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The Scottish Text Society

THE WORKS

OF

WILLIAM FOWLER

Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of James VI.



THE WORKS  
OF  
WILLIAM FOWLER

Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of  
James VI.

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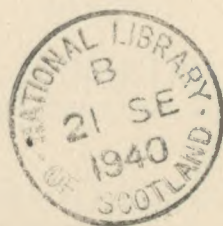
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VOL. III.—(INTRODUCTION, NOTES, &c.)

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## P R E F A C E.

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THIS is the final volume of *The Works of William Fowler*, the first having been issued in 1914 and the second in 1936. The delay in completing this edition would have been even greater but for the collaboration of Mr Craigie and Mr Purves. Mr Craigie read the proofs of the second volume and has contributed to this one the unusually detailed study of Fowler's language, the notes to which his initials are appended, the index of first lines, and the glossary. Mr Purves has broken fresh ground in his account of Scoto-Italian cultural relations in the sixteenth century, and has furnished the bulk of the notes to Fowler's translations. The present writer is responsible for the first and second volumes, including the final collation of the text, for the account of Fowler's life and works, for most of the historical notes, and for the general index.

The Editors desire to thank those who have helped them in the course of their labours. These include the late Professor R. K. Hannay; Mr Paton, Curator of the Historical Department, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, and his colleague, Mr MacInnes, who made the first collation of the *Prince*; Miss Asta W. R. Moller, B.Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon.), who placed her knowledge of the life of Anne of Denmark at their disposal; Dr O. K. Schram and Mr Austin Gill of the University of Edinburgh;

Mr John Russell, Edinburgh; Mr M. R. Dobie, Keeper of Manuscripts, and Mr W. Park of the National Library of Scotland. Others are mentioned in the notes; but special thanks are due to Dr R. F. Patterson, General Editor of the Society's Publications, for his helpfulness and for his patience in face of much unavoidable delay.

H. W. M.

# INTRODUCTION.

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## I.

### THE LIFE AND WORKS OF WILLIAM FOWLER.

LITTLE has hitherto been known of the life of William Fowler, and extensive research, surprisingly fruitful in many respects, has failed to produce sufficient material for a uniform and balanced account of his career. Most of his literary work is undated, and the State Papers, Scottish and English, from which much of the information is derived, throw light almost exclusively on his political and official activities.<sup>1</sup>

Fowler<sup>2</sup> came of good Edinburgh burgess stock. "My grandfather, guidshir, and father," he wrote in his *Answer to Hammiltoun*, "ze, and befor them thair proginitours on baith the sides, sa lang as thay had the vsury of this life, hes bene obedient subiects vnto thair kings, and borne offices as magistrats in the Toun of Edinburgh. Thair honestie and guid behaiour towards all men wer . . . knowin, togidder with

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Dempster (1579?-1625) wrote a brief account of Fowler in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bann. Club (1829), i. 292\*.\*293. It appears to be more reliable than Dempster's other biographies. He seems to have obtained his information from Fowler's son Ludovick. For modern accounts, see the present writer in Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (new ed.), ii. 112; E. Margaret Thompson, "The Daughter of Anne of Denmark's Secretary," in *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, xix. (1921), 21-32. These correct and supplement the article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* David Laing dealt briefly with Fowler's career in "The Hawthornden MSS." in *Archæologica Scotica*, iv. 70-71; 230.

<sup>2</sup> The name is spelt in various ways.

their faithfulnes towards their superiours.”<sup>1</sup> Fowler’s boast is vindicated in the *Records* of the burgh of Edinburgh during the sixteenth century, wherein may be traced various Fowlers holding office in the council,<sup>2</sup> and by the sixteenth century birth-brief of John Foulter, the grandson of the poet’s brother, also called William.<sup>3</sup> In this official document, it is stated that the “ancestors on the father’s side of the said John have flourished in the sherifffdom of Edinburgh for two hundred years and more.” According to the same document, the mother of the two Williams was “Jane Fischer of the English family of Fisher” and their father William Foulter of Fouleran, who was treasurer of the French revenues of Mary, Queen of Scots. He died intestate in January 1571-72. In his testament-dative<sup>4</sup> he is described simply as William Foulter, burghess of Edinburgh, the inventory of his estate being rendered on behalf of his children, William Fowler, younger,<sup>5</sup> John, Susan-

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, ii. 30, ll. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (Scottish Burgh Records Soc.), vol. i. *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, 1660-68 (Record Series), p. 50; Miss Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 32. Brothers with the same Christian name were not uncommon at this period. In such cases probably the paternal and the maternal grandfather had identical Christian names.

<sup>4</sup> Transcript in Univ. of Edinburgh, Laing MS. No. 494.

<sup>5</sup> This is the future poet and Queen’s Secretary. Presumably it was his brother William, “eldest son to his father umquhile Wm. Foulter, merchant,” who was made burghess and gild brother of the City of Edinburgh on 31st January 1588-89 (MS. Burgess Roll in the City Archives). According to the above-mentioned birth-brief, Secretary William was a twin. John may have been the twin brother, as William the Secretary and John were made burghesses and gild brothers together on 1st October 1606 (Burgess Roll). The wife of William Fowler, the merchant, according to the birth-brief, was Barbara Gibson. Sir Daniel Wilson in his *Memorials of Edinburgh* (1848), p. 20, gives the inscription on a house as “W. F. ANGUSTA AD USUM AUGUSTA. B. G.,” and states that the initials are those of Wm. Fowler, probably the father of Queen Anne’s Secretary. B. G., however, must be the initials of Barbara Gibson, given in the birth-brief as the wife of William Fowler, the merchant, brother of Secretary William. The house was in Fowler Close, later Anchor Close. Secretary William possessed a half-tenement probably also in Anchor Close (Alex. Guthrie’s Protocols, 10, 3rd March 1646, MS. in City Archives). It was formerly in the possession of Katherine Fowler (*ibid.*). She was probably his aunt (*Inquisitiones*

na,<sup>1</sup> Barbara, and Janet. William must have been born in the second half of 1560, for in his *Answer to Hammiltoun*, dated 2nd June 1581, he states that "the 21 zeir of my birth [is] not zit expyrit."<sup>2</sup> It is probably his name that occurs during 1574-78 in the registers of the University of St Andrews as a student of St Leonard's College. He graduated M.A., in 1578.<sup>3</sup> Throughout his career he is always designated "Mr" or "M.," indicating that he had taken that degree.

Fowler next proceeded to France, and from notes bound up in volume xv. of the Hawthornden MSS. he appears to have been a student of civil law in Paris, probably at the College of Navarre.<sup>4</sup> It had long been the custom of Scottish students to complete their studies in France, especially in Paris, and Fowler found himself one of a large number of fellow-countrymen. Among those he mentions are Lord Arbroath—that is, Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, who had taken refuge in France during Morton's ascendancy in Scotland; the Earl of Crawford; the Master of Marischal; the Lord of Lindores—that is, Patrick Leslie, Commendator of Lindores; and Sir James Balfour.<sup>5</sup> Not a few were Catholic refugees or students preparing for the priesthood. The period 1580-81, indeed, as Dr Graves Law

*Generales*, No. 491). Secretary William Fowler (in the event of the death of his son Ludovick) bequeathed his estate to his brothers William and John.

Wm. Fowler, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, who applied for 20,000 acres in Ulster on 25th July 1609 (*Reg. Privy Council of Scot.*, viii., lxxxix., p. 330), is probably the Secretary's brother, with whom he is confused in the article on the Secretary in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* For these references, printed and MS., I am much indebted, as are all interested in the history of Edinburgh, to Mr Charles B. Boog Watson.

<sup>1</sup> The mother of Wm. Drummond of Hawthornden.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, ii. 29, l. 28.

<sup>3</sup> J. Maitland Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), 1926, pp. 285, 175, 179. David Laing, *op. cit.*, iv. 71, states this as a fact. An examination of the registers shows that two of the entries are clerical entries, not signatures. That of 1578 is a signature in Latin, M. Gulielmus Fowllar, but is too stylistic to determine the question. I am indebted to Professor J. H. Baxter for this information.

<sup>4</sup> David Laing, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, ii. 26.

noted, was "a landmark in the history of Scottish, as it is of English, Catholics." Twenty years had passed since the Reformation Parliament in Scotland. A new generation of Scottish priests, trained abroad for the specific purpose of converting Scotland, had grown up. "The stir among Scottish priests was making itself felt everywhere."<sup>1</sup>

Chief among them were John Hay, S.J., and John Hamilton. The former had left Scotland in 1563, had entered the Jesuit noviciate at Rome in 1566, and since 1576 had taught philosophy in the University of Pont à Mousson. When Fowler was in Paris, Hay brought out his book entitled *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion*, one of the first Scots vernacular tracts designed to initiate the Counter-Reformation in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> John Hamilton, another fellow-countryman, rose to be Rector of the University of Paris. He was perhaps the John Hamilton who was one of the regents of the New College, St Andrews, in 1569 and professor of philosophy there in 1571. He now held the same position in the Royal College of Navarre in Paris. His eminence as a Catholic teacher and his former adherence to Protestantism had gained for him the name of "The Apostate" among his religious opponents.<sup>3</sup>

The dangers to which the faith of Protestant students living abroad might be exposed in this atmosphere of zealous Catholic propaganda were realised by the Kirk at home. In July 1579 the General Assembly petitioned the King to prohibit the sending of children to foreign universities, "where through the youth of this realme is corrupted by pestilent Poprie."<sup>4</sup> Fowler's experiences, as vividly related by himself, must have provided the Scottish ministers with further justification for their apprehensions.

One day Fowler happened to call on his friend, Lord Arbroath, with whom he found John Hay and John Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century, 1573-1600*, ed. Thomas Graves Law (Scot. Text Soc.), 1901, p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-70.

<sup>3</sup> For Hay and Hamilton, see T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc.), iii. 446; cited by Graves Law, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

Hay presented Arbroath with a copy of his book which had just been printed and gave another to Fowler. A discussion ensued on certain aspects of the work, especially on the question of images. In the course of the argument Fowler acquitted himself so well that Arbroath rose and embraced the Protestant champion. Thereupon "The Apostate" rushed into the fray. "Then away, damnable heretique," exclaimed Hamilton, "I sal pluk zour luggs, I sal ding out zour harnes." The combat, physical and mental, was renewed on other occasions, until at length, according to Fowler, his adversary resorted to stronger measures. On 18th March 1580[-81] Fowler was beset by Hamilton and thirteen "debauchit scollers" who threw him on the ground and trod him under-foot. Joined by a crowd, to whom Fowler was denounced as "a Huguenot, a heretique, a contemnar of ye Saints, and a blasphemer of ye virgen Marie," they dragged their victim through the streets of Paris to the College of Navarre and shamefully ill-treated him.<sup>1</sup>

Having discovered how "hard and difficil" <sup>2</sup> it was for a zealous Protestant to remain in Paris, Fowler made haste to return to his native land. Even there, however, he was not left in peace. Hamilton wrote a letter to the ministers challenging them to a public disputation.<sup>3</sup> Possibly as subjects for the discussion, he added the first fifteen out of twenty-four theological propositions "containing certain orthodox Catholik conclusiones" which were printed in Paris in 1581.<sup>4</sup> The letter has not survived.<sup>5</sup> Apparently it was mainly an invective, characteristic of the religious controversies of the age, against Fowler's conduct in Paris, his forbears, and the ministers in Scotland. Accordingly, the ministers "thocht it expedient" that Fowler should write the reply. The result

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, ii. 22 *et seq.*; T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii-xliv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, ii. 21, l. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nicol Burne's; T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, pp. xlix-liv, 106-72.

<sup>4</sup> "Added to his book [*Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise*] published in 1581, with an epistle to the King, dated 20th April"; T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, p. xlv. The *Traictise* is printed therein, pp. 71-105.

<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned by Burne. T. Graves Law, *op. cit.*, pp. xlv, 116. For its general tenour, according to Fowler, see *ante*, ii. 26 *et seq.*

was *An Answer to . . . M. Io. Hammiltoun . . .*, printed by Leprewick at Edinburgh in 1581.<sup>1</sup> The preface is dated 3rd June 1581, less than three months after the author's dire experience in Paris. It is dedicated to Francis Bothwell, the "madcap" Earl, the nephew of the third husband of Mary, Queen of Scots—a dedication which is the first known mention of a long connection between Fowler and his patron.<sup>2</sup> In spite of Fowler's obvious ambition to win literary fame, this is the only one of his acknowledged works (with the exception of a few "epitaphs" and commendatory verses) which appeared in print. In its day it must have drawn attention to the youthful zealot, and even now it has the historical interest of being one of the first Scots vernacular pamphlets on the Protestant side evoked by the theological controversies of the time.

This "battle of the books" was but one aspect of Catholic activity. Even more important were the political intrigues. By 1581 the government of Scotland was dominated by Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, the King's cousin. Arriving from France in 1579, he had quickly ingratiated himself with James. Eventually he was created Duke of Lennox, and he was mainly responsible for the fall of the Earl of Morton, the representative of Protestant interests, who was beheaded on 3rd June 1581, the day after the date of Fowler's preface. The ministers of the Kirk suspected that Lennox was an agent of the Guises sent to work a revolution in Church and State. Whether this be the case or not, documents brought to light in modern times show that in May 1582 he wrote a letter to Mary, Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England, definitely committing himself to restore the old religion.<sup>3</sup> Three months later such plans were frustrated by the Ruthven Raiders—Gowrie, Mar, Glencairn, and other Protestant nobles—who

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, ii. 7 *et seq.* On 1st October 1581 it was entered for printing by "master Marshe" on the registers of the Stationers' Company, London, but it is noted as "not printed." *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, ed. E. Arber, ii. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler refers to Bothwell's letters to himself and the "grit remembrance zow haue dayly of me," *ante*, ii. 10, ll. 22-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. of Spanish Papers*, iii. 333; Graves Law, *op. cit.*, p. xx. The genuineness of the letter has been questioned.

kidnapped the King and compelled him to order Lennox to leave the realm before 20th September 1582.

This concentration of Catholic activity was due to the conviction that Scotland, as of old, was "the postern gate" into England. These plots and counterplots had therefore been carefully watched by Queen Elizabeth and her councillors. The Ruthven Raid, of which she fully approved, did not relieve their anxieties. Lennox still lingered in Scotland and was believed to be taking steps to retrieve his position. Accordingly, Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, did not relax his efforts to fathom the secrets of Franco-Scottish relations. Fowler was one of the confidential agents employed for this purpose, and Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*,<sup>1</sup> dwells on the activities of Fowler (without identifying him as the poet) as an example of the "low devices" and "complete success" of the English Secretary's methods.<sup>2</sup>

According to the story which can be pieced together from various personal references in his reports, Fowler went to London towards the end of 1582<sup>3</sup> to try to secure payment of a debt due by Mary, Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England, to his late father. It may be conjectured that for this purpose, if not for other reasons, he applied to Mauvissière, the French ambassador in London, and thereby incurred the suspicion of the English authorities. In any case he was imprisoned.<sup>4</sup> Probably on being examined Fowler was able to justify his visits to Mauvissière; and it may have been to

<sup>1</sup> 1877 ed., iv. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The late Professor George S. Stevenson, in his *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, 1910 (Scot. Text Soc.), p. liii n., was the first to indicate Fowler's letters to Walsingham, preserved in the Public Record Office, London, as new sources for Fowler's life. These have since been published in the *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. vi. *et seq.* For the most recent account of Fowler's activities as a spy, see Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham*, 1925, ii. 194, 201, 377, 379. Mr Read identifies Fowler with Fowler "something of a poet," but erroneously makes him the son of "Sir Thomas Fowler, the executor of the will of Margaret, Countess of Lennox" (ii. 377). So did Stevenson, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> His first extant letter to Walsingham is dated Nov. 1582. *Cal. of Scottish Papers* (hereinafter cited as *C.S.P.*), vi. 196. In all cases the original documents have been examined.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi. 256.

prove his good faith, and, at the same time, to turn his misfortune to account that under colour of his relations with the ambassador he became one of Walsingham's spies. Fowler's services were therefore not disinterested. In addition to his release, he received money and frequently applied for more. Yet he may have been quite sincere in reminding Walsingham, in the conventional phraseology of the day, that "both our minds are bent on a right course towards God and a love to this country." In Mr Secretary Walsingham himself, shady practices, personal advantage, Protestant zeal, and fervid patriotism were curiously blended<sup>1</sup>; and in spite of many temptations, Fowler died in the faith of the Kirk of Scotland.

Fowler played his equivocal part well. From time to time he called on the French ambassador and conveyed such information as Walsingham "wished him to do." On more than one occasion he appealed to Walsingham for a message suited to the circumstance. He refers to others which he received while with Walsingham at Windsor. In return he reported such news as he picked up in talk with Mauvissière and his attendants regarding communication with Mary, Queen of Scots, and his conversations with the ambassador's distinguished and often suspected visitors. He acted as an agent between Walsingham and the notorious Archibald Douglas, who, having been arrested in England, was carefully balancing, quite in the manner of Burghley, the respective advantages of running an English or a French "course." Fowler himself was tempted to adopt the latter, the bait being held out that Queen Mary would send him the cipher intended for Douglas.<sup>2</sup>

It was at the French ambassador's that Fowler met the Duke of Lennox who, having at length been forced to leave Scotland, was passing through London on his way to France. The Duke greeted Fowler warmly. "For," said he, "the

<sup>1</sup> John Florio, the translator of Montaigne, afterwards like Fowler a member of the Queen's household, was in Mauvissière's service in 1583. He is suspected of having been one of Walsingham's spies. Giordano Bruno was also an inmate of Mauvissière's house from 1583. Frances A. Yates, *John Florio*, chaps. iv. and v.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi. 434. Cf. *Hatfield MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.)*, iii. 12.

first hous which I came into in Edinburgh at my cuming to Scotland was your mother's, and it was the last lykeweyes at my departeur from hence."<sup>1</sup> Mauvissière recommended Fowler as having been imprisoned "partly for the Duke's cause and partly the affection I bear to France." Fowler accompanied the Duke almost to Canterbury. From the Duke's servant, subsequently sent back to London on a mission, Fowler learnt that Lennox contemplated returning to Scotland from France. These plans were cut short by the Duke's death, which Fowler was the first to report to Mauvissière. La Mothe Fénelon, who was on his way from France to Scotland to undermine the influence of the Ruthven Raiders, was another visitor whose activities engaged Fowler's attention. He met this agent both on his journey to and his return from Scotland, and warned Walsingham that Fénelon had prepared the way for the King's release from his noble gaolers.

In his communications with Walsingham, Fowler did not fail to enhance his services by dwelling on the dangers he ran and the suspicions he aroused. "I feare the end of all these things," he wrote to Walsingham in January 1583; "my nerest freinds also, not privie to these my proceedings, but supposing I have takken the Frenche course and the Queen of Scotts, heth disdained me very much."<sup>2</sup> In May he was still willing to "underlie the sinistrous opinion" of some for a space to do service to her majesty.<sup>3</sup> His "parents" invited him to return to Scotland or else pursue his studies.<sup>4</sup> "His mother and his friends had conceived a great displeasure against him and wrote that the ministers who liked well of him were not well contented with his acquaintance and proceedings with the French ambassador and the Scottish Queen. . . . As for his father's debt, his mother wrote to him to leave off that suit for she was in despair to recover it," having applied in vain to various influential persons in France.<sup>5</sup>

Fowler's last London letter to Walsingham is dated 8th

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., vi. 256. Cf. Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, viii. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 478.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 443.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 480.

July 1583.<sup>1</sup> His return to Scotland coincided with another phase in Anglo-Scottish relations. By this time Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran, had enabled the King to outwit the Ruthven Raiders and had secured an ascendancy at the Scottish court which was considered inimical to English interests. Elizabeth, therefore, decided to send Walsingham on a mission to King James to counteract Arran's influence. Such a project roused consternation among the friends of Mary, Queen of Scots. In a lengthy letter Mauvissière<sup>2</sup> dwelt on the evil consequences which would ensue should the mission of Walsingham—"the greatest enemy she had in the world"—prove successful. Archibald Douglas urged him to write to King James immediately and to send "le petit Fouler" with the despatch as well as Douglas's own warning letters to his friends. Fowler's fidelity, he added, was guaranteed by Douglas—"il est un gentil garçon et a grand désir de vous faire service." Such "double-crossing" is a familiar feature of the times; and if Fowler acted as suggested,<sup>3</sup> it was probably with Walsingham's knowledge.

Walsingham was in Scotland during part of August. Fowler's next letter to him is from Edinburgh, dated 1st December of the same year.<sup>4</sup> He had not written since Walsingham's departure as, according to instructions, he had communicated

<sup>1</sup> Another letter assigned to December 1583 (*C.S.P.*, vi. 688) belongs to February or March of that year. Conyers Read, *op. cit.*, ii. 377 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Hatfield MSS.*, iii. 123-28. Although the name of the writer is not given, it is obviously Mauvissière. Mary's letter, *ibid.*, p. 12, is her reply. Mauvissière's letter is assigned to "?1585," but the reference to Walsingham's projected mission proves that it should be 1583.

<sup>3</sup> Mary's reply to Mauvissière leaves it uncertain. Referring to Archibald Douglas, she writes: "Je ne trouve hors de propos qu'il aye envoyé le petit Fouler en Ecosse, à la lettre du quel je ne faictz responce pour ce que je le pense ja party, mais au cas qu'il ne le fust, assurez-le de ma part que j'ay son voiage bien agrèable, & pour l'ayder en iceluy donnez-lui cinquante écus, avec promesse d'une pension annuelle de dix livres, s'il faict fidel debvoir de m'advertir par vous de l'estat des affaires en Escosse, désirant qu'à cest effect vous establisiez quelque intelligence avec luy, soit par le moyen du dit Archubal ou autrement; mais en tirant de luy tout ce que vous pourrez, ne luy connectez aucun secret d'importance, jusque à ce que nous en ayons quelque mailleure preuve. *Hatfield MSS.*, iii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, vi. 665.

with Mr Robert Bowes, the English ambassador in Scotland. "I am to return to London," he concludes, "where your honour shall have better proof of my service." It is not known whether Fowler returned to London at this time; but during the following year he is mentioned as being in Edinburgh, still in touch with English agents, and professing to give valuable information.<sup>1</sup> Walsingham, however, warned his agent Davison, then in Edinburgh, to deal warily with Fowler. He suspected that he was used "but for an underminer." The letters Fowler delivered were of "no great importance."<sup>2</sup>

By this time, Fowler was independent of Walsingham's favour: for in the same year, 1584, he found an entrance into court circles. The atmosphere of the Scottish court was peculiarly favourable at this time to those with literary aspirations. Under the influence of the Duke of Lennox, King James had been introduced "to a more liberal atmosphere in matters literary than would otherwise have surrounded him."<sup>3</sup> Evidence of the change is to be seen in King James's works, *Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie* and *Essayes of A Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie*, both of which appeared in 1584. To the latter Fowler contributed a prefatory sonnet under the initials M.W.F.<sup>4</sup> Of the others who sponsored the royal poet, T.H. and R.H. have been identified as the brothers Thomas and Robert Hudson, Englishmen holding various offices at court and frequently employed on missions to England; while A.M. is Alexander Montgomerie—"belovit Saunders"—the most important Scottish poet of his time. Fowler thus made

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, vii. 239. Cf. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>3</sup> Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. xlix. Cf. Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England*, New York, 1911, pp. xxv *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> In a page of "scriblings" (Hawthornden MS., xi. f. 272b) there is the following sentence in Fowler's hand: "Whils I was teaching your majestie the art of me[m]orye yow instructed me in poesie and imprese for so was yours. *sic docens discam*["?]." The "art of memorye" is listed by Fowler in "My Works," *ante*, ii. 3. Miss Frances A. Yates notes that Giordano Bruno (see *supra*, p. xvi n. 1) taught Lully's art of memory. *John Florio* (1934), p. 87.

his first appearance as a poet in good company; and he shares with his brother poets the distinction of being among the first to publish, if not to write, the sonnet in the form afterwards popular in Scotland, with the rhymes interlaced in the manner of Spenser—abab, bcbc, cdcd, ee.<sup>1</sup>

Fowler's knowledge of Latin, English, French, and Italian literature, to which his writings and papers bear witness, doubtless commended him to such literary courtiers. Nor would his political trafficking in England, if known, stand in his way: nearly all the court poets of the time can be traced in the records of the period acting as agents of one kind or another. That Fowler had now a recognised place in such circles is shown by his contribution of a commendatory sonnet to Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith*, a translation from Du Bartas undertaken at the King's request and printed in 1584. A passage in the "Epistle Dedicatorie"<sup>2</sup> reveals the literary atmosphere in which Fowler now found himself at home:—

"As your Maiestie, Sir, after your accustomed and vertuous manner was sometime discoursing at Table with such your Domestiques as chaunced to be attendants; It pleased your Highnesse not only to esteeme the peerless stile of the Greeke Homer, and the Latin Virgil to be inimitable to us (whose tongue is barbarous and corrupted): But also to alledge (partly throu delite your Majesty tooke in the Hautie stile of those most famous Writers, and partly to sounde the opinion of others) that also the loftie Phrase, the grave inditement, the facound termes of the French Salust (for the like resemblance) could not be followed, nor sufficiently expressed in our rude and unpolished english language, . . . whereupon, it pleasd your Maiestie (among the rest of his workes) to assign me, The Historie of Judith, as an agreeable Subject to your Highnesse, to be turned by me into English verse." Hence Fowler in his sonnet refers to Salust's "laurer tre which

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Scots had priority of publication. Spenser may have written in this form as early as 1580 but he did not publish until 1590. See Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi; Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

throw thy toyle in Brittain ground is grown," and, apt in the flattery of the age, commends Hudson

" To the protection of this godly King,  
Who for his verteus and his gifts deuyne  
Is only Monark of the Muses nyne."

A pension or some post about the court was the normal reward of the King's literary familiars; but it was to the Earl of Bothwell, to whom the *Answer to Hammiltoun* had been dedicated, that Fowler owed his first substantial recognition. The Earl presented him to the parsonage of Hawick<sup>1</sup> and in 1585 Fowler drew his first recorded stipend of two-thirds of the parsonage, amounting to £108, 17s. 9d.,<sup>2</sup> the remaining third pertaining to the Crown. Fowler was never a minister of the Kirk,<sup>3</sup> and the designation, "Parson" or "Persoun," which for a time puzzled David Laing, was one he shared with those laymen fortunate enough to secure such spoils of the Church in post-Reformation Scotland. In the following year, 1586, "Mr Wm. Fowler of Hawik" was included in the numerous suite which accompanied the Earl of Bothwell to Berwick for the purpose of concluding a league with England.<sup>4</sup>

None of Fowler's activities can be definitely assigned to the years 1587 and 1588 except his translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*.<sup>5</sup> Probably some of the "poesies" included in the list of his "works"<sup>6</sup> drawn up by himself should be assigned to these years. The preface to the *Triumphs*, dated 12th December 1587, is dedicated to Lady Jean Fleming, the wife of the younger Maitland of Lethington. In the preceding August Maitland had become the King's chief minister as Chancellor and Secretary. It was doubtless politic to salute the rising sun; but Fowler remained faithful to the end to his first patron, the Earl of Bothwell, Maitland's deadly enemy; and

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd Series, iv. 520. The history of the Kirk of Hawick is there given in connection with the "rehabilitation" of the Earl's son by James I. and Charles I.

<sup>2</sup> "Register of Assignations," MS., H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> In the "Register of Assignations" he is described as "minister at O" ("O" apparently = blank).

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, viii. 452.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, i. 13 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, ii. 3.

it may be of some significance that there is no further mention of Maitland in Fowler's extant writings or correspondence.

In 1589, however, Fowler was engaged in a mission which must have brought him into close contact with the King's chief minister. In that year he took part in the concluding negotiations for the marriage of King James to Anne of Denmark, which eventually gave him permanent official duties and an assured position at court. As a representative of the burgh of Edinburgh, which was keen on the royal match,<sup>1</sup> he accompanied the Earl Marischal, the King's ambassador, Mr John Skene, Advocate, and other envoys to Denmark. The city furnished £10,000 towards the expenses of the mission and 2000 marks were given to Skene for support of his charges, as he "may be stedabill to the burrowis toward thair customes and vther effaires in thais pairts." In these circumstances it was deemed "expedient that maister William Fowler, persoun of Hawik, be direct to pas to Denmark with the said imbasadour and maister Jhonn Skeyne to attend vpoun sic things as may occur concerning the burrowes, and to hald thame in remembrance thairof and mak aduertisement of the samyn as neid sall requyre; and grantes vnto him the sowm of fyve hunder merk for making of his chairges and expenssis in honest clething and vtherwayes."<sup>2</sup> Fowler's hereditary connection with the magistracy of the city, his friendship with the Earl Marischal while a student in Paris,<sup>3</sup> and his favour with the King stood him in good stead.

The ambassador and his suite sailed for Denmark on 16th June. On 22nd July Lord Dingwall, John Skene, Peter Young, and Fowler were despatched home to receive further instructions. It was believed that the difficulty was the "tocher."<sup>4</sup> On 3rd August Lord Dingwall, and, presumably his companions, returned to Denmark with orders to go forward with the match. The King "would not be thought a marchant for

<sup>1</sup> The possibility of the match being broken off led to a riot. *C.S.P.*, x. 87. "The King . . . will match with the Danes to please his boroughs and merchants." *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (Scottish Burgh Records Society), iv. 543-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, ii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P.*, x. 126; *Hatfield MSS.*, iii. 426.

his wife.”<sup>1</sup> All difficulties were overcome, and on 20th August the marriage ceremony was solemnised, the Earl Marischal acting as proxy for his royal master. For over two months the King awaited his bride, who was storm-stayed in Norway. At length, accompanied by Maitland, he set sail for Norway on 22nd October, committing himself “Leander-like to the waves of the ocean and all for his beloved Eroes sake,” as the English ambassador poetically reported.<sup>2</sup> On 23rd November 1589 James was married in person to Anne at Oslo.

Five days later, on 28th November, “his hienes trusty servitour, Mr Williame Fowler, persoun of hawilk” was appointed Master of Requests and Secretary-depute “to his hienes darrest spous and quene.”<sup>3</sup> During the time which James spent abroad—fully five months—Fowler would be in attendance. He seems to have been a boon companion, and he doubtless enjoyed “the drinking and driving oure in the auld maner” so happily described by King James, as well as the more intellectual pleasures of a visit to the astronomer, Tycho Brahe, to whom he had been commended as “juvenis . . . egregius, nec amicitia indignus.”<sup>4</sup>

Fowler presumably returned to Scotland in the suite of the King and his bride when they landed at Leith on 1st May 1590. In the following year one of his sonnets, along with

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., x. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> “Register of the Privy Seal,” MS., H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, vol. lxvi. f. 78<sup>v</sup>. The Queen’s Secretary was Calixtus Schein, a Dane. For 1590 his salary was £400. “Comptrollers’ Accounts,” 1590. M.S., *ibid.*; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. xxii. p. xlii. After 1590 a lump sum was paid to the Master of the Queen’s Household for the salaries and wages of her Danish servants. Fowler’s appointment to the full Secretaryship has not been traced. On 1st August 1593, King James wrote to Christian IV. of Denmark that Schein, “after two years’ service as Secretary to Queen Anne,” desired to return to his own country. *Deputy-keepers’ 47th Report in Parl. Papers*, 1886, vol. 37. Nevertheless, the first recorded salary (£400 a year) to Fowler “Secretar to the Queene’s Grace,” is for the two years ending Whitsunday 1590, when he received £800. “Comptrollers’ Accounts,” 1600-02. The last payment was made in the accounts for 1611-12 “to Mr James Raith for vmquhile Mr Williame Foullar, Secretarie to hir Maiestie.”

<sup>4</sup> P. F. Tytler, *Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig*, Edin., 1823, pp. 245-46.

three of other poets of the court, introduced *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*.<sup>1</sup> The dedication of a projected series of "Epitaphes," under the title of "The Triumphe of Death," is dated January of the same year.<sup>2</sup> The occasion was the death in April 1590 of Sir Francis Walsingham, his former employer. None of the "epitaphes" except a few drafts in prose, is extant.<sup>3</sup>

During the next two or three years Fowler appears to have been involved in the affairs of the Earl of Bothwell. The Earl had fallen into disfavour soon after the King's return to Scotland. On 25th June 1591 he was forfeited, and his escapades thereafter earned him the title of "The Madcap Earl." It must have been during this period that Fowler wrote his "Defensis of Bothuel in natur of Fables," mentioned in the list of "My Workes"<sup>4</sup> but not, unfortunately, otherwise known. The Queen's Secretary was not alone in defending his earliest patron. The Queen herself was believed to be among his supporters, and it was notorious that the Kirk was not unfriendly to one who was regarded by the ministers as a "sanctified plague" sent to punish the King for his misgovernment and his leniency towards the Catholic Earls. The Laird of Buccleuch, Bothwell's stepson, also became involved in the troubles. In September 1591 he received the royal pardon for "intercommuning" with the rebel, but was granted licence to proceed to France.<sup>5</sup> On the 17th of the month, Bowes, the English ambassador at the Scottish court, reported to Burghley that Buccleuch had embarked "at Leith with William Foulter and ane lacquey only." He intended to touch at Yarmouth and go to the court of England, "hoping shortly to be called home with the King's favour."<sup>6</sup> Buccleuch's hopes, however, were disappointed, and he proceeded abroad.

Nothing further is definitely known of Fowler's movements until 1592. Part of the time that he was abroad he spent in Italy. In all probability it is his name that appears on

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, p. xlv (12).

<sup>5</sup> Douglas, *Scots Peerage* (new ed.), ii. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, i. 307-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, ii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P.*, x, 572.

25th July 1592 in the list of Scottish students at the University of Padua.<sup>1</sup> Among others with whom he was in touch was Sir Edward Dymoke, the King's Champion, a patron of poets and scholars, especially those interested in Italian literature. Dymoke's verses in Latin to Fowler were addressed: "Al molto Ill<sup>re</sup> Sig<sup>r</sup>. Gulielmo Foulero gentiluomo C. . . . Patron suo degn<sup>m</sup> . . . Messer Francesco M. . . . Padoa."<sup>2</sup> In that Italian town he may, like Dymoke and his fellow-traveller

<sup>1</sup> Andrich and Brugi, *De Natione Anglica et Scota Juristarum Universitatis Patavinae*, Patavii, 1892, p. 172. The University of Padua has kindly furnished a photostat of the relevant page of the 'Matri-colazione Università Legista' (Archivio Antico, No. 30, vol. i. p. 142), which gives the exact date. The name is entered as Gulielmus Faulenus Scottus. There is no Scots name corresponding to Faulenus: it is a fairly obvious clerical error for Foulerus. The two other Scots who were entered on the same day were Walterus Scotus (not 'Walserus' as printed in Andrich and Brugi) and Thomas Nicolsonus. If Faulenus is Foulerus, Walterus Scotus would be the Laird of Buccleuch whom Fowler had accompanied abroad. It will be noted that in his dedication of his translation of *The Prince*, Fowler credited Buccleuch with being 'mair perfyte and prompter in the italian tonge than I be.' *Ante*, i., Appendix iv. I am indebted to Mr Purves for the above reference.

<sup>2</sup> The verses are printed, *ante*, i. 398, where for "E. L. Dymoke" read "Ed. Dymoke." They are written on a double sheet, the address being written on the outer one. The breaking of the seal has destroyed part of the address. The sonnet to Dymoke, *ante*, i. 264, is not in Fowler's hand, and is preceded by an undated and unsigned letter in a different hand, which reads: "My good friend, Mr Seagar, discovering in your letters to Mr Foulter the greatnes of your affectioun towards me, I could not otherwayes do then to shaw myself mynd full be these few lynes therof geuing yow therbye assurance of the constancye of his favour that by your deserts is caryed to love you. The rest of my letter sal be to this end to pray yow effectuouslye to haue me effectuouslye commended to that noble lord my lord darcy and to Mr Robart his brother geving him for his sueit favour and letters thousands thanks." Hawthornden MS., xiii. f. 13. Both the sonnet and the letter, it will be noted, are in Scots.

Mr Mark Eccles, in his "Samuel Daniel in France and Italy" (*Studies in Philology*, vol. xxxiv., April 1937, pp. 148-67), arrives at the conclusion that Dymoke was in Italy some time in or before 1593, probably in 1590 and 1591, at Padua. To illustrate Dymoke's patronage of men of letters he quotes from the dedication of Tofte's translation of Varchi's *Blazon of Jealousy* (1615), where he refers to Dymoke's "bountifull nature to which not myselfe alone, but diuers other Gentlemen, as well English as Strangers, were beholding for the kind Entertainment you gae us at our being in Italy together." Mr Eccles promises an article on Dymoke.

Samuel Daniel, the English poet, have met Guarini, the Italian poet. He probably visited Venice also: for on the 21st July 1593 Giovanbattista Ciotti, a bookseller in Venice, formally acknowledges receipt from Fowler of half a bale of books, wrapped in canvas, which he undertakes to have consigned to Fowler, or to anyone presenting the receipt before a certain feast in September. From this Italian document<sup>1</sup>—inviting interesting speculations as to the means whereby European literature reached the Scottish court—it may be inferred that Fowler had been in Venice. Towards the end of the year we find him at Delft for the purpose of visiting Buccleuch, now in Zealand. This we learn from a letter of Fowler, dated 25th December 1593, to his friend Jean de Villiers Hotman.

Hotman had spent a long time in England where, aided by his father's name and his own scholarship and personal charm, he had become the confidant of Leicester and Essex and the friend of Sir Philip Sidney and the foremost literary men of the age. In 1589 he was in Scotland as a semi-official agent of Henry of Navarre, and Fowler may have made his acquaintance at that time. Hotman must therefore be included among the many channels through which news of the world of letters in France and England reached the Scottish court. In his letter Fowler states that he had forwarded to King James Hotman's gift of some of his father's legal writings. Apparently Hotman had complained that he had received no favours in return. Fowler assures the Frenchman that he has the royal approval, and expresses the hope that the time will soon be opportune for the King to reward him. The troubles caused by the Catholic Earls and Bothwell's misdeeds had distracted the King's mind from reading. These tumults, much exaggerated abroad, had now subsided. Bothwell had sorely displeased the King who had refused to accept his latest terms of submission. "We cherish the hope, however," continued Fowler, "of being able to move the King's firmness of mind."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hawthornden MS., xiii. f. 85.

<sup>2</sup> "Nos spes tamen tenet ab ea mentis constantia moveri posse." David Baird-Smith, "Jean de Villiers Hotman," in *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, xiv. (1917) 147-66; *Hotmanorum Epistolæ*, p. 379.

Fowler's particular business was to see Buccleuch in Zealand. He would then go back to Scotland, spend a fortnight there, and return on Buccleuch's affairs. Among other news, Fowler mentioned that the Queen was expected shortly to give birth to a child; and it may be inferred that Fowler's journey was connected with arrangements for Buccleuch's return in time for that event.

The child, Prince Henry, was born on 19th February 1594. The baptism of an heir to the throne was celebrated with unusual display on 30th August of the same year. A full account of the proceedings, entitled *A True Reportarie of . . . the Baptisme . . .*, was printed at the time by Waldegrave in Edinburgh<sup>1</sup> and by "Peter Short for the Widow Butter" in London, and was frequently reprinted. In this tract may be read how "the King's Maiestie, purposing further to decore by magnificence this action, committed the charge thereof to the Lord of Lendores and M. William Fowler, who by their traueells, diligence, and inuention, broght it to that perfection which the shortnes of time and other considerations culd permit." Among those who took part in the "rare shewes and singular inventions" was the Laird of Buccleuch, who appeared as one of three Amazons in women's array.<sup>2</sup>

Both contemporary issues of the tract are in English, and anonymous; but the recent discovery among the "Warrender Papers"<sup>3</sup> of the draft of a few pages in Scots in Fowler's handwriting justifies ascribing the whole to him. It is curious that Fowler, avid of literary fame, should have allowed it to appear without his name as author, and that there is no mention of it among "My Works," unless it is concealed under "Maskardes." That it was printed in English is less singular. Political reasons may have dictated the choice. It is true that Waldegrave, the Edinburgh printer, was an Englishman; but the list of his publications includes works in Scots as well as in English. The same practice was followed

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, ii. 167 *et seq.* The imprint has no date.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, ii. 172, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Annie I. Cameron and R. S. Rait, *Scot. Hist. Soc.* (1932), ii. 258-62.

in the case of King James' *Basilicon Doron*. The original manuscript in the royal autograph is in Scots: it was printed in English in 1599, although limited to seven copies intended for the King's immediate entourage.<sup>1</sup> Fowler can therefore be credited with *A True Reportarie*, and it may be assumed that the grant in February of the following year of the third of the parsonage of Hawick ("sa lang as the samyne remainis vnassnignt or disponit to onie minister") was the reward of his services on this occasion.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of the next year, 1595, dissensions were rife at court. According to George Nicolson, an English agent in Scotland, writing to Bowes on 27th November, "here is suche making of cockelauds and verses and such emulacion as I feare still troubles, nothwithstanding the intent of agreamentes. The King of Scottes is supposed to have made the verses of Mr. Wm. Fowler and was spoken to in it, and doethe laughe it over. The Iris[hman] Quin<sup>3</sup> semeth to be very simple, suppose his verses be not so." Next day an anonymous correspondent wrote to Bowes: "The King has writtin this vther agains Mr Williem Fowllar. Thair is another made aganis the lord Treasurer of Scotland, the coppie whairof was promiseist me, but he faillit. Howsone I may get it, I sall send the same." As these verses have not been traced, the circumstances of their composition are unknown.<sup>4</sup>

Some two years later, Fowler is again the subject of Nicolson's correspondence. This time the occasion was of serious import. The relations between King James and Queen Elizabeth were strained. The King was suspected of intriguing with Spain

<sup>1</sup> See the reprint of the 1599 edition by the Roxburghe Club (1887).

<sup>2</sup> 14th Feb. 1594[-95]. "Register of the Privy Seal," vol. lxxvii. f. 59b. MS. H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh. When the Abbacy of Fowler's colleague, Sir Patrick Leslie, Abbot of Lindores, was erected into a temporal lordship in 1606, his services at the baptism were expressly mentioned. *Acts of the Parl. of Scotland* (Record ed.), iv. 355. Lindores had been a friend of Fowler in Paris. *Ante*, ii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Quin, poet, and tutor to King James' sons. See *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> State Papers (Scotland), Elizabeth, vol. 57, Public Record Office, London.

and with Elizabeth's Irish rebels.<sup>1</sup> On 19th January 1597[-98], Nicolson reported to Sir Robert Cecil that "the pairtie I wrote of to your honour . . . saithe the regard of Religion and withholdinge of his Princes from being drawne to or continew in evill causes moueth him to yield his endeaour to do that good which before I wrote, and not any Mallice, Malcontentment, or gaines; adding neuertheles that he is not borne to sustaine the charge or danger of these, and therefore desiereth that your honour should acquaint her Maiestie very secretly with his services, that however things go, her Maiestie may care for him, and his adventure and perrill may be the better in the meane tyme regarded and rewarded." On 15th February Nicolson disclosed in cipher the name of the "pairtie" as Mr William Fowler. A third letter is dated 5th March. Fowler is reported to be "fearfull of bothe life and credditt, and therefore forbeareth till he be assured in bothe by secrecy and of mete regard to be had of him and his adventure, by the lettre of Mr. Secretary to be sent him, as before I certified his Honour. This partie protests, and I do verely beleve, that neither nede, gredines, nor malcontentment but his loue to religiõn and th'amicie is the motive hereof."<sup>2</sup> No more of the correspondence has been traced; but it is significant of the uneasiness among the ministers of the Kirk caused by James's devious policy at home and abroad, that Bruce, the famous Edinburgh divine, also wrote at this time to Robert Cecil offering to reveal "certain dangerous practices," and that Cecil guaranteed a reward.<sup>3</sup>

It is not until 1602 that the records again throw light on Fowler's activities. Once more they are connected with Buccleuch. On 20th October James Hudson, one of the literary circle of the Scottish court, and, like Fowler, an occasional correspondent with English officials, wrote to inform Sir Robert Cecil that King James had sent Mr William Fowler for Buccleuch who had been wounded at Graves in

<sup>1</sup> A. Lang, *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 435.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers (Scotland), Elizabeth, vol. 62, Public Record Office, London.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lang, *op. cit.*, *ibid*

the Low Countries. Later he reports that Fowler has returned and is bound for Scotland, "not having power for all his pains to persuade the laird to return till his mind be satisfied with the sight of such singular things as are to be seen." Fowler, who is travelling privately, "is a humble suitor for your Honour's commission to ride post, yet he rides his own horse; but in case his horse should fail, as one did coming up, he would not be driven to buy new." "He is a very religious man," Hudson adds, "and hath suffered persecution and perils in Rome and Paris by the malice of his own nation."<sup>1</sup> This letter contains one of the few references to Fowler's having been in Italy. That he must have spent some time in that country may be inferred from his works; but it is remarkable that there is so little evidence of this among his papers.<sup>2</sup>

Some time prior to these journeyings in 1602, Fowler seems to have been interested in the preparation of the edition of the King's *Basilicon Doron* which was printed at Edinburgh in 1603.<sup>3</sup> As a study in political science it is akin to Machiavelli's *Prince*, Fowler's translation of which was made probably before the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> As we have seen, the first edition of the *Basilicon* in 1599 was limited to seven copies for the King's "trustiest seruandis."<sup>5</sup> James now found it expedient to issue a version for the general public in which his opinions regarding the Kirk, which had given much offence to the ministers,<sup>6</sup> were toned down. Among Fowler's papers are certain "Noates for basilicon doron." The notes are probably not in Fowler's hand, but they indicate his interest,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com., Hatfield MSS.*, pt. xii. (1910), pp. 448, 547-48.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Dempster, illustrating Fowler's gifts as a composer of anagrams, writes: "Ex officio sancto [the Inquisition] Romæ dismissus, objurata hæresi, cellæ suæ custodiæ superscripsit ALMA ROMA, inversis elementis, MALA ROMA," *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bann. Club (1829), i. 292\*-293. This anagram does not appear among his scribblings in the Hawthornden MSS.

<sup>3</sup> It was known in London in October 1602 that it was in the press. Roxburghe Club ed., p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, ii. *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, p. xxviii.

<sup>6</sup> M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (1856 ed.), p. 227.

if not his active participation, in the work of revision.<sup>1</sup> They contain lists of corrections and emendations of, or additions to, certain words and passages in the original edition. A comparison between these and the two printed texts shows that in general the suggested corrections of Scotticisms and familiar expression were adopted. Thus “cost,” “tinsel,” “tedder,” and “taking the pet” in the first edition are replaced in the second by “bocht,” “loss,” “halter,” and “discontented” respectively. Some of the emendations and additions, especially those in which the succession of James to the throne of England was assumed, were not adopted. Apparently they were deemed impolitic at the time, but they reveal clearly the hopes which prompted the re-publication of the *Basilicon Doron*.<sup>2</sup>

These hopes were realised when Queen Elizabeth of England died in the following year. If we may credit the date of composition of a chronogram, preserved among the State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, in the Public Record Office, London,<sup>3</sup> Fowler foretold the year of her death some three

<sup>1</sup> The “noates” have been carelessly bound up in Hawthornden MS. xii. ff. 94-97. One sheet has been placed in vol. xi. (f. 121). The notes refer to pp. 17-152 of the 1599 edition. Some are in draft and are rewritten in a fair copy. They may be compared with the variants of the 1599 and 1603 editions printed in the appendix to the Roxburghe Club edition.

<sup>2</sup> John Florio translated it into Italian. “The original MS. of this translation, exquisitely written out by Florio in his own hand, is in the British Museum (Royal MSS. 14, A.V.). The text is from the second edition (1602).” Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. cclxxvi. (iii.), *Calendar*, 1598-1601, p. 524. The document reads as follows:—

“Ex Capriano Leonitio Ephem. Prædictio obitus Diuæ Elisabethæ Angliæ Reginæ facta a guilielmo foulero Scoto anno 1600.

Paçe Ìnter anglos et hispanos Ìnfrac̃ta  
Regina Morietur : et Scoto regi regna  
sua ex̃ probò popùli còsensù  
absq̃e tũrba relinq̃et

chronologica annorum supputatio

MCCCLLXVVVVVVVIIIIIII

The original, undated, is in Hawthornden MS. xi. f. 310. This is followed by another relating to 1588. It appears from these, and from other examples in the Hawthornden MSS., that the writing of chronograms was one of Fowler’s hobbies.

years before it occurred. But at whatever time he made his lucky guess, it shows the place which the prospect of the Queen of England's death had in the minds of the royal household of Scotland. King James set off almost at once across the Border to take possession of his new kingdom; and he was followed in June by his Queen and her suite.<sup>1</sup> During her journey to London she was entertained by the Earl of Shrewsbury at Worksop.<sup>2</sup> A friendship between the Earl and Fowler resulted, which was maintained for the rest of Fowler's life. On one occasion, at least, Shrewsbury proved a good friend.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Fowler lent the Earl money and supplied him with news, more especially regarding his niece, the Lady Arabella Stuart, whose fortunes at court were a constant anxiety to the Earl and Countess.

It was apparently during an early progress of the King and Queen that Fowler met the Lady Arabella for the first time.<sup>4</sup> From Woodstock, on 11th September 1603, he writes to the Earl: ". . . I can not forbear from geving you advertishment of my great and goode fortune in obteaning the acquentance off my Ladye Arbella, whoe may be, to the first seven, justly the e[i]ght wonder of the world. . . . I send tuo sonetts<sup>5</sup> unto my most vertuous and honorable ladye, the expressers of my humeur, and the honour of her whose sufficientye and per-

<sup>1</sup> She had been in correspondence with Cecil. Fowler in forwarding her letter assures Cecil "of his affection, of which he trusts that Sovereign shall some day bear record whose hands have delivered to him the enclosed writing." *Hatfield MSS.* xv. (1930), 60, 70.

<sup>2</sup> John Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First*, i. 170.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> All Arabella's biographers erroneously identify Fowler, whom they designate *Sir William Fowler*, with the son of Thomas Fowler, the agent of her grandmother, the Countess of Lennox, and trace Fowler's friendship with the Shrewsburys and Arabella to this connection. See *Lives* by Eliz. Cooper (1866), i. 277; E. T. Bradley (1889), i. 175; B. C. Hardy (1913), p. 165. So, too, Conyers Read, *op. cit.*, ii. 377; and A. F. Westcott, *op. cit.*, index *s.v.* Sir William Fowler.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, i. 260-61; Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, iii. 168-70; Nichols, *op. cit.*, i. 260-61. There are also various scribblings in Latin and Italian referring to the Lady Arabella Stuart in the Hawthornden MSS. See *post*, p. xlv (XII).

fectiones mereits more regairde then this ingraitfull and depressing age will afford or suffer." From such correspondence of Fowler and Arabella as survives<sup>1</sup> it is evident that a genuine friendship existed between them.<sup>2</sup> Miss Strickland and other biographers of the Lady even write as if Fowler aspired to her hand, and make merry over the passion of this "pragmatical coxcomb" whose passion "formed the amusement of the court." Such an idea arose from the misinterpretation of a phrase in the following letter addressed by Fowler to Shrewsbury on 3rd October 1604: "My Ladye Arbella spends her tyme in lecture, reiding, hearing of service, and preaching, and visiting all the Princesses. She will not heare of mariage. Inderectlye ther wer speaches used in the recommendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duk of Gueldres. I dare not attempt her." The last sentence, as first interpreted by Isaac D'Israeli, was supposed to refer to Fowler's aspirations and not, as obviously is the case, to his reluctance to plead the cause of the Count.<sup>3</sup>

Fowler was now an established member of the English court. In October 1603 his name appears in a list of "Officers & Councillors to the Quene's Majestie" as "Secretarie and Master of the Requests."<sup>4</sup> In the following year, in the Ordinances of the Household, it was laid down that "Mr Fowler, Secretary to our deare bedfellow, [and others] who had an abridgement by our booke lately signed of two dishes of meate apeece *per diem*, shall have the same restored them

<sup>1</sup> See Lodge, *op. cit.*, Nichols, *op. cit.*, and the various Lives of the Lady Arabella Stuart already cited.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been occasionally ruffled. In a draft of a letter dated only 13th July to a "Most Honorabill Lord," Fowler writes: "Herein inclosed my apologie for myself to my Lad Arbella whose brusque dealing with me hath given to me a suspension of my service and attendance," Hawthornden MSS., xii. f. 100b.

<sup>3</sup> Lodge, *op. cit.*, iii. 236; Nichols, *op. cit.*, i. 457-58.

<sup>4</sup> Lodge, *op. cit.*, iii. 209. In an undated draft of a letter to "My Lord," he writes: "I have presumed to importune your honour with two necessarye suites depending bothe upon your honourable favour and courtesie; the one anent a convenient ludging at court, and the other concerning some liveryes that are to be assynged vnto me and, as I am informed, to be vsed at the coronation [25 July 1603] as her Majesties Secretary," Hawthornden MS., xii. f. 127.

again." <sup>1</sup> His work as Secretary is illustrated by copies of various letters in English, Latin, and French in Hawthornden MSS. They may have been preserved as "styles" or for the purpose of illustrating the "Art of Secretary" mentioned in the list of "My Works," <sup>2</sup> but not now extant, if, indeed, ever begun. The "Answer of John Newe, defendant, to the bill of complaint of Wm. Fowler, Esq., Complainant," throws some light on his duties as Master of Requests.<sup>3</sup> John Newe, it appears, in June 1604 desired the post of Yeoman of the Robes to the Queen, and spoke to Ralph Carter, Fowler's servant, about it. He offered Fowler £100 for the post, but Fowler did not succeed in obtaining it for him. Newe next tried to get a groom's place, offering Fowler £200.<sup>4</sup> A lawsuit followed, Fowler averring that he had not received the money, while Newe contended that he had not been properly instituted into the office and was unable to draw the fees. Fowler's correspondence with Cecil shows that from the first he had difficulty in maintaining his official position.<sup>5</sup>

His literary activities were now probably limited to such occasional poems as those on Mary Middlemore, a lady-in-waiting, on Sir David Wood, or on the famous Andrew Melville.<sup>6</sup> Those on Thomas Coryate failed to find a place among the

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *op. cit.*, i. 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hawthornden MS., vol. xiv. ff. 28-34, 61-80.

<sup>4</sup> John Fowler, the Secretary's brother, is mentioned in the document. *Ibid.*, f. 73.

<sup>5</sup> In an undated letter, assigned to 1603, he writes: "Calling in mind your assurance at my last access . . . I am the more secure, and will forbear to trouble your retiredness, except with these few words of prayer to maintain me in the liberties of my office." *Hatfield MSS.*, xv. (1903), 374. On 26th May 1604 he explains that the difficulties in conducting the Queen's business is due to one "Margaret, who usurping too much authority, commands and directs in her Majesty's name with insolence . . ." *Hatfield MSS.*, xvi. (1933), 114-15, ix. In an undated letter, assigned to the same year, he "begs consideration for his maintenance. His fees are but equal with pages, less than the grooms and inferior by £80 to the 'Duch' Minister, who does nothing." His seal is of no benefit to him. He has spent in her Majesty's service "since coming here" £700. *Ibid.*, p. 434. He complains again that "he cannot subsist in this place with 66*l.* and spending 400*l.* yearly." *Hatfield MSS.* xvii. (1938), p. 176. But *cf. ante*, p. xxiii n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, i. 269, 320, 321.

commendatory poems by various wits of the time prefixed to that notorious traveller's *Crudities* of 1610. His acquaintance with other celebrities of the period is revealed in the names on which he exercised his skill in the making of anagrams which, from the numerous scribblings in the Hawthornden MSS., seems to have been his favourite recreation. John Florio, the translator of Montaigne, and, like Fowler, a member of the Queen's Household, occurs in this connection. The poet Donne had also some acquaintance with Fowler and desired to succeed him as Secretary. In June 1607 Donne wrote to his friend Sir H. Goodyer, one of the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, requesting him to secure Fowler's influence. He reminded Goodyer that "long since you delivered Mr Fowler possession of me, but the wide distance in which I have lived from court makes me reasonably fear that now he knows not his right and power in me." He had heard that "Mr. Fowler hath some purpose to retire himself." "If my means may make me acceptable to the Queen and him, I should be very sorry he should make so far steps therein with any other that I should fail in it only for not having spoke to him soon enough." Nothing came of this proposal. Later, Donne writes again to Goodyer, humorously informing him that he had "just knowledge of two millions confiscated to the Crown of England. . . . I pray you make a petition in my name for as much as you think may be given me for my book out of this. . . . Present Mr Fowler with three or four thousand pounds of this, since he was so resolved never to leave his place without a suit of that value." <sup>1</sup>

Donne had evidently heard something of the Secretary's difficulties. His relations with the Queen seem to have been unhappy.<sup>2</sup> In an undated draft, addressed "Most Excellent

<sup>1</sup> E. Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, i. 155-56, 240; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

<sup>2</sup> This would not be known to his friends abroad. In the early years of the seventeenth century, Hotman addressed a letter *cuidam anglo* who, from internal evidence, must have been Fowler. Hotman had translated the *Basilicon Doron* into French. King James had promised him a rich reward, but he had received nothing. His wife was going

Majestie," he begs to be received in audience. "In deley is danger," he writes. "So if I get not access, I may delyuer my informations to M<sup>rs</sup> Drummond or M<sup>rs</sup> Elizabeth Schaw"—ladies in attendance.<sup>1</sup> According to Thomas Dempster, already quoted,<sup>2</sup> Fowler once vented his ill-humour in an anagram, turning "Ex Danismerca" into "Canis merda."<sup>3</sup> That he was in serious danger of losing his post is revealed in an unpublished letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Salisbury, dated at Worksop, 24th October 1608. As the most personal letter concerning Fowler, it may be quoted in full:—

"Now I must tell your *Lordship* that this bearer, Mr. Fowler (as allwayes heretofore) professes all the Love & trew affection to you that he can possible doe to any noble person, yea, and above all others, and so he still continueth to doe, and therewith also acknowledgeth him selfe most bounde to your *Lordship* above all others; and particularly at y<sup>e</sup> time of his Last beyng in Scotland, when the place, which he serveth the *Queens Majestie* in, came in question. At which tyme of his absence, it pleased you to pleade his excuse, and to keepe him on foote, Notwithstanding all the indevoyres y<sup>t</sup> were agaynst him. And so at this present he intreateth me to move your *Lordship* y<sup>t</sup> if by reason of his Longe abode in Scotland the Latter parte of the sommer past, ther shall be any exception taken agaynst him, your *Lordship* will now also agayne mediate his excuse, he havynge in truth been so desperately syck of a burning fever as was not thought lyke to escape. For myne owne opinion of him I have hadd familiar acquayntance with him ever since the *Queen's Majestie* comynge to this howse, and have hadd more cause then ordinary to understand him; and I protest that I have allwayes found him as trew a harted frend wher he hath professed good will as any man, and therefore I dare the more bouldly commend him to your *Lordship's* good favore: and so farr from importunate seekynge to inryche him selfe by his service, he is, as he may say that of him selfe y<sup>t</sup> no other of his countrey men can (as I thynk), which is, y<sup>t</sup> he hath as yet never hadd any sute grannted vnto him by y<sup>e</sup> kinges

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to England, and he had asked Sir Robert Sidney and Lady Rich, the brother and "Stella" of Sir Philip Sidney, to help her to obtain the reward. He urged Fowler to aid her also in view of his favour with the Queen and at court. D. Baird-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 155; *Hotomanorum Epistolæ*, 368. Fowler was on familiar terms with Sir Robert Sidney. *MSS. of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley (Hist. MSS. Com.)*, iii. (1936), 188. Lady Rich had been sent to attend the Queen from Scotland. Nichols, *op. cit.*, i. 167.

<sup>1</sup> Hawthornden MS., xii. f. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. ix n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Ut implacabilem sibi reginam irritaret, ex DANISMERCA fecerat CANIS MERDA."

Majestie, though he have faythfully served bothe theyr Majesties theis XXV<sup>th</sup> yeares : but I will houlde your Lordship no Longer concerninge him, this beyng not the fyrst tyme y<sup>t</sup> I have spoken with you of him, when you have assured me of your owne Lyke good opinion of him, as I have dyvers tymes tould him. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

Ill-health and frequent absences in Scotland where he had still many interests (including the Dean's House, Restalrig, near Edinburgh) had weakened his position at court. According to Dempster, he was latterly Secretary only in name.<sup>2</sup> Two years later he was still suffering. His lines “Houers comes apace,” dated 2 Junii 1610, are subscribed “Haec moribundus gemibunde scripsi”<sup>3</sup>; three months afterwards he composed his epitaph: “De me ipso cum decumberem.”<sup>4</sup> He survived until May 1612.<sup>5</sup> On the 18th of that month, “William Fowler, secretare to the Quenes Majestie of Greate Brittain, being sicke in bodie and haill in mynd, and yet nevertheles considering that the fragillitie and brakilnes of man's life is sumtyme troubled with the thought and dolour of death when the same approaches,” made his will in the presence of a notary.<sup>6</sup> He directed his body to be buried in the Church of St Margaret, Westminster, according to the Christian use observed in the Church of Scotland; and there he was buried on 20th May.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, vol. xxxvii.; *Calendar*, 1603-10, p. 463. On 26th October 1609 Fowler informs the Earls of Shrewsbury and Suffolk that he has delivered their packet to the Queen. *Ibid.*, p. 553.

<sup>2</sup> “Subirata, incertum quam ob causam, regina, officio dejectus, nudum nomen usque ad vitæ exitum retinuit.” Dempster gives no dates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, i. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, i. 329. Another, probably of 8th May 1611, is in Hawthorn-den MSS., xi. f. 177a.

<sup>5</sup> “Inquisit. Return. Reg.” MS., H.M. Register House, Edin., vol. xi. f. 153.

<sup>6</sup> Miss E. Margaret Thompson gives a resumé of the will preserved in Somerset House (P.C.C. Register, 73 Capel) in “The Daughter of Anne of Denmark's Secretary,” *Scot. Hist.*, Rev. xix. (1921) 23-24. Cf. the opening of Florio's will: “well remembering and knowing that nothing is more certayne unto mortall man then death, and noe one thing more uncertayne then is the houre therof.” “The remark is ordinary enough,” comments Miss Yates, “but some Montaigne-like cadence seems to linger in its phrasing.” *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. Burke, *Memorials of St Margaret's Church, Westminster* (1914), p. 497.

Fowler was a married man, but the name of his wife has not been traced. She survived him; for among the reasons given for making his will is the "ordouring of my house, wife, bairnis, and goodes." This is doubtless a conventional phrase, but it could hardly have been inserted had his wife not been alive.<sup>1</sup> She is not otherwise mentioned.<sup>2</sup> From the will it appears there were at least four children—his son Ludovick, Anna "my youngest daughter," and two others whose existence can be inferred from the fact that Mr James Buth and Patrick Striuling, "my sones in law," were appointed, along with Sir James Foularton, knight, and John Fowler, "my brother," as joint overseers "anent the distribution of my goodes and geir." They were also to act as "tutors testamentaries" to his son Ludovick and his daughter Anna "during all the tyme of their pupillaritie."

Fowler died a wealthy man. His gold chain and jewels were worth £300 sterling, and he had, in addition, four diamond rings, including one with nine small diamonds given to him by the Queen. He had no debts either in England or Scotland, but considerable sums were owing to him. By far the most substantial was the Earl of Shrewsbury's debt amounting to £843 sterling.<sup>3</sup> In Scotland he estimated the "debt awand to me" at some 20,000 marks Scots. To Anna he bequeathed 5000 marks Scots "for her bayrnis parte of geir and the prefermente of her marriage," together with 2000 marks "for her apparrell and ornamentis thereto," provided she married with the advice and consent of the aforesaid overseers. The rest he left to Ludovick. In the event of his son's death ("as God forbid"), his estate was to be divided equally between William and John Fowler, "my brethren."

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Miss Thompson, in discussing the will, writes: "There is no mention in the will of Fowler's wife, his 'Penelope' as he calls her in a poem entitled *Orknay*; if she was his 'loveing dame' and 'deir' whom he bewails in another poem entitled a '*Complaint*,' she had predeceased him." *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Levett, in the correspondence cited below, states that her daughter Anna was "of a very worthy, if not noble family, especially by her mother side."

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. xxxii.

The witnesses to the will included James Cleghorn, "one of the gentlemen wayters of His Majesty's chamber," James Gibson, bookbinder, Edinburgh, and William Fowler, "my nephew," David Moysie being the notary.<sup>1</sup>

As his father's son, Ludovick was served heir to a large mansion, the Dean's House, Restalrig, near Edinburgh, together with the orchard, garden, &c., on 23rd March 1613.<sup>2</sup> It is also recorded that he was made a burges of Haddington on 21st April 1630. His daughter Isabella—"Tibbie Fowler"—a great heiress, attained a fame in Scottish song denied to her grandfather Secretary William.

" Tibbie Fowler o' the Glen,  
There's owre mony woin' at her ;  
Tibbie Fowler o' the Glen,  
There's owre mony woin' at her.  
    Woin' at her, pu'in' at her,  
    Courtin' her and canna get her ;  
    Silly Elf, it's for her pelf,  
    That a' the lads are woin' at her."

The fortunate suitor was George Logan, a great-grandson of Robert Logan of Restalrig who was implicated in the Gowrie Conspiracy.<sup>3</sup>

Of Anna Fowler, the Secretary's daughter, some interesting details have come to light. As "Aa. Delylle," the widow of a Frenchman, she appealed for assistance in 1665 to Sancroft, then Dean of St Paul's. "I am a stranger Scots by decent," she wrote, "& my husband frenche, but heir from my Infancie that I am a stranger in my natiue land, my father being secretarie to quene Ann." The Dean made inquiries of her friend, Dr Levett, who lodged on the same floor of the tenement at Cambridge where she was residing. "Her husbände was slaine in our late king's warres & for him,"<sup>4</sup> he reported.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Thompson, *op. cit.*, Photostat of the will in the National Library of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones Generales*, No. 554.

<sup>3</sup> G. J. N. Logan Home, *History of the Logan Family*, Edin., 1934, pp. 115-18.

<sup>4</sup> " [Col. Edwin Sandys] died of his wounds which he had received in the Parliament's cause near to Worcester from the hands of a Frenchman called Arnold de L'isle, a captain of a troop of horse in Sir John

. . . "She hath two brands upon her; that of her shoulder I have seene (a handfull broad); she received them from Col. Huson at the first tryall of our late king in open court for saying (upon their reading of his accusation) that it was not his subjects but traytors and rebels that made it; His Majesty then seeing her smoake and her haire all of a fire for him by their hot irons, much commiserated her, & wished that he had beene able to have requited her."<sup>1</sup> This extraordinary story is not confirmed by contemporary accounts of the trial; and nothing further is known of Anna's history.

From the fact that Fowler compiled a list of "My Works," it is evident that he prided himself on his literary activities. Doubtless he desired to achieve distinction in the court circle of his time. But his literary, like his official, status remained a minor one. The patronage of the King and the commendatory verses of his friends stood him in little stead; and few of his productions were printed during his lifetime.

There are not many traces of his influence even on his nephew, William Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond had read at least his translation of Petrarch: he quoted one of Fowler's anagrams in a consolatory letter to the Earl of Ancrum.<sup>2</sup> He preserved his papers. In one or two of Fowler's sonnets, Professor Masson "detected a likeness to Drummond's way of thinking and even phrases of which Drummond was fond."<sup>3</sup> But such similarity is more reasonably ascribed to the "spell exercised by Petrarch and his numerous votaries in the sixteenth century."<sup>4</sup> Fowler was, indeed, an imitative

Byron's regiment for which service he was soon after knighted." Anthony A. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), ii. 475; J. G. Muddiman, *Trial of King Charles the First* (1928), pp. 80-81. Arnold de Lille, "a Frenchman," was knighted at Shrewsbury on 29th September 1642. W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (1926), ii. 214.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Thompson, *op. cit.*, quoting Harl. MS. 3784; J. G. Muddiman, *op. cit.*, *ibid.* Miss Thompson is judiciously sceptical of the story; Mr Muddiman, who does not refer to her researches, accepts it.

<sup>2</sup> Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden* (1873), pp. 116-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 31 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, ed. L. C. Kastner, Scot. Text Soc. (1913), i. xxii.

versifier. Yet, as his *Triumphs* prove, he could occasionally hit upon a happy line; and if we could more confidently ascribe to him certain "poems of doubtful authenticity," his position as a minor poet would be more secure.

" But loue in mowld of memory  
 Imprintes in perfitt harte  
 The loued, so that deathe it self  
 Can nought the same devert."<sup>1</sup>

So, too, in his finished prose, such as the dedication of the *Triumphs*, his sentences have the genuine rhetorical rhythm of the age.<sup>2</sup>

Fowler's importance, however, lies in his contribution to the literary and linguistic history of Scotland: for it is a commonplace that it is the minor characters rather than the principals who show "the very age and body of the time its form and pressure." He is typical in the variety of his experience—a student at St Andrews and Paris, a sufferer for his religious creed in Paris, probably also in Rome, a spy in the service of Walsingham, a protégé of a powerful noble, Francis Earl of Bothwell, a frequent traveller abroad, a purchaser of foreign books, a court official. Equally significant are his literary activities. As we have seen, his *Answer to Hammiltoun* is among the first vernacular writings in the controversy provoked by the Counter-Reformation. Like King James himself and other poets of the time, he translated some of the Psalms. He shared with his fellow-craftsmen at the royal court the practice of the sonnet and exercised his ingenuity in one of those sonnet-sequences then so popular. In these he drew on the "Petrarchism" which was the common literary heritage of England and France; and he further exemplified the influence of Italy by his translations in verse and prose. His choice of Machiavelli's *Prince* and his interest in the King's *Basilicon Doron* reflected one of the characteristics of the Reformation era. He wrote the customary "Epitaphs" and "Funeral Sonnets." He strayed into the by-paths of the period. If we are to credit Drummond and Dempster, it

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, i. 386, ll. 277-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, i. 17.

was as a writer of anagrams that he won a certain reputation in his lifetime ; and his curious mind found pleasure in collecting "impresas" (devices) like Sir Philip Sidney,<sup>1</sup> and proverbs, and in the fashioning of chronograms. Withal, as his writings and papers testify, he had a wide knowledge of the sacred and secular literature which formed the background of the intellectual life of Europe.

The mere practice of such activities and their variety were of more than ordinary value in the short-lived Scottish renaissance of the court of James VI. They may be cited to indicate, if not to prove, that it was the removal of the court to London in 1603, rather than any preoccupation with Calvinism and religious controversy, which put an untimely end for more than a century to the growth of conditions favourable to literature in Scotland.

H. W. M.

<sup>1</sup> "Sidney's skill in these devices was famous. . . . Ruscelli's Imprese was one of the books with which he varied his more serious studies," M. Wilson, *Sir Philip Sidney* (1931), p. 112. For the popularity of impresas see Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, Lond., 1870. Fowler's nephew, Drummond of Hawthornden, was interested in the subject. See quotation from his letters quoted from *The History of Scotland* (1655), in Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

## II.

## SOURCES—MS. AND PRINTED.

## I. MANUSCRIPTS.

## A.—HAWTHORNDEN MSS.

The bulk of Fowler's papers form part of the Hawthornden MSS. which were described for the first time by David Laing in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 14th January 1828. The paper was printed in the fourth volume of *Archæologia Scotica* (as the *Proceedings* of the Society were then entitled) in 1857, together with eight appendices of extracts from the MSS.<sup>1</sup> Laing, citing the Minutes of the Society, states that they were presented to it in 1782 by Bishop Abernethy Drummond, a descendant of the poet. The donation was described as consisting of thirteen volumes; but, according to Laing, the bulk of the MSS. were "in loose sheets without any kind of separation or arrangement." They remained "for the most part a confused mass in loose sheets, or bundles," until the summer of 1827, when, probably on Laing's initiative, they were made up into fifteen volumes and bound in full calf. In 1935 the whole collection was deposited on permanent loan in the National Library of Scotland.

The first ten volumes contain the works and papers of the poet Drummond,<sup>2</sup> the remaining five mainly those of Fowler, his uncle. The latter still bear traces of their original confusion, some leaves being bound upside-down and others separated from their context. The following is a fuller inventory of the Fowler volumes than that given by Laing. All the volumes are small folios except xv., which is a small quarto.

## XI. Lettered: "Poems &amp; Misc. Scrolls by W. Fowler."

ix + 275 ff. Includes:—

1. The following note (evidently part of a covering sheet), pasted on the modern fly-leaf (f. iii): "Thirre papers are all of Jhon Fowelles<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 57-116; 230-40.

<sup>2</sup> L. E. Kastner, *Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, 2 vols., Scot. Text Soc. (1913), i. lxxxix-xc.

<sup>3</sup> This might be John Fowler, the Secretary's brother. But the note is incorrect.

hand writt. 1665 10h. April." To which has been added in the hand-writing of Sir William Drummond, the poet's eldest son: "and Secretarie Fowllers writ. 1693."

2. On a similar half-sheet, pasted above this note, another in Sir William's autograph: "Papers of Secretarie Fowllers all his owen hand writt preserued as they ar by my father so ther may be better things in them then I know: for the writ is fashious to read, he was a great maker of Anagrames and Secretarie to Qween Ann, King James the sixt Qween Nou 1703."<sup>1</sup>

3. Sonnets and other verses. Printed *ante*, vol. i., as shown in the rubrics.

4. Many notes and scribblings in Latin; a few in Italian, French, and Greek.

5. Impresas.

6. Numerous drafts of anagrams.

7. Corrections and emendations of the *Basilicon Doron* (f. 121). See *ante*, pp. xxx-xxxii and MS. xii (17) *post*.

8. Proverbs (ff. 187-88).

9. Drafts and copies of official letters (ff. 235-36).

XII. Lettered: "Misc. Papers & Scrolls by W. Fowler."  
viii + 187 ff.

Includes, in addition to drafts of anagrams, impresas, and extracts from books:—

1. "Ichnea id est Prorsa Versa Circulariaque Symbola." A projected work. Dedication in Latin to Arabella Stuart, dated "Lond. ult. Decemb. 1604," and "Lond. 6 Janu. 1605." Also Latin verses, assigned in another hand to Sir Peter Rollok, bishop of Dunkeld," entitled: "In Guil Foulleri symbola" (ff. 2-9).

2. "Delle Imprese di Giulio Cesare Capaccio"<sup>2</sup> (f. 17).

3. "5 April 1603 after the Kings *departeur* I did observe these devyses vpon the queenes his mother bedd." List follows (f. 21).

4. Latin verses (9 ll.) entitled: "In Effigiem M.R."

Begin: "Me triplici damno memorem sors impia læsit."

At the end: "Suspiria Mariæ regis" (f. 22a).

5. Latin verses (34 ll.) entitled: *Suspiria*. Begin: "Ite leues curæ" (f. 22b).

6. "Discorsi di M Gul. Palassi sopra [?] l'imprese"<sup>3</sup> (f. 23).

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<sup>1</sup> "Indeed," Laing comments, "he would have found his trouble but ill-repayed had he persevered in attempting to decypher these 'scribblings,' however much they may display the ingenuity and learning of our 'fantastic' Secretary." *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Naples, 1594. See Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, London, 1870, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Bologna, 1577. See Green, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

## 7. Latin phrases dated " Lond. 25 Martii, 1611."

Passim et perpetuo  
 Prompto purique cordis affectu  
 Colloquio et convictu  
 Consuetudine amicitia  
 Superbiam amicitia nescit  
 Velle eademque nolle  
 Simulationis expers  
 Non absentia soluet.

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Pater effinxit  
 Ludouicus foulerus exscripsit (f. 30).

8. Emblemata and Impresas: *e.g.*, " Amor qui desinere potest nunquam verus fuit " (ff. 31-35).

9. Devices (Impresas) for Scottish nobility and officials (f. 36). Another list, not in Fowler's hand, ends: " Gulielmus Mordocheus Lectoribus " (ff. 37-39). These may have been prepared for the ceremonies at Prince Henry's baptism. See *ante*, ii. 169 *et seq.*

10. " Instructiones for fencinge " (ff. 41-49, 54-56, 108). [Section] 13 reads: " Gracious prince having discoursed and remembred what I have observed in italye france and england concerning these actours pace and marching it resteth now to speik of his right arme " (f. 56). The fair copy (ff. 46-49) is not in Fowler's hand.

11. " deuyces " (ff. 50-52). *E.g.*, " Another dewayce of hir Majestes: a shee Layon and her young layon besyd hir; the Vord is—*Vnum quidem sed Lionem* (f. 50). Not in Fowler's hand. See No. 9 *supra*.

12. " Epitaphia." Drafts (ff. 62-78). Include those of James Stewart and Sir George Wharton (see *ante*, i. 324), James Hay " baro beauliensis," Eliz. Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury, and Henry IV. King of France (dated ' Lond. 26th Aug. 1610 '). The last has a eulogy beginning: " His birth was at the bottome of the pyrenees " (f. 77). *Cf.* " Discourses about the King of Navar " in " My Works," *ante*, ii. 3.

13. " 2 probleme. Quhairfor ar the poets so rair in thir ages they being both so necessair and so proffitable." Begins: " Thair be soundrie altogeather vnexpert and ignorant of the art of poesie who after the custome of the envoyous detracteurs hes in scorne both poets and poesie " (f. 82b).

14. " Of Destenie fortune prouidence." Begins: " In hou narrow limits mans knowledge is terminat the consideratione of no one thing in the Uniuers but may instance to vs." Fair copy with few corrections (f. 84).

15 Draft of a chapter dealing with the treatment of ambassadors, with examples. Begins (f. 85a): " The Duc of Milan gevin to much astrologie differred the embassadours of france audience vntil suche tyme as he thought the planetts wer propitious." The chapter ends in the middle of f. 86a, and is followed by only the heading: " Cap. of subiect." At the side is written " Cap. 3 " and underneath this rubric: " Periander consent to loss the prayse of a gud medicine for the fame of

an euil poet." Possibly part of Fowler's "Discourses of State." See "My Works," *ante*, ii. 3.

16. Apparently part of Fowler's work on "Felicitie" (ff. 88-93). See "My Works," *ante*, ii. 3. Ff. 88-89 deal with bodily health, with examples from Plato, Aristotle, and Propertius: "For without beuty grace and decencye, felicitie is not absolutely *perfyte*." Part of another chapter begins on f. 90 and ends in the middle of f. 92. The next chapter ends the work with the word 'finis.'

17. "Noates for basilicon doron" (ff. 94-97). See also XI. No. 7 *supra*.

18. Mainly drafts of official and other letters (ff. 100-41).

19. Translation of Machiavelli's *Prince*. Incomplete (ff. 144-87). Printed *ante*, ii. 71-164.

XIII. Lettered: "Miscell. Poems." xii + 154 ff. The majority are Fowler's.

1. Note in Sir Wm. Drummond's hand: "Verces written by sundrie hands 1665 Aprill 11h" (f. 1).

2. Sonnet of King James VI. on his voyage to Denmark (f. 2). Printed *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 234.

3. In obitum Dominæ Susannæ Fouleryæ Dominæ Hauthorndinensi, poem in Latin by Professor John Ray, University of Edinburgh. Susanna was Fowler's sister and the poet Drummond's mother (f. 3). Printed *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 236.

4. E. D.'s Sonnets. Presumably in author's autograph. Printed *ante*, i. 19, from the Drummond MS. (f. 4).

5. [Sir] Ed[ward] Dymoke's verses in Latin. Printed *ante*, i. 398 (f. 5).

6. M. B. or M. L. B.'s Sonnet. Printed *ante*, i. 393 (f. 6).

7. Translation of six lines headed "Martiall." Begins:—  
" [Ne val]eam si non totis Massiliane diebus."  
by John Skynner (f. 7).

8. "2 Sonnet or 2 Visioun" (f. 8).

9. "3 Sonnet or 3 Visioun" (f. 9).

10. "Ther is a Certaine Fowler." Printed *ante*, i. 396-97 (f. 10).

11. "Clarissimo viro." Printed *ante*, i. 398-99 (f. 11).

12. "To Sir Eduard Dymok." Not in Fowler's hand. Printed *ante*, i. 264 (f. 13).

13. Sonnet: "In by way roadds." Printed *ante*, i. 252 (f. 13*b*).

14. Sonnet: "It is the uork of thy great Counsel lord"; and another eight lines in Fowler's hand (f. 13*b*).

15. Acrostic in Latin: "Franciscvs Bodinvs—Ioannes Gedivs" (f. 14). Not in Fowler's hand.

16. "To Robart Hudsoun." Probably not in Fowler's hand. Printed *post*, p. cli.

17. Miscellaneous poems. Printed *ante*, i. 337-90, as of doubtful authenticity (ff. 16-35). Ff. 16 to 32, possibly to 35, originally formed

a separate MS. The handwriting of ff. 16-33 differs from that of ff. 34-35. Neither is Fowler's.

18. Three poems in Latin: "Ad Thomam Cargillum Hesiodi interpretem"; two in Latin: "Ad Comitem Mariscallum sub cuius nomine prodit Hesiodi interpretatio"; two sonnets, printed *post*, p. clii; two poems to Fowler, printed *ante*, i. 395-96 (ff. 36-37).

19. Latin verses on King James VI., and his marriage (f. 38).

20. Poem by I. C. Printed *ante*, i. 394 (f. 39).

21. A sonnet on "Murray Albiones sweetest swaine," with a note in the poet Drummond's hand: "He died the 11 of Aprile 1615" (f. 40).

22. Sonnet: "How cruelly these catiues do conspire," with a note: "This sonet was made by James the 6 and sent to my father [the poet Drummond] by Earle of Stirlinge" (f. 41).

23. Sonnet on King James VI. in the same hand as above. Begins: "When Brytaine's Monarcke in true greatnesse great" (f. 41).

24. "Regraits on the Deathe of Dame Margaret Lindesay Ladye of thorintoune." Thirteen six-line stanzas beginning: "Oft have I sent bothe the soull and sence to wiewe." Apparently from initials at the end, and a letter dated 28th March 1618 at the beginning, by Sir George Raethe. With corrections in Drummond's hand (ff. 42-43).

25. "Epithalamium by Walter Quin for the marriage of W[illiam] A[lexander]—J[anet] E[r]sk[ine]," [1603] (f. 44). In Drummond's hand. Printed in *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 234-36. For Quin, see *ante*, p. xxviii.

26. Two sonnets, apparently by Quin, on the same event, in Drummond's hand (ff. 46*b* and 47).

(1) Begins:—In wedlockes yoke will loue & Hymen tye.

(2) Begins:—Most worthye couple happye is your lot.

Printed in *Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, ed. Kastner and Charlton (Scot. Text Soc.), 1921, i. 445-46.

27. "Earle of Ancrams Psalmes." In Drummond's hand. Ps. 130. Printed in *Arch. Scot.*, iv. 240 (ff. 50-75).

28. "Tragedia del Tempo." Sixteen six-line stanzas beginning: "Cume and beholde the trageddy of Time." Not in Fowler's hand (ff. 77-79).

29. Six "Melancolie Sonetts." In the same hand as No. 28. The first begins:—

"The Winter thoughtes of my colde chillinge cares"

(ff. 80-82). Nos. 28 and 29 originally formed one MS. or part of one MS.

30. Poems in English, Latin, French, and Italian in various hands. With occasional scribblings and notes in Fowler's hand (ff. 83-156, except those noted below).

31. Elegy in Latin on Sir John Skene [Domini Joannis Skinæi] by [Professor] Jo. Ray (f. 91).

32. Sonnet. Printed *ante*, i. 253. Not in Fowler's hand (f. 111).

33. Sonnet [Uppon A Horloge]. Not in Fowler's hand, but his. Printed

*ante*, i. 260, from an identical version printed by Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (f. 113).

34. Sonnet. Not in Fowler's hand. Printed *ante*, i. 254-55 (ff. 114-15).

35. Sonnet. "Mr Ja. Drummond." Begins: "Heir sleiping lyes within his mother's wombe." Not in Fowler's hand (f. 117).

36. (1) Translation of Machiavelli's dedication of *The Prince*. Faded and repaired at the edges of the leaf. (2) Draft of Fowler's dedication to the Laird of Buccleuch [Buccleuch]. Printed *post*, pp. cliii-clv (f. 147).

XIV. Lettered: "Miscell. Papers &c."

viii + 81 ff.

Includes:—

1. Papers relating to the case of Wm. Fowler *v.* John Newe regarding the latter's post of Groom of Her Majesty's Robes, 1605 (ff. 28-34, 61-80). See *ante*, p. xxxiv.

2. Draft of an apparently projected work in the poet Drummond's hand. It consists of a paragraph beginning: "Wee sayled from the Aubrezza wher after a Monethes staye on that famous Hill between Thessalia and Macedonie renowned by the death & sepulcher of Hercules wee continued our course towards Creta. . . ." They came to a land Amauria. There follows a list of what are evidently the subjects of nine "apparitions"—*e.g.*:—

" 2 apparition."

"A long gallerye wher in were many pictures of the battailes of the Amaurians amongst themselves" (ff. 70*b*, 71*b*).

3. Notes in Sir Wm. Drummond's hand (one dated 1693) stating that the papers are Secretary Fowler's. These do not apply to the papers as now bound (ff. 34*b*, 69*b*, 77*b*).

4. Extracts in Latin relating to astrology. In Fowler's hand (ff. 52-53). The rest of the volume consists of miscellaneous papers relating to the lordship of Drummond and Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, the family of Innes, and, mainly, to political affairs during the reign of James VI.

XV. Lettered: "Donne's Poems. Fowler's Law Notes."

xii + 96 ff.

Contains:—

1. "Thirre poems belonginge to Jhon Don transcribed by William Drummond" (ff. 3-37). This is a separate MS. It was received from the Rev. Dr Abernethy Drummond by the Earl of Buchan on 3rd December 1783 and transmitted by him to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It was used for H. J. C. Grierson's *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1912.

2. Notes on civil law in Fowler's hand (ff. 49-95). Signed by Fowler, and dated 20th February 1580 (f. 65).

The two MSS. are separated by eight modern leaves (ff. 41-48). They were bound up together "for convenience of size when the collection was arranged in 1827." (*Arch. Scot.*, iv. 72.)

## B.—DRUMMOND MSS.

1. "The Trivmphs of Petrarche." Edin. Univ. Library, De. I. 10. xv + 43 ff. Paper.  $12\frac{9}{10}$  in.  $\times$   $8\frac{3}{8}$  in.

Bound in modern green morocco, tooled, under David Laing's supervision, c. 1827 (watermark of fly-leaves). The original covers of vellum, tooled, are inserted in the inside of the modern binding. The letters D. I. F. (Dame Ieane Fleming) are stamped in gilt on each cover. Not in Fowler's autograph. Presented by Fowler's uncle, William Drummond of Hawthornden, to the University of Edinburgh in 1627. Printed *ante*, i. 13 *et seq.* Facsimile of f. 41a, *ante*, i. facing p. 128. Type facsimile of f. 1a, *ante*, i. 13.

2. "Tarantula of Loue." Edin. Univ. Library, De. 3. 68. xiv. + 36 ff. Paper.  $7\frac{3}{10}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. Cut.

Bound in modern green morocco, tooled, similar to No. 1 *supra*, under David Laing's supervision (watermark of fly-leaves 1823). In Fowler's autograph with title and author in the hand of Drummond of Hawthornden, who gave it to the University of Edinburgh in 1627. Printed *ante*, i. 136 *et seq.* Facsimile of f. 1a, *ante*, i. facing p. 208, and of f. 36b, *ante*, i. facing p. 304.

## C.—LAING MSS.

Edinburgh University Laing MS. II., 512, contains some unbound leaves evidently from the Hawthornden MSS. These scraps include: Latin anagrams on Fowler's name (one has his signature in Latin); epitaphs on himself (one dated 26th May 1610); a Latin anagram on Queen Anne; together with some notes by David Laing on Fowler's works.

## D.—WARRENDER PAPERS.

The Warrender Papers in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, include that part of *The True Reportarie* in Fowler's hand, printed *ante*, ii. 173 *et seq.*

## 2. PRINTED.

1-3. Three broadsides, printed within borders of type ornaments, bound up with the MS. of the "Trivmphs of Petrarche," University of Edinburgh, Drummond MS., ff. 4 (2) *et seq.*

(a) *Epitaphe vpon . . . Sir Iohn Seton . . .* [Waldegrave] [1594].  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  7 in. Cut. The type ornaments are these of Waldegrave. Not noted by Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing* (1890), or by Aldis, *List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700* (1904). Printed *ante*, i. 6.

(b) *An Epitaphe vpon . . . Robert Bowes . . .* Waldegrave. [1597.]  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $12\frac{9}{10}$  in. Cut. Another copy in Public Record Office, Scot.-Eliz., vol. lxi., 57. See Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-39. Printed *ante*, i. 7-8.

- (c) *A Fvneral Sonet . . . Waldegrave.*  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{8}{10}$  in. Cut.  
Not noted by Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.*, or by Aldis, *op. cit.*  
Printed *ante*, i. 9. Facsimile *ante*, i. *frontispiece*.

4-6. Three Sonnets printed in works by other authors. Printed *ante*, i. 3-5.

7. *An Ansver to . . . Hammiltoun. . . .* Edin. Leprewick. 1581.  
For collation, &c., see Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Printed *ante*, ii. 7 *et seq.*

8. *A True Reportarie of the . . . Baptisme . . . of . . . Prince Henry.* [Edin.] Waldegrave. [? 1594.] Anon., but see *ante*, pp. xxvii-xxviii. For collation, &c., see Dickson and Edmond, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-72. Photostat of Brit. Mus. copy in Nat. Lib. Scot. Printed *ante*, ii. 167 *et seq.*

H. W. M.

## III.

## FOWLER'S LANGUAGE.

The language of the pieces printed in the two volumes preceding this belongs to a transitional stage when Middle Scots was being discarded by Scots writers for literary purposes in favour of Southern English. Fowler's contemporary, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, managed with great success to divest his language of its Scottish dress, and in the next generation Fowler's own nephew, Drummond of Hawthornden, wrote in English quite as pure as that of his Southern contemporaries. It should be noted, however, that it was only the written form of their language that was Southern. The evidence of occasional spellings, and still more the evidence of rhymes, show that they still used the sounds of Scots in their speech, so that there was a very considerable divergence between their spellings and the sounds these stood for. Thus it is only by accident that Fowler betrays any trace of such sound-changes as had already established themselves in the spoken form of the language. Examples of these changes are the loss of *l* in the combination *o:l:d*, the loss of *l(l)* after *a* and *o*, the loss of *d* in the combinations *and*, *ound*, the loss of final *v* after *u*, generally written *o*. In spelling, too, it seems a matter almost of chance whether a Scots or a Southern form is used. In Fowler's writings the *Answer to Hammiltoun* is in almost pure Scots, as pure indeed as anything written in the late sixteenth century, the *Poems* are highly Anglicised, while the *Prince of Machiavelli* occupies a kind of intermediate position. This is in accordance with the practice of his time. The

poetical writings of King James VI. in his *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584) are in almost pure English, but *Reulis and Cautelis*, his technical treatise in the same volume, are in pure Scots. The vocabulary is equally mixed, Scots and English forms occurring side by side.

The history of the sounds of Scots has still to be written; it cannot even yet be attempted, because the detailed study of individual authors on which it must be based has not yet been begun. It is as a contribution to this task that the consideration of Fowler's Orthography and Phonology has been made somewhat fuller than usual. Indeed, it may be claimed that this is the only detailed study of any Scottish author of the late sixteenth century that has ever been attempted.

## I.—THE VOWELS.

### (a) ORDINARY.

1. *A* represents both a long vowel and a short one.

2. As a long vowel it has the value of  $\bar{e}$  tense in these classes of words: (a) words with  $\bar{a}$  in O.E. which became  $\bar{o}$  in Southern M.E. but remained in Northern, *aith, alane, ane, anes, araise, baith, bane, braid, gaist, hail, halely, halie, halynes, hame, hamlines, harie, hate, laith, ma, mair, maist, na, nane, nathing, sa, sare, stane, straik, sua, taken, thais, tha.* (b) M.E. lengthening of *a* before *th*—*claithis*. (c) O.N. *a*—*fra*. (d) Foreign word—*pape* (also written *paip*).

This sound is written (i) *ae* in the following words—*aeks, gaepe, haest* (mod. *hast*), *maed* (mod. *made*), *sae, shaepe, taels*; and (ii) *ea* in these words—*feading, heate, heaven, pleagues, reaving, reas, speat*. The following variant spellings are found—*raise, rease; prease, praise; illustrat, illustreit; stain, staene, steane*.

*Thame, theame, theme; thair, their, there; thais, thease, these; whair, whear, where*. In all of these the *-e*-forms are due to Southern influence, but probably the vowel had its Scots value. The only Southern form to occur in rhyme is *ther*, where it had certainly  $\bar{e}$  tense, its Scots value, its Southern value then being usually  $\bar{i}$ —e.g., *rare: ther*, Doubt., 347, 21:23; *care: ther*, Doubt., 362, 39:42; *chayre: ther*, Doubt., 365, 11:13.

3. In *auen, blaues, blaw, crawes, knaw, knowledge, laulines, law, overthraw, saul, sawes, schaw, slawlye, snaw*, O.E.  $\bar{a}$  has been retained. In the modern dialect it has been rounded by the influence of the *w* which follows it, but in Fowler's case it is impossible to say whether this change had yet occurred or not. Similarly nothing can be said about Fowler's value for the vowel in *quha, tua*; rounded and unrounded

forms exist side by side in the modern dialects. *Flaw* at Mach., 151, 6, must be a misspelling, since the O.E. form was *flōwan*.

4. In *almest* and *westmest*, as compared with *almaist*, the *e* of the final syllable may represent a reduced vowel in an unstressed syllable.

5. *Deame* (earlier Sc. *deme*, mod. E. *dame*) may be one of those words which represent *ē* tense by *ea*. *Madame* seems to fluctuate in sound. In the following cases it must have *ē* tense—*frame* : *madame* : *schame* : *proclame*, Son., 259, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *flame* : *madame*, Doubt., 362, 37 : 41 ; but it seems to have *ā* in *Madame* : *ame* (Fr. *ame*), Misc. 327, xviii, 1 : 2.

6. Non-W.S. *a* before *ld* remained in Sc., and was lengthened and rounded. These changes were well established by 1600. (i) *a* spellings only—*baldly*, *baldned*, *baldnes*, *behalld*, *behalldours*, *falding*, *foretalld*, *halld*, *tald* ; (ii) *au* spellings only—*bauldful* ; (iii) *a* and *au* spellings—*ald*, *auld* ; *bald*, *bauld* ; *wald*, *wauld*.

Notes :—

(a) These words are commoner in their Southern form, for which see *o*, *ou*.

(b) This rounding of *a* before *ld* or *lt* is seen in the following foreign words—*emerauldes*, *exhaults*, *herauldes*, *loyaultie*, *thrauld*.

(c) That *withhadden* (pt. ptc. of *withhald*) had not a rounded vowel is shown by the rhyme, *Ariadne* : *withhadden*, Tr., 32, 155 : 156.

(d) The appearance of *au* in *aucht* (mod. *ought*) and *vaucal* (mod. *vocal*) shows that it could have the value of *ō* slack.

7. Original *a* has been retained, where Standard English has *-o-*, in *amang*, *belang*, *lang*, *langlye*, *stranger*, *wrang*.

8. *A* before *n* : *consonant* probably represents, in *dant*, *hant*, *lanch*, *tanny*, *tants*, *vant*, the unrounded vowel still heard in some forms of the modern dialect. But *launce*, *slaunder* seem to have had a rounded vowel where an unrounded one is now heard. *Slanderous* is also found.

9. Rhymes like *pathe* : *faithe* : *bathe* (vb.), Tar., 160, xxvi, 6 : 8 : 9 ; *breathe* : *pathe*, Tar., 161, xxvii, 6 : 9 ; and *faith* : *paith*, Ps. 285, 117 : 118, suggest that in both *faith* and *path* the vowel had proceeded some way towards *ē* slack, its present value in some forms of the vernacular—*i.e.*, it had been lengthened, fronted, and slightly raised. The spellings *glaid* and *gled* may indicate that *glad* had also started on its development in this direction.

10. It is probable that the *a* spellings in the present tense of *have* everywhere represent *ē* tense, the vowel heard to-day in the dialect forms of the verb. This is the stressed form which has been displaced in Standard English by the unstressed form. Rhymes demanding *ē* tense are—*haiff* : *graiff*, Tr., 79, 63 : 64 ; *haue* : *craue*, Doubt., 367, 45 : 46 ; and *breathe* : *hathe* : *death*, Tar., 161, xxvii, 6 : 8 : 11.

11. If *am* : *sam* (mod. *same*), Tr., 125, 13 : 14, is not eye-rhyme, we have here the stressed form of the verb.

12. *combatte* : *fate*, Misc., 324, xi, 1 : 2 ; *shape* : *trap*, Doubt., 351, 19 : 21, must be eye-rhymes.

13. *A* represents earlier *e* in *brakking*, *gasts*, *schipwrak*, *stapp*, *wratched*, *zallow*, *wadge*, *sax*. But for all of these *e* forms are also found. This change appears in one foreign word—*i.e.*, *pragnancie*.

14. In sixteenth century Scots the following words developed an *a* in place of the original *o*—*aff*, *aft*, *aftentymes*, *alafit*, *fallow*, *fallower*, *lapstars*.

15. *Mak*, *shake*, *take* seem to fluctuate between  $\check{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  tense. (i) Rhyming with  $\check{a}$ —*bake* (mod. *back*) : *shake*, Tr., 72, 151 : 152 ; *blak* : *shak*, Tr. 78, 35 : 36 ; *undertak*, *blak*, Tr., 84, 191 : 192 ; *sak* (mod. *sack*) : *mak*, Tr. 101, 101 : 102 ; *mak* : *bak*, Seq., 215, 10 : 12 ; *exact* : *mak*, Ps., 298, 33 : 34 ; *make* : *slack*, Doubt., 384, 174 : 176. (ii) Rhyming with  $\bar{e}$  tense—*waik* : *tak*, Tr., 24, 13 : 14 ; *wak* : *tak*, Tr., 53, 149 : 150 ; *shake* : *wake*, Tr., 55, 197 : 198 ; *forsake* : *take*, Tr., 103, 161 : 162.

Notes :—

- (a) Value of the vowel in *mak* : *shak*, Tr., 68, 35 : 36, and *tak* : *mak*, Tr., 67, 5 : 6, is uncertain, but if frequency of the rhyme-sounds in the *Triumphs* is any guide it is  $\bar{e}$  tense.
- (b) Rhymes like *inlake* : *forsake*, Tr., 94, 207 : 208, and *waik* : *inlaik*, Tr., 128, 73 : 74, beside the spelling *inlaik* show that *inlak* had  $\bar{e}$  tense.

16. *a* : *r* : *cons*, *e* : *r* : *cons*. Little is known about the development of *e* in the combination *e* : *r* : *cons* in Middle Scots. If the vowel did, as in M.E., become *a*, it failed to maintain itself as it has done in Standard English, for the present-day forms of the vernacular again have *e*. (See Wright, *E.D. Gr.*, § 56.) At the time same as it reverted to its earlier value, it took with it the *a* which was original in words both of native and of foreign origin, for most of the words which had original *a* in Middle Scots have now, in the dialect speech of the Scottish midlands at least, an *e* vowel. (See Wright, *E.D. Gr.*, § 37.) When the change back took place is uncertain. Gregory Smith says (*Specimens of Middle Scots*, Intro., p. xix) that *hairt* had *e*, but appears to hold (*op. cit.*, Intro., p. xx) that in words like *avert* the vowel had the value  $\bar{a}$ . The evidence of Fowler seems to show that the change back was pretty well complete by the end of the sixteenth century.

That the same vowel appeared in the spellings *-art*, *-ert*, is shown by the following rhymes—*depart* : *subwert*, Tr., 91, 133 : 134 ; *inwertis* : *departis*, Tr., 128, 57 : 58 ; *darte* : *harte* : *expert* : *subvert*, Tar., 180, xxxix, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *harte* : *smart* : *cairt* : *desert*, Tar., 183, xlvi, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *harte* : *partie* : *convert* : *darte*, Tar., 190, li, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *smart* : *deserte*, Tar., 196, lxi, 10 : 12. In all of these original *e* rhymes with original *a*. With them we may put those rhymes where *hart* (*i.e.*, *heart*) rhymes with (i) words having earlier *e*—*i.e.*, *desert* : *divert* : *heart* : *convert*, I, 7, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *hart* : *auert*, Tr., 24, 11 : 12 ; Tar., 172, 10 : 12 ; *hart* : *desert*, Tr., 33, 181 : 182 ; Tar., 146, ix, 10 : 12 ; Son., 256, 1 : 3 ; *hart* : *convert*, Tr., 69, 49 : 50 ; 95, 347 : 348 ; *subvert* : *hart*, Tr. 77, 7 : 8 ; Ps., 299, 126 : 127 ; *harte* : *advert*, Tar., 142, v, 1 : 3 ; *invert* : *harte*, Tar., 153, xix, 1 : 3 ; *harte* : *subvert* : *devert* : *converte*, Tar., 154,

6:8:9:11; and (ii) words having earlier *a*—*i.e.*, *depairt*: *hart*, Tr., 82, 151:152; *hairt*: *part*, Tar., 151, xvi, 1:3; *harte*: *pairt*, Tar., 168, 1:3; Misc., 310, 1:2; *smart*: *hairt*, Death, 241, 38:40; *smart*: *hart*, Tr., 24, 3:4.

The *-ai-* spellings in these lists, to which should be added *chair* (Fr. *char*), *chairge*, *dairt*, *guaird*, *lairger*, *rewaird*, *wairning*, suggest that the vowel had been lengthened, though they give no clue to its quality. As far as their evidence goes, it could have been either  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$  slack. The evidence of the rhymes now to be given suggests, however, that when the consonant following *r* was *d*, the vowel was definitely a front vowel—*i.e.*, *prepaird*: *regaird*, Tr., 29, 79:80; *garde*: *cairde* (vb.), Tr., 71, 117:118; *declaird*: *regaird*, Tr., 91, 127:128; *regaird*: *caird* (vb.), Tr., 115, 93:94; 120, 69:70. In all of these we have a noun rhyming with a past participle whose vowel was certainly  $\bar{e}$  tense.

The spelling of the words in this group conforms pretty closely to that of Standard English. One occasional spelling, however, seems to confirm the view here put forth that in the combinations *-art*, *-ert*, the vowel had been fronted. It is *merche* from Fr. *marcher*.

*E* occurs, where Standard English now has *a*, in *meruell*, *meruellous*, *merk*, *querrel*, *sterkness*, *sterue*. These all had *e* in common M.E. The following words which show *a* where *e* is now found may be Southern forms now obsolete—*parfitly*, *presarue*, *sarue*, *sarueice*, *tarrace*, *vniuarsall*. *Desart* as well as *desert* is found. For the forms of *heart*, see the Glossary. *Marchand* and *merchandise* retain the French vowel. *Harralds* is found as well as *herroulds*. *Wark* is the normal M.Sc. form; *werk* is a survival of the earlier spelling; *wourk* and *wurk* are Southern forms, showing the rounding after *w* which did not occur in Sc. *Starne* is from O.N. *stjarna* (Flom, *Scandinavian Influence in Southern Lowland Scotch*, 1900, p. 65). *Wark*, *warld*, and *warst* show the change of *e* before *r*: *consonant* to *a*.

Since *reward* rhymes with *regard*—*e.g.*, Doubt., 347, 13:15; 351, 10:12—its vowel must have developed some way towards  $\bar{e}$  tense. But there is some fluctuation in its rhyme-words. Thus, in the rhyme *debard*: *rewarde*, Doubt., 351, 29:30, the vowel is probably  $\bar{a}$ , since *debar*, being a sixteenth century borrowing, must have had this sound. This, then, is a Southern rhyme. The same is probably true of the rhyme *carde* (sb.): *rewarde*, Doubt., 351, 17:18, since the normal Sc. form is *carte*, not *card*; but the modern dialect form tends to have a slack front vowel. The rhyme *hard* (adv.): *rewarde* occurs at Misc., 329, xxi, 3:4.

17. *Influence of w-*. In Scots in the combination *wa-* the vowel has never been rounded as in Southern English, and the following rhymes exhibit the unrounded vowel still heard in the modern dialect—*skant*: *want*, Tr., 44, 201:202; Doubt., 387, 290:291; *wand*: *demand*, Tr., 100, 87:88; *want*: *hant*, Tr., 107, 79:80; *plant*: *want*, Tr., 113, 31:32; *wand*: *stand*, Tr., 119, 25:26; *sand*: *wand*, Tar., 153, xix, 5:7; *Swanne*: *Pan*, Misc., 312, 21:22. For other examples, see under *a:r:cons* and also under *S*. *Wadge* may be an example of the change, peculiar to Scots, of *e* to *a* after *w*.

18. In certain words of French origin *a* replaces original *e*. This change probably indicates the presence of a nasalised vowel. Such words are *panse*, *pansive*, *rancounter* (cf. *rencontre*), *vander*, *tranches*.

19. E. Normally *e* represents etymological *e*; this has more or less the same distribution in Scots as in Southern English. But in certain classes of words Fowler has *e* where Standard English has another vowel. (i) *e* where Standard English has *a*—*afterhend*, *bleddars*, *blekked*, *cled*, *cregs*, *efter*, *end*, *gled*, *kekling*, *leddars*, *revish*, *revishment*, *mess*, *sclemdrouslie* (cf. *sclaunder*), *stendeth*, *suedlin*. But the *a* forms are to be found side by side with these. *Creddil* must belong here, representing the development of an Anglian form with a short vowel. (ii) *e* in stressed syllables where Standard English has *i*—*cheualrie*, *contenew*, *contenuance*, *contenuallye*, *denner*, *ferme*, *imprent*, *kendle*, *prence*, *prencipall*, *recher*, *senews*, *sence*, *sex*, *whether*, *wethereth*. The *e* in the first syllable of *verteous*, *vertew*, is the M.E. vowel. In the stem syllable of *veseble*, *vnuesible*, the *e* may represent *i* under French influence. *Presoneir* is the M.E. form with *e*.

*E* is represented by (a) *ea* in *altogeahter*, *breatheren*, *creaste*, *deargy*, *earst*, *hearbs*, *hearinges*, *ieasts*, *leaper*, *reakning*, *togeahter*, *wheather*, *yealowe*; (b) by *ei* in *eirnest*, and *leirned*; and (c) by *i* in *extrimities*, *lipers*, *mirrie*, *nixt*, *proginitous*, *rid*, *shiphirdd*, *swipt*, *tidiousnes*, *togither*, *trible*, *trimblinglie*, *whither*, *yit*.

The rhyme *freind* : *commend*, Tr., 98, 37 : 38, must be due to Southern influence, because the first of these rhyme-words has always had a long vowel in Scots. It is not clear whether the spelling *frind* represents the Scots form or is simply a scribal slip.

20.  $\bar{E}$ . There were in M.Sc., as in M.E., two  $\bar{e}$  sounds; a tense and a slack. Heuser showed (*Anglia*, XVIII., pp. 114-128; XIX., pp. 319-347) that the distinction between them was pretty carefully observed in rhyme down to the beginning at least of the sixteenth century. Fowler's evidence, however, suggests that by 1600 they had fallen together. (a) The same spellings, *e*, *ea*, *ee*, *ei*, and *ie*, are used indifferently for both. Of these, *e* and *ei* are taken over from M.Sc.; *ea*, *ee*, and *ie* are borrowed from Southern English. Thus, *head* not only represents modern *head*, which had originally  $\bar{e}$  slack, but also modern *head*, which had  $\bar{e}$  tense; similarly, *sie* can stand for modern *sea* or *see*. (b) More important than the evidence of spelling, which is not conclusive, because in M.Sc. both  $\bar{e}$  tense and  $\bar{e}$  slack were spelled alike, is the evidence of rhymes. Thus we have (i)  $\bar{e}$  slack rhyming with  $\bar{e}$  tense—*heid* : *speid*, Tr., 50, 75 : 76; *heids* : *deids*, Tr., 101, 121 : 122; *deif* : *greife*, Tar. 146, viii, 9 : 11; *deid* (mod. *dead*) : *bleid*, Doubt., 342, 6 : 8; *dreid* : *neid*, Doubt., 364, 6 : 9; *dread* : *speid*, Doubt., 375, 6 : 8; *teares* : *feares*, Tr., 28, 43 : 44; *eare* : *appeare*, Tr. 80, 79 : 80; *teares* : *heares*, Tr., 83, 159 : 160; *neir* : *appeir*, Tr., 105, 41 : 42; *wearas* : *yeares*, Tr. 130, 109 : 110; *beare* : *heare*, Tar., 153, xix, 1 : 3; *earas* : *feares*, Seq., 215, 2 : 8; *wearas* : *cleare*, Doubt., 353, 2 : 8. (ii)  $\bar{e}$  tense rhyming with  $\bar{e}$  slack—*preist* : *beist*, Tr., 48, 23 : 24; *grene* : *clene*, Tr., 62, 131 : 132; *seik* : *speik*, Ps., 277, 59 : 60; *releif* : *deif*, Tar., 146, viii, 9 : 11; *beyne* : *cleane*, Doubt., 379, 18 : 20; *bleid* : *dreid*, Doubt., 364, 8 : 9; *appeare* : *beare*, Tr., 28, 55 : 56;

*feare* : *eare*, Tr., 68, 47 : 48 ; *heir* : *weir* (mod. *weary*), Tr., 132, 181 : 182 ; *feares* : *teares*, Tar., 147, xi, 10 : 12 ; *feare* : *neire*, Tar., 148, xiii, 1 : 3 ; *appeirs* : *eares*, Tar., 184, 2 : 4.

There can be little doubt that the new value of these two vowels was  $\bar{i}$ . Heuser has shown (*Anglia*, XIX., p. 408) that M.Sc.  $\bar{e}$  tense had become  $\bar{i}$  by Lindsay's time, so that if  $\bar{e}$  slack had coalesced with the other  $\bar{e}$  sound it must have been by advancing to the same position. Clear proof of this development in the rhymes can only be found for two positions. (i) Earlier  $\bar{e}$  rhyming with  $\bar{i}$  in final position—*philosophie* : *be*, Tr., 31, 137 : 138 ; *sie* (mod. *sea*) : *infamie*, Tr., 46, 241 : 242 ; *me* : *supplie*, Tr., 54, 173 : 174 ; *sea* : *Scicilie*, Tr. 101, 99 : 100 ; *die* : *Italie*, Tr., 111, 191 : 192 ; *be* : *eternitie*, Tr., 120, 59 : 60 ; *eye* : *supplie*, Son., 262, xvi, 6 : 8 ; *frie*, *supplie*, Ps., 294, 91 : 92. All the words here which had an  $\bar{e}$  vowel in common M.E. had  $\bar{e}$  tense, except *sea*, which had  $\bar{e}$  slack. It should perhaps be noted here that the spelling *ie* for earlier  $\bar{e}$  is seldom found anywhere except finally, and on the analogy of these rhymes must usually stand for  $\bar{i}$ . Hence this sound will also be found in *degrie*, *degre* ; *flie* ; *frie* ; *agrie*, *agree* ; *three*, *thrie* ; *tree*, *trie*. (ii) Before *r*. The crucial rhyme-word here is *reteir*, which, being a sixteenth century borrowing from French, must have then had  $\bar{i}$ . Hence those words which can be connected with it by rhyme must also have had  $\bar{i}$ . The actual rhymes in which it appears are *feire* : *reteire*, Tar., 183, xlvi, 1 : 3 ; *appeares* : *spheres* : *reteirs* : *teaves*, Tar., 156, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7 ; *reteire*, *steire* : *cleire*, Seq., 218, 4 : 5 : 7 ; *reteir* : *inteir*, Tr., 129, 93 : 94 ; *reteir* : *pyre* (mod. *pyre*), Tr., 61, 95 : 96. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that M.Sc.  $\bar{e}$  before *r* had everywhere become  $\bar{i}$ . The rhymes, *desyre* : *retyre* : *aspyre* : *hyre*, Doubt., 349, 14 : 16 : 17 : 19, where *reteire* rhymes with words having original  $\bar{i}$ , suggest that the diphthongisation of this vowel was still far from complete in Scots by 1600, if indeed it had begun.

Notes :—

- (i) Rhymes like *cheare* : *weir*, Tr., 105, 29 : 30, and *eares* : *weres* : *apperes*, Seq., 215, 2 : 4 : 5, show the normal development of the M.E. form with a long vowel, a development which took place only in the Northern dialects. The Southern dialects preferred the form with a short vowel, which has given the modern English *war*. Fowler has it in the following rhyme positions—*war* : *Mouniferrar*, Tr., 60, 55 : 56, and *iarrs* : *warrs*, Tr., 116, 115 : 116. The rhyme, *conferr* : *warr*, Death, 233, 13 : 14, must be a false one.
- (ii) The rhyme, *were* : *feare*, Ps., 288, 19 : 20, is unusual, for normally Fowler rhymes *were* with words having *e*—*e.g.*, *wer* : *err*, Tr., 58, 11 : 12 ; 102, 135 : 136 ; *wer* : *infer*, Tr., 108, 111 : 112.
- (iii) The rhymes, *eares* : *cairs*, Death, 241, 33 : 35, and *geare* : *fayre*, Doubt., 353, 13 : 14, are unusual.
- (iv) It has to be noted that some words have a spellings as well as *e* ones—*e.g.*, we find *apparence* beside *appeirance* ; *nar*, *narrest* beside *ner*, *nerrest* ; and *wair* beside *weir* (mod. *war*). Only one of these spellings occurs in rhyme position—*i.e.*, *Februar* :

*bewar* : *nar* : *far*, Son., 269, xxiv, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11, and there its quality is undoubtedly *a*. These spellings may point to the fact that the change to  $\bar{i}$  had not yet completely established itself.

- (v) *Reherse* and *verse* seem to have had  $\bar{i}$ , since they rhyme with words which had this vowel—*e.g.*, *reherse* : *ferse*, Tr., 45, 227 : 228 ; 101, 117 : 118 ; *verse* : *perse*, Tr., 62, 109 : 110 ; 93, 203 : 204 ; but *verse* : *perse* : *reherse* : *sperse*, Tar., 136, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7.
- (vi) It is possible that many words which had  $\bar{e}$  slack in Southern M.E. had  $\bar{e}$  tense in M.Sc., since they came from Anglian forms with  $\bar{e}$ , while the Southern forms came from West Saxon  $\bar{a}$ .
- (vii) The pl. *eyes* has two different values in rhyme position. (a) It rhymes with words which had originally  $\bar{e}$  but now had  $\bar{i}$ —*e.g.*, *eyes* : *seis*, Tr., 91, 123 : 124 ; *forsees* : *eyes*, Tr., 72, 143 : 144 ; *eyes* : *degreis*, Tr., 104, 5 : 6 ; *freise* : *eyes* : *pleise* : *sees*, Tar., 183, xlvi, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7 ; *eyes* : *treis*, Tar., 210, lxxiv, 1 : 3 ; *eyes* : *pleayse* : *decreyes* : *sees*, Son., 220, 5 : 7 : 8 : 11 ; *eyes* : *seaes*, Son., 269, xxiii, 5 : 7. In these cases it has its Northern value. That this was  $\bar{i}$  receives some confirmation from the spelling *frise* for *freise* (mod. *freeze*). (b) It rhymes with words which originally had  $\bar{i}$ —*e.g.*, *eyes* : *cryes*, Tar., 140, 1 : 3 ; 180, xxxix, 13 : 14 ; *aryse* : *eyeis*, Son., 251, 5 : 6 ; *devyse* : *eyes* : *applies*, Doubt., 356, 6 : 8 : 11 ; *eyes* : *skyes*, Doubt., 366, 41 : 43 ; *eyes* : *devyse*, Doubt., 369, 30 : 32 ; *eyes* : *devyse* : *aryse* : *denyes*, Doubt., 375, 12 : 14 : 15 : 17 ; *eyes* : *miseries*, Doubt., 390, 11 : 12. If these are not Southern rhymes, a conclusion suggested by the fact that most of them comes from the *Poems of Doubtful Authenticity*, where Southern influence is most marked, then they may be a reason to believe that in Fowler's time M.Sc.  $\bar{i}$  had not yet been fully diphthongised, as it had been in Southern English. (N.B.—The rhyme, *eyes* : *rayes*, Tar., 154, 1 : 3, is most unusual.)
- (viii) Since *de*, *die* ; *ee*, *eye* ; and *lie* (*i.e.*, to tell lies), rhyme with words which had earlier  $\bar{e}$ , it is probable that to Fowler their vowel was  $\bar{i}$ , the vowel they still have in the modern dialect—*e.g.*, *sie* : *ee*, Tr., 36, 3 : 4 ; *die* : *be*, Tr., 40, 85 : 86 ; *me* : *die*, Tr., 90, 103 : 104 ; *see* : *dee*, Seq., 216, 13 : 14 ; *sea* : *eye*, Misc., 317, 10 : 12 ; *leyes* : *seis*, Misc., 328, xix, 3 : 4. But *lie* (*i.e.*, to recline) rhymes with words which had original  $\bar{i}$ —*e.g.*, *ly* : *by*, Tr., 45, 229 : 230 ; *tye* : *lye*, Tr., 73, 167 : 168.
- (ix) The rhyme, *fledd* : *neid*, Doubt., 380, 62 : 64, is unusual.
- (x) Spellings like *diffeirred*, *peirish*, *prefeiv*, may show early lengthening of *e* before *r*. (Wright, *E.N.E. Gr.*, § 112.)

21. A number of words in Fowler have  $\bar{e}$  tense where  $\bar{i}$  might be expected. Two considerations support this conclusion. (i) Many of these words appear in two forms, one with an *a* spelling, the other with an

*e* spelling. In the French words at least the first of these forms is the older in Scots, and the *e* forms will then be due to Southern influence. Such *a* spellings in French words are due to the fact that in *e. M.Sc.* the French diphthongs, *ai*, *ei*, coalesced and were then monophthongised to *ā* (Jordan, *Handbuch der mittelenenglischen Grammatik: Erster Teil*. Heidelberg, 1925. § 23, Anm. 2), and therefore did not have in *M.Sc.* the *ē* slack which they had in Middle English. Words of this class are: (a) French—*appaisit*, *appesed*; *concait*, *conceat*; *consawe*, *conceawe*; *desait*, *deceat*; *laseur*, *lesour*; *persaweth*, *perceawe*; *rasawe*, *receawe*; *rasonit*, *ressoun*; *revaile*, *reveillis*; *trasoun*, *tressonable*. In addition, *paecce*, *peace*, and *saesoun*, *seasoun*, should be included here, since *ae* most often has the value of *ē* tense. (b) Native—*aither*, *ether*; *daith*, *death*; *haith*, *heathe*; *havie*, *heuely*; *nather*, *neither*; *sait*, *seat*. (c) Scandinavian—*waik*, *weak*. That this was the sound heard in these words is supported by rhymes—*e.g.*, *grawe*: *conceawe*, Tr., 70, 87:88; *reveillis*: *bewaillis*, Tr., 92, 173:174; *face*: *place*: *space*: *peace*, Tar., 158, 2:4:5:7; *conceate*: *late*: *fate*: *estate*, Tar., 191, liii, 6:8:9:11; *state*: *seat*, Ps. 284, 57:58; *crave*, *receawe*, Misc., 313, 34:36. In this group must also be included *breath* and *wreath* (mod. *wrath*), since they regularly rhyme with *death*. (ii) For a number of other words there is only the evidence of rhyme—*e.g.*, *hate*: *repeate*, Tr., 49, 63:64; *faide*: *dreide*: *wayde*: *maid*, Tar., 149, xiv, 2:4:5:7; *efface*: *disgrace*: *release*: *cease*, Tar., 172, 6:8:9:11; *prevayle*: *conceale*: *bayle*: *zeale*, Tar., 192, liv, 6:8:9:11; *appeale*: *zeale*: *vayle*: *conceale*, Tar., 196, lxi, 2:4:5:7; *ortayne*: *leane*, Tar., 197, lxii, 1:3; *leave*: *grave*, Son., 253, 13:14; *grave*: *bereave*, Son., 261, 6:8; *meane*: *pertaine*, Ps., 278, 109:110; *vaynes*: *meanes*, Doubt., 373, 122:124. But that there was still a certain amount of fluctuation in the value of the vowel is shown by comparing the last two of these rhymes with the following—*vnseene*: *meane*, Tar., 138, ii, 13:14, and *mene*: *bene*, Ps., 288, 17:18, where the vowel can hardly be anything but *ī*.

*Note*.—The rhyme, *greik*: *spak*, Tr., 114, 59:60, seems a forced one.

The normal rhymes for these words are (a) *greik*: *eik*, Tr., 48, 21:22, and *seike*: *Greik*, Doubt., 381, 94:96; (b) *spak*: *sak*, Tr., 79, 73:74. With *greace* (mod. *Greece*): *place*, Tr., 105, 37:38, should be compared *grece*: *fleice*, Doubt., 362, 59:60.

22. The fluctuation between *ē* tense and *ī*, referred to at the close of the last paragraph, is also apparently to be found in verbs compounded with Sc. *-tene*, Eng. *-tain*—*e.g.*, *abstene*, *apperteine*, *attene*, *constrened*, *contening*, *detene*, *entertene*, *mantene*, *obtene*, *perteine*, *retene*, *susteane*. These spellings all represent the A.N. form with *ē* tense, which was later dropped in Southern English in favour of the forms with the diphthong *ai* or *ei*, and should have developed *ī*, as indeed they did, though none of them is given in Warrack's *Chambers's Scots Dialect Dictionary*. Cf. Scott, *The Antiquary*, ch. 26: "A feckless thing like you's no fit to maintean a man." They have, however, been replaced in Scots by the Southern forms in *-ai-*, which still have normally, even among educated speakers, *ē* tense for their vowel. In Fowler the substitution seems already to have proceeded some way. Thus,

the *-ai-* forms are much commoner than the *-e-* ones, and where we can check the value of an *-e-* spelling it is more often  $\bar{e}$  tense than the  $\bar{i}$  it would have been if it had followed the normal development of M.Sc.  $\bar{e}$  tense—*e.g.*, (a) rhymes with  $\bar{e}$  tense—*obteane : trane*, Tr., 78, 33 : 34; *susteande : reteand : gaynde : staynde*, Tar., 183, xlv, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11; *reanes : traynes : susteanes : vaynes*, Tar., 188, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7; *disdaine : obteane*, Death, 243, 10 : 12; *ortayne : leane*, Tar., 197, lxii, 1 : 3; *meane : pertaine*, Ps., 278, 109 : 110; (b) rhymes with  $\bar{i}$ —*sene : detene*, Tr., 130, 127 : 128; *vnseene : maintene*, Ps., 276, 43 : 44.

Another case of fluctuation in sound, this time between *e* and  $\bar{i}$ , seems to occur with the word *breast*. Normally, Fowler rhymes it with words having *e*—*e.g.*, *breist : molest*, Tr., 88, 63 : 64; *express : breist*, Tr., 57, 263 : 264; *breist . distrest*, Tar., 164, 10 : 12; *breist : deteste*, Doubt., 343, 7 : 8. But thrice he rhymes it with words which may have had  $\bar{i}$ —*i.e.*, *preist : breist*, Tr., 48, 23 : 24; *breastes : feastes*, Son., 268, 3 : 5; *breaste : least*, Son., 269, xxiii, 6 : 8. The rhyme, *breast : creast* (= crest), Doubt., 371, 34 : 36, probably means that in the second rhyme-word there has occurred in M.Sc. a lengthening of A.Fr. *e* before *-st* where it did not take place in Southern English.

23. Verbs compounded with *-creft* (Eng. *-crease*) seem to fluctuate between *e* and  $\bar{e}$  tense. Thus, on one hand, we have such rhymes as *increft : left*, Tr., 118, 15 : 16; Tar., 180, xl, 10 : 12; *possest : increst*, Tr., 109, 133 : 134; *decreft : suppreft*, Seq., 221, 10 : 12, and *profesft : decreft*, Misc., 315, 90 : 92; on the other hand we have rhymes like *disgrace : increft*, Tr., 114, 53 : 54; *chase . recreate*, Tr., 80, 81 : 82; *trace : increase*, Tr., 96, 373 : 374; *increase . efface : disgrace : displace*, Tar., 164, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11. The rhyme, *breist : chist*, Doubt., 378, 54 : 56, is exceptional.

24. Rhymes like *heid* (mod. *head*) : *speid*, Tr., 50, 75 : 76, show that those words which had  $\bar{e}$  in M.E., but which have since had their vowel in Standard English shortened, had in Scots at the end of the sixteenth century, the long vowel they still mostly have in the dialect. They further suggest that the value of the vowel was even now what it generally is to-day—namely,  $\bar{i}$ ; but *sweat* may have fluctuated between this sound and  $\bar{e}$  tense, for beside the rhyme, *sweit : fleit*, Doubt., 367, 19 : 20, we find the rhyme, *sweat : deceat*, Tr., 131, 153 : 154, and, as has been shown above, *deceat* could have  $\bar{e}$ ; but this rhyme is equally evidence that it could have  $\bar{i}$ .

25. The spellings, *acqueir*, *beare* (mod. *bier*), *brier*, *freiris*, *queare*, are the M.E. forms with  $\bar{e}$  tense. The present Standard English forms are sixteenth century refashionings.

26. The spellings, *freinzeis*, *preason*, *wreast*, *wreath*, are forms with M.E. *e* which has undergone lengthening and become  $\bar{e}$  tense. Cf. the rhymes, *reason : preasoun*, Tar., 164, 13 : 14; *season : preason*, Misc., 321, 3 : 4.

27. Rhymes like *streache : impeache*, Ps., 277, 73 : 74, and *reach : streach*, Doubt., 354, 3 : 4, suggest that Fowler's form of *stretch* had the long vowel heard in it to-day in the dialect.

28. These spellings show the development in M.E. of *i* to *ē*—*dreven*, *geue*, *leue*, *steire*, *wedow*, *weked* (Wright, *E.N.E. Gr.*, § 85, 2). But that by Fowler's time the vowel had become *ī* seems settled by the rhymes—*e.g.*, (*a*) rhyming with original *ī* of French origin—*reviue* : *liue*, *Tar.*, 207, 1 : 3 ; *liue* : *surviue*, *Tr.*, 118, 11 : 12 ; (*b*) rhyming with earlier *ē* tense—*grewe* : *lewe*, *Tr.*, 38, 41 : 42 ; 90, 109 : 110 ; *liue* : *griue*, *Tr.*, 44, 209 : 210 ; *belewe* : *liue*, *Tr.*, 96, 375 : 376 ; *giue* : *beliue*, *Tr.*, 93, 193 : 194. *Heaven*, *seaven*, and *thriuen* are associated in rhyme position with some of these—*e.g.*, at *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 1 : 3 ; xxv, 13 : 14 ; 184, xlviii, 13 : 14 ; *Son.*, 264, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11 ; *Ps.*, 290, 55 : 56. *Niue* and *sive* also rhyme with them.

29. *Great* has four spellings—*ie.*, *great*, *greit*, *grat*, *grit* (of which the first two are by far the most common, except in the *Answer to Hammiltoun* where the normal form is the last), and three values in rhyme—*i.e.*, (*a*) rhyming with words having *ē* tense. This is the most common, and occurs at the following places : *Tr.*, 81, 103 : 104 ; 120, 53 : 54 ; 101, 105 : 106 ; 111, 197 : 198 ; 122, 125 : 126 ; *Tar.*, 179, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7 ; 210, lxxiii, 10 : 12. Here we appear to be dealing with the Standard English form, which is of obscure origin. (*b*) Rhyming with *ī* at *Tar.*, 199, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7. This form would seem to be that which ought normally to have developed from the M.E. form with *ē* slack. (*c*) Rhyming with *i* at *Misc.*, 328, xix, 1 : 2. The origin of this form is obscure, if the rhyme is not an eye-rhyme only.

30. I. Fowler provides nothing of interest for the history of *i*.

31. *Ī*. In the discussion of the development of earlier *ē* it was shown<sup>1</sup> that there are a number of cases where the new vowel rhymes with earlier *ī*—*i.e.*, in final rhymes, of which *eyes* is really a special case, in the rhymes to *entire*, and in the rhymes of *give* and *live*. These rhymes are too numerous to be either accidental or false. If they were deliberate and were good to Fowler, they lead to the conclusion that *ī* had not yet been diphthongised in Scots and that it was still a pure vowel with its M.E. value ; or, if diphthongisation had begun, it was not yet generally accepted as correct. It is not surprising that many of the rhyme-words in these groups should be of French origin, for they were introduced into English at a time when, it is generally accepted, M.E. *ī* had already begun to be diphthongised in Southern English. But a number of the rhyme-words are of native origin. This is a phenomenon that seems to demand further investigation. That it is not peculiar to Fowler is shown by such a rhyme as *bein* : *diuine*, in his contemporary Hume (*Works*, S.T.S. ed., p. 23). Normally *ī* rhymes with itself, without any distinction being made between words of native or of French origin.

32. O. Fowler gives no assistance towards the history of this vowel in Scots, except that spellings like *wourds* ; *wourk*, *wurk* ; *wourth*, *wurth*, and rhymes like *furth* : *wurth*, *Tr.*, 43, 165 : 166 ; *Misc.*, 326, xv (*b*), 10 : 11 ; *wurk* : *lurk*, *Tr.*, 57, 263 : 264, suggest that he was familiar

<sup>1</sup> Par. 20 and 28.

with the rounding of the vowel in the combination *wo* : *cons*. But compare *wormes* : *performes*, Tar., 193, lviii, 1 : 3. *Mony* and *ony* show Sc. rounding of *a* to *o*.

33.  $\bar{O}$ . Fowler carefully distinguishes earlier  $\delta$  tense from earlier  $\bar{o}$  slack. Each rhymes only with itself, and the cases where they seem to rhyme with each other are susceptible of explanation. (i) Rhymes like *know* : *grow*, Tr., 52, 137 : 138—which are Southern rhymes in Fowler—where the *ow* represented two diphthongs originally differing in their first element, show that Fowler either went by eye, or that in the form of spoken English with which he was familiar the two diphthongs had coalesced. Further, rhymes like *goe* : *knoe*, Tr., 111, 203 : 204 ; *soe* : *orthroe*, Pest, 304, 17 : 19, show that for him this combination had the same value as that which earlier  $\bar{o}$  slack had acquired. (ii) *Two* rhymes only with words which had  $\bar{o}$  slack in M.E.—e.g., *go* : *two*, Tr., 33, 179 : 180 ; *wo* : *two*, Tr., 39, 67 : 68 ; Pest, 304, 14 : 16—though in the Southern dialects of M.E. it had  $\delta$  tense. But this rhyming of Fowler's is in accordance with the practice of Middle Scots poets—e.g., Dunbar.<sup>1</sup> (iii) The fact that *lose* always rhymes with words which had originally  $\bar{o}$  slack shows that we are dealing not with the Southern form which had  $\delta$  tense and gave the Standard English *lose*, but with the ancestor of the modern dialect form which has  $\bar{o}$  tense.

34. The development of M.E.  $\bar{o}$  tense came to be written *u*, in M.Sc. later *ui*. The following cases of these spellings occur in Fowler : (a) in words of native origin—*behuifit*, *bluid*, (*vn*)*bludie*, *buik*, *bwir*, *chwise*, *crwiked*, *dur*, *forsuith*, *fruit*, *fwie*, *gud(e)*, *guid*, *gudlie*, *luif*, *luik*, *lwik*, *mwide*, *ruit*, *shute*, *stwide*, *tuik*, *vnderstuid*, *uther* ; (b) in words of French origin—*bruche*, *dullfull*, *fwirde*, *mwiff*, *prwiff*, *pwir*, *pwrelie*, *repruif*. It is represented by *eu* in *heuk* and *teuthless*, by *i* in *fit*, and by *ou* in *roume* and *soume*.

35. These instances occur of words with earlier  $\bar{o}$  tense rhyming with words which had originally some other vowel : (i) with O.E.  $\bar{u}$ —*forsooke*, *brooke*, Tr., 115, 95 : 96 ; *proud* : *mou'd*, Doubt., 388, 7 : 8 ; (ii) with O.Fr.  $\bar{u}$  : *exclude* : *gude*, Tr., 63, 141 : 142 ; *floods* : *includes*, Tr., 123, 139 : 140 ; *denud* : *good*, Ps., 279, 119 : 120 ; *poove* : *indure*, Ps., 291, 19 : 20 ; *rebuik* : *looke*, Seq., 229, 13 : 14 ; (iii) with O.Fr.  $\bar{u}i$ —*rwit* : *fruitt*, Tr., 61, 103 : 104. In the following cases original M.E.  $\bar{o}$  tense rhymes with words which had developed this vowel from earlier *u* (see Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, § 469)—*lookt* : *smoke*, Tr., 95, 335 : 336 ; *booke* : *looke* : *smoke*, Tar., 210, lxxiii, 2 : 4 : 7 (where *smoke* is from an earlier *smuca*) ; *woodes* : *floods*, Tr., 53, 151 : 152 ; Doubt., 371, 50 : 52 ; *wood* : *blood*, Doubt., 373, 118 : 120 ; *come* : *dome* (mod. *doom*), Tr., 114, 49 : 50 ; also numerous instances of *love* and *above* rhyming with *move*, *prove*, and similar words, hardly a page being without an example. The rhymes to *flood* and *good* above, and the others found throughout the poems, show that they had still a long vowel. Rhymes like *come* : *Rome*, 31, 117 : 118 ; Tr., 99, 67 : 68 ;

<sup>1</sup> The vowel here is the one which was found in M.E. before it was made tense by the preceding *w*. Wright, *E.N.E. Gr.* (1924), § 75, 3.)

and *Rome* : *dome* (mod. *doom*), Tr., 109, 155 : 156, show that we have here the older form of the proper name, the one which makes the pun in *Julius Cæsar*, Act I., Sc. 2 : "Now is it Rome indeed and room enough."

*One* regularly rhymes with words which earlier had *ō* slack and which now probably had *ō* tense—e.g., *one* : *stone*, Tr., 29, 81 : 82 ; *one* : *expone*, Ps., 295, 9 : 10. Cf. *ones* (mod. *once*) : *stones*, Tr., 86, 13 : 14.

*Among* rhymes regularly with words which had *o* from earlier *a* before nasals—e.g., *strong* : *among*, Tr., 43, 161 : 162 ; 74, 189 : 190 ; *wrong* : *among*, Tr., 106, 53 : 54.

*Abhor* rhymes with words which had a long vowel at Tar., 206, 1 : 3 ; and Seq., 222, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11, and *frost* with words which had a long vowel—e.g., Tar., 146, viii, 1 : 3 ; Seq., 218, 13 : 14 ; Tr., 63, 151 : 152.

The rhyme, *from* : *blome*, Doubt., 340, 45 : 47, must be a forced one.

36. It is generally held (Wyld, *Short History of English*, 3rd ed., 1929, § 163) that in M.Sc. earlier *ō* tense became *ū* from the fact that (a) it rhymes with words of French origin which had *ū*, and (b) its later development in the dialect demands this change. But it must still be doubtful if it so changed everywhere, and from the fact that Fowler rhymes words which originally had *ū* with words which had originally *ū*, and which had it in his pronunciation, it seems likely that in his speech *ū* had been retracted and had become identical with *ū*. For such rhymes, see under *Ū*. The usual development of *ū* has been to *i*, except before *r* where it has become almost *ē* tense. There are suggestions that Fowler knew the first of these pronunciations—e.g., in the spelling *fit* for *fool*, and in *together* : *brother*, Son., 262, xv, 15 : 16, which can be good only if we assume that the first syllable of *brother* had *i* for its vowel. *Together* is also written with *i* in the penult.

37. *o* : *l* (final), and *o* : *l* : *cons*. In Fowler such spellings as *bold*, *cold*, *hold*, *fold*, *old*, *told*, and *wold* are of Southern origin, the Scots form of these words being spelled with *a* ; but these Scots spellings are, except in the *Answer to Hammiltoun*, the exception rather than the rule in our author. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the original M.E. vowel, whose value was that of *ō* slack, became the diphthong *ou*, sometimes represented in spelling, sometimes not. Now Fowler has *ou* as well as *o* spellings for these words, but that they both represented the same sound is shown by such cross-rhymes as *cold* : *wold* : *vnfoulde* : *vold*, Tar., 197, lxii, 2 : 4 : 5 : 7 ; *extold* : *vnfould* : *invould* : *bould*, Son., 257, 6 : 8 : 9 : 11, and *bould* : *hold*, Doubt., 383, 146 : 148. It seems likely that Fowler heard a diphthong here since it was common in contemporary Elizabethan pronunciation. And only on such an assumption can we justify such a rhyme as *vnfoulde* (mod. *unfouled*) : *colde*, Doubt., 381, 70 : 72, since the first of these rhyme-words had *ū* in earlier English, while the vowel of the second is descended from O.E. *ū*, but both could have had, about 1600, the same diphthong in Southern English. The presence in rhyme of words like *vold* and *extold* shows that the change had extended to words in which *ō* slack stood before a final *l*(*l*). That the sound in these words was a diphthong is further suggested by the presence in rhyme of *gold* and *soul*, which have a

diphthong in many parts of Scotland to-day—*e.g.*, *Tr.*, 82, 137:138; 45, 221:222; 54, 187:188; 78, 23:24; *Doubt.*, 365, 2:4:5:7 for *gold*, and *Ps.*, 278, 93:94; 286, 147:148, for *soul*. But against this we must put such a rhyme as *snow: row* (mod. *roll*), *Tr.*, 84, 207:208, which can only be good if we assume a vowel instead of a diphthong, for it is inconceivable that in Scots at this time *snow* could have had a diphthong. This is the only place in rhyme where we have evidence of the loss of final *l*. (For the instances of its omission in spelling, see below under *L*.) The presence in rhymes of such past participles as *extold* and *unfould*, where the *d* is not organic but is only an inflectional letter, suggests that the development of the vowel to a diphthong, in those words in the modern dialect where the *l* has been lost, preceded that loss of a consonant, and was not, as Gregory Smith seems to hold (*Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. xxiv, 18, *ii*), a compensation for its disappearance.

The rhyme, *resolud* (mod. *resolved*): *unfould*, *Misc.*, 313, 38:40, must be a false rhyme.

38. U. M.E. *u*, often written *o*, is represented (i) by *o* in *abondance*, *combred*, *contrye*, *crommes*, *dronkin*, *iovnay*, *most*, *mornfull*, *nomber*, *overtorne*, *soddaine*, *some* (mod. *sum*), *sommer*, *sonday*, *sondrie*, *sone*, *trionph*, *troubles*, *yong*; (ii) by *oo* in *refloorish*; (iii) by *ou* in *aboundance*, *bouchour*, *boucler*, *boundell*, *coulour*, *coupe*, *faboulous*, *houngrie*, *hounted*, *ouglyie*, *secound*, *soiorne*, *soundrie*, *sounday*, *thoundars*, *toung*, *tourne*, *wounnted*, *wounder*; (iv) by *u* in *cullour*, *cumpanie*, *cuntrie*, *curage*, *custume*, *gouverment*, *ludge*, *murne*, *nurisch*, *shulderys*, *smuldred*, *sume*, *trubles*, *wyn*; (v) by *i* in *rin*, *sic*, *sindrie*, *windring*, *wins*. Elsewhere Fowler's spelling for it is the same as that used to-day in Standard English.

39. Normally words with earlier *u* rhyme with each other, but twice *turn* rhymes with earlier *o*—*i.e.*, *overtorne: forlorne: borne: scorne*, *Tar.*, 180, xxxix, 2:4:5:7; *lorne: tourne*, *Doubt.*, 384, 206:208. That these are forced rhymes seems clear from the rhymes in the first six lines of *Tar.*, 193, lvii, *turne: thorne: burne: morne: horne: forlorne*.

40. *Son* and *(un)done*, which had developed *u* in late M.E. or early N.E., rhyme with a variety of earlier sounds, as well as with each other—*e.g.*, (i) with earlier *ō* slack, *son: throne*, *Tr.*, 104, 17:18; *sons: thrones*, *Tr.*, 99, 45:46; *done: tone*, *I*, 9, 10:13; *Death*, 240, 10:12; *tone: vndone: throne*, *Pest*, 304, 2:4:5; (ii) with earlier *ō* tense, *vndone: sone* (mod. *soon*), *Pest*, 304, 4:7; (iii) with earlier *ō*, *sone: conione*, *Tr.*, 48, 35:36; (iv) with earlier *u*, *ronne: vndone*, *Doubt.*, 379, 10:12. The last two of these would be good rhymes in Scots if the earlier vowels had all already become the *i* which appears in modern forms of the dialect. The first two are then Southern rhymes.

41. Ū. Normally M.E. *ū* is written *ou*, but (i) *o* in *accont*, *bond*, *bontie*, *concel*, *cont*, *done*, *devord*, *drone*, *fond*, *fondatioun*, *fontane*, *grond*, *montaine*, *recont*, *renoned*, *resond*, *sondlye*, *surmonts*, *thosand*, *wond*; (ii) *u* in *announcing*, *bund*, *clud*, *confunded*, *denunce*, *discurse*, *fund*, *foundation*, *grund*, *owershrude*, *pronuncis*; (iii) *ou* in *droupe*, *stowpe*, *toumbe*, *troupe*; and (iv) *eu* in *discurse*.

42. That earlier  $\bar{u}$  of whatever origin remained in Fowler's pronunciation seems certain from the cases where *you* and *yours* occur in rhyme; in these words the long vowel has remained from M.E. times (Wright, *E.N.E. Gr.*, § 77, note 1): *houers: yours*, Tar., 183, xlv, 13:14; Son., 256, 13:14; *powers: yours*, Doubt., 349, 34:36; *yow: brow*, Son., 269, xxiv, 10:12; *yow: disavowe: disallowe: now*, Tar., 184, xlvi, 6:8:9:11. An instance of earlier  $\bar{u}$  rhyming with earlier  $\bar{u}$  is *houer: indure*, Tr., 121, 107:108. Normally  $\bar{u}$  rhymes only with itself. Even more interesting is the rhyme, *proud: mou'd*, Doubt., 388, 7:8, which can be good only if we assume the first rhyme-word to have retained its earlier value of  $\bar{u}$ , the value it still has in the dialect, and the second to have developed  $\bar{u}$  out of earlier  $\delta$  tense.

## (b) DIGRAPHS AND DIPHTHONGS.

AE. In *aternised* and *hartis* it stands for *e*, and in *sphære* for  $\bar{i}$ . See also  $\bar{A}$  above, 2 (i).

EA. See  $\bar{A}$ , 2 (ii);  $\bar{E}$ , 20 (a).

EI. See  $\bar{E}$  20 (a), and Vowels of Unstressed Syllables.

EU. This spelling represents M.E. *ui* (written *eu*, *u*, and *ui*) (a) in words of native origin—*hew*, *reuth*, *trew*, *treuth*, *trewis*. (b) In stressed syllables in words of French origin—*abeus*, *adjeur*, *alleure*, *asseure*, *blew* (adj.), *conseume*, *crewell*, *demeur*, *deutie*, *dew* (adj.), *fewell*, *geules*, *glewe*, *isseued*, *obsceureth*, *proceur*, *reseumed*, *reul*, *seceur*, *sew* (mod. *sue*), *subdew*. (c) In French words in syllables now unstressed—*censeur*, *coniecteur*, *departeur*, *docteur*, *gesteur*, *humeur*, *pasteur*, *picteur*, *reskew*, *renew*, *scripteur*, *valeur*, *vertew*, *vigueur*. In *coniectour*, *courious*, *fortoun*, and *plesour* it is replaced by *ou*.

In *eneugh* and *tewche* the *eu*, *ew*, represents the Northern development of O.E.  $\delta h$  when final.

OI. This usually rhymes with itself, but such a rhyme as *defyled: spoyled*, Doubt., 381, 82:84, suggests that the value of *ai* or *ei* for it was not unknown to Fowler. In *Loire*, Son., 257, 14, as the rhyme with *glore* shows, it had its sixteenth century French value of  $\delta$  slack.

OU. See  $\bar{O}$ , U,  $\bar{U}$ . *Lousse* is a Scandinavian form.

## (c) THE VOWELS OF SYLLABLES NOW UNSTRESSED.

No exhaustive treatment is attempted here, the intention being merely to show how unprincipled Fowler's spelling in unstressed syllables is.

(i) In initial syllables:—

*a* for *e*—*anewe*, *aspye*; *a* for *o*—*appone*, *approbris*, *racau*, *ramane*.

*e* for *a*—*effaires*, *effectionat*, *embassadours*; *e* for *i*—*derect*, *destell*, *dewyid*, *deworst*.

*i* for *e*—*dissaitfull*, *dimolished*, *diacent*.

*o* for *u*—*ondefylit*, *onhard*.

(ii) In medial syllables :—

*a* for *i*—*quantaty*; *a* for *o*—*harlatrie*, *ryatous*.

*e* for *i*—*antequitie*, *astonished*, *desteneis*, *famelie*, *hevetable*, *perelt*, *princepalytes*, *priveleges*, *pulpet*, and in the endings *-ible*, *-ify*, *-ity*.

*i* for *e*—*ernistlie*, *interpretations*, *predicessours*.

(iii) In final syllables :—

*a* for *ai*, *ei*—*certane*, *forrane*, *soverane*, *suddane*.

*a* for *e*—*lapstars*.

*e* for *ai*, *ei*—*captan*, *forrene*, *soverene*.

*e* for *a*—*ancar*, *apperance*, *dyell*.

*i* for *e*—*entirt*, *shiphirdd*.

*ei* for *i* in French words in syllables stressed in French but not in English—*credeit*, *demereit*, *doctreine*, *furneis*, *mereit*, *requeiseit*, *proffreit*, *promeis*, *enseinze*.

*ei* for *e* in French words in syllables stressed in French but not in English—*propheit*, *secretit*.

## 2. THE CONSONANTS.

B. (1) added—*hamber* (sb.), *hambers* (vb.); (2) omitted—*chalmer*, *climmeth*, *crommes*, *cummer*, *dum*, *limme*.

C. (1) = *ch* (pronounced *k*) in foreign words—*ancour*; (2) = *s*—*racaue*; (3) = *ch*—*purcessed*; (4) Northern development of O.E. palatal *c* (= Southern *ch*)—*cauff*, *sic*; cf. K.

CH. This has two values. (1) Northern development of O.E. *-h*, *-ht* (= Southern *-gh*, *-ght*)—*althocht*, *aucht*, *boucht*, *brichtnes*, *brocht*, *dochters*, *fechting*, *hyche*, *hicht*, *lauchter*, *licht*, *micht*, *nocht*, *nochttheles*, *nochtwithstanding*, *richt*, *socht*, *slaughters*, *thocht*, *throch*, *through*, *vpricht*, *wectie*, *wrocht*. There are only three instances of *ch* in the poetical works—*i.e.*, *richt* in the *Triumphs* and *nocht* and *nochttheles* in the *Tarantula of Love*. (2) = *tch*—*boache*, *bouchour*, *mach*, *streach*, *wachfull*, *wreched*. This sound is also written in the following ways: (a) *cht*—*cachting*, *dispachte*, *duchte*, *encrochte*, *fechte*, *grucht*, *pichte*, *wreched*, *wrechte*; (b) *chth*—*machthles*, *spechthe*, *wichthes*.

Notes :—

(1) *tch* occurs where the standard language has *ch* in *coutche*, *ratches*, *scortched*, and *toutch*; and *cht* is found for *ch* in *muchte*, *reprochte*, *richte*, *suchte*.

(2) *rychces* and *ritchcs* are probably both attempts at *richtes*; *wrethced* and *wrethched* an attempt at *wreched*. The *cht* in *auctor* is obviously a slip for *cth*.

D. (1) omitted—*brigans*, *hinmest*, *hunder*, *len*, *moulyie*, *skybell*; (2) added—*eymind*, *fordward*, *summond*, *summonds*, *vylid*; (3) = *t*—*marchand*, *plcsand*, *servands*, *strumped*, *warrand*; (4) = *th*—*farder*, *feddered*, *forder*, *togidder*, *vnwordy*, *whidder*; (5) *dg* = Southern *g*—*adge*, *asswadge*, *chandge*, *homadge*, *hudge*, *lardge*, *padge*, *plundge*, *pruiledges*, *radge*, *transchandge*. Only one of the forms, *pruiledges*, Mach., 147, 20, comes from the prose.

F. (1) omitted—*sell* : (2) = *v*—*beleif, fyfe, gaif, gif, graiff, greiff, haif, luif, lyflye, mwiff, prwiff, repruif, tuelf, wyiffes*.

G. (1) omitted—in the pres. ptcs., *callen, existin, gevin, glistren, laughin, schawen, sueddin*, in the sb. *cleithin*, and in the advs. *sighinlie* and *blindlines* ; (2) added—*basin, burdings, butin, cousin, philistin, rissin, samin, vermin*.

Note.—The *g* in *sugect* may represent the Fr. *j*, and that in *butin* (Fr. *butin*) may be due to the analogy of *bootin*.

G. (1) Omitted—*burrows, hie, plouers, ploued, thie, thro, throw, wayed, wey*. (2) Added—*quight, smightes*. (3) Though O.E. *-ht* is much more frequently represented by its Southern development, *-ght*, than by its Northern, *-cht*, which is practically confined to the *Answer to Hammiltoun*, it is probable that the combination had everywhere its Northern rather than its Southern value. Such rhymes as *caught* : *laught*, Tr., 198, 10 : 12, and *through* : *rough*, Ps., 275, 5 : 6, seem conclusive of this. But in *soft* : *wrought*, Tr., 94, 211 : 212, the *-gh-* must have the value of *f*, unless we are dealing with a false rhyme.

H. (1) Omitted—*falseoode, ? forret, housald, ost, youtheid* ; (2) added—*exhaults, habilitie, hony, imphe*.

I. (1) = *g*—*iem* ; (2) = *j*—*iniury, iudaisme, iudge, iustyle, Ivnie*.

K. (1) Northern development of O.E. palatal *c* (= Southern *ch*)—*beseik, kirk, pik, seik* (adj.) ; (2) = O.N. *k* (Southern *gg*)—*stakkring* ; (3) = Southern *c* and *ck*—*kekling*.

L. (1) Omitted—(a) in the combination *ā : l* : *cons.*—*amaist, had, saues, withhadden* ; (b) when final after *ā—sma* ; (c) in the combination *ō : l* : *cons.*—*bowdned, soudart* ; (d) when final after *ō—row* ; (e) in the combination *u : l* : *cons.*—*sud, wofe* ; (2) added as a mark of vowel length—*alknouledged, awalke, chalmer, devoltlye, oulks, oultrageous, poulders, ? Saluioir, sulk* ; (3) '1 mouillé,' written *lz*—*abillzements, assalz, dispoylze, failzein, spuylzei, tailzeours*.

N. (1) Omitted—*uncondemed*. *Drukkin* is of Scandinavian origin. (2) = later *m*—*brinstone, confortd, conpond, conport, enbellish, inbroudeved, reconforted* ; (3) = *ng*—*lenth, strenth* ; (4) 'n mouillé,' written *nz*—*companzon, cunze, enseinze* (also written *enseingze*), *feinzeit, freinzeis, goleinzeis, meinzeit, reinzed, rinzes, spanzart, spanzoll, stainzit, vnfeinzeit* ; the Scottish development of this sound is found in *assingd, assingis, beninge, condin, condinylie, inbeninge, resing, reng, ring, sing*.

Notes :—

- (1) Almost exclusive to the *Doubtful* poems is the device of writing the sign ~ over an 'm' or 'n' which is to be doubled. The instances are—*añoye*, 362, 63 ; *coñon*, 356, 2 ; *deñ*, 345, 3 ; *geñ*, 366, 47 ; *leñett*, 340, 38 ; *lyñes*, 384, 180 ; *peñed*, 372, 84 ; *soñer*, 339, 10 ; *soñond*, 365, 20 ; *soñe* (= son), 370, 15. Twice it seems to be wrongly used—*i.e.*, *comoñ*, 378, 58 ; *doñe*, 370, 8. The only example noted outside of the *Doubtful Poems* is *liñs*, Tr., 88, 64.
- (2) The following spellings of It. '-gn-' deserve notice—*bolonga*, Mach., 93, 32 ; *bullongne*, Mach., 82, 10 ; *belongna*, Tr., 60, 70 ; and (with a wrong initial letter) *Colognie*, Mach., 127, 29 ; *Romagne*, Mach., 82, 31 ; *romagnye*, Mach., 85, 23 ;

*romainge*, Mach., 93, 25; *romainie*, Mach., 116, 10; *romaiyne*, Mach., 100, 19; *romania*, Mach., 104, 7; *romanye*, Mach., 84, 37.

P. (1) Added—*dissempbland*; (2) = *b-lapstars*.

Q. (1) = *qu-acqyred, conqeshed, conqwst, inqyre, qintescence, reqyre, seqell*; (2) *qu = k-barquet, confisque, heretique, marqued, masquet, practique, remarque, schismatique, traffique*; (3) *quh = Southern wh-quha, quhair, quhais, quhan, quhase, quhat, quheil, quhich, quhil, quhilis, quhilik, quhiher, quho, quhole, quhome, quhose, quhy, quhyie*.

Notes:—

(1) At Tr., 37, 17, *quair* should be *quhair*, and at Tr., 22, 11, *vanquished* should be *vanquished*.

(2) For the distribution of the *quh-* spellings, see the remarks on the pronouns below.

R. = *l-lauver*. This is the earlier form of the word.

S. (1) = Southern *sh-abolis, ass, busses, establisseth, furneis, sal, sould, slavist, vanqueist, wiss*; (2) *sc = ss-qintescence*; (3) *sch-(a) = Southern sh-schame, schalderis, scharpe, schaw, scheaver, schewing, scho, schort*; (b) = O.Fr. *sch-eschapte*.

Note.—The rhymes to *is* and *was* suggest that their final consonant was still unvoiced, e.g. :—

*is* : *bliss*, Tr., 86, 19 : 20; Tar., 196, lx, 1 : 3; Doubt., 337, 7 : 9; *kiss*, Tar., 161, xviii, 10 : 12; Misc., 326, xvi, 6 : 8.

*was* : *past*, I., 6, 10 : 12; Tr., 40, 87 : 88; Death, 242, 65 : 67; *glass*, Tr., 81, 125 : 126; *surpalt*, Tr., 98, 41 : 42; *baft*, Tr., 95, 341 : 342; *Gorgeas*, Tr., 115, 87 : 88.

T. (1) Omitted—*attempts, brough, bustling, ghaislie, less, lighs, obiec, promp, restreng, streng, thoughts, tyran*. A number of these are obviously scribal slips. (2) Added—*althocht, althoght, althought, angellict, campt, commixting, fortvest, orphanies, proluxt, publict, republict, thought, thought*. This excrescent 't' is common in M.Sc. (3) *-d-couartlie, sluggart, standart*; (4) = *th-autour, autorise, autoritie, fililie, fourt, fourtilie, sevint, sext, trone*.

TH. (1) Omitted—*farver* (cf. *farder*), *sax, sex, thousand*; (2) = *d-murther, murtherers*; (3) = *t-Thoskan*.

V. For the representation of *v* when final by *f(f)* see above under F. Rhymes like *servd* : *preferd*, Tar., 206, 10 : 12, and *proud* : *mou'd*, Doubt., 388, 7 : 8, suggest that Fowler was familiar with forms in which final *v* had been lost. *Dow* (mod. *dove*) may also exhibit this loss.

W. = *wh-wether, wither*.

WH. = *h-whoot*.

3 (z). = *ʃ s-greizelie*. (1) = initial *y*, see Glossary. (2) For *lz* and *nz*, see L and N.

### 3. ACCIDENCE.

*Nouns*.—The plural is usually in either *-is* or *-es*, less frequently in *-s*. It has no syllabic value except *metri gratia*.

2. *Pronouns*.—In the 3rd personal pronoun singular the only points of note are that the Sc. form *scho* occurs five times, four of them

in the *Answer to Hammiltoun*, and that the oblique case is normally *hir* in the *Triumphs* but *her* in the *Tarantula of Love*. In the plural there is considerable fluctuation between the Sc. forms in *-a-* and the Southern forms in *-e—e.g.*, *they* is between four and five times as common in the *Triumphs* as *thay*, which is not found at all in *The Tarantula of Love*; but *thay* is invariable in the *Answer to Hammiltoun*, while the *Machiavelli* has only *they*. *Thame* is about seven times as common as *theme* in the *Triumphs*, but in the *Tarantula of Love* the predominant form is *theme*; while in the *Answer to Hammiltoun* only *thame* is found, in the *Machiavelli* the one spelling is as common as the other. The *Triumphs* and the *Answer to Hammiltoun* have only *thair*, the *Tarantula of Love* has only *their*, and the *Machiavelli* only *ther* or *there*.

With respect to the relative pronouns the *Triumphs* are alone in their preference for the *wh-* forms, the *quh-* forms occurring only nineteen times out of over five hundred cases; they have also only one instance of Sc. *-a-* for Southern *-o-*, and never have *quhilk*, only *which*. The *Answer to Hammiltoun* is exactly the reverse of this, except that *quhome* is here, as everywhere in Fowler's writings, the only form found of the accusative. It has no *wh-* forms at all, and only twice an *-o-* form, on both occasions *quhose*. In its use of forms the *Tarantula* is nearer to the *Triumphs* than to the *Answer*, in that it shows a mixture of *-a-* and *-o-* and *quh-* and *wh-* forms, with on the whole a preference for the Sc. spellings, except that it has *which* about four times as often as it has *quhilk*. The *Machiavelli*, on the other hand, is nearer to the *Answer*. Though its forms are mixed the Sc. ones predominate. It has *quha* fully three times as often as all the other possible forms of the nominative; *quhase* is its normal form of the genitive; *whome* does not occur; but *quhilk* and *which* are equally common.

3. *Adjectives*.—Regarding adjectives all that is necessary to note is a certain fondness for double comparatives in the *Triumphs*, where the following instances are found—*more larger*, Tr., 17, 15; *more crueller*, Tr., 33, 177; *more fairer*, Tr., 52, 120; *more better*, Tr., 114, 68; *more pleasanter*, Tr., 115, 92; *spediar more*, Tr., 119, 44. Outside this translation the following cases occur: *more strongar*, Tar., 144, 3; *more worser*, Ps., 296, 43; *more weaker*, Mach., 78, 35; *mair stranger*, Mach., 80, 1; *mair higher*, Mach., 140, 2. In addition, there are these double superlatives—*most gretest*, Tr., 15, 20; *most fairest*, Tr., 75, 230; *maist feblest*, Mach., 79, 16. *Least warst*, Mach., 147, 8, is a kind of inverted double superlative, and *mair baldest*, Mach., 139, 22, is an unusual mixture of forms.

4. *Verbs*.—(1) *The Infinitive*.—Normally the form is that of present-day Standard English, but the following exceptional forms appear: (a) in *-d*—*compeld*, *liwed*, *mened*, *served*; (b) in *-n*—*bene*, *done*, *gottin*, *knowen*, *vndone*; (c) in *-t*—*fixt*, *immixt*, *lwkt*, *publisht*, *sight*, *walht*; (d) in *th*—*falleth*.

(2) *Present Tense*.—The inflections here regularly follow the rule for the M.Sc. verb (see Gregory Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. xxxv, 6, i), except when the Southern ending *-eth* is used. This ending is found not only in the 3rd sing., where it is almost as frequent in its occurrence as the Sc. *-is*, *-s*, but is also illogically found in the other

persons. I have counted in all 127 cases of its misuse, of which 67, or more than half, occur in the *Machiavelli*. The persons with which it is most frequently found are the 2nd sing. and the 3rd plural, the 20 cases of the first and the 95 cases of the second of these two accounting for all but a very small proportion of the total instances. The two commonest forms to occur are *doth* and *hath*, but, strangely enough, they are practically confined to the poetical works, *hath* occurring outside of them in four places only, all of which are in the *Machiavelli*. This extended use of the *-th* ending has hitherto been chiefly noted in M.Sc. in certain abnormal texts—*e.g.*, *Lancelot of the Laik* (see Miss M. M. Gray's edition for the Scottish Text Society, p. cxxi). The researches of Professor H. C. Wyld (*History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd ed., 1936, p. 339) suggest that the Scots writers are here following a speech habit of the sixteenth century which found little reflection in literary practice. A detailed list of these *-th* forms is given below:—

- (a) 1st sing.—Tr., *wepeth, persaweth, knoweth*; Tar., *groveleth, venteth*; Ps., *saith*; Misc., *honoureth*; Mach., *condiscendeth*.
- (b) 2nd sing.—Tr., *standeth*; Tar., *dothe*; Death, *heath*; Son., *hathe*; Ps., *hath, considereth*; Doubt., *leide the*; Ans., *stendeth, endith*; Mach., *empareth, calleth, nedeth, becummeth, appereth, geveth, conspyreth, begineth, distrusteth, shaueth, remaneth*.
- (c) 1st pl.—Tr., *lyketh*; Son., *doth*.
- (d) 2nd pl.—Tar., *hathe*.
- (e) 3rd pl.—Tr., *encourageth, surwiweth, standeth, spyeth, dingeth, passeth, manteneth*; Tar., *hath, heth, sprinkleth, doth, rekendleth, hethe*; Seq., *dothe, keepeth, haith*; Son., *doth, dothe, droppeth, blasteth*; Ps., *looketh, cryeeth, falloueth, discovereth*; Misc., *hath, swimmeth, doith*; Doubt., *engendreth, meteth, sinckethe, hathe*; Ans., *deserueth, feareth, hath, beginmeth*; Mach., *haith, resulteth, descendeth, bringeth, arryseth, changeth, revolteth, liueth, assembleth, runneth, speiketh, assisteth, dependeth, veteneth, resteth, regardeth, serveth, commeth, climmeth, craveth, forgetteth, followcth, bendeth, boweth, seeth, appereth, leueth, heth, loveth, mainteneth, succedeth, occurreth, becummeth, conteneuth, falleth, differeth, flyeth, inlaideth, disagrethe, enioyeth, agreeth*; Rep., *representeth*.

In *kenst*, Tr., 30, 105, and *knowest*, Tr., 83, 160; 121, 88; 129, 76, a *-t* has been added in error.

The following instances are found of the 2nd sing. ending in *-st*. As will be seen, all but three come from the poetical works—*crawist*, Tr., 30, 96; *art*, Tr., 37, 24; Tar., 200, lxvi, 5; Ps., 292, 43; 293, 81; 298, 115; Doubt., 353, 33; *seist*, Tr., 42, 160; *woldest*, Tr., 47, 14; *shalt*, Tr., 80, 85; *knowst*, Tr., 87, 21; 93, 196; *hest*, Tar., 153, xix, 13; *dost*, Tar., 180, xxxix, 3; *wast*, Tar., 200, lxvi, 5; *haist*, Death, 240, 13; *wilt*, Death, 241, 34; *hacst*, Son., 255, 4; Ps., 280, 163; 291, 11; 294, 87; *knowest*, Ps., 278, 109; *hast*, Ps., 279, 137; 289, 41; *shewest*, Ps., 280, 178; *ganest*, Ps., 281, 186; *seest*, Ps., 281, 189; *camest*, Ps., 281, 194; *canst*, Ps. 283, 25; Doubt., 353, 6; *troublest*, Ps., 285, 109; *doest*, Ps., 291, 5; *wotest*, Ps., 291, 13; *gauest*, Ps., 292, 31; *balkst*, Ps., 296, 41; *singlest*, Ps., 296, 42; *haste*, Doubt., 347, 11; *art*, Ans., 30, 15; *hast*,

Ans., 32, 5; *canst*, Ans., 34, 26; *waldst*, Mach., 145, 4; *salt*, Mach., 146, 16. These are Southern forms.

For *is* = *art*, see the Glossary.

(3) *Preterit*.—The formation of this tense is fairly regular, though the Southern weak ending *-ed* is as frequent as the Sc. ending *-it*. Where the weak ending is not syllabic it is often reduced to *-t*. The following irregularities are the most important:—

- (a) Weak for strong—*beated*, *choosed* (also written *chosed*, *chused*), *shakt*, *shynde*, *tred*.
- (b) *-et* for *-it*—*barquet*.
- (c) *-id* for *-it*—*rasauid*.
- (d) Shortened forms—*consecrat*, *invent*, *plett*, *steare*, *wound*, *yeild*.
- (e) Strong for weak—*schew*.
- (f) *Abaid*, *band*, *fand*, *wan* represent a survival of the O.E. form.
- (g) *Bear* has both a weak preterit, *berit*, and a strong one, which appears both in its Sc. form, *boore*, *bwir*, and its Southern *baire*, *bare*. *Sene* as a preterit shows that a present-day vulgarism is centuries old. *Song* as a sing. represents either (a) the early M.E. development of *a* to *o*, or (b) the extension into the sing. of the pl. form; as a pl. it represents the practice of writing *o* for *u* before *n*. *Strike* has both the Sc. preterit, *straik*, and the Southern one, *strook*. *Wreit*, *wrett* is the common Sc. preterit of *write*.

(4) *Present Participle*.—The normal ending is *-ing*. The following are the only examples of the M.Sc. ending *-and*; only the first and last occur in the poetical works—*dissempbland*, *leuand*, *perseuerand*, *persistand*, *pertenand*, *seikand*, ? *unceasant*. For the ending, *-in*, see under G above.

(5) *Past Participle*.—Sc. *-it* and Sthn. *-ed* are about equally common, even in the *Answer to Hammiltoun*. There is, however, much more irregularity than in the preterit.

- (a) *-et* for *-it*—*chanset*, *closet*, *crucifyet*, *hurlet*, *marquet*, *sanctifiet*, *troumpet*.
- (b) *-id* for *-ed*—*afrayid*, *frenzeid*, *pleseid*.
- (c) Weak for strong—*becomd*, *commed* (also written *cumd*, *cummed*, *cumed*), *fresed*, *orcumd* (also written *ouercummed*), *shynde*.
- (d) Strong for weak—*orloppen*.
- (e) *-in*, *-en*—*haldin*, *holden*, *provin*, *puttin*, *sittin*, *strekkin*, *strukkin*, *vphalden*, *vpholden*, *waschin*, *waxen*, *withhadden*.
- (f) Southern *i-*—*igrounde*.
- (g) Shortened. (i) From Latin supines—*captiuat*, *configurat*, *consecrat*, *creat*, *disfigurat*, *effectuat*, *excommunicat*, *extenuat*, *frustrat*, *impetrat*, *inuocat*, *iterat*, *necessecat*, *promulgat*, *resuscitat*, *separat*; *corrupt*, *credeit*, *delect*, *elect*, *erect*, *extend*, *imput*, *inject*, *infest*, *insert*, *institut*, *invent*, *invert*, *lament*, *prosecut*, *subuert*; *conuert*, *desert*, *execute*, *interdyte*, *manifest*, *persecut*, *reput*; *relent*. (ii) Of other origin—*abait*, *acquint*, *attaint*, *bett*, *befrett*, *blott*, *chainge*, *depaint*, *defait*, *end*, *enrage*, *fear*, *fell*, *glad*, *hant*, *know*, *light*, *link*, *melt*, *mount*, *paynte*, *repast*, *repose*, *stop*, *take* (cf. *tane*), *wound*, *wynde*, *yeild*.

- (h) Lengthened forms—*berewed, bended, cutted, letted*.  
 (i) *-th—obsceureth*.  
 (j) In *bathtd* the pt. ptc. ending has been added twice. In *buildt* the combination *-dt* has the sound of *t*. *Drunkt* is the reduced pt. ptc. of *drink* with a weak ending added; *spookt* is another example of the same thing. *Brokned* and *strukned* are strong forms with weak endings added. *Bouldned* and *bowdned* are both from *bolne*. *Teld* and *went* show that two present-day vulgarisms are centuries old. *Owerthrew* is an unusual form. *Withstand* seems a slip.

(6) In a number of cases, too numerous surely for it to be a simple omission, the *have* of the perfect infinitive is omitted after *nicht* and *suld* and we find *nicht sufferit*, Ans., 20, 4; *nicht brokin*, Ans., 24, 8; *nicht mouit*, Ans., 30, 24; *nicht left*, Mach., 83, 20; *nicht minisired*, Mach., 87, 9; *nicht geven*, Mach., 96, 19; *nicht bene*, Mach., 83, 21; *nicht bene aduancit*, Ans., 44, 30; *nicht bene callit*, Ans., 53, 6; *nicht bene asseured*, Mach., 75, 17; *nicht bene aseged*, Mach., 98, 11; *suld preuentit*, Ans., 30, 13; *suld causit*, Ans., 30, 25; *suld bene*, Ans., 46, 6; *suld bene inuocat*, Ans., 52, 17. It will be noticed that all of them are from the prose works, and that the majority come from the *Answer to Hammiltoun*. There is one example from the poetical works, *would bene loath*, Misc., 324, xiii, 4.

#### 4. VOCABULARY.

For easily understandable reasons the basic vocabulary of M.Sc. was, apart from differences of form due to differences of sound history, essentially that of M.E. To this common stock the poets of the Golden Age of James IV. had added a highly latinised element and created that "aureate" diction which became the language of Scots poetry in the sixteenth century. Fowler's vocabulary is interesting because he comes at a transition period when the native tradition in literature was weakening before the prestige of English literature, and when Scots poets were discarding their native idiom for the one current across the Border. Fowler turned his back completely on the older poetic diction of his country, though some of his contemporaries—for instance, Stewart of Baldynneis—still practised it, and had wholeheartedly accepted the Elizabethan manner of writing.

One Elizabethan trick of which he is very fond is the accumulation of synonyms. This, since it is most frequent in his translations, he probably took from the Elizabethan translators, who practised the habit with great enthusiasm. Any page from either the *Triumphs of Petrarch* or the *Prince of Machiavelli* will illustrate this mannerism. It almost seems as if it had gone against his grain to use a single word to give his author's meaning when he could find two or three others of similar import, which swells his versions to a bulk far beyond that of his originals and completely misrepresents their simplicity and directness.

Then, like the Elizabethans, he was a tireless experimenter with language, trying to enrich it with coinages of his own invention. The words in list A., to be found at the end of these remarks, not found

either in *O.E.D.* or in *D.O.S.T.*,<sup>1</sup> is of considerable length, and is one proof of his activity in this direction. One or two of them may be slips of the pen—*e.g.*, *garyshed* for *garnished*, *lampers* for *lampets*, and *manheild* for *manheid*. Several are Latin borrowings—*e.g.*, *apert*, *atex*, *destitute*, *diffigurating*, and *perverberat*. A number of others are adopted from French—*e.g.*, *dureur*, *fauorisiers*, *hereditaire*, *inmanitie*, *lecteur*, *macered*, *promening*, *rebourse*, *space*, *tributairs*. *Delicaces*, which looks like a French word, is probably only another form of *delicacies*; in the *Machiavelli*, in which it occurs, final *-ie* (mod. *y*) is often written *e*—*e.g.*, *ease*, *ignomyne*, *monarche*. Except for *violes* and *prest*, both in the *Triumphs* and both at places where the same word occurs in the Italian, and perhaps for *disfigurat*, for which see below, there is no trace of Italian influence upon his vocabulary. Some are fairly easy sense-extensions of words already in the language—*e.g.*, *appellatioun*, *compast*, *coniurer*, *incaller*, *neidile*, *spoakes*, *vaults*. The largest number is made up of more or less natural compounds of elements already existing in the language—*e.g.*, *bauldfull*, *bespoyled*, *blindles*, *bragfull*, *disconceat*, *deburden*, *disreulit*, *feuerlyk*, *forargument*, *inburyie*, *orderlyke*, *reconqueish*, *roselye*, *shuldringlie*, *vnhappness*, *vppropp*, *youthles*. Of these, *blindles* and *youthles* are curious formations, since their meaning is the exact opposite of what their form would suggest; the second is not recorded, even in its obvious sense, till 1906. One compound, *routhfullye*, anticipates by a long time the first appearance in *O.E.D.* of its stem; there the first recorded use of *routh* as a sb. is 1720, and as an adj. is 1791. The following, which are difficult to explain, may be terms in common use in the late sixteenth century, which, because they never found their way into any literary source, have gone unrecorded in *O.E.D.*—*disteats*, *fereth*, *haults*, *iyve*, *middowes*, *penyeis*, *roanting*, *sleated*, *soles*, *sophing*, *stobe*, *taistyne*, *tarned*, *thawked*, *traperyeis*.

This conception of Fowler as a deliberate innovator in language receives confirmation from the considerable number of words for which his use can be shown to be earlier than the earliest dated quotation in the lexicons, or for which he provides these works with their earliest dated use. This last class is small in *O.E.D.*, because it was nearly completed before his works appeared in print. Many of the words in these two classes, for which see Lists C. and D. below, occurred to someone else a short time after they had occurred to Fowler, but with some he is first by quite a long time. Thus, he anticipated the need for *broodiness* by nearly three hundred years. Though *cupidineous* is quoted by *O.E.D.* for 1656, the next quotation is from Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. The only quotation in *O.E.D.* for *scrimieur* is from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and its only quotation for *unstormy* is from Byron's *Age of Bronze*. Then it is strange that so apparently necessary a military term as *sortye* should have had to wait till 1795 to be found necessary in English. Some of the words in these two lists had only a very brief life—*e.g.*, *scansing*, for which *O.E.D.* has only one quotation, and most of the others are now obsolete; but *blinke*, *brusk*, *desart*, *illiberal*, *scabrous*, *scandaleux*, and *sortye* established themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Craigie's *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*.

He has about a score of words (List G.), which, from the date of their introduction into English, their meaning, or their form, must in his case be French borrowings. Of these, some are current now in a different form—e.g., *fureur*, *mignons*, *motifes*, *scandaleux*, *tributaires*, *tranches*; *lecteur* has become current in another form and with another meaning, while *brusk* has been naturalised in its French spelling. *Tasse* is the French form long common in Scots; *sowcy* is the French form of the word which was commonly written *sussy* in M.Sc. *Burrio* and *rew* are respellings of French *bourreau* and *rue*; both were common in earlier Scots.

The words used by Fowler which may be considered as survivals (List E.) are not nearly so numerous as his coinages. Most of them are quoted by *O.E.D.* for his own century, some of them indeed from works which appeared in his own lifetime but before the work in which he uses them was written. Of the few which are earlier than the sixteenth century *disfigurat* is given only from Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*; but in Fowler it is probably either a Latinism or a borrowing of the Italian *disfigurato*. *Procellis* is quoted only once, from Lydgate. Six of the words in this list should perhaps be considered as belonging to the category of Scots words, since *O.E.D.*'s last quotation for each of them comes from a Scots author, which suggests that they survived in general use longer in the north than in the south.

A very considerable element in his vocabulary consists of words which were in current use in Elizabethan English, but which were not employed north of the Tweed. The following words, for example, found in his writings are not recorded in *D.O.S.T.*—*bulke*, *avalable*, *coheritour*, *confuslie*, *connexit*, *conport*, *consort*, *conuince*.

As far as choice of form goes, Fowler sometimes prefers the Scots one, sometimes the Southern one. Thus *beare* (mod. *bier*), *brier*, *freiris*, *inteir*, *releir*, *descryue*, *prescryue*, are the older forms of words which were refashioned in Southern English in the sixteenth century. And he prefers the ending *-air*, *-ar*, to *-ary*—e.g., *aduersar*, *extraordinar*, *contrair*, *hereditaire*, *necessar*, *secretar*, *tributaires*, *solitaire*. But *cancard* and *chesbolles* are Southern forms, the Scots forms being *cankerit* and *chesbowes*.

The list of Scots words (List H.) is based upon the statements of *O.E.D.* and its illustrative quotations. The illustrative quotations for those of them in *D.O.S.T.*, as far as it has yet appeared, show by the frequency with which town records and similar sources are cited that they had a much wider currency than the literary sources would suggest, and it may turn out that many of them which are thought to be rare were not so at all, that their rarity is really due to the fact that they very seldom found their way into works of literature. Most of them, too, are to be found in Dr Grant's *Scots National Dictionary* or in Warrack's *Chambers's Scots Dialect Dictionary*; but it is to be feared that many of them have no longer an extensive currency in the modern vernacular, or, indeed, any currency at all.

A. Words and senses not in *D.O.S.T.* or *O.E.D.* (1) Words—*adieterous*, *apert*, *astrayes* (sb.), *attex*, *bauldfull*, *bespoyled*, *betterly*, *blindles*, *bragfull*, *conditionally*, *congeminat*, *conspirancie*, *coverterye*,

*deburden, destitute, dialecticiner, diffigurating, disconceat, disglore, dis-reulit, disrotted, disteats, dureur, fauorisiers, fereth, feuerlyk, floorish, forargument, foresterne, gabari, garyshed, haults, heare (sb.), hereditaire, inburyie, inmanity (immanity is quoted by O.E.D. for 1557-1699), ioyse, iyve, lampers, lounlie, macered, middowes, manheild, orderlyke, penyeis, perverberat, preponit, presumptionous, promening, pufly, pyllie, rebourse, reconaueish, reselye, roaring, routhfullye, shuldringlie, sinistrie, sleated, soles, solistfullye, sopping, snod, solshyne, stobe, subiectly, subiounds, suilled, taistyne, tarnd, thawked, thristeous, tributairs, traperyeis, tryes, unhappness, unluklye, vppropp, vousteously, vsuryce, tynder ass. (2) Senses—*appellatioun, attemptit, available, clink, compast, epigramins, extended, flokkis, inveteretated, lecteur, literall, revolli, space, spoakes, spreited, vaults, universalitye, vpraissd, youihles.**

B. Fowler quoted as the only authority: (i) in *D.O.S.T.*—*automney, befrett, branchely, bredeness, caddence* (earliest *O.E.D.* quotation is dated 1613), *chaislie*; (ii) in *O.E.D.*—*suldartlyke, surbraues, vnquent, vnthik.*

C. Fowler given as the earliest authority: (i) in *D.O.S.T.*—*alote*; (ii) in *O.E.D.*—*reportarie, stogg, (the) streene, strykes, uncapable, unpoised, windill.*

D. Words and senses used by Fowler at a date earlier than that of the first *O.E.D.* quotation. The date in brackets is that of the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation—*blinke* (1594), *broodiness* (1881), *brusk* (1601), *cacolyke* (1582), *calmie* (1587), *combattars* (1598), *compatabilitie* (1611), *configurat* (1582), *cupidineous* (1656), *debord* (1632), *desart* (= dessert, 1600), *disconformable* (1603), *disequall* (1622), *disfavored* (1599), *ergo* (sb., 1589), *especes* (1602), *exagitat* (1594), *fauour* (1609), *figured* (= imagined, 1603), *flamms* (= the object of love, 1647), *fosteref* (1603), *fruriages* (1610), *herevice* (1609), *illiberal* (1623), *impet* (a. 1618), *incurreth* (1599), *insist* (1598), *intakking* (1637), *irresolued* (1621), *lassyve* (1647), *lourdly* (1647), *marmet* (c. 1758, "dial. and Naut.," *O.E.D.*), *mushett* (1632), *particulers* (1599), *patisserie* (1784), *postponing* (1658), *preoccupat* (1582), *pretermission* (1583), *rebreids* (1608), *rebring* (1595), *reclered* (1605), *renverf* (1590), *resent* (1605), *respectful* (1598), *scabrous* (a. 1585), *scandaleux* (1592), *scansing* (1704), *scrimieur* (1602), *since syne* (a. 1657), *sortye* (1795), *spindrifft* (1600), *spreit* (= sprightly, 1658), *suiredlye* (1630), *survenew* (1651), *thyne* (vb., 1870), *transchande* (1598), *tymles* (= short-lived, a. 1657), *valence* (1604), *vaginge* (1627), *vent* (1596), *uncircumspection* (a. 1625), *vdantond* (1609), *veffectiounat* (1588), *ungretfullye* (a. 1625), *unneth* (a. 1654), *vnstormyer* (1823), *voluntier* (1661), *vsury* (1607), *wasterye* (1645), *wp & dounsyid* (1683), *yssew* (= outcome, 1601).

E. Words and forms used by Fowler later than the date of the last *O.E.D.* quotation; this is given in brackets after each word—*addubbed* (c. 1521), *braiding* (1552, the only quotation for the vbl. sb., but the vb. itself is quoted for 1608), *deadlye* (= dead, c. 1440), *degendring* (1561), *denud* (1570), *deuot* (1562, unless it is a Latinism, the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for which is dated a. 1625), *disfigurat* (c. 1381, but it may be a Latinism rather than an archaism), *dolent* (= grievous, 1572), *effectiously* (a. 1555), *empesh* (1549), *enmeye* (c. 1440), *extemed* (1538), *exprobrated* (1543), *flight* (= the power of flight, c. 1425), *hail*

(vb., 1530), *humill* (1567), *indommage* (1583), *intitulats* (1560), *magnanime* (1590), *memoire* (= memory, 1520), *meteth* (c. 1570), *noblete* (1520). *learing* (c. 1460), *oppobre* (c. 1532), *oultirageous* (c. 1550), *preason* (a. 1572, the only quotation for the form), *pretex* (vb., a. 1566, unless it is the Sc. form of *pretext*, for which the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation is dated 1606), *procells* (1426, the only quotation for the word), *recrease* (1542), *rondleis* (1579), *sighte* (= sigh, c. 1475), *sightfull* (1545), *stable* (vb., 1545), *suffisant* (c. 1570), *thester* (a. 1400-50), *tiddance* (a. 1585), *treatises* (1544), *trone* (a. 1548), *werk* (1565).

F. For the following words Fowler provides *D.O.S.T.* with its last quotation, and they should therefore be added to List H. below. The date in brackets is that of the last *O.E.D.* quotation—*arace* (1530), *beare* (a. 1550), *bosteous* (1571), *brace* (1570).

With them could be classed the following words from List E above, since for them *O.E.D.*'s last quotation is from a M.Sc. writer—*hail*, *humill*, *memoire*, *noblete*, *preason*.

G. French words—*asne*, *burrio*, *brusk*, *dureur*, *fauorisiers*, *figured*, *hereditaire*, *inmanitie*, *lecteur*, *macered*, *marmet*, *mignons*, *motifes*, *patisserie*, *procells*, *promening*, *rebourse*, *rew*, *scandaleux*, *sortye*, *sowcy*, *space*, *tasse*, *tend*, *tents*, *tributairs*, *tranches*.

H. Words and senses chiefly or exclusively Scots in the late sixteenth century according to *O.E.D.*—*alace*, *appears*, *afore*, *afterhend*, *aganis*, *air*, *aither*, *alenarlye*, *allers*, *allquhaire*, *alluterlye*, *alsmeikill*, *anonder*, *appardonit*, *ascryuis*, *athort*, *atour*, *auchtye*, *autour*, *bairne*, *barbare*, *anewe*, *batons*, *beit*, *beseik*, *big*, *bleise*, *blekked*, *blindlines*, *blink*, *bonteth*, *bost*, *bouldned*, *braves*, *bree*, *brent*, *buckies*, *burrio*, *carcage*, *centreyeis*, *cheif*, *chose*, *circumuene*, *cleid*, *cleithin*, *clouts*, *compear*, *compone*, *conione*, *conqueif*, *constructed*, *contemption*, *conterevin*, *contrair*, *copper*, *craig*, *cunze*, *daft*, *danton*, *delashe*, *denns*, *denud*, *descrywe*, *ding*, *disione*, *disobleish*, *dispryse*, *dool*, *douce*, *dreadour*, *dulce*, *dwyne*, *dylement*, *enteres*, *eschapte*, *excambion*, *exeme*, *expone*, *extraordinar*, *falsett*, *fameil*, *fasherye*, *feid*, *felt*, *flaucht*, *flyte*, *forbears*, *fornent*, *friuol*, *gant*, *gar*, *gif* (conj.), *girn*, *glaikis*, *glore*, *goleinzeis*, *grie*, *grittumlie*, *guidshir*, *hairtfullye*, *halse*, *harnes*, *heigh* (sb.), *hight* (adj.), *hing*, *hithertills*, *inbring*, *inbringer*, *incaller*, *inlaik*, *knowes*, *laik*, *lawings*, *leid* (sb.), *lightlied*, *limmar*, *luggs*, *lunt*, *maisterfull*, *man* (= must), *marrow*, *mediciner*, *meind*, *mell*, *mistars*, *moyen*, *niwe*, *nor* (= than), *obleish*, *onbeset*, or (= than), *ordinar*, *oulks*, *partans*, *perqueir*, *pik*, *plett*, *pleye*, *poke*, *port*, *postponing*, *prattic*, *preine*, *prescryve*, *prevene*, *probation*, *propine*, *propone*, *prydfull*, *pykes*, *quavers*, *reas*, *reclame*, *recognose*, *redacted*, *regrait*, *neek*, *reiff*, *remeid*, *rew*, *rout*, *samekil*, *samin(g)*, *scail*, *schew* (= sew), *scho*, *secretar*, *seik* (= sick), *sen*, *sendle*, *sensyne*, *sic*, *sicylke*, *skybell*, *slokkins*, *smore*, *smyrcling*, *solitaire*, *sollicite*, *sowcy*, *speire*, *spoink*, *spuilzei*, *stankis*, *stapp* (= step), *stapp* (= stop), *starne*, *steld*, *stogg*, *strandis*, *strenthie*, *strukkin*, *sturt*, *subione*, *substract*, *suddart*, *supplie*, *suppone*, *suppose* (conj.), *sweir* (adj.), *syne*, *tasse*, *teuiche*, *thie*, *thrawin*, *tinsel*, *tod*, *traist*, *trait*, *tressonable*, *troumpet*, *tyne*, *underlye*, *vaginge*, *visie*, *viuers*, *voce*, *vther*, *wanhap*, *war* (adj., comp.), *warlowes*, *wayed*, *wins* (= dwells), *wirry*, *waine*, *yestreen*.

Aphetic Forms. *Baise*, *brace*, *complices*, *custumed*, *dytement*, *gendred*,

*grees, grie, browdered, light, luring, mends, noy, plane, scape, scimeur, sperse, spoyle, suired, sumptionis, swage, tuix, tweene, veiled.*

Shortened Forms. *Aduersar, contrair, extraordinar, hereditaire, necessar, ordinar, secretar, solitare, tributairs.*

Metathesis. *Brent, broughe, brunt, brusteth; cosmogarpher, thrid, thrist, thristie; lenght, strenght; cahos, gahostes.*

Misspellings. These are collected here for safeguarding against their being taken as genuine forms. (a) Insertion of a vowel—*capatiue, concereneth, uniformaly*; (b) Omission of a vowel—*diminsh, humantie, superflous, vsage*. In the following cases the omission may be deliberate—*enmee, extraordinarie, ordnances, temporallie, unluklye*. (c) Addition of a consonant—*corsps, disconformable, hony, vanquished, vppherhand, whoot*. (d) Addition of a syllable—*contenuenance, fordurder, excersered, inveteretated*. (e) Omission of a consonant—*ghaislie, higlie, lengh, miscontenmeni, restrength, strength, thoghtis, thoughts, vprayde*. (f) Transposition of a letter—*auchtor, enterternye, iustyle, richtes, unsterdand, wreched*; and see also under Metathesis.

## 5. RHYMES.

In preceding sections much use was made of Fowler's rhymes to determine the value of his sounds. Here the purpose is to examine his practice as a poet.

Scots poets when writing in dialect have hardly ever confined themselves to their own speech for their rhymes, but have made the job of rhyming much easier for themselves by drawing freely on English. Fowler is no exception. One fact which has greatly increased the number of possible rhymes for a Scots poet is the fact that O.E. *ā* has developed in one way in Southern English and another in the Northern forms; this really gives two forms for the same word. Thus the following rhymes of Fowler's are good in Scots, but impossible in Southern English: (i) with the Scots form first—*snaw: draw*, Tr., 26, 27: 28; *shaw: draw*, Tr., 52, 125: 126; *stapps: mishapps*, Tr., 65, 185: 186; *auld: cald*, Tr., 88, 47: 48; (ii) with the Scots form second—*mishapp: stapp*, Tr., 60, 77: 78; *caire: maire*, Tar., 149, 8: 11; *dispaire: maire*, Tar., 169, 5: 11; *happ: stapp*, Tar., 184, xlvi, 1: 3; *fangd: wrangd*, Tar., 192, 10: 12; *withdrawen: knawen*, Ps., 297, 75: 76. On the other hand, the following rhymes of his are only good in Southern English, and would be no rhymes if the Scots forms were substituted for the Southern ones. (i) With the Southern form first—*sore: store*, Tar., 181, xlii, 6: 8; *hold: gold*, Tr., 78, 23: 24; *know: grow*, Seq., 223, 10: 12; *foes: disclose*, Tr., 100, 95: 96; *soule, controule*, Ps., 278, 107: 108; *well: hell*, Ps., 291, 5: 6; *whole: thole*, Ps., 292, 23: 24; *one: expone*, Ps., 295, 9: 10. (ii) With the Southern form second—*on: stone*, Tr., 31, 143: 144; *befoir: moir*, Tr., 28, 51: 52; *afore: more*, Tar., 144, 1: 3; *adore: sore*, Tar., 152, xvii, 5: 9; *shore: more*, Seq., 226, 2: 4; *inroled: hold*, Misc., 253, 9: 11. The rhyme, *go: know*, Tr., 61, 85: 86, is exceptional in that in Scots both words have a form different from their Southern English one, and that in Scots they do not rhyme.

An example of a rhyme which would be good with Scots forms but which is wrong as it stands is *two* (Sc. *twa*) : *so* (Sc. *swa*), Tr., 68, 27 : 28 ; for even by Fowler's time the vowels in *two* and *so* were different in Southern English.

Inattention on the part of the scribe to the form required has been the cause of several apparently false rhymes. In the following cases he gave both of the rhyme-words their English spelling when one of them had to have its Scots form—*bould* (Sc. *bauld*) : *thrauld*, Tr., 33, 167 : 168 ; *highe* (Sc. *hie*) : *flie*, Tr., 45, 219 : 220 ; *hould* (Sc. *hauld*) : *inthrauld*, Tr., 87, 45 : 46 ; *drawen* : *ouen* (Sc. *awen*), Ps., 283, 53 : 54 ; *zallow* : *follow* (Sc. *fallow*), Misc., 314, 66 : 68 (the rhyme, *zallow* : *fallow*, occurs on the next page—*i.e.*, p. 315, 94 : 96), *anger* : *wronger* (Sc. *wranger*), Misc., 324, xiii, 1 : 2 ; *work* (Sc. *wark*) : *dark*, Ps., 284, 69 : 70 (the rhyme, *wark* : *dark*, occurs higher up on the same page). Thrice he has written the Scots form when it is the English one that is wanted—*i.e.*, *knaw* (Southern *know*) : *grow*, Tr., 47, 9 : 10 ; 52, 137 : 138, and *chose* : *toyes*, Son., 249, 10 : 12. Once it is immaterial which form we choose to regard as needing to be emended—*i.e.*, *shawen* (Southern *shown*) : *known* (Sc. *knawen*), Misc., 310, 15 : 16. The curious rhyme, *thrane* : *ane*, Ps., 288, 3 : 4, should probably be considered here. As it stands it is no rhyme, for *thrane* is an impossible form in English or Scots. But if we replace it by the normal form and replace *ane* by its Southern equivalent, we get the perfectly good rhyme, *thrane* : *one*.

The list that follows shows even more interestingly how the poet's power of rhyming was widened by his being able to use at choice one or other of two forms of a word. Compare *man* : *than*, Tr., 47, 3 : 4, with *men* : *then*, Ps., 282, 13 : 14, where *than* and *then* are the same word ; *wurk* : *lurk*, Tr., 57, 263 : 264, with *wark* : *dark*, Ps., 284, 55 : 56 ; *show* : *grow*, Tr., 60, 71 : 72, with *shaw* : *draw*, Tr., 52, 125 : 126 ; *Spane* : *ane*, Tr., 110, 161 : 162, with *one* : *expone*, Ps., 295, 9 : 10 ; *warrs* : *iarrs*, Tr., 116, 115 : 116, with *eares* : *weres*, Seq., 215, 2 : 4 ; *more* : *before*, Tr., 119, 51 : 52, with *dispaire* : *maire*, Tar., 169, 5 : 11 ; *shun* : *run*, Tar., 193, lviii, 13 : 14, with *sinnis* : *owrinmis*, Ps., 279, 137 : 138 ; *servd* : *preferred*, Tar., 206, 10 : 12, with *serve* : *suerve*, Ps., 286, 131 : 132 ; *kiss* : *wiss*, Death, 235, 13 : 14, with *fish* : *wish*, Son., 261, 10 : 12 ; *hell* : *sell*, Son., 248, 13 : 14, with *self* : *schelf*, Ps., 276, 49 : 50. For the different rhymes to *alas*, see below ; for the rhymes to *breast*, *eyes*, *great*, and *increase*, see above on E ; for those to *among* and *undone*, see above on O.

A number of rhymes reveal the fact that certain letters were silent. They are *servd* : *preferd*, Tar., 206, 10 : 12 ; *corpse* : *force*, Death, 236, 10 : 12, with which compare *corse* : *force*, Tar., 147, x, 6 : 8 ; *kythd* : *denyed*, Tar., 190, lii, 6 : 8 ; *exact* : *mak*, Ps., 289, 33 : 34 ; *nek* : *delect*, Ps., 292, 35 : 36. It is not clear whether the following rhymes are to be included here or whether they are merely examples of clumsy rhyming—*wrack* : *sakt*, Tr., 44, 199 : 200 ; *keipt* : *sleip*, Tr., 52, 117 : 118 ; *nek* : *dekt*, Tar., 191, liii, 10 : 12 ; *lookt* : *smok*, Tr., 95, 335 : 336. In *approche* : *encrochte*, Tr., 37, 15 : 16, and *muchte* : *gruchte*, Tr., 73, 169 : 170, the *t* is due to Fowler's manner of spelling the sound usually represented by *ch*.

Peculiar to the *Triumphs* is the rhyming of *-ing* (Fr. *-igne*) with English *-ing*—*e.g.*, *king : conding*, Tr., 31, 135 : 136 ; *springe : inbeninge*, Tr., 102, 131 : 132 ; *assingis : thingis*, Tr., 105, 31 : 32 ; *sings : brings*, Tr., 112, 7 : 8 ; 128, 59 : 60.

Peculiar to the *Poems of Doubtful Authenticity* is the Southern rhyming of *alas* with words having *a*—*e.g.*, *was : alas*, Doubt., 354, 19 : 20 ; *allas : passe*, Doubt., 361, 17 : 21 ; *allas : brasse*, Doubt., 368, 43 : 44. Elsewhere it is written *allace*, and rhymes with words having *ā* with the value of *ē* tense—*e.g.*, *alace : place*, I., 16 : 18 ; *pace : allace*, Tr., 53, 147 : 148 ; and one instance from the *Doubtful Poems*—*i.e.*, *grace : allace*, Doubt., 343, 18 : 19.

J. C.

## IV.

FOWLER AND SCOTO-ITALIAN CULTURAL  
RELATIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Renaissance came to Scotland fitfully and late, and its impact was seldom direct. During the fifteenth century Scottish clerks in increasing numbers studied at the Italian universities, but there is little or no evidence that they were interested in humanism. Indeed, to judge from their Supplications to the Papal See, they appear to have been principally concerned with place-hunting. The tradition that a certain Prior Henry of Kelso (*fl.c.* 1500) was an intimate friend of Politian and Marsilio Ficino, and wrote a Greek poem on Our Lady, which he inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici,<sup>1</sup> is unsubstantiated, and the author in any case may have been a foreigner. A little later, it is true, when James IV. sent his two natural sons to Padua, and both enjoyed the instruction of Erasmus,<sup>2</sup> it might have seemed that the New Learning was about to make its entry into Scotland; but Alexander Stewart, the youthful Archbishop of St Andrews, came to an untimely end at Flodden, and James, Earl of Moray, whom the great humanist considered "a boy of marvellous ability," left no mark on the history of culture, and

<sup>1</sup> Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 95, based partly on Dempster, who, since he had access to the Florentine records, may not be entirely romancing.

<sup>2</sup> V. Herkless and Hannay, *Archbishops of St Andrews*, i. 231 *et seq.*, 238 *et seq.*, 262-64, App. IV. 269.

ended as Lieutenant in the North and Justiciar at Dingwall.<sup>1</sup>

It is commonly believed that the first teacher of Greek in Scotland was a Frenchman, Petrus (or Pierre) de Marsiliers, whom John Erskine of Dun is said to have brought to Montrose in or about the year 1534, and that the reformer George Wishart was among his pupils. Dr T. Crockett, however, in an unpublished thesis,<sup>2</sup> has shown that there are grounds for doubting the accepted tradition, which make it more likely that Wishart, who was delated to the Bishop of Brechin in 1538 for having taught the New Testament in Greek, learned the language from some other master, and that de Marsiliers did not come to Scotland until 1543 or later.<sup>3</sup> In any case, the latter was still teaching in Montrose under Erskine's patronage between 1557 and 1559, when Andrew Melville had lessons from him in Greek grammar, "wherin he profited sa, that entering thairefter in the course of Philosophie within the Universitie of St Androis, all that was teatched of Aristotle he lerned and studeit it out of the Greik text, quhilk his maisters understud nocht."<sup>4</sup> De Marsiliers had probably studied in the schools of Paris, where in 1530 the great Hellenist Budæus had prompted Francis I. to establish the Royal Readerships afterwards incorporated in the Collège de France, and where even before that date lectures had been given in Greek. How far his influence as a private teacher extended in Scotland it is impossible to say, and the engrossing

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Lords of Council and Session, 1530-31; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. 315, 353.

<sup>2</sup> "The Life of John Erskine of Dun, 1509-90" (Edinburgh D.Litt. Thesis, 1924).

<sup>3</sup> Wishart is believed to have studied at Aberdeen, and when James V. visited that University in 1540 he was entertained, according to Bishop Leslie, "by orations in Greek, Latin, and other languages."—J. Edgar, *History of Early Scottish Education*, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> *James Melville's Diary* (ed. of 1842), p. 39.

claims of the ecclesiastical struggle prevented anything like a general humanistic revival. Yet it is noteworthy that at this time Montrose and the district around seem to have felt something of the breath of the new culture. Indeed the "happie and golden tyme" James Melville spent some years later with the minister of Logie was no bad epitome of that culture at its best. Besides "the Catechisme, Prayers, and Scriptures," he says, "we lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammaire, with the vocables in Latin and Frenche; also dyverse speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronounciation of that tounge. We proceidit fordair to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer; therwith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Ecloges of Virgill and Epistles of Horace. . . . Ther also we haid the aire guid, and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to loope, to swoom, to warsell, to preve pratteiks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play." It is a programme that would have won Milton's approval, though it is unlikely that many country schools in Scotland can have shown such enlightenment in 1566.

In 1508, the same year as that in which the King of Scots' sons engaged Erasmus as a travelling tutor, the latter furnished the Italian, Jerome Aleander, with introductions to the scholars of Paris, where in 1512 he became Rector of the University.<sup>1</sup> Other Italians, known and unknown, played an active part in the revival of learning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. De Nolhac in *Revue des Etudes grecques*, i. 61 et seq.; and Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, p. 29 et seq. It was Erasmus, none the less, who declared that "he who is truly learned is an Italian, even were he born among barbarians," *Mihi Italus est quisque probe doctus est etiamsi fit apud Juvenos natus*. Epist. ccccxiii.

in the Paris schools, and it is from one of these that George Buchanan is believed to have received that training in Latin versification which was to enable him to become (in the words of the Estiennes) *poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps*.<sup>1</sup> Latin was, in fact, the instrument by which the wandering Scot generally proved his mettle in the field of European scholarship during this and the following century, as it still remained his ordinary medium of communication alike with professors and fellow-students.<sup>2</sup> The story is well known of how Volusenus (Florence Wilson), a Scot from Moray who had also studied in the schools of Paris, astonished Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras, by the exquisite quality of his Latinity,<sup>3</sup> while from many other sources we can gather that even the student of moderate ability still retained something of an international outlook from the extensive practice of the Roman tongue, and had his intellectual curiosity stirred by the rumours of the miracles of Italy then reaching France. It is to this that we may ascribe the increased fame of Padua, where from 1534 onwards the English and Scottish "nations" were recognised as separate, and where laymen soon outnumbered clerics.

But however much Scottish students benefited by the ampler air of the chief European seats of learning, they found as yet little encouragement in the narrower world

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. C. Scaliger,

"Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes :  
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, ii. pp. 27-28. "A free access to this great medium for the exchange of thought was indeed one of the compensating benefits which the Scots derived from the contest with England. The exclusion of the Scots scholars from English ground only prompted their aspiring spirits to seek a wider arena of distinction, and they found it in securing to themselves as an audience the learned men of all the world."

<sup>3</sup> P. Hume Brown, "A Forgotten Scholar [Volusenus] of the Sixteenth Century" in *Surveys of Scottish History* (1919), p. 152.

of their native schools, where mediævalism still generally prevailed. It is true that in the First Book of Discipline, drawn up in 1560 by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, it was recommended that Greek should be taught in all High Schools, but this, like other provisions in Knox's ambitious programme, remained for the time a dead letter.<sup>1</sup> As late as 1564 Buchanan failed to win recognition for Greek at St Andrews, and it was only when, ten years later, Andrew Melville became Principal of Glasgow University that there was "substituted for a blind faith in the authority of Aristotle an intelligent study of Greek texts."<sup>2</sup>

The influence of Italian vernacular literature was also slow in making itself felt in Scotland, and several decades of the sixteenth century had elapsed before there is evidence of direct contact. Here again France served as an intermediary. Reminiscences of Dante and other Italian poets are to be found in French literature from the time of Christine de Pisan onwards,<sup>3</sup> but it was only with the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494 that the rich diversity of Italian civilisation began to be widely known beyond the Alps. It is a familiar story how the spell of that civilisation made captive the conquerors, and how the booty of the Italian campaigns included objects of art and literary treasures which went to adorn the royal galleries and the private collections of the French nobility. Pictures and statuary, manuscripts, many of them superbly illuminated, and the finest examples of the new art of printing, thus poured into

<sup>1</sup> There is evidence, however, that it was already taught in some of the pre-Reformation grammar schools. Thus in the statutes of the Grammar School of Aberdeen (1553) the pupils were forbidden to speak to each other in the vernacular, but "only in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Irish (*i.e.*, Gaelic)."—Edgar, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii. 248.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, i. 146 *et seq.*

France, creating a taste for things Italian which was to find ample satisfaction in the following century. The choicest of the manuscripts found a home in the castle of Amboise, which was already a treasure-house of Italian art and poetry even before the reign of Francis I. One of the richest of these treasures was a magnificent manuscript of the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, presented to Charles VIII. when he passed through Florence in November 1494, which had belonged originally to Lorenzo de' Medici, and which contained also the Canzoni, the Sonnets of Dante, and the Life of Dante by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo.<sup>1</sup>

But Frenchmen returning from Italy in the last decade of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth not only brought with them manuscripts and printed editions of the great writers of the Trecento. They acted also as propagandists for the Italian literature of the day, and in particular for the school of Petrarchan poets that flourished before the appearance of Bembo, and to which, rather than to Petrarch himself, French writers were indebted for their initiation into the art of the sonnet. "Chariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino, Pamphilo Sasso," writes Professor Vianey, "voilà les noms qui étaient dans toutes les bouches italiennes quand les gentilshommes français entreprirent la conquête de la Péninsule ; voilà ceux qu'ils apprirent à prononcer eux-mêmes avec vénération, surtout celui de Séraphin. Aussi,

<sup>1</sup> V. L. Delisle, "Note sur un manuscrit des poésies de Pétrarque, rapporté d'Italie en 1494 par Charles VIII.," in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* LXI. (1900), pp. 450 *et seq.* It is worth noting also that in the inventory of the books of Charles, Count of Angoulême, the father of Francis I., made after his death in 1496, there is mention of a manuscript of Dante, "en italien et en françois, couvert de drap de soye broché d'or" (S. Benthely, *Excerpta Historia, or Illustrations of English History*, 1831, pp. 344 *et seq.*), and that in 1467 his father, Jean d'Orleans, already possessed six manuscripts of Petrarch and Boccaccio (G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Jean d'Orleans, comte d'Angoulême, d'après sa bibliothèque* (1467), in *Bibl. de la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Paris*, 1897, fasc. III.).

quand ils repassèrent les Alpes, c'étaient des sonnets de Séraphin qu'ils avaient dans la mémoire ; c'étaient des *strambotti* de Séraphin qu'ils chantaient du haut de leurs chevaux pour charmer les ennuis de la route ; c'étaient, copiés de leurs mains ou imprimés, des vers de Séraphin qu'ils rapportaient dans leurs bagages. Et, par suite, c'était Séraphin qui le premier des poètes italiens allait être imité en France." <sup>1</sup>

Scotsmen, too, had a share in the closer intercourse between France and Italy which characterised the fifteenth century, and which rose to its climax during the Italian wars. A fine manuscript of Virgil in the Edinburgh University Library, written in a beautiful Italian hand by a French scribe, Florius Infortunatus, and bearing the arms of Scotland, probably of James III., testifies to the ambition of a Scottish prince to follow in the footsteps of the French collectors of the Renaissance,<sup>2</sup> just as the translation of the *Aeneid* (with the continuation by Vegio Maffei) which Octavien de Saint-Gelais offered to Louis XII. in April 1500,<sup>3</sup> pointed the way to Gavin Douglas.

Moreover, the diplomatic missions, which resulted from the more ambitious part Scotland had now begun to play upon the European stage, led to frequent contacts with Italy, none more significant, perhaps, for the history of culture than the complex series of negotiations for royal marriages, stretching from 1475, when Louis XI. of France (as we learn from the Milanese State Papers) urged the Duke of Milan to give one of his daughters to the Prince of Scotland, down to the negotiations between

<sup>1</sup> J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montpellier, 1909), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> No. 195 in Miss Borland's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediæval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (1916). Cf. G. Neilson, *Scottish Hist. Review*, xiv. (1917) 84. See also Francisque-Michel, *Les Écossais en France*, i. 294 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The translation was published in 1509, *Les eneydes de Virgille translatez de latin* (Paris, Vêrard).

James VI. and the Duke of Tuscany (1598-1602). In the course of these embassies it is certain that a fuller knowledge of Italian civilisation must have come to Scotland, and probable that occasionally Italian books also found their way into Scottish libraries. Again, the members of the Garde Ecossaise, who fought in Italy under the Stuarts of Aubigny in successive campaigns between 1494 and 1525, can hardly have failed to include some men interested in letters, and through that channel also, in view of the close political and family relations between France and Scotland, "news of Lombardy," even literary news, may have reached the Scottish partner in the alliance.<sup>1</sup> Bernard Stuart, indeed, had been present in Florence, in attendance on the French King, when the latter, in November 1494, received his princely gift of the manuscript of Petrarch, and there is some evidence that he himself was a lover of fine books.<sup>2</sup> He was the author, besides, of a treatise on "The Duty of a Prince or General towards a conquered country," the title of which not only foreshadows that of Machiavelli's masterpiece,<sup>3</sup> but suggests the ironical reflection that, as an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dunbar, *The Manere of the Crying of ane Playe*,  
 "The King of Frauncis gret army  
 Has brocht in darth in Lombardy."

and Lindsay, *The Monarchie*, ll. 5422-25.

"I saw Pape Julius manfullye  
 Passe to the feild tryumphantlye  
 With ane rycht awfull ordinance,  
 Contrar Lowis the Kyng of France."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Gandilhon, *Aubigny-sur-Nère* (Bourges, 1931), p. 9. Among the Venetian State Papers there is an interesting letter of d'Aubigny's, written in Italian, dated 30th July 1500, to Niccolo Michiel, congratulating the latter on having been elected Procurator of St Mark's, and requesting that he may be recommended to all the patrician senators, his good colleagues. (*C.S.P. Ven.*, i. 288.)

<sup>3</sup> The substance of the treatise, however, is nearer to *The Art of War*. There is a MS. of d'Aubigny's work in the Bibliothèque Nationale (photostat in the National Library of Scotland), and another in the possession of the Marquess of Bute.

instrument of the policy against which the soul of the Florentine Secretary rebelled, d'Aubigny was in a sense one of the efficient causes of the writing of *Il Principe*.

It is not easy to say when the first signs of Italian influence are to be detected in Scots literature. There was, of course, a certain unconscious infiltration through Chaucer, as in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. But the faint echoes of Dante, which some have seemed to catch in Dunbar and Gavin Douglas,<sup>1</sup> are of doubtful authenticity, and derive probably from the common mediæval stock. With Lindsay the case is somewhat different. Although the general design of the *Dreme* has obvious resemblances to that of the *Commedia*, and although many of the same personages appear in both poems, there are, as Mr Hamer has pointed out, numerous sources in common tradition from which Lindsay may have derived his material. At the same time, the resemblance is sometimes so close (allowing for minor differences of arrangement, like that between the order of the spheres), and the phraseology has at times such a suggestion of the Dantesque, that a lurking doubt remains. It is not necessary to suppose that Lindsay had the Italian text of the *Commedia* before him—indeed, with his usual frankness about his authorities, this is unlikely—but that he was acquainted with the reminiscences of the *Commedia* in fifteenth century French literature, and may even have had access to some French translation of the poem, seems not improbable.

The earliest allusions to Petrarch<sup>2</sup> and Boccaccio in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paget Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, i. 24 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> That Petrarch's Latin works were known to Scottish scholars by the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, is fairly certain. He is quoted—*e.g.*, in the preface to the commentary on John Major's *Quartus sententiarum* by his pupil, Robert Senalis (Paris, Badius Ascensius, 1516). Major himself refers to Pico della Mirandola in his dedication to Alexander Stewart, the boy Archbishop of St Andrews, of David Cranston's commentary on the same treatise (1509).

Scots vernacular literature seem to be those in Douglas's *Palice of Honour* (1501), where both writers appear in the company of Virgil and other Latin poets of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and of the Italian humanists of the Quattrocento—Poggio, Laurentius Valla, and Pomponius Laetus; and from this time onwards references to "Iohne Bochas" (e.g., in Lindsay and *The Complaynt of Scotland*) are not infrequent, but always in connection with his Latin works and not with his writings in Italian.

Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the Court of James IV., tells us that the King spoke Italian (in addition to six other languages), and although he admits that James's linguistic powers were exceptional, he is not likely to have been alone in this particular accomplishment. Who his teacher was we do not know: possibly one of those Observantine Friars for whom, as de Ayala remarks, he had such a predilection. But there were other Italians connected with the Court of James who merit special attention. Particular interest attaches to the Italian minstrels and "spelaris" who formed part of the royal household for a considerable period,<sup>1</sup> and to "the Italien las that dansit," on whom the King bestowed in September 1503 "xxx Franch crounis," and then or later "v elne blew damas to be ane gown to hir." These seem to have belonged to the class afterwards associated with the *Commedia dell'Arte*, and it is interesting to find them appearing in Scotland so early. Another Italian to whom James showed favour was John Damian (or Damiani?), the original of Dunbar's "Fenyeit Freir of Tungland." According to Dunbar,

" For feir he fled and come in France  
With littill of Lumbard leid,"

which may account for his being called "the French leiche" in the Treasurer's Accounts. He seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Anna J. Mill, *Mediæval Plays in Scotland*, pp. 42 et seq.

been a typical adventurer, "Chymist, Fidler, *Church-man*, and Buffoon," with all his countrymen's skill in getting out of awkward situations. His "curious ingyne" may not have saved him, however, from the debacle of Flodden, since his name disappears from the records after 1513.

None of these was a personage of importance; but with one Italian of literary eminence James might have established personal relations in the closing years of his reign. In December 1509 Polydore Vergil, who had begun in the previous year, at the suggestion of Henry VII., to collect materials for his History of England, applied to James for information regarding the northern kingdom, but received no answer to his letter.<sup>1</sup> Only after Gavin Douglas shortly before his death, about the year 1522, met the historian in England, was he able to procure first-hand information on Scottish affairs. The suggestion, therefore, that it was through Polydore Vergil that Ariosto obtained his knowledge of the titles of the Scottish nobility seems untenable.<sup>2</sup> There were, however, as we have seen, many other channels through which news of Scotland and of Scotland's King was reaching Italy at this period, for, as Lindsay wrote,

of his court through Europe sprang the fame,  
Of lusty lords and lovesome ladies ying  
Triumphant tourneys, jousting, and knightly game,  
With all pastime, according for a king.

A striking proof of this is the Italian poem on Flodden, *La Rotta de Scocesi (sic)*, which appeared in Rome shortly after the battle.<sup>3</sup> A rude composition, in *ottava rima*, in the vein of the early *cantastorie*, it shows how the affairs

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to recall that Petrarch made a similar request to Richard de Bury for information regarding the ancient Thule, and also failed to elicit a reply.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Isaac Taylor, "Ariosto and the British Nobility," in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, IV. 12 (1st July 1893).

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted by the Roxburghe Club, 1825. Cf. W. Mackay Mackenzie, *The Secret of Flodden* (Edinburgh, 1931).

of Scotland were of interest to the common man no less than to the aristocratic readers of the romantic epic.

During the latter part of 1513, in that same autumn which saw the flower of Scottish chivalry reaped at Flodden, Machiavelli completed *The Prince* in his villa at San Casciano, although the work was not printed until 1532. Two years later, in 1515, Francis I. succeeded to the French crown, and in 1516 Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* appeared. The Renaissance had entered on its last, and most splendid, phase. In 1528 its secular breviary, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, was published, and two years later the *Rime* of Bembo inaugurated the new sway of the Petrarchan sonnet. In France the marriage in 1533 of Catherine de' Medici to Henry, Duke of Orleans (afterwards Henry II.) brought with it a fresh wave of Italian influence, flooding French life and letters.

In Scotland the anarchy which ensued after the death of James IV. was not favourable to an immediate cultural development, although the Francophil nobility who obtained an ascendancy during the minority of the young King James V. ensured that the channels of literary and artistic communication with Italy were not entirely blocked. Of these noblemen one, indeed, exemplified in his own person those Franco-Scottish-Italian relations which, if Scotland had been a richer and more settled country, might have brought the wealth of Renaissance culture to her shores sooner even than to her powerful neighbour in the south. John, Duke of Albany, governor and regent of Scotland from 1515 to 1524, was connected both through his mother and his wife with the royal house of France; while by his marriage to his cousin, Anne de la Tour, comtesse de la Tour d'Auvergne, he became subsequently allied (in 1518) to the most famous of Florentine families. It was to his brother-in-law, Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, afterwards Duke of Urbino, that Machiavelli dedicated *Il Principe*, and it was for the

tomb of the same nobleman that Michelangelo executed his superb monument of "Il Penseroso" in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo. In the autumn of the year in which Albany arrived in Scotland, bonfires were lit in the Edinburgh streets to celebrate the victory of Marignano, and in the spring of 1519 there was born to the Duke of Urbino a daughter—Catherine de' Medici—who was afterwards (1529-31) to be spoken of as a possible bride for the Scottish King, but for whom fate had reserved a more splendid and ominous destiny.<sup>1</sup> James's two marriages with French princesses, however, helped to bring the Italian Renaissance appreciably nearer to Scotland, for other courtiers, besides Albany, were in frequent touch with Italy. Sir Thomas Erskine, for example, the King's secretary, to whom the Scottish Supreme Court probably owes its Italian title of "College of Justice," and who was active in all James's matrimonial negotiations, had been a student at Pavia.<sup>2</sup> Nor were direct contacts of an artistic sort wholly lacking. Thus in 1529 the musician Thomas de Averencia of Brescia, who was then in the service of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, spent a winter at the Scottish Court.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although she was afterwards to be taunted by Mary Stuart as "a merchant's daughter." "La Regina di Scotia un giorno gli disse che non sarebbe mai altro che figlia di un mercante" (Letter of the Pope's Nuncio in France, quoted by M. Cheruel in his *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, p. 17, Paris, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> R. K. Hannay, *The College of Justice* (Edinburgh, 1933), pp. 48-49.

<sup>3</sup> Italians fought in Scotland on opposite sides during the reign of the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine. In May 1545 there were Italian horsemen in Hertford's army (cf. *The Hamilton Papers*, ed. Joseph Bain, ii. 593), including the Marquis Pallavicino and a certain Captain Morgante. Leone and Pietro Strozzi were active in the support of French interests in 1547-48; while Petruccio Ubaldini saw service in 1549 under Sir James Crofts, the English governor of Haddington. In 1548 another Italian of the same name, Migliorino Ubaldini *eques*, was employed in the Queen's behalf on the defences of Dunbar, and two letters of his in the Balcarres Papers, Vol. III., are wrongly attributed by the *D.N.B.* to his namesake Petruccio. In 1549 a company of Italians helped to garrison Inchkeith against the French and Scots (cf. Bishop Leslie, *History of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 227).

Such cultural relations with Italy as existed during this reign and the succeeding regency seem to have centred largely in the Hamiltons. James Hamilton, the first Earl of Arran, is commonly believed to have been the Alcabrun of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (Canto x., st. 85) :—

primo nel salvatico paese,

and it was to his eldest son, James Hamilton, the second Earl, and Duke of Châtelheraut, that Gaspard (or Gaspar) d'Auvergne dedicated in 1553 the first French translation of Machiavelli's *Prince*.<sup>1</sup> D'Auvergne was a friend of Ronsard, who addressed to him four of his Odes.<sup>2</sup> In one of these Ronsard apostrophises him as

Gaspar, qui, aux bords de la Vienne,  
As rebasti Rome et Athenes.

He was born at Limoges, where his father Jean d'Auvergne was procureur du roi. His mother, Claude de Sauzay, was the daughter of Guillaume de Sauzay, garde de la librairie du roi, and her sister Anne de Souzay became, through her marriage with Aimé Brochard, the maternal ancestor of René Descartes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A second French translation of *The Prince*—that of Guillaume Cappel—appeared in the same year at Paris, "chez Charles Estienne." Mr L. A. Burd, who gives this information in his edition of *Il Principe* (Oxford, 1891), p. 4, does not seem to have been aware of d'Auvergne's version, which, since the "privilege" dates from 1547, is almost certainly the earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Gaspar, qui, loin de Pegase (ed. Blanchemain, ii. 233-36), Soyon constans, et ne prenon souci (*ibid.*, ii. 398-400), Puis que la Mort ne doit tarder (*ibid.*, ii. 400-02), Que tardes-tu, veu que les Muses (*ibid.*, ii. 469-70).

<sup>3</sup> Gaspard d'Auvergne became "avocat fiscal" (according to other accounts "lieutenant particulier et assesseur au siege royal" or "procureur") at Châtelheraut, where his house still exists, at 130 rue Bourbon, adjoining that of the Descartes. The interior has been reconstructed, but the garden front, dating from the sixteenth century, has been preserved, and is decorated with medallions representing the Sibyls and the prophets. Over the door there is a sculptured relief of a ship in full sail, with the inscription "Il attend l'heure—Dieu pour conducteur," and it has been suggested that this emblem was taken from the quarterings of the arms of the Hamiltons, to indicate his indebtedness to his patron. (Information kindly furnished by Dr A. Orrillard of Châtelleraut, for which I am indebted to the good offices of Professor Pierre Legouis of Lyons.)

Arran was made Duke of Châtelheraut by Henry II. in 1548, and Gaspard d'Auvergne, as an official of the duchy, sought to commend himself to his new master by dedicating his translation to him. The work appeared at Poitiers in 1553, "De l'imprimerie d'Enguilbert de Marnef," under the title of

Le Prince / de Nicolas Macchia- / velli secretaire  
& citoien de Florence, traduit / d'Italien en Fran-  
cois. / Laus supra regna. / Auec Priuilege du Roy. /

The translation is preceded by a sonnet, in French, by the humanist Marc-Antoine de Muret (Muretus) and two Latin epigrams by Io. Auratus (Jean Dorat) and Maludanus (J. Maledan), all three, like d'Auvergne, natives of Limoges, and the privilege dates back to March 1547. The translator's name does not appear on the title-page, but d'Auvergne introduces himself in his interesting dedication :—

A Treshaut, Tres- / illustre et pvissant / Prince  
Iames d'Ammilton, Duc de / Chastelleraut, conte  
d'Araines, Tu- / teur vnique de la Roynne d'Escosse,  
/ Gouverneur, & seconde personne / dudit royaume,  
Gaspard Dauergne / son treshumble aduocat on  
duche de / Chastelleraut, salut.

" Il ne m'a semblé plus pertinent, Monseigneur," he continues, " puisque la necessité des grands affaires, que vous maniez au royaume d'Escosse, nous tollist le bien de vous voir en ce país nouvellement vostre, que vous tesmoigner par ce petit liure laffectionnée obeissance dun de voz treshumbles officiers & subietz : la volonté duquel sera d'autant estimée meilleure, qu'il se met en deuoir de complaire auant que d'estre cogneu, & que vostre commandement luy conuie. Et encores que ce ne me soit point chose bien fort certaine ceste sorte de present vous deuoir estre agreable, comme a personnage occupé en

cōtinuelle expedition des armes, i'ay toutesfois asseuré mon election, & iugement en cecy, sur la nourriture que vous faittes donner en ce païs a Messeigneurs voz enfans : lesquelz estans si soigneusement entretenus en l'exercice des bonnes lettres, ie n'ay peu penser que vous trouuassiez mauuais en autruy le labeur, qui retire a ce, dont vous desirez tant enrichir ceux de vostre tresillustre sang. Et me mettrois en peine de plus amples excuses pour couvrir ma temerité (s'aucune y a) sans la merueilleuse conuenance, qu'a ce petit oeuure destre présenté a vostre grandeur : tant pour le regard de vostre qualité de Prince, dont ce liure prend son tiltre : qu'en consyderant aussi la hauteur de vostre courage, & excellente prouesse : lesquelles vous ayans vn coup peu acquerir des subietz en vn endroit, ou vostre maiesté n'estoit congneuë que par la seule renommée : elles donnent assez a entendre, ce qu'il en faut esperer es lieux, ou elles se font congnoistre par leurs vertueux effectz."

Already in France voices were being raised against the new doctrines of statecraft introduced from Italy,<sup>1</sup> and during the next generation the Huguenots were to distinguish themselves by the vigour of their attacks. It is not, therefore, wholly surprising that a certain note of apology runs through d'Auvergne's preface. Above all, he lays stress on the essentially realistic nature of the treatise and the novelty of the author's line of approach.

"Aussi trouverez vous, que le naturel autheur du livre ne traitte d'autre propos que d'acquerir, & garder le sien : En quoy il constitue entierement la fin du Prince, qu'il nous veut proposer & depaindre, n'ayant voulu suyvre en cela la traditive de ceux, qui ont escrit pardavant luy sur semblable argument : lesquelz ont figure en leurs escritz ie ne scay quelle perfection de Prince non imitable

<sup>1</sup> V. Albert Chereh, *La pensée de Machiavel en France* (Paris, 1935), chap. iv. pp. 47 et seq.

a tous les humains, pour la fragile condition de ceste nature. Ou aucontraire cestuy cy a voulu accomoder la forme de ses preceptes seulement a ce, qui est subiet a l'experience, & la plus commune mode de faire, dont les sages Princes ont usé, pretendans, comme i'ay dit, conserver, & augmenter leur dommaine."

It was precisely this emphasis on the sole function of kingship as consisting in the preservation and acquisition of territory, and on war "as an instrument of national policy," that offended some of the finest spirits of the sixteenth century. But they were also outraged by Machiavelli's apparent implication that morals were only a matter of expediency, and by his open assertion that it was impossible for a prince to prosper long in this wicked world, and to win and guard a kingdom—"sans se savoir aider au besoin du vice." It is true that his purpose was often distorted by his critics, so that his ruthless analysis of the qualities that made for success was represented as a deliberate perversion of morals, yet there was enough in *The Prince* obviously contrary to the principles of Christian morality to account for the disquiet with which then and later the work has been regarded. D'Auvergne was clearly conscious of this, and shows not a little ingenuity in drawing support from Scripture for some of the more questionable concessions of the author; but in the end he returns, like Machiavelli, to the plea of necessity, to the prince's need to make use of all resources, both those of the lion and the fox, if he is to get the better of "ce meschant & corrompu monde."

"Dont il se pourroit taisiblement inferer, qu'il est par fois loisible a noz monarques extravaguer, selon les affaires, hors les bornes de la vertu, pour se faire raison de ce meschant & corrompu monde, qui leur est subiet, & le faisant, leur puissance ne laisse point pourtant

d'estre approuvée de Dieu. Qui est un paradoxe tant examiné, & discoursu par nostre autheur, & toutesfois si mal sonnand de premiere abordée, que i'ay estimé necessaire vous user de ceste preface, pour rendre vostre maiesté moins offensée a l'encontre de ce cru, & nouveau discours : la lecture duquel i'espere ce neantmoins vous devoir estre plaisante : tant pour sa mode de proceder parcydevant non usitée d'autre semblable escrivain, que pour estre ses enseignemens entierement accommodables au temps present, en descouvrant les tromperies, & meschancetez des hommes."

That Fowler made extensive use of d'Auvergne's translation when he came to make his own version of *The Prince* may be gathered from the notes to the present volume ; and that the book, either in translation or the original, was widely known in cultured and Court circles in Scotland throughout the second half of the sixteenth century can hardly be doubted. It has been hitherto believed that a knowledge of Machiavelli first came to Scotland in the shape of "the Machiavelli legend, hatched in France among the Huguenots under the rule of Catherine de' Medici,"<sup>1</sup> from which the satirists of the Congregation, such as the writer of the Sempill Ballads, derived their opprobrious epithets of "false Machivilian," "A scurvie Schollar of Machiavellus lair," etc. It must now be recognised, however, that there were two traditions, that of the real Machiavelli, known to those who were acquainted with his work, either in d'Auvergne's translation or in the original, and that current among the Reformers, and that the latter's epithets were not always aimed at random, but were often directed against those well-versed in the maxims of *The Prince*. William Maitland of Lethington, as is well known, was the principal

<sup>1</sup> V. Mario Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, p. 7.

butt of these satirists. He is the "Mitchell Wylie" of popular tradition,

" a baleful bird that wantis wings to fle,  
Nurrist in a nest richt craftie wyles to hatch."

The anonymous author of *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, echoing many other writers, says that "of his nature he [Lethington] was subtile, and was sufficientlie studeit in the preceptis of Nicolas Machiavel." There is little reason, indeed, to doubt that Maitland was well acquainted with the teaching of the Florentine Secretary, whether or not he had formed his policy on that model. It would be interesting to know something of the contents of Lethington's library, which must have been one of the best furnished of his time. But we can gather from his correspondence in what direction his reading lay, and in a letter to Sussex (16th July 1570) he remarks: "I remember to have read in a good author, one who in his time was no 'prentice in the politick science (being from his youth brought up in that trade) that it was never praised in those that werè excellent in the government of the commonwealth to remain perpetually in one opinion, but, as in sailing, it is a chief point of the master's art when ruling his ship to direct his course as the stormy blasts of wind and weather shall permit."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas, the younger brother of Maitland of Lethington, was the author of a well-known "imaginary conversation"<sup>2</sup> circulated in manuscript after the murder of the Regent Moray in 1570, in which Knox and five of his intimates are represented as taking counsel with the regent shortly before his death. In this exceedingly clever *jeu d'esprit*,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Skelton's *Maitland of Lethington*, ii. 367. Cf. *Il Principe*, chap. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1843), vol. ii. pp. 515-25. Other versions in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 37-50, and in Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, ed. R. Pitcairn, pp. 5-13.

in which the style and manner of each speaker are caricatured, the Maitlands incidentally turn the tables on those who charged them with Machiavellism, by showing that it was something of an obsession in the opposite camp. Lord Lindsay, addressing Moray, says: "I cannot give you a verie wise counsell, but I love you weill enough. To be short, what sould yee doe but use counsell, which yee will never? Therefore, I thinke manie times, the devill gart me make you regent. My lord, mak us quite of thir Matchiavelian and bangester lords, that will circumveene you with their policie, and wracke you with force; and when yee fall to them, bourd not with them." Knox, after keeping silence "a good space," begins "with a sture and brokin voice," and after a pious tribute to the regent, remarks: "As I could never away with thir jollie witts, and politick braines, which my Lord Lindsay calleth Matchiavel's disciples, so would I wishe they were out of the way, if it were possible." While the Clerk of Register [James M'Gill], who is a "wylie cheild," observes: "I grant all these that are of Matchiavell's doctrine will say that they have done your Grace good service," whereupon "the clerk, Blair, said: 'Matchiavel is an evill booke, and I would he had beene burnt seven yeeeres since.'"

Another to whom the Reformation satirists attached the epithet of Machiavellian was Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews,<sup>1</sup> who had been imprisoned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. J. Cranstoun (Scot. Text Soc.), i. 346-90; ii. 226-35.

Maitland, Melwill, and Matchevellous,  
Learned never mair knaifrie in a scholehou; . . .

Than, gif he had not fled for feir,  
Gude Matchewell had mist his meir.

*The Legend or Discours of the Lyfe and Cōversatione and Qualiteis of the Tulchene Bischope of Sanctandrois. Set furth by R. S.* [Robert Sempill], *op. cit.*, ll. 39-40, 79-80.

in his youth by Catherine de' Medici, and who, after an extraordinary career, was deposed from his sacred office in 1586, "and declared an ethnic or publican."

Arran, on the other hand, seems to have escaped the imputation, even though it had been under cover of his name that Machiavelli was first introduced into Scotland. There is little indication, indeed, that he had profited by the teachings of *The Prince*. His weak and vacillating character often made him rather the victim of stronger and subtler natures than his own; and although Knox declares that about 1543 "all men esteemed the Governor to have been the most fervent Protestant that was in Europe," his later career belied this promise and was lost in straits and shallows. It may have been, in part, a tragedy of divided loyalties—loyalties to friends and kinsmen, and to the conflicting claims of humanism and religion. For Arran was one of the chief exponents in Scotland of the Renaissance virtue of magnificence. He was lavish in his expenditure on his houses and relations. In his youth he had been under the guardianship of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, James V.'s Master of Works, who had spent his early years in France at the Court of Francis I., and who is credited with having introduced into Scotland some of the finest examples of Renaissance carving. He was himself the builder of Hamilton Palace, and it is probable that much of his furniture came from abroad and was selected during his numerous visits to the continent. His dining-room table, we are told, was "covered with green cloth from Milan."<sup>1</sup>

It was to John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the bastard brother of Châtelheraut, that Scotland owed the presence, in 1552, of one of the most famous of her Italian visitors, the physician Girolamo Cardano (or

<sup>1</sup> *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. x. p. xxii.

Cardanus). Cardanus had been summoned from Milan to treat the archbishop for asthma, after he had consulted the physicians of the Emperor Charles V. and of King Henry of France to no purpose. He had expected to meet his patient at Lyons or Paris, but was induced to continue his journey to Scotland by repeated payments of handsome retaining fees. Finally, in June 1552 he arrived in Edinburgh, and remained there, in attendance on the archbishop, until the 13th of September. We have an amusing account in a letter of Randolph to Cecil (15th January 1562) <sup>1</sup> of the régime to which he subjected the patient, from which it may be gathered that stories of the visit long continued to be repeated at the Scottish Court. Cardanus, in his autobiography (*De Vita Propria Liber*), does not enter into details of the treatment, but tells us that he was offered generous inducements to return as private physician to Hamilton's household. He was also paid 1800 crowns of gold, "of which fourteen hundred came to me." <sup>2</sup> He had previously received 400 gold crowns, one neck-chain with 25 crowns, a thorough-bred riding-horse, and many other gifts, "so that not a single member of my party went away empty-handed." <sup>3</sup> Before he left, he calculated Hamilton's horoscope, "but did not discover that his patient would be hanged in 1571." <sup>4</sup>

Cardanus was not long enough in Scotland to make any extensive observations on the life of the inhabitants, but looking back on his visit, and extolling the general qualities of the natives of Britain, whom he characterises as "faithful, liberal, and brave," he adds, "but the bravest of all are the Highlanders, who take pipes with

<sup>1</sup> S.P.S., vii., No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of My Life (De Vita Propria Liber)*, tr. J. Stoner, chap. xl. pp. 177-78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. xxix. p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, p. 193.

them when they are led to execution, and go dancing up to their death."

The books which Mary Stuart brought home from the Italianate Court of Henry II. were the nucleus of probably the first considerable Italian library in the northern kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The years of the Queen's stay in France had coincided with the exquisite early blossoming of the art of the Pléiade. In 1549 appeared the famous manifesto of the new group, *La défense et illustration de la langue française*, and the *Olive* of Joachim du Bellay, the first truly inspired collection of sonnets in French.<sup>2</sup> Ronsard, the knowledge of whose two visits to Scotland must have quickened Mary's interest from the outset, published the first volume of his *Odes* in 1550; and then, in rapid succession, the *Amours de Cassandre* (1552), a second volume of *Odes* (1553), his *Hymnes* (1555), and the *Amours de Marie* (1557). Contemporary with these, Pontus de Tyard, "le plus platonique des poètes amoureux du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," brought out the first edition of his *Erreurs amoureuses* in 1549; Antoine de Baif his *Amours de Méline* in 1552; Olivier de Magny his *Amours* in 1553 and his *Souspirs* in 1557. In all of these the influence of Italy, and especially of Italian Petrarchism, as represented by the work of Bembo and his followers, is pronounced; and the poets showed with what enthusiasm they had responded to du Bellay's cry: "Sonnet moy ces beaux

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Julian Sharman, *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots* (1889).

<sup>2</sup> The first French sonnets in point of time were those of Marot and Mellin de Saint-Gelais. The first of these to be published was one of Marot's in *La suite de l'adolescence Clementine* (Lyons, 1539); another by the same author was written, though not published, in 1536. Saint-Gelais' earliest sonnets were written between 1538 and 1542, although none was published until 1546. Cf. W. Ll. Bullock, "The First French Sonnets" in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxxix. (1924) pp. 475-78. The sixteenth century, however, gave the artistic priority to du Bellay. Cf. Vauquelin de la Fresnaye:—

Ce fut toi, du Bellay, qui le premier en France  
D'Italie apportas le sonnet amoureux.

Sonnets non moins docte que plaisante invention italienne," and to his injunction: "Pour le sonnet donc tu as Pétrarque & quelques modernes Italiens." These moderns they found for the most part in the anthologies of contemporary verse, which now began to circulate widely through the enterprise of Italian publishers, and particularly of the Venetian firm of Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, whose *Rime diverse* (Book i., 1545; Book ii., 1547) led to a long series of imitations.

The first sonnets written in Scotland were probably those composed by Mary and her Court, although the Italian poem incorporated in the great Shrovetide Masque given at Holyrood in February 1564, which is described by some writers as a sonnet and ascribed to David Rizzio,<sup>1</sup> is neither a sonnet nor by Rizzio, but a passage from Petrarch's *Trionfo d'amore* (I., 76-87). It is true also that Mary's surviving sonnets date from a somewhat later period, and that the so-called "sonnets" included among the Casket Letters—even if their authenticity were accepted—are not strictly sonnets in the technical sense of the word, but rather—with two exceptions—quatorzains with a rhyme-scheme resembling more or less that of the regular sonnet. None the less, there can be little doubt that in a society so penetrated by literary influences, and so immediately under the example of the *Pléiade*, sonneteering must have been practised as an occasional recreation, even though none of its products has survived. Indirect evidence of this is furnished by the mention of a volume of "Frenche sonnatis in writt" in the inventory of the Queen's books drawn up in 1578, and perhaps even more decisively by the comment of both Ronsard and Brantôme that the verses found among

<sup>1</sup> *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France* (Bannatyne Club, 1863), *Introd.*, lxxxiii. n. 2. Cf. A. Francis Steuart, *Seigneur Davie*, p. 44.

the Casket Letters were "too clumsy and unpolished to come from her workshop."

The small plot of Italianate fashions and culture which the Queen had transplanted from the Court of the Valois to the stony soil of Scotland remained, however, an artificial creation, cut off from the main tradition of the national life, as Mary herself was, by a hedge of distrust and mutual incomprehension. Although there is some evidence that she shared her taste for the language and arts of Italy with certain of her countrymen, such as Maitland of Lethington, whose training or predilections disposed them to sympathy, there is little or none that these exchanges had any direct or immediate cultural effects, or that their influence extended much beyond the precincts of Holyrood. Until well into the second half of the sixteenth century, indeed, Italian studies, like other branches of *belles lettres*, were confined to a small and aristocratic circle; but with the growing prosperity of the country gentry and the merchant classes, associated particularly with the regency of Morton (1572-78), culture began to spread among the bourgeoisie, and there are signs that this embraced also an interest in Italian and in the things of Italy. In the inventories of sixteenth century Edinburgh booksellers published in the Bannatyne Miscellany we have a means of gauging something of the taste of the reading public during the decades 1570-80 and 1580-90.<sup>1</sup> Although works of Protestant theology and controversy predominate, there is also a large representation of secular history and *belles lettres*, which includes a fair sprinkling of Italian books, chiefly in translation. Thus in the will of Thomas Bassandyne (6th February

<sup>1</sup> *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. ii. (Edin., 1836). Cf. J. P. Edmond, "Notes on the Inventories of Edinburgh Printers," *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, vol. i., 1896, and F. S. Ferguson, *The Library*, 4th ser., vol. viii., 1927.

1579) there are “nyne Italiane grammeris,”<sup>1</sup> Machiavelli’s *Arte of Warre* (Englished by P. Whitehorne, 1562, new edition, 1573), three copies of Painter’s *Palace of Pleasure*—with its rich selection of Italian *novelle*—“ane Tragedie of frie will” (*Il libero arbitrio*, translated by H. Cheeke from the Italian of F. Negri de Bassano), *The Pitiful History of Two Loving Italians* (four copies), and three copies of *A notable and maruailous epistle* by Matteo Gribaldi, translated by E. A[glionby]. The *Arte of Warre* appears again in the will of Robert Gourlaw (22nd April 1586), which also includes a *History of Italy* (probably that of William Thomas, 1549, repr. 1561, 1562); two copies of Stefano Guazzo’s *Ciuile Conuersation*, translated by George Pettie (1581); a work of Girolamo Cardano, *Cardanus comforte*, translated by T. Bedingfield (1573, 1576); G. Ruscelli’s *Secrets of Alexis of Piedmont* (1580); George Pettie’s *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576); Peter Beverley’s *Historie of Auodanto and Geneura*; and *Riche his farewell to militarie profession* (1581). This last item is of particular interest, since it is from Rich’s book that *Philotus*, our only Scots example of Italianate Renaissance drama, is derived. Though written in rhyming stanzas like those of the miracle plays and Lindsay’s *Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, and not divided into acts and scenes, *Philotus* (first published by Robert Charteris in 1603) belongs in fact to the genre of the *commedia erudita*, and the plot and most of the characters are derived from the eighth story (“Of Phylotus and Emilia”) in Rich’s work, itself probably an adaptation from a well-known Italian comedy, *Gl’Ingannati*. Some writers, it is true, have suggested that the Scots play and the English novel may have had a common original

<sup>1</sup> Either that of William Thomas (1550, repr. 1560, 1562, 1567), or more probably that of Scipio Lentulo, turned into English by H. Grantham (T. Vautrollier, 1574, 1575).

in the shape of an earlier adaptation from *Gl'Ingannati*, and Miss Mill, the most recent editor of *Philotus*,<sup>1</sup> seems to incline to this view. Yet there appears to be little reason to depart from the opinion of Mr J. W. Mackenzie, who edited the play for the Bannatyne Club in 1835, and who was the first to point out its connection with Rich's work, that *Philotus* derives from the latter in all essential respects, and must therefore have been composed at some date subsequent to 1581. Not only are the main situations and the names of the principal characters alike in the two works, but the dialogue in the anonymous *Philotus* often takes its cue from the words of Rich's story. In fact, despite minor changes and abbreviations, the relationship is much closer than that between most Elizabethan comedies and their sources. Yet, externally at least, in its combination of mediæval versification and *novella* content, few things could look less like an Elizabethan comedy than *Philotus*—one of many reminders how in Scots literature the past lived on late into the sixteenth century.

It is not only, however, for its connection with *Philotus* that *Riche his Farewell* is of interest in a survey such as the present. To one reader at least—and that the King himself—the circulation of the work in Scotland is known to have given lively displeasure. For in the epilogue, or “conclusion,” to his book, the author, to illustrate the tyranny of fashion, had told a story, adapted from Machiavelli's tale of Belfagor (“Il demonio che prese moglie”), of how a devil called Balthaser, “no inferiour devill, but a maister devill,” married a girl in London, and driven to distraction by her demands for new clothes, fled to Edinburgh and there possessed the King of Scots. James was indignant, as we learn from a letter from

<sup>1</sup> S.T.S., *Miscellany Volume* (1933), pp. 81-158.

Nicolson to Bowes (18th June 1595), and when the book was reprinted in 1606 Balthaser was made to flee to Constantinople and the Grand Turk was substituted for the King of Scots.

These probably by no means exhausted the range of Italian works or works of an Italian character to be found in the Edinburgh bookshops, since the two previous decades had been filled with the activities of English translators, and there was a regular intercourse in the bookselling trade between Edinburgh and London. Thomas Vautrollier, too, who had visited Scotland in 1580, returned to Edinburgh in 1584 and set up business, bringing with him in all likelihood a selection of his stock, including *The History of Guicciardin, containing the warres of Italy*.<sup>1</sup>

In 1570 Roger Ascham had been shocked to find the London bookshops full of "fonde bookes of late translated out of the Italian into English." At the same time young Englishmen returning from Italy created the sinister legend of *l'Inglese italianato*. It would have been strange if in puritan Scotland the lure of the Italian Circe had not wakened a like distrust. It was partly, no doubt, a legacy of the suspicion with which Church and people had regarded the alien gaieties of Mary's Court, fostered by what was known of the sufferings and persecution of the French Huguenots. But it was also a sign of the growing taste for Italian books and Italian travel, and a proof that their influence was no longer confined to the narrow circle of a few intellectuals or the higher nobility. Thus in James Melville's Diary we read that when Andrew

<sup>1</sup> The old story, started by Herbert's *Ames*, that Vautrollier fled to Scotland through having got into trouble for publishing the works of Giordano Bruno, is now discredited. The six forged editions of Bruno, all printed in London in 1584-85, almost certainly came from the press of John Charlewood. See H. Sellers, "Italian Books printed in England before 1640," *The Library*, September 1924.

Melville was Principal of St Andrews (*anno* 1581) <sup>1</sup> one day "he tuk a placcard, affixed upon the Collage yet, knawin, be the Italian and French tounge, to be wrytin be James Lermont, appeirand of Balcomie; and in the application of his doctrine, quhilk was wouderfull persing and vehement, he produces the wryt, and haiffing the said James sittand befor him in the Kirk, he thretnes him in particular with a judgment, that manie years efter was marked to strik upon the said James, to this effect: 'Thow Frencheist, Italianist, jolie gentleman, wha has defyled the bed of sa manie married, and now bosts with thy bastonados to defyll this Kirk, and put hands in his servants, thow sall never enjoy the fruicts of mariage, be haifing lawfull succession of thy bodie; and God sall bastone thie in his righteous judgments!' This was rememberit"—Melville goes on—"when the said James, being Lard of Balcomie, leived manie yeirs in mariage without chyld, and taken be the Heiland-men coming out of the Leaws, was siccerlie bastoned, and sa hardlie used, that soone thairefter he died in Orkney, in the yeir 1598." <sup>2</sup>

The first circle of literary *italianisants* in Scotland was that associated with the Court of James VI., and it is in the conditions and atmosphere of the seventies that its beginnings are to be traced. The King's own education in "literature and religioun" under Buchanan and Peter Young had been designed to wean him from the Romish taint in his heredity, and it was conceived on the broadest lines of Protestant pedagogy.<sup>3</sup> And even if, aided by

<sup>1</sup> In this same year Bothwell, Fowler's patron, returned from Italy, and set about building the famous north wing of Crichton Castle.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary of Mr James Melvill*, pp. 125-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Allan F. Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England*, Introduction, pp. xvii *et seq.* Among the King's fellow-pupils for a time was "The Admirable Crichton"—James Crichton of Eliock and Cluny. Born in 1560, Crichton had graduated M.A. from St Salvator's College, St Andrews, in 1575, the year after Fowler entered St Leonard's.

James's precocity, it turned him into a pedant before his time, it was a pedantry of no conventional sort. The queer strain of shrewdness and independence which ran through James's character made him constitutionally incapable of "swearing to the words of" any master, however eminent, and turned all his multifarious reading into a pattern of its own. A theologian with one eye steadily fixed on the divine right of kings, a classical scholar with little sense of the large composure and economy of classical art, and a poet rather by intention than accomplishment—the King was perhaps most truly himself as a moralist, but it was a morality of no narrow or sectarian order. And "as a controversialist," as a recent writer has remarked, "King James has qualities which

Through the good offices of his kinsman, Sir Alexander Erskine, Crichton was invited to join the little circle at Stirling under his old preceptor, George Buchanan. In 1577, however, prompted by ambition and his attachment to the old religion, he set out for the continent on what was to prove a meteoric career. After less than two years' service in the French Army, he arrived in Italy in 1579, and, till his death at Mantua on 3rd July 1582, displayed successively at Genoa, Venice, and Padua those gifts of improvisation, swordsmanship, and debate which made him famous throughout the peninsula. There was undoubtedly an element of the charlatan in Crichton: "il portento di natura nelle buone lettere Giacomo Critonio Scozzese con tanta vanagloria, pompa, e millantatione di se stesso," as Traiano Boccalini calls him in the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*. But these were qualities found in many Renaissance figures, and legend has not wholly erred in selecting Crichton as the complete Renaissance Scot. For one thing, he touched both the world of scholarship, in his friendship with Aldus Manutius the younger, to whom he owes most of his fame, and the world of the tragic *novella* and the Elizabethan drama in his death at the hand of Vincenzo Gonzaga in the street brawl in Mantua. See Patrick Fraser Tytler, *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, second ed., Edinburgh, 1823; G. B. Intra, "Una pagina della giovinezza del Principe Vincenzo Gonzaga," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie quarta, t. xviii., 1886; Lily Eglantine Marshall, *The Last Days of the Admirable Crichton*, reprinted for *Scots Lore*, Glasgow, 1895; Douglas Crichton, *The Admirable Crichton*, London, 1909.

The last writer corrects various errors in the account of Crichton in the *D.N.B.*, and shows that the works attributed to the latter after 1582 are probably to be ascribed to a namesake and kinsman of the murdered scholar.

are rare in his day, the fruits of high-mindedness.”<sup>1</sup> It was scarcely from Buchanan that James could have learned such tolerance, and the influence of that scholar upon his literary development has probably been exaggerated. But between 1555 and 1560 Buchanan had been frequently in Italy, and in later years James recalled how he had impressed upon him the excellence of the government of Venice. It is improbable that this was the only Italian topic discussed between master and pupil, though Buchanan is hardly likely to have encouraged James to explore the vernacular literature of that country in other fields than that of history. For this he had to turn to the books which came into his possession from his mother’s library, or to those which were purchased by Peter Young between 1573 and 1583 or gifted by private donors during the same period to the royal collection.<sup>2</sup> In July 1573 Young received on his behalf from the Queen’s collection, on the instructions of the Regent Morton, a copy of the *Pecorone* of Giovanni Fiorentino, and, what is more interesting, one of “Dante en Italien,” the first recorded copy in Scotland of that poet. In 1575 or thereabouts the *Cento giochi liberali* were purchased, and in 1577 or later an Italian translation, most likely that of Lodovico Dolce, of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, and an Italian grammar (probably that of Scipio Lentulo, 1574-75).<sup>3</sup> In March 1577, among other books recovered from the Queen’s collection is a French version of the Travels of Marco Polo (*Il Milione*), and on 4th December of the same year a copy of Trissino’s *Sofonisba*, which had been borrowed by Mr John Wood, secretary to the

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Sisson in *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Warner, *The Library of James VI.* (Scot. Hist. Soc., Misc. i.).

<sup>3</sup> The original Latin edition of this, *Italicæ Grammatices Institutio* (Geneva, 1568), was already in Queen Mary’s library. Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Regent Moray. A particularly interesting group of works from the same collection, originally handed over to Morton on 28th October 1573, were only, Young informs us, "delyuérít to the King for ye maist part apou the 16 of Nouember 1578." These include "Petrarche in Ital.," "Q. Cursius in Ital.," "Lyues of Petrarq. in Ital.," the "Histoires tragiques de Bandel" (*i.e.*, Pierre Boaistuau's translated selections from Bandello, including the tales of Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet), and "Sum Comedies and Tragedies in Ital." Even more significant for the general history of culture are the personal gifts made to James by various noblemen, commoners, and ecclesiastics. These include the *Circe* of Giambattista Gelli, presented by the notorious Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews; *Il Cortegiano*, the histories of Guicciardini and Paolo Giovio (in Latin), Calepino's *Dictionarium septem linguis*, and a "Grammaire en françoys et Italien" <sup>1</sup> from the Chancellor, Lord Glamis; and Muzio's *Il Duello*, from the King's grandmother, Lady Lennox. From Mr Killigrew, the English agent at Court, James also received Sir Thomas Hoby's English version of *Il Cortegiano* and a Latin phrase-book of Aldus Manutius; from the Bishop of Caithness the *Heures de recreation* of L. Guicciardini in the French version of Belleforest; from Mr Clement Littill, whose private library afterwards formed the nucleus of that of Edinburgh University, an Italian Bible and an Italian translation of Terence; and from Mr John Craig, <sup>2</sup> formerly Knox's colleague in St

<sup>1</sup> This may have been de Mesme's *Grammaire italienne*, a copy of which Drummond presented to Edinburgh University Library: *La Grammaire italienne, composée en François. A Paris, Pour Gilles Corrozet libraire, tenant sa boutique au Palais deuant la chapelle des Presidents. 1548.*

<sup>2</sup> The mention of Craig's name recalls that there were among the Reforming clergy in Scotland others who, like him, had studied in Italy. These included Thomas Smetoun, Andrew Melville's successor at Glasgow, who had spent a year and a half at Rome, in the Jesuit College, and John Row, who was a doctor of laws of Padua.

Giles, a volume containing the Psalms and a catechism in the same tongue. From Buchanan the only work by an Italian that James is known to have received was a French edition of the *Sphaera* of Alessandro Piccolomini, of which he also possessed an Italian edition, as well as the same author's *Filosofia naturale*.

How many of these books James had read, and how far he had progressed in his Italian studies before leaving Stirling in September 1579, it is impossible to say. Certainly the indications are that all the emphasis was on the classical tongues and on French, and this is borne out by his practice as a poet, where signs of Italian influence are almost wholly to seek. It was also in keeping with what was happening elsewhere in the most enlightened educational circles in Scotland. Thus James Melville tells us that about the year 1580 he was reading with his uncle "sum thing of the best authors in the Frenche toung, as of Plutarche's Lyves and Heliodor's Ethiopie Historie, conferring the Greik with the Frenche."<sup>1</sup> None the less, the gifts of Italian books from those in close touch with the royal circle, and the King's possession of two Italian grammars, suggest that towards the end of the seventies he was making some attempt to master that language systematically. This finds confirmation from an unexpected quarter in 1580. On 4th October of that year Cobham, writing to Walsingham from Moret, reported that some months previously a native of Modena, Castelvetro by name, had passed over into England with the intention of finding "the meanes whereby he may attayne to become the Scottish Kynges Scholem<sup>r</sup> for the Itallyane tongue, wherein he professeth to be exquisite."<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> *James Melville's Diary*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>2</sup> Cobham to Walsingham. Moret, 4th October 1580: "It is now (yf it lyke yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>) some moneths passed, since there is gone into Englande a Modanese, named Castelvetro, of whom I was this day enquiryed of, by the Ambassadoure of Ferrara, he being desyrous to

was Giacomo (or Giacopo) Castelvetro, a nephew of Ludovico Castelvetro, the famous Aristotelian scholar and critic. He was born, apparently at Modena, on 26th March 1546. Like his uncle, whose heterodox opinions in religious matters he seems to have shared, he soon came under the observation of the Inquisition, and when the elder Castelvetro was excommunicated and condemned as an impenitent heretic (26th November 1560), Giacomo four years later followed him into exile. Ludovico's first refuge was at Chiavenna, one of the chief rallying-points for Catholic dissenters during the sixteenth century, and here he tried unsuccessfully to have his case brought before the Council of Trent. In 1564-66 he was at Geneva, and in 1567 at Lyons, where Giacomo, who had probably accompanied him on his travels, is again heard of. In 1570 the elder Castelvetro dedicated from Vienna to the Emperor Maximilian his translation and commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, shortly after this returning to Chiavenna, where he died 21st February 1571. In 1572 Giacomo "was living quietly in a village in Baden in order to improve his German." A few years later, between 1575 and 1577, we find him back in Italy, travelling with an Englishman, Sir John North, as his guide and tutor. During this visit he took occasion to settle his affairs, and, apparently apprehensive of the risk he still ran from the Inquisition, seems to have determined to leave

send his letters unto him, I have offerd to see the same tres safely conveighed.

It hath been signified unto me that the said Castelvetro sholde be an Arriane, and to holde straunge opinyones, but rathe thoughte and suspected to be a Jesuite, pretending to finde the meanes whereby he may attayne to become the Scottish Kynges Scholem<sup>r</sup> for the Itallyane tongue wherin he professeth to be exquisite.

He hath made friendshippe with Camillo Cardonio the Sonne of a Napollitane, lately passed over, whose Father is deceased since his departure, and was devout of his religion. I suppose assuredly that he is lykewise well affected but not over warye, therefore the easilyer abused." (*Calendar of State Papers. Foreign, 1579-80, p. 441.*)

the country for good. In his will (dated 18th November 1579) he names his four brothers as his heirs, "commends his soul to his Creator, and directs that his body shall lie buried until the Day of Judgment, in whatsoever place fortune or circumstances may find it."<sup>1</sup> What turned Castelvetro's attention to Scotland and made him aspire to be James's Italian "schoolmaster" there is no evidence to show. But it can hardly have been blind instinct. More likely he had heard from some traveller what studies were being pursued at the Scottish Court, and saw there the opportunity of pushing his fortune in an environment where he had less to fear from the competition of his countrymen than in Elizabethan London. But ten years were to pass before his ambition was realised. In the meantime he had come to England, apparently in 1580, and by 1584 had found employment with the publisher John Wolfe, in whose office Petruccio Ubaldini (*v. ante*, p. xcii n. 3) was also engaged. In 1587 Castelvetro married the widow of Thomas Erastus, and for the next few years was occupied in preparing the posthumous writings of Erastus for the press and with arrangements for reprinting the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, which Wolfe issued in 1591, only a year after the appearance of the first edition at Venice.

The decade which elapsed between Castelvetro's first resolve to visit Scotland and the period when he was able at last to carry out his intention was one full of activity in Scottish literature and of continued interest in Italian studies. The arrival in 1579 of Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, gave a great impetus to such pursuits, and was followed by a notable outburst of verse-making at Court. There seems to be no proof that d'Aubigny was himself specially interested in literature, and it is rather in the changed atmosphere he brought with him

<sup>1</sup> Sheila E. Dimsey, "Giacopo Castelvetro," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 424-31.

to Scotland that his influence is to be felt. Inhibitions were removed. "Papists with great ruffes and syde bellies were suffered in the presence of the Kynge." The mere presence of these courtiers was enough to stimulate in the literary aspirants around James that elective affinity of opposites which has so often been fruitful in the artistic contacts between France and Scotland. There was a renewal for a brief season of influences such as those which had pervaded Mary's Court, but on a soil which was better prepared. In France, meanwhile, the imitation of Italian fashions and the cult of Italian letters persisted, under Henry III. A new poetic star, indeed, had recently arisen at that Court in the person of Philippe Desportes, who promised to eclipse even the fame of Ronsard, and who was more deeply imbued even than the poets of the Pléiade with the colours of Italy. "Il s'inspirait continuellement," says Monsieur Faguet, "des poètes italiens et, comme plus on va, plus on trouve de ses poèmes qui ne sont que des adaptations de poésies italiennes, on prévoit le moment où il sera decouvert, qu'il n'est rien de Desportes qui ne soit venu d'Italie." It is safe to assume that among the entourage of d'Aubigny (created Earl of Lennox, 5th March 1580) were some who were acquainted with the new poet, and who may even have possessed a copy of his *Oeuvres*, of which four editions had appeared between 1573 and 1577. It was not, however, solely to the report of foreign visitors that the Scottish poets of James's Court were indebted for their knowledge of contemporary literary movements abroad. Alexander Montgomerie, one of the oldest of them, and by James's admission and common tradition the "maister" of their art, is believed to have spent some time during the seventies in Flanders, where the influence of Renaissance art and poetry was already making itself felt. Alexander Hume had lived for four years in France before returning to Scotland about the same time as

d'Aubigny's arrival; and Fowler, as has been shown above (*v. ante*, pp. xi *et seq.*), was also there in 1580-81, while Ronsard was still alive, and when the reputation of Italian poetry had been recently enhanced by the appearance of Tasso's *Aminta* and *Gerusalemme liberata*. Of a fourth of the group, John Stewart of Baldynneis, our biographical knowledge is exceedingly scanty, but as a son of the fourth Lord Innermeath he also had probably travelled on the continent and acquired there something at least of that interest in French and Italian literature which his work displays.<sup>1</sup>

There was thus no lack of subjects for literary and critical discussion at the Scottish Court in the years immediately following 1580, nor need we be surprised that in such discussion and in the verse-making which accompanied it French influences predominated. Montgomerie borrowed from Ronsard, Marot, and the "Grands Rhétoriciens,"<sup>2</sup> Stewart of Baldynneis from Desportes and others,<sup>3</sup> and Fowler from du Bellay, Baïf, and Desportes, as well as from the Italian anthologies. King James himself took a prominent part in securing a foreign public for du Bartas, while in the *Revlis and Cautelis*

<sup>1</sup> Among others who visited France in these years was the historian and Latinist, David Hume of Godscroft, the father of Anna Hume, the poetess, whose skilful and agreeable translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (Edinburgh, Evan Tyler, 1644) still remains the most successful version in English. Hume, who had entered the University of St Andrews in 1578, proceeded thence to the continent, and after spending some time in France, set out for Italy, but was recalled in 1581, while still at Geneva, by the illness of his elder brother.

He was again in France about the year 1593, and it may have been on this second visit (*v. infra*, p. cxxxvi) that he acquired the interest in Machiavelli, afterwards displayed in his commentary on "The Prince": *Apologia Basilica seu Machiavelli Ingenium, examinatum in libro quem inscripsit Principem* (Paris, 1626), which he dedicated to Charles I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Hoffmann, *Englische Studien*, xx., 1895; R. Brotanek, *Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomerie* (Wien und Leipzig, 1896); and L. Borland in *Modern Philology*, xi. 127-34.

<sup>3</sup> "John Stewart of Baldynneis: The Scottish Desportes," *Scottish Historical Review*, xii. (1915) pp. 303-10.

there are some signs that he was acquainted with the theories of the Pléiade. But behind all this activity in poetry and criticism lay the example of Italy, and writers could not fail to be conscious of this, although instinct and opportunity might lead them often rather to imitate models nearer home, since the poets of the sixteenth century were no more insensible than those of our own day to the attractions of novelty. Above all, they were aware that in writing of love they were following in the path of Petrarch, who, as James declared,

"his renoun did blayse  
In tounge Italique in a sugred style,  
and to the circled skyes his name did rayse."

Montgomerie also paid his conventional tribute to Petrarch, and was probably well acquainted with his work, although it is doubtful if he could have drawn from it anything so vivid as his rendering of the lines from Ronsard's *Second Livre des Amours*,

Hier au soir que je pris maugré toy  
"So suete a Kis zistrene fra thee I reft," etc.

The late Professor George Stevenson has called attention <sup>1</sup> to a passage in the Tullibardine MS. of the *Flyting with Polwart*, in which the latter seems to charge Montgomerie with pilfering from the Italian.

"Thy pikkillit, puir paremeonis (*i.e.*, proverbs), but skill,  
Pykit from Irisch Italianis, are to blame"

But this seems to be no more than another instance of the use of the word as a term of abuse, which, as we have seen from Andrew Melville's treatment of the Laird of Balcomie (*v. ante*, p. cviii), it was usual to throw at anyone who had dabbled in foreign literature. Certainly there is little sign of an Italian origin in the string of

<sup>1</sup> *Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and other Pieces from Laing MS.*, No. 447, ed. G. Stevenson (Scot. Text Soc.), p. 299.

proverbial expressions which Montgomerie introduces into *The Cherrie and the Slae* (st. 27 *et seq.*).<sup>1</sup>

Stewart of Baldynneis, on whose poems Dr Crockett has long been at work for this Society, is another poet in whom Italian influence was almost certainly strained through French. It would be unfair, however, to transgress on Dr Crockett's researches, or to anticipate his conclusions. Here it is enough to point out that the "abbregement of roland furiovs translait ovt of Ariost" which is the chief item in the manuscript volume of poems Stewart dedicated to King James, is in line with a long series of French translations and adaptations from Ariosto, commencing with the anonymous prose version of 1543, which was reprinted no less than twelve times before 1582. This was followed in 1555 by a verse-translation of the first fifteen books by Jean Fornier de Montauban, and after that by a series of imitations of separate episodes of the *Orlando furioso*, of which the most interesting is the volume of 1572, *Imitations de quelques chants de l'Arioste, par divers poètes François*, to which Desportes, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and J. A. de Baïf contributed. In 1576 another verse-translation of the whole poem appeared from the pen of Gabriel Chappuys; and in 1578 Guillaume Belliard brought out four imitations from the same work, one of which seems to have been known to Fowler (*v. infra*, p. 29). There was nothing therefore more natural for a poet brought up in the French atmosphere of the Court than to attempt such a *cento* or abridgment as Stewart has given us in his poem.

One of the first points of interest about Fowler is that

<sup>1</sup> Pinkerton, it is perhaps worth recalling, styled Montgomerie "the Marini of Scotland and a great dealer in tinsel," but this was merely a further instance of depreciation and conveyed no charge of specifically Italian borrowing. Besides, as Dr Cranstoun has pointed out, the critic was totally unacquainted with the sonnets and miscellaneous poems from the Drummond MS., printed by Dr Irving in 1821, where, if anywhere, such influence might be looked for.

he forms a link between the culture of the bourgeoisie and that of the Court. Montgomerie, Hume, and Stewart of Baldynneis all were cadets of the nobility, but Fowler was of pure burges extraction. His father, however, as has already been pointed out (*v. ante*, p. x), was treasurer of the French revenues of Mary, Queen of Scots, and it is not improbable that in that way he may have been initiated early into a taste for foreign literature. Again, when d'Aubigny came to Scotland, he was entertained first at the house of Fowler's mother (his father had died in January 1572), which suggests that the establishment was one of some size and social pretensions. At St Andrews, too, where Fowler graduated in 1578, the more strictly academic studies, as we have seen, were being tempered about that time, at least in some circles, by indulgence in the more frivolous pursuit of the modern tongues.

When the first literary group was being formed at Court, Fowler was abroad in France, but after the raid of Ruthven and James's subsequent escape from his captors, it may be assumed that the poet's active career in letters began. This was also the period when the activities of the other Court poets were renewed, and when the first harvest of their verse was gathered in. In 1583 Montgomerie received a royal pension of five hundred merks, and was at least intermittently about the Court until his departure from Scotland in 1586. The King's own *Essayes of a Prentise*, to which Fowler contributed a commendatory sonnet, saw the light of print in 1584, and the same year also witnessed the appearance of Thomas Hudson's translation of du Bartas's *Judith*. In May 1587 du Bartas himself arrived at the Scottish Court, and Fowler's manuscript dedication of the *Triumphs of Petrarke* was written on the 12th December following. Montgomerie's pension was nominally restored on 21st March 1589, and in the autumn of the same year James

set out for Denmark, where Fowler had already preceded him in the previous June as one of the embassy sent to complete negotiations for the King's marriage with the Princess Anne.

Unfortunately, apart from the dedication to the *Trionfi*, we know very little of the chronology of Fowler's poetical work. If we accept the suggestion that the plague referred to in *The Tarantula of Love* (v. *infra*, pp. 24-25) was the visitation of 1585, then it may be assumed that some of the sonnets in that sequence were written before that date, which would fall in quite well with the hypothesis that Fowler's poetical career began about 1582. But if the whole of his translation of the *Trionfi* was completed by 1587, it seems likely that the task must have occupied him for several years, especially in view of the interruptions of public and diplomatic business. It is possible, therefore, that the two works were composed about much the same time, although the style of the Petrarch translation seems ruder and more primitive than that of the sonnets. This may be due, however, in part to Fowler's unhappy choice of a measure for that translation, which lent itself all too easily to his characteristic faults of prolixity and monotony. But in the "tight, difficult form" of the sonnet these faults are curbed, and the level of the workmanship is generally competent if undistinguished, rising occasionally to a somewhat higher strain.

Perhaps the most striking feature of *The Tarantula of Love* is the contrast between the bizarre and exotic character of the title and the normality of the contents. The latter, indeed, are almost an epitome of the situations and imagery most commonly found in the Petrarchan poets of the sixteenth century, for here, as is remarked elsewhere in this volume, Fowler keeps close to the crown of the road. The title, on the other hand, suggests the extravagances of Marino and other Neapolitan poets

of the seventeenth century, and is often absurdly out of keeping with the matter of the poems.<sup>1</sup>

In his choice of works for translation Fowler also followed the crown of the road. For very different reasons Petrarch and Machiavelli, as we have already gathered, were two of the most influential literary forces of the sixteenth century. They are the only Italian authors mentioned by Shakespeare. The popularity of the *Trionfi* rivalled that of the *Canzoniere*.<sup>2</sup> Their alle-

<sup>1</sup> Professor W. Ll. Bullock, whose knowledge of sixteenth century sonnet-literature is exceptionally wide, can recall no instance of a title similar to Fowler's. He is inclined, however, to look for the source in popular literature, and possibly in some anonymous little volume, "of which there were legion, largely sold by mountebank pedlars." In Book I. of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, it may be worth noting, the bite of the tarantula in Apulia is said to be cured by playing on different musical instruments: *si dice che in Puglia circa gli atarantati s'adoprano molti instrumenti di musica, & con varii suoni si va inuestigando, fin che quello humore, che fa l'infermità, per vna certa conuenienza, ch'egli ha con alcuno di quei suoni, sentendolo, subito si muoue, & tanto agita l'infermo, che per quella agitation si riduce a sanità.* (*Il Cortegiano del Conte Baldessar Castiglione*. . . . In Lyone appresso Guglielmo Rouillio, 1562, p. 29.) Cf. Sidney, *Arcadia*, I., ix. (1590), "This word, Louer, did not lesse pearce poor Pyrocles, then the right tune of musicke toucheth him that is sick of the Tarantula." It is not impossible, I believe, that this passage was the real source of Fowler's title, and that that title was added after the work was completed, without much regard to its appropriateness to the contents.

<sup>2</sup> On French translations of the *Trionfi*, see G. Bertoni, *Per la fortuna dei Trionfi del Petrarca in Francia* (Modena, 1904). Besides the translations mentioned below (v. p. 5), there also exist versions by J. Ruyr (pub. 1588), by Simon Bourgouyn (MSS. in the Bibl. Nationale and the Arsenal), and by Philippe de Maldeghem (of which there is an edition published at Brussels in 1600). All three are in verse, and the first two show something of the same freedom and love of digression as Fowler; but there is no reason to believe that he was indebted to these or any of the other French renderings of the *Trionfi*.

Bourgouyn's version opens as follows (*Tr. d'am.*, i. 1-6):—

Au temps que mes souspirs en moy se renouellent  
Par les doulz souvenirs qui les iours me reuellent,  
Lesquelz aux longs martirs furent reuementent,  
Desia le clèr soleil prist grand advancement  
D'eschauffer a Thaurus et l'une et l'autre corne  
Et la belle Aurore splandissante e(t) non morne  
Qui fut fille a Titon se monstra en ce iour  
Courant froide et gelée à son ancien seiour . . .

gorical personages lent themselves well to the masques and pageants of Renaissance Courts, and they were widely employed for this purpose, as we have seen in the case of the Holyrood Shrovetide masque of 1564. Artists delighted, too, in the opportunities for symbolical representation and plastic design which these poems afforded, and an immense amount of work in every branch of the fine arts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries draws its inspiration directly or indirectly from the *Trionfi*. Commentators exercised their skill and ingenuity during the same period on the allegorical significance of the poems, and the task was taken up again in modern times by Leopardi and continued during the nineteenth century by Della Torre and others. But while the early commentators dwelt on the moral and philosophical aspects of the work, and saw in the allegory a representation of human life as a whole, modern critics have tended rather to stress the autobiographical element in the poems. The truth, however, as Calcaterra has pointed out, lies between the two extremes. The work beginning, like the *Divine Comedy*, as a vision which comes to the poet after the death of Laura, is sustained by no such strength of thought and imagination as Dante's, and often lapses into tedious moralising and no less tedious catalogues of names. But it does preserve a record of Petrarch's reflections on life and destiny, and to that extent is both personal and philosophic. And while the framework of the vision is both too rigid and too conventional for the taste of the modern reader,<sup>1</sup> and the treatment often

<sup>1</sup> The scheme of the work is that of the successive episodes in a Roman "pomp" or "triumph," in which prisoners are led captive after some

"duke, victorious, high of might,  
Lyk on who to the capitoll triumphs in chariot bright."

But Italian art had already popularised a similar convention in the allegorical groups or apotheoses familiar in such famous works as

pedestrian, there are moments and passages of great beauty in the work, notably in the description of the death of Laura (*Trionf. della Morte*, I., 145-72).

It is to be feared, however, that Fowler was attracted as much by the defects as by the beauties of the *Trionfi*, by the display of erudition and the trite moralising no less than by the occasional distinction of phrase and the delicate lyrical movements. Certainly his own inclination towards the didactic and the platitudinous exaggerated these elements in the original, and this was encouraged by his choice of metre, the luckless "fourteener." In this he was merely following a well-established tradition of English verse-translation from the time of Tottel's Miscellany onwards. Phaer's Virgil (1558), completed by Thomas Twyne in 1573 (reprinted 1584), Golding's Ovid (1565-67) (reprinted 1575, 1584, 1587), and Seneca, *his Tenne Tragedies*, edited by T. Newton (1581), had all been rendered in the same unwieldy and monotonous medium; and King James employed the same measure

Giotto's frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi (the Triumphs of Chastity, Poverty, Obedience, and of St Francis), The Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo at Pisa, attributed to Orcagna, The Triumph of Saint Thomas Aquinas in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, and the Triumph of Good Government by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena.

The *Trionfi* were composed during the later part of Petrarch's life, and occupied him up to the year of his death. It is probable that the poem was begun in 1352, during his last stay in Provence. The first chapter, or "capitolo," of the *Triumph of Love* was completed before 12th September 1356, as we learn from a note bearing that date appended by the poet to v. 73 of the poem. Almost exactly a year later (13th September 1357) the third chapter of the same Triumph (*Era sì pieno*) was likewise complete. The fourth chapter (*Poscia che mia fortuna*) cannot be later than May 1361, the month in which Luigi di Kempen (Socrate) died. By January 1369 the first three Triumphs were completed, at least in their general form; and a month later the third chapter of the *Triumph of Fame* (*Io non sapea*) was already in existence. The sixth and last Triumph—that of Immortality or Eternity, the *Trionfo dell'Eternità*—was begun 15th January 1374, and completed in its first draft by 12th February, only six months before the poet died (18th July 1374).

both in some of his translations from du Bartas <sup>1</sup> and in his original poem *Lepanto*, in his unfinished lines on his Journey to Denmark, and in part of his Fragment of a Masque (or Epithalamion upon the Marquis of Huntly's Marriage). But while in James's hands the metre shows some irregularity, as it had often done, especially in dramatic verse, from *Gammer Gurton's Needle* onwards, Fowler generally conforms strictly to the pattern and hammers out his lines with that steady monotony of rhythm which has given the measure its ill repute. It is true that sometimes a line will emerge more pleasing in its melody and suggestiveness than the rest, as in the second of these—

“ Thair preß and number wes so great quhom CUPID led in chanes,  
that all the shadding MIRTELL woods wer filled with thair tranes.”  
—*Triumphe of Loue*, I., 209-10 ;

and that Fowler can also articulate the metre effectively for rhetorical purposes, *e.g.* :—

“ Whair ar they now ? Whair ar they gone ? Whair ar thair princelie  
crownis ?  
Whair ar thair forked myters now ? Whair are thair purple gownis ? ”  
—*Triumphe of Deathe*, I., 105-06.

But as a measure for rendering the compact, self-contained tercets of the Italian *terza rima*, it is not well adapted. All poetical translation is a makeshift, but, as King James remarked in his introductory note to his *Uranie*, if “ restrained in some things, more than free inuentions are, therefore reasoun would, that it had more libertie

<sup>1</sup> His version of *L'Uranie*, printed in *The Essayes of a Prentise*, is, like his translation from Lucan in the same volume, written in decasyllables. But the two passages from *La Sepmaine* given in Westcott (*New Poems of James I.*, Nos. LVI. and LVII.) are in fourteeners. If these, like the Fragment of a Masque and the lines on the King's Journey to Denmark, were composed subsequent to 1587, it is possible that James was influenced by Fowler's example.

in others." That liberty Fowler exercised in giving a free rein to his passion for words, and especially to the accumulation of synonyms, to which indeed the necessities of his metre invited him. Not only are there few instances in which he is content to reproduce the single epithets of Petrarch, but whole clauses are frequently repeated in alternative phrasing, with an effect like that of parallelism in Hebrew poetry.<sup>1</sup> And with the Scotsman's inherent love of explanation, he seldom leaves an allusion undefined, if it comes within his range of knowledge. All this makes of Fowler's version of the *Trionfi* something very different from the original, diffuse and frequently uncouth, although not more so than the early Elizabethan verse-translations from the classics, with which it should rightly be compared.

On 28th November 1589, after the King's wedding at Oslo, Fowler, as we have seen (*v. ante*, p. xxiii), was appointed Master of Requests and Secretary-depute to Queen Anne, and accompanied the Court back to Scotland in the following May. For the next year and a half he was occupied with his Court duties, while the fortunes of Bothwell, his first patron, declined, until in September 1591 he set out with Buccleuch on the foreign tour which was ultimately to take them to Italy. It is not improbable that it was during those eighteen months spent in Scotland after returning from Denmark that Fowler began his work on *The Prince*, since copies of d'Auvergne's translation, on which he largely depended, are more likely to have been found at the Scottish Court than at Padua, where he arrived in 1592. On the other hand, it is equally possible that it was only on his return to Scotland in 1594 that the work was commenced, by which time he had had opportunity to convince himself that Buccleuch

<sup>1</sup> These were all common devices of Elizabethan translators. Cf. F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation an Elizabethan Art*, 1931, pp. 126-27.

was "mair perfyte, and prompter in the italian tonge than I be."

Meanwhile, during those early years of James's married life, Giacomo Castelvetro had been able at last to carry out his long-cherished ambition, and with his arrival at the Scottish Court a fresh impulse was presumably given to Italian studies. Unfortunately our knowledge of the date of his arrival and of the circumstances of his stay in Scotland is singularly scanty. Our principal source of information is a letter of 14th October 1611 from Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador in London, to the Doge and Senate of Venice, written after James had succeeded in securing Castelvetro's release from the prisons of the Inquisition. In this the ambassador writes: "He [the King] went on to speak of Castelvetro; he told me that Castelvetro had served his Majesty four or five years in Scotland for the Italian tongue; he was very intimate and was well-liked, and so the King felt obliged for this other favour which his Ambassador had reported as it deserved."<sup>1</sup> From other evidence, however, it is possible to infer that the period of Castelvetro's visit to Scotland extended from 1591 to 1595. In the former year, as we have already seen, he brought out in London his edition of the *Pastor Fido*, which was accompanied in the same volume with a reprint of Tasso's *Aminta*; and in the autumn of 1595 we find him in Copenhagen, probably with introductions from the Queen. In the Treasurer's Accounts there is no mention of his name, but the National Library of Scotland possesses a document of great interest, which is the one surviving record of his actual relations with the King. This is an autograph manuscript containing an Italian version of a discourse addressed by the Emperor Charles V. to his

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P., Venetian, vol. xii. p. 223. The Ambassador was Dudley Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Wotton in November 1610.

son Philip of Spain, prefaced by a dedicatory letter to James.<sup>1</sup>

In this letter, dated from Edinburgh 20th August 1592, Castelvetro assures the King that ever since, "through the special grace of God," he came to recognise "the deceits of the Bishop of Rome and his false doctrine," it has been his desire to offer his services to His Majesty "as one of the greatest champions of Jesus Christ in these stormy times" and a prince well furnished with virtue and *belles lettres*. With this intention he left Basle in the year 1580, but having arrived in London he was there detained by the friends and patrons whom he had acquired six years previously, and particularly by Sir Philip Sidney, of ever-cherished memory. But the death of Sidney, followed by that of the Secretary

<sup>1</sup> Nat. Lib. Scot. MS. 23. I. 6. The full title of the manuscript, which was presented to the Advocates' Library in 1708 by Robert Sibbald, M.D., "for their use & the use of Learned men," is as follows :—

Ragionamento / di Carlo V. Imperatore / tenuto al re / Filippo suo figliuolo / In dargli la libera signoria / di tutti gli stati suoi / Diviso in due parti, l'una delle quali si sten- / de intorno al tempo della pace, & l'altra / intorno a quello della guerra. / Riscritto l'anno della salutifera incarnatione / CIO. IO. XCII.

After the dedicatory letter (3 pp.) there follows the text of the Ragionamento, 42 ff., ending on f. 42r, with the colophon :—

Il Ragionamento di Carlo V. Imperadore,  
compiuto di riscrivere, da Giacopo  
Castelvetro cittadino modonese,  
a XVI d'Agosto, l'anno della  
salutifera incarnatione  
di Christo  
CID. ID. XCII.

The vellum binding has on front and back, within a lozenge, the royal crown and the motto "Intus quam extra formosior."

The gift of such manuscripts was a common practice in the sixteenth century between Italian scholars and their royal patrons. Thus Petruccio Ubaldini (*v. D.N.B.*) on several occasions presented Queen Elizabeth with such works, including, among others, his *Vite delle Donne illustri del Regno d'Inghilterra et del Regno di Scotia*. Castelvetro, like Ubaldini, wrote a very fine hand.

[*i.e.*, Sir Francis Walsingham, d. April 1590] and of the Chancellor [Sir Christopher Hatton, d. 20th November 1591], had made him change his plan of settling in London, and led him to revert to his original intention of seeking the patronage of James. For this he had thought no introduction better than the "wise and noble discourse of Charles V.," but Providence had decided otherwise, and he had first come before the King with the book "of the pious Erastus." James, Castelvetro goes on, will remember that he then expressed the wish to see other works of which the donor had spoken, including this discourse; and seeing that it was written in Italian, he had, despite his modesty, gladly fallen in with the King's desire, more especially since it gave him the opportunity to offer his services, along with the gift, either to James or his consort, as an instructor in the Italian tongue. That tongue, he continues, is to-day not only esteemed by all foreign nations as the most beautiful and the most perfect that is spoken; it has also become the possession of all the princes in the world. Everyone knows how much it has helped to enhance the virtues of James's royal sister, the Queen of England, "who not only writes it, but speaks it not less perfectly than if she had been born in the heart of fair Italy." Not only so: she considers no courtier perfect who is not master of it, and is wont to say that the Italian tongue, because of its rare beauty and the number of rare books that can be read only in it, deserves to be known by every noble spirit, were it for nothing else than the understanding of the poems of Tasso, of whom, he reminds James, his favourite du Bartas has written "Dernier en âge, premier en honneur." Then, commending his humble gift to His Majesty, with the promise of "divers other beautiful and noble writings" in preparation, he ends his letter with devout expressions of homage and wishes for his

and the Queen's happiness and the prosperity of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Al Potentiss<sup>mo</sup> & Sereniss<sup>mo</sup> Re di Scotia, Il Re Giacopo VI., Prencipe mio sempre collendiss<sup>mo</sup>.

Sire, c'è sempre stato in me un'ardente desiderio, da che, per ispetial gratia di Dio, conobbi gli'nganni del vescovo di Roma, & la fallace sua dottrina, di venire ad offerire il mio picciol servigio alla Ser<sup>ma</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> V<sup>a</sup>, si come ad un de'maggiori campioni, che Giesu Christo s'habbia, in questi tempestosi tempi, eletto, per avanzar la gloria sua; & si anchora come a Prencipe fornito di belle lettere, & di molte virtu: & tal si fece il predetto mio desio l'anno ottanta, che mi partetti di Basilea, con fermo proposito di qui venire. Ma pervenuto in Londra fui quivi ritenuto da gli amici, & padroni, che di sei anni prima mi v'havea acquistati; & particolarmente dal sempre mai degno di memoria, L'Ill<sup>re</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Filippo Sidneo: ove, credo, che mi sarei sempre mai rimaso, se Iddio non m'haveasse prima lui tolto, poi il S<sup>r</sup> Segretario, & ultimamente il S<sup>r</sup> Cancelliere, la perdita de quali, subito mi fece mutare parere di colà piu lungamente dimorare: & così mi volsi a mandare ad esecuzione il mio primiero intento, & qua mi ridussi, con ferma opinione di non dovere haver mezzo migliore, da presentarmi inanzi a V<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup>, che il nobile e savio Ragionamento di Carlo V., il quale hoggi humilmente le presento. Ma quanto diversi i fini del sovrano Iddio sieno da nostri, bene allhora m'avidi, quando egli solo, fuori d'ogni mia credenza, fece, che il libro del pio Erasto, & non questo ragionamento, che allhora non havea presto, fosse cagione, che io me le presentassi avanti; come S<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> si ricordera, che di cio le toccai due parole, quando le dissi, che altri libri, m'haveano qui fatto venire; ne lasciero di dirle, che s'allhora la Ma<sup>ta</sup> V<sup>a</sup> non si fosse mostrata volonterosa di veder questo stesso libro anchora, che piu non haurei havuto ardir di presentarglielo. Pensai appresso di dovere avere onesta opportunità, in presentandoglielo, per essere egli scritto in italiano, di proferire insieme a V<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> il mio fedel servigio, intorno ad apprendere a lei, od alla Ser<sup>ma</sup> Reina sua consorte, la mia natia lingua; hoggi non pure stimata da qualsivoglia nation forestiere per la piu bella, & per la piu compiuta di quante se ne parlino, ma etiandio abbracciata da tutti i prencipi del mondo; & è noto ad ognuno quanto ella habbia giovato ad illustrar le molte altre virtudi della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Reina d'Inghilterra sua sorella, che non la scrive, ne la parla men perfettamente, che se nel cuore della bella Italia fosse nata, & tanto se ne compiace ella, che non istima quel suo servitore esser perfetto, che veramente non la possiede, essendo solita di dire, che l'italica favella, non solamente per la sua rara beltà, ma anchora per la quantita di rari libri, che in essa & non in altra si leggono, merita d'esser d'ogni nobile spirito saputa; e se non fosse mai per altro, sol per potere intendere i nobili poemi, da pochi anni in qua venuti a luce, del gran poeta Torquato Tasso, di cui parlando il valente suo poeta du Bartas, dice. Dernier en age, premier en honneur. Supplico dunque humilmente V<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> d'accettar lietamente questo mio humil dono, humile, dico, quãto a me, ma veramente nobile quãto agli alti insegnamenti, che in lui si contengono. Et, mentre che vo appres-

If any of these other intended gifts to James were actually made, none of them seems to have been preserved, nor is there any evidence how far Castelvetro's influence extended beyond the Court. In the following year, however, we have a glimpse of another side of his activities while in Scotland, which also introduces the name of another countryman of his then in the capital. In a rough draft of a treatise on alchemy among his papers now at Trinity College, Cambridge, under the heading of "how to increase gold so as to make a good profit by it," there occurs this note: "I got this fine and noble secret at Edinburgh in Scotland from Signor Antonio Oltrana on the 13th of May 1593, and it proved excellent with me in making rings, chains, vases, and similar ware."<sup>1</sup> Shortly before this his wife, Isotta de' Canonici, had died, and from an extract in the British Museum from her will, drawn up on her deathbed on the 7th of March 1593, we learn that Castelvetro was then living in the house of Robert Bowes, the English ambassador. Bowes himself, his nephew Robert Bowes, and

tando altri diuersi, belli, & nobili scritti da presentare a S<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> la supplico similmente, & con ogni dovuta riverenza, che voglia degnare di gradir la buona volonta, che io ho di servirla con tutta quella fedelta, che si richiegga ad un'huomo ben nato; & in tutto quello, che la Ma<sup>ta</sup> V<sup>a</sup> si puo, con tutta questa mia bassa fortuna, promettere di me. Et qui, di cuor pregando Iddio onnipotente per la felicità, e per la grandezza di V<sup>a</sup> Ma<sup>ta</sup> Ser<sup>ma</sup>, della Ser<sup>ma</sup> Reina sua consorte, e del suo nobil reame, cesserò di piu noiarla, humilissimamente basciandole la reale sua mano. Di questa sua citta d'Edemborgo a XX d'Agosto del M.D.XCII.

Di V<sup>a</sup>. Ma<sup>ta</sup>. Ser<sup>ma</sup>.

Humilissimo & devotiss<sup>mo</sup>  
servo  
Giac<sup>o</sup>. Castelvetri.

<sup>1</sup> "Questo bello e nobile secreto hebbi io in Edimburgo in Iscotia dal Signor Antonio Oltrana a' 13 di Maggio 1593, che mi riusci ottimo a farne anella, catene, vasi e simili stoviglia." I owe this and the following reference to the kindness of Miss K. T. Butler, who has long been interested in Castelvetro, and who has done much to clear up the obscure places in his biography.

members of their household witnessed the will and received legacies.

The full story of Castelvetro's life after leaving Scotland lies outside the purpose of this essay, and there are many breaks in the record. In the latter part of the year 1595 he was in Denmark, and from there he passed into the service of Duke Charles of Sweden, afterwards King Charles IX. At the end of 1599 he returned to Italy, and for the next ten years or so lived in Venice, where he taught Italian, first in the household of Sir Henry Wotton and then in that of his successor, Sir Dudley Carleton. In September 1611 he was arrested by the Inquisition, but liberated, as we have seen, through the good offices of James and the English ambassador. In 1613 we find him back in England, "giving Italian lessons to graduates and undergraduates of Cambridge University." His last years were spent at Charlton, in Kent, in the household of Sir Adam Newton, who had been tutor to Prince Henry, and he died there, probably in 1616.<sup>1</sup>

Fowler had left Scotland some time before Castelvetro arrived, and there is reason to believe that he spent the greater part of 1592 and 1593 in Italy. If there is any truth in Dempster's allegation that he fell into the hands of the Inquisition in Rome, it was probably at some time during this period; but of this there is no evidence. There is little doubt, on the other hand, that it is his name which occurs, along with Buccleuch's, in the list of Scottish students matriculated among the "Jurists" at the University of Padua, under the date 25th July 1592 (*v. ante*, p. xxv). The last decade of the sixteenth century seems to have witnessed a notable increase in the number of Scottish students at Padua. It is well known that John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, was there in

<sup>1</sup> K. T. Butler, "An Italian's message to England in 1614," *Italian Studies*, ii., No. 5.

1597, and is said to have left a strange emblem or device at a dancing-school which he frequented, representing "a blackamoor reaching at a crown with a sword, in a stretched posture," which was discovered after his death and brought forward as a proof of his guilt in the "conspiracy" of 1600.<sup>1</sup> The date of his matriculation is given in the Padua records as 19th April, and he is described as *d(ominus) Ioannes Ruthuen scotus cum signo albo in mento*.<sup>2</sup> Two days earlier his tutor, William Rhynd, who was put to the torture of the boot after the earl's murder for his supposed share in the plot, also appears in the record as *Gulielmus Rynd scotus cum ledigine super facie*; and in the following June occurs the name of Robert Kerr of Newbattle (afterwards second Earl of Lothian), *scotus cum neo in manu dextera in digito annulari*. Another Scot at Padua, like Gowrie a graduate of Edinburgh University, deserves special mention. This was Thomas Seggett, whose name appears in the matriculation list for 1597-98 as *d. Thomas Segetus scottus cum venecula sub oculo sinistro*, the date of his admission being 1st June 1598. Seggett, who is chiefly known as a Latin poet through his contributions to the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*,<sup>3</sup> had a career of great interest, of which little has hitherto been known to English readers.<sup>4</sup> After graduating at Edinburgh in August 1588, he acted for a time as tutor to the family of Lord Seton, and also studied for some years at Louvain under the famous Latinist Justus Lipsius. In the autumn of 1597 he set out for Italy, and arrived in Padua about

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lang, *James VI. and the Gowrie Mystery*, pp. 126-27, and Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> Andrich and Brugi, *De Natione Anglica et Scots Juristarum Universitatis Patavinæ*, pp. 172-73. Cf. A. Francis Steuart in *S.H.R.*, iii, 53 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Amsterdam, 1637, vol. ii. pp. 490-504.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. D. Irving, *The Lives of the Scottish Poets* (Edin., 1804), i. 113-14. The name is variously spelt Seggat, Segatt, Segaitt, and in its Latinized form Segetus, Segethus, and Seghetus.

the middle of October. Here he was admitted into the household of Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli, a great collector and patron of learning, and there made the acquaintance of Galileo, with whom he was afterwards intimate. In setting out on his journey to Italy, Seggett had begun to compile an *Album amicorum*, now in the Vatican Library,<sup>1</sup> to which Galileo and many other famous men contributed; and it is interesting to note that the first name he secured in Padua was that of the Earl of Gowrie (19th October 1597). During the next few years he paid frequent visits to Venice, establishing relations with several patrician families, and in April 1600 he went to live there. But after the death of Pinelli, 4th August 1601, he was invited back to Padua to take charge of the famous library formed by that bibliophile. On 1st August 1602 Seggett's name again appears in the University records as Councillor of the Scottish Nation, but on the 20th of October 1603 we find him under arrest by order of the Venetian Council of Ten, on some unnamed charge, for which on 9th December 1604 he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, to be followed by twenty years' continual banishment "from the city and dogate of Venice, and all other cities, territories and places in our dominions." Nor was this all; for in 1605 a fresh accusation was brought against him of having circulated a defamatory libel against a certain Tommaso Malipiero; and it was only through the energetic intervention of the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, that this new charge and the previous sentence were finally revoked on the 28th September 1605.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting, incident-

<sup>1</sup> Florio Banfi, "Marino Ghetaldi da Ragusa e Tommaso Segeth da Edimburgo," *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia*, xxvi., fasc. 153 (December 1938). This article contains facsimiles from the album, and a full list of contributors.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, x. 277, 304, 305, 367, 371, 389, 394, 401, 409, 419, 421, 423, 424, 425, 429.

ally, to note that Seggett's case was the first with which Wotton had to deal on taking up his duties as ambassador, and that he testified in his plea to the Doge that "he is young, poor, learned, and bred in the arts, has suffered much, and lastly is a subject of my master." On leaving Venice Seggett seems to have returned to Louvain, where on the death of Lipsius (23rd April 1606) he commemorated his old master in two Latin epitaphs. From there he passed into Germany, and about the beginning of 1610 into Bohemia. Here some of the most eventful months of his life ensued. He had kept up his relations with Galileo, and one of his first duties on arriving in Prague was to present on his behalf a copy of the famous scientist's *Sidereus Nuncius* to Kepler. He was also privileged to take part with Kepler in the astronomical observations which confirmed Galileo's views on the four satellites of Jupiter, and was publicly thanked for his assistance in the treatise in which the great astronomer described the result of their experiments. To this treatise, the *Narratio de observatis a se quatuor Jovis satellitibus erroribus*, were appended six Latin epigrams of Seggett, written under the stress of his excitement, in one of which he echoes the legendary cry of Julian :

"Vicisti Galilæe. Fremant licet Orcus et umbrae,  
Jupiter illum, istas opprimet orta dies."

But the poems were so incorrectly printed that the author, after sending a copy of Kepler's work to Galileo, sent him also an autograph copy of the verses, to which he added a new epigram.<sup>1</sup> From Prague Seggett journeyed into Poland about the beginning of the year 1611, in the company of a certain David Riches (or Ritchie?), and

<sup>1</sup> Galileo, *Opere*. Edizione Nazionale, iii. 11-12, 101, 121, 187-90; x. (Carteggio) 336, 427-28, 454-55, 483; xi. (Carteggio) 12, 43. See also Antonio Favaro, "Amici e corrispondenti di Galileo Galilei," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, lxx., Part 2 (1911), pp. 617-30.

after that our knowledge of his movements becomes uncertain. It is to be hoped, however, that a Polish scholar, M. Birkenmajer, who is working on his life, will be able to throw some light on this portion of his career. We know at any rate that he engaged on fresh literary labours, some of which have been preserved, and that one of his last tasks was a translation from the Italian into Latin of a little treatise on the Italian states, the *De principibus Italiæ Commentarius*, dedicated to Sir Dudley Carleton and published posthumously in 1628.

It would be interesting to know whether Fowler also met Galileo at Padua. He arrived shortly before the latter entered on the duties of his chair,<sup>1</sup> and his interest, one thinks, must have been stirred through the fact of his previous acquaintance with Tycho Brahe. But it is more likely that under Dymoke's guidance his attention was chiefly given to *belles lettres* and the collection of books, for which the neighbourhood of Venice afforded incomparable facilities. Some of the volumes thus acquired probably passed later into the hands of his nephew Drummond, and so helped to kindle that purer flame of Italianism which burns in the younger poet's work.<sup>2</sup> Dymoke himself does not seem to have matriculated at the university, but there were numerous opportunities of literary intercourse in Padua outside academic circles. Pinelli's house, in particular, was much frequented by men of letters, and by Guarini among the rest. At Venice, too, there were survivors of an earlier generation such as the poet Celio Magno, and younger figures such as Fra

<sup>1</sup> Galileo's inaugural lecture at Padua was delivered 7th December 1592.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Ciotti, the Venetian bookseller with whom Fowler left a parcel of books in July 1593 (*v. ante*, p. xxvi), was afterwards the publisher of Marino's works, beginning with his *Rime* in 1602. In view of Drummond's indebtedness to that poet, it is tempting to suppose that the connection established in 1593 was kept up after Fowler returned to Scotland.

Paolo Sarpi, to whom even Galileo deferred, and who was often to be found at Padua in the house of Pinelli.

Besides the students from Scotland who frequented the University of Padua in the closing years of the sixteenth century, there was also during the same period a constant coming and going of Scottish envoys to Italy to further one or other of James's diplomatic schemes. Ogilvy of Poury, Sir William Keith, a younger Maitland of Lethington, Sir Michael Balfour of Burley, and possibly the Master of Gray, were all there at different times between 1596 and 1603;<sup>1</sup> while Sir Henry Wotton's secret mission to Scotland in 1601 on behalf of the Grand Duke of Tuscany provided a romantic counterpart to the King's tortuous diplomacy.<sup>2</sup> There was much indeed that was Machiavellian in James's policy. Faced by the necessity of resisting Spain, who had her agents even within the inner circle of the Court, and of fighting at the same time for his succession to the English crown, he was compelled to follow a course less heroic than astute, in which there was assuredly more of the "fox" than the "lion." And in the success with which he pursued his appointed path he showed himself no unworthy disciple of *The Prince*.

Interest in Machiavelli's teaching was probably never more intense than during these same closing years of the century. More than fifty years had elapsed since the publication of his famous treatise, and yet despite—or perhaps because of—Puritan denunciation and the Roman censorship,<sup>3</sup> curiosity regarding the forbidden work

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Mackie, "A Secret Agent of James VI.," *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, ix. 376-86; and *Negotiations between King James VI. and I. and Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of Tuscany* (St Andrews University Publications, XXV.).

<sup>2</sup> Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, i. 40-42.

<sup>3</sup> All Machiavelli's works were put on the Index in 1559, "and for more than two centuries from that date none of them were openly printed in Italy." H. Sellers, "Italian Books printed in England before 1640," *The Library*, September 1924.

increased. In England the drama, as Mario Praz has shown, gave currency to a fabulous Machiavelli, in whom Florentine "subtlety" and "atheism" were blended with Senecan "horrors." Yet side by side with the fantastic Elizabethan bogey, knowledge of the real Machiavelli steadily grew, and even some of those who had helped to distort his features show that they were probably well acquainted with his doctrines and their influence. Thus Marlowe, in the Prologue to *The Jew of Malta* :—

"Thogh some speak openly against my books,  
Yet will they read me, and thereby attain  
To Peter's chair."

It was mainly due to an English printer, John Wolfe, well known for his defiance of the censorship, that the Elizabethan public was enabled to read Machiavelli in the original. His five small octavos, published between 1584 and 1588, were the first reprints of these works issued since the Papal ban was imposed in 1559, and they circulated both in England and on the continent. All of them bore false imprints, and it is only in comparatively recent times that their English origin has been recognised. Wolfe began with editions of the *Discorsi* and *The Prince*, both bearing the imprint "Heredi d'Antoniello degli Antonielli, Palermo, 1584." These were followed by the *Florentine History*, professing to be printed "In Piacenza appresso gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari. 1587," the *Arte della Guerra*, with the imprint "Palermo, Antonello degli Antonelli" (*n.d.*, but also of 1587), and *L'Asino d'oro*, "In Roma MDLXXXVIII." All of these were probably seen through the press by Petruccio Ubaldini, and the prefaces are also most likely from his hand.

Although P. Whitehorne's translation of the *Art of War* had appeared as early as 1562, and Thomas Bedingfield's version of *The Florentine History* was published in 1595, no English translation of *The Prince* was printed

until 1640. In that year Edward Dacres, who had already, in 1636, brought out a translation of the *Discorsi*, published "NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL'S PRINCE. ALSO, The life of *Castruccio Castracani* of *Lucca* . . . Translated out of *Italian* into *English*; By *E.D.* With some Animadversions noting and taxing his errours. London, Printed by *R. Bishop*, for *Wil: Hils.*"<sup>1</sup> The "Animadversions" are confined principally to five chapters (7, 15, 18, 23, and 25); but Dacres admits that "Questionlesse some men will blame mee for making this Authour speake in our vulgar tongue. For his maximes and tenents are condemnd of all, as pernicious to all Christian States, and hurtfull to all humane Societies." While sharing this view, the translator begs the reader to apply his own judgment to the book, assuring him, in words which recall Marlowe's, that "I will promise thee this reward for thy labour: if thou consider well the actions of the world, thou shalt find him much practisd by those that condemne him; who willingly would walk as theeves doe with close lanternes in the night, that they being undescried and yet seeing all, might surprise the unwary in the dark." And he concludes: "Surely this book will infect no man: out of the wicked treasure of a mans' own wicked heart, he drawes his malice and mischief. . . . If mischief come hereupon, blame not me, nor blame my Authour: lay the saddle on the right horse: but *Hony soit qui mal y pense*: let shame light on him that hatcht the mischief."

Surprise has sometimes been expressed that it was not until well into the seventeenth century that the first translation of *The Prince* was published in England, in view of the manifest interest and curiosity displayed in that work during more than half a century before the appearance of Dacres' version.<sup>2</sup> We know now, however,

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, it was dedicated, like d'Auvergne's French version, to a Scottish nobleman, James, Duke of Lennox, to whom Dacres also dedicated his translation of the *Discorsi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Whibley, *Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, iv. 7-8.

that no less than six manuscript translations of the treatise, not to mention Fowler's version in Scots, existed before that of 1640, all of them probably earlier than 1600. Five of these have been described by an Italian scholar, Professor Orsini, who was the first to call attention to them in a volume published in 1937<sup>1</sup>; while the sixth, now in America, appeared in 1934 in a sale catalogue of Messrs Maggs, who ascribed it to the circle of the Earl of Oxford, and suggested that it might be by Thomas Bedingfield, the translator of the Florentine History. Of the five manuscripts described by Professor Orsini, one (Ashmolean, 792) is in the Bodleian Library; the others (Harleian, 6795; Harleian, 967; Harleian, 364, XX.; Harleian, 2292) are in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> None of

<sup>1</sup> Napoleone Orsini, *Studi sul Rinascimento Italiano in Inghilterra* (Florence, Sansoni). See also *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i., No. 2, "Elizabethan Manuscript Translations of Machiavelli's Prince."

<sup>2</sup> Of these manuscripts the only one which I have been able to examine personally is that in the Bodleian, Ashmolean 792, III. This is the third item in a large miscellaneous volume of tracts, armorial, legal, and political documents, &c., covering the period 1575-1641. The translation is a folio of forty numbered pages, and is described in W. H. Black's catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS., 1845, as "a fair copy, of the time of James I.: folio 19, verso is left blank, but nothing is omitted." The writing is neat and close, and free from corrections. The pages are framed in green lines, with the running headline in red, which has sometimes faded. Green ink has also been used for some of the chapter headings, etc., so that the general effect is decorative.

The first chapter opens as follows: "Whatsoever state of gouernment either hath bin or now is amongst men, the same may be called either populer, where all or manie beare the swaye, or princelie where one alone hath the soveiraingtie. The princelie states doe either descende by inheritaunce to them whose ancestors of longe tyme gane enioyed the diademe, or els they are newlie gotten, these last ar either such where unto before no title could be pretended, as Millaine was to Francis Sforza, or els annexed as it were a parte of the inherited state of the prince that enioyed the same, as the kingdome of Naples was to the kinge of Spaine. These states of gouernment so gotten, ar ether accustomed to live under the obedience of a prince, or free without controlment, and the ar wone ether by forren force, or are wone by fortune or vertu."

In chapter 17 the quotation from Virgil is rendered thus:—

"Great need (qd she) and rawe estate of this my kingdome new  
Compells me thus my coast to keepe and wide aboute me weve."

them is dated, nor in any of them is the translator's name given; but in Harleian MS., 967, the translation is followed by a prose tract, apparently in the same hand, describing a conference between a Lawyer and a Gentleman concerning "a litl book . . . then newlie set forth, containing a defense of the public iustice don of late in England vpon divers Priests, and other Papists for treason." The "litl book" has been identified by Professor Orsini as a pamphlet on *The Execution of Justice in England*, issued in 1583 as Government propaganda by Cecil, and the tract itself as merely a partial transcript of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, which was first published on the Continent in 1584, and which had almost immediately a wide circulation, especially in manuscript. From this it would seem likely that this particular translation cannot be much later than that date, if it is not earlier. In any case, it must almost certainly be earlier than Fowler's.

The five manuscripts described by Professor Orsini do not, however, represent five independent translations, but at most two, of which one, designated by the letter A, is that contained in the Bodleian manuscript, and in Harleian MSS., 6795 and 967. The other, to which he gives the designation B, is represented by the remaining two manuscripts in the British Museum, Harleian, 364 and 2292. These two groups, each of which has an individual character of its own, are, however, linked by certain common features, the full extent of which could only be determined by a complete collation.

Another question of great interest is that of the originals from which these translations were made, and of their relationship in this respect to Fowler's version. But here again conclusions can only be provisional, pending a complete collation of all five manuscripts. Some useful indications, however, can be gathered from the data already accessible. A. Gerber, in his valuable biblio-

graphy of Machiavelli,<sup>1</sup> showed that the text of Wolfe's edition of *The Prince* (1584) was derived from that of Giolito (1550). Now, in one passage at the end of Chapter 12 of *Il Principe*, which reads in the modern critical text :—

Non traevano la notte *alle terre ; quelli delle terre non traevano alle tende ;* non facevano intorno al campo nè steccato nè fossa ; non campeggiavano il verno ;

the words in italics are omitted both by Wolfe and Giolito and the passage runs :—

non trahevano di notte alle tende, non facevano intorno al campo ne steccato, ne fossa, non campeggiavano il verno. (Wolfe, fol. 24r.)

This is the version apparently followed by both texts of the B type, which have respectively :—

1 (Harleian, 364). They shott not on against another by night : they made aboute the camp neither ditch nor rampier. They kept no camp in the winter ;

and

2 (Harleian, 2292). They shott not one aga<sup>t</sup> another by night, they made about the campe neither ditch, nor rampire, they kept not campe in the winter.

On the other hand, all three texts of A, together with Fowler, include the missing words, *e.g.* :—

A1 (Ashmolean, 792). They never gaue assault by night to anie cittie beseiged nor they of the cittie at that time might offer to com out against the enemyes tentes. They intrrenched not their Campe

<sup>1</sup> N. Machiavelli, *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen seiner Werke im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert* (Gotha, 1912).

with ditches, nor fortified it with anie rampier, nor never kept the feildes in the winter season.

A2 (Harleian, 6795). They never gaue assaulte by night to any citee beseged nor they in the citee at that tyme might offer to come out against the enemies tents. They entrenched not thir Campe with ditches nor fortified it with any rampire nor neuer kepte the feildes in the winter season.

A3 (Harleian, 967). They neuer gave assault by night to anie cittie beseged, nor they of the cittie at that time might offer to com out against the enemies tentes: they intranched not their campe with ditches, nor fortified it with anie rampier, nor kept the field in the winter season.

(Fowler.) In the night they Invaded nather tounes nor trenches of there ennemyeis nor gaue to thame allarmes; nather they that wer asseaged did sortye out to assalze the assegers pallions, nather was there forts environed nor compassed with barriers, tranches, nor fousseis, nather yet in the wintar seasoun did they pitch a camp.

The problem is complicated, however, in Fowler's case by the fact that he made considerable use (*v. infra*, p. 47) of the French translation of Gaspard d'Auvergne, while, to judge from the extracts just quoted, all the other translators depended solely upon one or other of the Italian texts. It may be useful, therefore, to give next d'Auvergne's rendering of the same passage:—

Ilz ne venoient point de nuit donner allarmes aux villes assiegées, ne ceux des villes ne sortoient point a ces heures pour aller a l'escarmouche sur les tentes des ennemis. Leur camp n'estoit point enuironné de barrieres, ne tranchées, & ne campegoiét point le temps d'hyuer.

From this it may be seen (1) that Fowler used d'Auvergne to supplement or elucidate an Italian text which was neither that of Wolfe nor of Giolito, but similar to that

of the A manuscripts and our modern editions—*e.g.*, “they invaded nather tounes,” etc. ; (2) that he added words and phrases of his own, frequently in alliterative sequence (as in his version of the *Trionfi*), found in neither of his originals—*e.g.*, “nor trenches of there ennemyeis” ; (3) that renderings of both the Italian and the French text often exist side by side—*e.g.*, “they invaded nather tounes,” etc. (M), “nor gave to thame allarmes” (D’Auv.), “barriers, tranches (D’Auv.) nor fousseis” (M) ; and (4) that when he does translate from the French his rendering is sometimes very close, but that this too is generally an expansion of the concise and pregnant phrasing of Machiavelli—*e.g.*, *traevano alle tende* (M), “sortoient . . . pour aller a l’escarmouche sur les tentes des ennemis” (D’Auv.) “did sortye out to assalze the assegers pallions” (F).

One passage in which Fowler follows d’Auvergne with even more than ordinary closeness raises a further point of much interest. This is in the description (Chapter 26) of the signs and omens which foretell the coming liberation of Italy under the Medici. In the French version this runs as follows :—

Outre cela il se trouve des cas en aucuns d’eux, qui sont extraordinaires, & sans exemple. Dieu les conduisoit, la mer s’entrouurit, vne nuée leur a enseigné le chemin, la priere de Moyse a miraculeusement fait sortir de l’eau, le ciel a pleu la Manne ;

and in Fowler :—

Moreover, ze sal se causes in some of theme that ar extraordinarie and but example, for god hes conducted theme : the sees hes bene oppen, the clud hes convoyed theme, pr[a]yers poured water furth of stains, the heavens hes rayned manna.

In the established text of Machiavelli the last two

clauses read : *la pietra ha versato acqua ; qui è piovuto la manna*. But in the early editions, from that of 1532 onwards, there is a corrupt reading *pieta*, which was followed even by Dacres in his translation of 1640 : “ devotion powrd forth the waters ” (*sic*). But Wolfe, or his editor Ubaldini, amended this to the correct reading *pietra*, and *all* the manuscript translations described by Professor Orsini make the same correction and translate : “ the rocke hath powred out water.” When we compare, however, what d’Auvergne has written with what we find in Fowler, we discover a curious state of affairs. The former, having access only to the early and corrupt text, apparently paraphrased *pieta* as “ la priere de Moyses,” and this Fowler accepted, afterwards deleting Moses (*v. note to Vol. II., p. 163, 7*). But he also added “ stains,” either from his own biblical recollections (*cf. Exodus xvii. 6*), or from having seen Wolfe’s text of this passage.

On 23rd August 1593, while Fowler was still abroad, Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, died, and the inventory of his library, recently published among the *Warrender Papers*,<sup>1</sup> is a further proof of the extent to which Italian literature had penetrated Court circles during the earlier decades of the King’s reign. Indeed this inventory shows that even a Scottish bishop of the sixteenth century who had thrown in his lot with the Reformers possessed a collection of Italian books which might have belonged to an Elizabethan courtier or scholar. The bishop, who had officiated both at the crowning and anointing of James (29th July 1566) and at the marriage of Mary to the Earl of Bothwell (15th May 1567), in 1568 exchanged the temporalities of Orkney for those of Holyrood, and some of his books may have come from the royal collec-

<sup>1</sup> *The Warrender Papers* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), ii. ; ed. Annie I. Cameron.

tion. Even so, the library was a remarkable one. It included the *Decamerone*, the *Cortegiano*, three volumes of the *Novelle* of Bandello, the *Rime* of Sannazaro, the *Orlando innamorato* (both in the original and in French), the *Orlando furioso* (in French), the *Prose* and *Asolani* of Bembo, Doni's *Morale filosofia*, Lodovico Dolce's tragedy of *Didone*, the *Letters* of Claudio Tolomei, the *Dialoghi* of Speroni, Italian histories of Naples and Genoa, and Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* (in Italian) and *Discorsi* (in French), besides other miscellaneous works and treatises (also in Italian) on duelling, architecture, and cookery. A specially interesting item in the inventory is the "Discours sur la moyen de bien gouverner contre Nicholas Machriavelli" (*sic*). This is the famous treatise of Innocent Gentillet, former President of the Parlement of Grenoble, *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner et maintenir en paix un royaume, ou autre principauté* (1576), the most effective of the French Protestant counterblasts to *The Prince*. Two further entries in the same inventory, hitherto unidentified, permit the conjecture that the bishop may also have possessed a copy of *The Prince* itself. These are "Opus Mariscaltii italice scriptum" and "Ante Marischaleis," which, allowing for the frequent inaccuracy of the record, might conceivably represent *The Prince* and *Contre-Machiavel*, the sub-title of Gentillet's work. But it is equally possible that some other Italian writer is concealed under the faulty transcription.<sup>1</sup>

Fowler seems to have returned to Scotland early in 1594, and he was soon deeply involved in Court activities

<sup>1</sup> Two of the principal Scottish collectors of Italian books in the generation after the Bishop of Orkney were Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to King James I., and Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, the patron of Jamesone the painter. See *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library, originally formed by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun . . . author of "The Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland,"* &c. . . . (London, 1816).

and distractions, including the preparations for the prince's baptism. It is unlikely that he had now much time for his own literary pursuits, and this may account for the unfinished state in which his translation of *The Prince* was left. It would seem, too, that the literary exercises which now occupied the leisure of the courtiers were of a more trivial sort than had been the case in the eighties—anagrams and such-like amusements, and the “cockelauds and verses” written “in emulation,” of which Nicolson speaks in his letter of 27th November 1595.

A leader in the new pastimes was the Irishman, Walter Quin, who, fresh from his foreign travels, settled in Edinburgh some time before 1595. Born in Dublin about 1575, he is said to have come to Scotland to pursue his university studies, although his name does not appear on the Edinburgh graduation lists. Late in 1595 he was presented to the King, who “was charmed with his learning, courtly manners, and foreign experiences.” Quin was a typical dilettante, skilled in several languages, and seems to have been the only one of James's circle who composed verses in Italian.

It would probably not be unfair to ascribe the changed atmosphere of the Court in some degree to the frivolous taste of Queen Anne, who may have found in these amusements entertainment afterwards more generously provided by the masques and pageants at Whitehall and in the noblemen's houses visited during the various royal progresses. It is not clear how far Fowler's secretarial duties gave him the opportunity to act as literary adviser to the Queen, but if they discussed books together it is likely that Italian literature formed one of their subjects of conversation. For Anne's “chief accomplishment,” at least in after days, was her knowledge of that language, which, according to Cardinal Bentivoglio, she

spoke perfectly.<sup>1</sup> She had probably learned it first from Giacomo Castelvetro, but her principal teacher was John Florio, who became one of her Grooms of the Privy Chamber in 1604, adding to his duties those of reader in Italian and ultimately of private secretary. On 12th August 1611 Ottaviano Lotti, the Tuscan agent at the English Court, reported to his Government in the course of a dispatch that "this Florio . . . is with the Queen all day long, teaching her the Italian language,"<sup>2</sup> and in the same year Florio dedicated to his patron the second edition of his great Italian dictionary, under the title of *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. The removal of the Court to London must have meant many changes in Fowler's relations to his royal mistress, and it is even possible that Florio had gradually supplanted him in his position as secretary. Thus in the letter of the Tuscan ambassador just quoted, the writer goes on to say that Florio, besides "hearing her [the Queen's] conversation on all subjects . . . writes all her most confidential letters." But apart from all changes in his personal situation, the transition to London involved for Fowler, as for other Scottish literary men at James's Court, a change of intellectual climate. They might boast that their Latinists were known all over Europe, and that Sidney had said of Buchanan that his "Tragidies do justly bring forth a divine admiration." But they must have been conscious

<sup>1</sup> Frances A. Yates, *John Florio*, p. 248. James, too, enjoyed his opportunities of speaking the language with the Venetian and the Florentine ambassadors at the English Court. When Sir John Harington, at the King's request, read Ariosto to him, he praised his accent. Through his agent at the Court of Savoy James was also able to exert his influence on behalf of a living Italian poet. When in 1612 Giambattista Marino was thrown into prison through the jealousies and slanders of his enemies, the King was one of those who bestirred themselves to secure his release, and was rewarded by a sonnet from the poet's pen, printed in the 1616 edition of Sir William Alexander's *Monarchicke Tragedies*.

<sup>2</sup> Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

that their work in the vernacular was a poor thing beside the astonishing efflorescence of English poetry and prose which had ensued since Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* appeared in 1579, and that the Renaissance had effected no such marriage with native genius in the North as that which produced the masterpieces of Elizabethan literature, since the genius was lacking and contact with the Renaissance spirit had been fitful and fugitive. Something of this difference of climate can be felt, for example, in comparing the hyperbole of Florio's dedication of his dictionary to Queen Anne with Fowler's dedication of his *Trionfi* to the Lady Jean Fleming. The latter is an admirable piece of prose, one of the best that Fowler wrote, yet the very extravagance of Florio's words bespeaks a richer and more confident civilisation.

TO THE IMPERIAL MAIESTIE  
of the Highest-borne Princes, ANNA of  
*Denmarke*, by God's permission, Crowned  
QVEENE of *England, Scotland,*  
*France & Ireland, &c.*

Hir humblest seruant I.F. wisheth all the true felicities,  
that this  
*world may affoord, and the fullest fruition of the blessednesse*  
that heauen can yeeld.

*This braine-babe (ô pardon me that title most absolute supreme Minerua) brought with it into the world, now thirteen yeers since, a world of words: Since, following the fathers steps in all obseruant seruice of your most sacred Maiestie, yet with a trauellers minde, as erst Columbus at command of glorious Isabella, it hath (at home) discovered neere halfe a new world: and therefore as of olde some called Scotia of Scota, and others lately Virginia, of Queenes your Maiesties*

*predecessors : so pardon again (ó most Gracious and Glorious) if it dare be entitled QVEEN ANNA'S New world of words, as vnder your protection and patronage sent and set foorth. It shall be my guard against the worst, if not grace with the best, if men may see I beare Minerua in my front, or as the Hart on my necke, I am Diana's, so with heart I may say, This is QVEEN ANNA'S, as the Author is, and shall euer be*

Your Soueraigne Maiesties inuiolably-  
deuoted subiect and most ob-  
liged seruant

IOHN FLORIO.

But riches and extravagance—"all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof"—were only one aspect of the English Renaissance genius: grace, melody, and purity of form also came to it from its Italian schooling. And, as it proved, none was to learn these lessons better than a Scottish poet, perhaps the most delicate and accomplished artist in the Italian style our literature has known. It may be, indeed, that Fowler's highest praise is to have prepared the way in this for his nephew, William Drummond. That he had himself failed to master those lessons will have been apparent from what has been already said, or from a glance into his works; but in his preoccupation and that of others of his countrymen with Italian letters the younger writer may have been made dimly aware of a "world not realised" towards which his instincts and his tastes led him. It may even have been fortunate, as one writer contends,<sup>1</sup> that "Drummond had been preserved from the familiarity with Italianate culture which in England had already bred contempt." For "by 1606," the same writer goes on, "when

<sup>1</sup> In *A History of English Literature*, edited by John Buchan, p. 193.

he [Drummond] visited London, the smart English youth had learned to 'curse Petrarch,' to laugh at Shakespeare, to parody Lyly, and to affect a weariness even of Spenser. But to the unspoiled Scottish student, dazzled by the splendour of English life, the 'revellings and comedies,' masques and tournaments, these authors seemed to express the spirit of the age. He bought them all (as his manuscript lists show) and read them. He was happily unconscious that the soul of chivalry was dead with Sir Philip Sidney, and that the jousts held in honour of King Christian were, like Arthur's Last Tournament, the empty husk. He took them for what they seemed, and carried back to his quiet library a dream of 'the good and fair.' He believed in chivalry, not as a mere code of manners, but as an inspiration, a philosophy, and a private discipline. From Plato and his Italian commentators he learned to enlarge his conception of love, and to realise in himself at least the theoretic side of Castiglione's *Courtier*. From Petrarch, Tasso, Sannazaro, and above all Marino, he drew a stately diction suitable to the character. In the process he ceased to be a Scot and became an Elizabethan Englishman born too late. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

J. P.

<sup>1</sup> Had any attempt been made in this essay to treat the Latin literature of the subject otherwise than incidentally, it would have been necessary to take account of the Piedmontese Joannes Ferrerius, the continuator of Boece, and one of the witnesses against Buchanan in the Lisbon Inquisition trial of 1549-51. Ferrerius came to Scotland in 1528, in the train of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss (later Bishop of Orkney), and after some three years at Court retired to Kinloss, where in 1537 he wrote a history of that foundation. Shortly after this he seems to have left Scotland and settled in or near Paris, where most of his works were published. His edition of Boece appeared in 1574. Ferrerius has a place also in the history of humanism, since he was the first to publish in France the treatise of Pico della Mirandola on the Immortality of the Soul (Paris, 1541).

## APPENDIX I.

(Hawthornden MS. xiii. f. 15a).

TO ROBERT HUDSOUN.

iff ould wer to lyfe restord  
 to see which I behould,  
 he might inlarge his pleasant taels  
 of formis manifould  
 be this which now into the court 5  
 most pleasantlie appeirs,  
 to see in penners and In pens  
 transformed all our speirs,  
 and into paper al our Iaks  
 our daggs in horns of ink. 10  
 for knapstafes seals and signateurs  
 to change ilk man dois think ;  
 And euery man that neideith leist  
 For more yet doth he crave.  
 some gaips [?] the things which ar not falley 15  
 In that I think they reave ;  
 some meins there cace through mereits iust,  
 some cravis without desert,  
 and both togeather cathces fame  
 off euery thing a pairt.  
 Some boulder ar who starfee a monthe 20  
 or litill more a space,  
 hes ather servd or spend there geir  
 to serve his prencly grace ;  
 and some therbe whom shamefastnes 25  
 withoulds to move there suit,  
 whose schamefastnes as I suppose  
 sal bring them litill fruit.  
 they houp to speid in speking not,  
 the proverbe to withstand,  
 and to improve that saying ould,  
 that dumme men neir wan land ;  
 [a]nd yet iff through desert I think  
 they iustlie be regairded,  
 [a]ne cause ther is which some may move 35  
 to see them anis reuarded.

10. in ynkhornis our gunns. 15. some gripps. 19. corr. indecipherable.

<sup>1</sup> MS. torn. Punctuation editorial.

## APPENDIX II.

(Hawthornden MS. xiii. f. 36*b*.)

OF THOMAS CARGILL INTERPRETER OF HESIODE.

SONNET.<sup>1</sup>

As Aristotle the Philosophe renombde  
 With wyse men then remaining into Greece,  
 To worthie Plato, where he wes intombde,  
 Ane alter sett, and offred sacrifice  
 Vnto his image, which unto all mens eyes 5  
 This dittone bure ingraven in the same :  
 Lo here the learned Plato buried lyes,  
 Whom euerie one with loving heart should ayme,  
 As famous guide who aught eternall fame  
 To imitat his uertue, and commend 10  
 His quick ingyne that live may make his name  
 From age to age unto the latter end :  
 Euin so all should CARGIL his name upraise  
 In Britan ile to have eternall praise.

ANOTHER TO THE SAME.<sup>1</sup>

As Philips sonne of Macedon the king,  
 And mightie Monarch of the wordle haill,  
 Whill in impyre he royallie did regne  
 In hie estate, not feeling Fortunis fail  
 His letters wryt which firmed by his sail 5  
 In sentence had the accusatioune  
 Of Aristotle, the prudent prince and waill  
 Of sapience and witt of most renoune ;  
 Wherefore he laid his Acroase so doune  
 That euerie one might fruict find of that wark : 10  
 With whom CARGILL thy ansuer thus refound  
 If ignorants obscuritie would mark  
 Thy art to light is come, but not espyit,  
 Saif evin by such as wortheleie can wey it.

M. W. BARCLAY.

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<sup>1</sup> The punctuation of the original is preserved.

## APPENDIX III.

Fowler's translation of Machiavelli's dedication of the *Prince* (Hawthornden MS. xiii., f. 147. The text is in MS. xii). It is even more in the nature of a draft than the text, and the MS. is torn and faded and repaired at the right-hand edge. The footnotes give some of the original readings before correction by Fowler. The punctuation is editorial.

To the maist magnific and worthy personage Laurence sone to peter of medices nicolo machi[av]elli wishes helthe and felicite.

[It is] the custome of those which ar desyrous to conqueß favour besyde [the]re prence [?] to facilitate there accesse be presenting suche things . . . which ar of chiefest pryce to them selfs,<sup>1</sup> or which they vnderstand may be maist agreeable to his humeur; and so we see ordnarlye that some presenteth hor[se]s,<sup>2</sup> harnesses, cloths of gold, precious ston[es], and perreles [?]; and such ly[k]e<sup>2</sup> ornaments, worthye or competent to there estate<sup>3</sup> . . . therfor I tryed *with* a zelous desyre to offre my self to your high[n]is with some pledges and testimo[n]ye of my service and subiection. I have, esteming all my guds, stuffes, and implements which are most of account [?] vnto me, none more worthie<sup>4</sup> then the observation of the actions of great prences, learned be me be<sup>5</sup> the great and lang experience of moderne maters, and by a conten[ue] all reding and remarking of thos[e] which ar mair ancient, & which, being<sup>6</sup> after a lang lab[o]ur and contenuall diligence examined, and now reduced in a litill volume, [I]<sup>2</sup> uald dedicat to your greatnes. And albeit the work in my auen opinion be vnworthy of your presence,<sup>7</sup> nottheles my hope groueth the more that by your gudnes it sal be mair graced [?] and acceptable, considering that from me there can not come a gretar gift then to giue to your greatnes in a litill present the kna[w]ledge of that which I, with the course of ma[n]ye yeres and with infinit fasheryeis, pay[n]es, and trauels, hes knawen. which worke of myne I have not adorned nor enbroudered with ample cla[u]ses, swelling wordes, or *with* any outuord orna[m]ent of.<sup>2</sup> [?] eloquence, by which ma[n]ye ar acustomed to enbellishe there conceates and wrytings. It sufficeth me that ather nothing sal grace it or that the veyte of the mater and grauetye of the subiect extoll<sup>8</sup> it. nather wald I

<sup>1</sup> corr. indecipherable.

<sup>2</sup> MS. torn.

<sup>3</sup> worthy of there dignetye.

<sup>4</sup> nor which I more esteme.

<sup>5</sup> be by.

<sup>6</sup> being by me.

<sup>7</sup> sight.

<sup>8</sup> grace.

that your highnes ascribe . . .<sup>1</sup> presumption that such a base man as I am suld attempt to pr[.]<sup>1</sup> reules of government for pre[n]ces. for euen as these which In . . .<sup>1</sup> of the situation of a contrye.[?] with Iudgment and descend . . .<sup>1</sup> the lowar place<sup>2</sup> to consider therby the nature . . .<sup>1</sup> of the higher, and agane monteth to the maist eminent to . . .<sup>1</sup> the mair hallowe places, so lykwyse for the better know[ledge] [?] of the subiects humeur it is necessar that a man be a prence; for the better vndersta[n]di[n]g of the prences nature it is expedient he be a subie[ct] . . .<sup>1</sup> your highnes thus sal receive this litill treatise *with* als . . .<sup>1</sup> als I offer it, which gif it be . . . [?] and remarked by your highnes, you sal easelye see. . .<sup>1</sup> desyre in me that wishes that these . . .<sup>1</sup> [?] which may advance yow to that greatnes to the . . .<sup>1</sup> invytes yow and your fortun giues [?] promeis. and . . .<sup>1</sup> highnes ũald deigne to turne your contenance . . .<sup>1</sup> to these lawe valeyes, ye sal sone and therbye vnderstand . . .<sup>1</sup> I suffer<sup>3</sup> *with* long conten[ua]nce [?] the malignetye of my euil and adverse fortun [?].<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MS. torn or faded.

<sup>2</sup> plaines and places.

<sup>3</sup> corr. indecipherable.

## APPENDIX IV.

(Hawthornden MS. xiii. f. 147b.)

DRAFT OF FOWLER'S DEDICATION OF HIS  
TRANSLATION OF *THE PRINCE*.<sup>1</sup>

TO THE LA[I]RD OF BUCLUGE.

Right honorabill sir, if to any for regard of wisdom, bloode, vertew, sight, reno[w]ne, or worthines this worke might be dedicated . as obleshed in dewtye. . . . yow ar he to quhome the honour of the first, and I he to quho[m]e the obligat[i]on in the second suld . . . respects, and therfor, sir, lat it stand *with* your . and bontefull curtesie to receive these my travells translated and writtin at sondrye interrupted houers, and at your leiseur censure and exam[in]e theme, quha, being mair perfyte and pro[m]pter in the italien tonge then I be, sal make my self graced by your correctioun.

---

<sup>1</sup> Much corrected in the original and MS. decayed at the right-hand edge. Punctuation editorial.

## APPENDIX V.

## Foreign sources and parallels in the Sonnets of Fowler.

From Janet G. Scott, *Les Sonnets élisabéthains : les sources et l'apport personnel*, Paris, 1929. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée, tome 60), pp. 327-29.

La devise de Fowler, "Musa Cælo beat.," qui se trouve après le sonnet d'éloge écrit par le poète dans *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Hours*, est empruntée à du Bellay, *Olive*.<sup>1</sup>

## THE TARANTULA OF LOVE.

I. Pour ce début, cf. premier sonnet de Pétrarque ; cf. aussi *Rime di diversi* (Domenichi), i. 154.<sup>2</sup>

VIII. Source, *Rime Scelte*, i. 449 : "Tra desir, e timor, tra fiamma, e gelo."<sup>3</sup>

X. Pour un poème analogue, cf. *Amoretti*, x. ; cf. aussi *Tarantula*, xxxix.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, Vol. I. 5. The device is that appended by du Bellay to the last sonnet of the sequence. Cf. *Les Œuvres françoises de Joachim du Bellay* (Paris, F. Morel, 1584), f. 78 v°.

<sup>2</sup> I. 136. The "Rime di diversi" is the first volume of Giolito's anthology (*v. ante*, p. ciii) : *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. auttori nuovamente raccolte*. Libro primo. In Vinetia, Appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii. MDXLV.

"Ce recueil fut fait par Lodovico Domenichi, qui le dédia à Don Hurtado di Mendoza. Il contient les meilleurs vers des poètes de l'école de Bembo, et beaucoup étaient encore inédits ; Domenichi étant venu le premier put choisir ce que le bembisme avait produit de plus remarquable." J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIIe siècle*, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> I. 146. *Il primo volume delle Rime scelte da diversi autori*. In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari. MDLXIII. There is a reprint dated 1586.

The sonnet is by Pietro Gradinico. The editor of the collection was Lodovico Dolce.

<sup>4</sup> I. 147. Spenser's *Amoretti*, one of the most graceful of the Elizabethan sonnet-sequences, appeared in 1595.

- XVI. Pour poème analogue, *cf.* *Rime Scelte*, ii. 492.<sup>1</sup>
- XVII. Source, Desportes, *Div. Amours*, xviii. p. 388, éd. Michiels. Même sonnet de Desportes traduit par Constable.
- XXII. Insomnie de l'amant, *cf.* Pétr., santine, "A qualunque animale."
- XXIII. *A Dream*; nombreux sonnets analogues dans les anthologies italiennes, mais la source précise de ce sonnet est dans les *Rime Scelte*, i. 248: "O mia lieta ventura."<sup>2</sup>
- XXVII. Source, Baif, *Amours de Francine*, ii. 148, éd. Marty-Laveaux, "Bien que la palle peste."
- XXX. Pour le style, *cf.* Daniel, *Delia*, xv. (Sonnets after *Astrophel*).
- XXXV., XXXVI. Pour ce genre de sonnet, qui répète les mots, "not ey," "not always," *cf.* Horace, *Carm.*, II., ix., et *cf.* Scève, *Délie*, 357; Watson, *Tears of Fancie*, lvii.
- XXXIX. Poème analogue, *Rime diverse* (Atanagi), ii., f° 139 r°.<sup>3</sup>
- XLII. Sonnet rempli de reprises et de "corrections." *Cf.* *Astrophel and Stella*, 100, vers 1; Scève, *Délie*, 243, &c.
- XLIII. Pour cette espèce de jeu, *cf.* Desportes, *Œuvres*, éd. Michiels, p. 507.
- XLV. *Cf.* sonnets qui commencent par "Benedetto." Pour le thème, *cf.* *Idea*, 8.
- L. Source, *Fiori* (1579), f° 169 v°, "O bella man, che'l fren del carro tieni."<sup>4</sup>
- LX. Poème analogue, Baif, éd. Marty-Laveaux, i. 150.

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<sup>1</sup> I. 150. *Il secondo volume delle Rime scelte da diversi eccellenti autori, nuovamente mandato in luce.* In Vinegia. Appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari. MDLXIII.

"Le second volume, très important dans l'histoire de la préciosité, a été une des sources principales de Desportes et de ses contemporains." Vianey, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> I. 157. Sonnet by Bartholomeo Carlo Piccolomini.

<sup>3</sup> I. 180. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti Toscani raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi.* Libro secondo. In Venetia, appresso Lodovico Avanzo. M.D.LXV.

<sup>4</sup> I. 188. *I fiori delle Rime de' Poeti illustri, nuovamente raccolti et ordinati da Girolamo Ruscelli.* In Venetia, per Giovan Battista et Melchior Sessa fratelli. 1558.

Reprinted 1569 and 1579.

"Anthologie très importante . . . Desportes semble ne l'avoir connue que par la troisième édition, celle de 1579. Mais à partir de cette date, les *Fiori* devinrent la principale de ses sources." Vianey, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

The sonnet Fowler imitates is by Giovanni Mozzarello.

LXI. Images tirées de la cour d'amour. Nombreux poèmes analogues, cf. Barnes; Gascoigne, *The Arraignment of a Lover*.

LXII. Navire et voyage sur mer, cf. Lodge, *Phyllis*, xi.

LXXV. Source, *Fiori*, f° 77 v° (1579): "Non punse, arse, o legò, stral, fiamma o laccio." Même sonnet italien traduit par Baif, éd. Marty-Laveaux, i. 325. Fowler est plus près de l'italien.<sup>1</sup>

#### A SONNET SEQUENCE.<sup>2</sup>

II. Même thème que Lodge, *Phyllis*, v.; il doit y avoir une source commune chez les Italiens.

III. Source, *Rime Diverse* (Atanagi), vol. 2, f° 193 r°: "Quel ch'al ciel diè le stelle, a l'aria i venti."<sup>3</sup>

VI. Cf. *Astrophel and Stella*, xxvi.

VIII. Cf. Baif, éd. Marty-Laveaux (i), p. 31: "Faux envieux," cf. *Amoretti*, lxxxvi: "Venomous tongue."

XII. Source, *Fiori*, f° 222 v° (1579): "Né mar, che irato gli alti scogli fera."<sup>4</sup>

#### OF DEATH.<sup>5</sup>

III. Cf. Pétr., "Alma felice." Nombreux poèmes analogues.

#### MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

XIX. Ce sonnet, intitulé en français "Ie hay," est traduit de du Bellay, *Regrets*, lxviii: "Ie hay du Florentin l'usuriere avarice."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. 211. The sonnet is by Domenico Veniero.

<sup>2</sup> I. 215-30.

<sup>3</sup> I. 217. Sonnet by Bernardino Mannetta.

<sup>4</sup> I. 226. Sonnet by the Neapolitan poet, Luigi Tansillo.

<sup>5</sup> I. 235.

<sup>6</sup> I. 328.

J. P.

Additional notes on Fowler's sonnets will be found *infra*, pp. 23-28.

NOTES



## NOTES TO VOLUME I.

### POEMS FROM PRINTED TEXTS.

3. **Sonnet.** Reprinted by Gillies in his edition of *Essayes of a Prentise*, Edin., 1814, p. iii.

3. 1. **exemed.** "Chiefly Scottish," *O.E.D.*; a doublet of "exempted." Both come from L. *eximo*, "exeme" from the infinitive *eximere*, "exempt" from the supine *exemptum*. See Gregory Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, Intro., p. xlvi.

4. **Sonnet.** This laudatory sonnet was several times reprinted in England in the seventeenth century, when it was customary to publish Thomas Hudson's *Historie of Judith* along with Sylvester's translation of the *Semaine* of Du Bartas. In such cases it was given an English dress, the spelling being made to conform to Southern usage, and the Northern plural verb ending 's' of "drinks" (l. 10) being dropped. It is interesting to note that Fowler himself has performed the same amputation on "depend" (l. 9) for the sake of rhyme, besides employing other Anglicisms—*e.g.*, "haue" (l. 1), "cleared" (l. 10), "VVho" (l. 12).

For Thomas and Robert Hudson, Englishmen and probably brothers, see A. F. Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England*, New York, 1911, index, and *D.N.B.* Their English nationality, at one time conjectural, is now beyond doubt. See *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xx. 359; xxi. 152, 403; xxii. 63, 386; xxiii. 44.

4. 3. **Laurer.** This is the usual form in M.Sc., borrowed probably rather from Chaucer than directly from M.F. (see Gregory Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, Intro., p. xlv). But both "laurel" and "laurer" were common in M.E., the 'l' form not finally ousting the other till the seventeenth century. "Laurel" is due to a common substitution of 'l' for 'r.'

4. 3-4. The French poet, Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, usually referred to as Du Bartas, visited Scotland in 1587. King James VI. translated his *L'Uranie* and other pieces (1584) and Hudson his *Judith* (1584). Du Bartas translated the King's *Lepanto* (1591). All were printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave. See *Poems of Alexander Hume* (Scot. Text Soc., 1901), pp. 219-21; Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Camb., 1904, ii. 36-42; Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1908, pp. 145-218.

4. 7. **his hienes.** King James VI., to whom Hudson dedicated his translation, and by whom, according to Hudson's *Epistle Dedicatory*, it had been both inspired and revised.

5. **Sonet.** Reprinted by Gillies in his edition of *The Essayes of a Prentise*, Edin., 1814, p. xi. There is a Latin version of it by David Hume of Godscroft (*Daphn—Amāryllis*, Lond., 1605, p. 30).

5. 7. **The Monarch first.** Julius Cæsar.

6. **Epitaphe.** Sir John Seton of Barns died in May 1594. George Seton, *A History of the Family of Seton* (1896), ii. 625. Master of the Stable to King James VI. before 1581; Privy Councillor, 1587; Extraordinary Lord of Session (Lord Barns), 1588. See *D.N.B.*

6. 2. **seik and sigh** are doublets, apparently illustrating respectively the Northern and Southern development of O.E. palatal 'h.'

7. **Epitaphe.** Robert Bowes (1535?-97) was in Scotland either on special missions or as English ambassador at various periods from 1577; treasurer of Berwick, 1575. His sister, Marjory, was the wife of John Knox. See *D.N.B.*

9. **Fvneral Sonet.** Elizabeth Douglas was the daughter of Wm. Douglas of Whittingehame. S. R. Cockburn and Henry Cockburn, *The Records of the Cockburn Family* (1913), p. 120. The date of her death does not appear to be recorded. She may have been the "E. D." who wrote the Commendatory sonnet, p. 19. See note, *ibid.*

#### THE TRIUMPHS OF PETRARCH.

Considerations of space have precluded the full use of the notes prepared for this translation. The intention has been to supply sufficient to exemplify Fowler's characteristics as a translator and his use of language, not to explain Petrarch. Numerous additional examples might have been given.

John Leyden printed short passages from the Triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, and Fame in his *Scotish Descriptive Poems*, Edin., 1803. David Irving, in his *History of Scotish Poetry*, Edin., 1861, p. 465, cited ll. 1-36 of the First Triumph of Love, cap. i., as an example of Fowler's verse.

15. **Ladye Ieane Fleming.** She was the daughter of James, fourth Lord Fleming. Lord Thirlstane died in 1595, and two years later she married the fifth Earl of Cassillis. She died in 1609, aged fifty-five. Mary Fleming, her aunt, was one of the Queen's Maries. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, viii. 541-43.

15. 17-22. **that ornat oratour . . . glorye.** Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 26.

15. 22-26. **in his pithye and eloquent defence . . . actionis.** Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 96.

16. 16. **Frenche and Inglish traductionis.** According to the catalogue of the Fiske-Petrarch collection in Cornell University Library, the following French and English translations of Petrarch's *Trionfi* preceded Fowler's. (a) *French*: (1) a prose version by Georges de La Forge, first printed 1514; (2) a verse translation by Le Baron d'Opede, published 1538; (3) another by Vasquin Philieul, published 1555. (b) *English*: "A long-winded and not very faithful translation in irregular and uncouth verses" (Sir Sidney Lee, *D.N.B.*, s.v.), by Henry Parker (1476-1556), 8th Baron Morley. The date when Morley made his version is not known, but it must have been near the end of his life. Nor is the date of publication certain. At one time it was given as "not earlier than 1553" (*D.N.B.*), but Pollard and Redgrave (*Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, London, 1926) date it 1565, while Miss E. P. Hammond (*English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, Camb., 1927, p. 385) suggests c. 1555. There are the following reprints of it, either in part or complete: (1) for the Roxburghe Club, 1887, complete; (2) the *Triumph of Love*, I., by G. F. Nott in his edition of the works of Wyatt and Surrey (1875), i., a modernised version; (3) the *Triumph of Love*, I., by Miss E. P. Hammond in her book referred to above. There is nothing whatever in Fowler's translation to suggest that he is indebted in the slightest to Morley.

18. **Sonnet to the authour.** This has been previously reprinted in Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems*, Edin., 1803, p. 232. Gillies's reprint of the *Essayes of a Prentise*, Edin., 1814, p. vii; Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

19. **E.D.** The text, presumably autograph, in the Hawthornden MS. xiii., f. 4, shows that the first initial is 'E,' not 'F,' as Stevenson read it (*Poems of Alex. Montgomerie*, Scot. Text Soc., 1910, p. liii). She may have been Elizabeth Douglas. See note *supra* to p. 9; also note *post* to p. 259, on Elizabeth Douglas, Countess of Erroll.

19. 5 (a). **Spanzoll.** Latest quotation in *O.E.D.* is dated 1482. This spelling is not noted in *O.E.D.*

19. 12 (a). **deface** = cast in the shade. "Defaire" is obelised in *O.E.D.* as obsolete in this sense.

20. 15 (a). **Ro. Hudsoun.** See *supra*, note to p. 4. A poem addressed to him is printed *ante*, i. 4.

20. 15 (b). **M. R. Cokburne.** Identified by Westcott, *op. cit.*, as Sir Richard Cockburne of Lethington, a nephew of Maitland, and his successor as Secretary of State.

21. 2 (b) **decore.** This verb, though found in Elizabethan English, was commoner in Scots. It survived all Sir William Alexander's revisions of his *Monarchicke Tragedies* except in one passage. See *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, ed. Kastner and Charlton (Scot. Text Soc., 1921), i. 454 n.

21. 15. **Th. Hudsoun.** See note *supra* to p. 4.

21. 22. **A. Coluille.** Identified by Westcott, *op. cit.*, as the son of Alexander Colville, Commendator of Culross, who succeeded to the title on his father's death in 1597.

22-23. **The Argument.** This is a translation of the first half of the argument (*Il Soggetto dei Trionfi*) prefixed by Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo to the edition of the *Trionfi* printed in 1541.

22. 18. **decyphered.** Represented pictorially.

22. 25. **recreasis.** Grows again. Obelised in *O.E.D.* as obsolete, with the latest quotation dated 1542.

## THE FIRST TRIUMPH OF LOVE.

### CAP. I.

24. 1-10. Fowler's fashion of amplifying his text in consequence of the rhythmical redundance imposed on him by his choice of metre is well illustrated from these ten lines, where the words italicised represent additions to Petrarch's original:—

That tyme that did my *sobbing sobbs and sorye* sighs renew,  
 Through sweitt remembrance of that day *on which my lowe first grew,*  
 Which was the *first* beginner [i.e., beginning] *of my panis and future*  
*smart,*  
*and* of my longsome martyrdom *that martyred had my hart,*  
 The SUNN alreddye warmed had the BULL his doubled horne,  
 and TITHUS wyfe, AURORA *cleir, vprysing reade at morne,*  
*All ycye and most frostye* lyk had then hir self adrest  
 vnto hir wonnted *ancient* place, *hir auld frequented rest;*  
 Lowe, *greif,* disdanis, and *planing* plaintis, and seasoun of the 3eir  
 had caused me to a secret place my self for to reiteir.

24. 10. **secret place.** The *chiuso loco* is Petrarch's retreat at Vacluse. Fowler, strangely for him, misses the allusion. So does Morley.

25. 11. **Titans chylid.** Titans (which is also Drummond's correction on p. 24) may be a slip for Titons, or it may be due to a misreading of the Italian "Titone"—i.e., Tithonus; but Morley has the same form, and both translators may be referring to the fact that Aurora was a daughter of the Titan, Hyperion, though this is hardly in Morley's style.

26. 23. **The habit.** *l'abito*, the fashion of the triumph (a Latinism).

26. 25. Wholly Fowler's.

26. 28. **youngling raw.** *un garzon crudo.* Drummond uses the same word of Cupid:—

ne could I thinke that from the coldest Water  
 The winged Youngling burning flames could scatter.  
 (Scot. Text Soc. ed., i. 13, ll. 139-40.)

26. 30. Modern editors read:—

*nulla temea, però non maglia o scudo . . .*

But there is another reading:—

*contra le quai non val elmo né scudo,*

which is the one Fowler had before him.

26. 31. **twoe fleing feddered wings**: for *due grand' ali*—a characteristic exuberance of Fowler's.

28. 37. **wandring**. Eager, desirous (Ital. *vago*). The translator may have been thinking of the original meaning of the word (Lat. *vagare*, to wander), or the form may stand for 'wondering.'

29. 66. Fowler omits *in loco aprico*, 'in a sunny place.'

30. 103-4. Condensed by Petrarch into a single pregnant line—  
*giovincel mansueto e fiero veglio.*

30. 110. **in discreit** should be one word: *gente vana*.

30. 112. **nailles**. For Ital. *chiavi*, keys.

31. 127-30. All that Petrarch says is:  
*che Livia sua, pregando, tolse altrui.*

Some texts read *pregnante*. Fowler manages to get in the meaning of both.

32. 149. **Pnædra**. A MS. misreading for Phædra.

33. 166. A complete mistranslation. The Italian runs:  
*l'una di lui, ed ei de l'altra gode.*

Morley misunderstood it also.

33. 167. **bould**. The rhyme-word, *thrauld*, shows that Fowler gave it the Northern pronunciation with 'a.'

33. 177-89. *che del suo amor più degna esser credea*. Instead of translating the line, Fowler recalls Medea's story.

34. 210. One of Fowler's happiest variations on the text, which merely reads:

*gran parte  
empion del bosco e degli ombrosi mirti.*

#### CAP. 2.

36. 1-6. Fowler again allows generous measure, expanding Petrarch's three lines into six.

36. 9. **promening softlye went**. The 'promening' simply extends the meaning of *passavan* (went). Fowler seems to have read *ragionando* instead of the *lagrimando* of modern editors.

38. 39. **In naming me so prest** (*al mio nome sì presta*). A small but significant indication that Fowler is translating from the Italian text and not from an intermediate version.

40. 100. Fowler's text seems to have had *mirabil* for the now generally accepted *notabil*. Morley has  
*So wonderful and so straunge a chaunce.*

40. 101. **light and swift**. For *leve* which has both senses in Italian.

42. 139. **excambion**. A Scottish legal term suggested perhaps by Petrarch's *cambio*.

44. 205. Fowler takes Iphis for a woman. In reality, he was a prince of Cyprus, who hanged himself for love of Anaxarete. Petrarch has *quell' altro*.
45. 214. **Celce** is trisyllabic as in Italian.
45. 233. **Circe**. In Petrarch, *un' altr' amante*.
46. 243. **Canace**. Fowler again identifies the character by name. Petrarch has merely *quella*.

## CAP 3.

47. 5. **my shaddow and my freind**. Petrarch has merely *l'amico mio*. The reference is to the unknown shade who has acted as the poet's guide from cap. i. 40 onwards. See p. 28, l. 51, of this translation.
47. 9. **knaw**. Scottish spelling but English pronunciation as the rhyme-word, *grow*, shows. Cf. p. 52, ll. 137-38.
48. 34. **empesh**. Middle Eng. and North. form of 'impeach.'
50. 67. **Before a litill**. A little in front of her—*Poco dinanzi a lei*.
50. 79. **all these, &c.** Merely *il popolo* in the original.
50. 81. **he begging seikis his lowe**. Fowler seems to have read from a text having *mendicando* in place of the usual *medicando*, or he may have misread the latter. The meaning is that the one love (for Esther) drove out the other (for Vashti), and so gave him peace. This is confirmed by the use of the word *rimedio* (salve) a little lower down, and by the proverb with which the whole is clinched :

*come d'asse si trae chiodo con chiodo*  
(as from a board a nail is drawn out by a nail).

51. 92. A mistranslation. The Italian is *Amore e crudeltà gli han posto assedio*.
51. 103. **throwen streit**. *torta via*.
51. 104-112. These lines are Fowler's version of one of the most famous passages in the *Trionfi* :—

*Ecco quei che le carte empion di sogni :*  
*Lancillotto, Tristano e gli altri erranti,*  
*ove convien che 'l vulgo errante agogni.*  
*Vedi Ginevra, Isolda, e l' altre amanti,*  
*e la coppia d'Arimino, che 'nsieme*  
*vanno facendo dolorosi pianti.*

It will be seen that Fowler introduces the explicit mention of the Round Table and rearranges the names in pairs, but by a curious slip speaks of the 'counte of Aremine' (Rimini) in place of Petrarch's *coppia d'Arimino*, although the couple are mentioned by name in the line that follows, which is again an addition of Fowler's own.

52. 123. **smyrcing**. To smile, from 'smirk.' A Scottish form. Fowler gives three proverbs for one.

52. 132. **pik.** 'Pitch' from O.E. 'pic.' For the development, see the note to Vol. I., p. 6, l. 2.
54. 168. **of my spuilzei proude.** *di mie spoglie altera.* Another indication that the translator had the original before him.
54. 192. **compair or yit expres.** For 'match in speech'—*agguagliar . . . parlando.*
56. 237. **shortned smylingis.** *brevi risa* (brief laughter).
56. 247. **bray and rout.** A picturesque equivalent of Ital. *rugge.*
57. 252. **Is vnlaist.** Here the translator seems to make the poet say the opposite of what is intended (*s'allaccia*, is snared, is bound). ? for 'enlaist.'
57. 267-74. These eight lines answer to four in the original.

## CAP. 4.

58. 10. **throwin wayes.** *torti sentieri.* Cf. 'throwen streit,' *ante*, p. 51. This sense is not mentioned in *O.E.D.*
58. 20. **toung most could.** Petrarch's *lingua fredda*: Virgil's *frigida lingua* (*Georgics*, iv. 525-26).
59. 29-31. Fowler adds the names of the various poets' loves, which are not in the original.
59. 37. **reasoning as they went.** Fowler does not bring out the full significance of Petrarch's words:  
*pur d'amor volgarmente ragionando*  
 (still discoursing of love in the vulgar tongue).
59. 39. **Seluaggia.** A lady loved by Cino da Pistoia, and celebrated in his poems.
59. 43. **two other Guidos.** Guido Guinizelli and Guido Cavalcanti. Petrarch says more explicitly:—  
*ecco i duo Guidi, che già fur in prezzo,*  
 doubtless recalling Dante's famous words (*Purg.*, xi. 97-99):—  
*Così ha tolto l'uno all'altro Guido*  
*la gloria della lingua: e forse è nato*  
*chi l'uno e l'altro cacerà di nido.*
- Had Fowler known this passage, he could not have failed to make the reference more definite.
- those of Scilie.** The poets of the Sicilian school, the earliest school of Italian poetry, which flourished at the court of Frederick II.
59. 44. **that gude natured Bolonguese.** The poet Onesto Bolognese. Fowler takes the name as an epithet. So did Mrs Anna Hume in her version of the *Trionfi* published in 1644.
59. 45. **Sennicio.** The Florentine poet Sennuccio del Bene, whom many have taken to be the 'friendly shade' who guides Petrarch through the Triumph of Love.
- Franceschin.** The poet Franceschino degli Albizzi.

59. 49-52. Another famous passage, that on Arnaut Daniel, the master of the *trobair clus*, the more esoteric style in Provençal poetry. Whether by chance or (less probably) from knowledge, Fowler gives a good rendering of *suo dir strano e bello* :—

' his pleasant speiche and his Inventionis new.'

60. 54. Here the translator has been misled by a faulty punctuation. The accepted arrangement is :—

*l'un Piero e l'altro, e'l men famoso Arnaldo.*

The two Pieros are generally taken to be Peire Vidal and Peire Rogier. The 'less famous Arnaut' is Arnaut de Marueilh.

60. 56. **two of one name.** Raimbaut de Aurenga and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras. Only the second of these sang of Beatrice, daughter of the Marquis Boniface I. of Montferrat.

60. 57. **Giraldus.** The famous troubadour Giraut de Bornelh.

60. 58. Peire d'Alvernhe and Folco (or Folchetto) of Marseilles.

60. 61. **Giaufre rudd**—*i.e.*, Gaufré Rudel, who, says Petrarch, in words which have become famous,

*usò la vela e'l remo  
a cercar la sua morte.*

60. 63. **that William.** Guilhem de Cabestanh.

60. 65. Aimeric de Pegulhan, Bernart de Ventadorn, Uc de Saint Circ, and Gaucelm Faidit.

60. 69. **my fayithfull freind.** Fowler has evidently more knowledge of Petrarch's biography than he has of Provençal poetry. The original has merely—

*volsimi a' nostri, e vidi 'l buon Tomasso.*

Tommaso Caloria of Messina was a fellow-student with Petrarch at the University of Bologna, and afterwards one of his most cherished friends, until his death at Messina in 1340.

60. 71-72. Fowler assumes that it was by 'his songs and sonetts' that 'good Thomas' made Messina 'to grow more fatt in praise,' but Petrarch with his *or Messina impingua* is thinking merely of his burial there, in the sense of Rupert Brooke's line :—

' In that rich earth a richer dust concealed.'

60. 78. **space.** 'walk.' The last quotation for this sense in *O.E.D.* is 1599.

61. 84. **Socrates and Lellus.** Two of Petrarch's most intimate friends, Louis Sanctus of Beeringen, and Lello di Piero Stefano, a Roman nobleman.

61. 87. **O what abundance.** *O qual coppia d'amici* (Oh what a pair of friends). Fowler translates as if the word were *copia* (plenty).

62. 125. **hurlet, meinzeit, riwin.** A vigorous combination to render Ital. *straccati*.

63. 146. **Evin from the Inds**, &c. 'From the Indian Ocean to that of Thule,' says Petrarch, but omits the rest. It is worth recalling here, however, that the poet had a special curiosity regarding the site of the ancient Thule, and plied his English friend Richard of Bury with questions concerning it. (Cf. *Epist. Fam.*, iii. i.; and L. Parco, *L'ultima Thule nell' intuizione . . . di F. P.* in *Rivista Geog. Ital.* (1911), p. 459 *et seq.*)

64. 171-72. The original has a more delicate charm :

*Progne riede  
con la sorella al suo dolce negozio.*

64. 180. **vengeance**. Punishment, torture. Ital. *strazio*.

64. 182. Fowler seems to have read *carro* where now *arco* is preferred.

65. 195. **enteres**. According to *O.E.D.*, a Scots variant of 'enteresse,' formed apparently on the analogy of 'duress.'

65. 196. **rair vnthik**. Ital. *erte*, high and steep. No instance of this adverbial use of 'rare' in *O.E.D.*

65. 207. **my hairis and wonnted flight**. Petrarch has *le penne usate*, where *penne* has the sense both of 'hair' and 'feathers.'

66. 217-220. Here the translator succeeds in making four lines out of one :—

*che'l pie' va innanzi, e l'occhio torna a dietro.*

#### THE SECONDE TRIUMPH OF CHASTITIE.

68. 23. **caus of doole**. *cagion di duolo*. Another indication that Fowler is translating directly from the Italian text.

68. 44. **of Plaster maid**. *fatti di smalto*. *Smalto* is any artificial stone or enamel. Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, iv. 118 :—

*Colà diritto sopra il verde smalto,*

from which Milton's 'smooth enamelled green' (*Arcades*, 84) is probably derived.

69. 51. **discharged of his chane**—*i.e.*, one kept for hunting.

69. 54. In Petrarch it is not Love but Laura who has a 'visage full of flams.'

69. 65. **scrimieur**. Fr. *escrimeur* for Ital. *schermidor*.

69. 66. **the blow, the stogg, and prik**. An interesting extension of the single word *colpo*.

69. 72. Fowler transferred the *agro e funesto* of the original, which Petrarch applies to the blow (*colpo*), to Laura who avoids it.

70. 85-86. In Petrarch it is Love, and not 'my dame,' who is 'full of Ire, and . . . proude disdaine,' since his shafts are powerless against the *fredda onestate* of Laura.

71. 116. **Entreatie fair**, &c. *Bella Accoglienza, Accorgimento fòre*. 'Entreatie Fair' is the 'Bel Accueil' of the *Roman de la Rose*. *Accorgimento* has the sense of alertness or foresight which comes from wisdom. Fowler translates these abstract terms well (*abito*, for example), as one who has real knowledge of their poetic use. *Fòre*—i.e., *fuori*—'on the outside,' 'by the side of the company,' is not translated.

71. 119. **thoughts in youthfull age**. Petrarch has 'aged thoughts' (*penser canuti*). *Canuto* in the sense of 'wise,' 'mature,' occurs also in Son. CCXIII. (*canuta mente*).

71. 120. The bracket should come before 'Concorde.'

71. 121. **In arire guard**. *arrière-garde*, not in the original.

71. 128. **sonnes**. *salme* in the original. 'Soules' would be a more correct rendering.

72. 133. **brangill**. In *Julius Cæsar*, i. 1976, Sir William Alexander changed 'brangling' to 'staggering.'

72. 135. **Giant Goliath**. Petrarch has merely *quel gran filisteo*. Fowler, however, contrary to his usual practice, here omits a detail of the original. The Philistine, Petrarch says—

*a cui tutto Israel dava le spalle*  
(on whom all Israel turned their backs).

72. 148. **at one traict**. *ad uno tratto* in the original.

72. 154-56. These three lines give vent to Fowler's exuberance.

73. 181. Reading *la faretra e l'arco* where mod. editors have *la faretra a lato*.

73. 182. Another of Fowler's characteristic lines, suggested, apparently, by the single word *spezzato*.

74. 196. In Petrarch, Laura and her companions do not triumph *with* but *over* Love.

74. 207. **peace** = keep peace, be silent (*taccia il vulgo ignorante*). 'Them' is probably a slip for 'then.' **It Dido is, I say**—i.e., I mean Dido (*io dico Dido*).

74. 211-14. Piccarda Donati. Cf. Dante, *Purg.*, iii. 49 *et seq.* That Fowler merely paraphrases Petrarch's words and does not name Piccarda is another indication that he was unacquainted with the *Commedia*.

75. 215-30. The original has a simplicity and directness lost in Fowler's embellishments:—

*Era il trionfo dove l'onde salse*  
*percoton Baia, ch'al tepido verno*  
*giuns'e a man destra in terra ferma salse, &c.*

75. 231. Here the translator stumbles badly, either through having an imperfect text before him, or through reading *Né'l* as *Nel*. 'Nor,' says Petrarch, 'did it displease him who, if the belief is not ill-founded, was alone born for triumphs and power, to follow a triumph not his own.'

75. 236. **that holye church.** The temple of Venus Verticordia, dedicated by Sulpicia, wife of Caius Fulvius Flaccus, as the chastest of Roman matrons.

75. 242. The goddess Pudicitia was worshipped under two names, plebeian and patrician, each of which had its temple.

### THE THRID TRIUMPHE OF DEATHE.

#### CAP. I.

77. 16. **marche vnder clothe of stait.** Petrarch has

*in un bel drappelletto ivan ristrette*  
(they went confined within a fair little troop).

Fowler's error is due to his confusing the word with *drappo*, *drappellone*, a hanging for a church or court festival.

78. 35-38. Here the translator takes more than usual liberties with the text, transposing and elaborating Petrarch's words so as to obscure the literal meaning of the passage. The original merely says:—

*quando vidi un' insegna oscura e trista*  
*ed una donna (i.e., Death) involta in veste negra.*

vv. 30-31.

The Italian does not represent the 'lady' as 'in' the banner, and says nothing of 'shaking.' 'Sad, pail . . . and sensles,' too, are additions of Fowler's own. Still more curious are the words 'with fureis wrapt and fureis worne' in l. 38, which are explained by the translator's having taken the sense as running on (to vv. 32-33 in the original), whereas there is a full stop at v. 31. She (*i.e.*, Death) says Petrarch, 'with a fury, such as I doubt was ever found in Phlegra in the time of the giants, advanced and said':—

*con un furor, qual io non so se mai*  
*al tempo de' giganti fosse a Flegra*  
*si mosse e disse. (vv. 32-34.)*

All the rest (to l. 42) is Fowler's enlargement of this.

79. 52. **That sheares and slayes, &c.** Fowler's characteristic rendering of the two verbs *punge e seca*.

79. 67. **world** is dissyllabic.

79. 74. This is not what Petrarch says. The text runs: *Ben le riconosco . . . e so quando 'l mio dente le morse.* (I recognise them [thy companions] and know when my tooth bit them (*i.e.*, when I [Death] deprived them of life.)

80. 95. **Marracos.** Morocco (*Marrocco* in the original), taken together with Spain as the western boundary of the known world in Petrarch's time.

81. 112. **your mother ould.** *la gran madre antica*—i.e., Nature.

82. 127-28. Fowler, with his usual weakness for the doleful, says more than Petrarch. The original has merely :—

*Ma, per non seguir più sì lunga tema,  
tempo è ch'io torni al mio primo lavoro.*

(But not to pursue so long a theme, it is time for me to return to my first task.)

82. 131. **that doubtfull pace and passage.** *'l dubbio passo*—i.e., the passage of death. The word-play is characteristic: *passo* has the sense both of 'step' or 'pace' and of 'passage.'

82. 138. Here Fowler completely blurs the meaning of the original. 'Then Death,' says Petrarch, 'plucked out with her hand a golden lock from that fair head.' The reference is to the ancient belief that Proserpine demanded a fatal lock of hair from anyone about to die. (Cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, iv. 698.)

82. 150. **rype**—i.e., reap (*cogliendo*).

83. 161. Laura having died 6th April 1348, Petrarch conventionally represents 6th April 1327 as the day on which he first became enamoured of her. In his copy of Virgil, now in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Petrarch wrote :—

*Laurea propriis virtutibus illustris et meis longum carminibus celebrata,  
primum oculis meis apparuit, sub primum adolescentiæ meae tempus,  
anno Domini 1327, die 6 mensis Aprilis, in ecclesia Sanctae Clarae, Avenione  
hora matutina : et in eadem civitate, eodem mense Aprilis, eodem die  
sexto, eadem hora prima, anno autem 1348, ab hac luce lux illa subtracta est.*

83. 172. **that formast stood,** &c. Fowler here, contrary to his usual practice, compresses his original so as to be hardly intelligible. The text runs :—

*Debito al mondo e debito a l'etate  
cacciar me innanzi ch'era giunto in prima,  
nè a lui tôrre ancor sua dignitate !*

([It was] due to the world and due to our age to drive me thence before Laura, since I had arrived first, and not yet to take from it [the world] its chief ornament.)

84. 187-90. Line 188 is an addition of Fowler's own, but the rest is one of his happier efforts. The original runs :—

*Lo spirito per partir di quel bel seno  
con tutte sue virtuti in sè romito,  
fatto avea in quella parte il ciel sereno.*

85. 209-10. For Petrarch's simple and far more effective line :—

*parea posar come persona stanca.*

## THE TRIUMPHE OF DEATHE.

## CAP 2.

86. 1-4. These heavy and uninspired lines correspond to Petrarch's two, but fail to bring out the antithesis in the second of them :—

*La notte che seguì l'orribil caso  
che spense il sole, anzi 'l ripose in cielo.*

(The night which followed the dread event that extinguished the sun, may put it back in heaven.)

86. 8-10. and quhill Aurora, &c. :—

*Che con la bianca amica di Titone  
suol da' sogni confusi tòrre il velo.*

The allusion is to the ancient belief that towards morning our dreams contain a larger element of truth. Cf. Dante, *Inf.*, xxvi. 7, and *Purg.*, ix. 16.

86. 12. **season of the yeir**: for *stagione* which, however, here as sometimes elsewhere in Petrarch, probably means the time of day—viz., the morning.

87. 22. **vulgar way.** *dal pubblico viaggio.*

87. 31-32. Fowler's lamentable rendering of—

*Come non conosco io l'alma mia diva ?*  
(How should I not know my gracious goddess ?)

87. 35. **in lyfe, not deid.** Used in the Christian and Platonic sense of freed, or not freed, from the bondage of the flesh.

87. 36. **to earth the leid.** *levarti di terra* in the original, 'to raise thee from earth.'

87. 40. Not Petrarch's meaning.

*anzi che 'l giorno, già vicin, n'aggiunga.*  
(before the day, already near, overtakes us).

88. 59-66. These eight lines represent only three in the original, not among Petrarch's most inspired, where concision is perhaps carried too far :—

*Silla, Mario, Neron, Gaio e Mezenzio ;  
fianchi, stomachi, e febri ardenti fanno  
parer la morte amara più ch' assenzio.*

Fowler, however, has no difficulty in providing the gloss.

89. 79. **Lauras dayes.** Not Laura's days, but the days until the poet can see Laura again.

89. 85-86. The second of these lines is one of Fowler's quaintest pieces of embroidery. Petrarch has merely—

*E' cerca il mare e tutte le sue rive.*

90. 99. **And panelie now I will the tell.** One of many narrative tags, not in the original.

90. 107. In the original it is Laura that is 'more joyfull and content.'
90. 108. **is cummed** and **[is] went** are common in Middle Scots.
90. 111. **O pretious pearle of praise.** Fowler's euphuistic rendering of *Deh, Madonna.*
91. 123-24. A not ungraceful, if fanciful, paraphrase of  
*le dolci paci ne' belli occhi scritte.*
91. 128-29. **a smyrcling smyle, &c.** An uncouth version of a simple and effective line :—  
*ch' io vidi lampeggiar quel dolce riso.*  
 (when I saw that sweet smile flash forth).
91. 147-50. These four lines are Fowler's extension of a single line in the original :—  
*e mal può provveder chi teme o brama*  
 (and poor provision can he make who knows fear or desire).
91. 149. *For 'Fame' read 'Fane'—i.e., fain.*
92. 178. This absurd addition is, of course, Fowler's. The original runs :—  
*Ch' i' vidi gli occhi tuoi talor sì pregni di lagrime.*
93. 205-6. **for that I knew, &c.** This does not convey Petrarch's meaning :—  
*né mai in tuo amor richiesi altro che'l modo*  
 (nor did I [Laura] ever ask for aught but moderation in your love).
94. 207-8. *Quel mancò solo* in the original. Fowler apparently does not see that those words conflict with his rendering of the previous line.
94. 211. A complete mistranslation. The original has :—  
*Quinci il mio gelo, onde ancor ti distempe*  
 (hence my coldness, by which you are still distressed).  
 Fowler seems to have read *zelo* for *gelo*, and his ingenuity supplied the rest.
94. 221. **that dois a nother vex.** This is not Petrarch's meaning. The text has *perchè altri il preme*—'provided one suppresses it'—*i.e.*, keeps it concealed (as I did). 'Nor is it [the pain] greater (Laura goes on) because (like you) another goes about complaining of it.'
94. 226. The sense requires a mark of interrogation at the end of the line.
95. 233-36. [The lines are wrongly numbered on pp. 95-96.] For once Fowler is more concise than his original. The text runs :—  
*Né pensi che, perchè ti fossin tolti  
 ben mille volte, più di mille e mille  
 renduti e con pietate a te fur vòlti !  
 E state fòran lor luci tranquille  
 sempre ver te, se non ch'ebbi temenza  
 delle pericolose tue faville.*

(Nor do you bear in mind that, though they [*i.e.*, my eyes] were taken from you a thousand times, they were given back more than a thousand times over, and turned on you with pity! And their tranquil lights would ever have been directed towards you, were it not that I was afraid of your dangerous flashing glances.)

95. 241-42. For *che'n troppo umil terren mi trovai nata*. There has been much discussion as to Laura's birthplace. Relying, however, on a passage in a fifteenth century Neapolitan poet, F. Galeota, a majority of modern commentators incline to believe that she was born at Caumont near Avignon. (Cf. *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, vol. xxi. (1893), 353 *et seq.*; and Suppl. No. 12 of *Giorn. Stor., Fra Valchiusa e Avignone*, pp. 97 *et seq.* Avignon itself could hardly be spoken of as an *umil terren* or a *picciol borgo*. (Cf. Son. iv. 12 of the *Canzoniere*.)

95. 247-50. **I wisht this change**. That I had been born in Tuscany and not in Provence, Fowler probably means, but the words are not in the original.

96. 259. **I AURORA saw**. The translator slips. It is still Laura that is speaking.

96. 263. **my ladie, Laura fair**. Thinking that Petrarch is now speaking, Fowler again stumbles. It is the dawn that is about to part the lovers (*Questa vien per partirne*).

96. 275. **as I belewe**. This belongs to Laura's parting words:—

*al creder mio,  
tu starai in terra senza me gran tempo.*

#### THE FOURT TRUMPHE CALLED FAME.

##### i. CHAP.

97. 4. **that dispytfull wicked beist**. Death, *quella dispietata e rea* (that pitiless and evil one) in the original.

98. 32. In translating *ferro* by 'armour,' Fowler misses Petrarch's allusion to Roman fortitude.

98. 41-42. *Ed ecco i primi due*, says Petrarch, *l'un seguiva il nipote e l'altro il figlio* (and behold the first two [*i.e.*, Scipio and Julius Cæsar], his nephew followed the one, and his son the other). The nephew and son are respectively Scipio Africanus Minor and Augustus, Cæsar's nephew and adoptive son.

99. 46. **one before and two behind**. Scipio Africanus Minor and Asiaticus and Nasica.

99. 67. **Catullus**. *v. infra*, l. 100.

100. 81. **devote**. This form survived in Standard English well into the eighteenth century. Cf. Johnson's *London* (1738), l. 37.

'Those cursed walls devote to vice and gain.'

100. 85. **Mummius Attilius.** Two persons. Petrarch has *Mummio, Levino, Attilio*.

100. 87. **that Roman bauld.** M. Popilius Laenas.

100. 91. **who all Inarmed.** M. Manlius Capitolinus.

100. 95. **him I saw.** C. Mucius Scaevola.

101. 99. **who first.** C. Duilius.

101. 100. **that man.** Q. Lutatius Catulus. (*v. supra*, l. 67.)

101. 105-8. All this represents one line in the original: *poi vidi un grande con atti soavi*. The reference is to Pompey the Great.

101. 117-18. *E, quanto in arme fu crudo e severo,  
tanto quei che'l seguiva era benigno.*

(And he that followed him [M. Valerius Corvinus] was as gracious as he [Papirius] was cruel and severe in arms.)

101. 118. **courteß.** See *O.E.D. s.v.*

101. 120. Fowler's version seems based on Daniello's gloss: *in reggere e guidar l'esercito, o privato soldato nel combattere*.

101. 125. **Cossus Philon.** A comma should be inserted between these two separate names.

101. 126. **this thickest light:** this crowd of famous soldiers, Petrarch's *spesse luci*.

102. 128. Represents Petrarch's *smagliate l'arme*—*i.e.*, with the links of their chain-mail broken.

102. 134. **Cymbais** (*sic*) are the Cimbri whom Marius overthrew, with their German ('duchemens') fury:—

*Jugurta e' Cimbri atterra  
e 'l tedesco furore.*

103. 154. **Marius.** An error for Marcus—*i.e.*, Marcus Aurelius.

#### CAP. 2.

104. 3. **that good martiall people:** *il buon popol di Marte*—*i.e.*, the Roman people, from whom all the figures in the last chapter were taken.

104. 14. **whose praise by Homer, &c.** The original has merely:—

*quel cantato in versi  
Achille . . .*

104. 15. **freinzeis:** for *jregi*, ornaments.

105. 19. **ane other Alexander.** Alexander I., King of Epirus, the uncle of Alexander the Great.

105. 21-22. Fowler hardly brings out the sense of the original. Alexander did not make such conquests as his greater nephew, says Petrarch, 'since he had other obstacles to surmount,' *ch'ebbe altro intoppo*. The following line is an exclamation in the original:—

*Quanto* [not *quando*] *del vero onor, Fortuna, scindi!*  
(O Fortune, how dost thou diminish true honour!)

105. 23. **the Thebanes thrie**: apparently Bacchus, Hercules, and Epaminondas, mentioned in connection with Thebes in Cap. I., l. 111.

105. 30. Alluding to the words traditionally addressed by Leonidas to his Three Hundred before Thermopylae: "So dine, my men, as if you had to sup this evening among the dead." (Valerius Maximus, III., 2, 3.)

105. 37. **yok from greace** [Greece]. The early editions of the *Trionfi* all have *giogo*, which the translator here renders. Appel, however, has shown that the true MS. reading is *gioco* (risk or danger).

105. 39. **and with a godlie mynde**: Fowler's addition.

106. 67. **bakwart**: 'upwards' in the original, *mentre gli occhi alto ergo*.

106. 69. David (*v.* 1 Chronicles xvii. 1-6).

106. 71. Solomon.

106. 72. **destitute**. Destined, allotted by destiny, *destinato*.

107. 89. **our father**. Abraham (*v.* Romans iv. 1).

107. 93. **nevew**. Grandson (*nipote*).

107. 101. **Iudas**. Judas Maccabeus. One or other of the two 'froms' is redundant.

108. 115. **that Wedow**: Tomyris, the Scythian Queen.

108. 123. **hir**. Penthesilea.

108. 124. **Virgine**. Camilla.

108. 125. **Quene**. Semiramis.

109. 138-39. The Italian is—

*l'imperio alto di Roma,  
che con arme assalto, ben ch'a l'estremo  
fosse al nostro trionfo ricca soma.*

In translating this Fowler stumbled twice: (i) he misunderstood *imperio*, translating it by *empeouris hart* and making the reference a personal one to Aurelian; (ii) he misread *che* as *chi*, and made Aurelian the attacker, whereas in Petrarch the attacker is Zenobia. In addition, in *and captiwe twik that quene* he made explicit what is left implicit in the Italian.

109. 142. This is exactly what Petrarch says he will not do: he writes *Fra' nomi . . . non fia Judith—i.e.*, among the names will not be Judith.

109. 144. **that dronken foolish Holipherne**. In Petrarch merely *il folle amator*.

109. 152. **or yit these men.** The pronoun in Italian is singular (*chi*), and Petrarch is alluding especially to Orodes, King of the Parthians, who defeated Crassus and other Roman leaders (*our dwkes*) at Carrae in Mesopotamia. Of these, says the poet, *fece il mal governo*. By omitting the phrase, Fowler obscures the sense of the passage.

110. 161-62. **one of Spane, &c.** Theodosius, Septimius Severus, and Charlemagne.

110. 168. **keped Cairles.** *malguardato*, badly guarded.

110. 170. This line should end with a full-stop.

110. 171. *Gite superbi, o miseri cristiani* (Go proudly, ye wretched Christians). The irony in this and the following lines is lost in Fowler's uncouth and prolix version.

110. 175. **3e cairles ar.** *non vi caglia* ('Be careless'), continuing the ironic note of the whole passage.

110. 182. **Saladin.**

110. 184. **heguius, sone of Luria.** Petrarch has merely *Quel di Luria*—*i.e.*, Ruggero di Lauria, a famous admiral in the service of Peter of Aragon, who defeated the French in 1282 and again in 1284. It would seem that Fowler did not understand the allusion. And who was 'Heguius'?

110. 185. **The Duke of Lancaster:** Henry of Lancaster, cousin of Edward III. of England.

111. 194. **good Robert of Scicilia.** The original has merely *il buon re cicilian*—*i.e.*, Robert of Anjou, d. 1343.

### CAP. 3.

[This is one of the most difficult sections of the *Trionfi*, and Fowler often stumbles badly.]

112. 7. **did nerrest marche these sings:** *andò più presso al segno*, 'went nearest to the mark'—*i.e.*, to the truth. Petrarch, unlike Dante, puts Plato in the highest place among philosophers.

112. 9. **so godlie and dewyne.** Fowler's addition. The original merely has *pien d'alto ingegno*.

112. 11. **homelie** for *umilemente* in the original. Petrarch is here recalling Dante, who in the *Convivio* (III., II.) had said that Pythagoras, in calling himself a philosopher, or 'lover of wisdom,' rather than a wise man, gave proof of humility.

112. 15. **resent his pen.** *se ne sente*, 'are aware of him,' 'feel his presence.'

112. 16. This is followed by a notable line, which Fowler leaves untranslated:—

*primo pintor delle memorie antiche.*

114. 63. **aganist the trewth**: in the original 'against us' ('*never di noi*).
114. 67. **Hipocrates**. Petrarch has merely *quel di Coo*—*i.e.*, Cos.
115. 73. Petrarch has merely *un di Pergamo*.
115. 90. **within his sworde**. An error for 'in his words': *in suoi detti*. But 'more planer spokken out' is the exact opposite of *covertio*, covered, obscure.
115. 91. **doggish**. Fowler gives the etymological meaning of Petrarch's *cinico*; from Gk. *κύων*, a dog.
115. 97. **Curius Dicearchus**. 'Curius' is not a proper name, but the adjective *curioso*, curious, inquisitive.
116. 103. **vaginge**. "Mainly a Scots word, never very common, but more frequent *c.* 1600-40 than at any other time."—Kastner and Charlton, ii. 603.
116. 116. **litterall furour**: *furor litterato*, literary strife.
117. 127. **Lippus**. Fowler misunderstood *lippo*, 'blear-eyed,' and added a new philosopher to the roll. This error proves that he did not use the commentary of Gesualdo for his understanding of the Italian text, as the allusion is explained there.

## THE FYIFT TRIUMPHE OF TYME.

118. 1. **Ins**. With a singular sense (*albergo*). **Afore**. Adverb of place.
118. 5. **heir a litill staying**. Ital. *alzato un poco*—*i.e.*, having risen a little (above the horizon).
119. 23. **intertane**. The original has *como*, 'I groom,' 'comb down.'
119. 30. **by hatred cuned**. Here Fowler misses the sense of the original. 'That my powers are so limited,' says the Sun (who is the emblem of Time), is a 'wrong which is matter for anger and not for jest':—  
*ingiuria da corruccio e non da scherzo.*
119. 42. **in a circled scheit**. Rather 'in a circled street' (*i.e.*, in a circular path), *per la strada rotonda*.
120. 55. **Tyme dingeth and depressis down**. A vigorous rendering of '*l tempo preme*.'
120. 61-80. In this passage, which runs with more ease and grace than are usual in this translation, Fowler follows his original on the whole faithfully, although with his accustomed liberty of amplification.
120. 62. **his gwyde**: the sun.
120. 77-78. *e, quanto posso, al fine m'apparecchio* 'and, so far as I may, I make myself ready for the end.'
121. 97. **Liue for to die, &c.** This line is Fowler's own.

122. 111. A negative is wanted here. 'Do not wait,' says Petrarch, 'until death lets loose his shaft.'

*Non aspettate che la morte scocchi.*

122. 131. **Primprint.** For *ligustri*, privet shrubs, Virgil's *ligustra*, used for any frail and insignificant plants. Fowler, however, fails to bring out the exact sense of the passage:—

*In questi umani, a dir proprio, ligustri  
di cieca oblivion che scuri abissi!*

'What dark gulfs of blind oblivion [overhang] these frail human plants, as one may truly call them!'

122. 134. **revolt**—*i.e.*, revolve. *Volgerà il sol.*

123. 152. **lordshippes**: Ital. *signorie*.

123. 153-54. Fowler's voluble rendering of—

*ogni cosa mortal Tempo interrompe.*

124. 174. **your names**: 'our names,' *de' nostri nomi*, in the original.

125. 189-90. **Confused dreames**, &c. This couplet is Fowler's own.

125. 196. The sombre conclusion is Fowler's own. Petrarch has merely  
*Cost' il Tempo trionfa i nomi e'l mondo.*

#### THE TRIUMPHE OF IMMORTALITE.

126. 5. **with my self vnto my self.** Many texts read 'to my heart': *mi volsi al cor e dissi*. Mestica and Appel, however, restored the reading *Mi volsi a me, e dissi*, which has MS. authority.

126. 18. **the lowring lidds and windowis of my ene.** A characteristic effort of the translator. The original has merely *dove' aprir li occhi*.

127. 21-22. Not in the original.

127. 28. **thow**: an error for 'now.' The Ital. has *ora*.

127. 40. **vpone one fute.** *in un punto*, 'in an instant.'

127. 43. **the thrie partis of the Sun**—*i.e.*, the three divisions of time—past, present, and future.

129. 99. **variant vew**—*i.e.*, variety (*varietà*), the alternation, namely, of hope and memory. For 'impudent men' the original has merely *altrui*—*i.e.*, those around us, other people.

130. 109-12. Once more the brevity of the original is sacrificed to the translator's love of epithets:—

*e non avranno in man gli anni il governo  
de le fame mortali.*

130. To round off the passage Fowler hits upon words which aptly describe his own literary manner. The original has:—

*di ch'io ragiono.*

130. 119. *she*: Laura.

133. 185-86. This is obviously not what Petrarch intended to say. The original runs:—

*l'oblivion, gli aspetti oscuri ed adri,  
più che mai bei tornando, lasceranno  
a Morte impetuosa, a' giorni ladri.*

(They [*i.e.*, those who merited lasting fame which Time destroyed, and fair looks and beauty brave made pale in death] returning more beautiful than ever, will leave oblivion to hasty Death and gloomy looks to thieving Time.)

133. 193-94. The second of these lines has some right to be considered the worst in the whole translation. Together they represent one of Petrarch's most characteristic lines:—

*ma'l ciel pur di vederla intera brama.*

(But heaven, too, longs to see her whole—*i.e.*, both in body and soul, since, until the general resurrection, only her soul is in heaven.)

133. 195. *Giben* (Ital. *Gebenna*) stands for Mont Ginèvre, from which the River Durance takes its rise.

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## THE TARANTULA OF LOVE.

(Pages 136-211.)

The *Tarantula of Love* is an amatory sonnet-sequence of the type, derived from the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, of which an enormous number was composed in Western Europe in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Many of these sequences were doubtless inspired by a genuine emotion, but far more were merely exercises in the literary fashion popular at the time. Since so little is known of Fowler's personal and inner life, it is impossible to say to which class the *Tarantula of Love* belongs, but that it is thoroughly conventional in ideas and expression there can be no doubt. All the stock ingredients of the sonneteer are to be found here. The lady, like all the others in the sequences, is addressed by an obviously invented name, here *Bellisa*, formed on a Latin model. She is represented as being, like them, cold and haughty, unmoved by the entreaties of her lover, whose consuming passion gives him neither peace nor ease by night or day. To express the ardent feelings by which he asserts that he is possessed, Fowler draws freely upon the vocabulary and figures appropriated to the theme by his long line of predecessors in the same task. The extravagance of his language,

<sup>1</sup> In that period, according to an estimate quoted by Sir Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets* (1904), I., xxi. n., several thousand volumes of sonnets were published in Italy and France alone.

whether to praise the beauty of his lady or to describe his own unworthiness and the hopelessness of his adoration, could all be paralleled many times over, as well from poets whom he may have read as from poets of whose existence he is little likely to have known, and from sonnets in all the living languages of the West as well as in the dead one of Rome, for the humanists of the sixteenth century were almost as facile in composing sonnets in Latin as their courtly contemporaries were in the vernaculars. The epithets which he uses to make clear to his readers how beautiful his lady was and how high was her worth had all been used over and over again, but to him apparently they had not yet been staled by over-repetition. The frequent and often forced antitheses are employed as freely as if they had not yet been blunted by long use, and the metaphors from the art of war,<sup>1</sup> from the sea,<sup>2</sup> and from the practice of the law,<sup>3</sup> though they had long been common property, are offered by him as if they had been just newly minted. There is, indeed, in the *Tarantula of Love* little poetic originality, but then by this time there was little room left in the tradition for anything less original than eccentricity. This Fowler never shows; he keeps close to the crown of the road. This is not to deny him any poetic merit. If his sequence lacks the spontaneity of true lyric poetry and reads more like the result of a determination on the part of the writer to batter himself into a passion, it can yet at times rise to a certain rhetorical dignity and at others take on an impressive elegiac seriousness. It is by no means a wholly contemptible specimen of its kind, and if it loses by comparison with some of the sequences composed in England about the same time, that is because they were the work of real and great poets; at the same time, it is distinctly superior to others of the same kind which were produced south of the Border when the vogue for sonnet writing was at its height there.

The seventy-five sonnets<sup>4</sup> of which the *Tarantula of Love* is composed are held together by the very shadowiest of stories. They tell how Fowler long addressed a lady in terms of love and how her heartlessness cured him of his unrequited passion. It would not be safe to infer from the stress laid on how high she was above him that she had any real existence, for that too was a part of the convention. What suggests that there may be some basis of fact for the superstructure of conventional Petrarchan poetry is the reference to a separation of the lover and the lady during a visitation of the plague. It should be remembered, however, that such separations were quite in the tradition too, and that visitations of the plague were then so frequent that they provided a natural and plausible occasion for the parting.

It is, however, tempting to identify this one with the exceptionally

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*, *Son.* ix., xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.*, *Son.* xxiii., xlviii., lxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.*, *Son.* lxi.

<sup>4</sup> Actually a hundred and one are printed here; that is because there are two versions of twenty sonnets—*i.e.*, Nos. i., vi., vii., xxi., xxiv., xxix., xxx., xxxiv.-xxxviii., xlviii.-l., lix., lxvi., lxix., and lxxii., and three versions of three others—*i.e.*, Nos. iii., iv., and xvi.

severe visitation of 1585,<sup>1</sup> which would place the composition of the *Tarantula of Love* at roughly the same time as he made the translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. It seems more reasonable to assume that the imitation of Petrarch came near in time to the translation than that a considerable interval lay between them. There is, moreover, this to be said in favour of a date shortly before 1590—the dedication to the *Triumphs* is dated 12th December 1587—that it would associate the *Tarantula* with the burst of poetic activity which was a feature of these years at the court of James VI. On the other hand, it may belong to the 1590's, the impulse to compose it having been the activity in writing sonnet-sequences with which the Elizabethan poets busied themselves in that decade. Fowler, then, like Scottish poets before him, would merely be following an English fashion. But the inspiration might as easily have come to him from France, where the sonnet-sequence had been all the rage rather earlier than in England; indeed, by the time it reached that country it was well on the way to being outmoded elsewhere. This view, that the *Tarantula* is due to French rather than to English influence, is supported by the fact that James VI. and his circle seem to have been influenced in their endeavour to restore Scottish literature by that doctrine of the *Pliade* which recommended the deliberate imitation in French of the best Greek, Latin, and Italian poetry, and sought to give new life to Scottish poetry by translating French poetry of the time. And it was precisely about 1585 that this French influence was strongest at the Scottish court. It seems more likely, therefore, that the *Tarantula of Love* was composed shortly before 1590 rather than after it.

Nos. xxii., xxiv., xxviii., xli., and lvii. were reprinted in a modernised form by Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems* (Edinburgh, 1803), pp. 245-248. His text is not always accurate. The same remarks apply to those printed by T[homas] P[ark] in vol. iii., pp. 132-36, 286-91 of Sir Egerton Brydges's *Restituta* (1814-16)—namely, i.-viii., x., xi., xv.-xviii., xxv., xxvi. Park derived his list from a transcript of part of the Drummond MS. supplied by Lord Woodhouselee to George Ellis. Ellis printed one sonnet in his *Specimens of Early English Poets*, ii. 379 (1803 ed.). Muriel M. Gray also prints a modernised text of Nos. xlvi., lxix., xxii., xxxi. in *Scottish Poetry from Barbour to James VI.* (London, 1935).

136. I. Cf. Petrarch, *Rime*, Son. I., *Voi ch'ascoltate*, &c., imitated by many poets, among others Bembo and Tasso.

138. III. Cf. Petr. Son. C.

150. XVI. Cf. Petr. Son. XIX.

150. 13. The **wemen tuoe** are Bellisa and Venus, the **chylde forlorne** is Cupid.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Diary of Robert Birrel* (in Dalryell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, Edin., 1798), p. 23; Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* (Maitland Club, 1830), pp. 51, 52; Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1843), Vol. iv., p. 377.

156. 10. The pronoun **his** in l. 13 shows that **love** here is Cupid.
157. XXIII. Cf. Petr. Son. CCLXXX.
160. XXV. Cf. Petr. Son. CCLXVIII.
162. 14. Another instance of a pun upon the poet's name will be found at 198. 10.
166. XXXI. **O thetis be thou calme and Iuno cleire!** The opening of this sonnet recalls one by Annibal Caro, included in Ruscelli's *Fiori delle Rime de' Poeti Illustri* (Venice, Sessa, 1579), f. 17 v.,  
*Eran Teti e Giunon tranquille, e chiare.*
183. XLV. Cf. Petr. Son. XLVII.
183. XLVI. Cf. Petr. Son. CXXXVI.
188. L. Cf. Petr. Son. CLXVI.; Sannazaro. Son. XXXIII :  
*Candida e bella man, che s' sovente,*  
 and many other variations on the same theme in fifteenth and sixteenth century literature.
204. The title is from Ovid, *Amores*, I., ix., 1, *militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido*; the motto at the end is also from Ovid, *Remedium Amoris*, 148.
211. 13-14. The stylistic peculiarity of the concluding lines—a series of nouns followed by a series of corresponding verbs or *vice versa*—was a frequent device for ending a sonnet. See Brotanek, *Wiener Beitrage*, iii. 76.

#### A SONNET-SEQUENCE.

- Muriel M. Gray, *op. cit.*, prints a modernised text of Nos. ix., ii., vii.
216. 14. Making anagrams was one of Fowler's hobbies. Other examples will be found elsewhere in this volume.
217. This sonnet, with a dedication to the Countess of Errol, will be found again on p. 259 among the *Miscellaneous Sonnets*.
224. **Sonette pedantesque.** The expression does not seem to occur in the French literature of the sixteenth century. The word *pédant*, with its various derivatives, appears immediately after 1550, the adjective *pédantesque* usually in the combination *sçavoir pédantesque*, as in the following instances: 1552 E. Pasquier, *Œuvres*, ed. 1723, ii. 6; 1558 J. du Bellay, *Regrets*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Séché, iii. 60; 1559 Montaignon, *Anc. poés. franç.*, x. 102. Later, in 1580, Montaigne has 'ambition . . . pedantesque' and 'un parler non pedantesque.' We owe these references to Emeritus Professor Paul Barbier of Leeds.

In the Italian comedies of the sixteenth century macaronic sonnets are sometimes recited by the pedant. One such sonnet put into the

mouth of Metafrasto in Act III., sc. 12, of Cristoforo Castelletti's *I torti amorosi* (Venice, Sessa, 1581) is built up on rhymes similar to those of the present example, besides showing other resemblances.

Sormontante mio Sol, candente lux,  
 Che rischiari i begli occhi aprendo vix,  
 Gli atri horrori, ch'irriga il lago Styx ;  
 Del mio navigio affidatrice, e dux.  
 Ò Tullia, ò Dirce, ò Circe atroce, e trux,  
 Vedi, ch'io sfaccio, com'al Sol la nix,  
 Qual nebbia al vento, e qual al foco pix ;  
 Un huom semiando, a cui manca la lux.  
 Pervenga a l'aure tue la fioca vox  
 Pria che'l mio frale isquarci il sommo Rex ;  
 E chiuda i rai languenti ultima nox.  
 Ma ; se de'fati obsiste iniqua lex,  
 L'hasti le increspa, e'l cor mi passa mox ;  
 Che per te dolce mi sarà la nex.

Another version of this macaronic sonnet will be found on p. 266 among the *Miscellaneous Sonnets*. See note, *ibid.* The version on the opposite page here is a paraphrase rather than a close translation.

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#### OF DEATH.

Muriel M. Gray, *op. cit.*, prints a modernised text of No. iii.

242. 58-60. The two tales referred to in these lines were familiar to Elizabethan England. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is best known now from Shakespeare's use of it in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of which the probable date is c. 1595. An earlier poem by I. Thomson on the same theme had been printed in Clement Robinson's *Handfull of Pleasant Delytes* in 1584. Other possible sources for Fowler were Chaucer's *Legende of Good Women*, where it is the second story, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv. 55-166, either in the original Latin or in Golding's translation printed in 1567. The story of Guiscardo and Sigismund will be found in Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, iv. 1. The form of the heroine's name here, 'Sigismund,' suggests that the reference is to William Walter's *Guistarde and Sygysmonde*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1522, which is the only English version to use this form ; all the others have the Italian form, Ghismond. For the history of the story in English see Professor H. G. Smith, *Early English Versions of the Tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda and Titus and Gisippus from the Decamerone* (E.E.T.S., Ordinal Series, No. 205, 1937), Intro., pp. ci-cxv.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SONNETS.

251. Not in Fowler's handwriting. This poem is printed by Ault, *Seventeenth Century Lyrics* (London, 1928), p. 137, from R. Fanshawe's

*Il Pastor Fido* (1647), where it is attributed to T. Carey. A note by Ault (*op. cit.*, p. 479) says that "this appears in many MSS., at least two being earlier than the printed text—viz., *Bodley MS. Rawl. Poet. 160* (written c. 1640), and W. Lawes's autograph, *B.M. Add. MS. 31432*, where it is set to music composed by Lawes himself, who died 1645." Ault's text is a modernised one. So also is Muriel M. Gray's in *Scottish Poetry from Barbour to James VI.* (1935), p. 351.

253. Not in Fowler's hand.

254-55. (a) and (b) not in Fowler's hand.

257. **Sir Iohne Colvill.** No 'Sir John' has been traced. Presumably, therefore, the notorious John Colville is the person addressed. See *D.N.B.*

259. **The Contess of Errol** was Elizabeth Douglas, youngest daughter of William, Earl of Morton, and third wife of Francis, 9th Earl of Errol, to whom she was married in 1590 despite a royal inhibition, Errol having been converted to Catholicism and being continually in trouble through his Catholic sympathies. Her father had to appear before the Council for his share in this 'contemptuous proceeding.' See *D.N.B.* and *The Scots Peerage.* See also note to p. 19, *ante.*

260. Printed in J. Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* (1828), i. 251. See also *ante*, p. xlvii, No. 33. **Sir George Moore** was a person of considerable importance in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. **Losely**, his country seat, was in the county of Surrey, two miles south-west of Guildford; here he entertained James I. in 1603 and again in 1606. See *D.N.B.*

263. **My Lord Mordent** was probably Henry, 4th Lord Mordaunt, a stout Roman Catholic, who was confined to the Tower for a year and fined 10,000 marks on 3rd June 1606 for suspected complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. James I. and Anne of Denmark stayed with him at Drayton, 3rd-6th August 1605. See *D.N.B.*

264. **Sir Eduard Dymok.** See *supra*, p. xxv. This poem is not in Fowler's handwriting.

265. **Dargasso.** Not traced.

266. See *ante*, note to p. 224. For Thomas Coryat, see *post*, note to p. 323.

268. 15. **Fairwell my Loue.** An anagram of William Fowler. Repeated, 269. 13.

269. xxiii. This sonnet, and probably the preceding one, refers to Mary Middlemore. She was one of the Queen's maids of honour. "State Papers Domestic," MS., Public Record Office, vol. lxxxvi., No. 108.

#### CERTAINES PSALMES.

Fowler did not translate directly from the French of Beza, but followed closely a contemporary English translation: *Christian Medi-*

tations vpon eight Psalmes of the Prophet David. Made and newly set forth by Theodore Beza. Translated out of Frenche, for the common benefite, into the vulgare tongue by I. S. Lond., 1582. (British Museum, Pressmark 3090. aaaa. 7.) The rubrics are the same as Fowler's, and it contains all the Psalms he deals with. How he used it may be seen by comparing his version with the extracts given below from I. S.

275. 11-20. I. S. has: What shall I doe, what shall I saye, whither shall I goe? What may I finde in my selfe but the subiect of suffering, and the cause of that I suffer, and who shall succour mee from els where: If I looke into heauen, I see there my iudge: The sunne, that great eye of the worlde, which hath seene me so often to offend his maker and mine, doth summon me, and seemes to giue light to the worlde for none other purpose but to behold me whilst I endure these my merited paynes.

288. 1-8. I. S. has: Bring againe that golden worlde, wherein one may saye with better speede than euer, that thou, O Eternall God, being set in thy high throne, aduanced aboue the heyghtes of heauens, hast cast thy cheereful and gracious eye vpon the earth, giuing eare to the grones of thy languishing captiue Church, and of thy poore children looking for nothing but the slaughter.

#### THE PEST.

What visitation of the plague this may refer to is quite unknown.

303. 15. **Bembo his azolains** is *Gli Asolani* of Cardinal Bembo (1470-1547). It is a dialogue on Platonic affection which takes its name from the place where it is laid, Asolo in Venetia.

303. 22-23. Painter's *Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1576) and the *Paradice of Dayntie Dewyces* (1578) were, after *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), two of the earliest anthologies of contemporary poetry to be put out in Elizabethan times.

#### MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

307. **The deploratioun of the Vntymly death of Sir Frances Walsyng-hame, &c.** Walsingham died 6th April 1590. *D.N.B.*

308. **Ladye Eleanor Baes** (Bowes). The daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave of Eden Hall. *D.N.B.* See *ante*, note to p. 7.

308. 26. **E'L nome loro a pena si retrova.** Petr., *Trionfo della Morte*, i. 90:

*e'l vostro nome a pena si ritrova.*

310. 1. **The lamentatioun of the desolat olympia, &c.** Among four imitations of Ariosto included in *Le premier livre des poemes de Guillaume Belliard, secretaire de la Royne de Navarre* (Paris, Claude

Gautier, 1578) is *La Triste Lamentation d'Olympe, prise du dixiesme chant de l'Arioste*. V. S. Keyser, *Contribution à l'étude de la fortune littéraire de l'Arioste en France* (Leyden, 1933), p. 186.

310. 3. **Ladye Marye Betoun**. One of the 'Four Maries' of Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1566 she married Alexander Ogilvie, fourth laird of Boyne. She died before 1599. She seems to have been the most scholarly of the maids of honour. Queen Mary, in her Inventory dated 1566, left her books, except those in Latin and Greek, to Mary Beton. A. and H. Tayler, *The Ogilvies of Boyne*, Aberdeen (1933), pp. 15-22; J. Robertson, *Inventorys de la Royne Descosse*, Bann. Club (1863), p. 124; L. A. Barbé, *In Byways of Scottish History*, London (1912), pp. 61-68.

317-18. Most of the rivers mentioned here are easily identifiable, but *Leei* is the Middlesex Lea, the river of Walton's *Compleat Angler*; the *Scalt* is the Scheldt; the *Ishell* is the Yssel, a canalised distributary of the Rhine; the *Zuindersea* is the Zuiderzee; the *Weissell* is the Ijssel, a river of Eastern Holland; the *Vindar Floud* is an unidentified river of Norway; the *Vr* is the Aar; the *Leigh* is the Lech, a river of Bavaria; the *Sebet* is a small stream which enters the Bay of Naples a little way east of the town; and the *Donick* is some unidentified stream of Piedmont, perhaps the Doria Baltea, which rises at the Little St Bernard pass.

318. 24. **Hobbinol**. See Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1579) and *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (1591).

318. 29. **Premont** should be Piemont.

320. **Sir Dauid Wod**. He was knighted in 1604. W. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (1906), ii. 133. In 1615 he was examined in connection with the Overbury case. *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1611-18, pp. 317, 319.

321. **M. Melvin**. The famous Andrew Melville. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London from 1607 to 1611. See T. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, new ed., Edin. (1856), chaps. viii. and ix. In Hawthornden MS. xiii., f. 88, there is a copy of Melville's Latin verses which caused offence, with the heading in Fowler's hand: "ob quæ custodiæ commissus est 1 dec 1606 Londi In adibus decani pauli."

323. This poem seems to have been written for inclusion in Thomas Coryat's *Crudities*, an account of a walking tour made by the author in France, North Italy, and the Rhineland in 1608. To the book were prefixed by command of Prince Henry verses in mock commendation of Coryat. See *D.N.B.* This poem by Fowler must have been one of the rejected contributions for it does not appear in any printed edition of the *Crudities*. See also *ante*, notes to pp. 224, 266.

324. xi. and xii. **Sir George Wharton** was slain by Sir James Stewart in a duel in 1609. See *D.N.B.*

324. xiii. **Tho. Duryie**. Not traced.

325. xiv. **M. D. Drumond**. Not traced.

326. xvi. Printed in Muriel M. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

329. xxi. This short poem was apparently inspired by the assassination of Henry IV. of France in 1610. See *ante*, p. xlv, No. 12.

329. xxii. The Latin couplet which Fowler is translating here was the subject of a correspondence in the *Times Literary Supplement* for 20th and 27th April 1933.

#### POEMS OF DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY.

The only reason for thinking that these poems are the work of Fowler is the fact that they occur in the Hawthornden MSS. among papers which are definitely his. Against this it is to be noted that they formed a separate manuscript, that they are not in his handwriting, that they seem almost too good for him, and that their language is Southern English with an admixture of Scottish forms. It might be argued that they are the work of some Southern poet, or poets, which had caught some Northern reader's fancy, that he then transcribed them, omitting authors' names and sometimes by inadvertence or oversight substituting a Scottish form for an English one, and that his transcription had somehow found its way into the Hawthornden MSS. So far, however, none of the poems here classed as *Doubtful* has, with one exception, been found in any outside source. The odd one is No. xxxiv., which has been found in several seventeenth century English MSS.,<sup>1</sup> in an English dress; but as it is anonymous in all of them Fowler's right to it is not thereby disproved, since Scottish poems when copied by English scribes were usually given an English form.

Except in No. xxx., *The Laste Epistle of Creseyd to Troyalus*, whose special case is considered elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> there is nothing distinctive enough in the language of these poems to prove English authorship. The use of crasis is more striking than in Fowler's other poems;<sup>3</sup> indeed, it is unknown in his undoubted works. But this does not prove Southern origin, since it is found in other Scottish writers. The elision of *-i-* in *thatis* at 363, xxi., 12, might be a trace of Southern influence, but it is paralleled by *its* in *Tar.*, 190, li., 1.

There are, on the other hand, several linguistic criteria which make it quite clear that some at least of the poems under consideration must be the work of a Scottish writer, the Northern forms being so completely a part of their texture. (i) In the rhymes, *brings* : *sings* (337, 13 : 14) and *repaires* : *cares* (343, 4 : 5), one of the rhyme-words exhibits the Northern plural form of the present tense of the verb; (ii) in the rhyme, *hard* : *rewarde* (351, 5 : 6), the first rhyme-word is a Northern past participle; (iii) the rhyme, *knawe* : *A* (363, xxi., 13 : 14), is good only with the Northern vowel in the verb; (iv) elsewhere in the *Poems*

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, note to p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, note to p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., *thauctors*, 345, 15; *thend*, 355, 47; 380, 49; *to'ffend*, 361, 15; *thaffections*, 366, 32; *thanciantes*, 370, 27; *thalluringe*, 375, 13; *t'other*, 383, 150; *t'accept*, 383, 159; *thatredes*, 384, 185; *tentere*, 387, 303.

the adverb *there* has normally the Scots spelling, *thair*, but in these poems it is always written in the Southern form, *ther*. Rhymes, however, show that no change of sound accompanied this change of spelling,<sup>1</sup> and that in both cases the vowel sound represented was *ē*, whereas at that time the vowel sound in this word in Southern English was *i*; (v) two instances occur of the misuse of the Southern present tense ending *-eth*—e.g., *meteth* (373, 116) and *sinckethe* (375, 11), where the extra syllable is essential to the metre. That none of these Northern characteristics, or errors, can be removed without damage to the rhyme or rhythm proves that they must be due to the author and not to any transcriber, and are therefore conclusive for the Scottish origin of the poems in which they occur.

The evidence of vocabulary does nothing to weaken this conclusion. There are in these *Doubtful* poems between fifty and sixty words which are found nowhere else in Fowler's writings. Of these, two—i.e., *deadlye*, in the sense here used, and *thesler*—were distinctly archaic even in 1600; a number of others—i.e., *automney*, *barged*, for which the *O.E.D.* has only one quotation anything like contemporary, dated 1599, *lassyve*, *middowes*, *miscompt*, *rosed*, for which the only *O.E.D.* contemporary quotation is from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, printed 1594, *sleated*, *surbraved*, for which, however, *O.E.D.* quotes from Hudson's *Judith*, printed 1584—are apparently Fowler's own coining; a number of others were still almost wholly confined to Southern writers—i.e., *champion*, *enchase*, *extemed*, *ielt*, *madleth*, *waylesse*, *whutinge*, and *wreakfull*; the remainder, and by far the greater number, are all to be found more or less frequently in earlier and contemporary Scottish literature, the more important of them being *arace*, *beit*, *bruche*, *deargy*, *depairt*, *falce*, *gleites*, *greaues*, *hent* in its normal Scots form with *-i-* for *-e-*, *ho*, *leise*, *lightlied*, *lyte*, *maie*, *meteth*, *outrayed*, *payse*, *pight*, *plett*, *recoursinge*, *ryffe*, *scape*, *swelt*, *threape*, *threat*, *younkers*.

On the evidence, then, it seems reasonable to conclude that the nine poems from which the evidence adduced comes—i.e., Nos. i., vii., ix., xii., xx., xxi., xxiii., xxvi., and xxvii.—are of Scottish origin, and since the group is all of a piece the remainder may equally well be Scottish also. Whether they are all Fowler's is another question, but the internal evidence has really produced nothing to prove that they cannot be his. Even their comparative excellence is not strongly against his authorship of them, for the *Miscellaneous Poems* printed at pp. 307-330 show that he could manage the varied metres, intricate rhyme-patterns, and lightness of touch which these *Doubtful* poems exhibit.

The fact that the language is so nearly pure Southern English is paradoxically really another sign of their Scottish origin. The care with which they have obviously been transcribed is probably due to

<sup>1</sup> With the rhymes, *rare*: *ther* (347, 21:23), *declare*: *ther* (362, 40:42), *ayre*: *ther* (363, 1:3), *chayre*: *ther* (365, 9:11), *hayre*: *ther* (372, 64:66), compare the following from undoubted poems by Fowler, *thair*: *empair* (*Tr.*, 41, 125:126), *bair* (adj., *Tr.*, 63, 139:140), and *faire*: *thair* (*Tar.*, 199, 13:14).

the fact that the manuscript of them which has come down to us was one which had at some time been prepared for the printer with a view to having them published. But since Scotland could then hardly by itself provide a sufficiently wide market for such poetry as this, the poems were given an English dress to make them appeal to English as well as to Scottish readers. This at any rate was the practice of Fowler's contemporaries. Thus, these poems are no more anglicised than those which James VI. printed in his *Essayes of a Prentise* in 1584. And though all of Sir William Alexander's *Monarchicke Tragedies* were in English from the first, he kept on revising them for each reprint, chiefly, apparently, with the aim of ridding them more completely of all traces of his native speech.<sup>1</sup> Contrariwise, when Scotsmen copied out for their own purposes poems by English authors they normally turned the language into Scots. This has happened, for instance, to the epigrams of Heywood copied into the Bannatyne Manuscript.

The sum of the whole matter therefore appears to be that, until more decisive evidence against Fowler's authorship is discovered, the stronger probability is that they are his.

Muriel M. Gray, *op. cit.*, prints Nos. xxxii., xxxiv., xxxiii., iii.

346. viii. See Chaucer, *The Clerk of Oxford's Tale*.

371. 37-38. The sun enters Capricorn at the winter solstice.

377. 19. See Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, 1201-74.

379. xxx. Down to l. 256 this poem is based on Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, and from there to the end on Henryson, *The Testament of Cresseid*. It seems to owe nothing to Lydgate's *Troy Book*.

380. 40. **FLAMANDERS** should be Scamander's.

380. 55. **The leiches twayne** are Paris and Helen.

381. 89. **ANTHONO** should be Antenor.

385. 240. See Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, V. 1040-41.

387. 293-96. In Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, III. 883-89, it is Cressida who proposes to give a ring to Troilus. Fowler seems to be putting his own interpretation on these lines of Henryson, *The Testament of Cresseid*, 582-84:—

" This royall ring, set with this rubie reid,  
     Quhilk Troylus in drowrie to me send,  
 To him agane I leif it quhan I am deid."

This poem contains certain obvious Southern characteristics. They are: (a) the pt. ptc. *igrounde* at 386, 246; (b) the form *to-dasht* at

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<sup>1</sup> See Kastner and Charlton, *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander* (S.T.S., 1921), vol. i., pp. cxciv-cc. The tendency to english the language was stronger when printers like Hart reprinted such popular works as the *Gude and Godlie Ballates* or *The Cherrie and the Slae*. On this point see M. A. Bald, "The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing," *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xxiii.

386, 245; (c) *ne* as an adverb (= not) at 385, 213; and (d) *ne* as a conjunction (= nor) at 380, 29. Even taken together, however, they are not conclusive of English origin. Both the pt. ptc. prefix *i(y)-* and the intensive prefix *to-* are, if not common, at least not unusual in older Scots poetry, occurring naturally in those works where English influence was strongest—*e.g.*, the glossary to the S.T.S. edition of *Lancelot of the Laik* states that twenty *i-* pt. ptc. are found in it, and the glossary to the S.T.S. edition of the *Buik of Alexander* lists nine verbs with the intensive prefix *to-*. These two prefixes, however, seem to have been very rarely used by Fowler's contemporaries, and the likeliest explanation of their appearance in this poem is that they are conscious archaisms lifted by the writer straight out of the source he was following, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, where they both occur—*i.e.*, *ygrounde*, iv. 43; *to-dasht*, ii. 640. It is apparently only in the *Lancelot of the Laik* that *ne* ever is found, but the use of *na* both as an adverb and as a conjunction is fairly common in all periods of Middle Scots.

390. The first six lines of this poem were printed by Bullen, *More Lyrics from the Song-books of the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1888), p. 56, from "Mus. Sch. MS.," F 575, without any author's name. It has also been printed by Ault, *Elizabethan Lyrics* (London, 1928), p. 398, who states that lines 1-6 are set to music in "Ch. Ch. MS.," 87.

J. C.

#### POEMS ADDRESSED TO THE AUTHOR.

393. **M. L. B.** The initials are written as a monogram. M. B. or M. L. B. may be Mary Beton or Mary Lady Boyne. See *ante*, note to p. 310.

394. **I. C.** May be John Colville. See *ante*, note to p. 257.

396. iv. **Thomas Cargill.** Master of Aberdeen Grammar School, 1580. A noted scholar of his time. Died 1601. See James F. Kellas Johnstone, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis* (3rd Spalding Club), 1929, i. 91. See also *ante*, p. clii, and *post*, p. 71.

398. 8. **E. L. Dymoke.** For 'E. L.' read 'Ed.' See *ante*, p. xxv, n. 2.

## NOTES TO VOLUME II.

### MY WORKS.

**3. 2 ansuers to hamilton.** Printed *ante*, i. 7 *et seq.* The *Ansuer* counts as two—(1) the Epistle, (2) the Propositions—as is shown by the separate pagination in the 'Faultis' (*ante*, ii. 17).

**the pest.** Printed *ante*, i. 303-4.

**art of memorye.** Cf. *ante*, p. xix, n. 4.

**art of impreses.** Cf. *ante*, p. xlv, xi. No. 5, xii. Nos. 2, 6; p. xlv, Nos. 8, 9, 11.

**maskarades.** *The True Reportarie* (*ante*, ii. 167 *et seq.*) may be one of them.

**sonetts.** Printed *ante*, i. *passim*.

**penetential psalmes.** Printed *ante*, i. 275-99.

**petrarch translated.** Printed *ante*, i. 13 *et seq.*

**machiauells prince.** Printed *ante*, ii. 71 *et seq.*

**felicite.** See *ante*, p. xlvi, xii. No. 16.

**the King of navar.** See *ante*, p. xlv, xii. No. 12.

**discourses of state.** See *ante*, p. xlv, xii. No. 15.

The other "works" have not been traced.

### AN ANSVVER TO HAMILTOUN.

(Identifications of Biblical references have been omitted.)

7. (Title-page). **I am not ashamed, &c.** This raises the question of the version of the Bible used by the controversialists. In the thirty-two pages of the 'Confutation' (*ante*, ii. 37-68) there are fifty-seven references to the Bible in the vernacular. Of these, nine are passages (three by Fowler and six by Hamilton) which are differently translated by the various translators of the sixteenth century, Coverdale, Matthew, Bassandyne, &c. From a comparison of these passages, it appears that neither Fowler nor Hamilton quoted from any existing vernacular version. Both made their own translation from a Latin text, in Hamilton's case, at least, from the Vulgate.

9. 2. **FRANCES Earle Bothvel.** This was Francis Stewart Hepburn, on his father's side nephew to the Regent Moray, and on his mother's to the 4th Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Mary Stewart, to whose title and to many of whose offices he succeeded in 1576. After playing the 'stormy petrel' in Scottish politics for many years and continually disturbing the peace of the country, he had to flee Scotland, and died in exile and in extreme poverty at Naples in 1624. At the time when this letter of dedication was written to him he was out of Scotland on the continent of Europe, whither he had gone about 1580. See *D.N.B.*

14. 18. **nemo repente summus exiitit.** This looks like an adaptation of Juvenal, *Sat.*, ii. 83, *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*

14. 30. **he that straik IASON on the stomak.** An attempt to assassinate Jason, tyrant of Pherae, in Thessaly, saved his life by opening an impostume from which he was suffering, and which the doctors could not cure. L. R. M. Strachan, citing Wm. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* (1876), ii. 553b, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd July 1938.

15. 3. **Antisthenes sentence.** L. R. M. Strachan, in *Notes and Queries*, *ut supra*, finds the nearest saying to this in the maxims attributed to Antisthenes by Diocles as recorded by Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, vi. 5 . . . "A good man is worthy to be loved; those given to virtue are his friends. . . . Attend carefully to your enemies, for they are the first to notice your faults."

15. 8. **Virescit vulnere virtus.** See Furius, in Aulus Gellius, 18, 11, 4.

15. 17. **Trasimachus.** See Plato, *Republic*, i. 350.

17. 1. **Faultis in the answer.** From an examination of the collations of books printed in Scotland (Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, Cambridge, 1890, *passim*), it appears that the first to contain a list of *errata* was Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechisme*, printed in 1552: "Heir followis certane faultis eschaupt be negligence in the prenting of this buke" (*Ibid.*, p. 161). Only a few of the 'faultis' are given in the *Answer*, and many have been corrected *sub silentio* in the present text.

19. **Ane Answer vnto the Epistle.** No copy of the Epistle is extant. Fowler at one place says that it was "derected to our Ministers" (*ante*, ii. 13); at another, writes of a letter, which can only be this one, as "directed vnto ane quhais name for sundry respectis I haue conceald" (*ibid.*, 34). Probably it was a private letter written to a particular individual, and containing a challenge to the Scottish clergy which the recipient was asked to transmit to them. An approximate date for the Epistle can be fixed by another letter of Hamilton, addressed to King James VI., dated 20th April 1581, which is prefixed to his *Catholik and Facile Traictise* (Scot. Text Soc., 1901, p. 95). "I craue," he writes, "the spirituall combat quhilk I offerit the last yeir to the ministers . . . thaj sould haue send ane answer thairto vithin feumonethis . . ." Probably, therefore, the offer of a spiritual combat, referred to in the Epistle (*ante*, ii. 33), was made in the spring of 1580. Nicol Burne refers to it in his *Disputations* (*Catholic Tractates*, Scot.

Text Soc., 1901, p. 116), dated 24th July 1581. It is not difficult to recover from Fowler's remarks the topics touched on in this letter. It is equally easy to see that its tone was thoroughly scurrilous.

22. 27. **my LORD ARBROITH.** Lord John Hamilton (c. 1535-1604), second son of James, Duke of Châtelheraut, received the Abbey of Arbroath *in commendam*, 1551. Though a Protestant he was a supporter of Mary, and Sir James Melville (*Memoirs*, p. 201) refers to a rumour that the Hamiltons were "myndit to cause the Queen marry my Lord Hamilton in case their side won the victory" of Langside. He was in France in 1580, having fled abroad because he came to be suspected of having had a hand in the deaths of the regents Lennox and Moray. He was created Marquess of Hamilton in 1599. See *The Scots Peerage* (ed. Balfour Paul), iv. 370-73; *The Complete Peerage*, vi. 257-58.

22. 27. **maister IOHNE HAY.** He was a Scottish Jesuit. There is a biographical sketch of him at pp. xxxv-xli of Law's *Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century* (S.T.S., 1901), which also contains a reprint of his book entitled *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline, proponed to the Ministers of the new pretended Kirk of Scotland*, first printed at Paris in 1580, which was the 'buk' referred to by Fowler here.

22. 34. **that article** must have been No. 80 of Hay's *Certaines Demandes*, which reads "Gyf all thay that hes erected images in the temple of God be idolatours, quhou can ye deliver Moyses of that spote, or defend that God himself was nocht authour of idolatrie sen he comandit images to be maid for that effect."

23. 1. **he**—*i.e.*, Hay.

23. 20. **our maister**—*i.e.*, Hamilton.

25. 20. **the college of Forteret**—*i.e.*, Fortet. Founded in 1394 by Canon Pierre Fortet. It was transferred to the Rue des Almandiers or Aman-diers (Rue Laplace in 1864) in 1397. De Rochegude et Dumoulin, *Guide Pratique à travers le Vieux Paris* (1923), p. 400. Dr J. J. Champenois has kindly traced this and other topographical references.

25. 21. **the place Maubert.** "C'est une des plus anciennes places de Paris, située au pied de la montagne Ste Geneviève et se prolongeant jusqu'à la Seine, vis-à-vis Notre Dame." *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*.

25. 25. **the colledge of Nauer**, founded in 1304 by Queen Joanna of Navarre, was for most of its long life situated on the Mont Ste Geneviève. It was shut down in 1792 after the bulk of its funds had been confiscated at the Revolution. In 1805 its buildings became the home of the École Polytechnique.

26. 14. **the Earle of Cravfvrđ** was David Lindsay (1552-1607), the eleventh Earl of Crawford, and a prominent adherent of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland.

26. 14. **the Maister of Marchal** was George Keith (1553-1623), who succeeded his grandfather as fifth Earl Marischal in 1581. In 1589 Fowler accompanied him to Denmark. See *ante*, p. xxii. He founded Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1593.

26. 15. **The Lord of Lendors** was Patrick Leslie of Pitcairrie (?—? 1609), second son of the 5th Earl of Rothes. He was appointed Commendator of Lindores in 1569. See *The Scots Peerage* (ed. Balfour Paul), v. 382-83. See note *ante*.

26. 15. **Syr James Balfour** of Pittendreich was one of the most unprincipled actors in an unprincipled age. He was one of the party which murdered Beaton at St Andrews in 1546, and went to the galleys with Knox. Then he turned Catholic. It was in a house belonging to him that the tragedy of Kirk-o'-Field occurred. A partisan of Bothwell, he secured his own safety when his master fell by enabling the Confederate Lords to secure the notorious Casket Letters and by surrendering to them Edinburgh Castle, which he held for Mary. He found it expedient to live abroad in France from 1573 to 1580. He died in 1583. See *D.N.B.*

26. 28. **Maturinis**. "De la Rue St Jacques à l'Hôtel de Clunys s'étendait l'hospice des Mathurins fondé au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle . . . Dans l'enclos des Mathurins se trouvait la Halle des Parchemins appartenant à l'Université depuis 1291 et où se faisaient les ventes. Là se tenaient aussi les assemblées du corps universitaire jusqu'en 1763." *Guide Pratique*, p. 420.

27. 2. **The King his edict of Pacification**. This was the Peace of Bergerac, signed 17th September 1577, "pour conclure et accorder de la pacification des troubles du royaume." It granted substantial privileges to the Huguenots.

27. 11. **maister NICOLL DALGLEISCH** was a prominent minister in the reign of James VI. He was a Regent in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1571 (*Diary of Sir James Melville*, p. 26), is mentioned in 1584 as minister of the West Kirk (now St Cuthbert's Church), Edinburgh, by Calderwood (iv. 244), was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1591, by which time he had become minister of Pittenweem (*Diary of Sir James Melville*, p. 5). He died in 1610.

29. 12. **numina quinque latent**: apparently a quotation from the commendatory verses on Hamilton referred to at p. 28. 37.

30. 1. **haue thay slaine the Kingis Maiesties Regents**. This is an allusion to the killing of the regent Lennox, grandfather of James VI., at Stirling on 4th September 1571, a deed for which the Hamiltons were largely responsible. See Tytler, *History of Scotland* (1877 ed.), iii. 341-42.

30. 10. **thy brother the Chappelier**. The reference appears to be to 'Captain Edward Hamilton,' the Apostate's brother, who was killed at Stirling at the time of the Regent Lennox's death. *Cal. Scot. Papers*, iii. 681. The reference to 'Chappelier' has not been traced.

30. 14. **Parcius ista viris tamen obiectare memento**. This is taken from Virgil, *Eclogues*, iii. 7, where, however, it is usual to read *obicienda* instead of *obiectare*.

31. 11. **the murder of the first Regent** was the assassination of Regent Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh at Linlithgow in January 1570.

32. 24-29. The two elegiac couplets quoted here will be found in *Pasquillorum Tomi Duo* (Basle, 1544), pp. 77. 79.

33. 8. **thy Prince**—*i.e.*, Charles of Bourbon. See Hamilton, *Catholik and Facile Traictise*, p. 10r. "I . . . having ane charge of instruction of ye maist nobill learnit and Catholik Prince discendit of ye blude Royalle of France: Charles of Bourbon."

34. 18. **the answer of the wise King of France**: this saying is usually ascribed to Louis XI., but see *Notes and Queries*, 4th June 1938.

34. 20. **Cicero says**: an incorrect form of Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, 8, *mens cuiusque is est quisque*.

37. **Confutatioun of his erroneus conclusions**. These, as given by Fowler, are virtually identical with the first fifteen of the twenty-four *Certain Orthodox and Catholik Conclusions* which Hamilton added to his *Catholik and Facile Traictise*. Fowler shows no knowledge of the *Traictise*. He makes no mention of the fact that the first part of it is addressed to Queen Mary; he ignores the letter to King James VI. which precedes the Conclusions, and shows no awareness that in confuting fifteen Propositions he had demolished little more than half his opponent's case. The date of the *Traictise*, 20th April 1581, is merely the date at the end of the letter in which Hamilton dedicated his *Conclusions* to King James VI. So it seems safe to assume that the *Traictise* was not published until some time in May at the earliest. This would hardly have afforded Fowler sufficient time to give it the detailed study necessary for its refutation (2nd June). Moreover, a comparison of the Propositions as given in the *Traictise* with those printed by Fowler reveals sufficient minor differences to warrant the conclusion that Fowler had not Hamilton's printed version before him.

There is one curious discrepancy in Fowler's references to Hamilton's theses which may be significant. Everywhere in the body of his *Answer* he refers to them as "Propositions," but on his title-page he calls them "Conclusions," which is Hamilton's own name for them. Can this mean that Hamilton's treatise came into Fowler's hands too late for the proper name to be used except on the title-page?

There are signs of carelessness, or marks of haste, in several wrong references.<sup>1</sup> Once he quotes a sentence from St Augustine in a form that occurs nowhere outside his pages.<sup>2</sup> In another place he accuses his adversary of an error which is of his own making.<sup>3</sup>

The numerous references to the writings of the Fathers give a misleading idea of Fowler's reading in patristic literature. Actually nearly half of them are taken over from Hamilton. In a number of other cases it is possible to point to the probable source from which he took them.<sup>4</sup>

37. 11-12. **They quha . . . mother**: taken from Hamilton, who is quoting St Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, vi.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, notes to 48, 7-25; 49, 34; 67, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, note to 54, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, note to 63, 18.

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, notes to 41, 1-5; 62, 19.

<sup>5</sup> The references for the Latin Fathers are to Migne, *Patrologia Latina*; for the Greek Fathers, to Migne, *Patrologia Græca*. Differences between them and the 16th century editions of the Fathers are noted.

37. 20. **Paul Methuen.** This was one of the more prominent among the earlier preachers of Reformation times. He had been originally a baker, but in 1560 he was nominated by the Lords of the Congregation to the Church of Jedburgh. He was deposed soon after, however, for adultery with his maidservant, and, being excommunicated, fled to England. Returning to Scotland, he made his peace with the General Assembly on condition that he did public penance at Edinburgh, Dundee, and Jedburgh; but his courage apparently failed him, for he withdrew to England again before he had completed his penance. See *D.N.B.*
38. 4. **with S. Ciprian I say:** Cyprian, *Epistola ad Cæciliū de Sacramento Dominici Calicis*, 17.
39. 37-40. 1. The allusion is borrowed from Hamilton, whose side-note directs the reader to Matt. iii. 11-12.
41. 1-5. The story is told by Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii. 16, but Fowler's source is more probably Smetoun's *Orthodoxa Responsio* (Edinburgh, 1579), p. 37.
41. 39-42. 7. **I answer with . . . Maister THOMAS SMETOVN.** See Smetoun, *Orthodoxa Responsio*, pp. 25-27. Thomas Smetoun was born at Gask near Perth in 1536, and after having been educated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews, was finally converted to Protestantism in 1572. He became minister of Paisley Abbey in 1577, and was Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church in 1579, and again in 1583, the year of his death, three years after he had been appointed Principal of Glasgow University. See H. M. B. Reid, *Divinity Principals in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1917), pp. 83-105. The full title of the work from which Fowler is quoting is *Ad Virulentem Archibaldi Hamiltonii Apostatæ, Dialogum de Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos, impie conscriptum Orthodoxa Responsio*.
42. 12. **he reprouis the donatists:** Augustine, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, 7, 18. But Fowler's language strongly suggests Smetoun's *Orthodoxa Responsio*, pp. 37, 38, as the immediate source.
42. 22. **S. Chrisostome sayis:** Chrysostom, *De Verbis Esaiæ, Vidi Dominum Sedentem in Throno Excelso: Homilia iv.*
44. 10. **August. prouis be this argument:** Augustine, *De Schismate Donatistarum, Epistola liii.* (olim *clxv.*), 2.
44. 18. **he him self affirms the contrair:** Augustine, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, 18 (olim 16), 47.
45. 12. **Hierome vpoun the first to Titus:** Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Titum, Cap. i., Ver. 5.*
45. 18. **Ignatius ad Philad:** Ignatius, *Epistola ad Philadelphicos.*
45. 19. **Augusteine wryting of Aerius:** Augustine, *De Hæresibus*, liii.
45. 29-30. **laitlie . . . learnitie refuted:** the reference is to Smetoun's *Orthodoxa Responsio*, pp. 54-82.
46. 22. **Chrisost:** Chrysostom, *De pentecoste Sermo*; **Ambrois:** Ambrose,

*Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, 2; **Hierom**: Jerome, *Commentarius in Euangelium Matthæi*, Lib. iii., 16, 18; **August**: Augustine, *Expositio in Euangelium Ioannis*, *Tractatus cxxiv. de Cap. xxi.*; **quha**: this clause refers to Augustine only.

46. 26. **mair planely this reuerend father wryts**: Augustine, *De Verbis Domini in Euangelium secundum Matthæum*, *Sermo lxxvi.* (olim *xiii.*), 1.

47. 10. **it is notoriously knawin to all**: Matt. x. 2. There seems to have been no fount of Greek type in Scotland at this time. Leprevik, in his "Epistle to the Reader" of *The Confutatione of the Abbot of Crossraguels Masse* (1563), apologises for the want of it. In that case they were supplied in ink by "a moste excellent young man, well exercised in the Tongue," and by "the labour of some scollers whom I judged to be most experte. . . ." Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 200-01, 214.

47. 12. **Asinus portat misteria**: ὄνος ἄγων μυστερια, *id est*, *asinus portans mysteria*. In eum dicebatur, qui præter dignitatem in munere quopiam versabatur. *Aristophanes in Ranis*, Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades*, *Secundæ Centuriæ*, i. 4.

48. 7-25. Fowler is quite correct in saying that there is no mention in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, v. 4-7, of the controversy in Pope Victor's time over the proper date for Easter. Hamilton has given his adversary this opportunity of crowing over him by referring in his sidenote to chapter 4 in the Fifth Book of Eusebius instead of to chapter 24. Fowler himself, however, seems to be guilty of a slip in referring the account of the controversy to chapters 22 and 23 of that Book when they actually occur in chapters 23 and 24. On the other hand, he may have used an edition in which the chapter divisions were different from those in general use. That he did not use the Latin version by Rufinus, the standard Latin translation, is suggested by the form of his Latin quotation, "*verum ista ceteris omnibus parum placebant*," which in Rufinus reads "*sed hoc non omnibus placebat episcopis*." But what version he did use has not been traced. The accuracy of Fowler's summary of these two chapters is also open to question. What is for him "sum litill controuersie" is in the Latin of Rufinus "*quæstio non minima*." Fowler may, of course, be working from the original Greek text of Eusebius; but if that is so, it is not easy to see why he should have put the only direct quotation from his source into Latin instead of rendering it into the vernacular.

48. 29. **the 13. epist. of his 3 buik**: Cyprian, *Epistola ad S. Stephanum*, 1.

48. 34-37. **Si quis ex Collegio . . . colligant**: Cyprian, *Epistola ad S. Stephanum*, 2.

49. 13. **the councell of Carthage**: the controversy here alluded to was a dispute in the early fourth century between the Bishop of Rome and the African Church, an episode in the centuries-long struggle of the Roman pontiffs to secure for themselves universal jurisdiction over the Christian Church. Fowler's authority seems to have been Calvin, for the sidenote is a reference to that writer's *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, Book iv. ch. 7, § 9, where a summary of the dispute is given.

For a modern account of the controversy see Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church* (English translation; London, 1924), iii. 169-80. **Miluetian** in l. 10 above stands for Mileuis in North Africa, where a Council of the African Church was held in A.D. 416. **Sardice** in l. 24 is Sardica in Mœsia Inferior, where an œcumenical Council of the Church was held in A.D. 343; and **Nice** in the same line is Nicæa, the scene in A.D. 325 of the most famous of all the œcumenical Councils of the Church.

49. 25-26. **saming counsell . . . Rome:** Fowler would seem to mean the Council of Nicæa, but if so, he is in error, for that Council did no such thing. His statement, however, is true of the Council of Milevis.

49. 30-33. Nothing corresponding to these lines is to be found anywhere in the Acts of the Council of Nicæa. They seem to be Fowler's addition from some source still untraced.

49. 34. **GREGORIE wil haue him repute . . . saying:** Gregory, *Epistolæ*, Lib. vii., Ep. 33. This is the numbering of the letter in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, but in Fowler's time another numbering of Gregory's letters was in use, by which this letter was No. 30 in Book VI.; by a misprint Fowler's sidenote gives the Book as IV.

50. 2. **in ane vther epistle:** Gregory, *Epistolæ*, Lib. vii., Ep. 30.

50. 35. **Sententias loquitur carnifex.** The source of this has not been traced.

52. 28. **I answer . . . with S. August:** Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, ii. 8, 16.

53. 16. **The murther of Paris.** The Massacre of St Bartholomew, 24-25 August 1572.

53. 37. **as S. August. wrytes:** Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 8. The woman's name was Palladia, not Palladid.

54. 4-5. **Illa de gradu descendit et ad sancti martyris memoriam orare perrexerat:** this does not correspond textually with what St Augustine wrote, all the editions of his *De Civitate Dei* which have been consulted reading at this place, *Illa enim, ubi de gradibus descendit, in quibus steterat, ad sanctum martyrum orare perrexeat.*

54. 11-12. These two lines summarise a whole page of Hamilton's authorities.

54. 13. **I answer with Hierom:** Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium*, 6.

54. 15-16. **Aug. . . . in 48 epist:** Augustine, *Epistola xciii.* (olim *xlviii.*), 20.

54. 27. **Basil:** S. Basil, *In Quadraginta Martyres*, 1. **Nazianzen:** Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio xxiv.*, 1.

54. 30. **Origines buik:** Hamilton in a sidenote directs his readers to Origen, *In Cantica Canticorum*, iii.; but Fowler's statement of Origen's position in this matter of prayers to the Saints seems to refer rather to his *Contra Celsum*, viii. 34, which appears to be the passage to which he seeks in his sidenote to direct his readers.

54. 33. **Cyprians buik de stella et magis**: the reference is to Hamilton's citation of a homily, *De stella et Magis et Innocentium Morte*, at one time attributed to Cyprian, but even in the early sixteenth century frequently rejected as spurious. Erasmus, for example, does not include it in his edition of the works of Cyprian; and modern editors do not accept it as genuine.

54. 34. **Chrisost. messe**: by the Mass of Chrysostom is meant the liturgy of Constantinople, the liturgy in use in the Eastern Church from at least the fourth century A.D.

54. 37. **his 12 homelie vpon the woman of Canan**: what follows is a literal translation from Chrysostom, *Homilia xii., de Muliere Cananæa*.

55. 17. **sais Aug**: Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum cxiii.*; Sermo ii., 3.

56. 22-23. Fowler is right when he accuses Hamilton of being in error in saying that the story of Abgarus of Edessa (Fowler's 'Abagatus') is to be found in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book 7, for it is in the First Book of that work that it occurs. Fowler, however, has failed to notice that the story referred to here by Hamilton does not come from Eusebius at all, but from another source altogether, the *Doctrina Addæi*.

56. 24. **Hemorrhisse** is the woman healed by Christ of an issue of blood (Matthew ix. 20). This, however, was not her name, but is simply a transliteration of the Greek word by which she is described in the Gospel, ἀμορροῦσα—i.e., "she who was losing blood." The story that in gratitude she erected a statue to Christ comes from Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii. 14. The last two sentences of this paragraph, from *It is na meruell*, are literally translated by Fowler from Eusebius.

57. 3. **S. August. declaris**: Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, i. 10, 16.

57. 6. **his 49. epist**: Augustine, *Epistola cii.* (olim *xliv.*), 18.

**his Catalog heresi**: Augustine, *De Hæresibus*, 7.

57. 10. **In the place be zow cytit**—i.e., Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, i. 10, 16.

57. 19. **as Tertulian witnesseth**: Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, 3.

57. 20-28. Fowler seems to be in error in two particulars here. (1) He is wrong in his explanation of how the sign of the Cross was made in early Christian times. Most modern authorities, basing themselves on the passage from Tertullian cited in the previous note, are agreed that in the early centuries of the Christian era it was with the thumb of the right hand and on the forehead only. (2) To call the crucifix something recent, as he does when he writes *the signe is ancient, bot the figure laite*, is to stretch the meaning of *laite* unduly, since by the time of the Reformation crucifixes had been in use for about a thousand years.

57. 31. **Auge piis iustitiam reisq**: The source has not been traced.

58. 22. **Epiphanius wrytis . . . in the 2. tome of Hierome:** *Epistola St Epiphanii ad Ionnem Ierosolymorum Episcopum, a Hieronymo Latine reddita*, 9. The remainder of this chapter is a literal translation of part of that letter.

59. 23. **the 2. buik of the Macab.:** 2 Maccabees xii. 44.

59. 27. **The hinmost verse:** 2 Maccabees xv. 38.

59. 30. **in it thair are many contrarieties:** "in historical credibility and value 2 Mac. is admittedly inferior to the First Book, the authority of which must therefore be preferred in the case of irreconcilable discrepancies"; W. Fairweather in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (Edinburgh, 1900), ii. p. 191. Fowler here cites three such contradictions concerning the manner, place, and date of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. The generally accepted account of his death is that given at 1 Mac. vi. 4-16, that he died of a fever at Babylon in B.C. 164. The *Cambridge Ancient History* (viii. 514), however, says it happened at Gabæ in Media (the modern Ispahan) in the spring or summer of B.C. 163, but without giving any cause and without indicating its authority for its statements. The most recent editor of the *Apocrypha* explains the account of his death at 2 Mac. i. 13-16, by saying that the compiler of the book had transferred to him the fate met by Antiochus the Great who was killed in B.C. 187 while plundering the temple of Artemis at Elymais in Susiana (Fowler's *Kirk of Nanea*), and that at 2 Mac. ix. 5-28, as being the conventional doom for blasphemous persecutors. The dates given by Fowler are those according to the Seleucid system of chronology employed at Antioch; he found them used in the Book of Maccabees. The year 148 on this method of reckoning time corresponds to the year B.C. 164 on ours.

60. 4-12. The contradiction here is due to the compiler of 2 Maccabees having run together two expeditions of Lysias against the Jews, one before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the other after it, and having transferred to the second the circumstances of the first. On the points raised in this and the preceding note, see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913); and Cheyne and Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica* (London, 1902), iii., cols. 2869-79.

60. 24. **S. Augu. approueth them:** Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xviii. 36; and *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 8, 12.

60. 29. **the 19 booke, vpon the 17. chap. of Iob:** Gregory, *Expositio Moralis*, xix. 21 (olim 17). Fowler has made a slip here, for 17 is the number of the chapter in Gregory from which he is quoting, not the number of the chapter in Job which Gregory is commenting upon; the number of that chapter is 20.

61. 11. **And Tertulian . . . in bis age:** Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, 3.

61. 16-18. **Vnto S. Aug. . . . Mother Monica:** Augustine, *Confessions*, ix. 13.

61. 20. **in his euch ad laurent. 67. chap:** Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, 67.

61. 26. **and after he subjoins**: this quotation has not been traced. It is not in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*.
61. 29. **confirmit by Ierom**: this quotation has not been traced.
62. 9. **I answer with S Hierome**: Jerome, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas*, i. 1.
62. 15. **Iustinus the martyre to Antoninus saith**: Justin Martyr, *Apologia I pro Christianis*, 66.
62. 19. **in that secound apologie**: what follows these words, down to the end of the sentence, does not come from Justin Martyr at all but from Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Defensio de Eucharistia*, Pars. i., where they are a comment by the sixteenth century controversialist on the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, and *Hoc est sanguis meus*. But in Vermigli they follow a quotation from Justin Martyr and have been wrongly included in it, the printer having failed to indicate rightly where the quotation ends. So Fowler was misled into believing that they came from the first century Christian apologist.
62. 26. **he teachis in that saming apologie**—*i.e.*, Justin Martyr, *Apologia I pro Christianis*, 66. But Fowler probably went no further than the work of Vermigli, referred to in the previous note, for his knowledge of what Justin Martyr wrote. The Reformation writer quotes this passage in the original Greek, and then gives a rendering of it in Latin.
62. 28. **quhilk plainelie Ireneus aprouis**: Irenæus, *Adversus Hæreses*, v. 2, 3.
62. 33. **Chrisost also afirmes**: Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, iii. 4. At p. 63, ll. 2-6 below, Fowler gives a rendering of this passage from St Chrysostom.
62. 36. **Petrus Martyre wrytis**: Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Defensio Doctrinæ Veteris et Apostolica de Sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento* (Zurich, 1559), p. 684.
63. 9. **in his xi. homilie vpon S. Mat.**: Chrysostom, *Commentariorum in Euangelium Matthæi, Homiliæ liiii; Homilia xi*. There are two series of homilies on St Matthew's Gospel attributed to St Chrysostom. The second of them, from which this quotation comes, is often referred to as *Opus Imperfectum*, and is now generally held to be the work of an Arian writer in the first half of the fifth century. (See *Catholic Encyclopædia*, London, 1910, viii. 456.) Fowler must have been aware that its genuineness was doubted, for Peter Martyr Vermigli discusses this very question (*op. cit.*, p. 500) when expounding the meaning of this passage from it.
63. 11. **vpon the 22 psal**: Chrysostom, *Expositio Psalmi*, xxii.
63. 18. **Recognose thy error**: the error of which Fowler accuses Hamilton is of his own making, if the evidence of printed texts is to be accepted, for the printed text of Hamilton's *Catholic Traictise* has Ambrose at this place plain for all to read and not Aug. at all, as Fowler asserts it has.
63. 20. **we reid in Ambro**: Ambrose, *De mysteriis* (olim *De Iis qui mysteriis initiantur*), 9, 52.

63. 27-28. **his 4 bulk of Sacra. & 4 ch.:** Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, iv. 4. 20.
63. 31. **S. August saith:** Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum, xxxiii.*; Sermo, i. 10.
63. 35. **the second sermon vpon the 33. psal:** Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum, xxxiii.*; Sermo, ii. 2.
63. 36. **in the former—i.e.,** in the first sermon on the 33rd Psalm.
64. 8. **S. Hilare affyrmis:** Hilary, *De Trinitate*, viii. 14.
64. 9. **Cyrrillus affyrmis the saming:** this reference has not been traced.
64. 11. **S. Au. aprouis saying:** Augustine, *Expositio in Evangelium Ioannis; Tractatus, l., 4.*
66. 4. **S. Paul writing to the Ebrews 6 ch.:** there is nothing resembling what Fowler here attributes to St Paul either in chapter 6 or any other chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
66. 14-15. **Tertulian in that same place saith:** Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, 3.
66. 20. **his buik contra PSYCH:** Tertullian, *De Ieiunio*, 2. For the sect of the Psychici, see Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (1887), *s.v.*
66. 24. **Epipha. shaws:** Epiphanius, *Adversus Hæreses*, Lib. iii., tom. i., Hæresim lv. (*sive lxxv.*), 3; *adversus Aevium*.
66. 29. **S. Cy. writing to Pomp:** Cyprian, *Epistola ad Pompeium*, 2.
66. 35. **S. Aug. saith:** Augustine, *Epistola xxxvi.* (olim *lxxxvi.*), 2.
67. 4. **his 119. epist. to casulanus:** in no edition of St Augustine's works which I have been able to consult is the letter to Casulanus, from which both Fowler and Hamilton are quoting here, numbered 119. In the sixteenth century it was usually numbered 86; in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* its number is 36. The Latin sentence at ll. 5-8 does not appear anywhere in it, and has not been traced to its source.
67. 11. **and efterhend in that samin epistle:** Augustine, *Epistola xxxvi.* (olim *lxxxvi.*), 23. The sentence that follows is a literal translation of the Latin of St Augustine.
67. 29. **I ansuer with Pape Stephanus:** the original of this quotation has not been traced.

J. C.

#### THE PRINCE OF MACHIAVELLI.

For Fowler's translation of Machiavelli's dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici, see *ante*, Appendix III.

The translation of Machiavelli's *Il Principe* here printed is incomplete, there being wanting everything from about the middle of chap. 4 to the beginning of chap. 10 and the last three paragraphs of the concluding chapter, or about a fourth of the whole work.

In making his translation Fowler seems to have depended to a large extent upon the French version of *The Prince*, published at Poitiers in 1553, and dedicated by its author, Gaspard d'Auvergne, to a Scottish nobleman, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran. That he had also an Italian text beside him is proved, however, by the considerable number of instances in which Fowler's choice of words reflects the original rather than the French translation—*e.g.*, 80, 2 *abbaissing*, M. *abbassorono*, D'Auv. *affoblissans*; 90, 1 to *obleish* thame selfs, M. *obbligarsi*, D'Auv. *de scauoir . . . bon gré*; 92, 33 *disobleish*, M. *dis-obbligare*, D'Auv. *depestrer*; 96, 7 to *reason*, M. *ragionare*, D'Auv. *parler*; 109, 15 *proponed vnto thame*, M. *proponeua loro*, D'Auv. *leur mettoit deuant les yeux*; 109, 19 *cogitations*, M. *cogitazioni* (pl.), D'Auv. *ceste continuelle cogitation* (sing.); 122, 1 *necesscitat*, M. *necessitato*, D'Auv. *estant contraint*; 127, 26 *Infinet examples*, M. *infiniti esempli*, D'Auv. *mille exemples*; 137, 11-12 *determinat sentence*, M. *determinata sentenza*, D'Auv. *reigle déterminée*; 139, 26 *vnder a galiard prence*, M. *in uno principato gagliardo*; App. III., *cloths of gold*, M. *drappi d'oro*, D'Auv. *draps de soye*; *service and subiection*, M. *servitù*, D'Auv. *obeissance*; *gretar gift*, M. *maggiore dono*, D'Auv. *plus precieuz don*.

It should be noted, however, that—

(i) where Fowler's rendering differs in form from the Italian it is found to agree very closely, as a rule, with the French version—*e.g.*, see notes to 73, 1-2; 75, 8; 77, 13; 85, 11; 92, 2; 96, 1; 98, 23; 108, 17; 141, 35, and other but less striking instances will be found in the notes to other passages.

(ii) occasionally Fowler misrepresents the original, and his misrepresentation can usually be attributed to a faulty, generally a too literal, translation of the French version—*e.g.*, 72, 20; 75, 8; 75, 16.

(iii) where Fowler has something that is not to be found in the Italian it is nearly always to be found in the French version—*e.g.*, 82, 10; 92, 15; 93, 15; 139, 26. Instances of additions by Fowler himself are to be found at 91, 12; 95, 1; 99, 18.

(iv) similarly it will be found that what Fowler omits from his translation is usually omitted from the French version—*e.g.*, at 85, 25; 89, 26; 98, 26; 112, 10; 115, 26; 130, 23. But omissions of his own are to be found at 93, 18; 106, 17; 110, 1; 115, 17; 117, 21; 119, 7.

(v) at three places—*i.e.*, 82, 35-36; 93, 32; 96, 25—Fowler strikingly alters the language of the original; but his changes are due to his following closely the version of the French translator.

(vi) Machiavelli four times—*i.e.*, at 106, 19-20; 117, 6-7; 145, 16-23; 162, 34-37 of the translation—quotes from Latin authors. Fowler translates three of these passages, the first, third, and fourth without indicating that they are not part of Machiavelli's Italian, which is exactly what the French translator did. The second of them, perhaps because it is in verse, he quotes in the original Latin and then adds a prose rendering; again this is exactly what the French translator did.

Occasionally, as in 80, 2; 107, 28, renderings of both the Italian and the French texts are combined in Fowler's version.

There is also a certain amount of evidence that Fowler made some use of the Latin version of Machiavelli's work printed at Basle in 1560; it is given in the notes to 127, 34; 132, 19; 141, 11; 150, 6; 159, 18-20; 162, 21.

When Fowler made his translation there is no means of deciding, but it is unlikely that it was undertaken after 1600. Nor is the fragment of the intended dedication to the Laird of Buccleuch<sup>1</sup> proof that it was taken in hand before 1590, the year in which Buccleuch was knighted, for Fowler refers to him by that title in the *True Reportarie*, which must have been written after the events it describes, and they took place in the August of 1594. The fact that linguistically *The Prince* occupies a kind of intermediate position, being more markedly Scots in its language than the *Poems* but decidedly less so than the *Answer to Hamilton* is not of any help either, for it was the tendency of the time to be more purely Scots when writing prose than when writing verse.

The notes that follow are confined to the explanation of the text of Fowler's translation. Annotation of Machiavelli's work has been rigidly excluded, since annotated texts and translations of his book are easily accessible.

#### CHAPTER I.

71. 8. **Quhat sumeuer government or estate:** *Tutti gli stati, tutti e' dominii* in the original. D'Auv. has *Tous les estatz, & seigneuries*; Ashmolean MS. 792: "Whatsoever state of gouernment."

71. 9-10. **Commoun welths or monarcheis:** *republiche o principati*.

71. 11. **and quhilk haith not bene sene afore.** Fowler's gloss. Machiavelli here and at l. 14 has merely *nuovi*.

71. 12-13. **Hereditaire I call these, &c.** The translator takes out a clause from the preceding sentence in M., and amplifies it.

71. 15. **francis forze**—*i.e.*, Francesco Sforza.

71. 16-17. **members and limms adioned and coupled . . . conquesed and obtened.** These reduplications are again Fowler's own. The original has merely *come membri aggiunti allo stato ereditario del principe che li acquista*.

71. 18. **yet.** There is no conjunction, adversative or other, in the original, but a simple statement.

71. 19. **so purchessed:** *così acquistati*.

71. 23. A comma and a preposition after 'forces' would make the sense clearer: *o per fortuna o per virtù* in the original.

**vertew:** the Machiavellian *virtù*, defined by Lisio as "qualunque Energia o Qualità, morale intellettuale materiale, per cui un uomo si levi su gli altri."

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix iv. *ante*, p. clv.

## CHAPTER 2.

72. 5. **at lenth and leasure**: M. has merely *a lungo*.

**In some other place**—*i.e.*, in the *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, composed between 1513 and 1519, and especially in Book I. of that work.

72. 7. **following the proiect of my first diuision**: here Fowler adopts the wording of the French translation of Gaspard d'Auvergne, *suyuant le project de la precedente division*. M. has *tessendo gli orditi soprascritti*.

72. 20. **meane**—*i.e.*, moderate. M. *ordinario*, d'Auv. *mediocre*.

72. 23-25. **the chance . . . vsurper**: for *quantunque di sinistro abbi lo occupatore*, 'should any mischance happen to the usurper.'

73. 1-2. **the yere M.iii.j.c.iii.j.**<sup>xx</sup>. **iiii**: as in the French version *l'an m.iii.c.iiii.xx.iiii*. The Italian has *nello '84 (i.e., 1484)*. **1510**: *nel 10*. D'Auvergne has *l'an m.v.c.x*.

73. 4-6. **for a natiue prence, &c.**: *perchè el principe naturale ha minori cagioni e minore necessità di offendere*, 'for the native prince has fewer occasions and less necessity to give offence.'

73. 14. **Liueith**—*i.e.*, leaveth. The original has: *perchè sempre una mutazione lascia lo addentellato per la edificazione dell'altra*. The *addentellato* is the quoin or 'toothing' consisting of projecting bricks or stones left at the end of a wall to provide for its continuation.

## CHAPTER 3.

74. 3-4. **in a vncouth dominioun**: *nel principato nuovo*.

74. 13-15. **Quhairin for the maist part, &c.**: *di che e' s'ingannono, perchè veggono poi per esperienza avere peggiorato*.

74. 17. **to straipe and distress these**: the original has merely *offendere quelli*.

74. 22-23. **in the attempting and obtaning**: is again an amplification of the simple *in occupare*. Such extensions, when they do not seriously interfere with the sense, may be taken as normal in this translation, and will not henceforth be recorded.

74. 26. **For off, the read 'off the.'**

74. 27. **rigourous remeids**: *medicine forti*.

75. 3. **whether mistars he or is** [*sc. it*]: Fowler's addition.

75. 8. **be his auen forces**: not 'by his own forces' but by the forces of duke Lodovico: *bastò a torgnene*, says Machiavelli, *la prima volta, le forze proprie di Lodovico*. The error, however, was made in the first instance by the French translator, who wrote *et n'en fut la premiere fois deietté que par ses propres forces*.

75. 13. **that rebelling countrie**: in the original the reference is general and in the plural (*e' paesi rebellati . . . si perdono*), returning only in the next sentence to the particular instance of Milan. So for 'the king' M. has merely *el signore*, and 'of the duikdome' is Fowler's addition.

75. 16-17. **giue lousse with les respect the brydill to his crueltie**: *lasche avec moindre respect la bride a la cruauté* (D'Auv.). M. has *è meno respectivo ad assicurarsi con punire e' delinquenti*, taken up by Fowler in the next clause.

75. 24. **there ayde**: the reference is to the Holy League, formed by Julius II. against the French, and supported by Spain, England, and Venice. *gli bisognò avere, contro*, says M., speaking of the French king, *el mondo tutto*.

75. 30. **king luyois**: M. *lui*, D'Auv. *le Roys Loys*.

75. 33. **the other**: M. *Francia*, D'Auv. *vn aultre*.

76. 5. **crudele turcorum concilium**. This is the only one of a number of sidenotes in the French translation which Fowler reproduces.

76. 8-9. **and not disavouing nor abrogating there auld customes**. This is not M.'s meaning. The original has simply *e non vi essendo disformità di costumi*, 'and since there is no disparity of manners'—*i.e.*, between the new province and the state which has annexed it.

76. 25-26. **a natioun**: in M. 'a province,' *una provincia*.

**of other maners**: the original has *ordini*, not manners, but laws, political institutions.

76. 33. **is the onlye moyen that**: Fowler's addition.

77. 7-9. **rather** [? read 'nather'] **hes he soner intelligence bot then quhen they grow to that greatnes, &c.**: *s'intendono quando e' sono grandi e che non vi è più remedio*. They—*i.e.*, the disorders—are only heard of when they are already great and there is no longer a remedy for them.

77. 13-14. **beloved of the best and feared off the warst**: D'Auv. *aimé de ses bons subiects, & beaucoup plus crainct de mauvais*.

77. 19-20. **to erect coloneis**: *mandare colonie*, the equivalent of Lat. *mittere colonias*. The words that follow ('and to transport a certene number of your naturell pepill') are Fowler's gloss upon this.

77. 22-23. **quha will serve as keis to that estate**: in the original the colonists are said to act as fetters or shackles on the newly conquered state, *che sieno quasi compedes di quello stato*.

77. 28. **there auen rovmes**: 'their fields and houses' in the original, *e' campi e le case*.

77. 35. **be there rebellious**: D'Auv. *pour leur rebellion*. M. has (*paurosi di non errare*).

78. 6-7. **mak tame the conquered with a certane soft and myld proceedings**: an ingenious paraphrase of Ital. *vezzeggiare*, to coax or fondle.

78. 7-8. **at least altogether**: not in the original. The remainder of this sentence is much clearer and more pregnant in M.'s text: *perchè si vendicano delle leggieri offese, delle gravi non possono*, 'since light offences are avenged, [but] grave ones cannot be.'

78. 16. **troupes of horss and bands of fit men**. M. has merely *gente d'arme*.

78. 19-22. **bycaus vndoubtedlye . . . inhabitants**: Fowler hardly brings out the sense of this passage: *perchè nuoce a tutto quello stato, tramutando con gli alloggiamenti il suo esercito*, 'because he injures the whole state, quartering his army now here, now there.'

78. 24-25. **outraged, extorted, and oppressed in there guds**. M. has merely *battuti in casa loro*. 'and yet not altogether bereft off theme' is an addition of Fowler's.

78. 32. **unlyke**. Fowler's first rendering 'dislyke' seems suggested by the original *disforme*.

79. 6. **Quhilk thing may fall out very weill**. M. says expressly 'It will always happen,' *E sempre interverrà*.

79. 15. **This is the reasoun of this discourse**. Lit. *E l'ordine delle cose è che . . .*, 'And the rule is that . . .'

80. 2. **abbaissing and infeblyng**. This combines M. *abbassorono* and D'Auv. *affoblissans*.

80. 2-3. **the fercest of the mightier**. M. has merely *e' potenti*.

80. 6-7. **be theme**—*i.e.*, by the Romans.

80. 15. **sa lang as he had pouar of an Inche of earthe in grece**. Fowler's picturesque rendering of *che tenessi in quella provincia alcuno stato*.

80. 17. **occurrences**. *scandoli*—*i.e.*, 'disorders,' 'civil discords,' in the original.

80. 22. **the miedicine is vntymlye**—*i.e.*, not in time, *la medicina non è a tempo*.

80. 25. **ethik feveur**—*i.e.*, consumption, *lo etico*; D'Auv. *la fieure Ethique*.

80. 30. **principalities**. In M. *cose di stato*, 'affairs of State.'

81. 1. **and yet the amendment, &c.** *non vi è più remedio*, 'there is no longer any remedy to be found.'

81. 25-26. **Charles the 8 . . . loueis the 12**. This order is the reverse of that in the Italian, but is the same as that in the French version. The latter also gives the numbers of the kings, which M. omits.

81. 31. **a forrane and conqueshed estate**: *uno stato disforme*—*i.e.*, a state of different language, constitution, and customs.

81. 36-82. 2. **be the fresh memoire of the vndiscreit handlings & actions off his predecessour**. This is Fowler's intelligent expansion of a single phrase of M., *per li portamenti del re Carlo*. 'his predecessour,' however, comes from D'Auvergne, *son predecesseur*.

82. 10. **off bullongne**—*i.e.*, Bologna: omitted in the Italian, but given in the French version. **contesse**, M. *madonna*, D'Auv. *contesse*.

82. 11. **arimin**, M. *Rimino*, D'Auv. *Arimin*.

82. 18. **be the estate off thir tymes present**. Fowler's addition.

82. 28-29. **might haue had . . . supported**. This obscures the sense of the original: *posseva facilmente assicurarsi di chi ci restava grande*, 'he (*i.e.*, the French king) could easily make sure of those who still remained great.'

82. 30. **quhils he began to forgett him self**. M. *che fece il contrario*.

82. 32. **And the gud king was not weill advysed herin**. Fowler's addition.

82. 35-36. **haldin theme selfs . . . off his wings**. D'Auv. *en lieu de seureté, soubz l'ombre de ses ailes*. M. *has quelli che se gli erano gittati in grembo*, 'those who had thrown themselves into his lap.'

83. 17-18. **the delyters In noveltyes**. In M. *gli ambiziosi di quella provincia*.

83. 20. **quhome**. A slip for 'quhen' or 'quhair'? The original has *e, dove posseva lasciare . . .*

83. 28. **very litill**. M. *non*.

83. 34-35. **bot being vnable . . . forces of another**. Here Fowler follows the French translator closely: *ne le pouvant de soi, elle n'y devoit point appeller le secours d'autrui*. M. merely says *se non poteva, non doveva dividerlo*—*viz.*, Naples.

84. 1. **it**—*i.e.*, France.

84. 3. **baith her feit**. The original has merely *messo el piè*.

84. 4-5. **Bot as touching that confederacie . . . for the overthrow of napes** is Fowler's gloss. The original has merely *questa (i.e., questa divisione)*.

84. 6-7. **having na thing to mak her vnexcusable, &c.** Fowler seems to say the opposite of what is intended, *per non essere escusata da quella necessità*—*i.e.*, not having the excuse of necessity as in the former case.

84. 11. **the pouar of a puissant pape**. M. has merely *potenzia a uno potente*, increasing power—*i.e.*, in one who is already powerful.

84. 14-16. **and in not transporting . . . new conquest**. Fowler's gloss; not in the original.

84. 28-29. **the enmee of thame baith**. M. *gli altri*, D'Auv. *les autres*.

84. 35. **the hardines of the whole world**. This is a flourish of Fowler's own; in the original it is merely 'the others'—*i.e.*, the adversaries of France and Venice, who would not dare to attack both.

84. 37. **quyted**—*i.e.*, gave up. M. *cedè*.

85. 3. **give place to ane Inconvenient**, for *lasciare seguire uno disordine*, 'allow disorder to take place.'

85. 4-5. **whole and altogether.** Fowler's addition.
85. 7. **that fals promeis.** M. has merely *la fede*, 'the pledge.'
85. 8-9. **in furneshing him with forces to the subdeuing of al romagne.** D'Auv. *de lui preter secours a l'enterprise de la Romagne*. M. has *di fare per lui quella impresa*.
85. 10-11. **for the obtening of the rid hatt to the Legat of amboyse.** D'Auv. *obtenir le chappeau rouge du legat d'Amboise*. M. has simply *per . . . il cappello di Roano*—*i.e.*, Rouen. Georges d'Amboise, the archbishop of Rouen, was made a cardinal in September 1498, when Cesare Borgia brought the papal bull for the dissolution of the marriage of Louis XII. with Jeanne, sister of Charles VIII., to enable him to marry Anne of Brittany, Charles's widow.
85. 22. **the cardinall of amboyse.** D'Auv. *Monsieur le Cardinal d'Amboise*, M. *Roano*.
85. 24. **the duik of valentines (sic).** D'Auv. *duc de Valentinois*, M. *el Valentino*.
85. 25. **named.** M. *chiamato popolarmente*, but the French version, like Fowler's, omits the adverb.
85. 33-35. **quha in place of recompence . . . whole frenshmen.** M. has merely *e la ruina sua (i.e., of France) causata da loro (i.e., the Pope and the Spaniards)*.
86. 1. **gif thow euer vprop, &c.** Fowler throws the impersonal statement of M. into a personal form.

## CHAPTER 4.

87. 10. **Incace the fore named reasons hes place.** This phrase, in which the sequence seems incorrect, is an amplification of the single word *donde* in the original. *donde pareva ragionevole*, says M., *che tutto quello stato si rebellassi*, whence (*i.e.*, for which reason) it might be supposed that the whole state would have rebelled.
87. 14. **and empyres.** Fowler's addition.
87. 16. **ane king.** M. *uno principe*.
87. 18-19. **in the purchessing of his conquests . . . conquered.** M. *governare quello regno*, D'Auv. *a defendre son royaume*.
88. 2. **ar mair revered.** Another false concord, due perhaps to the fact that the sentence begins with a plural in the original (*Quelli stati*).
88. 13. **Sangiacques**, as in the Fr. version of D'Auvergne. M. *Sangiachi*. A 'sanjak' is 'one of the administrative districts of a Turkish vilayet.'
88. 23-24. **it wil . . . recoverit.** The alternative reading in the footnote better represents the original.
89. 2. **defectioun.** Here the translation breaks off, and the remainder of this chapter, as well as chapters 5 to 9 and the beginning of chapter 10, are missing.

The contents of these chapters are as follows :—

- Chap. 5. *In che modo si debbino governare le città o principati li quali, innanzi fussino occupati, si vivevano con le loro leggi.* (' In what manner Cities and Principalities are to be govern'd, which, before they were conquer'd, liv'd under their own Laws.' E. Dacres, 1640.)
- Chap. 6. *De' Principati nuovi che s'acquistano con l'arme proprie e virtuosamente.* (' Of new Principalities, that are conquer'd by ones own armes, and valour.')
- Chap. 7. *De' Principati nuovi che s'acquistano con le arme e fortuna di altri.* (' Of new Principalities, gotten by fortune, and other mens forces.')
- Chap. 8. *Di quelli che per scelleratezze sono pervenuti al principato.* (' Concerning those who by wicked meanes have attained to a Principality.')
- Chap. 9. *Del principato civile.* (' Of the Civill Principality.')
- Chap. 10. *In che modo si debbino misurare le forze di tutti i principati.* (' In what maner the forces of al Principalities ought to be measured.')

§ 3 of this chapter begins : *Uno principe, adunque, che abbi una città forte e non si facci odiare, non può essere assaltato ; e, se pure fussi, chi lo assaltassi se ne partirebbe con vergogna ; perchè le cose del mondo sono sì varie che. . .* (' A Prince then that is master of a good strong city, and causeth not himselfe to be hated, cannot bee assaulted ; and in case hee were, he that should assaile him, would be faine to quitt him with shame : for the affayres of the world are so various, that. . . ' Dacres.)

Here Fowler continues.

89. 6. **assaulte** is not, as might appear at first sight, a past participle passive. Fowler seems to have begun the sentence in one way and completed it in another, without noticing the hiatus between the two constructions. The It. runs : *egli è quasi impossibile che uno potessi con gli eserciti stare uno anno ozioso a campeggiarlo* (' it is almost impossible that an army [lit. one with his armies] can lye [idly] incamp't before a towne for the space of a whole yeere.' Dacres.)

89. 26. **desertioun.** After this, in the Italian, occur the words *dopo qualche giorno, che gli animi sono raffreddi* (' after some days, when men's minds have cooled down '), which are translated neither by Fowler nor d'Auvergne.

#### CHAPTER II.

91. 10. **religioun.** M. *religione*, D'Auv. *la religion Chrestienne*.

91. 12-13. **in a peaceble possessioun.** Fowler's addition.

92. 2. **before the tyme of pape alexander.** D'Auv. *auparavant Alexandre sixiesme*, M. *da Alessandro indrieto*.

92. 3-4. **nether others that uer not called by this name.** M. has *non solum quelli che si chiamavano e' potentati*, 'not only those who were called potentates.'
92. 5. **theme—i.e.,** the Church.
92. 12. **charles the 8.** D'Auv. *le Roi Charles huitiesme*, M. *Carlo re di Francia*.
92. 15. **These fyfe potentats.** D'Auv. gives the number; M. omits it.
92. 19-20. **These in quhome the gretest cair of thir things suld have fallen.** Rather 'those to whom most attention was paid,' *Quelli a chi si aveva più cura*.
92. 32. **as Sixtus 4.** M. *come fu Sisto*.
93. 15. **his sone.** As in D'Auv.; M. has merely *duca Valentino*.
93. 16. **as before we have mentioned—i.e.,** in Chap. 8, which is missing from Fowler's translation.
93. 18-19. **roman kirk.** Here Fowler omits *ma il duca*. Alexander's intention, says Machiavelli, was not to advance the power of the papacy but that of his son, Duke Valentine.
93. 23. **Julyis secundis.** D'Auv. *Iulles second*, M. *papa Iulio*.
93. 26. **his punishment and persecution.** M. *le battiture di Alessandro*, 'the severities of Alexander.'
93. 32-33. **In the clipping of the wings of the Venetians.** The metaphor comes from the French version, which has *roigner les aisles*; M. has merely *spegner e' Viniziani*.
94. 5-6. **And albeit . . . there factions.** D'Auv. *et encore qu'il s'estuast parmi eux quelque autheur de nouvelle sedition*; M. *e, benchè tra loro fussi qualche capo da fare alterazione*.
94. 8-9. **the scarsetye . . . partakers.** M. *el non avere loro cardinali*; D'Auv. *se voyants sans Cardinal de leur partie*. Fowler apparently employs the word 'partaker' in the sense of 'belonging to a party.'
94. 17. **pape leo the 10.** M. *la Santità di papa Leone*; D'Auv. *la sancteté de Pape Leon*. Here Fowler's religious prejudices may have been at work.
95. 1. **Parte 2<sup>d</sup>.** Not in D'Auv. or apparently in any of the earlier editions of *The Prince*. There is, however, a clear line of division between the earlier chapters of the treatise and those that follow. Hitherto Machiavelli has been treating of the various kinds of governments; he now turns to consider the military forces by which they are supported, and the qualities it is desirable a Prince should possess.

## CHAPTER 12.

95. 7. **in a apairt.** *in qualche parte*, to some extent.
95. 15-16. **new antient or mixt.** The adjectives should go with 'soverenteye,' not with 'gronds.' Here Fowler stumbles badly. *E' principali fondamenti*, says M., *che abbino tutti li stati, così nuovi, come vecchi o misti, sono le buone legge e le buone arme*.

95. 23. **The hyred and helpfull**—*i.e.*, mercenary and auxiliary forces, *Le mercenarie e ausiliarie*.
96. 1. **seditious**. D'Auv. *seditiones*, M. *disunite*.
96. 2. **vnsupportable**. A mistranslation. M. has *gagliarde*, stout, bold, in antithesis to *vile*, feeble, cowardly.
96. 6. **prolonged**—*i.e.*, put off, delayed. M. *tanto si differisce la ruina, quanto si differisce lo assalto*.
96. 20-21. **appereth to be Invinible**. M. has *parevano gagliarde infra loro*—*i.e.*, they appeared bold when matched with each other.
96. 21-22. **reuled the mountans**. A flourish of Fowler's own. M. has merely *come venne el forestiero*.
96. 24-25. **to subdew all italye with his boucler but a sword**. The last phrase comes from D'Auvergne, *avecques le boucler sans l'epée*. M., however, has *pigliare la Italia col gesso*, a jest which Commynes attributes to Alexander VI., referring to the ease with which Charles VIII. seized Italy, 'implying that it was only necessary for him to send his quartermasters to chalk up the billets for his soldiers to conquer the country.'
96. 26-27. **the Sinns of the princes**. M. *peccati nostri*, D'Auv. *nos peches*.
97. 3-4. **by there couardise**. M. *per l'ordinario*—*i.e.*, as a general rule; D'Auv. *par la voie ordinaire*.
97. 33. **waged**—*i.e.*, took into their pay, *soldorono*.
98. 16. **Iohne scharpe**—*i.e.*, Sir John Hawkwood (Giovanni Acuto). M. *Giovanni Aucut*, D'Auv. *Iehan l'Aigu*, the famous English captain of mercenaries in Italy in the fourteenth century.
98. 22. **his sone**. Fowler's addition.
98. 23. **nicolas picenine**. As in D'Auv. *Nicolas Picenin*; M. has *Braccio*. The company of soldiers of fortune known as the Bracceschi was led first by the condottiere Braccio da Montone, and after him by Niccolò Piccinino and Niccolò Fortebraccio.
98. 26. **Paule Vitelli**. M. adds the epithet *uomo prudentissimo*, which is omitted both by Fowler and the French translator.
99. 18-19. **Lenghtened ther weirs beyond there Intentioun**. Fowler's addition.
99. 22-23. **with the safty off there estate and conquest**. D'Auv. *pour peur de perdre ce qu'il leur avoit acquis*; M. has merely *per assicurarsene*.
99. 29-30. **with such infinit hasard, pains, expenses, and deatnes**. All for the single phrase *con tanta fatica*!
99. 36. **mair highlye**. M. *più da alto*—*i.e.*, from a more general standpoint.
100. 4. **that**. More correctly 'and.' In M. the sense runs on after 'great' (l. 5), which should be followed only by a comma.

100. 8-11. **to the whome the roman Church** . . . **great and mightier.** M. has merely *e la Chiesa le favoriva* [*i.e.*, the cities] *per darsi reputazione nel temporale*. Fowler has been apparently misled by an addition of D'Auvergne's, *au contraire*.

100. 19. **albert erle of romainye.** M. *Alberigo da Conio, romagnolo*.

100. 24. **spoyled.** D'Auv. *ravagée*, M. *corsa*—*i.e.*, overrun.

## CHAPTER 13.

102. 2-3. **off assisting suddarts** . . . **prencis dominioun.** M. *De' soldati ausiliari, misti e proprii*.

102. 14-15. **vnto thame that serveth for thame and ar served by thame.** M. has merely 'for those who summon them,' *per chi le chiama*.

102. 17. **thou is there presoneir,** *resti loro prigione*. Said by M. of the second contingency.

102. 18-19. **remaneth not the** . . . **mercye and discretioun.** D'Auv. *il tombe en leur misericorde, & discretion*; M. has merely *rimani disfatto*.

102. 24. **to the appetit of.** M. *nelle mani di*.

103. 4. **the frenshemen.** M. *e' vincitori*, D'Auv. *les vainqueurs Francois*.

103. 13. **20000 turkes.** M. has 10,000, *diecimila*.

103. 23-24. **off ane mynde inclyned** . . . **thair incaller.** M. *volte alla obediencia di altri*, D'Auv. *inclinées a l'obeissance d'un aultre, que toi*.

104. 12. **his perrell.** This should be 'less peril,' *manco pericolo*.

104. 29. **as I have said afore.** In Chap. 6, missing in Fowler's translation.

105. 8. **of which allegoricallye we ma infer.** Fowler's addition. M. has merely *In fine*, 'in short.'

105. 11. **king Loyes the ii:** should be Louis XI.

105. 31. **waged**—*i.e.*, mercenaries.

105. 33. **assisting**—*i.e.*, auxiliaries.

106. 6-7. **nor the inseuing dangers before they begin.** Fowler's addition.

106. 17. **to sustane theme.** M. adds *nella avversità*, which D'Auv. translates.

106. 19-20. **that nathing** . . . **valiancye.** These words are from Tacitus (*Annales*, xiii. 19), and are quoted in Latin, incorrectly, by M. D'Auv. translates them without indicating that they are a quotation.

106. 25. **sall be of an ese invented:** *sarà facile a trovare*, 'will be easily found.'

106. 29-30. **I remitt the reder.** M. *io al tutto mi rimetto*—*i.e.*, I wholly commit myself, meaning 'there is no need to labour the point.' D'Auv. *ie me remets du tout*.

## CHAPTER 14.

107. 2-4. **Quhat behoveth a prence, &c.** M. *Quello che S'appartenga a uno principe circa la milizia.*

107. 7. **vnto the weres.** Sing. in M., *fuora della guerra.*

107. 16. **tbeme.** M. *ti* (thee); D'Auv. *leur.*

107. 17. **condem.** M. *negligere*, 'to neglect.'

107. 27-108. 1. Here Fowler combines a literal translation of M. with the free paraphrase of D'Auv. The original has merely *chi è armato obedisca volentieri a chi è disarmato*, which is rendered in the Fr. version *le vaillant homme obeisse volontiers a l'effeminé.*

108. 7. **belived**—*i.e.*, trusted. M. *fidarsi.*

108. 17. **the situation of the contrie.** D'Auv. *les situations des pais*; M. *la natura de' siti.*

108. 18-19. **the largenes of the plaines.** D'Auv. *l'estandue des plaines*; M. *come iacciono e' piani*, 'how the plains lie.'

108. 29. **etruria.** As in the Latin translation of 1560. M. *Toscana.*

109. 14. **returned**—*i.e.*, retreated, *si ritirassino.*

109. 15. **proponed vnto thame.** M. *proponeva loro.*

109. 17. **demanding.** D'Auv. *demandoit*; M. has *intendeva la opinione loro*, 'he heard their opinion.'

110. 1. **continencie.** Fowler omits *umanità* from Machiavelli's list of virtues, although it is included in the French, and replaces it by 'continencie,' which simply repeats 'chastetie.'

## CHAPTER 15.

111. 8. **and Judged arrogant be thame.** Fowler's addition.

111. 28-112. 1. **that which falls furth . . . experience.** Here Fowler greatly weakens the effect of the simplicity of the original, *quelle che sono vere*, 'those things which are true.' D'Auv. *ce qui est vrai, & subject a l'experience.*

112. 10. **intollerable**—*i.e.*, proud, intolerant. It. *superbo*. Fowler, with his love of adjectives, acquits himself well in this passage. 'pinch penyais and niggards' as a rendering of *misero* is quite in the high Elizabethan fashion; D'Auv. *chiche & tenans.*

(Curiously enough, at this point M. has a digression, omitted both by Fowler and the French translator, justifying his use of the word *misero*. *usando uno termine toscano*, he writes, *perchè avaro in nostra lingua è ancora colui che per rapina desidera di avere, misero chiamiamo noi quello che si astiene troppo di usare il suo.*)

112. 13. **vnfaithfull**—*i.e.*, unbelieving. M. *incredulo*, D'Auv. *n'a point de Dieu.*

## CHAPTER 16.

113. 5-7. **exercesed efter sic a maner that . . . neideth.** This goes beyond Machiavelli's words, *usata in modo che tu sia tenuto*—*i.e.*, practised in such a way as to gain for you the reputation of being liberal.

113. 8. **verteuoslye**—*i.e.*, moderately, judiciously. M. *virtuosamente*.

113. 14. **he sal se him sone at the bottome of his coffers.** A picturesque rendering of *consumerà . . . tutte le sue facultà*.

114. 8-10. **thame quha ar his mignons . . . courteurs.** D'Auv. *un tas de mignons de court, qui n'enrichissent point de ses presens; lesquels ne sont qu'un petite trouppé de courtisans*. M. has merely *coloro a chi non dà, che sono pochi*, 'those to whom he does not give, who are few.'

115. 11-12. **spoyling and sackings, butings and vantons.** M. *di prede, di sacchi e di taglie*, plunder, sack, and ransom.

115. 17. Fowler omits *Ciro*—*i.e.*, Cyrus, the first of M.'s instances.

115. 25. **a pyratt, and a spoylar.** M. *rapace*.

115. 26. **hated.** After this is a passage omitted both by Fowler and D'Auv. *E intra tutte le cose di che uno principe si debbe guardare, è lo esser contennendo e odioso*. It is implied, however, by the alternative reading in the footnotes.

115. 31. **illwillingnes**—*i.e.*, ill-will, *odio*.

## CHAPTER 17.

116. 16. **fyve or six.** M. *pochissimi*, 'a very few.'

116. 19-20. **there euil measured and Inconsiderat mercye.** M. has merely *per troppa pietà*.

116. 23. **vniversetie.** M. *universalità*, community, general body of the people.

116. 26-117. 1. **suld speciallye . . . behave him self.** Fowler's addition.

117. 3-5. **as virgil . . . in this forme.** M. has merely *E Virgilio, nella bocca di Dido, dice*, 'and Virgil through the mouth of Dido says.'

117. 6-7. **res dura, &c.** *Aeneid*, i. 563-64. The lines are translated both by Fowler and D'Auv.

117. 14. **mak him not cairles.** Fowler here follows the Italian text, *non lo faccia incauto*, in preference to the more vivid French version, *ne l'endormc point*, which, however, appears in the footnote.

117. 20. **imposseble.** M. says 'difficult,' *difficile*.

117. 21. **loved.** Fowler here omits a clause, duly translated by D'Auv., *quando si abbia a mancare dell'uno de' dua*, 'if one of the two has to be wanting.'

117. 24. **whils as they do there auen turnes.** M. *mentre fai loro bene*, 'as long as you benefit them'; D'Auv. *tant qu'ilz profiteront avecques toy*.

117. 24-25. **they ar to be disposed be the.** M. *sono tutti tua*, 'they are wholly yours.'

117. 34-118. 1. **deserved and bought.** D'Auv. *meritées & achaptées*, M. *si meritano*.

118. 10-11. **yet at leist eschew the hated—i.e.,** should at least avoid being hated. M. *che fugga l'odio*.

118. 32. **ane maist admirable.** Fowler's addition.

119. 7. **the historiographers.** Some editions of M. read *li scrittori poco considerati*, meaning by that, says Lisio, 'i retori umanisti del '400 e gli storici della bassa latinità.' Mazzone and Casella, however, in their critical text (*Tutte le opere . . . di Niccolò Machiavelli*, Florence, 1929) have *E li scrittori, in questo poco considerati*, which was the reading followed by D'Auv. and correctly translated *mal advisez en ceci*.

119. 21. **leutenant.** Here the Fr. form *lieutenant* appears in the text, and the Italian, *legato*, in the footnote.

119. 22. **repaired—i.e.,** avenged, *vendicati*.

120. 4-5. **nor rin in the extreme disconceat and offence of his subiects.** Fowler's addition.

#### CHAPTER 18.

121. 13. **And to speik senseblie off this subiect.** Fowler's addition.

121. 15. **and seinge that.** Fowler's addition.

121. 16-18. **the former aftentymes . . . his desyre.** M. has merely *el primo molte volte non basta*, 'the former many times is insufficient.'

122. 21. **examples.** M. *esempli moderni*.

122. 36. **to this.** M. adds *e sempre trovò subietto da poterlo fare*, 'and he always found occasion to do so.'

**And they wer never many.** 'There was never a man,' says M. *E non fu mai uomo*.

124. 3. **to sent—i.e.,** to feel. M. *sentire*, D'Auv. *sentir*. This form is not recorded in *O.E.D.*

124. 9-10. **and suspends . . . trye thame.** Fowler's addition.

124. 17-18. The modern texts of Machiavelli now read: *e li pochi non ci hanno luogo, quando li assai hanno dove appoggiarsi—i.e.,* the minority counts for nothing, whereas the majority has the support of the State.

124. 19. **some prence—i.e.,** Ferdinand the Catholic.

124. 21. **faithfulness.** Here M. adds *e dell'una e dell'altra è inimicissimo*.

## CHAPTER 19.

125. 23. **a rok and sea crage.** M. *uno scoglio*.
125. 25-26. **in the prime affairs of his subjects**—*i.e.*, in their private concerns, *maneggi privati*.
125. 26. **travel**—*i.e.*, should strive or desire. The subject 'he' has been omitted.
126. 12-14. **which will never . . . auen forces.** More simply in M. *e sempre, se arà buone arme, arà buoni amici*.
126. 20. *sc.* 'did.' M. *come io dissi che fece Nabide spartano*. The reference is to an allusion in Chapter 9 of *The Prince*, missing in this translation.
126. 31-32. **bot whils . . . prence.** M. *ma, quando e' creda offenderlo*—*i.e.*, should he (the conspirator) think that he will offend them (*i.e.*, the people).
127. 23. **executioun.** M. adds *del male*, 'of the crime.'
127. 29. **Cologne.** An error or misreading for 'Bolognie'—*i.e.*, Bologna.
127. 31. **Johne bentiuolgi.** D'Auv. *le seigneur Iean Bentiuolle*; M. *Messer Giovanni*.
127. 32. **the hole multitud of Cologne**—*i.e.*, Bologna. M. has merely *il populo*.
127. 34. **the hale famelie of the cannesheis.** This passage is one of the clearest proofs of Fowler's acquaintance with the Latin translation of *The Prince* made by Sylvester Telius of Foligno in 1560; for while the original Italian reads *tutti e' Canneschi* and the French translation *tous ceux de la faction coniuereé*, the Latin has *totam Canneschorum familiam*. If Fowler did not borrow in this instance from the Latin, the coincidence is striking.
128. 3. **a ioyner.** More correctly 'a smith.' M. *uno fabbro*; D'Auv., however, has *un menusier*.
128. 12. **the cheifest.** M. says 'one of the chiefest,' *una delle più importanti materie*.
128. 15. **the chiefest.** M. merely says that France is among the well-ordered and governed kingdoms of his time, *intra e' regni bene ordinati e governati*.
128. 19-20. **the antient fondations of that kingdome.** In M. 'he who established that kingdom,' *quello che ordinò quel regno*.
128. 30-31. **a thrird and newtrall meane.** In M. 'a third judge,' *uno iudice terzo*.
129. 1. **to there Iudges.** The original has merely *ad altri*.
129. 8. **sondrye empreours.** M. *alcuno imperatore romano*.
129. 12. **be these.** M. has *da' sua*—*i.e.*, by their own people; D'Auv. *par leur gens*.

129. 22. There should be no comma after 'antonius.' The reference is to Antoninus Caracalla, son of Septimus Severus.
129. 24. **prences moderne and off this tyme.** M. has *nelli altri principati*, 'in the other states.'
129. 31. **imposseble.** M. *difficile*.
129. 37. **in the pepills behalf.** The opposite is the meaning: *ne' populi*, 'against the people' (with the Lat. use of *in*). D'Auv. interprets the expression correctly, *au dommage du peuple*.
130. 1-2. **filled and refreshed.** The original has *sfogare la loro avarizia e crudeltà*, 'to give vent to their avarice and cruelty.'
130. 8. **these different factions.** M. *questi dua diversi umori*.
130. 14-16. **to declyne that part of factioun that was mast gretest and dangerous.** M. *fuggire l'odio di quelle università che sono più potenti*, 'to escape the hatred of the most powerful parties.'
130. 23. **crueltie.** M. adds *umani e benigni*, omitted both by Fowler and D'Auv.
130. 26. **and so it was that.** This should be 'because,' *perchè lui succedè*.
131. 15. **and viciouslye inclyned of force.** Fowler's addition.
131. 30. As before, there should be no comma after 'antonius' (Antoninus).
132. 12. **a new prence.** M. has merely *uno principe*.
132. 15-16. **be his awen guards.** M. *da' soldati pretoriani*, D'Auv. *par les gens de sa garde*.
132. 19. **or his departeur was knawen furth of sclavonie.** M. has merely *prima . . . che si sapessi la sua partita*. The Latin version of 1560 adds *ex Illyrio*.
132. 20. **the cytie.** M. *Roma*, D'Auv. *Rome*.
132. 24. **ane niger.** *Nigro—i.e.*, Caius Pescennius Niger, proclaimed emperor 193 A.D. The best text of M. now reads *Pescennio Nigro*.
132. 26-27. **be albinus—i.e.**, with Albinus. The original has *dove era Albino*.
133. 8. **rightlye**, for *tritamente—i.e.*, minutely.
133. 16. **Antonius—i.e.**, Antoninus.
133. 24-25. **for particular and privat occasions.** The original has *dopo infinite occisioni particolari*, 'after very many individual acts of slaughter.'
133. 25. **the maist part.** M. *gran parte*.
134. 22. **fensers—i.e.**, gladiators. M. *co' gladiatori*.
134. 25. **dispeysed.** The alternative is correct: *odiato—i.e.*, hated.

134. 32. **alexander.** M. adds *del quale ho di sopra discorso.*

134. 36. **sheip keper.** This may come from the Latin version of 1560, which has *pauerat ouium gregem.* M. wrote *per avere guardato le pecore,* which D'Auv. translated by *ayant gardé les bestes.*

135. 15. **gallantlye** is Fowler's addition.

135. 31. **suddarts.** Here Fowler omits *perchè e populi possono più di quelli,* 'because the people have more power than the latter.'

**quha**—*i.e.*, the Great Turk. Fowler again omits *Di che io ne eccettuo el Turco.*

136. 3. **to cairress theme.** M. *se li mantenga amici,* 'to keep them his friends.'

136. 5. There should be no comma after 'prences.'

136. 7. **which**—*i.e.*, the Sultanate (of Egypt).

136. 14-15. **the prence disposed to receave theme.** More strictly, it is the ordinances of the State that are prepared to receive *him.* M. *ordinati a riceverlo;* D'Auv. *disposez a le recevoir.*

136. 21-22. **have had . . . end.** This rather obscures the sense of the original, *in qualunque di quelli, uno di loro ebbe felice e gli altri infelice fine*—*i.e.*, in each of these (ways) one of them had a happy, and the others an unhappy, end. D'Auv., too, has a rendering which is not very clear, *il y en a eu de chasque coste quelques vns, qui feirent bien leurs besoingnes, & les autres non.*

136. 30. **or a new princdome.** M. says 'in a new principdom,' *in uno principato nuovo.*

#### CHAPTER 20.

137. 5-6. **has enterntened . . . partialitie.** M. merely says 'have kept their subject lands divided,' *hanno tenuto divise le terre subiette.*

138. 18. **never of sa great gudnes**—*i.e.*, of never so great. M. *quando la fussi buona.*

138. 30-32. **thow may Introduce, &c.** M. is more explicit: *e ordinarsi in modo, che solo le armi di tutto el tuo stato sieno in quelli tua soldati proprii, che nello stato tuo antiquo vivono appresso di te* (*Il Principe*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, Florence, 1929, p. 41), 'and arrange so that the arms of the entire state should be solely in the hands of your own soldiers, who live near you in the old state.'

138. 33. **Our ancestours of florence.** D'Auv. *noz ancestres de Florence,* M. *gli antiqui nostri.*

139. 3-4. **be the differences of these dyvers partyeis.** Fowler's addition. M. has merely *in uno certo modo bilanciata.*

139. 20-21. **at vaila castell.** M. has merely *a Vailà.*

139. 26-27. **quha hes blood at his nayles.** This represents an addition of his own by the French translator, *ayant le sang aux ongles.* M. has merely *in uno principato gagliardo,* 'in a strong state.'

139. 29. **brek vp**—*i.e.*, break out. M. *venendo la guerra*.
140. 4. **prence**. Fowler omits *quando ne abbi la occasione*, 'should the occasion offer.'
140. 11-12. **pandolphus petruccius**. This recalls the form of the Latin version of 1560, *Pandolfus Petruccius*, rather than that of the original, *Pandolfo Petrucci*, or of D'Auv. *Pandolfe Petrucci*.
141. 35-36. **to him and his successours**. D'Auv. *a ses successeurs*, M. *alla casa Sforzesca*.

## CHAPTER 21.

143. 2-3. **hou a prence, &c.** M. *Che si conviene a un principe perchè sia stimato*.
143. 13. **great, highe, &c.** M. has 'all very great and some extraordinary,' *tutte grandissime e qualcuna straordinaria*.
143. 16. **he maid it as it wer ydill**. M. *e' la fece ozioso*, 'he did it at his leisure'—*i.e.*, at a moment of internal peace. D'Auv. *elle le meit premierement hors de soucy*.
143. 24. **he fand also a prettie inventioun**. Fowler's addition. M. has merely *possè nutrire, con danari della Chiesa e de' populi, eserciti*.
144. 4. **mairans and half Jueus**. 'Half Jueus' is a gloss of Fowler's on M. *Marrani*. The *maranos* were the Christian Jews and Moors of Spain, especially those who professed conversion to Christianity in order to escape persecution.
144. 25. **without all respect**. M. *sanza alcuno rispetto*—*i.e.*, without any reservation, resolutely. D'Auv. *diligenti*.
145. 3. **he quha is wone**—*i.e.*, he who is defeated. M. *chi perde*.
145. 8. **wha**—*i.e.*, Antiochus. *Mandò Antioco oratori agli Achei*, says Machiavelli.
145. 16-23. **as concerning . . . destruction**. These words are in Latin in the original, and embody a passage from Livy, xxv. 48, quoted incorrectly from memory.
145. 28-29. **the thrid way**—*i.e.*, the way of neutrality. M. *quella via neutrale*, D'Auv. *tierce*.
146. 4. **happie**. D'Auv. *heureux*, M. *stiette* (= *schiette*), genuine, unmixed.
147. 1-4. Machiavelli gives no such advice. What he actually says is that no course of action can ever be absolutely safe, *Nè creda mai alcuno stato potere sempre pigliare partiti securi, anzi pensi di avere a prenderli tutti dubii*. D'Auv. translates the second clause as follows: *ains est de besoiing au contraire, qu'elle se dispose les prendre le plus souuent a l'aventure*.
147. 15-16. **to manure and beautifie**. M. has merely *ornare*.

## CHAPTER 22.

148. 17. **Cienna.** Siena.

149. 19. **that the prence . . . faithefulnes.** It is not the prince, but the minister of state who is to continue faithful. M. has *el principe, per mantenerlo buono*; D'Auv. correctly interprets the original.

## CHAPTER 23.

150. 6-7. **all monuments and historyes.** This seems to combine both the Latin *monumenta* and the French *les histoires* for the original Italian *le corte*.

150. 11. **and verming sort.** Fowler's addition.

151. 8. **maister peter luca.** D'Auv. *Messire Pierre Luc*; M. has *Pre' Luca*—*i.e.*, Prete Luca. The reference is to Fra Luca Rinaldi, ambassador of Maximilian of Austria, whom Machiavelli had known on one of his missions to the imperial court.

151. 11. **yet off him self neuer to execut any thing.** D'Auv. *toutesfois il ne faisoit iamais rien de luymesmes*. Both these are rather weak renderings of M. *non faceva mai di alcuna cosa a suo modo*—*i.e.*, he never got his own way in anything.

151. 29. **na newe prence** is Fowler's addition, and confuses the sense of the passage: *non si può sopra le sue deliberazioni fondarsi*. All that M. means is that no reliance can be placed upon his deliberations.

152. 11. **quhilk is generallie gevin furthe.** Fowler's addition.

## CHAPTER 24.

153. 5-6. **and of longar tyme and contenance.** Fowler's addition.

153. 7. **peaceble.** D'Auv. *paisible*; M. has merely *più sicuro e più fermo nello stato*.

153. 23. **with gud freinds.** Fowler's addition.

## CHAPTER 25.

156. 6. **by god and by fortoun.** M. reverses the order.

156. 15. **trusted very much vnto.** Fowler's addition.

156. 24-25. **drovneith the nighbour banks.** Fowler's addition.

157. 16. **a waist feild.** M. *una campagna*.

157. 20. **vnto.** After this the original has a clause *o la non ci sarebbe venuta*, which Fowler omits to translate, although it is given in the French version.

157. 27. **floweth.** M. adds 'first,' *nasca prima*.

157. 35. Either **nocht** or **not** is redundant. **after a sort**—*i.e.*, after one fashion only. M. *Perchè si vede gli uomini, nelle cose che li conducono al fine, quale ciascuno ha innanzi, cioè glorie e ricchezze, procedervi variamente*.

158. 5. **tua cald & respecting humeurs.** M. *dua rispettivi*—*i.e.*, two cautious men.

158. 14-16. **tua be different . . . lyke effect.** This does not represent the original very clearly, *dua, diversamente operando, sortiscono el medesimo effetto; e dua equalmente operando, l'uno si conduce al suo fine, e l'altro no*—*i.e.*, 'two men, acting differently, attain the same result, while of two others acting in the same way, one reaches his goal, and the other not.' In the French version the meaning is quite clear.

158. 19. **rencontres and meiteth with.** Not in the original, but some such words are required to bring out the sense of the passage. It is noteworthy that Lisio, one of the best modern commentators on Machiavelli, hits on precisely the same word as Fowler to explain the meaning, *si riscontra con i tempi*. D'Auv., however, anticipated them both: 'car si celuy, qui se gouerne par moderation, & patience, rencontre le temps ou ces vertus soient requises . . .'

159. 12. **became to be in his partye.** 'drew back,' says M., *si tirò drieto*.

159. 18-20. **For gif that he . . . newe.** This seems to be based on the Latin translation of 1560, *si aliquot profectiōni ex urbe Roma protraxisset dies, quoad scilicet omnia rite fuissent decreta, & sancita*. M. has *se egli aspettava di partirsi da Roma con le conclusionē ferme e tutte le cose ordinate*, which is clearer and more straightforward. D'Auv. follows the Italian closely.

160. 1. **to do the reason**—*i.e.*, to be brought to reason. 'to be kept under,' says M., *volendola tenere sotto*.

#### CHAPTER 26.

161. 10. **to al italye.** M. *alla università degli uomini di quella*—*i.e.*, to all the people of that country.

161. 14. **above rehersed**—*i.e.*, in Chapter 6—missing from Fowler's translation.

161. 15-16. **In subiectioun.** After this the original Italian and both the other versions have *in Egitto* or its equivalent.

161. 23. **might have it self excersered.** 'should be known, says M., *volendão conoscere.*

161. 27. **conducteur.** M. *capo*, D'Auv. *chef.*

162. 11. **of the realme of Naples.** D'Auv. *du Royaume de Naples*, M. *del Reame.*

162. 21. **your illustre hous of medices.** Again the influence of the Latin version of 1560 seems probable. It has *illustrem tuam Mediceorum familiam*, as compared with the It. *illustre casa vostra*, which D'Auv. translates literally.

162. 34-37. **be reason that . . . in the same.** Quoted by M. in Latin, with some slips, from Livy, Book ix., i. D'Auv., like Fowler, translates the passage without indicating that it is a quotation.

163. 1-2. **and quhair this aryses . . . to attempt this conquest.** M. has merely *nè può essere, dove è grande disposizione, grande difficoltà—i.e.*, 'nor, where the circumstances are favourable, can there be any great difficulty.'

163. 5. **causes . . . that ar extraordinarie.** M. *estraordinarii—i.e.*, miracles, prodigies.

163. 7. **prayers.** The French version here adds *de Moyse*, which, as the footnote shows, Fowler once included in his. Both were misled by the false reading of the early editions, *la pieta ha versato acqua* (v. Introduction, pp. clxiii-iv).

163. 8. There should be a comma after 'stains,' not after 'furth.' The original runs: *la pietra ha versato acqua; qui è piovuto la manna.*

163. 9. **ar mett with and supplied be your greatnes.** This should be 'all things have concurred towards your greatness,' *ogni cosa è concorsa nella vostra grandezza.* Fowler seems to have been misled by D'Auv., who has *soni recompensees.*

163. 32. **sua that—i.e.**, provided that.

163. 36. **above any other nation.** Fowler's addition.

164. 1. **to a battell and an armie.** M. *agli eserciti*, 'to the armies.'

164. 1-2. **it sickeneth . . . adversare.** M. has merely *non compariscono*; 'they (*i.e.*, these qualities) do not appear,' 'are not conspicuous.'

164. 3. **heides—i.e.**, leaders, *capì.* 'and litill courage of commanders' is Fowler's addition.

164. 5. **ar not obedient.** This should be 'are not obeyed,' *non sono obediti.*

Here little more than a page is missing, ending with the famous invocation to the Medici to come forward as the saviours of Italy.

J. P. and J. C.

## A TRVE REPORTARIE.

(Historical proper names are entered in the general index.)

For the authorship, see *ante*, p. xxvii.

This tract was also published in London. The imprint, undated, reads: *Printed by Peter Short for the Widdow Butter. . . .* It was entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company on 23rd October 1594 (*Registers*, ed. Arber, ii. 313*b*). It is therefore assigned to 1594-95. As is indicated in the note to p. 172, ll. 1-10, given below, it is an exact copy, save for occasional spellings, of Waldegrave's tract, which presumably was printed in 1594. Another London edition was printed in 1603, and was frequently reprinted: Edin., 1687; Edin., 1703; Edin., 1745; and Leith, 1764. It was also republished in the following collections: *Somers' Tracts*, vol. i. (1750); vol. ii. (Scott's ed., 1809); *Tracts illustrative of the Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i. (1836); J. Nichol, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, iii. 353-69.

It will be noted that the editions of 1603, 1703, and 1745 appeared at interesting junctures in the relations between Scotland and England—the Union of the Crowns, the negotiations for the Union of the Parliaments, and the 'Forty-five. Part of the "Publisher to the Reader" in the 1703 edition reads: "I thought it not be unacceptable to the Publick at this time, seeing we have therein in some measure a View of the Antient Glory and Splendour of this Kingdom, and in what Estimation it was had with Neighbouring Countries; tho ever since the Union of the Crowns our greatness has been declining till at length we are come to a wonderfull Low Ebb, which its hop'd the Parliament will now Effectually Consider, and do something that may Retrieve our Ancient Power and Glory as (Thanks to God) many shew great Propensity to do."

The 1687 edition was printed "for the Satisfaction and Diversion of those that love the Antiquities of this Kingdom."

169. 27. **new erected in the same place.** Mr John Colville wrote to Mr Henry Lok on 17th July 1594: "the great Temple of Solomon which is abuilding cannot be completed before the day 'prefixt.'"—*C.S.P.*, xi. 377.

171. 35. **magnifique banketting, &c.** *Cf.* Colville to Lok, 17th July 1594, *C.S.P.*, xi. 377: "The three ambassadors already arrived . . . have but homely entertainment." *Cf.* "News from Scotland," 24th July 1594, *ibid.*, p. 385: "The Danish ambassadors have been so sumptuous in their householding since their arrival (which has been all upon the King's charge) that he, finding himself 'superexpended' has devised secretly to cause the lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian to invite them each one after the other to their houses till the very day of the baptism."

172. 1-10. **The Kings Maiestie, &c.** This paragraph, in the contemporary London print, reads: "The kings Maiestie, purposing further

to decore by magnificence this action, committed the charge thereof to the Lord of *Lendores* and maister *William Fowler*, who by their trauels, diligence, and invention, brought it to that perfection, which the shortnes of time and other considerations could permit. So they hauing consulted together, concluded that those exercises, that were to be vsed for decoration of that solemnitie, were to bee deuided both in felde pastimes, with martiall and heroicall exploits; and in householde, with rare shewes and singular inuentions." For the Lord of *Lendores*, see *ante*, p. xxviii n. 2.

174. 30-32. **a Portcullis**, &c. Sir Walter Scott adopted this "device borne by a Champion of my name at a tournament in Stirling" and the motto for his book-stamp. Letter to John Murray, 25th February 1809, in *Letters*, centenary edition, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, ii. 168-69. Scott was then engaged on his edition of *Somers' Tracts*, in which *The True Reportarie* was reprinted. He had the 1745 edition. *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (Edin., 1838), p. 16.

178. 15. **And at the North-east end**, &c. The account which follows of the service and the banquet expands the "Ordering of the Chapel for the Baptism," in *C.S.P.*, xi. 411-12.

183. 8. **the Ambassador washed**. "The Earl of Sussex did all to wash his hands and sat down in his seat again: which was thought strange by the multitude and nobility. . . ." Thos. Birch, *Life of Henry, Prince of Wales* (1760), p. 8, quoting Cottonian MS. Calig. D. II., "much injured by fire." "It seemed as if the Earl of Sussex was contaminated by the touch of the infant." *Somers' Tracts* (ed. Sir Walter Scott), vol. ii. (1809), p. 177 n., quoting Birch.

183. 15. **Latine Oration**. Bowes, the English ambassador, officially protested against Andrew Melville's Latin verses, *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia*, in which he celebrated the event. "I told him that the poet, by naming him King of all Britain in possession, cannot but breed offence to her Majesty, considering her portion is the greatest part of Britain and his the less. . . ." Then I put him in mind that the Bishop of Aberdeen had touched the same string in his oration." The king defended the poet and the bishop. Bowes was promised a copy of the oration, but does not appear to have received it. *C.S.P.*, xi. 430-31, 422. There is a copy in Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS., 4043-44. T. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (1856 ed.), p. 174.

189. 33-34. **by a lyon**. The cost of transporting the lion from Holyroodhouse to Stirling and back again was £257, 16s. [Scots]. Lord High Treasurer's Accounts in *Letters to King James the Sixth* (Maitland Club, 1835), p. lxxi. See these accounts for other expenses connected with the baptism. "Malone has connected this with the lion in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1594), whose 'roaring might fright the duchess and the ladies.' The existence of a 1594 edition of the *True Reportarie*, of which Malone was unaware, makes this suggestion not unlikely." Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (New York, 1911), p. lviii n. 2.

190. 27. **wel proportioned ship.** In a preface, entitled "The Bookseller to the Reader," to the 1687 Edinburgh edition of the tract, it is commended as being one "in which the genius, Wit, Learning, and Delicacy of the Scots Court at so great a distance of time is Epitomized: And if any doubt the matter of Fact related, they may be fully convinced by several Pieces of the Workmanship used upon that signal Occasion, And particularly the Ship yet exstant, which I have lately seen in the appartment next to the great Hall in the Castle of Stirling where that Triumphant and Royal intertainment was kept. A greater and more magnificent upon such an occasion is not recorded to have been performed by any Court at that time in Christendom."

191. 13. **over fondnesß of the pilot.** This incident, it will be noted, is not recorded in the printed version—one of several indications that *The True Reportarie*, as was natural in the circumstances, gives a rather grandiloquent account of the ceremony.

193. 17. **conspiracies of Witches.** For the trials in 1591 of those accused of raising tempests, see Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Bann. Club, 1833), vol. i., part ii., 242 *et seq.*

H. W. M.

## NOTES TO VOLUME III.

## APPENDICES.

cli. **To Robart Hudsoun.** The handwriting is probably not Fowler's. For Robert Hudson, see *ante*, p. 3.

clii. **Thomas Cargill.** See *ante*, p. 34. On the preceding page of the Hawthornden MS. (xiii. f. 35) are Latin elegiacs in honour of Cargill "Hesiodi interpres" (3 poems), and of the Earl Marischal "sub cuius nomine prodit Hesiodi interpretatio" (2 poems). From these poems it appears that Cargill made a translation of Hesiod from the Greek and that the Earl Marischal had some share in its production.

clii. **M. W. Barclay.** Probably Master William Barclay, M.A., M.D. (1570?-1630?). Educated at Aberdeen. Author of *Nepenthes or the Vertues of Tobacco* and other works. Some of his Latin poems are in Arthur Johnstone's *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. See *D.N.B.*

cliii-cliv. In this portion of the translation the evidence is particularly clear that Fowler had both the original and the French translation before him:—

cliii. **to facilitate there accesse he presenting suche things.** *M. farsegli incontro con quelle cose*; *D'Auv. faire leur entrée par presens de choses.*

**harnesses.** *M. arme*; *D'Auv. harnois d'armes.*

**cloths of gold.** As in *M. drappi d'oro*; *D'Auv. draps de soye.*

**perreles.** Fowler's addition.

**service and subjection.** *M. servitù*; *D'Auv. obeissance.*

**gudnes.** *M. umanita*; *D'Auv. humaine bonté.*

**gretar gift.** As in *M. maggiore dono*; *D'Auv. plus précieux don.*

**in a litill present.** *M. in brevissimo tempo*; *D'Auv. en peu de temps.*

**with infinit fasheryeis, &c.** *M. con tanti mia disagi e pericoli*; *D'Auv. avecques infinis malaises, & dangers.*

**any outuord ornament.** *M. qualunque altro lenocinio o ornamento estrinseco*; *D'Auv. d'autre parement exterieur.*

**the veyte of the mater.** *M. la varietà della materia*; *D'Auv. la seulle verité de la matiere.*

cliv. **nather wald I that your highnes, &c.** From here the original runs as follows (phrases borrowed from D'Auv. are added below):—

*Nè voglio sia reputata presunzione, se uno uomo di basso ed infimo stato ardisce discorrere e regolare e' governi de' principi; perchè, così come coloro che disegnano e' paesi si pongono bassi nel piano a considerare la natura de' monti e de' luoghi alti, e per considerare quella de' bassi si pongono alti sopra e' monti, similmente, a conoscere bene la natura de' populi, bisogna essere principe, e a conoscere bene quella de' principi, bisogna essere popolare.*

*Pigli, adunque, Vostra Magnificenzia questo piccolo dono con quello animo che io lo mando; il quale, se da quella fia diligentemente considerato e letto, vi conoscerà dentro uno estremo mio desiderio, che Lei pervenga a quella grandezza che la fortuna e le altre sue qualità gli promettano. E se Vostra Magnificenzia dallo apice della sua altezza qualche volta volgerà gli occhi in questi luoghi bassi, conoscerà quanto io indegnamente sopporti una grande e continua malignità di fortuna.*

**these which . . . situation of a contrye.** D'Auv. *ceux qui iugent de l'assiette d'un pais* (a curious mistranslation, which disguises the fact that the allusion is to landscape painters, *coloro che disegnano e' paesi*).

**descend . . . the louar place.** D'Auv. *descendent . . . es plaines & bas lieux.*

**sal receive this litill treatise.** D'Auv. *receura . . . ce petit liuret.*

**you sal easelye see.** D'Auv. *facillement elle apparceura.*

**turne your contenance.** D'Auv. *tourne sa face.*

H. W. M. and J. P.

INDEX OF FIRST LINES



## INDEX OF FIRST LINES.

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Italics denote a poem not by Fowler ; an asterisk indicates that the piece so beginning is to be found among the *Poems of Doubifull Authenticity*. Unless otherwise indicated, the page references are to Volume I.

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<i>When matcheles Homere his Achilles sings</i> . . . . .	21
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GLOSSARY  
By JAMES CRAIGIE

[While this glossary is not a complete word index to the writings of Fowler, it is hoped that no word or form of interest or importance has been omitted. The contractions used are the usual ones. The references are to page and line.]

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REFERENCES FOR THE GLOSSARY.

- Ans.* = *An Answer to Hammiltoun*, ii. 19-68.  
*Death* = *Of Death*, i. 233-43.  
*Doubt.* = *Poems of Doubtful Authenticity*, i. 337-90.  
*Mach.* = *The Prince of Machiavelli*, ii. 71-164.  
*Misc.* = *Miscellaneous Poems*, i. 307-29.  
*Pest* = *The Pest*, i. 303-4.  
*Ps.* = *Certaine Psalmes*, i. 275-99.  
*Rep.* = *A True Reportarie*, ii. 169-95.  
*Seq.* = *A Sonnet Sequence*, i. 215-30.  
*Son.* = *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, i. 247-71.  
*Tar.* = *The Tarantula of Loue*, i. 136-211.  
*Tr.* = *The Triumphs of Petrarke*, i. 15-134.

## GLOSSARY.

- Abaid, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, awaited, *Mach.*, 142, 8.
- Abaise, *infin.*, to humble, *Tr.*, 48, 37: *pt. ptc.*, abaist, *Tr.*, 109, 138. *Cf.* Baise (1).
- Abate. *See* Abaitt.
- Abbait, *infin.*, to depress, *Mach.*, 128, 32; abate, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, beat down, *Tar.*, 172, 1; abait, *pt. ptc.*, dejected, *Ps.*, 286, 136.
- Abidden, *pt. ptc.* of 'abide,' remained true to, *Mach.*, 159, 19.
- Abiect, *adj.*, abandoned, *Tr.*, 48, 38; despised, *Mach.*, 134, 34.
- Abill, *adj.*, able, *Ans.*, 26, 10; *Mach.*, 152, 22.
- Abillzements, *sb.*, *pl.*, habiliments, *Rep.*, 185, 2.
- Abode, *sb.*, delay, *Tr.*, 33, 172.
- Abone, *adv.*, above, *Mach.*, 123, 29: *prep.*, above, *Ans.*, 47, 27; 48, 3; 50, 7; 54, 20; 60, 6; 63, 16. [O.E. on + *bufan.*]
- Abroach, *pt. ptc.*, pierced, *Doubt.*, 342, 19.
- Absteane. *See* Absteane.
- Absteane, *infin.*, to abstain, *Mach.*, 112, 22: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, abstene, *Mach.*, 118, 13: 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, absteanit, *Ans.*, 22, 20: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, absteanit, *Ans.*, 67, 5: *pt. ptc.*, abstaened, *Mach.*, 81, 14.
- Abstene. *See* Absteane.
- Accompte, *sb.*, reputation, *Mach.*, 73, 3. *Cf.* Accont.
- Accont, *sb.*, reputation, *Mach.*, 92, 5. *Cf.* Accompt.
- Accompaned. *See* Accompaneit.
- Accompaneit, *pt. ptc.*, accompanied, *Ans.*, 19, 21; accompaned, *Tr.*, 50, 73; accompanied, *Mach.*, 115, 31.
- Accompanyed. *See* Accompaneit.
- Achcheive, *infin.*, to achieve, *Mach.*, 97, 17; achtehefe, *Mach.*, 93, 13: *pres. ptc.*, achteving, *Mach.*, 143, 5.
- Achtehefe, achteving. *See* Achcheive.
- Acknowledge, *infin.*, to acknowledge, *Ans.*, 10, 1; 64, 37; aknauledg, *Ps.*, 294, 96: 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, aknowledge, *Ans.*, 43, 28; 44, 37: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, acknowledge, *Mach.*, 88, 3; 140, 24.
- Acqueir, *infin.*, to acquire, *Ans.*, 37, 1; acquere, *Ans.*, 49, 20: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, acqueres, *Mach.*, 153, 20: *pt. ptc.*, acqyred, *Mach.*, 91, 7.
- Acquent, *adj.*, familiar with, *Tr.*, 25, 19; 88, 61; 90, 97; 124, 185; acquented, *Mach.*, 100, 15.
- Acquere. *See* Acqueir.
- Acqyred. *See* Acqueir.
- Addubbed, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, dubbed a knight, *Rep.*, 183, 35: *pt. ptc.*, *Rep.*, 184, 12.
- Adge. *See* Aige.
- Adieterous, *adj.*, ? spurious, *Ans.*, 54, 33.
- Adioned. *See* Adioyne.
- Adioyne, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, add, *Ans.*, 39, 27: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, adionis, *Ans.*, 48, 24; adioyneth, *Mach.*, 138, 24: 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, adioyned, *Tr.*, 38,

- 55: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, adioned, *Mach.*, 132, 33: *pres. ptc.*, adionying, *Mach.*, 83, 1: *pt. ptc.*, adioned, *Misc.*, 309, 18; *Mach.*, 71, 16.
- Adionying. *See* Adioyne.
- Administratit, *pt. ptc.*, administered, *Ans.*, 42, 20.
- Aduersar, *sb.*, adversary, *Ans.*, 14, 23; 65, 30; aduersare, *Ans.*, 15, 1; adversar, *Tr.*, 37, 18; adversare, *Mach.*, 164, 2.
- Aduertisit, *pt. ptc.*, warned, *Ans.*, 35, 4.
- Adventur, *sb.*, risk, *Mach.*, 147, 4.
- Adventure, at, *phr.*, at random, *Tr.*, 41, 123.
- Adversar, *adj.*, adverse, *Mach.*, 154, 32: adversare, *adj.*, opposing, *Mach.*, 100, 9. *Cf.* Adversarye.
- Adversarye, *adj.*, opposing, *Mach.*, 93, 2; 110, 6; 139, 37.
- Advert, *infin.*, to perceive, *Tar.*, 142, v, 3; 176, 11.
- Advertisement, *sb.*, notice, *Rep.*, 170, 27.
- Aeks, *sb.*, *pl.*, oaks, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 9.
- Æternised. *See* Eternise.
- Aff, *adv.*, off, *Tar.*, 169, 11; 204, 4; *Rep.*, 177, 33; 179, 9.
- Affears, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, befits, *Ps.*, 279, 149; affairs, *Son.*, 258, 11.
- Affect, *infin.*, to have an affection for, *Mach.*, 119, 36.
- Affeirme, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, affirm, *Ans.*, 32, 3.
- Affairs. *See* Affears.
- Affrayit, *adj.*, afraid, *Ans.*, 13, 9; afrayed, *Tr.*, 31, 141; *Mach.*, 126, 2; 127, 22; 128, 9; afrayid, *Tr.*, 51, 114; afreyd, *Mach.*, 133, 29; afreyed, *Mach.*, 147, 16.
- Affternoins, *sb.*, *pl.*, afternoons, *Ans.*, 28, 31.
- Afore (a), *adv.*, formerly, *Tr.*, 41, 121, &c.; *Tar.*, 144, 1; 149, xiv, 14; 190, lii, 12; *Seq.*, 229, 9; *Ps.*, 281, 198: (b) *prep.*, before, *Tr.*, 35, 223; 118, 1; 130, 120; 133, 189; *Mach.*, 95, 13: (c) *conj.*, before, *Tr.*, 95, 337; 123, 161; *Misc.*, 322, 27; *Mach.*, 99, 1.
- Afrayd, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, alarmed, *Tr.*, 29, 74.
- Afrayed, afrayid. *See* Affrayit.
- Afreyd, afreyed. *See* Affrayit.
- Aft, *adv.*, oft, *Mach.*, 109, 8; 119, 25.
- Aftentymes, *adv.*, often, *Mach.*, 121, 16.
- Afterhand, *adv.*, afterwards, *Tr.*, 107, 99. *Cf.* Afterhend.
- Afterhend, *adv.*, afterwards, *Tr.*, 91, 131: *adv.*, behind, *Tr.*, 101, 126; 102, 149; 107, 77: afterhend that, *conj.*, after, *Tr.*, 23, 7; 97, 1. *Cf.* Afterhand.
- Afterwart, *adv.*, afterwards, *Tr.*, 74, 187; 79, 75; 100, 92; 106, 63; *Ans.*, 19, 3; 43, 24. *Cf.* Efterwart.
- A gait, *adv.*, away, *Ans.*, 47, 15.
- Aganis, *prep.*, against, *Tr.*, 33, 175; 50, 79; 57, 254; 100, 94; 116, 121, 124; 119, 26; *Ans.*, 22, 8; 64, 3; aganist, *Tr.*, 114, 63; *Ans.*, 19, 14; 21, 27; 24, 12; 25, 5; 26, 33; 58, 24; aganst, *Mach.*, 74, 13, &c.
- Aganst. *See* Aganis.
- Aggreabill, *adj.*, suitable, *Mach.*, 152, 22; agreeable, *Ans.*, 29, 4, 9.
- Agrie, *infin.*, to be of one mind, *Tar.*, 170, 12: agree, *infin.*, to reconcile, *Tar.*, 204, 13.
- Aige, *sb.*, age, *Tr.*, 22, 20; adge, *Son.*, 258, 7.
- Air, *sb.*, heir, *Tr.*, 102, 145.
- Aith, *sb.*, oath, *Mach.*, 123, 20: *pl.*, aiths, *Mach.*, 122, 37; othes, *Tr.*, 45, 225; 65, 191.
- Aither. *See* Ather.
- A-laft, *adv.*, aloft, *I*, 7, 13.
- Alainerlie. *See* Alenarlye.
- Alane, *adj.*, alone, *Tr.*, 23, 31; 25, 5; 41, 5; *Ans.*, 24, 32.
- Ald. *See* Auld.
- Alenarlye, *adv.*, only, *Mach.*, 105, 33; alennerlye, *Mach.*, 127, 27; allenerley, *Mach.*, 122, 10; alainerlie, *Mach.*, 152, 14.
- Alknouledged, *pt. ptc.*, acknowledged, *Rep.*, 177, 23.
- Alledge, *infin.*, to adduce in argument, *Mach.*, 104, 6; 122, 32.
- Allenerley. *See* Alenarlye.
- Allers, *sb.*, *pl.*, alders, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 9. (The normal development of O.E. *alor*, the 'd'

- being a phonetic development found in Chaucer, but not fully established till the sixteenth century.)
- Allienat, *infin.*, to cast off, *Mach.*, 91, 18.
- Allieners, *sb., pl.*, foreigners, *Rep.*, 184, 27.
- All quhaire, *adv.*, everywhere, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 6; all whair, *Ans.*, 42, 17; alwheare, *Ps.*, 276, 42.
- Alls. See Als.
- Alluterly, *adv.*, utterly, *Ans.*, 38, 31; 39, 6; 57, 5.
- All whair. See All quhaire.
- Almaist, *adv.*, almost, *Ans.*, 20, 27; 25, 30; 28, 3; 40, 3; 45, 31; *Mach.*, 88, 6; 97, 28; 156, 17; almost, *Mach.*, 100, 13.
- Almost. See Almaist.
- Alote, *infin.*, to offer as a sacrifice, *Tr.*, 100, 82.
- Allß. See Als.
- Als (a), *adv.*, also, *Tr.*, 30, 114; 31, 136; 47, 10; 87, 24; 99, 60; 108, 119; *Tar.*, 158, 5; 161, xxvii, 2; 183, xlvi, 3; *Son.*, 257, 5; *Ps.*, 276, 22; alls, *Son.*, 248, 14; alß, *Tr.*, 74, 205; 123, 155; *Son.*, 248, 14; (b) *conj.*, as, *Tr.*, 58, 5; *Tar.*, 204, 9; *Ps.*, 291, 4; *Ans.*, 10, 26; 27, 11; 28, 35; 30, 28; 32, 1, 4, 7; 42, 22; 43, 2; 66, 18; 68, 2; *Mach.*, 79, 4; 90, 1; 130, 12; 135, 17; 141, 1, 29; 150, 6; 157, 30; 159, 23; 163, 32.
- Alsmeikill, *adv.*, as much, *Ans.*, 30, 7; als meikill, *Rep.*, 177, 12.
- Alsome, *adv.*, as soon, *Mach.*, 81, 21; 131, 8.
- Alsueil, *adv.*, as well, *Ans.*, 30, 7; alsuell, *Mach.*, 147, 13.
- Alsuell. See Alsueil.
- Althocht, *conj.*, although, *Ans.*, 14, 14; 20, 18; 29, 3; 45, 34; 54, 24; althogh, *Ans.*, 38, 4; 64, 36; althoght, *Ans.*, 10, 8; 27, 22; 43, 7; 50, 36; 52, 4; 54, 28; 55, 17, 21; 60, 24; 61, 18; althoght, *Tr.*, 54, 171; 61, 105; 70, 89; 109, 139; *Death*, 242, 70.
- Althogh, althoght, althoght. See Althocht.
- Alwheare. See All quhaire.
- Amang, *prep.*, among, *Tr.*, 106, 51, 70; *Mach.*, 134, 25; amangis, *Tr.*, 17, 9; 50, 71; 74, 205; 93, 22; amangs, 1, 19, 11 (a); *Tr.*, 33, 191; 39, 78; 73, 177; 113, 28; 115, 75; *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 10; *Seq.*, 218, 3; *Ans.*, 30, 15; 33, 28; 37, 2; 45, 5, 17, 21; 48, 12; 50, 33; 54, 34; 57, 7; 61, 11; *Mach.*, 76, 14, 32, &c.; amangst, *Tr.*, 18, 6; *Mach.*, 94, 5; 118, 36; 152, 6; amongs, *Tr.*, 34, 208; 76, 256; 82, 144; 104, 13; 105, 29; 106, 66; 130, 119, 130; *Ans.*, 24, 34; 45, 26.
- Amangis, amangs, amangst. See Amang.
- Amaß, *infin.*, to unite, *Tr.*, 36, 8.
- Amongs. See Amang.
- An (1), *art., indef.*, a, *Tr.*, 93, 184; *Son.*, 247, 10; *Ans.*, 10, 1; &c.; *Rep.*, 170, 4; 174, 33; ane, *Tr.*, 16, 35, &c.; *Tar.*, 164, 2; 180, xl, 2, 11; *Son.*, 253, 14; *Ps.*, 277, 61; 279, 137; 295, 8; *Doubt.*, 355, 38; 390, 2; 395, 7; *Ans.*, 9, 12, &c.; *Mach.*, 87, 16; 88, 16; 92, 16; 148, 4, 5, 8, 19; 149, 9; 152, 6, 11, 18; *Rep.*, 189, 12.
- An (2), *pron. and adj.*, one. (a) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 22, 22; 31, 29; 33, 11; 49, 31; 52, 25; 61, 30; 64, 2; ane, *Tr.*, 40, 162; *Ps.*, 288, 4; *Doubt.*, 356, 12; *Ans.*, 7, 11; 19, 26; 34, 16; 37, 9; 45, 11; 52, 29; *Mach.*, 76, 18, &c.; (b) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 29, 26; 42, 3; 63, 19; 65, 8; *Mach.*, 156, 27; 159, 24; ane, *Tr.*, 109, 159; *Mach.*, 75, 35, *et passim*.
- Anents, *prep.*, concerning, *Ans.*, 48, 21.
- Anes (1), *pron., gen., sing.*, one's, *Mach.*, 128, 32.
- Anes (2), *adv.*, once, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 14; 185, 13; *Son.*, 256, 7; *Ps.*, 293, 65; anis, *Mach.*, 77, 16; ans, *Mach.*, 88, 22; ones, 1, 20, 1; *Tr.*, 28, 46; 30, 97; 82, 136; 129, 32.
- Aneugh, *adv.*, enough, *Ans.*, 49, 8; eneugh, *Mach.*, 75, 21; 81, 7; 91, 9; 114, 2; 122, 3, 10; 124,

- 16; 126, 19; eneugh, *adj.*, *Mach.*, 163, 32; enuegh, *Ps.*, 285, 110; aneugh, *pron.*, *Mach.*, 118, 23. *Cf.* Anewe.
- Ane vther. *See* An vther.
- Anewe, *pron.*, enough, *Ans.*, 34, 31. *Cf.* Aneugh.
- Angelict, *adj.*, angelic, *Tr.*, 130, 121.
- Anis. *See* Anes.
- Annoyes. *See* Anoy.
- Anonder, *prep.*, under, *Tar.*, 180, xl, 5.
- Anoy, *sb.*, vexation, *Tr.*, 63, 150: *pl.*, annoyes, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 12. *Cf.* Noy.
- Ans. *See* Anes.
- An vther, *adj.*, another, *Ans.*, 46, 19; 52, 21; ane vther, *pron.*, *Ans.*, 50, 2.
- Apairt, in, *phr.*, openly, *Mach.*, 95, 7.
- Apeir. *See* Appeir.
- Apert, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, open, *Misc.*, 266, 11.
- Appaised, *pt. ptc.*, appeased, *Ps.*, 279, 132; appaisit, *Ans.*, 20, 2; appaysed, *Tar.*, 172, 10; appesed, *Mach.*, 127, 7.
- Apparance, apparence. *See* Appeirance.
- Appardonit, *pt. ptc.*, pardoned, *Ans.*, 27, 32; 38, 6.
- Appeir, *inf.*, to appear, *Tr.*, 28, 50; *Ans.*, 14, 2; 41, 10; appeire, *Mach.*, 129, 7; 139, 2; appere, *Mach.*, 119, 4; 123, 10; 153, 5; apeir, *Ans.*, 20, 7: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, appereth, *Mach.*, 124, 3: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, appeiris, *Tr.*, 51, 101; appeirs, *Ans.*, 61, 25; appereth, *Mach.*, 78, 26; 103, 22; 111, 1: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, appereth, *Mach.*, 124, 5: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, appeir, *Ans.*, 42, 30; appeire, *Mach.*, 123, 30: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, appered, *Mach.*, 92, 23: *pres. ptc.*, appering, *Mach.*, 123, 38: *pl. ptc.*, appered, *Tr.*, 78, 29; *Mach.*, 161, 17; 163, 18.
- Appeirance, *sb.*, appearance, *Mach.*, 106, 2; apparance, *Mach.*, 123, 5; apperence, *Mach.*, 124, 12; apparance, *Tr.*, 121, 84; *Son.*, 263, 6; apparence, *Mach.*, 112, 28.
- Appele, *vb.*, to appeal; apels, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, challenge, *Ans.*, 33, 5.
- Appellatioun, *sb.*, court of appeal, *Mach.*, 124, 7.
- Apperance, apperence. *See* Appeirance.
- Appere. *See* Appeir.
- Appertene, *inf.*, to belong, *Ans.*, 10, 7.
- Appesed. *See* Appaised.
- Appone, *inf.*, to oppose, *Mach.*, 144, 13.
- Approbris, *sb.*, *pl.*, abusive people, *Ans.*, 35, 5.
- Arace, *inf.*, to draw, *Doubt.*, 378, 53. [A.Fr. *aracer*. *Cf.* Mod.Fr. *arracher*.]
- Araise. *See* AryB.
- Arire guard, in, *phr.*, in the rear, *Tr.*, 71, 121. [Fr. *arrière-garde*.]
- Armories, *sb.*, *pl.*, armorial bearings, *Rep.*, 182, 9; 192, 28.
- Artificial, *adj.*, skilfully made, *Rep.*, 188, 8; artificiall, *Rep.*, 190, 27.
- Artificially, *adv.*, skilfully, *Rep.*, 180, 30; 188, 12; 190, 31; 193, 4.
- AryB, *inf.*, to arise, *Mach.*, 152, 32: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, araise, *Mach.*, 93, 11; araysse, *Tr.*, 116, 120.
- Ascryuis, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, ascribes, *Ans.*, 59, 29: *pt. ptc.*, ascryued, *Mach.*, 157, 25; ascryuit, *Ans.*, 59, 29.
- Aseged. *See* Asseaged.
- Asne, *sb.*, ass, *Ans.*, 33, 28.
- Aspye, *inf.*, to espy, *Tr.*, 77, 13.
- AB, *sb.*, *pl.*, ashes, *Tr.*, 127, 26; *Misc.*, 315, 88; asses, *Ps.*, 277, 75.
- Assailye, *inf.*, to assail, *Mach.*, 77, 15; assal, *Mach.*, 114, 4; assalze, *Mach.*, 101, 9; assayllze, *Mach.*, 109, 11: *pt. ptc.*, assailed, *Mach.*, 84, 36.
- Assal, assalze. *See* Assailye.
- Assalt, *inf.*, to attack, *Mach.*, 143, 14: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, assalted, *Mach.*, 144, 8: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, assalted, *Mach.*, 154, 17.
- Assalze. *See* Assailye.
- Assay (1), *inf.*, to undergo, *Tr.*, 127, 34.
- Assay (2), *sb.*, experience, *Mach.*, 99, 14.

- Assayllze. See Assailye.
- Asseaged, *pt. ptc.*, besieged, *Mach.*, 101, 9; asseged, *Mach.*, 89, 8; aseged, *Mach.*, 98, 11: *pres. ptc.*, assegeing, *Mach.*, 135, 12.
- Assegers, *sb., pl.*, besiegers, *Mach.*, 101, 10.
- Assingis, 3 *sing., pres., indic., Tr.*, 105, 31: *pt. ptc.*, assingd, assigns, *Death*, 241, 50; assynd, *Son.*, 263, 10.
- Assuage. See note, *Tr.*, 51, 92.
- Assynd. See Assingis.
- Astart, 3 *sing., pres., subj.*, depart from, *Doubt.*, 377, 31: *astarte*, 3 *sing., pres., subj.*, befall, *Doubt.*, 349, 35.
- Astonyit, *pt. ptc.*, astonished, *Ans.*, 25, 4.
- Astrayes (1), 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, withdraws, *Ps.*, 276, 33: *astrayed, pt. ptc.*, lost, *Tr.*, 84, 180.
- Astrayes (2), *sb., pl.*, wanderings, *Tr.*, 112, 15.
- At, *miswriting for 'a,' Tr.*, 64, 176.
- Ather, *conj.*, either, *Tr.*, 17, 21; 41, 116; 63, 38; *Tar.*, 176, 8; *Ans.*, 10, 6, &c.: *Mach.*, 71, 9, &c.; *aither, Mach.*, 85, 32; *ayer, Ans.*, 24, 17, 25; *ayther, Ans.*, 34, 14; *ether, Ps.*, 293, 66; *Ans.*, 34, 34; 42, 29; 54, 29.
- Athort, *adv.*, transversely, *Tr.*, 106, 62.
- Attaint, *infin.*, to seize upon, *Tr.*, 85, 210.
- Atteine. See Attene.
- Attemptit, *pt. ptc.*, accused, *Ans.*, 30, 16.
- Attene, *infin.*, to attain, *Seq.*, 219, 13; *atteine, Ans.*, 26, 10: *pt. ptc.*, attened, *Misc.*, 308, 13; *Mach.*, 140, 32.
- Attent, *adj.*, attentive, *Tr.*, 69, 73.
- Attex, *infin.*, deduce, *Ans.*, 37, 16.
- Attones, *adv.*, at once, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 1; *attons, Tar.*, 208, 10.
- Attons. See attones.
- Attour, *adv.*, besides, *Ans.*, 31, 31.
- Aucht, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, ought, *Ans.*, 49, 32.
- Aughtlye, *adv.*, eighthly, *Rep.*, 177, 16.
- Auchtor. See Autor.
- Auen (a), *adj.*, own, *Mach.*, 71, 23, &c.; *auin, Ans.*, 24, 15; *awen, Seq.*, 223, 8; 227, 3; *Misc.*, 308, 6; *Mach.*, 83, 33; 89, 7; 132, 15; 138, 31; 150, 8; 154, 28; *Rep.*, 161, 16; *awin, Ans.*, 14, 2, &c.; *Mach.*, 104, 35; 105, 5, 14; 149, 12, 13, 17; 152, 7, 8, 24; (b) *pron.*, own, *Mach.*, 76, 26; 79, 5; 86, 2; 115, 7, 17; *awen, Mach.*, 95, 22; 104, 16; 109, 18; 115, 20; 137, 21; *awin, Ans.*, 49, 32.
- Auin. See Auen.
- Auld, *adj.*, old, *Tr.*, 24, 8; 88, 47; *Seq.*, 217, 12; *Son.*, 259, 12; *Ans.*, 27, 22; 33, 37; *Mach.*, 76, 9; 91, 9; 105, 2; 162, 12; 163, 20; *ald, Mach.*, 73, 11; 138, 25, 31; *ould, Tr.*, 29, 63; 55, 213; 80, 81; 81, 112; 115, 87; *I*, 397, 27; *oulde, Tr.*, 99, 57.
- Automney, *sb.*, autumn, *Doubt.*, 360, 3; *autumnye, Doubt.*, 360, 11.
- Autor, *sb.*, author, *Ans.*, 59, 27; *atour, Ans.* 22, 34; *auchtor, Doubt.*, 348, 39.
- Autorise, 3 *pl., pres., indic.*, give authority to, *Mach.*, 87, 23: *pt. ptc.*, *autorisit, Ans.*, 31, 35.
- Autoritie, *sb.*, authority, *Ans.*, 26, 34, &c.; *authority, Ans.*, 9, 18; 49, 22; 51, 10; 55, 9; 66, 30; *Mach.*, 88, 18; 91, 11, 19; 103, 32; 128, 19; 136, 10; 143, 22: *pl.*, *authorities, Ans.*, 13, 35; 31, 27; 44, 20; 54, 13, 25; 61, 34: *autoritie, sb.*, influence, *Mach.*, 83, 23; 85, 32; 87, 22: *pl.*, *authorities, sb.*, testimonies, *Ans.*, 41, 12.
- Atour. See Autor.
- Available, *adj.*, effectual, *Mach.*, 76, 4: *available, adj.*, reliable, *Mach.*, 138, 17.
- Awalke, *imperat.*, awake, *Ans.*, 57, 35.
- Awen, *awin*. See Auen.
- Awfer, *infin.*, to remove, *Tr.*, 60, 59. (ad L. *aufferre.*)
- Ayer, *ayther*. See Ather.
- Backwart, *adv.*, backwards, *Tr.*, 66, 218; 92, 154; *Ans.*, 25, 15; *bakwart, Tr.*, 89, 92; 106, 67.

- Baile, *sb.*, harm, *Tar.*, 147, x, 5; bayle, *Tar.*, 154, 14; 176, 2; 192, lvi, 9; lxii, 11.
- Baine, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, bathe, *Doubt.*, 345, 26.
- Baire, *vb.* See Beir.
- Bairnes, *sb.*, *pl.*, children, *Ans.*, 52, 37.
- Baise (1), *infin.*, to humble, *Tar.*, 146, ix, 4. Cf. Abaise.
- Baise (2), *adj.*, little, *Mach.*, 93, 7. Cf. Bass.
- Baith, *baith*, *adj.*, *pron.*, and *adv.*, both. (a) *adj.*, *baith*, *Tar.*, 182, xliii, 14; *Ans.*, 30, 4; 51, 26; *Mach.*, 84, 3: (b) *pron.*, *baith*, *Mach.*, 84, 29: (c) *adv.*, *baith*, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 7; 183, xlv, 11; 183, xlvi, 9; 198, 4; 207, 5; *Seq.*, 217, 5; *Misc.*, 312, 10; 314, 70; *Ans.*, 10, 21, &c.; *Mach.*, 74, 15, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 10, 21; *baith*, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 2; 204, 3; 206, 4; *Seq.*, 228, 10, 12.
- Bakwart. See Backwart.
- Bald. See Bauld.
- Baldly, *adv.*, boldly, *Ans.*, 31, 16; 43, 4; *baldlye*, *Mach.*, 123, 6.
- Baldned, *pt. ptc.*, emboldened, *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 10.
- Baldnes, *sb.*, boldness, *Tar.*, 180, xl, 3; *Seq.*, 222, 11; *Ans.*, 49, 36; *baldness*, *Tar.*, 146, ix, 8; *Misc.*, 314, 29; *Ans.*, 23, 35.
- Band (1), *sb.*, a binding promise, *Ans.*, 31, 34: *bandis*, *sb.*, *pl.*, fetters, *Tr.*, 44, 192; *bands*, *Tr.*, 28, 58; 30, 94.
- Band (2), 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, bound, *Tr.*, 107, 81; *Tar.*, 211, 2.
- Banis, *sb.*, *pl.*, bones, *Death*, 233, 20.
- Barbar, *adj.*, barbarous, *Tr.*, 16, 19; 79, 53.
- Barbares, *sb.*, *sing.*, *gen.*, barbarian's, *Mach.*, 161, 3.
- Barded, *pt. ptc.*, armed (of horses), *Tr.*, 119, 22.
- Bare, *vb.* See Beir.
- Barged, *pt. ptc.*, brought by boat, *Doubt.*, 380, 59.
- Basing, *sb.*, basin, *Rep.*, 189, 18.
- Baß, *adj.*, base, *Tr.*, 37, 29; 95, 341; *basse*, *Mach.*, 98, 27: *comp.*, *baiser*, *Tr.*, 15, 15; *basser*, *Tr.*, 118, 21.
- Batit, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, beat, *Ans.*, 25, 17: *pt. ptc.*, *bett*, *Doubt.*, 371, 60.
- Batons, *sb.*, *pl.*, staves, *Ans.*, 25, 17.
- Bauld, *adj.*, bold, *Tr.*, 100, 86; *Ans.*, 26, 26; bald, *Mach.*, 89, 20: *superl.*, *baldest*, *Mach.*, 139, 22.
- Bauldful, *adj.*, bold, *Ps.*, 286, 120.
- Be, *prep.*, by, *passim*.
- Beare (1). See Beir.
- Beare (2), 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, bark, *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 11.
- Beare (3), *sb.*, bier, *Doubt.*, 368, 42.
- Becum, *vb.*, to become. 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *becummeth*, *Mach.*, 115, 25; *becums*, *Mach.*, 115, 23: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *becummeth*, *Mach.*, 80, 28; 111, 18: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *becummeth*, *Mach.*, 137, 21, 24: *pt. ptc.*, *becomd*, *Misc.*, 308, 5; *becumd*, *Mach.*, 143, 10; *becummed*, *Mach.*, 107, 21; *becummed*, *Mach.*, 80, 23; 92, 1; *becommed*, *Ps.*, 275, 6; *Mach.*, 74, 18.
- Bedlem, *sb.*, madhouse, *Tr.*, 116, 107.
- Befrett, *pt. ptc.*, harassed, *Death*, 237, 3.
- Behald, *infin.*, to behold, *Tar.*, 208, 6; *Ans.*, 19, 22; 23, 10; 25, 23: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *behalde*, *Tar.*, 154, 2: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *behalde*, *Mach.*, 74, 14: *imperat.*, *behalde*, *Ans.*, 64, 17. Cf. Behould.
- Behalders. See Behaldours.
- Behaldin, *misprint for* 'be haldin' (= be held), *Ans.*, 50, 32.
- Behaldours, *sb.*, *pl.*, spectators, *Rep.*, 173, 20; *behalders*, *Mach.*, 145, 14; *Rep.*, 189, 4. Cf. Behoulders.
- Behede, *infin.*, to behead, *Mach.*, 99, 24.
- Behight, 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, vowed, *Doubt.*, 344, 35: *pt. ptc.*, *Doubt.*, 369, 4.
- Behinde, *adv.*, hereafter, *Tr.*, 128, 47; *behynde*, *Tr.*, 38, 52.
- Behould, *infin.*, to behold, *Tr.*, 34, 197; 82, 137; *behoulede*, I, 19, 2 (b); *Tr.*, 41, 122; 68, 26; 69, 73; 71, 125; 108, 106: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *behold*,

- Tr.*, 121, 89; *Misc.*, 326, xvi, 2: *imperi.*, behold, *Tr.*, 28, 50; *Doubt.*, 372, 81; behoulde, *Tr.*, 35, 220; 113, 41. *Cf.* Behald.
- Beholders, *sb.*, *pl.*, spectators, *Rep.*, 172, 19. *Cf.* Behaldours.
- Behove, *sb.*, behoof, *Seq.*, 220, 7; behowe, *Tr.*, 59, 23.
- Behovfull, *adj.*, necessary, *Mach.*, 135, 27.
- Behuifit, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, behoved, *Ans.*, 64, 1.
- Beir, *infin.*, to bear, *Ans.*, 21, 26; 23, 26; 26, 13; 34, 32; 61, 33: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, baire, *Tr.*, 102, 146; bare, *Rep.*, 190, 36; beare, *Tr.*, 33, 185; *Son.*, 262, xvi, 2; berit, *Ans.*, 63, 32, 33; bwir, *Tr.*, 122, 119: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, bare, *Rep.*, 174, 27; boore, *Tar.*, 182, xlv, 11; *Mach.*, 89, 13: *pres. ptc.*, bering, *Rep.*, 175, 10.
- Beit, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, kindle, *Doubt.*, 375, 10.
- Belang, *infin.*, to belong, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 4: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, belangeth, *Mach.*, 107, 3; 115, 16; 147, 32; belangs, *Tar.*, 144, 11: *pres. ptc.*, belonging, *Mach.*, 107, 8.
- Beleif, *infin.*, to believe, *Tr.*, 83, 173; *Ans.*, 20, 12; beleue, *Ans.*, 62, 16; beleve, *Mach.*, 148, 17; beliue, *Ps.*, 282, 8; beliwe, *Tr.*, 93, 194: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, belewe, *Tr.*, 39, 58; 96, 375; beliue, *Mach.*, 139, 6: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, beliues, *Tr.*, 40, 93: 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, beleiue, *Ans.*, 62, 15: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, beleues, *Ans.*, 35, 8; beleuis, *Ans.*, 61, 23: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, beleued, *Tr.*, 33, 182: *pres. ptc.*, beleving, *Mach.*, 117, 11: *pt. ptc.*, beleued, *Mach.*, 96, 16, 28; beleuit, *Ans.*, 26, 21; 57, 23; beliued, *Mach.*, 156, 12; belived, *Mach.*, 108, 7: *vbl. sb.*, beleving, *Mach.*, 117, 11.
- Beleuiue. *See* Beleif.
- Beleued, beleues, beleuis, beleuit. *See* Beleif.
- Beleving. *See* Beleif.
- Belewe. *See* Beleif.
- Beliue, beliues. *See* Beleif.
- Beliwe. *See* Beleif.
- Beninge, *adj.*, kindly, *Tr.*, 101, 118.
- Berit. *See* Beir.
- Beseik, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, to beseech, *Ans.*, 14, 3; 27, 31; 50, 6; 58, 36.
- Besene, *miswriting for* 'bene sene,' *Tr.*, 70, 91.
- Besett, *pt. ptc.*, befitted, *Tr.*, 81, 126.
- Bespoyled, *pt. ptc.*, despoiled, *Tr.*, 73, 180.
- Besydis, *adv.*, close at hand, *Tr.*, 64, 161.
- Bett. *See* Batit.
- Betterly, *adv.*, better, *Mach.*, 152, 27.
- Bewray, *infin.*, to disclose, *Tr.*, 55, 200; 61, 84; 94, 209; bewraye, *Tar.*, 183, xlv, 3; beuray, *Ps.*, 291, 1: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, bewraies, *Son.*, 260, 11: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, bewrayes, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 9: *pt. ptc.*, bewrayed, *Mach.*, 162, 3.
- Bidew, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, shed, *Ps.*, 293, 73.
- Big, *infin.*, to build, *Tr.*, 45, 216: *pt. ptc.*, biggit, *Ans.*, 46, 34; 61, 9.
- Birthfull, *adj.*, fertile, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 1.
- Blackmoore, *sb.*, blackamoor, *Rep.*, 188, 4; blakmore, *Rep.*, 189, 4.
- Blads, *sb.*, *pl.*, portions, *Tr.*, 33, 180.
- Blaise, *infin.*, to proclaim, *Tr.*, 90, 112; *Seq.*, 219, 5; blayse, *I*, 3, 10; *Tr.*, 18, 9.
- Blaues, *sb.*, *pl.*, blows, *Mach.*, 144, 29.
- Blaw, *infin.*, to blow, *Tar.*, 142, v, 7: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, blawe, *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 7: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, blawis, *Tr.*, 19, 7 (a): 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, blawes, *Seq.*, 215, 8: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, blawes, *Doubt.*, 340, 51: *pt. ptc.*, blawen, *Tr.*, 84, 199; *Ans.*, 27, 27; 33, 31.
- Bleddars, *sb.*, *pl.*, bladders, *Ans.*, 33, 31.
- Bleise, *sb.*, blaze, *Tar.*, 211, 13.
- Blekked, *pt. ptc.*, blackened, *Mach.*, 119, 29.
- Blenk, *sb.*, brief gleam of light, *Tr.*, 123, 148. *Cf.* Blinke.

- Blindles, *adj.*, blind, *Son.*, 258, 3.  
 Blindlines (for *blindlings*), *adv.*,  
 blindly, *Tr.*, 126, 12.  
 Blinke, *sb.*, glance, *Tr.*, 76, 250.  
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 Blubbring, *pres. ptc.*, tearful, *Tr.*,  
 25, 17.  
 Bludie, *adj.*, bloody, *Tar.*, 137, 6.  
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 241, 46; *Ans.*, 25, 29; 63, 38:  
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 Bontethe, *sb.*, reward, *Tar.*, 200, 8.  
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 -ing.) *Cf.* Buting.  
 Bordel, *sb.*, brothel, *Ans.*, 20, 29:  
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 Bore, *sb.*, opening, *Tar.*, 142, v, 2.  
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 Boultes, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*,  
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- Bowne, *adj.*, ready, *Tar.*, 172, 5.  
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 Bragful, *adj.*, boastful, *Ans.*, 23,  
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 Braid (1), *sb.*, rush, *Tr.*, 118, 4.  
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- Brocht, *pt. ptc.*, brought, *Ans.*, 13, 23; 19, 27; 53, 12; 54, 25; 65, 33.
- Brod, *sb.*, the face of a clock, *Son.*, 263, 2, 9.
- Brodered, *pt. ptc.*, embroidered, *Rep.*, 180, 28; browdered, *Tr.*, 45, 237. *Cf.* Embrodered.
- Brokned. *See* Brek.
- Broodiness, *sb.*, sitting on eggs to hatch them, *Rep.*, 188, 30.
- Brough, *miswriting* for 'brought,' *Tr.*, 127, 43.
- Broughe, *sb.*, *Doubt.*, 371, 35, town.
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- Broyle, *infin.*, to boil, *Tr.*, 65, 199.
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- Bruit (2), *infin.*, to noise abroad, *Tr.*, 67, 15.
- Brunt, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, burn, *Tr.*, 56, 222; 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, brunt, *Tar.*, 211, 2; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, brunt, *Tr.*, 92, 158; *pt. ptc.*, brent, *Tr.*, 41, 130; brint, *Mach.*, 89, 10, 31; brunt, *Tr.*, 52, 139; 82, 154; 97, 18.
- Brusk, *adj.*, rude in manner, *Mach.*, 112, 12. (It. *brusco*.)
- Brusteth, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, bursts, *Tr.*, 72, 154; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, brust, *Tr.*, 73, 182.
- Buckies, *sb.*, *pl.*, wheelks, *Rep.*, 193, 28.
- Buik, *sb.*, book, *Ans.*, 22, 28, *et passim*; buk, *Ans.*, 60, 2, 3; *pl.*, buiks, *Ans.*, 57, 12; the Bible, *Ans.*, 22, 34.
- Bulke, *sb.*, hull of a ship, *Rep.*, 192, 16.
- Burdings, *sb.*, *pl.*, burdens, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 7.
- Burrio, *sb.*, hangman, *Ans.*, 24, 13. (Fr. *bourreau*.)
- Burrows, *sb.*, *pl.*, towns, *Rep.*, 169, 9.
- Busses, *sb.*, *pl.*, bushes, *Tr.*, 62, 123.
- But, *adv.*, *conj.*, and *prep.* (a) *adv.*, outwardly, *Tr.*, 42, 139; (b) *conj.*, *Tr.*, 88, 67; 91, 144; (c) *prep.*, without, *Tr.*, 40, 98, *et Tar.*, 147, x, 11, *et passim*; *Seq.*, 220, 1; 227, 8, 14; *Son.*, 256, 1; *Ps.*, 282, 24; 284, 62; 290, 59; *Mach.*, 96, 1, *et passim*.
- Butings, *sb.*, *pl.*, plundering, *Mach.*, 115, 12. (Fr. *butin*.) *Cf.* Booting.
- Bwir. *See* Beir.
- Bwrdis, *sb.*, *pl.*, jests, *Tr.*, 115, 92.
- Byde, *infin.*, to withstand, *Tr.*, 26, 30.
- Bygane, *adj.*, bygone, *Mach.*, 139, 5.
- Byillis, *sb.*, *pl.*, boils, *Tr.*, 101, 123.
- Cacolyke, *adj.*, Catholic, *Ans.*, 32, 8. ("A perversion of CATHOLIC, associating it with *κακος*." —O.E.D.)
- Caddence, *sb.*, decline, *Ps.*, 238, 34.
- Cairles, *adj.*, carefree, *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 9; neglected, *Tr.*, 110, 168; neglectful, *Mach.*, 91, 15; 107, 15.
- Cairress, *infin.*, to favour, *Mach.*, 136, 3.
- Cairt (1), *sb.*, chart, *Tar.*, 197, lxiii, 5.
- Cairt (2), *sb.*, chariot, *Tr.*, 96, 361; cairte, *Tar.*, 188, 11.
- Cais, *miswriting* for 'cair,' *Mach.*, 80, 18.
- Calamite, *sb.*, lode-stone, *Tar.*, 199, lxiii, 6.
- Cald, *adj.*, cold, *Mach.*, 158, 5, 31; 159, 35.
- Callen, *pres. ptc.*, calling, *Mach.*, 119, 20.
- Calmie, *adj.*, calm, *Tr.*, 79, 75; calmye, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 1.
- Campt, *sb.*, camp, *Mach.*, 108, 35.
- Cancard, *adj.*, bad-tempered, *Tr.*, 30, 104.
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- Capt, *vb.*, ? , *Mach.*, 89, 7.
- Capteu, *adj.*, captive, *Doubt.*, 372, 83; capatiue, *Ps.*, 288, 7.
- Captiuat, *pt. ptc.*, held captive, *Tr.*, 65, 205.
- Captiue, *infin.*, to capture, *Tr.*, 29, 70; 30, 101; *pt. ptc.*, captiwed, *Tr.*, 35, 221.

- Carcage, *sb.*, body, *Ans.*, 26, 11.  
 Careful, *adj.*, anxious, *Tar.*, 143, 5.  
 Carier, *sb.*, space within the lists, *Rep.*, 172, 22; carrier, *Rep.*, 173, 20.  
 Carrier, *sb.*, career, *Son.*, 264, 2. *See also* Carier.  
 Cast, *infin.*, to devise, I, 8, 23; casten, *pt. ptc.*, cast, *Ps.*, 294, 98; *Mach.*, 88, 22; 92, 6; 143, 20; castin, *Mach.*, 152, 13.  
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 Catiffe, catiue. *See* Cateiff.  
 Cauff, *sb.*, chaff, *Ans.*, 39, 37.  
 Centryeis, *sb.* ("timbers used to support an arch in building"—*Dost.*), *Tar.*, 140, 9.  
 Certefyed, *pt. ptc.*, informed, *Mach.*, 76, 7.  
 Certes, *adv.*, certainly, *Ps.*, 280, 167.  
 Chair, *sb.*, chariot, *Tr.*, 26, 28; 28, 33; 34, 207; 61, 88; 63, 144; 64, 182; 98, 33; chaire, *Doubt.*, 361, 28; chayre, *Doubt.*, 365, 9.  
 Chairge, *sb.*, management, *Rep.*, 173, 5; chairges, *sb.*, *pl.*, responsibilities, *Mach.*, 149, 26.  
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 Chaistlie, *adj.*, chaste, *Tr.*, 73, 185; 83, 177; 87, 24; chaistly, *Tr.*, 77, 8; chaistlye, *Tr.*, 80, 77; 84, 194; 90, 119; chastlye, *Misc.*, 313, 31.  
 Chalmer, *sb.*, chamber, *Ans.*, 22, 29; 23, 22; 28, 1; *Rep.*, 171, 8, *et passim*.  
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 Chargd, *pt. ptc.*, loaded, *Tar.*, 188, 3; charged, *Tr.*, 103, 160; chargit, *Tr.*, 107, 100.  
 Chastfull, chastlye. *See* Chaistfull, Chaistlie.  
 Cause, *miswriting for* 'chance,' *Mach.*, 95, 12.  
 Chawfe, *infin.*, to chafe, *Tr.*, 72, 155.  
 Cheir, *sb.*, countenance, *Tr.*, 75, 229; cheare, *Tr.*, 105, 29.  
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 Chesbolles, *sb.*, *pl.*, poppies, *Rep.*, 189, 12; chesbolls, *Rep.*, 188, 29.  
 Chist, *sb.*, chest, *Doubt.*, 378, 56.  
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 Chwise, *infin.*, to choose, *Tr.*, 20, 11 (a); choysse, *Mach.*, 104, 3; cheiB, *Mach.*, 149, 9; 1 sing., *pres.*, *indic.*, chwise, *Tr.*, 16, 3; 3 sing., *pres.*, *indic.*, chuseth, *Mach.*, 126, 29; 3 sing., *pret.*, chosed, *Tr.*, 100, 75; chused, *Tr.*, 40, 85; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, choosed, *Mach.*, 98, 27.  
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 Chyre, *sb.*, chair, *Ans.*, 23, 19; 44, 27.  
 Circueted, *pt. ptc.*, made the circuit of, *Misc.*, 323, 4.  
 Circumvene, *infin.*, to ensnare, *Tar.*, 142, vi, 4; to get round, *Mach.*, 126, 3.  
 Citeddls, *sb.*, *pl.*, citadels, *Mach.*, 141, 12.  
 Claith, *sb.*, cloth, *Rep.*, 191, 14; *pl.*, claiths, *Ans.*, 58, 38; claithis (= clothes), *Ans.*, 53, 33.  
 Clattering, *pres. ptc.*, chattering, *Tr.*, 50, 69.  
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 Cleid, *infin.*, to clothe, *Rep.*, 191, 15; *pt. ptc.*, cled, *Tr.*, 108, 109; *Rep.*, 175, 3; cledd, *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 3.  
 Cleithin, *pres. ptc.*, clothing, *Rep.*, 191, 13.  
 Clink, *sb.*, instant, *Tr.*, 120, 56.  
 Clouts, *sb.*, *pl.*, clothes, *Mach.*, 127, 32.  
 Clud, *sb.*, cloud, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 2; *Mach.*, 163, 7; cludde, *Tr.*, 123, 149; clwde, *Tr.*, 49, 59; *pl.*, cluddis, *Tr.*, 96, 360; cludds, *Tar.*, 150, 8; 168, 4; 191, liii, 6; *Death*, 233, 8; cluds, *Ans.*, 42, 25.  
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 Coheare, *sb.*, co-heir, *Ps.*, 289, 47.

- Coheritours, *sb., pl.*, co-heirs, *Ans.*, 37, 14.
- Coleurs. *See* Couleur.
- Collations, *sb., pl.*, comparisons, *Ans.*, 65, 16.
- Colleg, *sb.*, colleague, *Mach.*, 132, 33.
- Colloricke, *adj.*, choleric, *Doubt.*, 373, 119.
- Combattars, *sb., pl.*, combatants, *Mach.*, 101, 1.
- Combred, *pt. ptc.*, encumbered, *Tr.*, 127, 26.
- Combur, 3 *pl., pres., indic.*, burn, *Tr.*, 65, 202.
- Commandment, *sb.*, command, *Ans.*, 58, 34; 66, 22; *Mach.*, 71, 9; 119, 31; commandement, *Mach.*, 71, 21; 73, 11.
- Commend, *sb.*, commendation, *Tr.*, 98, 38.
- Commixting, *pres. ptc.*, mingling, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 10.
- Commodious, *adj.*, advantageous, *Mach.*, 78, 29.
- Commoditie, *sb.*, advantage, *Ans.*, 34, 10; *Mach.*, 81, 18; 127, 9; 140, 28; 149, 13, 17; comodetie, *Tr.*, 15, 13; comoditie, *Mach.*, 117, 24; 118, 6; 140, 9; 161, 11: *pl.*, comoditeis, *Ans.*, 33, 10.
- Commoued, *pt. ptc.*, disturbed, *Rep.*, 190, 19: commouit, *pt. ptc.*, enraged, *Ans.*, 23, 21, 36; 25, 11.
- Compagnon, compangnons, compannon. *See* Companzon.
- Companzon, *sb.*, associate, *Mach.*, 132, 34; 146, 10; compagnon, *Mach.*, 127, 6; compannon, *Mach.*, 83, 17: *pl.*, compangnons, *Mach.*, 127, 3.
- Comparaison, *sb.*, comparison, *Mach.*, 107, 26.
- Compartner, *sb.*, partner, *Mach.*, 84, 12.
- Compast, *pt. ptc.*, arched, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 9.
- Compatibilitie, *sb.*, congruity, *Mach.*, 76, 15.
- Compeare. *See* Compeir.
- Compeir, *infin.*, to appear, *Tr.*, 84, 192; *Ans.*, 26, 8: 3 *sing., pres., subj.*, compeare, *Rep.*, 176, 4; compeir, *Rep.*, 177, 4: 3 *pl., pret.*, compered, *Tr.*, 76, 253: *pt. ptc.*, compeired, *Rep.*, 169, 13; comperit, *Ans.*, 27, 2.
- Compend, *sb.*, compilation, *Ans.*, 28, 31, 35.
- Compered, comperit. *See* Compeir.
- Competent, *adj.*, fit, *Rep.*, 181, 34; fitting, *Rep.*, 192, 29.
- Complane, *infin.*, to complain, *Tr.*, 33, 183: *pres. ptc.*, compleyning, *Tar.*, 139, iii, 2.
- Complexion, *sb.*, temperament, *Mach.*, 159, 33; complexion, *Mach.*, 119, 26: *pl.*, complexions, *Mach.*, 122, 2; 135, 13; 159, 32; complexiouns, *Mach.*, 129, 14.
- Complices, *sb., pl.*, accomplices, *Ans.*, 25, 15.
- Compone, *infin.*, to compose, *Tr.*, 114, 64; to settle, *Tar.*, 170, 10: *pt. ptc.*, compound, *Tr.*, 129, 78.
- Compt (1), *sb.*, account, *Ps.*, 285, 91.
- Compt (2), *infin.*, to count, *Ans.*, 25, 36: 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, compt, *Doubt.*, 362, 55.
- Concait. *See* Conceat.
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- Conceat, *sb.*, opinion, *Tr.*, 61, 82; conceate, *Tar.*, 168, 8; *Mach.*, 125, 27; 129, 5; concait, *Ans.*, 10, 12: idea, *Ans.*, 58, 2; *Mach.*, 152, 6; fancy, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 6; hope, *Mach.*, 114, 34; device, *Rep.*, 179, 8.
- Conceate, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, imagine, *Tar.*, 184, xlvii, 8: *pres. ptc.*, conceating, *Tar.*, 198, 4: *pt. ptc.*, conceated, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 3.
- Conceau, conceave, conceawe. *See* Consawe.
- Concel, *sb.*, council, *Ans.*, 49, 24; councel, *Ans.*, 49, 9; counsal, *Ans.*, 33, 20; counsel, *Ans.*, 33, 9: *pl.*, counsels, *Ans.*, 44, 20; consells, *Mach.*, 82, 15.
- Condamned, *pt. ptc.*, condemned, *Tr.*, 44, 207.
- Condng, *adj.*, deserved, *Tr.*, 31, 136.
- Condnglie, *adv.*, deservedly, *Tr.*, 55, 193; condnglye, *Mach.*, 74, 26.
- Conditionarie, *adv.*, conditionally, *Ans.*, 60, 27; 63, 34.

- Conduct, *sb.*, guide, *Seq.*, 225, 3.  
 Conduit, *sb.*, conduct, *Ans.*, 33, 13.  
 Conferring, *pres. ptc.*, conversing, *Tr.*, 42, 141; conferring, *Mach.*, 85, 25; conferring, *pres. ptc.*, comparing, *Mach.*, 141, 3.  
 Configurat, *pt. ptc.*, made like, *Ans.*, 35, 14.  
 Confisque, *infin.*, to confiscate, *Mach.*, 113, 16; *pres. ptc.*, confiscing, *Mach.*, 118, 18.  
 Conforme, *adj.*, suitable, *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 3.  
 Confort, *sb.*, comfort, I, 6, 4; *Tr.*, 67, 7; *Death*, 233, 2, 11; *Ans.*, 26, 17.  
 Confundit, *pt. ptc.*, confused, *Ans.*, 45, 11.  
 Confuslie, *adv.*, confusedly, *Ans.*, 23, 2; 46, 4; confusly, *Ans.*, 37, 17.  
 Congeminat, *pt. ptc.*, made double, *Ans.*, 64, 2.  
 Congruant, *adj.*, proper, *Ans.*, 29, 8.  
 Conione, *infin.*, to join, *Tr.*, 48, 36; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, coniones, *Tr.*, 37, 32.  
 Coniurer, *sb.*, conspirator, *Mach.*, 126, 32.  
 Conjoyned, *pret.* of 'conjoin,' *Mach.*, 97, 35.  
 Conjurations, *sb.*, *pl.*, conspiracies, *Mach.*, 126, 27.  
 Conjoyned, *pt. ptc.* of 'conjoin,' *Mach.*, 119, 2.  
 Connexit, *pt. ptc.*, united, *Ans.*, 28, 27.  
 Conpond, *pt. ptc.*, composed, *Seq.*, 228, 13.  
 Conport, *infin.*, to bear, *Mach.*, 131, 1.  
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 Conqueiß, *infin.*, to conquer, *Tr.*, 75, 234; 131, 52; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, conquesches, *Mach.*, 138, 24; 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, conqeshed, *Mach.*, 75, 7; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, conqeshed, *Mach.*, 79, 35; *pt. ptc.*, conqeshed, *Mach.*, 76, 17; 78, 29; conquest, *Mach.*, 74, 21; conquesched, *Mach.*, 72, 15; 75, 4; 97, 36; conqeshed, *Mach.*, 71, 17; 75, 33; conqeshed, *Mach.*, 75, 34, &c.  
 Conqueist, *sb.*, conquest, *Tar.*, 157, 11; *pl.*, conqests, *Mach.*, 82, 34; conqueists, *Mach.*, 99, 8.  
 Conqueß, *sb.*, conquest, *Mach.*, 83, 14; conqesh, *Mach.*, 88, 23; *pl.*, conquesches, *Mach.*, 99, 31.  
 Consawe, *infin.*, to conceive, *Tr.*, 105, 44; conceive, *Mach.*, 108, 25; 111, 11; 128, 27; 140, 26; conceive, *Tr.*, 62, 112; 70, 88; *pt. ptc.*, concaued, *Ans.*, 43, 16; concaued, *Ans.*, 33, 18; conceived, *Mach.*, 96, 24; 133, 16.  
 Consience, *sb.*, understanding, *Mach.*, 150, 21.  
 Consel, *infin.*, to advise, *Ans.*, 24, 16.  
 Consell, *sb.*, advice, *Mach.*, 102, 22; *pl.*, consells, *Mach.*, 82, 15; 131, 26.  
 Consequence, *sb.*, conclusion, *Ans.*, 42, 26.  
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 Consequentlie, *adv.*, in succession, *Rep.*, 182, 7.  
 Consist, *infin.*, to exist, *Tr.*, 102, 142.  
 Consort, *sb.*, company, *Tr.*, 104, 12.  
 Conspirancie, *sb.*, conspiracy, *Mach.*, 126, 6; conspurance, *Mach.*, 126, 16; 128, 7.  
 Constructed, *pt. ptc.*, construed, *Seq.*, 222, 4.  
 Cont, *sb.*, account, *Mach.*, 142, 19.  
 Conteaned, conteanit. See Contening.  
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 Contempned, *pt. ptc.*, despised, *Mach.*, 125, 2.  
 Contemptebill, *adj.*, contemptible; *Tr.*, 119, 52; contemtebill, *Mach.*, 107, 24; 115, 24; contemnebill, *Mach.*, 134, 25; contemple, *Mach.*, 125, 8; contemple, *Mach.*, 147, 33; contemnetible, *Mach.*, 125, 20.  
 Contemtion, *sb.*, contempt, *Ans.*, 22, 7.  
 Contenance, *sb.*, continuance, *Mach.*, 76, 34; 90, 7; 135, 35; 141, 18; continance, *Mach.*, 79, 30.  
 Contenency, *sb.*, duration, *Mach.*, 122, 1.

- Conteneunance, *miswriting for* 'conteneunance,' *Mach.*, 154, 26.
- Containing, *pres. ptc.*, containing, *Ans.*, 22, 28 : *pt. ptc.*, conteaned, *Ans.*, 62, 3 ; conteanit, *Ans.*, 53, 5 ; conteined, *Ans.*, 60, 17 ; contenit, *Ans.*, 63, 11 ; 66, 34.
- Content, *adj.*, pleasing, *Tr.*, 90, 107.
- Conterevin, *infin.*, to contravene, *Mach.*, 123, 20.
- Continance. *See* Contenance.
- Contrair, *adj.*, *sb.*, and *prep.*  
 (a) *adj.*, contradictory, contrary, *Seq.*, 221, 6 ; *Ans.*, 10, 13, 21 ; 34, 22 ; *Mach.*, 98, 17 ; 129, 9 ; 141, 8 ; 159, 26 ; contrare, *Tr.*, 72, 150 ; 116, 102 : (b) *sb.*, the contrary, *Ans.*, 23, 4 ; 24, 10 ; 27, 16 ; 43, 19 ; *Mach.*, 80, 21, &c. ; contraire, *Mach.*, 81, 19 ; contrare, *Mach.*, 78, 28 : *pl.*, contrairs, *Tar.*, 180, xl, 13 ; 204, 13 ; contrars, *Tr.*, 129, 78 : (c) *prep.*, against, *Ans.*, 9, 9 ; 14, 21 ; 23, 1 ; 33, 22 ; 37, 2 ; 39, 15 ; 56, 26 ; *Mach.*, 103, 2 ; contrair to, *Ans.*, 23, 15 ; *Mach.*, 130, 35 ; contrair vnto, *Ans.*, 22, 35 ; 60, 11 ; 63, 26 ; contrar, *Tr.*, 42, 153 ; contrar vnto, *Ans.*, 31, 2 ; contrare in, *Tr.*, 50, 86 ; 70, 104 ; 122, 123.
- Contraited, *pt. ptc.*, contracted, *Tr.*, 114, 49.
- Contrarieties, *sb.*, *pl.*, discrepancies, *Ans.*, 59, 30.
- Contrould, *pt. ptc.*, mastered, *Tr.*, 45, 222.
- Conuene, *infin.*, to meet, *Ans.*, 23, 34 : 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, conueneth, *Mach.*, 158, 14 : *imperat.*, conveine, *I.*, 3, 5 : *pres. ptc.*, conveining, *Mach.*, 147, 27.
- Conuince, *infin.*, to overcome, *Ans.*, 51, 24 : *pt. ptc.*, conuincit, *Ans.*, 42, 38 (= convicted) ; *Ans.*, 64, 27 (= proved).
- Convenient, *adj.*, proper, *Ans.*, 59, 7 ; *Mach.*, 157, 18 ; proportionate, *Rep.*, 190, 31.
- Convert, *infin.*, to turn towards, *Tr.*, 36, 4 ; 41, 120 ; 69, 50 ; conwert, *Tr.*, 112, 2 : convertis, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, turns, *Tr.*, 56, 224 : *pt. ptc.*, conwert, *Tr.*, 60, 68 ; 95, 348.
- Copper, *sb.*, cupbearer, *Rep.*, 186, 8, 11.
- Corpß, *sb.*, body, *Tr.*, 81, 120 ; 133, 202 ; *Death*, 241, 52 ; 242, 70.
- Cors, *Tr.*, 34, 200, &c. ; *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 8 ; *Ps.*, 279, 119 ; 283, 26 ; *sb.*, body, corpse, *Tr.*, 44, 204 ; *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 13 ; 210, lxxiv, 11 ; corß, *Tr.*, 34, 199 ; 61, 96 : *pl.*, corß, *Tr.*, 98, 43.
- Corps, *miswriting for* 'corps,' *Ps.*, 275, 8.
- Cosmogarpher, *sb.*, cosmographer, *I.*, 397, 25.
- Cost, *pt. ptc.*, bought, *Son.*, 253, 5.
- Couartlie, *adv.*, cowardly, *Ans.*, 23, 34.
- Could, *adj.*, cold, *Tr.*, 55, 214 ; 58, 20 ; *Tar.*, 211, 1 ; coulde, *Tr.*, 64, 165 ; 93, 187 ; 120, 82.
- Coulerable, *adv.*, convincingly, *Mach.*, 122, 27.
- Couleur, *sb.*, colour, *Tar.*, 158, 2 ; *Seq.*, 216, 1 ; coulour, *Rep.*, 192, 20 ; cullour, *Tr.*, 52, 117 ; 56, 238 : *pl.*, coleurs, *Ans.*, 56, 35 ; collours, *Rep.*, 192, 35 ; colors, *Rep.*, 193, 6 ; couleurs, *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 3 ; *Misc.*, 131, 41 ; *Ans.*, 30, 20 ; coulours, *Rep.*, 190, 33 ; colour, *sb.*, pretext, *Mach.*, 75, 15 ; couleur, *Mach.*, 118, 15, 21 ; 132, 16 ; coulour, *Ans.*, 26, 35.
- Coulour, *infin.*, to disguise, *Ans.*, 22, 16. *See also* Couleur.
- Council, counsel. *See* Concel.
- Counsall, *sb.*, counsel, *Ans.*, 22, 12 ; 61, 30.
- Counterfeit, *pt. ptc.*, imitated, *Rep.*, 190, 33.
- Counterpaise, *infin.*, to counterbalance, *Ps.*, 287, 151.
- Countrie, *sb.*, country, *Mach.*, 79, 16 ; country, *Mach.*, 76, 34 ; *Rep.*, 189, 15 ; contrie, *Mach.*, 79, 12 ; contrye, *Mach.*, 83, 18 ; cuntre, *Rep.*, 177, 34 ; cuntrie, *Mach.*, 83, 21 ; *Rep.*, 171, 9 ; cuntrye, *Mach.*, 76, 34 ; *Rep.*, 189, 15 : *pl.*, countrieis, *Mach.*, 74, 5 ; countrieyes, *Mach.*, 75, 34.

- Coupe, *sb.*, cup, *Tr.*, 40, 91.  
 Courteß, *adj.*, courteous, *Tr.*, 101, 118: *superl.*, courtesest, *Tr.*, 59, 46.  
 Cousing, *sb.*, cousin, *Ans.*, 28, 1.  
 Coutche, *sb.*, couch, *Doubt.*, 384, 190.  
 Coverterye, *sb.*, pretext, *Mach.*, 75, 16.  
 Craig, *sb.*, neck, *Ans.*, 25, 29.  
 Crased, *pt. ptc.*, shattered, *Tr.*, 109, 157.  
 Crawes, *sb.*, *pl.*, crows, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 12.  
 Creat, *pt. ptc.*, created, *Tr.*, 78, 28; *Ps.*, 275, 10; *Mach.*, 130, 35.  
 Creddill, *sb.*, cradle, *Tr.*, 124, 180.  
 Credeit, *pt. ptc.*, believed, *Ans.*, 26, 6.  
 Cregs, *Seq.*, 225, 4: *sb.*, *pl.*, crags.  
 Crommes, *sb.*, *pl.*, crumbs, *Tr.*, 81, 102; *cromms*, *Doubt.*, 386, 264.  
 Cruetie, *sb.*, cruelty, *Mach.*, 75, 17.  
 Crwiked, *adj.*, crooked, *Tr.*, 58, 10.  
 Cuist. See Cwist.  
 Culd, *vb.*, could, *Tr.*, 16, 19, &c.; *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 14; 153, xix, 3; *Ans.*, 30, 9; 31, 22; 56, 12; 62, 24; 64, 16; *Mach.*, 72, 24, *et passim*; *Rep.*, 172, 5; 173, 8.  
 Cullour. See Couleur.  
 Cum, *infin.*, to come, *Tr.*, 57, 265; 64, 164; 106, 71; 118, 17; *Ps.*, 285, 87; *Misc.*, 314, 54; *Ans.*, 13, 3; 30, 26; 33, 9; *cume*, *Tr.*, 55, 201; *Son.*, 249, 4: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *cumeth*, *Mach.*, 158, 33; *cumith*, *Ans.*, 66, 30; *cummeth*, *Tr.*, 84, 201; *Ps.*, 280, 181; *Ans.*, 51, 30; 54, 22; *Mach.*, 80, 34; 106, 6; 112, 5; 146, 26; 163, 25; *cummith*, *Ans.*, 64, 19; *cumes*, *Mach.*, 164, 1; *cumis*, *Death*, 233, 6; *cummis*, *Ps.*, 280, 176; *cums*, *Tr.*, 28, 57; *Ans.*, 15, 3; *Mach.*, 81, 18: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *commeth*, *Mach.*, 107, 12; 116, 24; *cums*, *Ans.*, 14, 21: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, *come*, *Ans.*, 24, 18: *pt. ptc.*, *commed*, *Mach.*, 82, 4; 99, 33; *cumd*, *Ps.*, 281, 208; *cumed*, *Tr.*, 119, 30; *cumit*, *Ans.*, 59, 10; *cummed*, *Tr.*, 90, 108; *Mach.*, 163, 23: *pres. ptc.*, *cumming*, *Ans.*, 23, 5; *Mach.*, 79, 23; 138, 21; *Rep.*, 173, 17: *vbl. sb.*, *cumming*, *Ans.*, 53, 28; *Mach.*, 80, 26.  
 Cumelie, *adj.*, comely, *Tr.*, 84, 194; 109, 132; 112, 7; *cumlie*, *Tr.*, 74, 194; *cumlye*, *Tr.*, 50, 73; *cumly*, *Ans.*, 29, 24.  
 Cummer, *sb.*, distress, *Tr.*, 58, 9; *Ans.*, 21, 23.  
 Cumpanye, *sb.*, bodyguard, *Mach.*, 134, 5; *company*, *Tr.*, 60, 77, &c.: *pl.*, *cumpaneis*, *Tr.*, 79, 62; *cumpanyeis*, *Mach.*, 102, 12; *cumpanyes*, *Mach.*, 74, 19.  
 Cunze, *sb.*, coin, *Misc.*, 320, 21.  
 Cupidineous, *adj.*, loving, *Seq.*, 224, 6.  
 Cushen, *sb.*, cushion, *Rep.*, 178, 30: *pl.*, *cushons*, *Rep.*, 178, 34.  
 Custumed, *pt. ptc.*, accustomed, *Tr.*, 124, 166.  
 Cwist, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, *cast*, *Tr.*, 88, 57: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *cuist*, *Misc.*, 311, 10; *Mach.*, 130, 8.  
 Daft, *adj.*, foolish, *Tr.*, 122, 112; *Tar.*, 190, lii, 8.  
 Daith, *sb.*, death, *Ans.*, 53, 20.  
 Damageble, *adj.*, injurious, *Mach.*, 136, 23; *damnageble*, 119, 32.  
 Damme, *sb.*, dame, *Tar.*, 174, 9; *deame*, *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 13.  
 Damnabill, *adj.*, disastrous, *Mach.*, 149, 32.  
 Damnageble. See Damageble.  
 Damnefyed, *pt. ptc.*, wronged, *Mach.*, 74, 15; 116, 23; 127, 4.  
 Dant, *infin.*, to tame, *Tar.*, 200, 12.  
 Dantoned, *pt. ptc.*, defeated, *Mach.*, 99, 16; *dantound*, *Tr.*, 67, 2.  
 Dark, *infin.*, to darken, *Tr.*, 23, 7; *darke*, *Doubt.*, 353, 7: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *darks*, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 6.  
 Darkfull, *adj.*, dark, *Death*, 233, 8.  
 Darr, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *dare*, *Doubt.*, 382, 109.  
 De, *infin.*, to die, *Tar.*, 176, 9; *dee*, I, 6, 3; *Tr.*, 106, 49; *Tar.*, 203, 4; *Seq.*, 216, 14; *Doubt.*, 342, 15: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *dyese*, *Doubt.*, 360, 11: *pres. ptc.*, *deing*, *Tr.*, 84, 204; *Tar.*, 196, lx, 14; *dieing*, *Tr.*, 56, 232: *pt. ptc.*, *deid*, *Tr.*, 22,

- 9; 58, 20; *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 6; *Mach.*, 136, 8; *deitt*, *Tr.*, 124, 181.
- Deadlye, *adj.*, dead, *Doubt.*, 342, 12.
- Deame. *See* Damme.
- Deargy, *sb.*, dirge, *Doubt.*, 368, 41.
- Debait, *sb.*, strife, *Tr.*, 105, 28.
- Debord, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, overflow, *Mach.*, 157, 8: *pt. ptc.*, deborded, *Mach.*, 156, 24.
- Debordit, *pt. ptc.* of 'debord' used as *adj.*, shameless, *Ans.*, 27, 3, 12; deborded, *Mach.*, 73, 8.
- Deburden, *inf.*, to unburden, *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 10: *pt. ptc.*, deburdend, *Tar.*, 174, 12.
- Decent, *adj.*, becoming, *Ans.*, 20, 33.
- Decerne, *inf.*, to discern, *Ans.*, 34, 30; *deserne*, *Mach.*, 149, 2: discerned, *pt. ptc.*, diagnosed, *Mach.*, 80, 27: *decernit*, *pt. ptc.*, decreed, *Ans.*, 21, 8; 31, 18; marked off from all else, *Ans.*, 43, 19.
- Declynde, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, averted, *Tr.*, 99, 30.
- Decore, *inf.*, to adorn, *Tr.*, 21, 16; *Death*, 235, 12; 239, 10; *Son.*, 256, 9; *Misc.*, 314, 75; *Ans.*, 10, 31; *Rep.*, 172, 1; 193, 24: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *decores*, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 11: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *decore*, *Tar.*, 199, 3: *pres. ptc.*, *decoring*, *Tr.*, 78, 30; *Tar.*, 156, 4: *pt. ptc.*, *decord*, *Tr.*, 31, 116; 61, 87; 78, 43; 133, 205; *decored*, *Rep.*, 178, 10; 180, 28; 192, 14; *decorit*, *Ans.*, 10, 16; 31, 35; 62, 38.
- Decreits, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *decrees*, *Ans.*, 38, 17.
- Decreß, *inf.*, to decrease, *Seq.*, 221, 10; *decreß*, *Misc.*, 315, 92.
- Decyphered, *pt. ptc.*, represented, *Tr.*, 22, 18.
- Deface, *inf.*, to cast in the shade, *Tr.*, 19, 12; to extinguish, *Tr.*, 67, 2; 80, 92; 107, 84: *defaces*, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *extinguishes*, *Tr.*, 22, 22: *defaist*, *pt. ptc.*, *undone*, *Tr.*, 107, 97; 127, 37; *Death*, 237, 10.
- Defaist. *See* Deface.
- Defait (1), *sb.*, defeat, *Tr.*, 74, 203; 99, 53.
- Defait (2), *inf.*, to defeat, *Tr.*, 101, 106; *Pest*, 304, 20: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, *defaited*, *Tr.*, 70, 102: *pt. ptc.*, *defait*, *Tr.*, 72, 134; *Mach.*, 75, 25; 102, 16; *defaist*, *Death*, 234, 5.
- Defame, *sb.*, disgrace, *Tr.*, 76, 248.
- Defloring, *vbl. sb.*, deflowering, *Mach.*, 125, 13.
- Deforst, *pt. ptc.*, put out of possession, *I*, 9, 4.
- Defuse, *inf.*, to dissipate, *Son.*, 264, 4.
- Degendring, *vbl. sb.*, degenerating, *Son.*, 256, 11.
- Degest, *pt. ptc.*, considered, *Ans.*, 45, 24: *degestit*, *pt. ptc.*, dissipated, *Ans.*, 22, 22.
- Degrees, *sb.*, *pl.*, steps (of a stair), *Rep.*, 180, 31, 33.
- Deid (1), *sb.*, death, *Tr.*, 109, 143; *deide*, *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 7.
- Deid (2), *adj.*, dead, *Tr.*, 87, 35; 97, 10; 118, 11; *Tar.*, 191, liv, 2; *Death*, 239, 4; *Mach.*, 136, 8.
- Deidlie, *adj.*, deadly, *Tr.*, 79, 58; *Death*, 240, 18.
- Deiected, *pt. ptc.*, expelled, *Mach.*, 154, 26.
- Deif, *adj.*, deaf, *Tar.*, 146, viii, 11; *deife*, *Seq.*, 225, 6; *deiff*, *Tr.*, 128, 73.
- Deir, *inf.*, to hurt, *Tr.*, 80, 86; *Tr.*, 88, 70.
- Deirlye, *adj.*, dear, *Tr.*, 43, 164.
- Delashe, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, unloose, *Tr.*, 122, III.
- Delicaces, *sb.*, *pl.*, luxury, *Mach.*, 133, 21.
- Demaning, *vbl. sb.*, treatment, *Ans.*, 25, 6.
- Demereit, *i sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *deserve*, *Ans.*, 31, 12: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *demereted*, *Tr.*, 104, 16: *pt. ptc.*, *demereit*, *Death*, 237, 12.
- Denns, *sb.*, *pl.*, 'deep hollows between woods' (Jamieson), *Tr.*, 62, 120.
- Denud, *adj.*, lacking in, *Ps.*, 279, 119.
- Denunce, *inf.*, to proclaim, *Tar.*, 170, 4.

- Depaint, *infin.*, to describe, *Tr.*, 23, 4; 114, 61; *Tar.*, 136, 6; *pt. ptc.*, depaint, *Tr.*, 104, 14; depainted, *Doubt.*, 369, 10; depanted, *Tr.*, 92, 156; depaint, *pt. ptc.* as *adj.*, suffused, *Tr.*, 42, 148; depainted, *Tr.*, 70, 86; 78, 22; *Son.*, 263, 9.
- Depairt, *infin.*, to separate, *Doubt.*, 377, 33.
- Depant. See Depaint.
- Deploration, *sb.*, lament, *Misc.*, 307, 1.
- Depose, *infin.*, to lay down, *Tr.*, 76, 244.
- Deprehend, *infin.*, to detect, *Ans.*, 56, 22; *pt. ptc.*, reprehendit, *Ans.*, 49, 23.
- Depress, *infin.*, to suppress, *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 11.
- Derec, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, aim, *Seq.*, 219, 3; *Ans.*, 29, 13.
- Derne, *adj.*, secret, *Tr.*, 75, 222.
- Derogats, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, takes away, *Ans.*, 52, 26.
- Desait, *sb.*, deceit, *Tr.*, 77, 6.
- Desart, *sb.*, dessert, *Rep.*, 195, 1; desert, *Rep.*, 190, 23.
- Descerned. See Decerne.
- Descryve. See Descrywe.
- Descrywe, *infin.*, to describe, *Tr.*, 22, 3; 97, 16; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, descryve, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 6.
- Deserne. See Decerne.
- Desoluing, *vbl. sb.*, confuting, *Ans.*, 45, 31; desoluit, *pt. ptc.*, sundered, *Ans.*, 61, 27.
- Destinat, *pt. ptc.*, destined, *Mach.*, 162, 4.
- Destine, *sb.*, destiny, *Tr.*, 78, 28; *pl.*, destins, *Tar.*, 144, 5. (Fr. *destin.*)
- Destitute, *pt. ptc.*, appointed, *Tr.*, 106, 72.
- Detect, *infin.*, to betray, *Tr.*, 34, 202; to disclose, *Tr.*, 73, 174.
- Detcind. See Detene.
- Detene, *infin.*, to detain, *Tr.*, 130, 128; *pt. ptc.*, detcind, *Seq.*, 227, 6.
- Deuot, *adj.*, devout, *Ans.*, 20, 15; devote, *Son.*, 261, 6.
- Deuotelle, *adv.*, devoutly, *Ans.*, 65, 35; devoltlye, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 4.
- Devert, *infin.*, to avert, *Mach.*, 80, 20, 33; to turn away, *Mach.*, 125, 9; 158, 26; *pt. ptc.*, devert, *Tar.*, 154, 9; *Son.*, 220, 6; deverted, *Mach.*, 159, 30.
- Devoltlye. See Deuotelle.
- Devord. See Dewouer.
- Devote, *pt. ptc.*, devoted to the service of the gods, *Tr.*, 100, 81. See also Deuot.
- Dew, *sb.*, tribute, *Tr.*, 64, 176.
- Dewoide, *adj.*, empty, *Tr.*, 57, 261.
- Deworst, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, separated, *Tr.*, 122, 128.
- Dewouer, *infin.*, to devour, *Tr.*, 82, 130; dovoure, *Doubt.*, 372, 87; *pt. ptc.*, devord, *Doubt.*, 393, 9.
- Dewyne, *infin.*, to guess, *Tr.*, 42, 149.
- Dialecticiner, *sb.*, logician, *Ans.*, 40, 11; 47, 17.
- Diffeired, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, delayed, *Mach.*, 135, 2; *pt. ptc.*, diffeired, *Mach.*, 81, 8; diffeirred, *Mach.*, 96, 4; differred, *Mach.*, 85, 5.
- Difficil, *adj.*, difficult, *Ans.*, 21, 20; *Mach.*, 135, 12; 158, 25.
- Diffigurating, *pres. ptc.*, disfiguring, *Ans.*, 25, 19.
- Dight, *infin.*, to clothe, *Doubt.*, 353, 3.
- Diminish, *miswriting for* 'diminish,' *Mach.*, 88, 19.
- Ding, *infin.*, to cast down, *Tr.*, 43, 169; *Tar.*, 172, 2; to knock, *Ans.*, 23, 26; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, dingeth, *Tr.*, 120, 55; 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, dingeth, *Tr.*, 68, 29; *pt. ptc.*, dounge, *Tr.*, 42, 148; 107, 82.
- Disadvantageable, *adj.*, disadvantageous, *Mach.*, 141, 29.
- Disconceat, *sb.*, unpopularity, *Mach.*, 120, 5; disconceate, *Mach.*, 140, 37.
- Disconformable, *adj.*, different, *Mach.*, 129, 15; 136, 5; disconformable, *Mach.*, 158, 12.
- Discover, *infin.*, to reveal, *Ans.*, 27, 34; 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, discovereth, *Ps.*, 298, 110; *pres. ptc.*, discouering, *Tr.*, 29, 65; *pt. ptc.*, discouered, *Ans.*, 57, 33; discouerit, *Ans.*, 23, 7.
- Discreit, in, *miswriting for* 'indiscreit,' *Tr.*, 30, 110.
- Discretioun, *sb.*, power, *Mach.*, 146, 28.

- Discurse, *infin.*, to discourse, *Mach.*, 91, 4: *pres. ptc.*, discoursing, *Mach.*, 109, 8.
- Disease, *sb.*, decease, *Death*, 240, 8; discease, *Mach.*, 142, 6.
- Diseis, *sb.*, disease, *Tr.*, 92, 175; dis-sease, *Mach.*, 80, 23.
- Disequall, *adj.*, unequal, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 13.
- Disfavored, *pt. ptc.*, disliked, *Mach.*, 154, 7.
- Disfigurat, *pt. ptc.*, disfigured, *Ps.*, 276, 53.
- Disglore, *sb.*, dishonour, *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 9.
- Disione, *sb.*, breakfast, *Ans.*, 27, 7.
- Disobleish, *infin.*, to disengage, *Mach.*, 92, 33.
- Dispachte, *imperat.*, dispatch, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 14.
- Dispairitly, *adv.*, desperately, *Ans.*, 33, 27.
- Disparpled, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, scattered, *Tr.*, 101, 101.
- Dispeyse, *sb.*, contempt, *Mach.*, 135, 1.
- Dispeysed, *pt. ptc.*, despised, *Mach.*, 134, 25.
- Displesant, *adj.*, displeasing, *Ans.*, 19, 17.
- Displeasantlye, *adv.*, unpleasantly, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 13.
- Dispoylze, *infin.*, to despoil, *Mach.*, 138, 29.
- Dispresed, *pt. ptc.*, dispraised, *Mach.*, 84, 6.
- Disprovyded, *adj.*, unprovided, *Mach.*, 90, 8.
- Dispryse, *sb.*, contempt, *Mach.*, 131, 27.
- Dispyte, *infin.*, to despise, *Tr.*, 120, 72.
- Dispytfull, *adj.*, malignant, *Tr.*, 31, 132.
- Disqyet, *infin.*, to disturb, *Mach.*, 77, 32.
- Disreulit, *pt. ptc.*, unregulated, *Ans.*, 59, 10.
- Disrotted, *pt. ptc.*, destroyed, *Mach.*, 162, 1.
- Dissaitfull, *adj.*, deceitful, *Ans.*, 53, 27.
- Dis-sease. See Diseis.
- Dissemble, *adv.*, with dissembling, *Mach.*, 152, 2.
- Dissempbland, *pres. ptc.*, dissembling, *Tar.*, 151, xvi, 4.
- Dissunder, *infin.*, to sever, *Tar.*, 168, 14; *Mach.*, 118, 5; 146, 3: *pt. ptc.*, dissundered, *Mach.*, 161, 22.
- Distant, *adj.*, intervening, *Tr.*, 121, 105.
- Disteats, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, ? , *Son.*, 271, 4.
- Distings, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, distinguishes, *Tr.*, 114, 55.
- Diursion, *sb.*, ruin, *Mach.*, 106, 9.
- Dochters. See Doughter.
- Docteurs, *sb.*, *pl.*, the doctors of the church, *Ans.*, 13, 24; 31, 26; 54, 24; learned men, *Ans.*, 37, 17; 43, 14.
- Doctreine, *sb.*, doctrine, *Ans.*, 37, 8, &c.; doctrene, *Ans.*, 20, 21.
- Doggish, *adj.*, churlish, *Tr.*, 115, 91.
- Dolent, *adj.*, grievous, *Tr.*, 46, 246; 48, 19; grieving, *Doubt.*, 353, 1.
- Dolleurs. See Dollour.
- Dollour, *sb.*, grief, *Tr.*, 60, 67; 72, 147; 80, 86; *Ps.*, 278, 103: *pl.*, dolleurs, *Tar.*, 179, 5; dollours, *Tar.*, 178, 5; *Doubt.*, 354, 24.
- Dolts, *sb.*, *pl.*, fools, *Tr.*, 62, 110.
- Dombe. See Dum.
- Dome, *sb.*, judgment, *Tr.*, 51, 115; 109, 156; 114, 50; *Ans.*, 31, 18.
- Dommage, *sb.*, hurt, *Tr.*, 52, 137; 81, 120; *Tar.*, 186, 14: *pl.*, dommages, *Mach.*, 89, 26.
- Doole, *sb.*, grief, *Tr.*, 24, 12, &c.; *Tar.*, 146, 11, &c.; *Ps.*, 274, 46; *Misc.*, 313, 55.
- Doolefull, *adj.*, grievous, *Tr.*, 56, 220; dullfull, *Son.*, 255, 12.
- Dortye, *adj.*, dirty, *Seq.*, 215, 2.
- Dotish, *adj.*, foolish, *Ans.*, 34, 29.
- Douce, *adj.*, gentle, *Tr.*, 30, 109; 63, 142; 91, 128; 101, 107; dowce, *Tr.*, 105, 35.
- Doughter, *sb.*, daughter, *Son.*, 258, 11: *gen. sing.*, dochters, *Tr.*, 73, 185.
- Doung. See Ding.
- Dounsyid, up and, *adv.*, upside-down, *Tr.*, 33, 190.
- Dovoure. See Dewouer.
- Dow, *sb.*, dove, *Tr.*, 52, 120.
- Dowce. See Douce.
- Draught, *sb.*, drawing, *Tr.*, 66, 216.
- Dreadour, *sb.*, fear, *Mach.*, 122, 8.

- Dreavin, *pt. ptc.*, driven, *Tr.*, 88, 58; dreuen, *Son.*, 264, 9; drewin, *Tr.*, 62, 126.
- Drift, *sb.*, delay, *Tr.*, 40, 102; passage of time, *Tr.*, 99, 58.
- Drifts (1), *sb., pl.*, aims, *Mach.*, 82, 4.
- Drifts (2), 2 *sing., pres., indic.*, delayest, *Tar.*, 182, xliii, 12.
- Drone, *infin.*, to drown, *Tar.*, 174, 14.
- Dronkin, *adj.*, drunken, *Tr.*, 109, 144. *Cf.* Drukkin, Drunkt.
- Drouth, *sb.*, thirst, *Ans.*, 21, 36; drouthe, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 10.
- Drukkin, *adj.*, drunken, *Misc.*, 262, xv, 18; xvi, 8; *Ans.*, 28, 17. *Cf.* Dronkin, Drunkt.
- Drunkt, *pt. ptc.*, drunk, I, 395, II. *Cf.* Dronkin, Drukkin.
- Drywe, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, draw, *Tr.*, 17, 15; 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, dryweth, *Tr.*, 16, 28.
- Dulce, *adj.*, sweet, *Rep.*, 194, 22.
- Dullfull. *See* Doolefull.
- Dum, *adj.*, dumb, *Seq.*, 227, 14; dume, *Tr.*, 55, 202; dombe, *Tr.*, 57, 272; *Tar.*, 146, viii, 11; 195, 9.
- Dur, *sb.*, door, *Ans.*, 50, 34.
- Dure, *adj.*, hard, *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 5.
- Dureur, *sb.*, obstinacy, *Mach.*, 85, 15.
- Duskish, *adj.*, dark, *Tr.*, 28, 60; 65, 190; 132, 157.
- Dwkes, *sb., pl.*, generals, *Tr.*, 109, 152.
- Dwyne, *infin.*, to waste away, *Tar.*, 186, 13; *pres. ptc.*, duyning, *Death*, 238, 2.
- Dyell, *sb.*, sun-dial, *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 9.
- Dykis, *sb., pl.*, ditches, *Tr.*, 62, 120.
- Dytement, *sb.*, indictment, *Ans.*, 34, 14.
- Ease, easee, easie, easele, easelie. *See* Esie, Esilie.
- Ee, *sb.*, eye, *Tr.*, 37, 4; 66, 217; 89, 89; 129, 77; *pl.*, ees, *Seq.*, 226, 13; *Mach.*, 80, 35; eeyes, *Tr.*, 25, 27; eis, *Tr.*, 32, 164; *Tar.*, 187, 4; eyeis, *Tr.*, 27, 47; eys, *Mach.*, 79, 29; eyse, *Mach.*, 119, 4; ene, *Tr.*, 49, 47; 58, 13; 73, 167; 126, 18; eyne, *Tr.*, 24, 14; *Seq.*, 218, 2; *Death*, 241, 25; *Son.*, 248, 9; *Doubt.*, 337, 10.
- Effaires, *sb., pl.*, affairs, *Tr.*, 90, 97; effairis, *Tr.*, 99, 51.
- Effaist, 3 *sing., pret.*, drove away, *Tr.*, 100, 98.
- Effecteously, *adv.*, effectively, *Ans.*, 14, 3.
- Effectionat, *adj.*, affectionate, *Ans.*, 10, 28.
- Effectionis, *sb., pl.*, affections, *Ans.*, 19, 11.
- Effectuat, *infin.*, to effect, *Tr.*, 74, 213; *Mach.*, 163, 15; effectuate, *Mach.*, 83, 27; *pt. ptc.*, effectuat, *Mach.*, 151, 27; *vbl. sb.*, effectuating, *Mach.*, 119, 5; 126, 33.
- Efter, *adv., prep., and conj.*, after. (a) *adv., Ans.*, 47, 20; 61, 26; *Mach.*, 99, 28; 134, 8; 142, 10; 144, 20; 150, 25; *Rep.*, 175, 3; 191, 11; (b) *prep., Ans.*, 17, 2, &c.; *Mach.*, 78, 32, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 22; (c) *conj., Ans.*, 61, 31; *Mach.*, 100, 3; 142, 2.
- Efter hend, *adv.*, afterwards, *Ans.*, 67, 11; efterhend, *Mach.*, 104, 9.
- Efterwart, *adv.*, afterwards, *Tr.*, 29, 66; *Ans.*, 41, 25; 45, 13; *Mach.*, 133, 1; afterward, *Mach.*, 75, 9; 90, 6; 104, 13.
- Efter yat, *conj.*, after, *Mach.*, 102, 27; 105, 11.
- Eild, *sb.*, age, *Tr.*, 120, 75.
- Embosserie, *sb.*, ?, *Rep.*, 176, 33; 177, 32.
- Embroidered, *pt. ptc.*, embroidered, *Tr.*, 27, 63. *Cf.* Imbroudered.
- Emnee. *See* Enmeye.
- Empair, *infin.*, to hinder, *Tr.*, 41, 126; 2 *sing., pres., indic.*, empareth, *Mach.*, 86, 2.
- Empareth. *See* Empair.
- Empesche. *See* Empesh.
- Empesh, *infin.*, *Tr.*, 48, 34; empesche, *Mach.*, 79, 23; impeache, *Ps.*, 277, 74; 3 *pl., pret.*, impeshed, *Mach.*, 132, 23; *pt. ptc.*, empesched, *Mach.*, 143, 7; *Rep.*, 179, 8; empeshed, *Mach.*, 84, 28; impeached, *Tr.*, 74, 214; impeshed, *Rep.*, 178, 9.
- Emplasters, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, plasters, *Tr.*, 109, 154.

- Empreur, *sb.*, emperor, *Mach.*, 100, 8; 114, 36; 130, 35; 132, 13; 151, 14; *emproeir*, *Mach.*, 103, 12; *empriour*, *Tr.*, 31, 118; *Ans.*, 41, 1, 4; *emprouer*, *Mach.*, 132, 26: *pl.*, *emproueris*, *Tr.*, 80, 100; *emprouers*, *Mach.*, 129, 8; 130, 3, 16; 136, 19.
- Empriour, *sb.*, the Roman emperor, *Mach.*, 119, 30. *See also* Empreur.
- Emproeir, *emprouer*. *See* Empreur.
- Enchace, *infin.*, to provide a setting for, *Doubt.*, 369, 12.
- Encres, *infin.*, to increase, *Tar.*, 180, xl, 10; *encreß*, *Tr.*, 60, 70; *increß*, *Tr.*, 54, 190; 94, 224; 114, 54; 118, 15: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *inccressis*, *Ans.*, 10, 19: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *inccres*, *Tr.*, 54, 190: *imperat.*, *inccresse*, *Ans.*, 57, 32: *pres. ptc.*, *enccressing*, *Tr.*, 17, 7; *enccressing*, *Ans.*, 24, 27: *pt. ptc.*, *enccrest*, *Tr.*, 49, 52; *inccressit*, *Ans.*, 21, 32; *inccrest*, *Tr.*, 109, 134: *vbl. sb.*, *enccressing*, *Mach.*, 79, 24.
- Endeued, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, *endowed*, *Ans.*, 22, 8: *pt. ptc.*, *endeued*, *Mach.*, 126, 9; *indeuit*, *Ans.*, 43, 29; *indewed*, *Tr.*, 15, 24; 98, 29; *Mach.*, 108, 33; *indewit*, *Ans.*, 50, 17; *Mach.*, 148, 18. (From O.F. *enduire*—Lat. *inducere*; Eng. *endow* is from O.F. *endouer*—Lat. *indotare*.)
- Endeuoir, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *endeavour*, *Ans.*, 19, 8.
- Endomaging, *vbl. sb.*, *damaging*, *Mach.*, 146, 24.
- Ene. *See* Ee.
- Enhawse, *infin.*, to enhance, *Tr.*, 16, 22.
- Enough. *See* Aneugh.
- Enmeye, *sb.*, enemy, *Mach.*, 78, 24; 89, 18; 109, 9; 138, 19; 139, 9; *enmeie*, *Mach.*, 98, 19; 142, 12; *enmie*, *Mach.*, 97, 36; *ennemie*, *Mach.*, 103, 27; 154, 8; *ennmie*, *Mach.*, 96, 15; *emnee*, *Mach.*, 84, 29; *emneye*, *Mach.*, 98, 32: *gen.*, *sing.*, *emneyes*, *Mach.*, 81, 8: *pl.*, *enimyes*, *Mach.*, 74, 21; *enmeies*, *Mach.*, 130, 23; *enmeyeis*, *Mach.*, 96, 7; *emneyes*, *Mach.*, 89, 21; *ennemyeis*, *Mach.*, 101, 8.
- Enseinge, *sb.*, *ensign*, *Tr.*, 38, 47; 54, 182; *enseingzie*, *Tr.*, 78, 21.
- Ensew, *infin.*, to follow, *Tr.*, 37, 2; 86, 1; to turn out, *Tr.*, 79, 70; to issue, *Tar.*, 158, 11.
- Enteres, *sb.*, entrance, *Tr.*, 65, 195.
- Entertein, *infin.*, to maintain, retain, *Mach.*, 162, 18; *entereteine*, *Ans.*, 32, 31; *Mach.*, 154, 20; *entertene*, *Mach.*, 140, 38; *entertenye*, *Mach.*, 77, 24; 78, 15: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *entertenethe*, *Mach.*, 148, 10: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *enterteyen*, *Mach.*, 94, 13: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *entertained*, *Mach.*, 139, 13; *intertened*, *Mach.*, 139, 16: *pres. ptc.*, *enterteyning*, *Mach.*, 79, 36; *entertenying*, *Mach.*, 115, 10; *enterteyning*, *Mach.*, 132, 1: *pt. ptc.*, *entertened*, *Mach.*, 80, 6; 137, 5; *intertened*, *Mach.*, 77, 26; 100, 35; *interteyned*, *Mach.*, 100, 32.
- Enterteiner, *sb.*, patron, *Mach.*, 147, 10.
- Entertened, *entertenye*, *enterteyan*. *See* Entertein.
- Entrated. *See* Entreat.
- Entreat, *infin.*, to treat, *Mach.*, 111, 4; *entreate*, *Mach.*, 73, 6; 95, 11; *intreat*, *Ans.*, 43, 17: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *entreat*, *Mach.*, 85, 13: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *entrated*, *Mach.*, 127, 35; 108, 18.
- Enuegh, *miswriting for* 'enough,' *Ps.*, 285, 110.
- Epigramins, *sb.*, *pl.*, *epigrams*, *Ans.*, 28, 33, 37.
- Ergo, *sb.*, conclusion, *Ans.*, 52, 11.
- Err, *infin.*, to roam, *Tr.*, 58, 12.
- Eschew, *infin.*, to avoid, *Mach.*, 147, 6; *eshew*, *Tr.*, 69, 66; 76, 248; *Mach.*, 128, 5: *pt. ptc.*, *eschewed*, *Mach.*, 150, 2; *eschewed*, *Mach.*, 146, 34: *vbl. sb.*, *escheueing*, *Mach.*, 85, 2; *eshewing*, *Mach.*, 115, 24.
- Esie, *adj.*, easy, *Mach.*, 76, 2; ease, *Mach.*, 72, 19; *easee*, *Mach.*, 80, 26; *easeie*, *Mach.*, 80, 20.



- Esilie, *adv.*, easily, *Ans.*, 27, 5 ;  
 easele, *Mach.*, 80, 28 ; easeleie,  
*Mach.*, 78, 9 ; easelye, *Mach.*,  
 76, 10.  
 Especies, *sb.*, *pl.*, kinds, *Rep.*, 185,  
 29.  
 Esperance, *sb.*, hope, *Tr.*, 94, 230 ;  
*Ans.*, 57, 31.  
 Estait, *sb.*, state, *Tr.*, 81, 104 ;  
*Tar.*, 191, liii, 11 : estate, *sb.*,  
 the State, *Mach.*, 85, 28.  
 Eterne, *adj.*, eternal, *Tr.*, 37, 26 ;  
*Seq.*, 229, 3.  
 Eternise, *infin.*, to make eternal,  
*Tar.*, 143, 8 ; *Seq.*, 219, 11 :  
*pt. ptc.*, æternised, *Tr.*, 21, 19.  
 Ether. See Ather.  
 Ethik. See Eticque.  
 Eticque, *adj.*, hectic (of fevers),  
*Mach.*, 106, 4 ; ethik, *Mach.*,  
 80, 25.  
 Euent, *sb.*, result, *Mach.*, 122, 5 ;  
 144, 11 ; happening, *Tr.*, 52,  
 134 ; *Mach.*, 102, 9.  
 Euerie, *miswriting for 'euer,'*  
*Tr.*, 89, 87.  
 Euery quhair, *adv.*, everywhere,  
*Tr.*, 129, 75 ; euerye wheare,  
*Tar.*, 199, 2.  
 Euiting, *vbl. sb.*, avoiding, *Mach.*,  
 85, 4 : *pt. ptc.*, euited, *Mach.*,  
 85, 5.  
 Exagitat, *infin.*, to attack vio-  
 lently, *Ans.*, 51, 9.  
 Excambion, *sb.*, exchange, *Tr.*,  
 42, 139.  
 Excerse, *sb.*, exercise, *Mach.*, 108,  
 11 ; 138, 6.  
 Excersered. See Exersing.  
 Exres, *infin.*, to grow, *Ans.*, 31,  
 23.  
 Execut, *pt. ptc.*, accomplished,  
*Ans.*, 34, 2 ; *Mach.*, 121, 7 ;  
 159, 8 ; execute, *Ans.*, 25, 5.  
 Exeimd, exeimd. See Exeme.  
 Exeme, *infin.*, to exempt, *Mach.*,  
 128, 26 : *pt. ptc.*, exeimd, *Death*,  
 235, 8 ; exemd, *Tar.*, 192, lv,  
 11 ; 211, 6 ; exemed, I, 3, 1.  
 Exersing, *pres. ptc.*, exercising,  
*Mach.*, 153, 18 : *pt. ptc.*, excers-  
 ered (*miswriting for 'excersed'*),  
*Mach.*, 101, 23.  
 Exhaults, I *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*,  
 exalts, *Seq.*, 230, 3.  
 Expeld, *pt. ptc.*, denied, *Tar.*,  
 208, 11.  
 Expnd, *infin.*, to consider, *Ans.*,  
 37, 15.  
 Expone, *infin.*, to explain, *Ps.*,  
 295, 10 ; *Ans.*, 38, 15 : expone,  
 I *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, expose,  
*Tar.*, 203, 8 : exponis, 3 *sing.*,  
*pres.*, *indic.*, expounds, *Ans.*,  
 63, 36 : exponis, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*,  
*indic.*, expose, *Tar.*, 181, lxi,  
 5 : exponit, *pt. ptc.*, explained,  
*Ans.*, 65, 31.  
 Exprobrated, *pt. ptc.*, reproached,  
*Mach.*, 119, 19.  
 Extemed, 2 *sing.*, *pret.*, esteemedst,  
*Doubt.*, 382, 117.  
 Extended, *pt. ptc.*, postponed,  
*Rep.*, 176, 30.  
 Extingisht. See Extingueshed.  
 Extingued, *pt. ptc.*, overthrown,  
*Mach.*, 98, 28.  
 Extinguesched, *pt. ptc.*, extin-  
 guished, *Mach.*, 163, 19 ; extin-  
 guished, *Mach.*, 93, 7 ; extin-  
 gisht, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiv, 4.  
 Extraordinar, *adj.*, extraordinary,  
*Ans.*, 24, 25 ; 68, 9.  
 Extraordnarie, *adj.*, extraordinary,  
*Mach.*, 130, 17 ; 143, 13 ; 163,  
 5 ; extraordinarye, *Mach.*, 72,  
 22 ; 76, 28 ; 114, 18 ; 144, 17.  
 Ey, *adv.*, always, *Tar.*, 173, 3 ;  
 197, lxiii, 6.  
 Facil, *adj.*, easily persuaded, *Ans.*,  
 34, 2 : facill, *adj.*, easy, *Ans.*,  
 24, 32 ; fluent, *Tr.*, 61, 90.  
 Fact, *sb.*, act, *Tr.*, 99, 56 ; *Ans.*,  
 26, 31 ; *Mach.*, 127, 24 ; 144,  
 18.  
 Factioners, *sb.*, *pl.*, factions, *Mach.*,  
 94, 14.  
 Faes, *sb.*, *pl.*, foes, *Mach.*, 144, 24,  
 Failzeing, *pres. ptc.*, failing, *Ans.*,  
 25, 31.  
 Faird, *sb.*, attack, *Tr.*, 122, 117.  
 Faits, *sb.*, *pl.*, deeds, *Mach.*, 115, 4.  
 Falce, *infin.*, to be false to,  
*Doubt.*, 344, 35 : *pt. ptc.*, falsed,  
*Doubt.*, 386, 253.  
 Falcefyd, *pt. ptc.*, as *adj.*, false,  
*Son.*, 248, 11.  
 Falding, *pres. ptc.*, closing, *Tr.*,  
 117, 138.  
 Fallou, *infin.*, to follow, *Ps.*, 299,  
 122 ; fallow, *Death*, 233, 9 ;  
*Ps.*, 292, 37 ; 295, 25 ; 298, 102 ;  
*Misc.*, 315, 94 ; *Mach.*, 83, 5,

- &c.*: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, falloweth, *Mach.*, 91, 4: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, falloueth, *Mach.*, 122, 9: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, falloued, *Mach.*, 81, 24; fallowed, *Mach.*, 151, 24: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, falloued, *Mach.*, 85, 18; fallowed, *Mach.*, 81, 19: *pres. ptc.*, following, *Mach.*, 99, 6: *pt. ptc.*, falloued, *Mach.*, 136, 29; *Rep.*, 177, 30; fallowed, *Mach.*, 105, 18; 106, 27; 115, 14; 158, 28: *vbl. sb.*, following, *Mach.*, 107, 18; 111, 18; 112, 28; fallowing, *Mach.*, 109, 27.  
 Follower, *sb.*, follower, *Rep.*, 189, 27: *pl.*, followers, *Mach.*, 100, 36.  
 Falsed. See Falce.  
 Falseoode, *sb.*, falsehood, *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 3.  
 Falsett, *sb.*, falsehood, *Tr.*, 126, 8. (*O.F. falset.*)  
 Fame, *sb.*, reputation, *Mach.*, 106, 19.  
 Fameil, *sb.*, family, *Ans.*, 37, 12.  
 Fand, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, found, *Tr.*, 19, 3 (b); *Mach.*, 94, 5; 105, 6; 143, 24; 158, 37: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *Mach.*, 80, 2: *pt. ptc.*, fand, *Mach.*, 94, 18; fund, *Ans.*, 49, 21; fond, *Mach.*, 98, 12; 111, 6.  
 Fangd, *pt. ptc.*, caught, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 10.  
 Farder (a), *adv.*, farther, *Tr.*, 56, 245; *Seq.*, 215, 14; *Ans.*, 14, 29; *Mach.*, 91, 25, *&c.*: (b) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 16, 29; *Tar.*, 158, 13; 207, 2; *Ans.*, 13, 17; 34, 34; *Mach.*, 129, 24. Cf. Farrer.  
 Farrer, *adv.*, farther, *Tr.*, 48, 21. Cf. Farder.  
 Faschon, *sb.*, manner, *Mach.*, 159, 29; *fashion*, *Mach.*, 111, 10.  
 Faschon, *pl.*, fassons, *Mach.*, 85, 16; fashons, *Mach.*, 99, 6; 132, 10; fascons, *Mach.*, 136, 22; 158, 11: fastion, *miswriting for* 'fassion,' method, *Mach.*, 113, 13. See also Fasson.  
 Fascon. See Faschon, Fasson.  
 Fasherye, *sb.*, annoyance, *Mach.*, 78, 22: *pl.*, fashereis, *Tr.*, 24, 11; 80, 82.  
 Fashons. See Faschon.  
 Fasson, *infin.*, to fashion, *Mach.*, 123, 12; 124, 11; faschon, *Mach.*, 159, 29; fascon, *Mach.*, 136, 30: *pt. ptc.*, faschond, *Mach.*, 137, 19; faschonit, *Mach.*, 149, 30.  
 Fassons. See Faschon.  
 Fastion. See Faschon.  
 Fatt, *adj.*, rich, *Tr.*, 60, 72; *Misc.*, 308, 15.  
 Faurisiers, *sb.*, *pl.*, favourers, *Ans.*, 32, 16.  
 Fauour, *infin.*, to resemble, *Tr.*, 33, 169.  
 Feading, *pres. ptc.*, as *adj.*, fading, *Seq.*, 216, 6; *Son.*, 252, 4.  
 Fearsnes, *sb.*, fierceness, *Tr.*, 30, 104; *Mach.*, 159, 7; fearceneß, *Mach.*, 134, 30; fearsenes, *Mach.*, 133, 23; ferceneß, *Mach.*, 135, 8.  
 Feate, *adj.*, becoming, *Tr.*, 90, 100.  
 Feaver, *sb.*, fever, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 1; feueur, *Mach.*, 80, 25: *pl.*, feaveris, *Tr.*, 88, 63; feavers, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 14; feawers, *Tr.*, 52, 142; fewers, *Misc.*, 320, 6.  
 Feaverous, *adj.*, feverish, *Tr.*, 53, 143.  
 Februar, *sb.*, February, *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 6.  
 Fechehe. See Fechte.  
 Fechte, *infin.*, to fetch, *Seq.*, 218, 8; fechehe, *Son.*, 259, 10.  
 Fechting. See Feght (2).  
 Feed. See Feid.  
 Feght (1), *sb.*, warfare, *Tr.*, 105, 20; *Tar.*, 148, xii, 10; feyght, *Tr.*, 69, 56.  
 Feght (2), *infin.*, to fight, *Mach.*, 105, 26; 118, 34: *pres. ptc.*, fechting, *Ps.*, 281, 202.  
 Feghting, *sb.*, combat, *Tr.*, 71, 122; *Mach.*, 154, 33.  
 Feid, *sb.*, feud, *Ans.*, 31, 15; feed, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 5; *Rep.*, 184, 23.  
 Feinzeis, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, feigns, *Ans.*, 40, 8: *pt. ptc.*, feinzeid, *Ans.*, 21, 19; feinzeit, *Tr.*, 19, 9 (b); *Ans.*, 22, 12; 49, 16; 57, 12; feinzet, *Tar.*, 151, xvi, 4; feinzit, *Ans.*, 26, 25.  
 Felt, *sb.*, the stone, *Misc.*, 320, 6.  
 Fereth, *adj.*, ? untimely, *Tr.*, 60, 62.

- Ferme, *adj.*, firm, *Tr.*, 126, 1; *Tar.*, 182, xlv, 1; 211, 5; *Son.*, 263, 8: *comp.*, fermour, *Tr.*, 22, 16.
- Ferse, *adj.*, fierce, *Tr.*, 45, 228; 73, 183; 79, 72; 99, 58; 106, 57; fearse, *Tr.*, 51, 91; 101, 117; 114, 48; *Tar.*, 144, 5; 153, xix, 1; 172, 5; *Mach.*, 133, 9; ferß, *Tr.*, 45, 233: *superl.*, fercest, *Mach.*, 80, 2.
- Ferslie, *adv.*, fiercely, *Tr.*, 100, 78; feirslie, *Tr.*, 40, 105; feirslye, *Tr.*, 114, 57.
- Feuerlyk, *adv.*, feverishly, *Misc.*, 309, 2.
- Figured, *pt. ptc.*, imagined, *Mach.*, 111, 14.
- Fit forces, *sb., pl.*, infantry, *Mach.*, 100, 30.
- Fitmen, *sb., pl.*, infantry, *Mach.*, 77, 24; 78, 16; futmen, *Mach.*, 101, 2; 105, 16; 135, 32.
- Fitsteppe, *sb.*, footstep, *Tr.*, 78, 34: *pl.*, fitsteppis, *Tr.*, 56, 233; fitstepps, *Tr.*, 86, 5; 110, 188; fitsteps, *Ans.*, 67, 21; futstepps, *Tr.*, 96, 373; *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 1; *Mach.*, 134, 13; 136, 29; futsteps, *Ans.*, 58, 9.
- Fixt, *miswriting for 'fix,' Tr.*, 33, 188.
- Flamd, *pt. ptc.*, set on fire, *Tar.*, 211, 4.
- Flamms, *sb., pl.*, the object of love, *Tr.*, 49, 46.
- Flaughts, *sb., pl.*, flakes, *Tr.*, 102, 130.
- Flaw, *infin.*, to flow, *Mach.*, 151, 6.
- Fleish, *infin.*, to fleece, *Tr.*, 54, 177; *Mach.*, 114, 24.
- Fleit, *infin.*, to float, *Tr.*, 50, 90; *Son.*, 257, 13; *Doubt.*, 358, 12; 367, 5, 19: 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, fleit, *Tr.*, 54, 166: *imperat.*, fleit, *Ps.*, 279, 150: *pres. ptc.*, fleiting, *Tar.*, 174, 8; fleting, *Tr.*, 45, 231.
- Flematyke, *adj.*, phlegmatic, *Doubt.*, 373, 115.
- Flie, *sb.*, moth, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 1.
- Flight (1), *sb.*, power of flight, *Tr.*, 65, 207; 68, 25.
- Flight (2), *sb.*, end, *Tr.*, 121, 89.
- Flitt, *infin.*, to pass away, *Tr.*, 123, 158.
- Floachs, *sb., pl.*, flakes, *Seq.*, 218, 7.
- Flokkis, *sb., pl.*, flakes, *Tr.*, 84, 208.
- Flookes, *sb., pl.*, flat-fish, *Rep.*, 193, 28.
- Floorish, *adj.*, flowery, *Tr.*, 95, 344.
- Flowris, in hir, *phr.*, in her prime of life, *Tr.*, 43, 170.
- Flyte, *infin.*, to scold, *Tr.*, 54, 176.
- Foirknaw, *infin.*, to fore-know, *Ans.*, 31, 1.
- Fond. See Fand.
- Fondlye, *adv.*, foolishly, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 3.
- Fondness, *sb.*, want of judgment, *Rep.*, 191, 12.
- For-argument, *sb.*, argument already used, *Ans.*, 44, 29.
- Forbears, *sb., pl.*, ancestors, *Ans.*, 30, 15.
- Forcasten, *pt. ptc.*, planned beforehand, *Mach.*, 151, 23.
- Forceable, *adj.*, efficacious, *Mach.*, 86, 11; forceble, *Mach.*, 126, 27.
- Forder. See Farder.
- Forduard (a), *adv.*, forward, *Mach.*, 159, 13; fordward, *Tr.*, 16, 13; 28, 38; 111, 189; *Rep.*, 191, 11; fordward, *Tr.*, 74, 187; 75, 215; 103, 159; *Ans.*, 25, 12; *Rep.*, 191, 2; fordword, *Tar.*, 204, 11: (b) fordward, *adj.*, forward, *Tr.*, 48, 34; 66, 217; 89, 92; *Misc.*, 308, 1; fordvard, *adj.*, bold, *Mach.*, 144, 25. Cf. Fordwartis.
- Forduardnes, *sb.*, boldness, *Mach.*, 134, 30; fordwardnes, *Mach.*, 92, 31.
- Fordurder, *miswriting for 'fordermore,' Mach.*, 105, 4.
- Fordward, fordward. See Forduard.
- Fordwartis. See Forwards.
- Fordword. See Forduard.
- Foreknowledge, *sb.*, foreknowledge, *Ans.*, 30, 31.
- Forespokin, *pt. ptc.*, prophesied, *Ans.*, 43, 8.
- Foresterne, *sb.*, prow, *Rep.*, 190, 34.
- Forlorned, *adj.*, hopeless, *Ps.*, 279, 130.
- Formest (a), *adv.*, foremost, *Tr.*, 59, 42; formast, *Tr.*, 83, 172: (b) *adj.*, foremost, *Tr.*, 42, 145; 99, 48; 113, 24.

- Fornent, *prep.*, opposite, *Rep.*, 189, 21.
- Forrane, *adj.*, foreign, *Mach.*, 72, 22; forren, *Mach.*, 142, 4.
- Forrener, *sb.*, foreigner, *Mach.*, 105, 25.
- Forret, *sb.*, forehead, *Tr.*, 105, 36; forrett, *Tr.*, 53, 161; 61, 99; 70, 80; *Tar.*, 157, 1.
- Forse, *infin.*, to foresee, *Mach.*, 120, 4; 126, 21; forsie, *Mach.*, 130, 12.
- Forspoken, *pl. ptc.*, already mentioned, *Mach.*, 81, 24.
- Forsuith, *adv.*, forsooth, *Tr.*, 83, 155.
- Fortald, *pl. ptc.*, foretold, *Ans.*, 31, 1.
- For that, *conj.*, because, *Tr.*, 26, 26, &c.
- Fort he, *miswriting for* 'for the,' *Mach.*, 101, 14.
- Forther, *adv.*, farther, *Tr.*, 60, 78. *Cf.* Forder.
- Forth of. *See* Furth.
- Fortioun. *See* Fortoun.
- Fortoun, *sb.*, fortune, *Tr.*, 30, 91, &c.; *Tar.*, 150, 3; *Mach.*, 72, 19, &c.; fortoune, *Mach.*, 146, 11; fortioun, *Rep.*, 177, 22.
- FortresB, *sb.*, fortress, *Mach.*, 142, 15; fortrest, *Tr.*, 77, 3.
- Foruardlye, *adv.*, boldly, *Mach.*, 145, 33.
- Forwards, *adv.*, forward, *Tr.*, 58, 1; fordwartis, *Tr.*, 59, 64.
- Fosteres, *sb.*, foster-parent, *Rep.*, 189, 20.
- Foundator, *sb.*, founder, *Tr.*, 103, 156.
- Fourmes, *sb., pl.*, benches, *Rep.*, 182, 11.
- Fousseis, *sb., pl.*, ditches, *Mach.*, 101, 11. (*Fr.* fossé.)
- Fowle, *sb.*, bird, *Tr.*, 45, 236; *pl.*, foules, *Doubt.*, 340, 29.
- Fra, *prep.*, from, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 11; 161, xxviii, 5; 190, lii, 13; 207, 2; 211, 6; *Seq.*, 225, 4; 230, 2; *Son.*, 248, 3; *Misc.*, 309, 20; *Ans.*, 25, 24; 33, 8; 34, 22; 46, 24; 59, 9; 60, 33; 64, 21; 66, 31; *Mach.*, 87, 3; 88, 19, &c.; fro, *Seq.*, 224, 4; *Ps.*, 291, 12; 293, 61; fra of, *prep.*, from, *Mach.*, 161, 2.
- Fraudfull, *adj.*, fraudulent, *Ans.*, 58, 8.
- Fray, *sb.*, fear, *Tr.*, 57, 256; 65, 198; 68, 47; 82, 132; *Ps.*, 281, 197; *pl.*, frayes, *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 12.
- Fred. *See* Frie (1).
- Freind, *sb.*, friend, *Tr.*, 29, 61, &c.; *Ans.*, 52, 21; *Mach.*, 127, 12; frind, *Doubt.*, 344, 7; *pl.*, freindis, *Ans.*, 15, 5; freinds, *Mach.*, 81, 35; frends, *Mach.*, 82, 9; frindes, *Doubt.*, 364, 6.
- Freinzeis, *sb., pl.*, fringes, *Tr.*, 104, 15; ornaments, *Tr.*, 16, 12.
- Freiris, *sb., pl.*, friars, *Ans.*, 32, 12.
- Fresed. *See* Frise.
- Fretts, *sb., pl.*, sulky moods, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 9.
- Frie (1), *infin.*, to free, *Tr.*, 50, 83; *pl. ptc.*, fred, *Tar.*, 198, 6.
- Frie (2), *adj.*, free, *Tr.*, 23, 3; *Ans.*, 31, 4; *Mach.*, 156, 18.
- Frind. *See* Freind.
- Frindely, *adv.*, friendly, *Doubt.*, 385, 230.
- Frise, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, freeze, *Son.*, 269, xxiii, 4; *pl. ptc.*, fresed, *Tr.*, 82, 154; frosen, *Tr.*, 25, 13.
- Friol, *adj.*, frivolous, *Ans.*, 51, 20; 53, 11; friuole, *Ans.*, 22, 10.
- Fro, *miswriting for* 'for,' *Son.*, 249, 14.
- Fro. *See* Fra.
- Frowar, *adj.*, unlucky, *Tr.*, 109, 153; froward, *adj.*, stubborn, *Tr.*, 73, 181.
- Frutages, *sb., pl.*, fruits, *Rep.*, 188, 14; 189, 5.
- Fuit, *sb.*, foot, *Mach.*, 93, 27; fute, *Tr.*, 127, 40; fwte, *Tr.*, 66, 217; fit, *Mach.*, 79, 12.
- Fulfield, *pl. ptc.*, completely filled, *Tr.*, 18, 4.
- Fume, *sb.*, smoke, *Tr.*, 124, 168; *Death*, 238, 4.
- Fund. *See* Fand.
- Fundation, *sb.*, foundation, *Ans.*, 46, 19; 67, 2; fondation, *Mach.*, 136, 34.
- Fureur, *sb.*, fury, *Mach.*, 142, 7.
- Furneis, *imperat.*, furnish, *Pest*, 304, 29; 3 *sing., pret.*, furnished, *Mach.*, 105, 4; *pl. ptc.*, fur-

- neshed, *Mach.*, 76, 28; 97, 16; 112, 15; 123, 29; furnesit, *Mach.*, 149, 4: *vbl. sb.*, furneshing, *Mach.*, 85, 8.
- Furth (a), *adv.*, out, *Tr.*, 30, 113; *&c.*; *Tar.*, 210, lxiii, 7; *Death*, 241, 25; *Son.*, 243, 7; *Ans.*, 30, 27; 53, 12; 65, 27; *Mach.*, 112, 1; 127, 27; 143, 6; 145, 23; 151, 2; furthe, *Tr.*, 65, 196; *Tar.*, 142, v, 5; *Mach.*, 76, 5; 152, 11; *Rep.*, 177, 30; openly, *Tr.*, 92, 171; 131, 138; furthe, *Tr.*, 132, 160; abroad, *Tr.*, 74, 202; 83, 176; 91, 146; 94, 215; up, *Tr.*, 86, 18; (b) furth from, *prep.*, from, *Tr.*, 97, 3; *Mach.*, 138, 23; furthe from, *Tr.*, 118, 1; furth of, *Tr.*, 52, 118; 69, 68; 71, 129; *Tar.*, 162, 4: (c) furth of, *prep.*, out of, *Tar.*, 162, 4; *Ps.*, 298, 119; *Ans.*, 13, 23; 37, 16; *Mach.*, 71, 3; 100, 19, *&c.*; furthe of, *Tr.*, 70, 84; *Seq.*, 218, 16; furth off, *Mach.*, 77, 28; furth owt of, *Tr.*, 61, 83; 72, 144: (d) furth of, *prep.*, outside of, *Mach.*, 132, 19.
- Furthye, *adj.*, rash, *Mach.*, 160, 3.
- Fute, futemen, futsteps. *See* Fuit, Fitmen, Fitsteppe.
- Fwirde, *sb.*, ford, *Tr.*, 128, 67.
- Fyill, *sb.*, file, *Doubt.*, 395, 8.
- Fyld, *pt. ptc.*, defiled, *Ps.*, 286, 124.
- Fyne, *sb.*, end, *Tr.*, 120, 78; *Ps.*, 276, 26; *Doubt.*, 379, 16.
- Fyre, *infin.*, to burn, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 2.
- Gabart, *sb.*, cloak, *Ans.*, 26, 26.
- Gaif. *See* Gif (1).
- Gaist, *sb.*, the Holy Ghost, *Ans.*, 31, 36; 38, 25; 60, 23; 61, 3.
- Galiard, *adj.*, vigorous, *Mach.*, 139, 26.
- Gant, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, yawn, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 3.
- Gar, *infin.*, to cause, *Mach.*, 161, 7.
- Garyshed, *pt. ptc.*, adorned, *Mach.*, 131, 37.
- Gasts, *sb.*, *pl.*, guests, *Ps.*, 282, 21.
- Gendred, *pt. ptc.*, begotten, *Tr.*, 30, 107; 95, 324.
- Generous, *adj.*, high-born, *Tr.*, 15, 14.
- Geometrien, *sb.*, geometer, *Tr.*, 114, 61.
- Geue. *See* Gif (1).
- Geuin at, *conj.*, granted that, *Ans.*, 26, 33.
- Geules, *adj.*, gules, *Rep.*, 192, 35.
- Gevar, *sb.*, giver, *Mach.*, 115, 16; gever, *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 14: *pl.*, gevars, *Mach.*, 112, 7; gevers, *Mach.*, 150, 29.
- Ghaislie, *adj.*, ghastly, *Tr.*, 78, 41.
- Ghaist, *sb.*, spirit, *Tr.*, 78, 41. *Cf.* Gaist.
- Gif (1), *infin.*, to give, *Tr.*, 56, 219; 117, 137; 124, 170; 131, 146; *Pest.*, 303, 27; giwe, *Tr.*, 74, 199; 117, 137; geue, *Ans.*, 14, 7; geve, *Mach.*, 150, 22: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, geveth, *Mach.*, 127, 7: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, geveth, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 8; *Mach.*, 116, 21; gius, *Seq.*, 217, 14: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, gif, *Tr.*, 80, 79: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, gaif, *Tr.*, 63, 158: *imperat.*, geue, *Ans.*, 68, 15: *pres. ptc.*, geaving, *Mach.*, 143, 6; geving, *Tar.*, 203, 14; *Mach.*, 89, 15; 147, 28; gevin, *Tr.*, 50, 76: *pl. ptc.*, geuen, *Mach.*, 144, 12; geuin, *Ans.*, 62, 6; geven, *Son.*, 257, 5; *Ps.*, 286, 125; 290, 56; *Mach.*, 83, 11; 96, 19; 106, 7; 150, 29; *Rep.*, 177, 24; gevin, *Mach.*, 138, 6; 152, 9: *vbl. sb.*, geuin, *Ans.*, 53, 34.
- Gif (2), *conj.*, if, *Tr.*, 40, 99, *&c.*; *Tar.*, 136, 3, *&c.*; *Seq.*, 216, 5; 224, 13; *Death*, 238, 5; 241, 45; *Son.*, 248, 1; 257, 1; *Misc.*, 310, 18; 312, 21; *Ans.*, 21, 8; 24, 22; 43, 34; 51, 22; 53, 3; 55, 33; 62, 10; *Mach.*, 72, 21, *&c.*; *Rep.*, 177, 9, 33; giue, *Misc.*, 312, 19; gif that, *Tr.*, 40, 99; 93, 194; *Mach.*, 114, 36.
- Girnis, *sb.*, *pl.*, snares, *Tr.*, 56, 228; *Tar.*, 162, 14; girns, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 1; 149, xiv, 11; 208, 2; *Mach.*, 122, 4.
- Giue, gius, giwe. *See* Gif.
- Glaikis, *sb.*, *pl.*, fool, *Ans.*, 27, 20.
- Glad, *infin.*, to gladden, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 9; *Misc.*, 318, 22; glaid, *Tr.*, 53, 145: *pl. ptc.*, glad, *Tr.*, 89, 95.

- Glainers, *sb., pl.*, gleaners, *Misc.*, 311, 23.  
 Glaspé, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, clasp, *Tar.*, 157, 10.  
 Gled, *adj.*, glad, *Ans.*, 61, 8.  
 Gleites, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, glitter, *Doubt.*, 351, 3.  
 Glewe (1), *sb.*, glue, *Seq.*, 225, 7; bird-lime, *Tar.*, 149, xiv, 11; 162, 14.  
 Glewe (2), *infin.*, to fasten attentively on, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 3.  
 Gloir, *sb.*, glory, *Tr.*, 124, 168; *Ans.*, 29, 33; 35, 15; 37, 2; gloire, I, 3, 8; glore, *Tr.*, 21, 18, &c.; *Tar.*, 136, 14; 166, 12; 191, liv, 13; 206, 1; *Seq.*, 223, 2; *Death*, 234, 11; *Son.*, 256, 8; *Ps.*, 276, 24; *Misc.*, 310, 12.  
 Glord, *pt. ptc.*, glorified, *Ps.*, 278, 96.  
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 Glore, 1 *pl., pres., indic.*, glory, *Tr.*, 60, 80.  
 Glorious, *adj.*, boastful, *Misc.*, 328, xix, 11.  
 Glosd, *pt. ptc.*, deceived, *Tar.*, 198, 11.  
 Goleinzeis, *sb., pl.*, tricks, *Ans.*, 34, 23.  
 Gottin, *infin.*, to receive, *Tr.*, 106, 53; *pt. ptc.*, gotten, *Misc.*, 309, 3.  
 Gould, *sb.*, gold, *Tr.*, 45, 221; 81, 126; 82, 138; goulde, *Tr.*, 54, 187; gowld, *Son.*, 253, 6.  
 Gouldin, *adj.*, golden, I, 394, 1.  
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 Greaués, *sb., pl.*, groves, *Doubt.*, 340, 31.  
 Greiff, *infin.*, to grieve, *Tr.*, 95, 341; grewe, *Tr.*, 38, 41; griwe, *Tr.*, 44, 210; 3 *pl., pres., indic.*, greuin, *Ans.*, 26, 4; *pt. ptc.*, griud, *Tar.*, 151, xvi, 2.  
 Greis, *sb., pl.*, steps of a stair, *Tr.*, 65, 187.  
 Greit. See Grit.  
 Greizelie, *adj.*, grisly, *Tr.*, 78, 41.  
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 Grie, *infin.*, to agree, *Tr.*, 116, 126.  
 Grit, *adj.*, great, *Tr.*, 33, 178; 37, 30; 42, 152; 43, 178; 97, 17; 119, 43; *Son.*, 253, 6; *Ans.*, 9, 14, &c.; gritt, *Tr.*, 59, 50; *Misc.*, 328, xix, 1; gret, *Mach.*, 104, 18; *Rep.*, 195, 29; greit, *Tr.*, 31, 118, &c.; *Tar.*, 136, i, 11; grat, *Mach.*, 121, 12; *comp.*, gretar, *Tr.*, 17, 28, &c.; *Tar.*, 144, 14; 192, lv, 1; *Death*, 235, 14; *Ps.*, 283, 36; *Mach.*, 76, 31; 89, 18, &c.; greter, *Mach.*, 72, 27; 78, 36, &c.; gritter, *Ans.*, 10, 16; 26, 20; 29, 29; 33, 3; 42, 20, 26; 46, 1; 54, 28; *superl.*, gretast, *Tr.*, 30, 97; 108, 113; gretest, *Tr.*, 15, 20; 98, 37; 104, 37; 108, 116; *Tar.*, 148, xii, 2; *Ps.*, 279, 125; *Mach.*, 82, 28; 88, 27, &c.; greatist, *Mach.*, 148, 15.  
 Grittumlie, *adv.*, greatly, *Ans.*, 24, 2; grittumly, *Ans.*, 24, 14; grettumlye, *Mach.*, 92, 30; gretumlye, *Mach.*, 99, 10; 126, 4; 132, 2.  
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 Grucht, *infin.*, to grudge, *Tr.*, 73, 170.  
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 Gud, *sb.*, property, *Mach.*, 118, 23; guds, *pl., Mach.*, 78, 25; 113, 16; 117, 26, &c. See also Guid.  
 Gudhap, *sb.*, good fortune, *Mach.*, 99, 7.  
 Gudlie, *adj.*, goodly, *Mach.*, 130, 24; gudlye, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 6.  
 Gudnes, *sb.*, goodness, *Mach.*, 94, 20; 106, 2; 119, 17; 131, 21, &c.  
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 Gudwill, *sb.*, goodwill, *Mach.*, 141, 7.  
 Guid, *adj.*, good, *Ans.*, 10, 27; 14, 4, 5; 26, 2; 27, 29; 30, 7; 39, 32; 43, 19; 50, 29; 52, 5; 56, 5; *Mach.*, 158, 35; gud, *Tar.*, 182, xliv, 8; *Death*, 241, 36; *Misc.*, 312, 17; *Ans.*, 14, 12; *Mach.*, 76, 35; 81, 15, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 16; 189, 35; gude, *Tr.*, 39, 76; 59, 44; 63, 142; 80, 88; 107, 92.

- Guidshir, *sb.*, grandfather, *Tr.*, 49, 53; *Ans.*, 30, 3; gudschir, *Ans.*, 30, 11; gudshir, *Mach.*, 127, 28.
- Had. *See* Hald.
- Hagbutes, *sb.*, *pl.*, arquebuses, *Rep.*, 172, 25.
- Hagbutters, *sb.*, *pl.*, arquebusiers, *Rep.*, 180, 19.
- Haggard, *adj.*, rugged, *Tar.*, 136, 8; haggared, *Tar.*, 137, 8.
- Haif, *infin.*, to have, *Tr.*, 45, 239; 51, 106, &c.; *Pest*, 303, 22; *Ans.*, 23, 24; 37, 11; haiff, *Tr.*, 79, 63; hau, *Ans.*, 65, 4: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haif, *Tr.*, 53, 153, &c.; *Pest*, 303, 3; *Ans.*, 26, 9; haith, *Tar.*, 207, 3; hes, *Ans.*, 48, 11: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haest, *Son.*, 255, 4; haist, *Death*, 240, 13; haithe, *Seq.*, 227, 6; hath, *Ps.*, 277, 9; 288, 5; hathe, *Son.*, 268, 1; *Misc.*, 323, 12; haue, *Ps.*, 286, 109; heath, *Death*, 237, 12; hes, *Tr.*, 32, 147, &c.; *Tar.*, 170, 8, &c.; *Seq.*, 227, 8; *Death*, 241, 33; *Ans.*, 29, 30, &c.; *Mach.*, 74, 22, &c.; hest, *Tar.*, 153, xix, 13: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haith, *Mach.*, 79, 29; heath, *Ps.*, 287, 155; heathe, *Tr.*, 108, 120; hes, *Tr.*, 22, 9, &c.; *Ans.*, 9, 12, &c.; *Mach.*, 71, 8, &c.; heth, *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 3; *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 14; hethe, *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 2; 190, li, 7, &c.; *Seq.*, 217, 7; *Mach.*, 152, 12; his, *Tr.*, 86, 19: 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haif, *Ans.*, 33, 18; *Tr.*, 121, 108; hathe, *Tar.*, 190, lii, 10: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haif, *Tr.*, 79, 56; *Ans.*, 19, 15; 29, 36; haith, *Mach.*, 71, 11; 87, 24; haithe, *Seq.*, 229, 11; hath, *Tar.*, 136, 3; 140, 14; 160, xxvi, 11; *Misc.*, 308, 1; hathe, *Doubt.*, 379, 9; hes, *Tr.*, 22, 7, &c.; *Ans.*, 9, 14, &c.; *Mach.*, 76, 12, &c.; heth, *Tar.*, 141, iv (4), 14; *Mach.*, 126, 35; hethe, *Ans.*, 190, li, 4: 2 *sing.*, *pret.*, hed, *Tr.*, 37, 25: *pres. ptc.*, haifing, *Tr.*, 17, 26; heving, *Mach.*, 150, 25.
- Hail (1), *adj.*, whole, *Ans.*, 20, 27; 24, 4, &c.; *Mach.*, 78, 18; 101, 3; 122, 35; *Rep.*, 191, 3; haill, *Ans.*, 19, 13, &c.; hale, *Mach.*, 113, 17; 127, 34.
- Hail (2), *infin.*, to heal, *Tar.*, 188, 14; *Ps.*, 291, 4; haile, *Tar.*, 144, 12: *pt. ptc.*, hailit, *Ans.*, 56, 24; hailed, *Ans.*, 53, 39; haled, *Mach.*, 80, 38: *vbl. sb.*, hailing, *Ans.*, 56, 30.
- Hailsing, *vbl. sb.*, saluting, *Tr.*, 43, 176.
- Hailsome, *adj.*, wholesome, *Ans.*, 59, 24.
- Hairt, *sb.*, heart, *Death*, 233, 2, &c.; *Son.*, 248, 13; *Misc.*, 314, 67; hairte, *Death*, 238, 2; *Son.*, 256, 3; 269, 1; hart, *Tr.*, 24, 4, &c.; *Ans.*, 27, 22; *Mach.*, 117, 34; *Rep.*, 174, 18; *Tar.*, 136, 1, &c.; *Son.*, 248, 5; *Ps.*, 278, 111, &c.; harte, *Seq.*, 216, 4; hert, *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 2: *pl.*, hertis, *Ans.*, 26, 4; hairts, *Death*, 236, 8; *Son.*, 251, 2; hartis, *Tr.*, 64, 168; harts, *Tr.*, 15, 14, &c.; *Ans.*, 21, 38; 53, 32; *Mach.*, 126, 1; 137, 8; 153, 12.
- Hairtfully, *adv.*, wholly, *Death*, 236, 6.
- Haist. *See* Haif.
- Haith. *See* Haif.
- Hald, *infin.*, to hold, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 2; *Ans.*, 64, 13; *Mach.*, 138, 35; 141, 13; 147, 23; had, *Ans.*, 34, 23; *Mach.*, 139, 11; hould, *Tr.*, 87, 45: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, had, *Tar.*, 153, xx, 12; hald, *Tar.*, 157, 9: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, haldest, *Ans.*, 64, 14: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, halds, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 11: 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hald, *Ans.*, 66, 11: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hads, *Ps.*, 283, 26: *imperat.*, hald, *Ans.*, 64, 15; hould, *Tr.*, 121, 100: *pres. ptc.*, haldin, *Mach.*, 82, 35: *pt. ptc.*, hald, *Mach.*, 92, 21; halden, *Ans.*, 24, 6; 51, 3; 59, 12; haldin, *Ans.*, 50, 9; 52, 18; 60, 8; *Mach.*, 82, 35; holden, *Mach.*, 131, 25.
- Hale. *See* Hail (1).
- Halely, *adv.*, wholly, *Ans.*, 59, 10.

- Hales, *sb., pl.*, secret places, *Doubt.*, 340, 30.
- Halie, *adj.*, holy, *Ans.*, 50, 15, &c.; haly, *Ans.*, 31, 35, &c.; halye, *Ans.*, 38, 25; houlye, *Mach.*, 91, 21.
- Hals, *sb.*, neck, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 12.
- Halynes, *sb.*, holiness, *Ans.*, 32, 14; 50, 6.
- Hamber, *infin.*, to hammer, *Son.*, 260, 10.
- Hammers, *sb., pl.*, hammers, *Son.*, 210, 14.
- Hame, *sb.*, home, *Tr.*, 20, 7 (b).
- Hamlines, *sb.*, homeliness, *Misc.*, 313, 32.
- Hang. *See* Hing.
- Hant, *infin.*, to associate, *Tr.*, 107, 80.
- Hapelye, *adv.*, happily, *Mach.*, 85, 18.
- Harborow, *sb.*, harbour, *Rep.*, 192, 6; 195, 19; harbrough, *Tr.*, 79, 68.
- Harbrough. *See* Harborow.
- Hard. *See* Hairt.
- Harie, *adj.*, hoary, *Tr.*, 80, 81.
- Harlatric, *sb.*, harlotry, *Ans.*, 32, 1.
- Harld. *See* Hurler.
- Harnes, *sb., pl.*, brains, *Ans.*, 23, 29.
- Harralds, *sb., pl.*, heralds, *Tar.*, 170, 3; harroulds, *Tar.*, 171, 3; *Seq.*, 230, 8; herauldes, *Doubt.*, 346, 36; *Rep.*, 183, 1.
- Harroulds. *See* Harralds.
- Hart. *See* Hairt.
- Hart brek, *sb.*, heart-break, *Tr.*, 82, 145.
- Harty, *adj.*, heart-felt, *Ans.*, 58, 6; hartie, *Mach.*, 110, 1.
- Hasardful, *adj.*, rash, *Mach.*, 160, 3.
- Hate, *adj.*, hot, *Mach.*, 159, 35; *superl.*, hatest, *Tr.*, 63, 152.
- Hath. *See* Haif.
- Hau. *See* Haif.
- Hauelie, *adv.*, grievously, *Ans.*, 23, 21; heuely, *adv.*, heavily, *Ans.*, 48, 25.
- Haults, *sb., pl.*, ? sins of commission, *Ps.*, 285, 90.
- Havie, *adj.*, heavy, *Tr.*, 82, 147; 86, 20, &c.; *Mach.*, 134, 1; haue, *Ans.*, 26, 17.
- Hayle, *infin.*, to draw, *Tar.*, 148, xii, 13.
- He, *adj.*, high, *Doubt.*, 340, 51; hie, *Ans.*, 51, 7; 65, 29: on hee, *adv.*, on high, *Doubt.*, 369, 20. *Cf.* Heigh.
- Heading, *vbl. sb.*, beheading, *Tr.*, 102, 136.
- Heareshipp, *sb.*, inheritance, *Tr.*, 40, 95.
- Hearinges, *sb., pl.*, herrings, *Rep.*, 193, 28.
- Heate, *infin.*, to hate, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 1.
- Heath. *See* Haif.
- Heath, heth. *See* Haif.
- Heaven, *sb.*, haven, *Tar.*, 184, xlviii, 14.
- Hed. *See* Haif.
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- Heigh (1), *adj.*, high, *Tr.*, 31, 115; 77, 3; hyche, *Ans.*, 55, 8; hight, *Mach.*, 157, 5. *Cf.* He.
- Heigh (2), *sb.*, height, *Tr.*, 65, 189; high, *Tr.*, 119, 46. *Cf.* Hicht.
- Heir, *infin.*, to hear, *Tr.*, 29, 77, &c.; *Ans.*, 34, 18; here, *Tar.*, 203, 5; *Mach.*, 152, 1: 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, heir, *Tr.*, 93, 203; here, *Tar.*, 193, lviii, 5: 2 *pl., pres., indic.*, heres, *Tar.*, 136, 1; hiers, *Son.*, 258, 9: 1 *sing., pret.*, hard, *Tr.*, 33, 191, &c.; *Ans.*, 58, 24; herd, *Tr.*, 20, 13 (a): 3 *sing., pret.*, hard, *Tr.*, 84, 184: *imperat.*, hier, I, 394, 12: *pt. ptc.*, hard, *Tr.*, 32, 147; *Ps.*, 281, 200; *Misc.*, 326, xvi, 3; *Doubt.*, 351, 5; *Ans.*, 27, 8; 31, 26.
- Heire, *sb.*, hearing, *Tar.*, 188, 8.
- Hent, *pt. ptc.*, seized, *Doubt.*, 382, 124.
- Hereditaire, *adj.*, hereditary, *Mach.*, 71, 10; 136, 7.
- Herefterward, *adv.*, hereafter, *Mach.*, 96, 23.
- Heretrice, *sb.*, heiress, *Mach.*, 93, 22.
- Heritours, *sb., pl.*, heirs, *Ans.*, 37, 11.
- Hert. *See* Hairt.
- Hes, hest. *See* Haif.
- Heuk, *sb.*, sickle, *Seq.*, 225, 12.
- Heunlye, *adj.*, heavenly, *Tar.*, 158, 2; 160, xxv, 10; 184, xlvii, 7; 199, 11.

- Hicht, *sb.*, height, *Ans.*, 55, 18.  
*Cf.* Heigh.  
 Hie. *See* He.  
 Hienes, *sb.*, highness, *Rep.*, 171, 34.  
 Hieroglyphik, *adj.*, allegorical, *Rep.*, 188, 29; hieroglyphique, *Rep.*, 174, 11.  
 Hier. *See* Heir.  
 High, *height*. *See* Heigh (2).  
 Highnes, *sb.*, height, *Mach.*, 108, 17.  
 Hight, *infin.*, to promise, *Doubt.*, 383, 142; 385, 236: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hightes, *Doubt.*, 379, 15: heght, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, was called, *Tr.*, 74, 191; 102, 150: heght, *pt. ptc.*, called, *Tr.*, 76, 247.  
 Hightlie, *adv.*, highly, *Ans.*, 62, 38; higlye, *Ps.*, 282, 17; *Mach.*, 93, 24; 99, 36.  
 Higlye. *See* Hightlie.  
 Hindmest, *adv.*, hindmost, *Tr.*, 99, 47; hinmest, *Ans.*, 59, 27.  
 Hing, *infin.*, to hang, *Pest.*, 304, 6; *Ans.*, 58, 33; hinge, *Tr.*, 115, 74; *Doubt.*, 358, 8: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hingeth, *Ps.*, 295, 12; *Mach.*, 120, 3; hingis, *Tr.*, 129, 83: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, hang, *Tr.*, 108, 126: *pres. ptc.*, hinging, *Tr.*, 102, 128; *Ans.*, 58, 30.  
 Hinnmest. *See* Hindmest.  
 Hithertills, *adv.*, hitherto, *Mach.*, 163, 22.  
 Ho, *sb.*, halt, *Tr.*, 120, 62; *Doubt.*, 395, 32.  
 Holden. *See* Hald.  
 Hollilie, *adv.*, wholly, *Mach.*, 149, 18.  
 Holyne, *adj.*, holly, *Rep.*, 193, 34.  
 Honest, *adj.*, honourable, *Tr.*, 74, 214.  
 Honestie, *sb.*, honour, *Tr.*, 74, 210.  
 Hony, *miswriting for* 'ony,' *Tr.*, 58, 5.  
 Horloge, *sb.*, clock, *Son.*, 263, 1: horologe, *sb.*, sundial, *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 9.  
 Houe, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, am borne, *Doubt.*, 378, 63.  
 Hould. *See* Hald.  
 Houlye. *See* Halie.  
 Houp, *sb.*, hope, *Misc.*, 314, 64; *Ans.*, 14, 21; houpe, *Seq.*, 222, 13; *Ans.*, 10, 19.  
 Houpeth, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hopes, *Mach.*, 127, 8.  
 Houplless, *adj.*, hopeless, *Son.*, 270, 3.  
 Housald, *sb.*, household, *Ans.*, 37, 12.  
 Howboyes, *sb.*, *pl.*, hautbois, *Rep.*, 188, 6, &c.  
 How that, *conj.*, how, *Tr.*, 44, 196, &c.  
 Hoys, *infin.*, to hoist, *Doubt.*, 339, 2; *Rep.*, 195, 31: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, hoys, *Doubt.*, 349, 28: *imperat.*, hoys, *Doubt.*, 353, 13.  
 Hudge, in such, *adv. phr.*, so much, *Tr.*, 90, 118.  
 Humaine, *adj.*, human, *Son.*, 262, xvi, 1.  
 Humbilit, *pt. ptc.*, humbled, *Ans.*, 68, 19.  
 Humill, *adj.*, humble, *Tar.*, 137, 12: humillie, *adv.*, humbly, *Tar.*, 141, iv, 12.  
 Hunder, *adj.*, hundred, *Tr.*, 16, 2; 122, 135. *Cf.* Hundreth.  
 Hundreth, *adj.*, hundred, *Tr.*, 16, 20; *Ans.*, 25, 26; *Rep.*, 170, 4; 180, 19; hundereth, *Ans.*, 39, 4; hundredth, *Ans.*, 26, 10. *Cf.* Hunder. [O.N. *hundrað*.]  
 Hurlet, *pt. ptc.*, hurled, *Tr.*, 62, 125; harled, *Seq.*, 221, 3.  
 Hyche. *See* Heigh (1).  
 Hyde, *sb.*, the human skin, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 11.  
 Hydre, *sb.*, a dragon, *Rep.*, 178, 6.  
 Iem, *sb.*, gem, *Tr.*, 96, 375.  
 Iett, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, strut, *Doubt.*, 340, 56.  
 Ignomie, *sb.*, ignominy, *Ans.*, 31, 2.  
 Ignomyne, *sb.*, ignominy, *Mach.*, 112, 25.  
 Ignorantis, *sb.*, *pl.*, ignoramuses, *Tr.*, 62, 110; ignorants, *Ans.*, 37, 2.  
 Igrounde, *pt. ptc.*, ground, *Doubt.*, 386, 246.  
 Illiberal, *adj.*, niggardly, *Mach.*, 114, 1.  
 Illustrat, *infin.*, to make famous, *Tr.*, 15, 31; illustreit, *Mach.*, 161, 20.

- Illustre, *adj.*, illustrious, *Mach.*, 162, 21; 163, 16.  
 Illwillingnes, *sb.*, ill-will, *Mach.*, 115, 31.  
 Imbecillitie, *sb.*, inability, *Ans.*, 10, 13.  
 Imbringer, *sb.*, introducer, *Mach.*, 102, 16.  
 Imbroudered, *pt. ptc.*, embroidered, *Tr.*, 63, 159; 104, 15; inbroudered, *Tr.*, 16, 11. *Cf.* Embrodered.  
 Immixt, *infin.*, to mix, *Tr.*, 94, 213.  
 Impale, *infin.*, to enclose, I, 5, 4.  
 Impeache. *See* Empesh.  
 Impertinent, *adj.*, irrelevant, *Ans.*, 29, 3: impertinently, *adv.*, irrelevantly, *Ans.*, 13, 23; 37, 16.  
 Impetrat, *pt. ptc.*, sought, *Ans.*, 33, 8.  
 Impesched, impeshed. *See* Empesh.  
 Impest, *infin.*, to contaminate, *Pest*, 303, 30.  
 Imphe, *sb.*, offspring, *Doubt.*, 370, 13.  
 Importen, *pt. ptc.*, implied, *Ans.*, 27, 32.  
 Importune, *adj.*, importunate, *Tr.*, 78, 45.  
 Imprent, *imperat.*, print, *Tr.*, 96, 357: *pt. ptc.*, imprent, *Tr.*, 29, 81; imprented, *Tr.*, 91, 123; imprentit, *Ans.*, 68, 29.  
 Improue, *infin.*, to condemn, *Ans.*, 67, 11: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, improuis, *Ans.*, 31, 31: *pt. ptc.*, improuit, *Ans.*, 67, 28.  
 Impudencie, *sb.*, insolence, *Ans.*, 19, 16.  
 Imput, *pt. ptc.*, imputed, *Seq.*, 222, 8; impute, *Ans.*, 60, 23.  
 In, *prep.* (a) = into, *Tr.*, 44, 204; 72, 141; 113, 19; *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 3; *Ans.*, 43, 10; 68, 1: (b) = at, *Tr.*, 92, 178: (c) = on, *Tr.*, 58, 13; 69, 55; 79, 66.  
 Inarmed, *adj.*, unarmed, *Tr.*, 100, 91.  
 Inbeninge, *adj.*, unkind, *Tr.*, 102, 132.  
 Inbring, *infin.*, to bring in, *Tr.*, 109, 150; 131, 136: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, inbringis, *Tr.*, 88, 52; 128, 60.  
 Inbroudered. *See* Imbroudered.  
 Inburyie, *infin.*, to inter, *Misc.*, 309, 19.  
 Incace, *conj.* (a) if, *Tar.*, 184, xlvii, 5; *Mach.*, 78, 9, &c.; incaib, *Mach.*, 148, 10; incaß, *Mach.*, 148, 13: (b) lest, *Mach.*, 80, 33, &c.: (c) unless, *Mach.*, 138, 9; 140, 9; 150, 11: (d) incace that, *conj.*, if, *Mach.*, 155, 5.  
 Incaller, *sb.*, one who calls in, *Mach.*, 103, 24.  
 Incarnat, *adj.*, scarlet, *Tr.*, 78, 31; incarnatt, *Misc.*, 314, 61.  
 Incharme, *infin.*, to enchant, *Tr.*, 64, 168.  
 Inched, *pt. ptc.*, enchained, *Mach.*, 145, 38.  
 Inconsiderat, *pt. ptc.*, ill-considered, *Mach.*, 102, 22.  
 Inconvenient, *sb.*, inconvenience, *Mach.*, 85, 3; 147, 6: *pl.*, inconvenients, *Mach.*, 105, 20.  
 Increassit. *See* Encres.  
 Incres, increß. *See* Encres.  
 Incurreth, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, runs upon, *Mach.*, 147, 6.  
 Indeuit, indewed. *See* Endeued.  
 Indifferenceye, *sb.*, neutrality, *Mach.*, 145, 10.  
 Indifferent, *adj.*, impartial, *Ans.*, 34, 32; 48, 13; 51, 2; neither good nor bad, *Ans.*, 56, 5: indifferentlye, *adv.*, disinterestedly, *Mach.*, 150, 17.  
 Indommage, *infin.*, to hurt, *Mach.*, 78, 4: *pt. ptc.*, indomnaged, *Mach.*, 84, 18.  
 Indomnaged. *See* Indommage.  
 Induce, *infin.*, to adduce, *Mach.*, 104, 6; 122, 21; 151, 8.  
 Indure, *infin.*, to harden, *Tr.*, 121, 107: *pt. ptc.*, indurd, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 14: indeur, *infin.*, to experience, *Tr.*, 116, 124: indwir, *infin.*, to last, *Tr.*, 130, 114.  
 Indwir. *See* Indure.  
 Infame, *sb.*, infamy, *Mach.*, 113, 26; 115, 30; 116, 14; 125, 11.  
 Infest, *pt. ptc.*, invested, *Tr.*, 112, 6.  
 Inforcit, *pt. ptc.*, compelled, *Ans.*, 23, 8; 28, 4.  
 Ingrait, *adj.*, ungrateful, *Mach.*, 117, 22.

- Ingyne, *sb.*, genius, *Tr.*, 59, 26; 123, 158; *Misc.*, 312, 2; *Ans.*, 9, 12; intellect, *Tr.*, 112, 10; 116, 113; ability, *Tr.*, 70, 90; *Tar.*, 140, 10.
- Inimities, *sb.*, enmity, *Mach.*, 140, 5. *Cf.* Inimities.
- Iniury, *infin.*, to injure, *Ans.*, 23, 26; *Mach.*, 78, 10; 131, 34; 134, 1: *pt. ptc.*, iniuryit, *Ans.*, 27, 17.
- Inkndled, *pt. ptc.*, kindled, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiv, 8.
- Inlaik, *infin.*, to lack, *Tar.*, 128, 74; *Mach.*, 163, 30; inlake, *Tr.*, 94, 207: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, inlaketh, *Mach.*, 108, 33: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, inlaiketh, *Mach.*, 157, 3: *pres. ptc.*, inlaking, *Mach.*, 122, 19.
- Inlake. *See* Inlaik.
- Inmanities, *sb.*, cruelty, *Mach.*, 162, 15.
- Inmitie, *sb.*, enmity, *Mach.*, 137, 7. *Cf.* Inimities.
- Inqyre, *infin.*, to enquire, *Tr.*, 37, 16.
- Inrichte, *pt. ptc.*, enriched, *Ps.*, 284, 77.
- Inroule, *imperat.*, enroll, *Ps.*, 286, 148: *pt. ptc.*, inrould, *Son.*, 257, 9; inroulede, *Tr.*, 19, 5 (b).
- Ins, *sb.*, *pl.*, dwellings, *Tr.*, 53, 150: *sing.*, *Tr.*, 118, 1 (*Ital. albergo*).
- Inscription, *sb.*, title, *Ans.*, 63, 20.
- Insert, *pt. ptc.*, inset, *Tr.*, 78, 23.
- Insewe, *infin.*, to come on, *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 1; *Mach.*, 81, 5; 103, 11.
- Insist, *infin.*, to stand, *Mach.*, 134, 12.
- Instantlye, *adv.*, urgently, *Tr.*, 42, 146.
- Instorde, *pt. ptc.*, endowed, *I.*, 393, 1.
- Intakking, *sb.*, capture, *Mach.*, 135, 11.
- Inteir, *adj.*, entire, *Tr.*, 129, 93: inteirlye, *adv.*, entirely, *Mach.*, 76, 18; interlye, *Mach.*, 112, 17; 145, 26.
- Intentiue, *adj.*, eager, *Mach.*, 143, 20; 149, 11.
- Interdyte, *pt. ptc.*, forbidden, *Tr.*, 105, 43.
- Interested, *pt. ptc.*, injured, *Mach.*, 116, 23.
- Interesses, *sb.*, *pl.*, benefits, *Mach.*, 115, 15.
- Intergitie, *miswriting* for 'integritie,' *Mach.*, 121, 5.
- Inteiriour, *adj.*, internal, *Mach.*, 126, 15.
- Interlye. *See* Inteir.
- Interponit, *pt. ptc.*, interposed, *Ans.*, 27, 6.
- Interpryse, *infin.*, to attack, *Mach.*, 99, 11; to attempt, *Mach.*, 144, 2: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, interpryse, *Mach.*, 77, 16: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, interprysed, *Mach.*, 99, 1: *pt. ptc.*, interprysed, *Mach.*, 151, 25.
- Interpryser, *sb.*, conqueror, *Mach.*, 75, 1; 88, 26.
- Interteinment, *sb.*, maintenance, *Mach.*, 134, 17.
- Intertened, interteyned. *See* Enterteine.
- Intitulats, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, entitles, *Pest*, 303, 20.
- Into, *prep.* (a) in, *Tr.*, 18, 1; I, 395, 15: (b) to, *Doubt.*, 346, 35.
- Intreat, intreit. *See* Entreat.
- Inuart, *adj.*, inward, *Ans.*, 50, 14; inwart, *Tr.*, 92, 158; *Ans.*, 42, 30: inuard, *adj.*, intimate, *Mach.*, 133, 28.
- Inuocat, *pt. ptc.*, invoked, *Ans.*, 54, 33; invocat, *Ans.*, 52, 18.
- Inuolud, *pt. ptc.*, involved, *Ps.*, 275, 8.
- Inventionis, *sb.*, *pl.*, poetic compositions, *Tr.*, 59, 51.
- Inveteretated, *pt. ptc.*, become veterans, *Mach.*, 135, 25.
- Invictourouslye, *adv.*, without victory, *Mach.*, 98, 15.
- Invtill, *adj.*, useless, *Mach.*, 148, 24.
- Ioyse, *infin.*, to take pleasure, *Son.*, 249, 11.
- Irresolued, *adj.*, irresolute, *Mach.*, 145, 28; irresolved, *Mach.*, 125, 22.
- Is, 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, art, *Tr.*, 87, 35; *Ans.*, 31, 4; *Mach.*, 75, 1; 96, 7; 102, 17; 107, 23.
- Iustyle, *miswriting* for 'iustlye,' *Tar.*, 139, iii, 3, 3.
- Iyve, 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, jeer, *Misc.*, 328, xx, 5.
- Ivnie, *Ans.*, 11, 4, *sb.*, June.

- Kekling, *pres. ptc.*, cackling, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 12.
- Kend. See Kenst.
- Kendle, *infin.*, to kindle, *Tr.*, 119, 31.
- Kenst, 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, knowest, *Tr.*, 28, 56: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, kenst, *Tr.*, 30, 105: *pt. ptc.*, kend, *Tr.*, 29, 76.
- Kirk, *sb.*, church, *Ans.*, 37, 9, &c.: *pl.*, kirkis, *Ans.*, 40, 33; kirks, *Mach.*, 83, 1.
- Knaw, *infin.*, to know, *Tr.*, 29, 87, &c.; *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 13; *Seq.*, 222, 11; *Ps.*, 293, 67; *Ans.*, 13, 12; 26, 35; 28, 12; *Mach.*, 106, 5, &c.; knawe, *Doubt.*, 363, xxi, 13: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, knaw, *Tr.*, 26, 31, &c.; *Tar.*, 154, 14, &c.; *Ans.*, 26, 5, &c.; *Mach.*, 112, 14; 124, 18; knawe, *Tar.*, 194, 11; *Ans.*, 15, 13; knoweth, *Tr.*, 126, 16: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, knawis, *Tr.*, 47, 7: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, knawes, *Tar.*, 183, xlv, 5; *Misc.*, 309, 1; *Ans.*, 40, 25; knaweth, *Mach.*, 157, 12; knowest, *Tr.*, 83, 160: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, knaw, *Ans.*, 56, 3; knawes, *Ps.*, 284, 86; *Ans.*, 26, 6; knawis, *Ans.*, 63, 39; knowest, *Tr.*, 121, 88; 129, 76: *pres. ptc.*, knawing, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 10; *Ans.*, 27, 2; *Mach.*, 123, 2: *pt. ptc.*, knawen, *Tr.*, 47, 13; *Ps.*, 288, 12; *Mach.*, 81, 27, &c.; knawin, *Ans.*, 15, 14, &c.; knauen, *Mach.*, 80, 28; know, *Doubt.*, 380, 41.
- Knowledge, *sb.*, knowledge, *Ans.*, 33, 34; 34, 29; *Mach.*, 85, 29, &c.; knaulege, *Ans.*, 33, 1; 67, 27; *Mach.*, 80, 33; 108, 21; knaweledge, *Ans.*, 57, 16; knawledg, *Ans.*, 29, 30; knawlege, *Tr.*, 116, 119; 122, 120; 123, 157; *Ans.*, 24, 29; knawlege, *Mach.*, 152, 25.
- Know. See Knaw.
- Knowes, *sb.*, *pl.*, hillsides, *Mach.*, 108, 27.
- Kythd, *pt. ptc.*, made known, *Tar.*, 190, lii, 6.
- Lace, *sb.*, noose, *Tr.*, 48, 38; 52, 124; *Doubt.*, 354, 16.
- Laics, *sb.*, *pl.*, the laity, *Ans.*, 57, 36.
- Laik (1), *sb.*, lack, *Tar.*, 142, v, 7; *Misc.*, 311, 20; *Mach.*, 138, 29; lake, *Mach.*, 138, 12.
- Laik (2), 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lack, *Tr.*, 17, 20: 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, laik, *Ans.*, 40, 23.
- Laith, *adj.*, unwilling, *Mach.*, 139, 5.
- Lake. See Laik (1).
- Lampets, *sb.*, *pl.*, lampreys, *Rep.*, 193, 29.
- Lancere, *sb.*, lancet, *Pest.*, 303, 29.
- Lang, *adj.* and *adv.*, long. (a) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 43, 7; 53, 10; *Mach.*, 79, 37, &c.: *comp.*, langar, *Mach.*, 76, 34: *superl.*, langest, *Mach.*, 93, 1. (b) *adv.*, *Ans.*, 26, 18; 39, 5; 53, 19; *Mach.*, 77, 3, &c.; *comp.*, langar, *Mach.*, 75, 32; 76, 29, &c.
- Lapstars, *sb.*, *pl.*, lobsters, *Rep.*, 193, 29.
- Laseur, *sb.*, leisure, *Mach.*, 139, 19; lesour, *Mach.*, 144, 12; leasure, *Mach.*, 72, 5; *Rep.*, 195, 4.
- Lass, *sb.*, young woman, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 14.
- Lassyve, *adj.*, wanton, *Doubt.*, 374, 144.
- Lat, *infin.*, to allow, *Ans.*, 22, 14; *Mach.*, 112, 23; latt, *Death.*, 241, 43: *imperat.*, *Tr.*, 83, 160; *Tar.*, 182, xlv, 6; *Seq.*, 225, 9; *Death.*, 233, 13; *Mach.*, 81, 23, &c.
- Lauborit. See Laubours.
- Laubour, *sb.*, labour, *Tr.*, 58, 11: *pl.*, laubouris, *Tr.*, 128, 61; laubours, *Ans.*, 10, 19.
- Laubours, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, labours, *Ans.*, 65, 36: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, lauborit, *Ans.*, 45, 14.
- Lauchefull. See Lawchfull.
- Laughter, *sb.*, laughter, *Ans.*, 20, 10.
- Laulines, *sb.*, lowliness, *Tar.*, 204, 5.
- Laurer, *sb.*, the laurel-tree, *I.*, 4, 3.
- Law, *adj.*, low, *Tr.*, 55, 214; *Seq.*, 229, 2; lawe, *Tar.*, 194, 8: *comp.*, lawer, *Tr.*, 65, 188.
- Lawchfull, *adj.*, lawful, *Tr.*, 42, 158; lauchefull, *Tr.*, 42, 155.
- Lawings, *sb.*, *pl.*, debauches (*lit.* tavern-reckonings), *Ans.*, 28, 17.

- Leacherous, *adj.*, lecherous, *Mach.*, 112, 10.  
 Leafe. *See* Leawe.  
 Leaper, *sb.*, leper, *Doubt.*, 386, 259: *gen.*, *sing.*, lipers, *Doubt.*, 387, 307.  
 Learning, *sb.*, learning, *Ans.*, 29, 26.  
 Learne, *infin.*, to teach, *Misc.*, 325, xv (a), 3.  
 Leawe, *infin.*, to leave, *Tr.*, 69, 63; leafe, *Mach.*, 154, 2; lewe, *Tr.*, 109, 145; liue, *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 10; *Mach.*, 72, 3; 104, 27; 150, 3: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, leveth, *Mach.*, 118, 8; liueth, *Mach.*, 73, 14: *imperat.*, leue, *Ans.*, 29, 30: *pres. ptc.*, leuand, *Ans.*, 10, 15; leving, *Tr.*, 90, 119.  
 Lecor, *sb.*, liquor, *I*, 397, 20.  
 Lacteur, *sb.*, reader, *Ans.*, 43, 17.  
 Leddars, *sb.*, *pl.*, ladders, *Mach.*, 140, 2.  
 Leiches, *sb.*, *pl.*, leeches, *Doubt.*, 380, 55.  
 Leid, *sb.*, speech, *Tr.*, 97, 16.  
 Leil, *adj.*, loyal, *Rep.*, 184, 19.  
 Leir, *infin.*, to learn, *Tr.*, 116, 104.  
 Leise, *infin.*, to lose, *Doubt.*, 360, 9.  
 Leist, *conj.*, lest, *Tr.*, 73, 159.  
 Leiuē. *See* Liue.  
 Len, 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lendest, *Tar.*, 184, xlviii, 5: *imperat.*, len, *Misc.*, 321, 7.  
 Lenght. *See* Lenght (1).  
 Lenght (1), *sb.*, length, *Death*, 236, 11; *Ps.*, 289, 24; *Mach.*, 72, 5; lengh, *Mach.*, 90, 7; lenth, *Tr.*, 24, 14; 79, 73; 101, 114; *Ans.*, 22, 12; 51, 14.  
 Lenght (2), *infin.*, to prolong, *Tr.*, 42, 136; lenghte, *Seq.*, 218, 10: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lenghts, *Tar.*, 176, 13; 203, 4: 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lenghte, *Doubt.*, 382, 108: *imperat.*, lenght, *Tar.*, 166, 5.  
 Lenghtened, *pt. ptc.*, prolonged, *Mach.*, 99, 18.  
 Lenth. *See* Lenght (1).  
 Lentheninge, *vbl. sb.*, lengthening, *Tr.*, 124, 186.  
 Les, *conj.*, lest, *Ans.*, 21, 31; 30, 21; leß, *Tr.*, 91, 146; les nor, *conj.*, lest, *Ans.*, 41, 13, 36; 64, 34.  
 Lesings, *sb.*, *pl.*, lies, *Seq.*, 230, 7.  
 Lesour. *See* Laseur.  
 Lest, *infin.*, to last, *Tr.*, 49, 51; *Ans.*, 26, 19.  
 Lett (1), *sb.*, hindrance, *Seq.*, 215, 8: *pl.*, letts, *Tar.*, 211, 7; *Rep.*, 179, 8; lets, *Rep.*, 178, 9.  
 Lett (2), *infin.*, to hinder, *Tr.*, 68, 70; *Death*, 237, 2; let, *Doubt.*, 353, 6: *pt. ptc.*, letted, *Tr.*, 17, 5.  
 Leuand. *See* Leawe, Liue.  
 Leudly, *adv.*, ignorantly, *Ans.*, 27, 11.  
 Leue. *See* Leawe, Liue.  
 Leving, *sb.*, manner of life, *Mach.*, 147, 14. *See also* Leawe.  
 Lew, *adj.*, luke(-warm), *Tr.*, 64, 167.  
 Lewe. *See* Liue.  
 Libell, *sb.*, book, *Misc.*, 320, 24: *pl.*, lybells, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 4.  
 Licenced, *pt. ptc.*, dismissed, *Mach.*, 104, 10.  
 Licht, *sb.*, light, *Ans.*, 9, 16.  
 Lichtlie, *adv.*, lightly, *Ans.*, 24, 21.  
 Lighs, *sb.*, *pl.*, lungs, *Tr.*, 72, 154; *Tar.*, 142, v, 6.  
 Lighs, *writing for* 'lights,' *Tr.*, 54, 189.  
 Light lied, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, despised, *Doubt.*, 386, 254: *pt. ptc.*, lightlyed, *Mach.*, 135, 17.  
 Lightned, *pt. ptc.*, shed light on, *Tr.*, 113, 22.  
 Limmar, *adj.*, scoundrelly, *Misc.*, 320, 23.  
 Lipers. *See* Leaper.  
 Liquefacts, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, causes to melt, *Seq.*, 224, 7.  
 Literall, *adj.*, learned, *Tr.*, 116, 116.  
 Liud. *See* Liue.  
 Liue, *infin.*, to live, *Mach.*, 76, 3; 111, 17, &c.: liwe, *Tr.*, 39, 72; 44, 209; 96, 372; liwed, *Tr.*, 81, 124; lewe, *Tr.*, 38, 42; 90, 110; leave, *Mach.*, 147, 12: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, leiue, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 6; liue, *Tr.*, 27, 41; liwe, *Tr.*, 26, 21: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, leuith, *Ans.*, 27, 30: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, leueth, *Mach.*, 125, 16; liues, *Mach.*, 77, 33; 97, 25; liueth, *Mach.*, 76, 15: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, lewed, *Tr.*, 82, 134; liud, *Death*, 242,

- 67; liued, *Mach.*, 158, 4: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, liued, *Mach.*, 130, 25: *pres. ptc.*, leuand, *Ans.*, 53, 33; leuing, *Ans.*, 46, 13; leving, *Tr.*, 87, 34; liuing, *Mach.*, 151, 15: *pt. ptc.*, liued, *Mach.*, 76, 12; 114, 36; 154, 26. See also Leawe.
- Lniyres, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, insinuates, *Ans.*, 28, 21.
- Longsome, *adj.*, long, *Tr.*, 24, 4; 56, 327.
- Los. See Loß (1).
- Lose (1), *sb.*, loss, *Tr.*, 109, 153; losß, *Mach.*, 109, 11.
- Lose (2), *infin.*, to release, *Rep.*, 195, 31; to loosen, *Tr.*, 70, 104; loß, *Death*, 243, 31: *pt. ptc.*, losed, *Tr.*, 43, 181. Cf. Lousse (1).
- Loß (1), *infin.*, to lose, *Tr.*, 88, 70; *Tar.*, 178, 12; 192, lv, 14; *Ps.*, 292, 48; *Mach.*, 141, 25; 154, 33; los, *Tar.*, 179, 13: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, losß, *Tar.*, 160, 4: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, looseth, *Rep.*, 176, 17; lossis, *Mach.*, 153, 25: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, lossed, *Mach.*, 85, 15: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, lossed, *Mach.*, 99, 28: *pres. ptc.*, lossing, *Mach.*, 82, 34: *pt. ptc.*, lossed, *Seq.*, 226, 9; *Mach.*, 82, 8; 107, 15.
- Loß (2), *adj.*, slack, *Tr.*, 102, 128; losse, *Rep.*, 177, 11. Cf. Lousse.
- Loß (3). See Lose (2).
- Losser, *sb.*, loser, *Seq.*, 227, 11.
- Losß. See Lose (1), Loß (2).
- Louit, *pt. ptc.*, praised, *Ans.*, 14, 29.
- Lounlie, *adv.*, foolishly, *Ans.*, 27, 11.
- Lourdlly, *adv.*, sottishly, *Ans.*, 30, 34.
- Lousse (1), *infin.*, to loosen, *Tar.*, 211, 13. Cf. Lose (2).
- Lousse (2), *adj.*, loose, *Tar.*, 182, xlv, 13; lovsse, *Tar.*, 182, xlili, 13; giue lousse, *phr.*, relax, *Mach.*, 75, 16. Cf. Loß (2).
- Lowe, *sb.*, flame, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 3.
- Lowelie, *adj.*, loving, *Tr.*, 42, 157; 58, 12.
- Ludge, *infin.*, to lodge, *Tr.*, 69, 64: *pt. ptc.*, ludged, *Tr.*, 79, 55; ludgt, *Tr.*, 90, 117.
- Luggs, *sb.*, *pl.*, ears, *Ans.*, 23, 28.
- Luif, *sb.*, love, *Tr.*, 31, 138; luiff, *Tr.*, 33, 192; lwiff, *Tr.*, 33, 170.
- Luifing, *pres. ptc.*, loving, *Ans.*, 61, 19.
- Luik. See Lwik.
- Lunt, *sb.*, match, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiv, 7.
- Lwiff. See Luif.
- Lwik (1), *sb.*, look, *Tr.*, 108, 105.
- Lwik (2), *infin.*, to look, *Tr.*, 110, 188; lwkt, *Tr.*, 66, 218; luik, *Mach.*, 152, 24: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lwik, *Tr.*, 126, 15: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, lwikis, *Tr.*, 47, 3: *imperat.*, lwik, *Tr.*, 49, 55: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, luikit, *Ans.*, 52, 20: *pres. ptc.*, lwiking, *Tr.*, 59, 35.
- Lwkt (1), *sb.*, luck, *Tr.*, 33, 170.
- Lwkt (2). See Lwik.
- Lybells. See Libell.
- Lycht, *infin.*, to light, *Ans.*, 28, 19.
- Lyd, *pt. ptc.*, laid, *Mach.*, 153, 21.
- Lyer, *sb.*, lair, *Ans.*, 26, 24.
- Lyfe, on, *phr.*, alive, *Ans.*, 40, 27.
- Lyfelie, *adj.*, vital, *Tr.*, 92, 180: lyflye, *adj.*, living, *Seq.*, 220, 10; *Death*, 241, 31; lyflyie, *Seq.*, 216, 8; lyiflie, *Tr.*, 56, 240; lywelie, *Tr.*, 64, 161; lywely, *Tr.*, 52, 120; lywelye, *Ps.*, 299, 223: lyflye, *adj.*, lively, *Ps.*, 285, 117; lywelie, *Tr.*, 49, 51.
- Lyffe, *sb.*, living thing, *Doubt.*, 337, 8.
- Lyiff, *sb.*, life, *Tr.*, 32, 146.
- Lyiflie. See Lyfelie.
- Lykewise, *adv.*, likewise, *Ans.*, 39, 30.
- Lyte, *adv.*, little, *Doubt.*, 385, 237.
- Lywelie, lywely, lywelye. See Lyfelie.
- Ma, *adj.*, more, *Ans.*, 21, 26; 34, 23; *Mach.*, 81, 9; 122, 37. Cf. Mo.
- Macered, *pt. ptc.*, wasted, *Tr.*, 90, 117.
- Mach, *sb.*, partner, *Son.*, 255, 11.
- Machtbles, *adj.*, matchless, *Death*, 243, 11.
- Madfull, *adj.*, maddening, *Tr.*, 65, 192.
- Madlethe, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, becomes crazed, *Doubt.*, 372, 68.

- Madlyke, *adj.*, mad, *Tr.*, 116, 107.  
 Magled, *pt. ptc.*, disfigured, *Tr.*, 16, 17; 76, 252; maigled, *Tr.*, 76, 248.  
 Magnanime, *adj.*, magnanimous, *Mach.*, 129, 11.  
 Maid, *adj.*, mad, *Tr.*, 85, 211.  
 Magnificence, *sb.*, munificence, *Mach.*, 147, 29.  
 Magnifike, *adj.*, magnificent, *Rep.*, 195, 8; magnifique, *Rep.*, 171, 35.  
 Maigled. *See* Magled.  
 Maintene, *infm.*, to maintain, *Ps.*, 276, 44; *Mach.*, 154, 21; mantene, *Mach.*, 141, 7; mantiene, *Mach.*, 113, 11; mentaine, *Mach.*, 149, 28: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, menteineth, *Mach.*, 135, 32: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, mainteanis, *Ans.*, 28, 14; mainteneth, *Mach.*, 135, 24; manteneth, *Tr.*, 124, 183: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, mantened, *Mach.*, 94, 2: *pt. ptc.*, maintained, *Mach.*, 82, 19; 128, 36; 156, 4; mantened, *Mach.*, 91, 21; 107, 11: *vbl. sb.*, maintening, *Mach.*, 137, 4.  
 Mair, *adj.*, *pron.*, and *adv.*, more. (a) *adj.*, *Tar.*, 146, ix, 3; 169, 11; *Ans.*, 51, 14; 57, 33; 62, 7; *Mach.*, 76, 28, &c. (b) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 10, 9; 27, 35; 44, 37; *Mach.*, 78, 16; *Rep.*, 189, 28. (c) *adv.*, mair, *Tr.*, 20, 9 (b); *Tar.*, 149, xiv, 8, &c.; *Death*, 239, 11; *Son.*, 248, 4; *Misc.*, 314, 59; *Ans.*, 10, 20, &c.; *Mach.*, 74, 3, &c.; maire, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 11; 160, xxv, 14; 169, 11; mare, *Mach.*, 89, 29.  
 Mairmayde, *sb.*, mermaid, *Tar.*, 147, x, 12.  
 Maist, *adj.* and *adv.*, most. (a) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 15, 24, &c.; *Tar.*, 138, ii, 3; 157, 3; 174, 12; *Death*, 239, 1; *Son.*, 264, 8; *Ps.*, 285, 96; *Mach.*, 83, 2, &c. (b) *adv.*, maist, *Tr.*, 15, 24, &c.; *Tar.*, 138, ii, 6, &c.; *Seq.*, 229, 4; *Death*, 238, 14; *Misc.*, 314, 55; *Ans.*, 10, 1, &c.; *Mach.*, 74, 14, &c.; maiste, *Mach.*, 140, 25; mast, *Mach.*, 125, 13; 130, 15; 131, 14; 133, 28; messt, *Misc.*, 325, xiv, 4.  
 Maister, *sb.*, master, *Tr.*, 59, 50; *Tar.*, 200, 12; *Ans.*, 20, 33, &c.; *Mach.*, 76, 6, &c.: *gen.*, *sing.*, maisteris, *Rep.*, 175, 10; maisters, *Rep.*, 176, 1: *pl.*, maisters, *Mach.*, 74, 10; 98, 1.  
 Maisterfull, *adj.*, violent, *Rep.*, 184, 33.  
 Maistres, *sb.*, mistress, *Tar.*, 166, 4; *Misc.*, 312, 18.  
 Man, *vb.*, must, *Tr.*, 30, 90; *Ans.*, 40, 18; 51, 1; 65, 4; 66, 21; *Mach.*, 118, 14; 148, 11.  
 Manheild, *sb.*, valour, *Mach.*, 97, 11.  
 Manhiede, *sb.*, manhood, *Mach.*, 164, 2.  
 Manure, *infm.*, to cultivate, *Mach.*, 147, 15: *pt. ptc.*, manwred, *Tr.*, 113, 32.  
 Marchand, *sb.*, merchant, *Death*, 233, 18.  
 Marchandice, *sb.*, commerce, *Mach.*, 147, 13.  
 Marmet, *sb.*, pot, *Ans.*, 47, 14.  
 Marris, *sb.*, marsh-land, *Mach.*, 108, 20.  
 Marrow (1), *sb.*, companion, *Tr.*, 37, 14; 69, 58; 113, 42: *pl.*, marrowis, *Tr.*, 45, 213; 58, 8.  
 Marrow (2), *infm.*, to accompany, *Tr.*, 97, 13: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, marroued, *Mach.*, 83, 14.  
 Mauge, *prep.*, despite, *Ps.*, 281, 189.  
 Measieres, *sb.*, *pl.*, measures, *Misc.*, 317, 7.  
 Medeciners, *sb.*, *pl.*, physicians, *Mach.*, 80, 25.  
 Meikill. *See* Mekil.  
 Meind, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, pitied, *Seq.*, 227, 11.  
 Meinzeit, *pt. ptc.*, mixed, *Tr.*, 62, 125.  
 Mekil, *adj.* and *adv.*, much. (1) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 28, 9; mekill, *Ans.*, 14, 10; *Mach.*, 136, 28: (2) *adv.*, *Ans.*, 21, 11, &c.; mekill, *Ans.*, 10, 19; 64, 17; *Mach.*, 78, 2; 128, 7; 144, 23; meikill, *Mach.*, 87, 21; 138, 4; 144, 14.  
 Melancholik, *adj.*, melancholy, *Tar.*, 203, 6.  
 Mell, *infm.*, to meddle, *Ps.*, 293, 65.

- Mellay, *sb.*, fight, *Rep.*, 184, 25.  
 Memoire, *sb.*, memory, *Mach.*, 82, 1.  
 Mends, *sb.*, *pl.*, amends, *Death*, 237, 9.  
 Mentaine, menteine. See Mantene.  
 Merche, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, march, *Tar.*, 183, xlvi, 3.  
 Mereit (1), *sb.*, merit, *Tar.*, 180, xxxix, 3; *Son.*, 256, 1: *pl.*, mereits, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 3; *Ans.*, 59, 16.  
 Mereit (2), 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, merit, *Tar.*, 183, xlvi, 11; *Ps.*, 277, 81.  
 Merk, *sb.*, mark, *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 10.  
 Meruel (1), *sb.*, wonder, *Ans.*, 20, 12; meruell, *Ans.*, 56, 32; mervell, *Tr.*, 47, 1; *Mach.*, 160, 4; merwell, *Tr.*, 104, 1.  
 Meruel (2), *infin.*, to wonder, *Ans.*, 26, 25; meruell, *Ans.*, 10, 17; merwell, *Tr.*, 16, 31; 131, 137: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, meruel, *Ans.*, 37, 4: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, merveld, *Tr.*, 28, 55: *pres. ptc.*, meruelling, *Ans.*, 28, 32: *pt. ptc.*, mervelled, *Mach.*, 133, 12.  
 Meruellous, *adj.*, marvellous, *Tr.*, 26, 15; mervellous, *Mach.*, 134, 27; mervellously, *adv.*, marvellously, *Mach.*, 75, 2.  
 Mes, *sb.*, the Mass, *Ans.*, 64, 23; messe, *Ans.*, 54, 34; 64, 32.  
 Mesmongars, *sb.*, *pl.*, massmongers, *Ans.*, 64, 38.  
 Mess, *sb.*, dish, *Mach.*, 79, 32.  
 Messt. See Maist.  
 Meteth, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, dream, *Doubt.*, 373, 116.  
 Michle, *Mach.*, 118, 27.  
 Micht, *vb.*, might, *Ans.*, 15, 14, &c.  
 Middel, *sb.*, midst, *Ans.*, 41, 11; midst, *Ans.*, 43, 8; midds, *sb.*, the mean between two extremes, *Mach.*, 124, 12.  
 Middowes, *adj.*, middle, *Doubt.*, 371, 29.  
 Mignons, *sb.*, *pl.*, favourites, *Mach.*, 114, 9.  
 Minde, 1 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, intend, *Ans.*, 53, 11; mynd, *Ans.*, 43, 17: 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, myndes, *Doubt.*, 355, 50.  
 Mirrie, *adj.*, merry, *Tr.*, 59, 26; mirrye, *Tar.*, 182, xliii, 13: *comp.*, mirrier, *Tr.*, 127, 38; mirrily, *adv.*, merrily, *Ans.*, 28, 29.  
 Miscompt, *infin.*, to miscount, *Doubt.*, 351, 17.  
 Miscontenment, *sb.*, discontent, *Mach.*, 140, 36.  
 Miser, *adj.*, wretched, *Tr.*, 81, 107; *Ps.*, 281, 195; 295, 1; misers, *sb.*, *pl.*, wretches, *Tr.*, 110, 171.  
 Miß, *sb.*, loss, *Tr.*, 40, 98.  
 Mistars, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, is necessary, *Mach.*, 75, 3.  
 Mixtes, *adj.*, formed of different individuals, *Mach.*, 102, 2.  
 Mo, *pron.* and *adj.*, more. (a) *pron.*, *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 1; moe, *Tr.*, 16, 21, &c.; *Tar.*, 150, 2; *Doubt.*, 383, 152; *Mach.*, 152, 20: (b) *adj.*, moe, *Tr.*, 79, 35; 82, 148; *Tar.*, 176, 12. Cf. Ma.  
 Moist. See Most.  
 Monarche, *sb.*, monarchy, *Mach.*, 138, 21.  
 Monethlye, *adj.*, monthly, *Ans.*, 32, 21.  
 Moneths, *sb.*, *pl.*, months, *Doubt.*, 337, 2.  
 Mony, *adj.*, many, *Ans.*, 25, 5; 41, 12; 43, 22; *Mach.*, 73, 5; monye, *Ans.*, 39, 4.  
 Mooued. See Mwiif.  
 More, *sb.*, negro, *Rep.*, 189, 35.  
 Mornfull. See Murnfull.  
 Most, *vb.*, must, *Ans.*, 26, 8, &c.; *Mach.*, 131, 15; 149, 10; moist, *Ans.*, 51, 21.  
 Moulyie, *adj.*, mouldy, *Misc.*, 320, 21.  
 Moyen, *sb.*, means, *Misc.*, 308, 12; *Ans.*, 24, 7; 35, 2; *Mach.*, 76, 33; 97, 24; 127, 7; 146, 10; moyens, *Mach.*, 71, 6, &c.; moyings, *Mach.*, 149, 7.  
 Muchte, *adv.*, much, *Death*, 240, 3.  
 Muiles, *sb.*, *pl.*, shoes, *Ans.*, 25, 17.  
 Muk, *infin.*, to rake in the mud, *Tr.*, 61, 123.  
 Murne, *infin.*, to mourn, *Tr.*, 29, 84; *Ps.*, 277, 82: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, murne, *Tr.*, 39, 58; *Tar.*, 204, 8: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, murns, *Son.*, 266, 8:

- pres. ptc.*, murning, *Tr.*, 83, 178; *vbl. sb.*, murninge, *Doubt.*, 353, 3.
- Murnfull, *adj.*, mournful, *Tr.*, 82, 152; mornfull, *Tar.*, 142, v, 8; 184, xlvii, 6.
- Murther, *sb.*, murder, *Son.*, 268, 14; *Ans.*, 30, 11, &c.: *pl.*, murthers, *Ans.*, 30, 9.
- Murtherers, *sb.*, *pl.*, murderers, *Rep.*, 184, 32.
- Murthring, *pt. ptc.*, murdering, *Doubt.*, 342, 5.
- Muskett, *pt. ptc.* (? confused with 'muskett' = 'musk-cat'), perfumed with musk, *Tar.*, 157, 3.
- Mutene, *infin.*, to mutiny, *Mach.*, 89, 20: *pres. ptc.*, mutening, *Mach.*, 75, 21: *pt. ptc.*, mutined, *Mach.*, 119, 15.
- Mwide, *sb.*, mood, *Tr.*, 59, 26.
- Mwiff, *infin.*, to move, *Tr.*, 33, 171: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, mooued, *Rep.*, 193, 3: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, mooued, *Rep.*, 182, 28: *pt. ptc.*, mooued, *Rep.*, 176, 19; mouit, *Ans.*, 30, 24.
- Myndles, *adj.*, heedless, *Seq.*, 215, 5.
- Na, *adj.* and *adv.*, no, not. (a) *adj.*, no, *Seq.*, 226, 3; *Death*, 233, 2; *Son.*, 249, 7; *Ans.*, 13, 15, &c.; *Mach.*, 76, 2, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 6: (b) *adv.*, no, *Tar.*, 207, 4; *Death*, 235, 10; *Ans.*, 10, 8, &c.; *Mach.*, 80, 22, &c.: (c) *adv.*, not, *Ans.*, 64, 11.
- Nane, *pron.*, none, *Ans.*, 23, 26, &c.; *Mach.*, 85, 3, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 5: nane other, *pron.*, none other, *Mach.*, 162, 19.
- Nar, *adv.*, near, *Tr.*, 93, 204; *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 9; narr, *Tar.*, 169, 4; neere, *Rep.*, 170, 36; neir, *Mach.*, 109, 32; nerr, *Tar.*, 152, xviii, 14: *comp.*, nerer, *Tr.*, 37, 15: *superl.*, narest, *Tr.*, 42, 145; narrest, *Tr.*, 112, 8; nerrest, *Tr.*, 112, 7; *Ans.*, 30, 9.
- Narhand, *adv.*, near at hand, *Tar.*, 169, 9.
- Nather, *conj.*, neither, *Tr.*, 17, 1, &c.; *Tar.*, 172, 13; 191, liv, 11; 210, lxxiv, 13; *Ps.*, 295, 10; *Misc.*, 308, 5; *Ans.*, 9, 9, &c.; *Mach.*, 73, 5, &c.; *Rep.*, 189, 31; naper, *Pest*, 303, 3; nayer, *Ans.*, 21, 28; nether, *Ans.*, 39, 1; *Mach.*, 92, 3; 114, 22; 149, 15; nother, *Tr.*, 26, 30; 99, 59; *Doubt.*, 375, 17.
- Nathing, *pron.*, nothing, *Ans.*, 20, 18, &c.; *Mach.*, 85, 27, &c.: *adv.*, in no wise, *Ans.*, 41, 31; 51, 18; 52, 26; 60, 36.
- Naper. See Nather.
- Naturell, *adj.*, native, *Mach.*, 83, 25; naturell, *Mach.*, 72, 14; natural, *Mach.*, 77, 20.
- Na way, *adv.*, no wise, *Ans.*, 39, 4; nawayes, *Tar.*, 153, xx, 7; na wayis, *Ans.*, 48, 22; nawayis, *Ans.*, 67, 38; na wyes, *Mach.*, 145, 24; na wyse, *Mach.*, 151, 36; nowayes, *Tr.*, 112, 1.
- Na wyes, na wyse. See Na way.
- Nayer. See Nather.
- Ne, *adv.*, not, *Doubt.*, 385, 213: *conj.*, nor, *Doubt.*, 380, 29.
- Necessair, *adj.*, necessary, *Mach.*, 148, 25; necessaire, *Mach.*, 140, 25; necessar, *Ans.*, 44, 5; *Mach.*, 95, 13, &c.; necessare, *Ans.*, 43, 35; 44, 17: necessarily, *adv.*, necessarily, *Ans.*, 37, 19; necessarilye, *Mach.*, 73, 7, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 33.
- Necessecitat, *pt. ptc.*, obliged, *Mach.*, 122, 1.
- Neidile, *sb.*, the gnomon of a sundial, *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 10.
- Nether. See Nather.
- Nerr. See Nar.
- Neueryeles, *adv.*, nevertheless, *Ans.*, 24, 27.
- Neview, *sb.*, nephew, *Tr.*, 107, 93.
- Niggardness, *sb.*, niggardliness, *Mach.*, 113, 2; 114, 8.
- Nighbour, *adj.*, neighbouring, *Mach.*, 77, 14; 79, 10; 156, 24.
- Niwe, *sb.*, fist, *Tr.*, 117, 138.
- Noblete, *sb.*, nobility, *Mach.*, 100, 7. (Fr. *nobleté*.)
- Nocht, *pron.*, nothing, *Tar.*, 186, 5: *adv.*, not, *Ans.*, 20, 3, &c.; *Mach.*, 112, 26; 156, 35.
- Nochtheles, *adv.*, nevertheless, *Tar.*, 146, ix, 13; *Mach.*, 162, 5; nocht the les, *Ans.*, 38, 10; nochttheles, *Mach.*,

- 146, 19; notheles, *Ps.*, 289, 35; *Mach.*, 84, 17, &c.; not theles, *Mach.*, 83, 30; nottheles, *Mach.*, 139, 16; 149, 3; 156, 18.
- Nor, *conj.*, than, *Ans.*, 19, 18, &c.; *Mach.*, 99, 22.
- Notheles, not theles. See Nocheles.
- Nother. See Nather.
- Noy (1), *sb.*, vexation, *Tr.*, 65, 197; *Tar.*, 160, xxvi, 4; *Seq.*, 223, 4: *pl.*, noyes, *Tr.*, 61, 81; *Tar.*, 138, ii, 9, &c.; *Ps.* 279, 143.
- Noy (2), *infin.*, to vex, *Tr.*, 108, 124; *Ps.*, 294, 89.
- Nu, *adj.*, new, *Mach.*, 163, 25.
- Nuilletie, *sb.*, nullity, *Mach.*, 94, 9.
- Nurice, *sb.*, nurse, *Rep.*, 189, 20.
- Nurisch, *infin.*, to nourish, *Ans.*, 62, 28: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, nurished, *Mach.*, 92, 27; 138, 36: *pt. ptc.*, nourished, *Ans.*, 58, 6; nurished, *Mach.*, 106, 23: *vbl. sb.*, nurishing, *Tr.*, 30, 108; 84, 202.
- Nurishment, *sb.*, nourishment, *Ps.*, 276, 31.
- Obiect, *infin.*, to cast up, *Ans.*, 28, 8.
- Obleish, *infin.*, to oblige, *Mach.*, 90, 1: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, oblesse, *Rep.*, 185, 9: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, obleshed, *Mach.*, 105, 24: *pres. ptc.*, obleising, *Mach.*, 149, 21: *pt. ptc.*, obleisid, *Mach.*, 152, 7; obleist, *Ans.*, 24, 14; oblesched, *Misc.*, 309, 12; obleshed, *Mach.*, 75, 1, &c.; oblished, *Misc.*, 308, 17.
- Obtene, *infin.*, to obtain, *Ans.*, 68, 21; obteane, *Tr.*, 61, 103; 78, 33; *Death*, 243, 12: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, obtened, *Tr.*, 31, 129; 58, 19; 98, 38; *Mach.*, 104, 18: *pres. ptc.*, obtaining, *Mach.*, 144, 30; obtening, *Mach.*, 146, 19: *pt. ptc.*, obtened, *Tr.*, 61, 97; *Mach.*, 71, 17, &c.; obtcind, *Seq.*, 227, 9: *vbl. sb.*, obtening, *Mach.*, 85, 11.
- Of, *miswriting for 'or,' Tr.*, 47, 4: *miswriting for 'oft,' Doubt.*, 387, 304.
- Of, *prep.*, on, *Mach.*, 135, 33: off, *prep.*, with, *Mach.*, 137, 19.
- Oftest, *adv.*, oftenest, *Tr.*, 110, 181; *Mach.*, 138, 8.
- Onbeset, *pt. ptc.*, surrounded, *Ans.*, 25, 1.
- Onelye, *adj.*, alone, *Tr.*, 75, 34; only, *Tr.*, 45, 225; onlye, *Tr.*, 122, 23; *Tar.*, 188, 1; *Mach.*, 155, 9.
- Ones, *adv.*, once, *Tr.*, 28, 46, &c.; *Mach.*, 129, 32.
- Onhard, *adj.*, unheard, *Ps.*, 278, 100.
- Ony, *adj.*, any, *Seq.*, 229, 9; *Ans.*, 24, 7, &c.; onye, *Tr.*, 28, 14.
- Oppen (1), *adj.*, open, *Mach.*, 134, 20; oppin, *Tr.*, 57, 265; *Ans.*, 25, 25; opin, *Ans.*, 32, 15: oppinlie, *adv.*, openly, *Ans.*, 49, 14.
- Oppen (2), *infin.*, to open, *Mach.*, 147, 17; opned, *Tr.*, 126, 18: *pt. ptc.*, oppned, *Mach.*, 93, 28.
- Oppin, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, opine, *Ans.*, 54, 8.
- Oppone, *infin.*, to oppose, *Tr.*, 90, 120; *Mach.*, 124, 5: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, oppone, *Ans.*, 13, 21: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, opponed, *Mach.*, 73, 18: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, opponit, *Ans.*, 44, 34: *vbl. sb.*, opponing, *Ans.*, 37, 3; 43, 6.
- Opprobre, *sb.*, opprobrium, *Ans.*, 66, 2.
- Or, *conj.*, before, *Tr.*, 30, 92, &c.; *Seq.*, 224, 10; *Ans.*, 46, 3; *Mach.*, 77, 16, &c.; than, *Tr.*, 99, 68; 100, 76.
- Or-, *prefix*, over—e.g., *orconqueist*, *orgoes*, *orlayne*.
- Oraisoun, *sb.*, prayer, *Tr.*, 15, 18: *pl.*, oraisons, *Ans.*, 52, 8.
- Orconqueist, *pt. ptc.*, conquered, *Tar.*, 147, x, 6.
- Orderlyke, *adv.*, in orderly fashion, *Tr.*, 98, 35.
- Ordinar, *adj.*, ordinary, *Ans.*, 26, 37; 51, 7; ordinare, *Mach.*, 83, 25: ordinarlye, *adv.*, ordinarily, *Ans.*, 44, 27; ordinarlye, *Mach.*, 85, 21; 123, 33; 127, 21; ordnarlye, *Mach.*, 122, 17: ordinare, *adj.*, by the ceremony of ordination, *Ans.*, 50, 14: ordinarily, *adv.*, by ordination, *Ans.*, 50, 13.

- Ordour (1), *infin.*, to order, *Mach.*, 106, 25.
- Ordour (2), *sb.*, order, *Tr.*, 113, 27; *Tar.*, 156, 9; *Misc.*, 314, 66; *Ans.*, 13, 11, &c.; *Mach.*, 80, 19, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 4; ordeur, *Mach.*, 81, 3; 161, 27; *pl.*, ordours, *Ans.*, 50, 32; *Mach.*, 101, 12.
- Orgoes, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, overcomes, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 3.
- Orloppen, *pt. ptc.*, overleaped, *Misc.*, 323, 10.
- Oruhelmed, *pt. ptc.*, overwhelmed, *Ps.*, 275, 8.
- Ost, *sb.*, fleet, *Ps.*, 101, 101.
- Ouer, *prep.*, over, *Ans.*, 47, 13; *adv.*, too, *Ans.*, 25, 14; *Mach.*, 80, 33.
- Ouercroß, *infin.*, to thwart, *Tr.*, 39, 60.
- Ouermekill, *adv.*, too much, *Ans.*, 48, 7.
- Ought, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, owed, *Ps.*, 285, 108.
- Ouglyie, *adj.*, ugly, *Tar.*, 153, xix, 1.
- Ould. See Auld.
- Oulks, *sb.*, *pl.*, weeks, *Tar.*, 202, 6. (M.E. *wouke.*)
- Outrageous, *adj.*, outrageous, *Mach.*, 135, 4.
- Our-, *prefix*, over—e.g., *ourborne*, *ourflow*, *ourspred.* See also Or-
- Ourcum, *infin.*, to overcome, *Tr.*, 31, 122; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, overcummeth, *Tr.*, 22, 27; overcummeth, *Mach.*, 144, 35; *pt. ptc.*, ouercume, *Mach.*, 154, 34; overcummed, *Tr.*, 22, 11; 45, 222; *Death*, 236, 10; ourcum, *Tr.*, 67, 19; orcumd, *Tr.*, 24, 14.
- Oursie, *infin.*, to overlook, *Tr.*, 109, 149.
- Oursyld, *pt. ptc.*, sealed, *Death*, 238, 3.
- Outgait, *sb.*, outcome, *Mach.*, 89, 16; owtgait, *sb.*, outgoing, *Tr.*, 65, 194.
- Outrayde, *pt. ptc.*, insulted, *Doubt.*, 385, 244.
- Outwart, *adj.*, outward, *Tr.*, 70, 93.
- Ovations, *sb.*, *pl.*, triumphs, *Tr.*, 17, 25.
- Overthraw, *sb.*, overthrow, *Mach.*, 140, 6; 146, 17.
- Overthrawe, *infin.*, to overthrow, *Tar.*, 174, 14; orthraw, *Mach.*, 105, 28; 151, 4; ourthroie, *Tr.*, 49, 66; *pt. ptc.*, ouerthrauen, *Mach.*, 98, 32; 161, 28; overthrawen, *Mach.*, 132, 36; ourthrauen, *Misc.*, 315, 84; orthrawen, *Mach.*, 134, 28; owerthrew, *Tr.*, 102, 134; owerthrowen, *Tr.*, 55, 216.
- Owerbaß, *adj.*, too low, *Tr.*, 55, 196.
- Owershrude, *infin.*, to cover, *Tr.*, 49, 60.
- Owerthrew. See Overthrawe.
- Owrinns, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, overrun, *Ps.*, 279, 138.
- Pace, *sb.* (mountain) pass, *Tr.*, 82, 131.
- Paction, *sb.*, compact, *Mach.*, 102, 11.
- Painfull, *adj.*, cautious, *Tar.*, 169, 1.
- Paintrie, *sb.*, painting, *Ans.*, 57, 16.
- Pairst, *infin.*, to depart, *Tr.*, 84, 206.
- Pale, *sb.*, canopy, *Rep.*, 181, 14; 182, 4.
- Paliard, *adj.*, dissolute, *Tr.*, 48, 23.
- Pallions, *sb.*, *pl.*, tents, *Mach.*, 101, 10.
- Panderoussis, *sb.*, *pl.*, pandars, *Ans.*, 32, 13.
- Pansiue, *adj.*, thoughtful, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 1; *Misc.*, 315, 87; pansiuwe, *Tr.*, 28, 58, &c.
- Panß, *infin.*, to think, *Tr.*, 129, 99; *Mach.*, 116, 14; *pres. ptc.*, pansing, *Tr.*, 40, 103; 127, 31; panse, *imperat.*, stanch, *Tar.*, 188, 13.
- Pape, *sb.*, pope, *Ans.*, 43, 4, &c.; *Mach.*, 73, 2, &c.; *gen.*, *sing.*, papes, *Mach.*, 82, 25; papis, *Ans.*, 49, 8; paps, *Ans.*, 49, 14; *pl.*, papes, *Mach.*, 92, 14; 93, 9; paps, *Ans.*, 32, 16.
- Papedome, *sb.*, papacy, *Ans.*, 43, 11; *Mach.*, 93, 23.
- Parcells, by, *phr.*, *adv.*, in detail, *Mach.*, 81, 24.
- Parfitly. See Perfyte (1).
- Parkes, *sb.*, *pl.*, the Parcae, *Son.*, 271, 11; parks, *Tr.*, 28, 48.
- Parlesie, *sb.*, palsy, *Ans.*, 53, 39.

- Part, in a, *Mach.*, 129, 16. See note.
- Partage, *sb.*, portion, *Tr.*, 40, 95.
- Partans, *sb.*, *pl.*, crabs, *Rep.*, 193, 29.
- Partialitie, *sb.*, faction, *Mach.*, 137, 6: *pl.*, partialytes, *Mach.*, 139, 25.
- Participant, *adj.*, giving a share of, *Mach.*, 149, 22.
- Particulers, *sb.*, *pl.*, individuals, *Mach.*, 116, 25; partisans, *Mach.*, 94, 1.
- Partition, *sb.*, part of a room divided off, *Rep.*, 180, 7; 182, 11.
- Pasch, *sb.*, Easter, *Ans.*, 48, 21; Pasche, *Ans.*, 48, 6.
- Pasmentis, *sb.*, *pl.*, ornamental trimmings, *Tr.*, 16, 12; *Rep.*, 181, 16.
- Passage, *sb.*, going, *Tr.*, 41, 126.
- Pathe, *infin.*, to walk, *Seq.*, 225, 11.
- Patisserie, *sb.*, pastry, *Rep.*, 188, 14; patisserye, *Rep.*, 189, 5.
- Payse, *sb.*, weight, *Doubt.*, 383, 172.
- Peace, *infin.*, to hold one's peace, *Tr.*, 74, 207.
- Peacelye, *adv.*, peacefully, *Tr.*, 82, 149.
- Pearce, pearse. See Perse.
- Pece, by peice and, *phr.*, *adv.*, gradually, *Tr.*, 84, 202; peace and peace, *Mach.*, 151, 17.
- Penetencie, *sb.*, penitence, *Ans.*, 52, 10.
- Pennersinkhornes, *sb.*, *pl.*, pen-cases and ink-horns, *Ans.*, 25, 17.
- Penns, *sb.*, *pl.*, feathers, *Tr.*, 62, 119.
- Penyeis, *sb.*, *pl.*, ?, *Mach.*, 112, 6.
- Pepill, *sb.*, people, *Tr.*, 30, 110; *Ans.*, 25, 4, &c.; *Mach.*, 73, 10, &c.; pepil, *Ans.*, 46, 26; 52, 12; pepole, *Ans.*, 59, 2; peopill, *Mach.*, 152, 27.
- Perced. See Perse.
- Perell, *infin.*, to threaten, *Mach.*, 112, 21: perrell, *infin.*, to run risks, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 12.
- Perfyte (1), *adj.*, perfect, *Tr.*, 16, 33, &c.; *Tar.*, 140, 4; *Ps.*, 289, 39; perfyit, *Tr.*, 122, 120; perfitt, *Doubt.*, 354, 19; 386, 278: perfytlie, *adv.*, perfectly, *Tr.*, 66, 220; parfitly, *Mach.*, 158, 24.
- Perfyte (2), *infin.*, to perfect, *Tr.*, 94, 208.
- Perpend, *infin.*, to consider, *Tar.*, 146, viii, 12: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 9: *imperat.*, *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 11.
- Perqueire, *adv.*, by rote, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 9.
- Persave, *infin.*, to perceive, *Mach.*, 149, 28; perceauue, *Ans.*, 33, 2; 41, 32; perceauue, *Mach.*, 78, 34, &c.; perceawe, *Tr.*, 28, 39, &c.: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, persaweth, *Tr.*, 89, 91: *pres. ptc.*, perceauing, *Ans.*, 40, 8; perceuing, *Ans.*, 22, 9.
- Perse, *infin.*, to pierce, *Tr.*, 62, 110; *Tar.*, 136, 4; *Seq.*, 225, 10; pearce, *Death*, 241, 40: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, pearst, *Doubt.*, 365, 24; peirst, *Doubt.*, 359, 30; perst, *Tr.*, 104, 10; *Misc.*, 310, 4: *pt. ptc.*, pearced, *Tr.*, 28, 36; pearcst, *Ps.*, 275, 5; 291, 16; pearst, I, 7, 13; perced, *Ps.*, 281, 200; perst, *Tr.*, 124, 165.
- Perseue, *infin.*, to pursue, *Tar.*, 190, li, 6; persew, *Mach.*, 109, 15; persewe, *Seq.*, 216, 11.
- Perseuerand, *adj.*, continued, *Ans.*, 29, 24.
- Persistand, *pres. ptc.*, persisting, *Ans.*, 31, 9.
- Perteins, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, pertains, *Ans.*, 48, 33: *pres. ptc.*, pertinand, *Ans.*, 38, 14.
- Perverberat, *infin.*, to pierce, *Seq.*, 224, 10.
- Phantastik, *adj.*, imagined, *Ans.*, 62, 22.
- Pichte, *infin.*, to pitch, *Mach.*, 108, 35.
- Pight, *pt. ptc.*, placed, *Doubt.*, 365, 12.
- Pik, *sb.*, pitch, *Tr.*, 52, 132; *Seq.*, 225, 7. Cf. Pitchte.
- Piled, *pt. ptc.*, pillaged, *Mach.*, 77, 10.
- Pitchte, *sb.*, pitch, *Son.*, 266, 14. Cf. Pik.
- Plane, *infin.*, to complain, *Tr.*, 72, 155: *pres. ptc.*, planing, *Tr.*, 24, 9.
- Plaster, *Tr.*, 68, 44. See note.

- Plat (1), *sb.*, position, *Ans.*, 13, 21; 14, 2.
- Plat (2), *sb.*, design, *Tar.*, 209, 1; platt, *Tr.*, 91, 123: *pl.*, platts, *Mach.*, 93, 28; 151, 28.
- Platted. *See* Plett.
- Playsant. *See* Plesand.
- Pleagues, *sb.*, *pl.*, wounds, *Ans.*, 25, 37.
- Pleis, *infin.*, to please, *Tr.*, 92, 176; *Ans.*, 21, 33; plesé, *Mach.*, 126, 29: *pt. ptc.*, pleséid, *Mach.*, 81, 13.
- Plesand, *adj.*, pleasant, *Tar.*, 139, iii, 12; playsant, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 5.
- Plesour, *sb.*, pleasure, *Tar.*, 164, 2; *Mach.*, 144, 36; plesur, *Mach.*, 88, 15: *pl.*, pleasouris, *Tr.*, 39, 60; pleasours, *Mach.*, 133, 22; plesurs, *Mach.*, 107, 15.
- Plett, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, weave, *Doubt.*, 340, 54: *pt. ptc.*, platted, *Misc.*, 318, 31.
- Pleye, *infin.*, to plead, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 2.
- Pleyed, *pt. ptc.*, played, *Mach.*, 122, 25.
- Ploued, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, ploughed, *Misc.*, 311, 9.
- Plouers, *sb.*, *pl.*, ploughers, *Misc.*, 311, 9.
- Poke, *sb.*, sack, *Ans.*, 34, 23.
- Policeye, *sb.*, cunning, *Mach.*, 121, 10.
- Pompe, *sb.*, procession, *Tr.*, 71, 107; 75, 231.
- Poolles, *sb.*, *pl.*, poles, *Tar.*, 156, 4.
- Poore, *adj.*, pure, *Tr.*, 77, 9: *superl.*, poorest, *Tar.*, 166, 8.
- Port, *sb.*, gate, *Tr.*, 59, 24; 64, 184: *pl.*, ports, *Ans.*, 38, 29; 46, 30; portes, *Mach.*, 81, 37.
- Portraits, *sb.*, *pl.*, images, *Tar.*, 156, 7.
- Postponing, *pres. ptc.*, giving second place to, I, 7, 10.
- Pouer, *infin.*, to pour, *Tar.*, 153, xix, 12; *Mach.*, 162, 13; power, *Tr.*, 64, 176.
- Poulders, *sb.*, *gen.*, *sing.*, powder's, *Tar.*, 210, lxxiv, 7.
- Poure. *See* Pwir.
- Pourpour, *adj.*, purple, *Misc.*, 314, 77.
- Poust, *pt. ptc.*, forced, *Tr.*, 74, 210.
- Practic, *sb.*, practice, *Mach.*, 141, 17; pratique, *Mach.*, 108, 30; prattik, *Mach.*, 85, 16.
- Pragnancie, *sb.*, quickness of wit, *Mach.*, 149, 3.
- Prased. *See* Prease (1).
- Pratt, *infin.*, to prate, *Tr.*, 124, 167.
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- Prease (1), *infin.*, to praise, *Ans.*, 29, 10: *pt. ptc.*, prased, *Ans.*, 14, 25.
- Prease (2), *infin.*, to strive, press, *Tr.*, 23, 8, &c.; *Tar.*, 199, 11; *Death*, 241, 43; *Mach.*, 109, 27; 162, 14; preaß, *Doubt.*, 393, 1: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, prease, *Tar.*, 142, vi, 7: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, preiß, *Tr.*, 116, 125: 2 *sing.*, *pret.*, preast, *Tr.*, 93, 202: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, preased, *Mach.*, 114, 17; preassed, *Rep.*, 190, 21; prest, *Tr.*, 74, 211: *pres. ptc.*, preasing, *Mach.*, 119, 24; *Rep.*, 191, 1; presing, *Ans.*, 25, 12: *pt. ptc.*, preased, *Mach.*, 83, 6; 93, 3; preassit, *Ans.*, 19, 11; preaste, *Tar.*, 162, 3; preased, *Mach.*, 122, 14; 134, 19.
- Preason, preasoun. *See* Preson.
- Preched, *pt. ptc.*, preached, *Rep.*, 184, 17; preichit, *Ans.*, 41, 24.
- Preferment, *sb.*, advantage, *Mach.*, 161, 11.
- Prefigurat, *pt. ptc.*, prefigured, *Ans.*, 65, 4.
- Prefixed, *adj.*, appointed (of time), *Rep.*, 171, 2; prefixt, *Rep.*, 170, 32.
- Preine, *sb.*, pin, *Ans.*, 33, 31.
- Preis, *sb.*, thrust, *Ans.*, 25, 2: preiß, *sb.*, throng, *Tr.*, 59, 49; 113, 25; a narrow passage (*translating* 'per strette'), *Tr.*, 65, 193.
- Preistis, *sb.*, *pl.*, priests, *Ans.*, 58, 37; preists, *Mach.*, 100, 15; preasts, *Ans.*, 51, 7.
- Prejudiciable, *adj.*, prejudicial, *Mach.*, 122, 13.
- Premisses, *sb.*, *pl.*, promises, *Rep.*, 185, 8.
- Prence, *sb.*, prince, I, 17, 8; *Tar.*, 206, 5; *Mach.*, 71, 20, &c.: *gen.*, *sing.*, prences, *Mach.*, 88, 6; prencis, *Mach.*, 102, 3;

- princis, *Mach.*, 149, 29: *pl.*,  
 prences, *Mach.*, 80, 16, &c.;  
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*Mach.*, 124, 7; *Rep.*, 191, 3.  
 Prencedome, *sb.*, princedom, *Mach.*,  
 112, 26; prencdome, *Mach.*,  
 123, 17; princdome, *Mach.*,  
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 Prenclye, *adj.*, princely, *Mach.*,  
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 Preoccupat, *pt. ptc.*, biassed, *Ans.*,  
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 Preponit, *pt. ptc.*, placed before,  
*Ans.*, 47, 23.  
 Presarue, *infin.*, to preserve, *I*,  
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 Preson, *sb.*, prison, *Ps.*, 284, 70;  
*Misc.*, 321, 15; presoun, *Tr.*,  
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*Misc.*, 321, 4; preasoun, *Tr.*,  
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 Presoneir, *sb.*, prisoner, *Mach.*,  
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 Prest, *adj.*, ready, *Tr.*, 38, 48;  
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 Presumptionous, *adj.*, presump-  
 tious, *Mach.*, 91, 25.  
 Pretented, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, aspired,  
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 Pretex (1), *sb.*, pretext, *Mach.*, 83,  
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 Pretex (2), *infin.*, to allege as a  
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 Preuentit, *pt. ptc.*, anticipated,  
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 Proceur, *infin.*, to bring about,  
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 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, procureth,  
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 Propine, *infin.*, to offer, *I*, 8, 26;  
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- Pryme, *sb.*, spring, *Tr.*, 120, 66.  
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 Queare, *sb.*, choir, *Tr.*, 128, 63.  
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- Quhais, *pron.*, *rel.*, whose, *Ans.*, 20, 33, &c.; quhase, *Tar.*, 157, 5, &c.; *Seq.*, 222, 7; 224, 2; *Death*, 235, 1, &c.; *Son.*, 256, 14; 264, 14; 269, xxiv, 9; *Misc.*, 313, 41; 328, xix, 14; *Mach.*, 74, 24, &c.; quhose, *Tr.*, 44, 199; 51, 105; *Tar.*, 141, iv, 14, &c.; *Seq.*, 216, 3; *Death*, 239, 5; *Ans.*, 26, 3; 58, 32; *Mach.*, 105, 16; 151, 21; whase, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 4.
- Quhan, *conj.*, when, *Ans.*, 13, 4; 52, 12; 58, 33; 63, 33; 66, 10; quhen, *Tr.*, 41, 116, &c.; *Tar.*, 154, 2, &c.; *Seq.*, 218, 7, &c.; *Son.*, 247, 5; *Ps.*, 279, 133, &c.; *Ans.*, 29, 12, &c.; *Mach.*, 76, 24, &c.; whan, *Tr.*, 53, 162; quhen as, *conj.*, when, *Tr.*, 64, 170; 104, 1; *Death*, 238, 10; *Ps.*, 294, 86; *Mach.*, 88, 34; when as, *Tr.*, 36, 8, &c.; quhen that, *conj.*, when, *Tr.*, 58, 1; 86, 7; 127, 140; *Tar.*, 184, xlvi, 1; when that, *Tr.*, 30, 101, &c.; quhensoeuer, *conj.*, whenever, *Ans.*, 9, 15; *Mach.*, 137, 27.
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- Quhase. See Quhais.
- Quhat, *pron.* and *adj.*, what. (a) *pron.*, *Tr.*, 37, 24, &c.; *Tar.*, 154, 13; 158, 9; 202, 1; *Seq.*, 217, 8; *Ps.*, 275, 11, &c.; *Misc.*, 313, 25; *Ans.*, 21, 2, &c.; *Mach.*, 93, 12, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 35; (b) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 41, 124, &c.; *Tar.*, 144, 9, &c.; *Seq.*, 220, 2; *Death*, 241, 44; *Son.*, 247, 1; *Ps.*, 275, 3, &c.; *Misc.*, 310, 15; 313, 39; *Ans.*, 10, 23, &c.; *Mach.*, 71, 6, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 20.
- Quhat euer, *adj.*, whatever, *Mach.*, 79, 28.
- Quhatsoeuar, *pron.*, whatever, *Ans.*, 26, 22; quhatsoeuer, *Ans.*, 51, 30; *Rep.*, 192, 25.
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- Quhich, *pron.*, *rel.*, which, *Mach.*, 104, 13; quhiche, *Mach.*, 148, 6.
- Quhil, *prep.*, till, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 4; *conj.*, till, *Tr.*, 17, 3; 87, 36; 122, 111; *Rep.*, 177, 16.
- Quhillis, *conj.*, when, *Mach.*, 148, 19; quhillis, *Tr.*, 58, 13; quhills, *Mach.*, 149, 27; 151, 16; quhils, *Tar.*, 139, iii, 3, &c.; *Seq.*, 218, 1, &c.; *Son.*, 250, 13, &c.; *Mach.*, 111, 8; 157, 28; whillis, *Tr.*, 120, 55; whills, *Tr.*, 110, 163; 113, 41; *Mach.*, 122, 12; whils, *Tr.*, 103, 157; *Tar.*, 138, iii, 11; 160, xxv, 3; 166, 3; 180, xl, 13;

- 193, liii, 3; 196, lxi, 3; *Misc.*, 262, xv, 7; 268, 13; *Ps.*, 279, 126; *Mach.*, 117, 26; 139, 11; 154, 31; quhils as, *conj.*, when, *Mach.*, 92, 2; 139, 3, &c.; quhills as, *Mach.*, 139, 33; whillis as, *Tr.*, 63, 137; 120, 59; whills as, *Mach.*, 113, 21; 127, 24; whils as, *Tr.*, 45, 229; 67, 19; 93, 200; 121, 110; *Tar.*, 136, 9; 192, lv, 6; *Mach.*, 78, 11; 79, 6, &c.; quhillis, *conj.*, while, *Ps.*, 293, 62; quhils, *Mach.*, 159, 3; whiles, *Misc.*, 269, xxiii, 11; *Rep.*, 193, 31; whils, *Tr.*, 70, 85; 104, 10; 127, 31; *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 4, &c.; *Ps.*, 292, 52; quhils that, *Ps.*, 289, 25; whils as, *Tr.*, 121, 110; quhils, *conj.*, than, *Mach.*, 82, 30; quhills as, *conj.*, because, *Mach.*, 74, 14; quhils as, *Mach.*, 147, 16; quhils as, *conj.*, if, *Mach.*, 128, 28; whils as, *Mach.*, 79, 12; quhils as, *conj.*, so long as, *Mach.*, 99, 2.
- Quhilk, *pron.* and *adj.*, which. (a) *pron.*, *Tar.*, 144, 6, &c.; *Seq.*, 220, 9; 229, 1; *Death*, 233, 16, &c.; *Son.*, 247, 2, &c.; *Pest*, 303, 6; 304, 28; *Misc.*, 310, 14, &c.; *Ans.*, 10, 6, &c.; *Mach.*, 71, 11, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 17, &c.; quhilke, *Ans.*, 44, 9; whilk, *Mach.*, 81, 14; 135, 11; the quhilk, *Ans.*, 27, 1, &c.; *pl.*, quhilkes, *Ans.*, 49, 21; quhilkis, *Ans.*, 10, 9; 13, 22; 14, 13; 43, 21; quhilks, *Ans.*, 27, 26, &c.; the quhilkis, *Ans.*, 43, 29; 53, 12; 57, 37; 61, 5; (b) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 39, 3; 62, 13; *Mach.*, 79, 6; 80, 30; 85, 37; the quhilk, *Ans.*, 30, 19.
- Quhill, *conj.*, when, *Tr.*, 86, 8; quhyle, *conj.*, while, *Death*, 242, 68.
- Quhills, quhils. See Quhilis.
- Quhils, *sb.*, while, *Mach.*, 99, 28. See also Quhilis.
- Quhither, *conj.*, whether, *Misc.*, 315, 93; *Ans.*, 28, 12; wether, *Mach.*, 137, 2; whidder, *Tr.*, 101, 120; wheather, *Ps.*, 284, 62; *Misc.*, 320, 3; whither, *Tr.*, 54, 166; *Ans.*, 44, 5; 66, 30.
- Quho. See Quha.
- Quhole, *adj.*, entire, *Death*, 241, 36.
- Quhome, *pron.*, *rel.*, whom, *Tr.*, 32, 149; 39, 80; *Tar.*, 168, 9, &c.; *Death*, 235, 1, &c.; *Ps.*, 276, 48, &c.; *Misc.*, 308, 15; 314, 56; *Ans.*, 19, 14, &c.; *Mach.*, 73, 6, &c.; quhom, *Tr.*, 34, 209; *Ps.*, 295, 18; *Ans.*, 13, 7.
- Quhose. See Quhais.
- Quhow, *adv.*, *interrog.*, how, *Mach.*, 109, 11.
- Quhy, *adv.*, why, *Seq.*, 215, 7; *Death*, 236, 3; 240, 13; 241, 33; *Ans.*, 68, 13; *Mach.*, 91, 26; qhwy, *Seq.*, 223, 7.
- Quhyle. See Quhill.
- Quhyte, *adj.*, white, *Tar.*, 140, 5, &c.; *Seq.*, 218, 12; *Misc.*, 313, 50; 314, 70.
- Quhytnes, *sb.*, whiteness, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 4.
- Quicqlie, *adv.*, quickly, *Mach.*, 77, 4.
- Quintescence, *infin.*, to extract the essence, *Tar.*, 148, xii, 2.
- Qukilk, *miswriting for* 'quhilk,' *Son.*, 264, 10.
- Quyte, *infin.*, to give up, *Tr.*, 42, 155; 43, 163; *pl. ptc.*, quyted, *Mach.*, 84, 37.
- Quyte, *sb.*, quits, *Tr.*, 32, 162.
- Racaue. See Resaue.
- Raches, *sb.*, riches, *Tr.*, 115, 96; ratches, *Tr.*, 132, 166. Cf. Rychces.
- Rair, *adv.*, very, *Tr.*, 65, 196.
- Rais, raise. See Ryse.
- Rammage, *adj.*, untamed, *Tr.*, 54, 180.
- Rampiers, *sb.*, *pl.*, ramparts, *Tar.*, 172, 14; 177, 6; *Mach.*, 157, 6.
- Ranconter, *infin.*, to encounter, *Tr.*, 28, 50; 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rencontre, *Mach.*, 155, 5; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rencontres, *Mach.*, 158, 19; 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, ranconterers, *Tr.*, 68, 28; *pres. ptc.*, rancontring, *Mach.*, 133, 6.
- Rander, *infin.*, to render, *Tr.*, 34, 205; *Death*, 235, 6; *Ps.*, 281, 201; *Doubt.*, 369, 23;

- to surrender, *Mach.*, 82, 8; 117, 15; 143, 27; to grant, *Tr.*, 105, 20: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *randers*, *Ans.*, 67, 3: *pres. ptc.*, *randring*, *Mach.*, 82, 36.
- Rasaue. *See* Resaue.
- Raschfull, *adj.*, rash, *Ans.*, 19, 4.
- Rasonit. *See* Reason (2).
- Ratcher, *adj.*, *comp.*, richer, *Tr.*, 60, 72; *rechar*, *Tr.*, 109, 140.
- Rauthfull, *adj.*, piteous, *Tr.*, 90, 120.
- Rave. *See* Reaving.
- Ravishment. *See* Reveshment.
- Raw, *adj.*, immature, *Tr.*, 26, 28; cruel, *Tr.*, 101, 117; 106, 57.
- Raynes, *sb.*, *pl.*, the kidneys, *Seq.*, 225, 8.
- Reade. *See* Rid.
- Reakning, *pres. ptc.*, reckoning, *Ans.*, 25, 37: *pt. ptc.*, *rekned*, *Mach.*, 118, 32.
- Reanes, *sb.*, *pl.*, reins, *Tar.*, 188, 2. *Cf.* Rinzes.
- Reas, *sb.*, *pl.*, the sail-yards of a ship, *Tar.*, 197, lxiii, 10. (O.N. *rd.*)
- Rease, *infin.*, to raise, *Tar.*, 174, 13. *See also* Ryse.
- Reason (1), *sb.*, speech, *Tr.*, 29, 63.
- Reason (2) *infin.*, to converse, *Mach.*, 135, 16; *reasoun*, *Tr.*, 32, 147: *rasonit*, *pt. ptc.*, argued, *Ans.*, 22, 33.
- Reasonles, *adj.*, irrational, *Ps.*, 295, 2.
- Reaving, *pres. ptc.*, raving, *Misc.*, 320, 8: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, *rave*, *Tr.*, 82, 144.
- Rebound, *infin.*, to re-echo, *Tr.*, 63, 157: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, arise from, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 5.
- Rebourse, *infin.*, to reverse, *Tr.*, 127, 42. (Fr. *rebourser.*)
- Rebreids, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, renew, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 11.
- Rebring, *imperat.*, bring, *Ps.*, 288, 1: *pres. ptc.*, *rebringing*, *Tr.*, 196, 360.
- Recails, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, recoils, *Ps.*, 276, 33.
- Receit, *infin.*, to repeat, *Ans.*, 23, 23.
- Rechar. *See* Ratcher.
- Reclame, *infin.*, to appeal (in law), *Mach.*, 124, 8.
- Reclered, *pt. ptc.*, cleared away, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 6.
- Recognose, *imperat.*, recognise, *Ans.*, 63, 18.
- Reconforted, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, comforted, *Tr.*, 89, 95.
- Reconquesh, *infin.*, to conquer, *Mach.*, 72, 26: *pt. ptc.*, reconqueshed, *Mach.*, 75, 14.
- Recoursinge, *pres. ptc.*, running back, *Doubt.*, 340, 26.
- Recrease, *infin.*, to increase, *Tr.*, 80, 82: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *recessis*, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 10: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *recreasis*, *Tr.*, 22, 25.
- Redacted, *pt. ptc.*, reduced, *Mach.*, 103, 16.
- Redond, *infin.*, to arise, *Mach.*, 78, 22: *pt. ptc.*, *redunded*, *Mach.*, 93, 20.
- Reduced, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, brought back, *Rep.*, 192, 2.
- Refell, *infin.*, to refute, *As.*, 26, 22: *pres. ptc.*, *refelling*, *Ans.*, 34, 35: *pt. ptc.*, *refellit*, *Ans.*, 13, 19.
- Referring, *pres. ptc.*, imputing, *Ans.*, 30, 18: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, *referrit*, *Ans.*, 48, 19.
- Reflex, *infin.*, to reflect back, *Son.*, 261, 14.
- Refflorish, *infin.*, to flourish, *Death*, 242, 69: *refflorishis*, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, cause to flourish anew, *Tr.*, 22, 25.
- Refuse, *sb.*, refusal, *Tar.*, 147, xi, 11; 170, 14.
- Regrait, *infin.*, to regret, *Tr.*, 61, 108. (O.F. *regrater.*)
- Reiff, *sb.*, rapine, *Tr.*, 108, 128.
- Reik, *sb.*, smoke, *Ans.*, 52, 7.
- Reinzed, *pt. ptc.*, reined, *Tr.*, 132, 172.
- Reionyed, *pt. ptc.*, rejoined, *Mach.*, 116, 9.
- Releief, *sb.*, relief, *Tr.*, 25, 24; *releif*, *Mach.*, 89, 16.
- Releiff, *imperat.*, relieve, *Doubt.*, 346, 31: *pt. ptc.*, *releiid*, *Tar.*, 198, 1; *relived*, *Mach.*, 103, 27: *vbl. sb.*, *releauing*, *Ans.*, 33, 12.
- Relent, *infin.*, to slacken, *Tr.*, 62, 124: *relent*, *pt. ptc.*, *relented*, *Tar.*, 190, li, 7.
- Remanent, *sb.*, remnant, *Ans.*, 40, 33; *Mach.*, 92, 23.

- Remeded. *See* Remeid (1).  
 Remedeis, remedyeis. *See* Remidie.  
 Remeid (1), *infin.*, to remedy, *Ps.*, 276, 39: *pt. ptc.*, remeded, *Mach.*, 80, 29.  
 Remeid (2), *sb.*, remedy, *Tr.*, 125, 193; *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 5; *Mach.*, 156, 8; remeide, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 8; *Mach.*, 77, 19: *pl.*, remeids, *Mach.*, 74, 27. *Cf.* Remidie. (O.F. *remede*.)  
 Remeidied, *pt. ptc.*, remedied, *Mach.*, 77, 9.  
 Remidie, *sb.*, remedy, *Mach.*, 89, 27: *pl.*, remedeis, *Mach.*, 135, 23; remedyeis, *Mach.*, 155, 1; remeideis, *Mach.*, 75, 30; remideis, *Mach.*, 75, 30. (A.F. *remedie*.)  
 Rencontre. *See* Rancounter.  
 Renegat, *adj.*, renegade, *Ans.*, 58, 11.  
 Renforsing, *pres. ptc.*, strengthening, *Mach.*, 75, 19.  
 Renge. *See* Ringe.  
 Renowme, *sb.*, renown, *Tr.*, 37, 31; *Doubt.*, 380, 52.  
 Renown, *infin.*, to make famous, *Tr.*, 59, 52: *pt. ptc.*, renoned, *Mach.*, 143, 28.  
 Renverß, *infin.*, to overturn, *Tr.*, 127, 42.  
 Replenished, *pt. ptc.*, abundantly provided with, *Tr.*, 112, 10; *Ans.*, 13, 4; *Mach.*, 150, 7.  
 Reportarie, *sb.*, description, *Rep.*, 169, 1.  
 Repruif, *infin.*, to reprove, *Ans.*, 56, 25.  
 Reputit, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, considered, *Ans.*, 44, 17: *pt. ptc.*, reput, *Ans.*, 51, 2; *Mach.*, 113, 28; repute, *Ans.*, 49, 34; *Mach.*, 128, 2; reputit, *Ans.*, 51, 6.  
 Requist, *sb.*, request, *Tr.*, 38, 43; *Ans.*, 24, 17.  
 Requeseit, *adj.*, necessary, *Mach.*, 75, 3, &c.; requeseit, *Mach.*, 90, 9; requeseit, *Ans.*, 47, 1.  
 Requyre, *infin.*, to enquire, *Tr.*, 47, 11; requyrd, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, obliged, *Tr.*, 86, 18.  
 Resawe, *infin.*, to receive, *Doubt.*, 341, 65; receaue, *Misc.*, 309, 7; receive, *Mach.*, 79, 32, &c.; receawe, *Tr.*, 17, 27; raceau, *Ans.*, 52, 13; raceaue, *Ans.*, 10, 26; *Rep.*, 189, 28: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *subj.*, rasaue, *Ans.*, 50, 10: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, raceauit, *Ans.*, 22, 30; receuit, *Ans.*, 25, 37: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, rasauit, *Ans.*, 22, 15; received, *Rep.*, 182, 29: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, rasauid, *Ans.*, 50, 32; received, *Mach.*, 75, 9: *imperat.*, ressaue, *Tar.*, 141, iv, 12: *pt. ptc.*, raceaued, *Ans.*, 63, 28; rasauit, *Ans.*, 54, 3; 60, 13; receauit, *Ans.*, 21, 16; received, *Mach.*, 89, 27; ressaued, *Tr.*, 61, 106.  
 Resent, *infin.*, to feel, *Tr.*, 112, 15; *Tar.*, 142, vi, 10.  
 Resident, *sb.*, remnant, *Ans.*, 41, 1.  
 Resing, *infin.*, to resign, *Tr.*, 42, 155: *pt. ptc.*, resingd, *Death*, 241, 52.  
 Resolud, *pt. ptc.*, resolved, *Death*, 241, 36.  
 Resond, *infin.*, to proclaim abroad, *Death*, 242, 72: *pres. ptc.*, resounding, *Tr.*, 59, 33.  
 Resound, *sb.*, sound, *Tr.*, 42, 147.  
 Respectful, *adj.*, cautious, *Mach.*, 160, 5.  
 Respecting, *adj.*, cautious, *Mach.*, 158, 5; 160, 3.  
 Ressaue. *See* Resaue.  
 Ressoun, *sb.*, reason, *Ans.*, 10, 4; 67, 4.  
 Restrength, *imperat.*, restrengthen *Ps.*, 279, 130.  
 Reteane. *See* Retene.  
 Reteir, *infin.*, to withdraw, *Tr.*, 24, 10; 61, 95; *Mach.*, 109, 13; reteire, *Tar.*, 194, 3; *Seq.*, 218, 4; reteere, *Tr.*, 25, 20: *imperat.*, reteir, *Ps.*, 298, 98: 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, retered, *Rep.*, 191, 10.  
 Retene, *infin.*, to retain, *Mach.*, 74, 24, &c.; reteine, *Ans.*, 43, 17; 53, 2; reteane, *Mach.*, 85, 19; 88, 23 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, retenis, *Tr.*, 63, 140: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, reteneth, *Mach.*, 88, 18: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, reteand, *Tar.*, 183, xlv, 8; retened, *Mach.*, 81, 28; retenit, *Ans.*, 27, 22; *Mach.*, 148, 19: *pt. ptc.*, reteind, *Seq.*, 227, 8; retened, *Mach.*, 88, 1.

- Retrait, *sb.*, act of withdrawal, *Tr.*, 77, 15; *Tar.*, 178, 7: *pl.*, retraits, *Tar.*, 191, liv, 3: retraite, place of withdrawal, *Ps.*, 292, 43.
- Returne, *infin.*, to turn away, *Tr.*, 112, 1: retourne, *infin.*, to turn to, *Mach.*, 81, 23.
- Reuele, *infin.*, to reveal, *Ans.*, 27, 35: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, reveillis, *Tr.*, 92, 173: *pt. ptc.*, reueald, I, 4, 1. reweilled, *Tr.*, 63, 138.
- Reul (1), *sb.*, rule, *Ans.*, 24, 33; reule, *Mach.*, 71, 21.
- Reul (2), *infin.*, to rule, *Mach.*, 136, 31; reule, *Mach.*, 97, 12; rewill, *Tr.*, 103, 155; rewle, *Mach.*, 117, 8; rewll, *Tr.*, 80, 88.
- Reuth, *sb.*, pity, *Tr.*, 82, 144; reuthe, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 4.
- Reuthe, *sb.*, wrath, *Tar.*, 200, 2.
- Reuthfull, *adj.*, pitiful, *Tr.*, 82, 143; *Tar.*, 210, lxxiv, 1: reuthfullie, *adv.*, pityingly, *Tr.*, 43, 182.
- Reveshment, *sb.*, ravishing, *Mach.*, 125, 13: ravishment, *sb.*, violence, *Mach.*, 156, 23.
- Reweve, *infin.*, to see again, *Tar.*, 158, 9.
- Revis, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, robs, *Tr.*, 57, 258; reaves, *Death*, 233, 4.
- Revisch, *infin.*, to carry off, *Tr.*, 34, 213: *pt. ptc.*, revished, *Mach.*, 132, 5; revisht, *Tar.*, 184, xlvii, 7; rewisht, *Tr.*, 74, 204.
- Reviue, *infin.*, to revive, *Tar.*, 184, xlvihi, 8; 207, 1; *Death*, 243, 14: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, reuiues, I, 5, 8; reuius, *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 14: *pt. ptc.*, reviud, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 9; reviued, *Mach.*, 116, 9.
- Reviuer, *sb.*, reviver, *Tar.*, 141, iv (4), 10; reuiver, *Tar.*, 141, iv, 10.
- Revolt, *infin.*, to revolve, *Tr.*, 122, 134: revolteth, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, revolt, *Mach.*, 74, 12.
- Rew, *sb.*, street, *Ans.*, 25, 20: *pl.*, rewes, *Ans.*, 25, 16.
- Richesest. See Richte.
- Richt (1), *sb.*, right, *Tr.*, 83, 170; rycht, *Ans.*, 21, 16; of richt, *phr.*, *adv.*, rightly, *Ans.*, 49, 32.
- Richt (2), *adj.*, right, *Ans.*, 9, 1, 10; 49, 12.
- Richte, *adj.*, rich, *Rep.*, 177, 21: *superl.*, richesest, *Mach.*, 131, 13.
- Rid, *adj.*, red, *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 1; 193, lviii, 10; *Seq.*, 215, 1; *Mach.*, 85, 11; ridd, *Misc.*, 314, 58; reid, *Tr.*, 78, 3; 93, 188; reade, *Tr.*, 24, 6; *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 6.
- Rin, *infin.*, to run, *Tr.*, 56, 224; 92, 179; 107, 102; 120, 62; *Tar.*, 206, 8; *Mach.*, 114, 25; 126, 24; *Rep.*, 177, 5; ryn, *Tr.*, 43, 171: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rin, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 6; 178, 7; 192, lvi, 2; *Son.*, 264, 2: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rinis, *Tar.*, 211, 14; rinnis, *Tr.*, 123, 140; rins, *Tar.*, 162, 14: *pres. ptc.*, rining, *Mach.*, 156, 22; rinning, *Tr.*, 119, 50; *Ans.*, 41, 27: *vbl. sb.*, rinning, *Rep.*, 177, 2.
- Ringe, *infin.*, to reign, *Tr.*, 103, 155; rengo, *Mach.*, 132, 3.
- Rinners, *sb.*, *pl.*, runners, *Tr.*, 45, 224.
- Rinzes, *sb.*, *pl.*, reins, *Rep.*, 177, 11. Cf. Reanes, Reinzed.
- Rissen, rissing. See Ryse.
- Rithces. See Rychces.
- Roanting, *pres. ptc.*, roaring, *Seq.*, 226, 1.
- Rondleis, *sb.*, *pl.*, roundels, *Misc.*, 318, 24.
- Rosed, *adj.*, rosy, *Doubt.*, 366, 33.
- Roselye, *adj.*, rosy, *Tr.*, 88, 58.
- Roume, *sb.*, room, *Ans.*, 55, 7; rowme, *Tr.*, 42, 153: *pl.*, rowmes, *Tr.*, 121, 106: roume, *sb.*, place, *Ans.*, 48, 32; rovme, *Rep.*, 191, 1; rowme, *Tr.*, 127, 38: *pl.*, rovmes, *Mach.*, 77, 28.
- Rounded, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, whispered, *Tr.*, 52, 127.
- Rout, *infin.*, to roar, *Tr.*, 56, 247. (O.N. *rauta*.)
- Routhfullye, *adv.*, fully, *Misc.*, 304, 32.
- Routing, *pres. ptc.*, rushing, *Seq.*, 221, 6. (O.E. *hrútan*.)
- Row, *infin.*, to roll, *Tr.*, 84, 208: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rowe, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 2: 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, rold, *Tr.*, 58, 13.

- Rowt, *sb.*, company, *Tr.*, 66, 220 ; route, *Tr.*, 72, 138. (A.Fr. *route*.)  
 Rubb, *infin.*, to rob, *Tr.*, 72, 144 : 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rubbis, *Tr.*, 57, 257.  
 Rubberie, *sb.*, robbery, *Mach.*, 118, 22 : *pl.*, robberyeis, *Mach.*, 116, 22.  
 Rudenes, *sb.*, ruddy hue, *Tr.*, 65, 208.  
 Ruffule, *sb.*, hostile encounter, *Mach.*, 139, 16.  
 Ruit, *sb.*, root, *Death*, 241, 55 ; rwit, *Tr.*, 61, 103.  
 Rumour, *sb.*, confused noise, *Tr.*, 45, 230.  
 Rwine, *sb.*, ruin, *Tr.*, 121, 92 ; ruiyne, *Tar.*, 196, lx, 7.  
 Ryatous, *adj.*, riotous, *Ans.*, 28, 6.  
 Rychces, *sb.*, riches, *Mach.*, 157, 37 ; rithces, *Mach.*, 83, 3. Cf. Raches.  
 Ryfe, *infin.*, to rend, *Ans.*, 53, 33 ; ryue, *Tar.*, 139, iii, 8 ; rywe, *Tr.*, 82, 140.  
 Rype, *infin.*, to reap, *Tr.*, 61, 104 ; 82, 150 ; *Death*, 241, 53 : 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, rype, *Tr.*, 55, 206.  
 Ryse, *infin.*, to rise, *Tr.*, 31, 143 : 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, rais, *Ans.*, 23, 19 ; raise, *Mach.*, 127, 33 : 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, rease, *Mach.*, 144, 12 : *pt. ptc.*, rissen, *Tr.*, 86, 19 ; rissing, *Mach.*, 159, 29.  
 Ryte, *vpon*, *phr.*, *adv.*, ? , *Mach.*, 159, 19.  
 Sa, *adv.*, so, *Tr.*, 77, 13 ; 82, 148 ; 93, 183 ; 107, 95 ; *Ans.*, 10, 12, &c. ; *Mach.*, 73, 5, &c. ; sae, *Tr.*, 88, 54 ; sua, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 6 ; *Seq.*, 228, 5 ; *Ans.*, 19, 20, &c. ; *Mach.*, 74, 9, &c. ; swa, *Ans.*, 21, 27.  
 Saccage, *sb.*, havoc, *Tr.*, 102, 148.  
 Sae. See Sa.  
 Safiye, *adv.*, safely, *Mach.*, 154, 24.  
 Saftye, *sb.*, safety, *Mach.*, 82, 35.  
 Sainct. See Sanct.  
 Sait, *sb.*, seat, *Ans.*, 26, 8 ; 61, 31.  
 Sal, *sall*, *vb.*, all persons = shall. (a) sal, *Tr.*, 30, 29, &c. ; *Ans.*, 13, 12, &c. ; *Mach.*, 74, 21, &c. ; *Rep.*, 189, 27 : (b) sall, *Tr.*, 29, 87, &c. ; *Death*, 233, 10 ; *Ans.*, 33, 10, &c. ; *Mach.*, 137, 27, &c. ; *Rep.*, 189, 11 ; salle, *Rep.*, 191, 18 ; (c) salt, 2 *sing.*, *Mach.*, 146, 16.  
 Salbe, 1, 2, and 3 *sing.* and 3 *pl.*, *vb.* = shall be, *Tr.*, 30, 89, &c. ; *Ans.*, 10, 19, &c. ; *Mach.*, 73, 9, &c. ; shalbe, *Tr.*, 29, 88.  
 Salt. See Sal.  
 Saluour, *sb.*, Saviour, *Ans.*, 53, 35 ; 55, 13 ; 56, 33 ; 57, 23 ; 68, 23.  
 Samekil, *adv.*, so much, *Ans.*, 20, 9.  
 Samin. See Saming.  
 Saming, *pron.* and *adj.*, samc. (a) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 24, 1 ; 40, 13, &c. ; *Mach.*, 93, 21 : (b) *adj.*, saming, *Ans.*, 49, 25 ; 51, 8 ; 57, 8 ; 62, 26 ; samin, *Ans.*, 49, 26 ; 67, 11.  
 Sanct, *sb.*, saint, *Ans.*, 58, 32 ; sant, *Tr.*, 80, 87 ; *Tar.*, 140, 6 ; 145, 11 ; *Misc.*, 314, 4 ; saintc, *Doubt.*, 366, 46 : *pl.*, *saincts*, *Ans.*, 51, 16 ; 53, 17 ; *sanctes*, *Ans.*, 55, 14 ; *sanctis*, *Tr.*, 130, 129 ; *sanct*, *Tr.*, 130, 119 ; *Ans.*, 52, 8 ; 53, 14, &c. ; *santis*, *Tr.*, 74, 195 ; *sauts*, *Tr.*, 67, 4 ; *Misc.*, 312, 9.  
 Sans, *prep.*, without, *Ps.*, 280, 162.  
 Sant. See Sanct.  
 Saphers, *sb.*, *pl.*, sapphires, *Doubt.*, 362, 32.  
 Sare, *adv.*, bitterly, *Death*, 239, 6.  
 Sarue. See Serwe.  
 Sarueice, *sb.*, service, *I*, 394, 3.  
 Saues, *sb.*, *pl.*, salves, *Mach.*, 162, 12.  
 Saul, *sb.*, soul, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 13 ; 158, 14 ; 207, 3 ; *Ans.*, 34, 24 ; saule, *Tr.*, 23, 2 ; *Tar.*, 146, viii, 14 ; 148, xii, 4, &c. ; *Seq.*, 229, 5 ; 230, 14 ; *Son.*, 250, 2 ; saull, *Ans.*, 37, 22 : *pl.*, saules, *Tar.*, 136, 7 ; 181, xli, 14 ; sauls, *Ans.*, 61, 27.  
 Sawes, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, sows, *Tar.*, 156, 13 : *pres. ptc.*, sewing, *Mach.*, 75, 37.  
 Sax, *card.*, six, *Tr.*, 113, 33 ; *Ans.*, 25, 26 ; *Rep.*, 189, 6 ; sex, *Tr.*, 23, 3 : *ord.*, sax, *Tr.*, 132, 176 ; *Mach.*, 84, 19 ; sex, *Tr.*, 83, 161 : saxlye, *adv.*, sixthly, *Rep.*, 177, 12 : saxtynes, *adv.*, sixtimes, *Ans.*, 65, 6.

- cabrous, *adj.*, uncouth, *Ans.*, 28, 30.
- Scail, *infin.*, to scatter, *Ans.*, 33, 31: *pt. ptc.*, skaild, *Ps.*, 275, 2.
- Scandaleux, *adj.*, scandalous, *Ans.*, 31, 21.
- Scansing, *pres. ptc.*, scanning (verses), *Ans.*, 29, 2.
- Scape, *infin.*, to escape, *Doubt.*, 390, 5.
- Scar, a, *phr.*, aloof, *Pest.*, 303, 7.
- Scarmouches, *sb., pl.*, skirmishes, *Mach.*, 163, 34.
- Schak, *infin.*, to shake, *Death.*, 233, 6: 3 *sing., pret.*, shakt, *Tr.*, 34, 218.
- Schalderis. See Sholders.
- Scharpe, *infin.*, to sharpen, *Tr.*, 114, 53.
- Schaw, *infin.*, to show, *Death.*, 243, 5; *Ans.*, 41, 36; shaw, *Tr.*, 29, 96, &c.; *Son.*, 252, 10; *Ps.*, 281, 184; *Misc.*, 311, 24; *Ans.*, 44, 11; *Mach.*, 93, 12, &c.; shawe, *Ans.*, 63, 13: 2 *sing., pres., indic.*, schaws, *Death.*, 241, 41; shaueth, *Mach.*, 138, 11: 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, schaws, *Misc.*, 314, 62; shawes, *Tr.*, 113, 20; *Misc.*, 314, 59; shaws, *Ans.*, 66, 24: 3 *sing., pret.*, shew, *Tr.*, 59, 34; *Mach.*, 109, 17: 3 *pl., pret.*, shew, *Mach.*, 96, 22: *pres. ptc.*, schawen, *Misc.*, 315, 82; schawing, *Mach.*, 134, 20; shawing, *Mach.*, 129, 14; shawen, *Tr.*, 92, 171: *pt. ptc.*, schawen, *Ps.*, 277, 78; *Misc.*, 315, 82; *Mach.*, 161, 18; shawen, *Tr.*, 47, 14; *Ps.*, 179, 128; *Misc.*, 310, 15; shawin, *Tr.*, 80, 84; *Ans.*, 26, 17.
- Scheaver, *infin.*, to shiver, *Tar.*, 172, 7: *pres. ptc.*, sheavering, *Ps.*, 291, 22.
- Schew, *sb.*, display, *Rep.*, 173, 7. Cf. Shaw.
- Schewing, *gerundial adj.*, sewing, *Misc.*, 313, 47.
- Shipwrak, *sb.*, shipwreck, *Tar.*, 184, xlviii, 6.
- Scho, *pron.*, she, *Son.*, 254, 4; *Ans.*, 38, 14; 55, 2; sho, *Ans.*, 37, 20; 39, 31.
- Scill, *sb.*, skull, *Misc.*, 320, 8.
- Sclander (1), *sb.*, slander, *Ans.*, 67, 10; slaunder, *Tr.*, 91, 150.
- Sclander (2), *infin.*, to slander, *Ans.*, 30, 36.
- Sclanderus, *adj.*, slanderous, *Ans.*, 30, 23; scandrous, *Ans.*, 29, 20; 67, 21.
- Sclendirouslie, *adv.*, slanderously, *Ans.*, 51, 35.
- Scrimeur, *sb.*, fencer, *Tr.*, 69, 65.
- Scuffer, *sb.*, scoffer, *Tr.*, 115, 92.
- Scuffing, *vbl. sb.*, scoffing, *Ans.*, 30, 26: *pt. ptc.*, scuft, *Tr.*, 81, 110.
- Seage, *sb.*, siege, *Mach.*, 102, 9; sege, *Mach.*, 89, 11.
- Seaven, *card.*, seven, *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 1.
- Secound, *adj.* and *pron.*, second. (a) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 62, 19; *Mach.*, 84, 10; second, *Tr.*, 119, 29; (b) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 52, 2; *Mach.*, 73, 30; 148, 21; second, *Mach.*, 148, 24; 149, 1; *Rep.*, 189, 16: secondlie, *adv.*, secondly, *Ans.*, 53, 28; secondly, *Ans.*, 67, 34; secondlie, *Rep.*, 177, 5.
- Secreit, *adj.*, secret, *Tr.*, 24, 10; *Misc.*, 328, xix, 5; *Ans.*, 22, 19; *Mach.*, 77, 5; 151, 14.
- Secretair, *sb.*, secretary, *Misc.*, 307, 4; secretaire, *Mach.*, 71, 2; secretar, *Ps.*, 279, 147; *Mach.*, 148, 16: *pl.*, secretars, *Tar.*, 162, 6.
- Secretar. See Secretair.
- Secund. See Secound.
- Sege. See Seage.
- Seik (1), *adj.*, sick, *Tr.*, 53, 143; 61, 82; 129, 75; *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 6; sickly, *Tr.*, 89, 77.
- Seik (2), *infin.*, to sigh, *I.*, 6, 2.
- Seik (3), *infin.*, to seek, *Mach.*, 75, 4; seike, *Tar.*, 153, xx, 6: 3 *sing., pret.*, soght, *Ans.*, 55, 5: 3 *pl., pret.*, socht, *Ans.*, 24, 29: *pres. ptc.*, seikand, *Ans.*, 22, 15; 28, 29: *pt. ptc.*, soght, *Ans.*, 60, 35.
- Seiklie, *adj.*, sickly, *Tr.*, 128, 50.
- Seiknes, *sb.*, sickness, *Tr.*, 88, 63; *Misc.*, 309, 1.
- Seildome, *adv.*, seldom, *Tr.*, 77, 18; *Mach.*, 133, 37.
- Sell, *pron.*, self, *Son.*, 248, 14; 254, 7.
- Semblie, *adj.*, similar, *Doubt.*, 339, 4\*

- Sen, *adv.* and *conj.*, since. (a) *adv.*, *Mach.*, 106, 28; (b) *conj.*, *Tr.*, 29, 69, &c.; *Tar.*, 138, iii, 5, &c.; *Death*, 234, 3; *Seq.*, 249, 5; *Pest*, 304, 9; *Ans.*, 44, 12; 45, 26; sen that, *Tar.*, 180, xxxix, 13.
- Sence, *prep.* and *conj.*, since. (a) *prep.*, *Ans.*, 43, 4; 45, 6; (2) *conj.*, *Tar.*, 138, iii, 1; 191, li, 11; *Son.*, 258, 10.
- Sendle, *adv.*, seldom, *Mach.*, 85, 36.
- Senews, *sb.*, *pl.*, sinews, *Tar.*, 148, xii, 7.
- Sensyne, *adv.* and *conj.*, since. (a) *adv.*, *Ans.*, 48, 2; (b) *conj.*, *Tr.*, 53, 153.
- Sentence, *sb.*, opinion, *I*, 15, 18; pronouncement of judgment, *Tr.*, 51, 116; sentences, *pl.*, thoughts, *I*, 16, 9.
- Septers, *sb.*, *pl.*, sceptres, *Rep.*, 189, 26; sceptaris, *Tr.*, 81, 104.
- Sequell, *sb.*, consequence, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 10; seqell, *Mach.*, 83, 6; the ensuing discourse, *I*, 3, 4.
- Serching, *vbl. sb.*, searching, *Mach.*, 152, 1.
- Seruands, *sb.*, *pl.*, servants, *Ans.*, 33, 22; 39, 5.
- Servile, *adj.*, befitting a slave, *Tr.*, 48, 41; 64, 179.
- Serwe, *infin.*, to serve, *Tr.*, 48, 41; served, *Death*, 238, 11; sarue, *I*, 397, 34: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, serveth, *Mach.*, 102, 15; 134, 1.
- Seuintlie. *See* Sevint.
- Sevint, *ord.*, seventh, *Tr.*, 103, 160; sevintlye, *adv.*, seventhly, *Rep.*, 177, 15; seuintlie, *Rep.*, 176, 16.
- Sew, *infin.*, to sue, *Ps.*, 277, 71.
- Sewing. *See* Sawes.
- Sext, *ord.*, sixth, *Tr.*, 22, 27; sixt, *Ans.*, 49, 26. *See also* Sax.
- Sextene, *card.*, sixteen, *Tr.*, 72, 133.
- Shaddowing, *adj.*, shady, *Tr.*, 34, 210.
- Shakt. *See* Schak.
- Shalbe. *See* Salbe.
- Shamefastnes, *sb.*, modesty, *Tr.*, 69, 70.
- Shaueth. *See* Schaw.
- Shaw (1), *sb.*, show, *Tr.*, 65, 191; 121, 83; *Mach.*, 112, 30; *Rep.*, 191, 1: *pl.*, shawes, *Tar.*, 150, 4. *Cf.* Schew.
- Shaw (2). *See* Schaw.
- Sheavering. *See* Scheaver.
- Sheip keper, *sb.*, shepherd, *Mach.*, 134, 36.
- Shew. *See* Schaw.
- Shiphirdd, *sb.*, shepherd, *Tr.*, 33, 187.
- Sho. *See* Scho.
- Short, *infin.*, to shorten, *Tar.*, 178, 3; *Seq.*, 223, 5: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, shortis, *Tr.*, 78, 48.
- Shuld. *See* Suld.
- Shulders, *sb.*, *pl.*, shoulders, *Tr.*, 63, 154; schalderis, *Misc.*, 308, 20.
- Shulderinglie, *adv.*, shoulder to shoulder, *Tr.*, 116, 105.
- Shute (1), *infin.*, to shut, *Tr.*, 131, 156.
- Shute (2), *infin.*, to shoot, *Tr.*, 57, 225; 70, 98.
- Shynde, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, shone, *Tr.*, 99, 49.
- Sic, *pron.* and *adj.* and *adv.*, such. (a) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 54, 167; *Seq.*, 222, 12; *Pest*, 303, 5; 304, 3; *Misc.*, 313, 32; *Ans.*, 19, 15; 21, 14; 22, 14; 23, 31; 25, 4, &c.; *Mach.*, 71, 15; 72, 20; 74, 7; 75, 1; 76, 27, &c.; *Rep.*, 179, 3; sick, *Mach.*, 148, 9; sik, *Pest*, 303, 16; *Mach.*, 148, 15; 149, 3; 152, 27; (b) *pron.*, sic, *Ans.*, 26, 13; 28, 28; (c) *adv.*, sic, *Ans.*, 26, 26; 27, 3; 28, 3.
- Sick. *See* Sic.
- Sicyke, *adj.*, similar, *Ans.*, 28, 26; *Mach.*, 150, 14.
- Sighinlie, *adv.*, sighingly, *Tr.*, 72, 155.
- Sighte, *infin.*, to sigh, *Son.*, 262, xv, 10: 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, sight, *Tar.*, 162, 1.
- Sightfull, *adj.*, visible, *Ans.*, 58, 2.
- Sik. *See* Sic.
- Sillabs, *sb.*, *pl.*, syllables, *Son.*, 271, 9.
- Since syne, *adv.*, since that time, *Tr.*, 53, 149.
- Sindrie, *adj.*, sundry, *Tr.*, 16, 11; 92, 175; *Ans.*, 24, 9; sindry, *Ans.*, 34, 16; 38, 3; 57, 14;

- syndrie, *Ans.*, 67, 30; sondrie, *Tar.*, 209, 10; *Ps.*, 283, 29; *Mach.*, 111, 6; sondry, *Doubt.*, sondrye, *Mach.*, 100, 5; 103, 30; 129, 8; 138, 23; sonn-dryie, *Misc.*, 321, 6; soundrie, *Tar.*, 208, 10; soundry, *Rep.*, 173, 18.
- Sine. *See* Syne.
- Sing, *sb.*, sign, *Tr.*, 31, 136; 42, 160; 117, 137; *Tar.*, 136, 13; *Ps.*, 293, 69; *pl.*, sings, *Tr.*, 29, 70; 112, 7; 128, 59; *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 11; *Ps.*, 279, 131.
- Singulair, *adj.*, single, *Ans.*, 66, 4; singuler, *adj.*, noble, *Mach.*, 130, 30; outstanding, *Mach.*, 162, 28; singular, *adv.*, singularly, *Ans.*, 45, 29.
- Sinistrie, *adj.*, sinister, *Mach.*, 140, 26.
- Sith, *conj.*, since, *I*, 4, 5; *Ps.*, 283, 49; sithe, *Ps.*, 298, 118.
- Sittin, *pt. ptc.*, sat, *Ans.*, 43, 8.
- Siwe, *sb.*, sieve, *Tr.*, 74, 200.
- Sixtlie, *adv.*, sixthly, *Rep.*, 176, 13. *See also* Sext.
- Skaild. *See* Scail, Skayle.
- Skant, *sb.*, want, *Tr.*, 81, 101; *Tar.*, 149, xiv, 8.
- Skayle, *infin.*, to climb, *Tar.*, 172, 14; 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, skaild, *Tar.*, 146, 10.
- Skink, *infin.*, to serve drink, *Son.*, 262, xv, 12.
- Skybell, *sb.*, ne'er-do-well, *Misc.*, 320, 23.
- Slaughters, *sb.*, *pl.*, slaughters, *Ans.*, 21, 25.
- Slaunder. *See* Sclander (1).
- Slavisß, *adj.*, slavish, *Mach.*, 161, 24.
- Slaw, *adj.*, slow, *Tr.*, 65, 192; 127, 23; *Mach.*, 99, 31; slawlye, *adv.*, slowly, *Mach.*, 157, 38.
- Sleated, *adj.*, ?, *Doubt.*, 382, 123.
- Slight, *sb.*, craft, *Tr.*, 26, 20; *Mach.*, 140, 5.
- Slipper, *adj.*, uncertain, *Tr.*, 65, 185.
- Slokkins, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, does away with, *Ans.*, 61, 21; slokned, *pt. ptc.*, quenched (of thirst), *Ans.*, 21, 37.
- Slouth, *sb.*, sloth, *Tr.*, 30, 107.
- Sluggart, *sb.*, sluggard, *Misc.*, 328, xix, 8; *adj.*, sluggardly, *Misc.*, 308, 4.
- Slyding, *adj.*, slippery, *Ps.*, 297, 72.
- Sma, *adj.*, small, *Mach.*, 90, 4.
- Smightes, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, smites, *Doubt.*, 383, 138.
- Smore, *infin.*, to smother, *Tr.*, 56, 248; *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 11; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, smores, *Tar.*, 183, xlvi, 11; *pt. ptc.*, smored, *Tr.*, 49, 61.
- Smuldred, *adj.*, smouldering, *Doubt.*, 367, 9.
- Smyrcing, *vbl. sb.*, smiling, *Tr.*, 52, 123; *pres. ptc.*, *Tr.*, 91, 128.
- Snaw, *sb.*, snow, *Tr.*, 26, 27; *Seq.*, 218, 12; snawe, *Seq.*, 218, 7.
- Snod, *pt. ptc.* of 'sned,' cut off, *Ps.*, 289, 26.
- Socht. *See* Seik (3).
- Soft (1), *adj.*, relaxing, *Tr.*, 62, 128.
- Soft (2), *infin.*, to soften, *Tr.*, 94, 211.
- Soght. *See* Seik (3).
- Soles, *sb.*, *pl.*, ? draughts, *Son.*, 262, xv, 2.
- Solistfull, *adj.*, anxious, *Tr.*, 65, 192; sollistfullye, *adv.*, anxiously, *Mach.*, 82, 20.
- Solitare, *adj.*, solitary, *Tr.*, 75, 224.
- Sollicite, *adj.*, solicitous, *Rep.*, 195, 7.
- Solshyne, *sb.*, sunshine, *Seq.*, 224, 2.
- Sommer, *sb.*, summer, *Tr.*, 109, 158; *Tar.*, 148, xii, 12; soñner, *Doubt.*, 339, 10.
- Sunday, *sb.*, Sunday, *Ans.*, 66, 8; Sounday, *Ans.*, 68, 4.
- Soñond, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, summoned, *Doubt.*, 365, 20.
- Sondred, *pt. ptc.*, sundered, *Tar.*, 161, xxviii, 1; soundred, *Tr.*, 56, 240.
- Sondrie, soundrie. *See* Sindrie.
- Sone (1), *sb.*, son, *Tr.*, 31, 125; *Ans.*, 43, 5; soñe, *Doubt.*, 370, 15; sonne, *Ans.*, 46, 13; sun, *Mach.*, 134, 11.
- Sone (2), *sb.*, sun, *Tar.*, 208, 5; *Ans.*, 42, 27; soone, *Doubt.*, 345, 22.

- Sone (3), *adv.*, soon, *Tr.*, 58, 6; *Mach.*, 77, 7; sounne, *Mach.*, 127, 5: *comp.*, soner, *Mach.*, 75, 7: *superl.*, sonest, *Mach.*, 82, 29.
- Songe, *sb.*, ? , *Doubt.*, 380, 53.
- Soone. *See* Sone (2).
- Sophing, *pres. ptc.*, judging, *Ans.*, 29, 1.
- Sortye, *infin.*, to make a sortie, *Mach.*, 101, 9.
- Soudan, *sb.*, the Sultan of Egypt, *Mach.*, 136, 4.
- Soudart, *pt. ptc.*, soldered, *Mach.*, 117, 33.
- Souerane (1) *adj.*, sovereign, *Tr.*, 63, 143; *soverane, Mach.*, 147, 31; *soverene, Tar.*, 205, 6.
- Souerane (2), *sb.*, sovereign, *Rep.*, 171, 31; *soveraine, Mach.*, 71, 13; *soverane, Mach.*, 87, 21.
- Souldiers, *sb., pl.*, soldiers, *Ans.*, 65, 26. *Cf.* Suddart.
- Sounday. *See* Sondag.
- Soundred. *See* Sondred.
- Soundrie. *See* Sindrie.
- Soune. *See* Sone (3).
- Soveraingetie, *sb.*, sovereignty, *Mach.*, 72, 12; *soverangetie, Mach.*, 73, 12; *soveraintie, Tr.*, 22, 6; *soveranetie, Mach.*, 106, 14; *soverantye, Mach.*, 107, 10; *soverenteye, Mach.*, 95, 16: *pl.*, *soveraignetyeis, Mach.*, 72, 7; *soverangteis, 130, 7.*
- Soverane, *soverene.* *See* Souerane.
- Sowcy, *sb.*, care, *Tr.*, 120, 37.
- Space, *infin.*, to walk, *Tr.*, 60, 78.
- Spair, *sb.*, an opening or slit in a gown, *Tr.*, 108, 126.
- Sparple, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, scatter, *Tr.*, 121, 99: *pt. ptc.*, *sparpled, Tr.*, 38, 54; 82, 143; *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 8.
- Speache, *sb.*, speech, *Tr.*, 37, 12; *Mach.*, 76, 1; *speche, Tar.*, 137, 12; *spechthe, Death*, 233, 15.
- Speat, *sb.*, spate, *Mach.*, 157, 7.
- Spechthe. *See* Speache.
- Speire, 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, inquire, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 10.
- Sperse, *infin.*, to scatter abroad, *Tar.*, 136, 7: *pt. ptc.*, *Tr.*, 53, 153.
- Speuit, *pt. ptc.*, vomited, *Ans.*, 30, 27.
- Sphere, *sb.*, sphere, I, 7, 17.
- Splendant, *adj.*, bright, *Tr.*, 98, 19.
- Spoakes, *sb., pl.*, sails (of a wind-mill), *Rep.*, 174, 15.
- Spoink, *sb.*, spark, *Ans.*, 41, 32; *sponke, Mach.*, 162, 2.
- Spookt, *pt. ptc.*, spoken, *Misc.*, 321, 5.
- Spout-fish, *sb.*, razor-fish, *Rep.*, 193, 29.
- Spreit, *adj.*, sprightly, *Misc.*, 325, xiv, 4.
- Spreit, *sb.*, spirit, *Tr.*, 56, 240, &c.; *Death*, 239, 11; *Ps.*, 294, 98; *Ans.*, 29, 29, &c.; *Mach.*, 108, 12, &c.; *sprite, Doubt.*, 366, 44: *soul, Tr.*, 80, 85; 84, 187; 89, 71; *genius, Mach.*, 91, 22; 158, 26; *intelligence, Mach.*, 109, 22; *the Holy Ghost, Ans.*, 38, 34; 59, 28; 60, 20; 61, 5: *pl.*, *spreits, Tr.*, 34, 205; *Tar.*, 138, iii, 1; 149, xiv, 2; 164, 3; *Seq.*, 218, 4; *Son.*, 264, 4; *Ps.*, 286, 120; *Mach.*, 113, 17; 121, 11; *spreittis, Tr.*, 37, 32 66, 213; 84, 191; 88, 49; 128, 63; *sprittes, Doubt.*, 340, 43.
- Spreited, *adj.*, spirited, *Son.*, 256, 10.
- Spuilzei, *sb.*, spoil, *Tr.*, 54, 168.
- Spuilzeis, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, spoils, *Tr.*, 57, 258: *vbl. sb.*, *spuilzeing, Ans.*, 59, 33; *spuilzin, Mach.*, 84, 19.
- Stable, *infin.*, to establish, *Tr.*, 117, 139.
- Stane, *infin.*, to stain, *Ans.*, 26, 29; *steane, I*, 394, 6: *pt. ptc.*, *stainzit, Ans.*, 29, 33.
- Stains. *See* Stane.
- Stakkring, *pres. ptc.*, staggering, *Tar.*, 148, xiii, 7.
- Stanched, *pt. ptc.*, quenched, *Tr.*, 70, 94.
- Stand, *pt. ptc.*, stood, *Doubt.*, 381, 66; *Mach.*, 84, 23.
- Standart, *sb.*, standard, *Tr.*, 38, 47.
- Standeth, 2 *sing., pres., indic.*, standest, *Tr.*, 43, 183; *stendeth, Ans.*, 56, 27: *standeth, 3 pl., pres., indic.*, stand, *Tr.*, 31, 139.
- Stane, *sb.*, stone, *Ans.*, 39, 14; 57, 35: *pl.*, stains, *Mach.*, 163, 8.

- Stankis, *sb., pl.*, ponds, *Tr.*, 89, 86.  
 Stapp (1), *infin.*, to stop up, *Tar.*, 184, xlvii, 3.  
 Stapp (2), *infin.*, to step, *Tr.*, 103, 159.  
 Stapp (3), *sb.*, step, *Tr.*, 60, 78; 99, 66: *stapps, sb., pl.*, the rungs of a ladder, *Tr.*, 65, 185.  
 Starne, *sb.*, star, *Death*, 234, 10: *pl.*, *starnes, Seq.*, 217, 9; 226, 13; *starns, Tar.*, 166, 9; 191, liii, 10; *Seq.*, 217, 1; 220, 3.  
 Statuaes, *sb., pl.*, statues, I, 7, 1.  
 Stayles, *adj.*, unstable, *Tr.*, 64, 173.  
 Steane. *See* Stæne.  
 Steare, *infin.*, to stir, *Ans.*, 68, 14; *steire, Seq.*, 218, 5; *Son.*, 261, 7: 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, *steirs, Tar.*, 156, 12: 3 *sing., pret.*, *steare, Ans.*, 43, 6: *pl. ptc.*, *steared, Ans.*, 14, 23. *Cf.* Sturr.  
 Steire. *See* Steare.  
 Steld, *pl. ptc.*, placed, *Tar.*, 208, 9.  
 Sterknes, *sb.*, stoutness, *Mach.*, 117, 34.  
 Sterve, *infin.*, to die, *Ps.*, 291, 10: 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, *sterve, Doubt.*, 366, 46.  
 Stey (1), *sb.*, support, *Tar.*, 180, xl, 2; 182, xlv, 9; *Mach.*, 140, 20.  
 Stey (2), *infin.*, to remain, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 11; to restrain, *Tar.*, 211, 14; to hinder, *Tar.*, 148, xii, 5.  
 Stikkit, *pl. ptc.*, stabbed, *Ans.*, 30, 12.  
 Stobe, *infin.*, ?, *Son.*, 262, xv, 12.  
 Stogg, *sb.*, stab, *Tr.*, 69, 66: *pl.*, *stoggs, Death*, 241, 39.  
 Stony, *adj.*, stone (-blind), *Tr.*, 39, 73.  
 Stormes, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, makes stormy, *Tr.*, 129, 78; *Tar.*, 157, 2.  
 Stowpe, *infin.*, to stoop, *Son.*, 253, 2.  
 Straik (1), *sb.*, blow, *Ans.*, 14, 32: *pl.*, *straiks, Death*, 236, 4.  
 Straik (2), 2 *sing., pres., subj.*, strike, *Ps.*, 291, 12: 3 *sing., pret.*, *straik, Ans.*, 14, 30; *strooke, Tar.*, 210, lxxiii, 5: *pl. ptc.*, *strukkin, Ans.*, 59, 34; *strekken, Mach.*, 127, 23.  
 Straipe, *infin.*, to despoil, *Mach.*, 74, 17.  
 Strandis, *sb., pl.*, streams, *Tr.*, 55, 198; *Tar.*, 174, 3.  
 Stranger (1), *adj., comp.*, stronger, *Mach.*, 79, 19; 80, 1.  
 Stranger (2), *adj.*, foreign, *Rep.*, 173, 23.  
 Strang hald, *sb.*, stronghold, *Mach.*, 142, 1; strong hald, *Mach.*, 142, 11.  
 Streach, *infin.*, to stretch, *Doubt.*, 354, 4: 3 *pl., pres., indic.*, *streache, Ps.*, 277, 73: *pres. ptc.*, *streachting, Tr.*, 86, 17.  
 Strecken. *See* Straik (2).  
 Strene, the. *See* Yestrene.  
 Strengh. *See* Strengh, Strenth.  
 Strenghening, *vbl. sb.*, strength-ening, *Mach.*, 105, 14.  
 Strengh, *infin.*, to strengthen, *Mach.*, 154, 9.  
 Strenth, *sb.*, strength, *Tr.*, 31, 134; *Ans.*, 21, 6; 25, 31; strength, *Ps.*, 292, 48; strenght, *Tr.*, 58, 2; 77, 7; *Mach.*, 135, 34.  
 Strenthie, *adj.*, strong, *Ans.*, 55, 9.  
 Strooke. *See* Straik (2).  
 Strukkin. *See* Straik (2).  
 Strukned, *adj.*, stricken, *Tr.*, 67, 10.  
 Strumped, *sb.*, strumpet, *Ps.*, 296, 30.  
 Strykes, *sb., pl.*, strokes, *Tr.*, 69, 71.  
 Sturr, *infin.*, to stir, *Doubt.*, 346, 9. *Cf.* Steare.  
 Sturt, *sb.*, discord, *Tr.*, 30, 114; 60, 74.  
 Stwide, 3 *pl., pret.*, stood, *Tr.*, 59, 25.  
 Sua. *See* Sa.  
 Subduce, *infin.*, to withdraw, *Mach.*, 108, 8.  
 Subiectly, *adv.*, violently, *Mach.*, 77, 10.  
 Subione, 1 *pl., pres., indic.*, subjoin, *Mach.*, 75, 29.  
 Subiounds, 3 *sing., pres., indic.*, subjoins, *Ans.*, 56, 32.  
 Substract, 2 *sing., pres., indic.*, takest away, *Tar.*, 182, xliii, 5.  
 Subtelytes, *miswriting* for 'subtelytes,' *Mach.*, 163, 18.  
 Subtilytyeis, *miswriting* for 'subtilteis,' *Mach.*, 104, 14.

- Succes, *sb.*, outcome, *Tr.*, 69, 74; *successe*, *Ans.*, 14, 25; *succesB*, *Mach.*, 139, 7.
- Succourse, *sb.*, help, *Mach.*, 82, 31; 104, 36; *succourB*, *Mach.*, 97, 21; 142, 8.
- Suchte, *adj.*, such, *Mach.*, 90, 1.
- Sud. *See* Suld.
- Suddart, *sb.*, the soldiery, *Mach.*, 132, 25; 133, 19; *suddarts*, *sb.*, *pl.*, soldiers, *Mach.*, 95, 4; 96, 13, &c.; *suldarts*, *Mach.*, 78, 17; *sulddarts*, *Mach.*, 104, 8; 129, 28.
- Suedlen, *adj.*, swaddling, *Mach.*, 127, 31.
- Sueir, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, swear, *Misc.*, 312, 21; 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, swere, *Doubl.*, 354, 11.
- Suey, *sb.*, sway, *Ans.*, 21, 5.
- Suffisant, *adj.*, sufficient, *Mach.*, 154, 12; *sufficent*, *Mach.*, 105, 34; 114, 3; 121, 17.
- Sugets, *sb.*, *pl.*, subjects, *Mach.*, 144, 10.
- Suilled, *pt. ptc.*, ? , *Mach.*, 156, 23.
- Suired, *pt. ptc.*, assured, *Ps.*, 279, 131.
- Suiredlye, *adv.*, safely, *Mach.*, 98, 36.
- Suit, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, sue, *Tar.*, 153, xx, 7.
- Suld, *vb.*, should. (1) 1 *sing.*, *suld*, *Tr.*, 67, 21; *Ans.*, 13, 5; *sould*, *Ans.*, 41, 13; (2) 2 *sing.*, *suld*, *Tr.*, 83, 171; 93, 193; *Ans.*, 30, 25; 31, 3; *Mach.*, 122, 18; 131, 18; 144, 33; *sould*, *Tr.*, 118, 9; *Ans.*, 20, 37; 34, 13; 37, 5; *sowld*, *Mach.*, 149, 15; *shuld*, *Tr.*, 29, 70; 56, 230; 124, 169; *Ps.*, 278, 117; (3) 3 *sing.*, *suld*, *Tr.*, 31, 123; 55, 194; 84, 185; 88, 55; *Tar.*, 198, 6; *Ans.*, 24, 26, &c.; *Mach.*, 78, 6, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 16; 177, 21; 189, 33; *sulde*, *Ans.*, 63, 23; *sould*, *Ans.*, 20, 33; 21, 8; 24, 15; 47, 5; 54, 9; *shuld*, I, 6, 2; *Tr.*, 56, 230; 80, 94; 124, 169; *Rep.*, 169, 27; 172, 16; 176, 21; *sud*, *Mach.*, 117, 11; (4) 1 *pl.*, *suld*, *Ans.*, 41, 39; 52, 5; 59, 14; *Mach.*, 109, 11; 111, 17; (5) 2 *pl.*, *suld*, *Mach.*, 101, 2; (6) 3 *pl.*, *suld*, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 13; 191, liii, 11; *Ans.*, 24, 12; 44, 28; 46, 30; 47, 6; 51, 2; 53, 20; 54, 32; 62, 32; *Mach.*, 78, 14, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 15; 177, 30; 179, 2; 191, 16; *shulde*, *Ans.*, 31, 1; *sould*, *Ans.*, 24, 23; 43, 9; 46, 5; 52, 32; *soulde*, *Ans.*, 68, 1.
- Suldartlyke, *adv.*, as a soldier, *Tr.*, 101, 120.
- Suldarts, *sulddarts*. *See* Suddart.
- Sulk, *infin.*, to suck, *Tar.*, 149, xv, 7; *Seq.*, 218, 6.
- Sum, *pron.* and *adj.*, some. (a) *pron.*, *Tr.*, 69, 63; 124, 163; *Ans.*, 14, 16, &c.; *Mach.*, 152, 5; (b) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 24, 14; 28, 37; 70, 78; 111, 189; *Ans.*, 9, 18, &c.
- Summond, *infin.*, to summon, *Tar.*, 154, 12; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, *summonds*, *Pest.*, 304, 7.
- Summonds, *sb.*, summons, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 3.
- Sumptionis, *sb.*, *pl.*, assumptions, *Ans.*, 27, 19.
- Sumquhat, *pron.* and *adj.*, somewhat. (a) *pron.*, *Tr.*, 95, 337; *Ans.*, 54, 28; (b) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 10, 3; 23, 36; 62, 35.
- Sumtymes, *adv.*, sometimes, *Ans.*, 45, 10.
- Sun. *See* Sone (1).
- Superflyte, *sb.*, superfluity, *Mach.*, 114, 19.
- Supple, *infin.*, to supply, *Rep.*, 189, 35.
- Supplie, *sb.*, assistance, *Tr.*, 54, 174.
- Supponing, *pres. ptc.*, supposing, *Mach.*, 89, 29; 141, 13.
- Suppose, *conj.*, although, *Tr.*, 31, 130, &c.; *Tar.*, 190, lii, 5; *Misc.*, 312, 22.
- Suppost, *sb.*, subordinate, *Ans.*, 26, 28; 28, 21.
- Surbraues, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, makes splendid, *Doubl.*, 377, 46.
- Surcease, *infin.*, to cease, *Pest.*, 303, 31.
- Survenew, *sb.*, later arrival, *Mach.*, 103, 1.
- Suscitatioun, *sb.*, incitement, *Mach.*, 145, 6.
- Suspect, *sb.*, suspicion, *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 4.

- Susteane, *infin.*, to sustain, *Misc.*, 323, 6; *Mach.*, 145, 27; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, susteanes, *Tar.*, 188, 5; susteneth, *Mach.*, 118, 22; sustenis, *Mach.*, 149, 26; 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, sustened, *Tar.*, 149, xiv, 1; sustenit, *Ans.*, 25, 36; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, sustened, *Mach.*, 103, 12; *pt. ptc.*, susteande, *Tar.*, 183, xlv, 6; *Rep.*, 173, 15; sustened, *Mach.*, 91, 9; sustened, *Mach.*, 94, 17; 136, 29; 151, 13.
- Swa. See Sa.
- Swage, *infin.*, to assuage, *Tr.*, 87, 24; 124, 180.
- Sweir, *adj.*, hesitating, *Tr.*, 65, 192.
- Sweitle, *adj.*, sweet, *Tr.*, 39, 57.
- Swelt, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, expire, *Doubt.*, 367, 20; 376, 16.
- Swere. See Sueir.
- Swipt, *pt. ptc.*, swept, *Death*, 233, 18.
- Swone, *infin.*, to swoon, *Tar.*, 173, 7.
- Syndrie. See Sindrie.
- Syne, *adv.*, since, *Tr.*, 29, 83; 42, 150; 56, 234; 110, 165; 123, 152; *Ps.*, 283, 28; *Doubt.*, 351, 3; sine, *Doubt.*, 370, 21.
- Swir, *adj.*, sure, *Tr.*, 62, 109; swirlye, *adv.*, surely, *Tr.*, 28, 56.
- Taels, *sb.*, *pl.*, tales, *Tar.*, 180, xxxix, 10.
- Tailgeours, *sb.*, *pl.*, tailors, *Ans.*, 50, 31; tailzours, *Ans.*, 51, 12.
- Taistyne, ?, *Misc.*, 325, xiv, 2.
- Taken, *sb.*, token, *Misc.*, 312, 14; takone, *Ans.*, 55, 22; *pl.*, takins, *Ans.*, 22, 19.
- Tanny, *adj.*, tawny, *Misc.*, 314, 79.
- Tarnd, ?, *Misc.*, 325, xiv, 2.
- Tarrase, *sb.*, terrace, *Rep.*, 185, 27.
- Tasse, *sb.*, cup, *Rep.*, 190, 3; tass, *Rep.*, 189, 21.
- Tauld, *pt. ptc.*, told, *Mach.*, 150, 15; toulde, *I*, 19b, 4; teld, *Doubt.*, 370, 12; teld, *Doubt.*, 370, 12.
- Teld. See Tauld.
- Temporaltie, *sb.*, temporality, *Mach.*, 92, 1.
- Tend, *infin.*, to stretch out, *Pest*, 304, 12.
- Tentere, *infin.*, to inter, *Doubt.*, 387, 303.
- Tents, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, touches, *Rep.*, 177, 8.
- Teuthles, *adj.*, toothless, *Ans.*, 20, 22.
- Tewche, *adj.*, tough, *Tr.*, 43, 161.
- Tha, *adj.* and *pron.*, those. (a) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 21, 1, &c.; (b) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 27, 9, &c.
- Thai, *pron.*, they, *Ans.*, 24, 13; 25, 21; 29, 37; 31, 28; 65, 39; *Tr.*, 30, 113; thay, *Ans.*, 9, 15, &c.; *Mach.*, 148, 10; 149, 31; 152, 29.
- Thair (1), *adj.*, their, *Tr.*, 16, 19, &c.; *Ans.*, 9, 20, &c.; *Mach.*, 87, 23; 92, 23; 98, 14; 103, 24; 117, 30; 152, 24; *Rep.*, 173, 19; 175, 8; 189, 17; theer, *Tar.*, 174, 3; thir, *Mach.*, 151, 5.
- Thair (2), *adv.*, there, *Tr.*, 26, 27, &c.; *Ans.*, 13, 2, &c.; *Mach.*, 148, 10; thairby, *adv.*, thereby, *Ans.*, 23, 17; thairbe, *Tr.*, 67, 7; thair efter, *Tr.*, 37, 23; *adv.*, thereafter, *Ans.*, 13, 21; thairefter, *Seq.*, 229, 8; thar efter, *Ans.*, 39, 8; thairfoir, *adv.*, therefore, *Ans.*, 23, 7; thairfore, *Ans.*, 54, 32; thairfra, *adv.*, therefrom, *Mach.*, 150, 11; thairin, *adv.*, *Tar.*, 200, lxxiii, 4; *Ans.*, 31, 22; thairof, *adv.*, thereof, *Ans.*, 22, 31; thairoff, *Rep.*, 189, 6; tharoff, *Rep.*, 173, 5; thairto, *adv.*, thereto, *Ans.*, 13, 5; thairunto, *adv.*, thereunto, *Ans.*, 41, 26; thairvnto, *Ans.*, 30, 37. Cf. Yair.
- Thairbe, *vb.*, there are, *Tr.*, 69, 63.
- Thairs, *pron.*, theirs, *Tr.*, 114, 54.
- Thais, *adj.*, those, *Ans.*, 10, 15; 21, 17; 23, 38; 54, 19; 55, 6.
- Thame, *pron.*, them, *Tr.*, 16, 8, &c.; *Tar.*, 138, iii, 12, &c.; *Ans.*, 9, 13, &c.; *Mach.*, 74, 13, &c.; *Rep.*, 177, 20; 179, 2; 189, 4; theame, *Mach.*, 98, 8.
- Than, *miswriting for 'that'* *Tr.*, 50, 69.
- Than, *adv.*, then, *Tr.*, 17, 21, &c.; *Mach.*, 99, 14, &c.
- Thauctors, *sb.*, *pl.*, the authors, *Doubt.*, 345, 15.

- Thawked, ? *pt. ptc.*, ? , *Doubt.*, 386, 245.
- Theame, *sb.*, theme, *Misc.*, 321, 5 : *pl.*, theames, *Tar.*, 140, 7. *See also* Thame.
- Thease, *pron.*, these, *Tr.*, 117, 129 ; these, *Mach.*, 164, 4.
- Theme, *miswriting for* 'they,' *Mach.*, 83, 28.
- Then (a), *adv.*, *correl. to* 'als,' *Mach.*, 141, 1 : (b) *conj.*, than, *Tr.*, 17, 12, &c. ; *Tar.*, 138, iii, 6 ; *Seq.*, 217, 4, &c. ; *Death*, 233, 14 ; *Son.*, 253, 1, &c. ; *Ps.*, 276, 49, &c. ; *Misc.*, 308, 6 ; *Doubt.*, 365, 16 ; *Ans.*, 10, 13, &c. ; *Mach.*, 72, 14, &c. ; *Rep.*, 189, 28.
- Ther. *See* Thir.
- There selfs, *pron.*, *refl.*, themselves, *Mach.*, 129, 27 ; ther selfs, *Mach.*, 105, 28.
- Thester, *sb.*, darkness, *Doubt.*, 381, 72.
- Thie, *sb.*, thigh, *Rep.*, 189, 9.
- Thir, *pron.* and *adj.*, these. (a) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 32, 32 ; 61, 34 ; 62, 18 ; 63, 24 : (b) *adj.*, *Tar.*, 165, 9 ; 168, 2 ; 193, lvii, 3 ; *Seq.*, 224, 9 ; 229, 9 ; 230, 1 ; *Death*, 234, 4 ; *Son.*, 248, 9 ; 256, 13 ; *Misc.*, 310, 14 ; 312, 17 ; *Ans.*, 10, 19 ; 20, 32 ; 22, 26 ; 26, 7 ; 30, 30 ; 54, 13 ; 56, 16 ; 64, 6 ; *Mach.*, 76, 10 ; 79, 20, &c. ; ther, *Mach.*, 159, 30. *See also* Thair.
- This, *adv.*, thus, *Tr.*, 42, 140 ; 80, 87 ; *Ans.*, 10, 32 ; 49, 2 ; this wayes, *adv.*, thus, *Mach.*, 124, 11.
- Thoale, *infin.*, to suffer, *Tar.*, 185, 14 ; *Ps.*, 283, 94 ; thole, *Tr.*, 37, 6 ; 81, 120 ; *Tar.*, 174, 8 ; 184, xlvi, 14 : 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, thoale, *Ps.*, 275, 20 : 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, thoales, *Son.*, 262, xv, 5.
- Thocht (1), 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, thought, *Ans.*, 29, 3 ; thoght, *Ans.*, 67, 37 : 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, thoct, *Ans.*, 13, 5 ; thoght, *Ans.*, 27, 25.
- Thocht (2), *conj.*, though, *Ans.*, 14, 12 ; thought, *Tr.*, 47, 14, &c. ; *Tar.*, 152, xviii, 11 ; 163, 1 ; 193, lviii, 13 ; *Seq.*, 218, 12 ; 228, 1 ; *Death*, 236, 8 ; 237, 11 ; 240, 3 ; 241, 53.
- Thochtles, *adj.*, thoughtless, *Ans.*, 21, 34.
- Thoght, *sb.*, thought, *Doubt.*, 367, 3 : *pl.*, thoghts, *Mach.*, 108, 8 ; thogtis, *Mach.*, 149, 18 ; thoughts, *Tr.*, 47, 6 ; *Tar.*, 139, iii (3), 1 ; 146, ix, 5 ; 149, xiv, 3 ; 162, 5 ; 165, 12 ; *Ps.*, 292, 47.
- Thogtis. *See* Thoght.
- Thole. *See* Thoale.
- Thother, *adj.*, the other, *Doubt.*, 370, 27.
- Thoughts. *See* Thoght.
- Thought. *See* Thocht (2).
- Thrane, *sb.*, throne, *Ps.*, 288, 3. *Cf.* Trone.
- Thrawin, *pt. ptc.*, twisted, *Ans.*, 46, 12 ; thrauen, *Ps.*, 298, 109 : *pres. ptc.*, thrawing, *Ans.*, 25, 3.
- Threape, *infin.*, to press upon, *Doubt.*, 384, 197.
- Threat, *infin.*, to threaten, *Doubt.*, 381, 99.
- Thrid, *ord.*, third, *Tr.*, 22, 22, &c. ; *Ans.*, 24, 35 ; *Mach.*, 84, 11, &c. : thridlie, *adv.*, thirdly, *Ans.*, 52, 4 ; thridlye, *Rep.*, 177, 8 : thrids, *pron.*, thirds, *Mach.*, 82, 17.
- Thrifteous, *adj.*, thrifty, *Mach.*, 114, 2.
- Thring, *infin.*, to press oneself forward, *Tr.*, 106, 56 : 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, thring, *Pest*, 304, 11.
- Thrist, *sb.*, thirst, *Tar.*, 197, lxii, 9 ; *Seq.*, 219, 4 ; *Ans.*, 21, 35.
- Thristes, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, thirsts, *Doubt.*, 372, 72.
- Thro. *See* Throch.
- Throch, *prep.*, through, *Ans.*, 24, 20 ; through, *I*, 9, 7 ; *Son.*, 263, 13 ; *Ans.*, 40, 19 ; *Mach.*, 74, 11 ; 84, 7 ; 89, 11 ; 106, 11 ; 112, 18 ; through, *Ans.*, 20, 13 ; 21, 13 ; 24, 20 ; 25, 20 ; 37, 9 ; through, *Tr.*, 40, 86 ; thro, *Rep.*, 191, 12 ; throw, *I*, 4, 4.
- Through. *See* Throch.
- Through. *See* Throch.
- Thoroughly, *adv.*, thoroughly, *Ans.*, 9, 22 ; throughlye, *Ps.*, 279, 138.
- Throught. *See* Throch.
- Throw. *See* Throch.
- Throward, *adj.*, perverse, *Tr.*, 30, 104.

- Thrown, *adj.*, crooked, *Tr.*, 51, 103; 58, 10.  
 Thyrstie, *adj.*, thirsty, *Tar.*, 153, xx, 5.  
 Thus wayes, *adv.*, thus, *Tr.*, 41, 107; thus wyes, *Mach.*, 105, 22.  
 Thyne, *infin.*, to grow thin, *Ps.*, 283, 27.  
 Tiddance, *sb.*, tidings, *Ps.*, 279, 135.  
 Til, *prep.*, to, *Mach.*, 144, 13; 156, 27; till, *Tr.*, 61, 108; till that, *conj.*, till, *Tr.*, 107, 84.  
 Tinsell, *sb.*, loss, *Rep.*, 177, 14; tinsal, *Ans.*, 30, 25; *Mach.*, 124, 22.  
 Tit, *sb.*, title, *Ans.*, 34, 21.  
 Tod, *sb.*, fox, *Mach.*, 122, 3.  
 To-dasht, *pt. ptc.*, dashed, in pieces, *Doubt.*, 386, 245.  
 Together, *adv.*, together, *Tr.*, 36, 8, &c.; *Death*, 234, 1; *Ps.*, 288, 9; *Mach.*, 84, 36, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 8; 189, 19; together, *Ans.*, 40, 1; *Rep.*, 195, 11; togidder, *Ans.*, 42, 3; together with, *prep.*, together with, *Rep.*, 173, 18; 189, 2; togidder with, *Ans.*, 30, 7.  
 Togidder. See Together.  
 Togue, *sb.*, a strip of cloth (?), *Rep.*, 188, 19.  
 Tome, *adj.*, empty, *Misc.*, 320, 7.  
 Tone. See Toun.  
 Tong, tongu. See Toug.  
 Toone, *sb.*, character, *Tr.*, 91, 142.  
 Toume, *sb.*, tomb, *Son.*, 249, 2.  
 Toun, *sb.*, town, *Ans.*, 30, 6; tone, *Mach.*, 138, 35.  
 Toug, *sb.*, tongue, *Tr.*, 31, 137; *Seq.*, 219, 6; *Ans.*, 10, 10, &c.; tong, *Ans.*, 31, 21; tongu, *Mach.*, 71, 3.  
 Tour, *sb.*, tower, *Tr.*, 107, 99.  
 Tourne, *infin.*, to turn, *Doubt.*, 380, 50.  
 Touth, *sb.*, touch, *Son.*, 261, 3.  
 Trace (1), *sb.*, track, *Tr.*, 67, 8; 78, 25; 122, 122.  
 Trace (2), *infin.*, to follow, *Tr.*, 96, 373; 98, 24; 107, 83.  
 Tract (1), *sb.*, course, *Tr.*, 98, 24.  
 Tract (2), *infin.*, to track, *Tr.*, 98, 24; 107, 83.  
 Traductions, *sb.*, *pl.*, translations, *Tr.*, 16, 16.  
 Tradutions, *sb.*, *pl.*, traditions, *Ans.*, 61, 12.  
 Traict, at a, *adv. phr.*, all at once, *Tr.*, 72, 148. (*Ital. ad un tratto.*)  
 Traist, *adj.*, loyal, *Tr.*, 29, 61.  
 Trait, *infin.*, to treat, *Pest.*, 304, 23.  
 Tranches, *sb.*, *pl.*, trenches, *Mach.*, 101, 11.  
 Trane, *infin.*, to drag, *Tr.*, 78, 34; 86, 5.  
 Tranes, *sb.*, *pl.*, snares, *Mach.*, 122, 6; 163, 17; traynes, *Tar.*, 172, 13.  
 Transchänge, *pt. ptc.*, changed, *Tar.*, 181, xlii, 3.  
 Traperyeis, *sb.*, *pl.*, deceits, *Mach.*, 123, 2.  
 Trasoun, *sb.*, treason, *Ans.*, 31, 10.  
 Trauel, *sb.*, labour, *Ans.*, 53, 29; trauell, *Ans.*, 48, 10; travel, *Mach.*, 156, 10; travell, *Mach.*, 90, 5; 122, 35.  
 Trauell, *infin.*, to labour, *Ans.*, 45, 3; *pt. ptc.*, traualit, *Ans.*, 37, 6.  
 Trauers, *sb.*, a cross-curtain, *Rep.*, 178, 19.  
 Trayne, *infin.*, to entice, *Tar.*, 208, 2.  
 Treatises, *sb.*, *pl.*, treaties, *Mach.*, 122, 22.  
 Tred (1), *sb.*, footprint, *Mach.*, 134, 12; trade, *Mach.*, 147, 18; *pl.*, treds, *Mach.*, 147, 13.  
 Tred (2), *infin.*, to tread, *Tr.*, 67, 8; *Mach.*, 132, 2; 2 *sing.*, *pres. indic.*, tradst, *Ps.*, 285, 118; 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, tred, *Ans.*, 25, 3; *pt. ptc.*, tred, *Ps.*, 295, 15.  
 Tressonable, *adj.*, treasonable, *Ans.*, 33, 21.  
 Treues. See Trew.  
 Treuth, *sb.*, truth, *Tr.*, 63, 137; *Ans.*, 44, 13; *Mach.*, 96, 12.  
 Trew, *sb.*, truce, *Tr.*, 39, 63; treues, *Mach.*, 122, 22; trewes, *Tar.*, 190, li, 8; trewis, *Tr.*, 56, 219.  
 Trewes, trewis. See Trew.  
 Tribble, *adj.*, treble, *Doubt.*, 377, 21.  
 Tributairs, *sb.*, *pl.*, payers of tribute, *Ans.*, 32, 21.  
 Trimblinglye, *adv.*, tremblingly, *Tar.*, 172, 7.

- Triumphe, *sb.*, procession, *Tr.*, 32, 164.
- Trone, *sb.*, throne, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 11.
- Trophe, *sb.*, trophy, *Tar.*, 147, x, 5; trophee, *Tar.*, 188, 12.
- Troumpet, *pt. ptc.*, deceived, *Tr.*, 131, 154; trumped, *Tr.*, 107, 93.
- Trubilsum, *adj.*, troublesome, *Ans.*, 67, 10.
- Trubles, *sb.*, *pl.*, troubles, *Ans.*, 31, 2; trobles, *Mach.*, 94, 16.
- Trublit, *pt. ptc.*, troubled, *Ans.*, 42, 25.
- Truiche man, *sb.*, interpreter, *Tr.*, 36, 14.
- Trumped. See Troumpet.
- Trumperies, *sb.*, *pl.*, impostures, *Ans.*, 33, 2.
- Trumphe, *infin.*, to triumph, *Tr.*, 74, 195.
- Tryes, *sb.*, *pl.*, coaxing, *Tr.*, 50, 69. (Translating Ital. *ciance* = *babbling*.)
- Tua, *card.*, two, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 10; *Ans.*, 33, 10, &c.; *Mach.*, 75, 27, &c.; *Rep.*, 173, 11; 189, 19; twa, *Ans.*, 27, 19; 60, 25.
- Tuelf, *card.*, twelve, *Tr.*, 110, 164.
- Tuik, 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, took, *Ans.*, 23, 36; 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, twik, *Tr.*, 52, 121; 63, 145; 109, 139.
- Tuix, *prep.*, between, *Tr.*, 32, 165; 65, 193; tuixt, *Tr.*, 94, 215.
- Turcisme, *sb.*, Mahommedanism, *Ans.*, 43, 23.
- Tweene, *prep.*, between, *Doubt.*, 380, 47.
- Tyd, *sb.*, season, *Tr.*, 45, 216.
- Tymles, *adj.*, short-lived, *Tar.*, 196, lxi, 9; *Seq.*, 223, 10.
- Tynder ass, ?, *Misc.*, 315, 86.
- Tyne, *infin.*, to lose, *Tar.*, 178, 13; *Mach.*, 75, 6; 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, tynes, *Tar.*, 161, xxvii, 14.
- Tyran, *sb.*, tyrant, *Tr.*, 30, 104; *Ans.*, 60, 6.
- Ûair, *adj.*, their, *Tr.*, 57, 273; 81, 101; *Misc.*, 308, 6; 314, 60.
- Ûair, *adv.*, there, *Tr.*, 76, 244.
- Ûair, *adj.*, their, *Mach.*, 87, 21; 154, 33.
- Ûair, *adv.*, there, *Mach.*, 157, 3; 158, 23; 163, 24; Ûairby, *adv.*, thereby, *Mach.*, 101, 15, &c.; Ûairefter, *adv.*, thereafter, *Mach.*, 83, 16, &c.; Ûairfor, *adv.*, therefore, *Mach.*, 96, 32, &c.; Ûairin, *adv.*, therein, *Mach.*, 140, 34; 153, 8; Ûairen, *Mach.*, 163, 34; Ûairoff, *adv.*, thereof, *Mach.*, 107, 8, &c.; Ûairto, *adv.*, thereto, *Mach.*, 142, 17; 157, 37; Ûairtoon, *Mach.*, 151, 31.
- Ûat, *pron.*, *adj.*, and *conj.*, that. (a) *pron.*, *Mach.*, 78, 12; 82, 9; 115, 6; 157, 15; 158, 13: (b) *adj.*, *Mach.*, 162, 34; 163, 13: (c) *conj.*, *Mach.*, 96, 12, &c.,
- Ûe, *adj.*, the, *Mach.*, 157, 15; 158, 37.
- Uald. See Wald.
- Uapons, *sb.*, *pl.*, weapons, *Mach.*, 92, 29.
- Uark. See Wark.
- Uarld. See Warld.
- Ueked. See Weked.
- Uerke. See Wark.
- Underlye, *infin.*, to submit to, *Tr.*, 16, 26.
- Unsterdand, *miswriting for* 'understand,' *Mach.*, 151, 27.
- Uood. See Wood.
- Uordly. See Warldlye.
- Vaginge, *adj.*, inconstant, *Tr.*, 116, 103.
- Vailed, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, availed, *Tr.*, 64, 174.
- Vald. See Wald.
- Valence, *sb.*, worth, *Mach.*, 153, 19.
- Valeur, *sb.*, worth, *Tr.*, 26, 21; 77, 41; 98, 21; *Son.*, 256, 8; *valeur*, *Mach.*, 106, 17: courage, *Tr.*, 70, 95; 98, 32; *Mach.*, 96, 34; 155, 9; 162, 2; *valeur*, *Mach.*, 96, 34; 131, 37.
- Valiancye, *sb.*, worth, *Tr.*, 98, 38; *valour*, *Mach.*, 106, 20.
- Valved, *pt. ptc.*, valued, *Ps.*, 282, 17.
- Vaneß, *sb.*, vanity, *Tr.*, 120, 53. (= *vainness*?)
- Vanqueish, *infin.*, to vanquish, *Tr.*, 62, 116; *pt. ptc.*, vainquished, *Mach.*, 102, 16; 144, 36; *vanquist*, *Tr.*, 72, 134; *vanquished*, *Mach.*, 103, 1; 154, 15; *vanquished*, *Tr.*, 22, 11.

- Vanqueists, *sb., pl.*, the conquered, *Tr.*, 31, 124.
- Vanquisher, *sb.*, conqueror, *Mach.*, 146, 5.
- Vant, *infin.*, to boast, *Tr.*, 38, 46; want, *Tr.*, 107, 79: *imperat.*, vant, *Ans.*, 29, 14.
- Vantons, *sb.*, wantonness, *Mach.*, 115, 12.
- Variant, *adj.*, variegated, *Tr.*, 63, 159.
- Vark. See Wark.
- Vaucal, *adj.*, vocal, *Seq.*, 224, 9.
- Vaults, *sb., pl.*, eye-brows, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 9.
- Vayle, *infin.*, to bewail, *Tar.*, 176, 7; 196, lxi, 5.
- Veluot, *sb.*, velvet, *Rep.*, 178, 22; veluote, *Rep.*, 178, 26.
- Venomful, *adj.*, envenomed, *Ans.*, 21, 1.
- Vent, *infin.*, to give utterance to, *Tar.*, 181, xli, 1: 1 *sing., pres., indic.*, venteth, *Tar.*, 176, 2.
- Verming, *sb.*, vermin, *Mach.*, 150, 11.
- Verteous, *adj.*, virtuous, *Tr.*, 15, 2; *Mach.*, 110, 2; verteuous, *Tr.*, 69, 61; verteus, *Tr.*, 73, 165; vertewis, *Tr.*, 82, 150; vertewous, *Tr.*, 16, 1; vertewus, *Tr.*, 55, 194; vertuous, *I*, 6, 12; verteuously, *adv.*, virtuously, *Mach.*, 131, 11; verteuoslye, *Mach.*, 113, 8; verteuslye, *Mach.*, 129, 10; vertououslye, *Mach.*, 98, 36.
- Vertew, *sb.*, virtue (in *Mach.*, used to translate Ital. *vertu*), *Tr.*, 15, 22; *Mach.*, 71, 23, &c.: *pl.*, verteuus, *Mach.*, 119, 3; verteuus, *Tr.*, 19, 4b; verteus, *Tr.*, 70, 105; vertewes, *Mach.*, 158, 20; vertues, *Mach.*, 94, 21.
- Veseble, *adj.*, visible, *Ans.*, 40, 14.
- Vew (1), *sb.*, view, *Tr.*, 16, 25; *Doubt.*, 342, 4; veiwe *Doubt.*, 342, 4.
- Vew (2), *infin.*, to view, *Tr.*, 66, 215; veue, *Tr.*, 27, 48.
- Vglie, *adj.*, ugly, *Tr.*, 79, 75; 85, 212; 100, 83.
- Violes, *sb., pl.*, violets, *Tr.*, 78, 32. (Ital. *virole*.)
- Visie, *infin.*, to visit, *Tr.*, 89, 81.
- Viuely, *adv.*, in life-like fashion, *Rep.*, 193, 20.
- Viuers, *sb., pl.*, victuals, *Mach.*, 90, 9.
- Vmbre, *sb.*, shadow, *Ans.*, 21, 6.
- Vn acquent, *adj.*, strange, *Tr.*, 26, 23.
- Vnbludie, *adj.*, without shedding of blood, *Ans.*, 65, 5.
- Vncapable, *adj.*, unable to bear, *Tr.*, 98, 19.
- Vnceasant, *adj.*, unceasing, *Tar.*, 158, 12; 188, 13.
- Vncircumspectioun, *sb.*, lack of care, *Mach.*, 158, 1.
- Vncontrold, *miswriting for* 'uncontrold,' *Seq.*, 220, 9.
- Vncouth, *adj.*, strange, *Tr.*, 37, 11; 106, 65; vncouthe, *Tr.*, 79, 69; *Tar.*, 144, 1; 168, 6; vncowthe, *Tr.*, 95, 348; new, *Mach.*, 71, 11; 74, 3.
- Vncumly, *adj.*, unbecoming, *Ans.*, 20, 28.
- Vndantond, *adj.*, undaunted, *Tar.*, 146, ix, 10; vndantound, *Tr.*, 119, 26.
- Vnderstand, *pt. ptc.*, understood, *Tr.*, 114, 69; *Ans.*, 10, 21; 30, 31; 50, 27; 52, 1; 60, 3; 62, 19.
- Vnderstuid, 3 *pl., pret.*, understood, *Ans.*, 38, 3; 45, 14: *pt. ptc.*, *Ans.*, 67, 26.
- Vndiscreit, *adj.*, indiscreet, *Mach.*, 82, 1.
- Vndone, *infin.*, to destroy, *Doubt.*, 379, 12.
- Vneffectionat, *adj.*, unprejudiced, *Ans.*, 39, 20.
- Vnexcersed, *pt. ptc.*, not trained, *Mach.*, 137, 18.
- Vnfeinzeit, *adj.*, unfeigned, *Ans.*, 68, 20.
- Vnfold, *infin.*, to reveal, *Tr.*, 29, 64; *Son.*, 257, 8; *Misc.*, 313, 40; *Doubt.*, 338, 28; vnfoulde, *Tr.*, 54, 188; 64, 166; 71, 126.
- Vnfoulde, *adj.*, undefiled, *Doubt.*, 381, 70.
- Vnfreind, *sb.*, enemy, *Death*, 241, 30.
- Vnfrindlye, *adj.*, unfriendly, *Doubt.*, 379, 18.
- Vngratitud, *sb.*, ingratitude, *Mach.*, 146, 2.

- Vngretfullye, *adv.*, ungratefully, *Mach.*, 133, 2.
- Vnhappnes, *sb.*, misfortune, *Mach.*, 108, 6.
- Vnhyde, *infin.*, to disclose, *Tr.*, 76, 251.
- Vniformaly, *adv.*, uniformly, *Ans.*, 46, 21.
- Vniuarsall, *adj.*, universal, *Ans.*, 50, 5.
- Vniuerß, *sb.*, universe, *Tr.*, 80, 89.
- Vniuersalytic, *sb.*, association of guilds, *Mach.*, 147, 26.
- Vniuersetie, *sb.*, the whole body of the people, *Mach.*, 116, 23; *vniversytie*, *Mach.*, 131, 12.
- Vnknawin, *pt. ptc.*, unknown, *Ans.*, 27, 16.
- Vnkynde, *adj.*, unnatural, *Tr.*, 32, 152; 101, 104.
- Vnlaist, *pt. ptc.*, undone, *Tr.*, 57, 252.
- Vnlosed, *pt. ptc.*, set free, *Tr.*, 62, 125.
- Vnluklye, *adv.*, unluckily, *Mach.*, 98, 14.
- Vnmaneuired, *adj.*, waste (of land), *Tar.*, 153, xix, 2.
- Vnneth, *prep.*, beneath, *Ps.*, 292, 28.
- Vnplesand, *adj.*, unpleasant, *Tr.*, 101, 104.
- Vnpoised, *pt. ptc.*, unbalanced, *Son.*, 260, 14.
- Vnquented, *adj.*, unaccustomed, *Tr.*, 26, 19.
- Vnreliued, *pt. ptc.*, unrelieved, *Ps.*, 278, 100.
- Vnsene, *adj.*, new, *Tr.*, 26, 23.
- Vnstormyer, *adj.*, *comp.*, less stormy, *Mach.*, 157, 4.
- Vnthik, *adj.*, narrow, *Tr.*, 65, 196.
- Vntill, *prep.*, to, *Tr.*, 75, 223; *conj.*, until, *Tr.*, 61, 96.
- Vnuesible, *adj.*, invisible, *Ans.*, 42, 9.
- Vnvsed, *adj.*, unusual, *Tr.*, 26, 23.
- Vnwar, *adj.*, unaware, *Tr.*, 67, 20; *vnwaris*, *adv.*, without warning, *Ans.*, 25, 1.
- Vnwordy, *adj.*, unworthy, *Ans.*, 20, 28; 28, 8.
- Voce, *sb.*, voice, *Ps.*, 297, 85; *Misc.*, 312, 5.
- Voluntier, *adj.*, voluntary, *Ans.*, 31, 8.
- Vouchaue, *imperat.*, vouchsafe, *Son.*, 262, xvi, 5.
- Vousteously, *adv.*, boastfully, *Ans.*, 33, 26.
- Vphald, *infin.*, to uphold, *Mach.*, 130, 18; *pt. ptc.*, vphalden, *Mach.*, 72, 10; vpholden, *Ps.*, 289, 28; *Mach.*, 97, 21; 106, 15.
- Vpperhand, *sb.*, upperhand, *Mach.*, 102, 18.
- Vppropp, *infin.*, to prop up, *Mach.*, 124, 18.
- Vpraised, *pt. ptc.*, razed, *Tr.*, 41, 114; vpraised, *pt. ptc.*, taken away, *Tr.*, 72, 142.
- Vprayde, *infin.*, to upbraid, *Doubl.*, 385, 242.
- Vpricht, *adj.*, upright, *Ans.*, 50, 16.
- Vsage, *sb.*, visage, *Tr.*, 109, 132.
- Vsury, *sb.*, use, *Ans.*, 30, 4.
- Vsuryce, *sb.*, usury, *Misc.*, 328, xix, 1.
- Vthair, vthar. See Vther.
- Vther, *adj.* and *pron.*, other. (a) *adj.*, *Tr.*, 62, 129; 129, 89; *Death*, 233, 14; *Misc.*, 315, 93; *Ans.*, 10, 22, &c.; *Mach.*, 87, 12; *Rep.*, 177, 29; vthair, *Ans.*, 19, 23; 41, 23; 53, 17; vthar, *Ans.*, 24, 25; vyair, *Ans.*, 20, 27; 22, 2: (b) *pron.*, *Tr.*, 89, 73; 129, 89; *Ans.*, 29, 29; 31, 29; 33, 11; 45, 12; 52, 25; 64, 2: *pl.*, vthers, *Son.*, 249, 10; *Ans.*, 14, 24, &c.; *Mach.*, 115, 4; vthairs, *Ans.*, 19, 21; 45, 3.
- Vtherwaies, *adv.*, otherwise, *Ans.*, 54, 23; vtherwayes, *Tr.*, 79, 70; vtherwise, *Ans.*, 23, 27; vtherwysse, *Mach.*, 95, 14.
- Vtmaist, *adj.*, outmost, *Tr.*, 38, 54; *Rep.*, 189, 9.
- Vtter, *adj.*, outer, *Rep.*, 180, 21; 181, 13.
- Vulgar, *sb.*, the common people, *Tr.*, 64, 177.
- Vyair. See Vther.
- Vyld, *adj.*, vile, *Tr.*, 48, 20; 88, 60; 115, 81; *Tar.*, 160, xxv, 3; *Seq.*, 222, 2; *Son.*, 256, 12; *Ps.*, 279, 145; *Misc.*, 328, xix, 5; *comp.*, vylder, *Ps.*, 296, 31; vildlie, *adv.*, vilely, *Mach.*, 134, 22.

- Vyse, *adj.*, wise, *Mach.*, 90, 5; 122, 11: *superl.*, vysit, *Mach.*, 152, 14.  
 Vysit. See Vyse.  
 Vyve, *adv.*, vividly, *Doubt.*, 365, 12.  
 Wadge, *sb.*, wedge, *Tr.*, 50, 88.  
 Wage, *infin.*, to hire, *Mach.*, 105, 17; 143, 25: *pt. ptc.*, waged, *Mach.*, 95, 3; 103, 29: *vbl. sb.*, wagen, *Mach.*, 106, 10; waging, *Mach.*, 104, 11.  
 Waik, *adj.*, weak, *Tr.*, 24, 13; 73, 17; 120, 80; 128, 50; *Ans.*, 14, 8; 46, 30; wak, *Tr.*, 53, 149; 93, 191; wake, *Tr.*, 55, 196; wakk, *Son.*, 247, 6: *superl.*, wakest, *Mach.*, 75, 19.  
 Waiknes, *sb.*, weakness, *Tr.*, 89, 72.  
 Wairs. See Weir  
 Waks, *miswriting for 'waik'?* *Tr.*, 123, 154.  
 Wald, *vb.*, all persons, would, *Tr.*, 32, 148, &c.; *Tar.*, 153, xx, 2; *Seq.*, 222, 7; *Ans.*, 10, 11, &c.; *Mach.*, 77, 15, &c.; wold, *Tr.*, 47, 15, &c.; wauld, *Death*, 233, 21; uald, *Mach.*, 76, 16; vald, *Mach.*, 78, 15: 2 *sing.*, waldst, *Mach.*, 145, 4; woldest, *Tr.*, 47, 14.  
 Walkt, *infin.*, to walk, *Tr.*, 122, 116.  
 Waltring, *pres. ptc.*, weltering, *Tar.*, 197, lxiii, 2.  
 Wan, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, won, I, 3, 12; *Tr.*, 49, 55; *Tar.*, 146, ix, 9; *Misc.*, 323, 11; *Doubt.*, 362, 60: *pt. ptc.*, win, *Tr.*, 76, 250; *Mach.*, 103, 26; 137, 8; wun, *Tr.*, 39, 74; *Son.*, 257, 1.  
 Wanhap, *sb.*, misfortune, *Ps.*, 283, 32.  
 War (1), *pron.*, worse, *Tr.*, 60, 60: warst, *pron.*, worst, *Mach.*, 77, 14; 147, 8.  
 War (2), *adj.*, wary, *Tr.*, 69, 65.  
 Warfeir. See Weirfair.  
 Wark, *sb.*, work, *Ps.*, 278, 96; *Pest*, 303, 17; 304, 30; uark, *Ps.*, 284, 56; uerke, *Mach.*, 108, 4: *pl.*, warks, *Ps.*, 284, 68; *Ans.*, 54, 36. Cf. Wourk.  
 World, *sb.*, world, *Tar.*, 188, 4; *Seq.*, 221, 1; *Ans.*, 35, 12, &c.; *Mach.*, 79, 12, &c.; uarld, *Mach.*, 103, 3.  
 Worldlye, *adj.*, worldly, *Mach.*, 147, 5; uordly, *Son.*, 252, 6.  
 Warlie, *adv.*, warily, *Ans.*, 60, 27; warly, *Ans.*, 22, 19; warlye, *Tr.*, 43, 165; *Mach.*, 80, 18.  
 Warlowes, *sb., pl.*, witches, *Death*, 233, 20.  
 Warrant, *sb.*, warrant, *Ans.*, 50, 28; 56, 17.  
 Warst. See War (1).  
 Waschin, *pt. ptc.*, washed, *Ans.*, 59, 13.  
 Wast, *adj.*, vast, *Son.*, 251, 9.  
 Wasterye, *sb.*, wastefulness, *Mach.*, 114, 10.  
 Watt, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, know, *Tar.*, 155, 13; wott, *Tar.*, 154, 13: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, wotest, *Ps.*, 291, 13: 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, wote, *Doubt.*, 367, 9.  
 Wayed. See Wey.  
 Ways, *vb.*, woe is, *Death*, 239, 2.  
 Weakt, *pt. ptc.*, weakened, *Tr.*, 52, 142.  
 Wechtie, *adj.*, weighty, *Ans.*, 62, 11; weghtie, *Mach.*, 105, 10; weichty, *Ans.*, 64, 27.  
 Wedow, *sb.*, widow, *Tr.*, 50, 22.  
 Weght, *sb.*, weight, *Ps.*, 278, 92.  
 Weghtie. See Wechtie.  
 Weillwilled, *adj.*, well-disposed, *Mach.*, 73, 10.  
 Weir (1), *infin.*, to wear, *Tr.*, 84, 202; wer, *Ps.*, 289, 38.  
 Weir (2), *sb.*, war, *Tr.*, 15, 11; 105, 30; *Mach.*, 81, 8; 85, 4; 162, 35; weire, *Mach.*, 85, 27; 96, 7; were, *Mach.*, 78, 21; 81, 6; 104, 35; werre, *Mach.*, 145, 18: *pl.*, wairs, *Mach.*, 96, 14; 103, 15; weires, *Mach.*, 163, 21; weiris, *Tr.*, 56, 219; weirs, *Mach.*, 85, 2; 97, 7; 98, 37; wereis, *Mach.*, 73, 2; weres, *Tar.*, 170, 1; *Seq.*, 215, 4; 217, 11; *Mach.*, 97, 27; 100, 16, &c.; werres, *Mach.*, 143, 26; wers, *Mach.*, 98, 15; 119, 18.  
 Weire, *infin.*, to bear, *Tar.*, 191, liii, 11.  
 Weirfair, *sb.*, warfare, *Mach.*, 100, 18; 137, 19; werfair, *Mach.*, 108, 6; 137, 27; warfeir, *Mach.*, 105, 37.

- Weked, *adj.*, wicked, *Tr.*, 49, 55; *Ps.*, 294, 84; *Misc.*, 311, 13; *Mach.*, 118, 5; ueked, *Ps.*, 298, 106.
- Wekednes, *sb.*, wickedness, *Ps.*, 285, 92.
- Wemen, *sb.*, *pl.*, women, *Tr.*, 76, 249; *Tar.*, 148, xii, 11; *Pest.*, 303, 5; *Ans.*, 53, 5; *Mach.*, 159, 36; *Rep.*, 189, 6.
- Went, *pt. ptc.*, gone, *Tr.*, 90, 108.
- Wer. *See* Weir (1).
- Weresomnes, *sb.*, weariness, *Mach.*, 107, 20.
- Wering, *pres. ptc.*, warring, *Seq.*, 223, 1.
- Werlyke, *adj.*, warlike, *Mach.*, 138, 5.
- Westmest, *adj.*, most westerly, *Tr.*, 63, 146.
- Wethereth, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, withers, *Ps.*, 298, 94.
- Wey, *imperat.*, weigh, *Tar.*, 192, lvi, 13: 3 *sing. pret.*, wayed, *Rep.*, 194, 25: *pt. ptc.*, weyit, *Ans.*, 9, 22.
- Wether. *See* Quhither.
- Wha. *See* Quha.
- Whair, whair as, whairby, whairin, whairof, whairto, whairwith. *See* Quhair.
- Whair that, *conj.*, where, *Tr.*, 62, 127; whear that, *Tr.*, 65, 207; 75, 218.
- Whairvnto, *adv.*, whereunto, *Mach.*, 105, 20.
- Whaise. *See* Quhase.
- Whan. *See* Quhan.
- Whare, wharby, wharoff, wharwith. *See* Quhair.
- Whase. *See* Quhase.
- Whear, wheare. *See* Quhair, Whair that.
- Wheather. *See* Quhither.
- Wheill. *See* Quheil.
- Whether, *conj.*, whither, *Ps.*, 275, 11.
- Whidder. *See* Quhither.
- Whiles. *See* Quhils.
- Whilk. *See* Quhilk.
- Whill. *See* Quhil.
- Whillis, whills, whils. *See* Quhills.
- Whiskinge, *pres. ptc.*, swirling, *Doubt.*, 385, 145.
- Whither. *See* Quhither.
- Wholeye, *adv.*, wholly, *Mach.*, 123, 31; wholl, *Doubt.*, 355, 46.
- Whote, *adj.*, hot, *Tr.*, 88, 63; 91, 125; 93, 187; 120, 68; *Tar.*, 154, 4; whoot, *Son.*, 269, xxiii, 6.
- Whotlie, *adv.*, passionately, *Tr.*, 59, 30.
- Whow euer, *adv.*, however, *Mach.*, 80, 14.
- Whutinge, *pres. ptc.*, whooping, *Doubt.*, 340, 37.
- Wichthes, *sb.*, *pl.*, witches, *Death.*, 233, 20.
- Will, *adv.*, ill, *Tr.*, 113, 32; *Tar.*, 182, xliii, 13.
- Wilk, *sb.*, welk, *Rep.*, 193, 8; wilke, *Rep.*, 192, 7.
- Win. *See* Wan.
- Windill, *infin.*, to wind, *Tr.*, 117, 132.
- Windring, *pres. ptc.*, wondering, *Tr.*, 113, 29.
- Wins. *See* Wun.
- Wirried, *pt. ptc.*, choked, *Ans.*, 25, 30.
- Wiss, *infin.*, to wish, *Death.*, 235, 14; wisß, *Misc.*, 311, 25: 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, wiß, *Tar.*, 155, 13; *Son.*, 249, 5.
- Withane, *adv.*, thus, *Mach.*, 149, 7.
- Wither. *See* Quhither.
- Withhadden, *pt. ptc.*, withheld, *Tr.*, 32, 156.
- Withstand, *pt. ptc.*, withstood, *Ans.*, 24, 11.
- Woddes, *sb.*, *pl.*, woods, *Tar.*, 142, vi, 12.
- Wofe, *sb.*, wolf, *Ans.*, 26, 25.
- Wond, *infin.*, to wound, *Tar.*, 179, 6: 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, wound, *Tr.*, 73, 185: *pt. ptc.*, wound, *Tar.*, 138, ii, 2: *vbl. sb.*, wonding, *Tar.*, 152, xvii, 11; *Death.*, 240, 20.
- Wondis, *sb.*, *pl.*, wounds, *Tr.*, 76, 252; wonds, *Tar.*, 149, xiv, 7; *Seq.*, 225, 8; *Son.*, 257, 5; *Ps.*, 292, 32; *Mach.*, 162, 9.
- Wood, *adj.*, mad, *Ans.*, 21, 38; *Doubt.*, 373, 118; uood, *Misc.*, 325, xiv, 2.
- Woord, *sb.*, word, *Ans.*, 39, 30: *pl.*, woordes, *Ans.*, 30, 18; wourds, *Son.*, 259, 11.
- Worser, *adj.*, *comp.*, worse, *Tr.*, 72, 145; *Ans.*, 14, 15; *Mach.*, 102, 23.

- Wosdome, *sb.*, wisdom, *Mach.*, 148, 7; 152, 32; wosdom, *Mach.*, 148, 18.
- Wott. *See* Watt.
- Wounder, *sb.*, wonder, *Tr.*, 102, 127; *Misc.*, 310, 16: *pl.*, woundars, *Seq.*, 217, 3.
- Wount, *adj.*, wont, *Mach.*, 71, 19.
- Wounted, *adj.*, accustomed, *Mach.*, 99, 7; wonnted, *Tr.*, 65, 207.
- Wourds. *See* Woord.
- Wourk, *infin.*, to work, *Ps.*, 281, 203; wurk, *Tr.*, 57, 264: *imperat.*, wourk, *Ps.*, 278, 98; wourke, *Tr.*, 110, 173; wurk, *Tar.*, 200, 1: *vbl. sb.*, wourking, *Ps.*, 280, 177. *Cf.* Wark.
- Wow, *sb.*, misery, *Tr.*, 53, 158; 110, 172.
- Wrachles, *miswriting for* 'wrachtes' (= wretches), *Tar.*, 181, xli, 13.
- Wraine, *sb.*, wren, *Doubt.*, 340, 37.
- Wraist, *infin.*, to distort, *Ans.*, 61, 14: 2 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, wreast, *Ans.*, 52, 10: *pl. ptc.*, wrastit, *Ans.*, 13, 24: *vbl. sb.*, wraisting, *Ans.*, 34, 15.
- Wrang (1), *sb.*, wrong, *Mach.*, 77, 27: *pl.*, wrangs, *Mach.*, 78, 8.
- Wrang (2), *adv.*, wrongly, *Ans.*, 65, 31.
- Wrangd, *pl. ptc.*, wronged, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 12; wranged, *Mach.*, 113, 22.
- Wrangfullie, *adv.*, wrongfully, *Ans.*, 46, 11; wrangfully, *Ans.*, 34, 31; 54, 34.
- Wrastit. *See* Wraist.
- Wratched. *See* Wreched.
- Wreakfull, *adj.*, vengeful, *Doubt.*, 384, 185.
- Wreast. *See* Wraist.
- Wreath, *sb.*, anger, *Tr.*, 40, 84, &c.; *Death*, 237, 10; *Ps.*, 277, 63, &c.; wreathe, *Tar.*, 172, 9; 182, xliv, 5; 201, 2; *Son.*, 250, 4.
- Wreched, *adj.*, wretched, *Ps.*, 278, 91; 297, 68; wretched, *Ps.*, 291, 19; 292, 52; wrethced, *Ps.*, 279, 119; wrethched, *Death*, 241, 26; wratched, *Tr.*, 126, 6.
- Wrechte, *sb.*, wretch, *Son.*, 248, 7; *Ps.*, 279, 127.
- Wreit, 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, wrote, *Tr.*, 122, 127: 2 *sing.*, *pret.*, *Tr.*, 114, 60; wrett, *Death*, 243, 1; *Mach.*, 130, 30: *pl. ptc.*, wryte, *Tr.*, 41, 117.
- Wrethced, wrethched. *See* Wreched.
- Wrett. *See* Wreit.
- Wringd, *pl. ptc.*, racked, *Tar.*, 192, lv, 12.
- Writ, *sb.*, writing, *Ans.*, 21, 15; writt, *Tr.*, 70, 79; wryte, *Tr.*, 74, 209.
- Wrocht, *pl. ptc.*, wrought, *Ans.*, 19, 15.
- Wryte. *See* Wreit, Writ.
- Wun, *infin.*, to dwell, *Tr.*, 66, 213: 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, *indic.*, wins, *Tr.*, 123, 144. *See also* Wan.
- Wurk. *See* Wourk.
- Wurth, *sb.*, worth, *Tr.*, 43, 166.
- Wyes, *sb.*, *pl.*, ways, *Mach.*, 88, 8; 156, 5.
- Wyght, *adj.*, courageous, *Tr.*, 98, 31.
- Wyiff, *sb.*, wife, *Tr.*, 32, 145; 42, 135: *pl.*, wyiffis, *Tr.*, 74, 204; wiffes, *Ans.*, 53, 8; wyffes, *Mach.*, 118, 13.
- Wynde, *pl. ptc.*, embraced, *Doubt.*, 387, 304.
- Yai, *pron.*, they, *Ans.*, 19, 15, &c.
- Yair, *adj.*, their, *Ans.*, 19, 12, &c.
- Yair, *adv.*, there, *Ans.*, 14, 16; 21, 25: yairby, *adv.*, thereby, *Ans.*, 24, 15; yairefter, *adv.*, thereafter, *Ans.*, 45, 23: yairfor, *adv.*, therefore, *Ans.*, 30, 14; 66, 32; yairin, *adv.*, therein, *Ans.*, 20, 19; yairof, *adv.*, thereof, *Ans.*, 20, 11, &c.; yairto, *adv.*, thereto, *Ans.*, 19, 10, &c.
- Yame, *pron.*, them, *Ans.*, 19, 22; 21, 4; 24, 34.
- Yan, *conj.*, than, *Ans.*, 21, 3; 25, 13.
- Yat, *pron.*, *adj.*, and *conj.*, that. (a) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 10, 5; 21, 3; 23, 12: (b) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 24, 5, &c.: (c) *conj.*, *Ans.*, 13, 15, &c.
- Ydele, *adv.*, idly, *Mach.*, 110, 3.
- Ydill, *adv.*, without a definite aim, *Mach.*, 143, 16.
- Ye, *adj.*, the, *Ans.*, 19, 26, &c.
- Yea. *See* 3e.
- Yealowe. *See* 3allow.
- Yeil, *vb.*, ye will, *Misc.*, 320, 19.

- Yeild. See Zeild.
- Yestrene, *adv.*, yesterday evening, *Misc.*, 320, 10; the strene, *Tr.*, 129, 88.
- Yis, *pron.* and *adj.*, this. (a) *pron.*, *Ans.*, 21, 26; 22, 3; 25, 13; (b) *adj.*, *Ans.*, 31, 22.
- Yimpe, *infin.*, to strengthen, *Seq.*, 219, 12.
- Yoaw, *sb.*, ewe, *Son.*, 269, xxiv, 9.
- Yong, *adj.*, young, *Mach.*, 160, 5.
- Yonkers. See Younkers.
- Youling, *pres. ptc.*, howling, *Tar.*, 193, lvii, 11.
- Youngling, *adj.*, young, *Tr.*, 27, 56; 34, 217; *Son.*, 268, 41; *sb.*, youth, *Tr.*, 26, 28; 27, 56.
- Younkers, *sb.*, *pl.*, young men, *Doubt.*, 340, 52; *yonkers, Rep.*, 172, 25; 180, 20.
- Youtheid. See Zoutheid.
- Youthles, *adj.*, youthful, *Tr.*, 120, 71.
- Yssew, *sb.*, outcome, *Mach.*, 102, 10; 156, 11; exit, *Mach.*, 108, 18; a running sore, *Mach.*, 162, 13.
- Yvore, *sb.*, ivory, *Tar.*, 184, xlvii, 9; 188, 9.
- Zallow, *adj.*, yellow, *Misc.*, 314, 66; 315, 96; zellow, *Tr.*, 63, 160; yealowe, *Rep.*, 180, 17.
- Ze, *pron.*, ye, *Tr.*, 110, 175; 121, 109; *Tar.*, 158, 5; 161, xxviii, 8; 185, 14; *Seq.*, 223, 4; *Death*, 233, 11; *Misc.*, 310, 13; 312, 19; *Ans.*, 13, 12, &c.; *Mach.*, 81, 28, &c.; yea, *Tr.*, 110, 171.
- Ze, *interj.*, yea, *Ans.*, 25, 27; 27, 16; 63, 8.
- Zeale, *sb.*, zeal, *Tr.*, 45, 232; *Tar.*, 178, 11; 183, xlv, 6; 196, lxi, 4; 210, lxxiii, 6; zeill, *Tr.*, 119, 31; zele, *Ans.*, 20, 13.
- Zeill. See Zeale.
- Zeild, *infin.*, to yield, *Son.*, 249, 9; *Ans.*, 34, 5; yeild, *Mach.*, 131, 16; 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, yeild, *Tr.*, 86, 18; *pl. ptc.*, zeild, *Death*, 241, 28; yeild, *Tr.*, 29, 72.
- Zeir, *sb.*, year, *Tr.*, 24, 9; *Ans.*, 28, 31, &c.; *pl.*, zeir, *Tr.*, 109, 148; *Ans.*, 42, 36; 43, 4; zeeres, *Son.*, 258, 1; zeirs, *Ans.*, 14, 8; 29, 30; *gen.*, *pl.*, zeirs, *Ans.*, 40, 11; yeiris, *Tr.*, 30, 103.
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