 248 : searches ; pret. rypit, II. 33.  
 ryse, n., I. 275 : twig, small branch.

## S

safar, adv., I. 255, safer, I. 72 : so far.  
 sauff, adv., I. 181, II. 171 : with safety to.  
 schavld, adj., II. 149 : shoal.  
 scheid, n., II. 373 : outhouse ; pl. scheelis, I. 159, schelis, I. 122 : buildings ; *wynter schelis* : winter quarters.  
 scheraldis, n. pl., II. 207, scherttis, I. 328 : turves.  
 schere, n., II. 162 : groin.  
 scheveeritt, p.p., I. 7 : severed.  
 schill, adj., I. 172, schyll, II. 29 : shrill, piercing.  
 schoif, pret., I. 382, schoiff, II. 195 : shaved.  
 schonder, in schonder, adv., II. 356, in schoyndre, II. 399 : in pieces.  
 schott, pret., II. 61 : rushed.  
 schoyn, n. pl., I. 236 : shoes.  
 schure, pret., I. 327 : cut.  
 scudlaris, n. pl., I. 197 : scullions, base fellows.  
 seildin, adv., I. 52 : seldom.  
 seme, v., I. 62 : beseem.  
 sen, conj., I. 62 : since.  
 sendill, adv., II. 166, seyndill, I. 242, II. 20 : seldom.  
 senß, n., I. 88 : incense.  
 sentencious, adj., II. 369 : full of oracular wisdom.  
 senzory, n., II. 25 : suzerainty.  
 senzour, n., I. 212 : lord, suzerain.

sersitt, pret., II. 347 : searched, examined.  
 sete, n., I. 72, 73, 411, sette, II. 204, sette, II. 53 : session, see, seat.  
 sett, v., I. 296 : care.  
 seyndill, adj., I. 165 : infrequent.  
 sichty, adj., II. 111 : outstanding.  
 sillis, n., I. 346 : timber.  
 singulair, adj., I. 36, II. 120, singular, I. 17, 73 : personal, private, single.  
 skaffaris, n. pl., II. 102, skafferis, I. 392 : parasites.  
 skaill, v., I. 170, skayll, II. 119, pret. and p.p. skalit, I. 134, 163 : disperse.  
 skairß, adj., I. 70, skaris, I. 171, skars, I. 65, skarß, I. 153 : scanty, scarce.  
 skaitt, n., I. 391 : skate (fish).  
 skaling, n., II. 301 : break up.  
 skarmusching, n., I. 105, skarmusing, I. 165, skarmusyng, I. 126, pl. skarmussingis, I. 109 : skirmish.  
 skry, n., I. 224, II. 56 : cry, outcry.  
 skurreouris, n. pl., I. 42 : scouts.  
 sle, adj., I. 207 : sly.  
 slogorn, n., I. 79 : slogan.  
 slokin, p.p., II. 215 : quenched.  
 slongis, n. pl., I. 291 : slings.  
 sloppit, p.p., I. 173, 189 : pierced, struck.  
 slycht, n., I. 1 : deceit.  
 smorit, p.p., I. 110 : smothered.  
 sobir, adj., I. 139, 260, 340, sobyr, II. 93, 199 : small, short, slight, humble.  
 sobirlye, adv., I. 261 : humbly.  
 socerye, n., II. 379 : sorcery.  
 sollicitude, n., I. 154 : anxiety.  
 sollist, v., I. 108 : incite.  
 son ganging to, n., I. 138 : sunset.  
 sonze, v., II. 132 : hesitate, flinch.  
 sopit, p.p., I. 290 : rendered dull and drowsy.  
 sornaris, n. pl., II. 93, 101 : sturdy beggars.  
 sort, n., I. 46 : lot.  
 south, pret., II. 64 : sought, pursued.  
 sover, adj., I. 44, sovere, I. 230, sovir, I. 39 : sure.  
 spaitt, n., II. 244, spayitt, II. 335 : spate, flood.  
 spar halk, n., II. 98 : sparrow hawk.

- sparpellit, pret., I. 67 : dispersed.  
 splacitt, p.p., II. 384 : discharged(?).  
 This does not represent the Latin, which implies rather *discharged with a caution*.  
 sponk, n., I. 230 : spark.  
 sportand, pres. part., II. 150 : jesting.  
 sportouris, n. pl., I. 184, 217 : buffoons, jesters.  
 spoulze, n., II. 256, spoulzee, II. 254, spulze, I. 80, spulzee, I. 135 : spoil.  
 spoilze, v., II. 284 : take as spoil, rob.  
 spousesage, n., II. 11, 359 : solemn betrothal.  
 spouß brekaris, n. pl., I. 417 : adulterers.  
 sprach, n., II. 347, pl. sprachtis, I. 86, sprachis, I. 76, sprachtis, II. 46 : cry, wailing.  
 spretit, p.p., I. 136 : encouraged.  
 stall, pret., I. 223, staw, II. 294 : stole.  
 stanry, adj., II. 76 : stony, rocky.  
 statute, p.p., II. 43 : ordained.  
 staye, adj., II. 307 : steep.  
 stayll, n., I. 23 : battle array.  
 stedy, n., II. 87 : stithy.  
 steir, n., I. 37, pl. steris, I. 391 : tail.  
 stekitt, pret., II. 399 : barred.  
 stent, n., I. 194 : tax.  
 stentit, pret., I. 229 : extended.  
 stern, n., I. 103 : star.  
 stok swerdis, n. pl., II. 65 : swords for thrusting.  
 stouris, n. pl., II. 404 : battles.  
 stouth, n., II. 294 : theft.  
 stowitt, adj., II. 77 : heavily armed.  
 straucht, adv., II. 29, 128 : straight, directly.  
 strenth, n., I. 94, II. 288 : strong-hold, strong position.  
 strenthy, adj., II. 266, 270 : fortified by nature.  
 strinklid, p.p., II. 166, strynkillit, II. 109 : streaked.  
 striueling, adj., I. 298 : sterling.  
 stuffit, pret., I. 85 : garrisoned.  
 sua, conj., I. 144 : so long as.  
 subbarbillis, n. pl., II. 345 : suburbs.  
 subornatt, p.p., a) I. 223 : suborned ; b) I. 401 : assisted.  
 subtray, v., I. 43 : intercept.  
 supersede, v., I. 108, 163 : hold back, postpone.  
 supple, n., I. 21 : support, reinforcement.  
 supple, v., I. 108 : support.  
 suppose, v., I. 38 : suppose, intend ; pret. with cond. sense, supponit, I. 38 : would have intended.  
 surfaitt, adj., I. 369, surfett, I. 101 : excessive, immoderate.  
 surrogatt, p.p., II. 336 : made deputy.  
 suspect, adj., a) I. 98 : suspicious ; b) I. 365 : in suspicion.  
 swak, n., II. 401 : crash.  
 swelly, v., I. 269 : swallow.  
 swith, adv., II. 224 : swiftly.  
 switth, adj., II. 142 : swift.  
 swythnes, n., II. 163 : swiftness.  
 sychis, n. pl., II. 207 : sighs, sobs.  
 syde, adj., II. 88 : long.  
 syourgiane, n., II. 264 : pl. suriugianis, I. 70, sururgianis, I. 258 : surgeon.  
 sythment, n., II. 330 : compensation.  
 sytht, p.p., II. 383 : brought to agreement.

## T

- tabernaris, n. pl., I. 197, II. 102, tavernaris, II. 62 : tavern-haunters, tavern-keepers.  
 talze, n., II. 333, tallze, II. 287, talze, II. 333, talzee, II. 287 : entail.  
 tailzeit, p.p., II. 242, tailzeitt, talzeitt, II. 9 : entailed.  
 targe, n., I. 200, pl. tergis, I. 173 : shield.  
 teyn, adj., I. 221 : furious.  
 teyn, n., I. 135 : fury.  
 teynd, adj., II. 216 : tenth.  
 teyndis, n. pl., II. 30 : tithes.  
 thankfull, adj., a) I. 139 : thankful ; b) I. 103, 238 : inducing gratitude, beloved.  
 thankis, n. pl., a) I. 111 : thanks ; b) I. 117 : actions inducing gratitude.  
 thekkit, p.p., II. 116 : roofed.  
 thesaurair, n., II. 110, thesaurar, I. 111 : treasurer.

thirlage, n., I. 66, 78 : subjection, thralldom.  
 thirle, v., I. 91, II. 204, thirll, II. 190 : enslave, subject.  
 thortwart, prep., II. 134 : athwart.  
 thraw, v., II. 117, 409, pret. threw, II. 117 : twist.  
 thrawart, adj., I. 178, II. 62 : cross-grained, froward.  
 thrawing, n., II. 117 : twisting.  
 thyns, adv., fra thyns, II. 362 : thenceforward.  
 tituppis, n. pl., II. 117 : triggers.  
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