The Scottish Text Society

THE POEMS

OF

ROBERT HENRYSON
THE POEMS

OF

ROBERT HENRYSON

EDITED BY

G. GREGORY SMITH

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION
APPENDIX, NOTES
INDEX OF WORDS AND GLOSSARY
GENERAL INDEX

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PREFACE.

Half-a-century ago David Laing printed for the first time the collected poems of Robert Henryson. The reputation won by that pioneer effort in a difficult task remains secure; and such shortcomings as give a later editor his excuse for a fresh survey must in justice be charged to the scholarly fashion of that age. Laing was too good an antiquary to be indifferent to his authorities, but he pieced the texts together with some freedom, to the pious end of showing his author at his best, and he did not always, or with clearness, disclose whence he had drawn or how he had patched his lines. Henryson, as he has come down to us, does not lend himself readily to treatment of this sort. There is no single text, manuscript or printed, containing all the poems which have been ascribed to him; and though we may sometimes feel that the dovetailing of passages gives us what we should like to think he wrote, the good things and the less good are so scattered throughout the extant copies that it is impossible to make choice of one text, either for its own sake or as a working basis for the record of variants or occasional emendations. It is not the duty
of the Editor, nor has it been a temptation to him, to offer a reconstruction, which, even if the venture were more promising, would be challenged as a fiction of his own. For these reasons, therefore, all the early texts have been faithfully printed in the second and third volumes. Editorial suggestions have been reserved for this volume, the first in order, but, by intention, the last to appear.

This volume contains an Introduction, an Appendix dealing with the Kinaston version of the Testament of Cresseid (now printed for the first time) and the 1574 edition of The Fables, Notes to the texts, a full Index of Words and Glossary, and a General Index to the prolegomena and annotations in the three volumes. The separation of these from the reprint of the poems may be found by some to be a convenient arrangement for reference during reading; by others an easement from a bulky book and unwelcome commentary.

18th October 1914.

The Editor desires to thank Professor Saintsbury, Dr W. A. Craigie, and Mr Nichol Smith for their kindness in reading the final proof of portions of this volume. Their generous aid in revision gives them no share in the Editor's responsibility for opinions expressed and "errors escaped."
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INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION.

I.

HENRYSON is perhaps a forgotten poet. Now and then, since Allan Ramsay's day, it has been an act of piety to the Scottish Muse to remind the general of his Robene and Makyne, his Fables, and his tale of Cresseid. He is secure in our text-books as our first maker of pastoral, because he wrote this Robene and Makyne, which so few read, or have tried to read—it being an excuse for indifference to the poet that he used a dialect "distressingly quaint and crabbed."¹ For this reason it may be that he has become the special care of the antiquary of language and the historian, and has been treated as the proper companion of the dullards of the fifteenth century. And it may be, too, that mainly for some such reason he now wins the goodwill of a learned society which has conducted for over thirty years an editorial mission to the lapsed of our national literature. To follow, under these auspices, the work of Laing, who first collected the scattered remains, is to confess that our

¹ So W. E. Henley; but more amiably than in Russell Lowell's complaint about such Middle Scots spellings as 'quhissill.'
INTRODUCTION.

first duty is to the text, and that we shall not be less careful of the historical and philological interests of an old and difficult body of verse. But in offering to the reader of these volumes what may not be denied to the Scottish Text Society, we must crave for the poet, and in the name of that Society too, the literary place which is his due, apart from all accidents of speech and setting. For a moment therefore, before we buckle to the task of text and exposition, we turn to Henryson's claim as a literary artist; and at the close, by way of epilogue, we shall glance at the historical aspect of his work, his position in the perspective of Scottish literature and his influence.

We imply therefore that Henryson should not be a forgotten poet, and, more positively, that he possesses qualities which not only mark him off from the Lydgate-coteries of his century, but show that he has the stuff of poetry in him. It is easy for any one who merely skims the poems in these volumes, and brings with him prejudices derived from his reading of the English Chaucerians, to say that Henryson is no better than his neighbours, that he is a tedious moralist, and by habit, as by title, plain schoolmaster. Better acquaintance with his work will reveal, without risk of exaggeration, that on three main grounds he not only stands out among his fellows, but is of some account in the general company of poets.

In the first place, Henryson has the poet's 'sympathy,' if we take the term in its broadest sense, as we apply it to Chaucer, and find in no English poet before the early Elizabethans: that 'sympathy' which is something more than intelligence or keenness of eye and ear in dealing with Nature. Of his alertness in observation and in the
use of his facts in the making of a picture there can never be any doubt, even in those passages where he is compelled to make free use of traditional artifice. There is no mistaking his frogs and mice; his May morning is by no means a bookish convention; his description, among other things, of the spinner’s craft is as ‘scientific’ as the programme of a Technical Institute. But in his treatment of character and episode he discloses an intimacy of a deeper sort. He understands as well as knows, and expresses, with the power of the dramatist, the personality of his men and beast-folk and the ‘soul’ of a situation. No author of his age, and few since, have so submerged the teller’s egoism in the tale and given the reader such a perfect sense of acquaintanceship with the creatures of his art. He is helped to this by an unfailing humour, of the kind Chaucer had, and had not more amply; and nothing helps a poet or plain man more in coming to terms with fact. If it be surprising to find this quality in a period so crusted by tradition, and, with humour added, in a writer confessedly fond of seeking a moral lesson, there is perhaps more excuse to record it in the forefront of any appreciation of Henryson’s work.

In the second place, the poet possesses in a remarkable degree the sense of movement, both in his management of narrative and in his metrical method. In the former, whether within the range of a long fable or in an episode, he sustains the interest to the last. Though he shows the contemporary liking for encyclopædic digression, he never allows it to ravel or break the thread of anecdote. When, for example, he is tempted, in an account of Orpheus’s musical knowledge, to indulge in learned
talk of ‘duplar’ and ‘diatesseron,’ he is soon pulled up and saved by his humour.

“Off sik musik to wryte I do bot dote,
    Tharfor at this mater a stra I lay,
For in my lyf I coud newir syng a note;
    Bot I will tell how orpheus tuke his way.” ... ¹

Rarely in the *Fables*, even when he seems to yield to the mediaeval habit of enumeration, does he fall a victim to pedantry. If he is sometimes tedious in his ‘moralizations,’ he keeps these, as the Latin fabulists did, at the end, and at the will of the reader, not mingling them with the story, as Lydgate and others did, to the dulling of the whole.

This liveliness is also reflected in his metrical art. No ‘Chaucerian’ has caught more happily the manner of the Master. If, like Dunbar, he has few lines which, with due allowance for textual corruption, are not ‘good,’ most are ‘good’ because they move with an easy natural gait, less often, as with his successor and rival in fame, because they are clever or pleasing as literary craftsmanship. The *Fables* are rich in illustration of this, as, for example, in his masterpiece of *The Taill of the Volf that gat the Nekhering*, when the Cadger comes upon the outstretched fox feigning to be dead.

“The Cadgear fand the Foxe, and he wes fane,
And till him self this softlie can he say :
‘At the nixt bait, in Faith, Je sail be flane,
And of Jour skyn I sail mak mittenis twa.’
He lap full lichtlie about him quhair he lay,
And all the trace he trippit on his tais ;
As he had hard ane pyper play, he gais.” ²

¹ III. p. 42, ll. 123-126. ² II. p. 152, ll. 2048-2054.
It would be hard to better this picture of the simple man's delight, the merry footing, the extended arms and swaying hands of the village dance. Sometimes, indeed, he achieves a more verbal triumph, as in that burden in Orpheus's lament,

"Quhar art thou gane, my love Erudices?"\(^1\)

suggestive of famous lines in Marlowe\(^2\) and Milton. But such happy recognition of word-values is rare, and is indeed hardly to be expected in the fifteenth century, outside the wonderful prose of Malory.\(^3\) There is further proof of his metrical alertness in the variety of his stanzas, and, above all, in the ease with which he wields his lines in these, which, in difficulty of sustained sense and rhyme, should have confounded every poet who had had the ill-luck to be born before Spenser.

There is, thirdly, his literary taste. In this he is of course helped by the sympathy of which we have spoken; but he gives many proofs of a critical faculty deliberately applied to the purposes of technique. This is perhaps just another way of saying that that quality which served him so well in matters of human life and Nature was extended to matters of art; that while he knew his mice and men so thoroughly, he understood Chaucer not less. The 'good sense' which appears at every turn in the general treatment of his subjects was not likely to fail him in the nicer moments of literary judgement. There are many examples of his happy adoption of phrase

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\(^1\) III. pp. 37-38, passim.

\(^2\) "So much by much as doth Zenocrate," and the echoing lines throughout Tamburlaine the Great.

\(^3\) For jingles like 'superne,' 'eterne,' 'sempitern' (see pp. lxxviii and 77), and others of the same kind belong to a lower category.  

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and word from Chaucer, not merely in the Testament, in which, as a sequel to the master's Troilus, he could not well, and would not, deny himself the pleasure of reminiscence. In the manipulation of earlier material for his Fables, in the piecing together from different sources, in the taking of an episode from one tale because it suited another better, in the originality of his Scots resetting of worn-out themes, he declares a taste which goes far beyond mere editorial ingenuity. Bannatyne's well-intentioned meddlings with the text seem poor indeed when they are compared with our poet's exercises in rifacimento. Henryson, too, indulges more rarely than Lydgate or any of his Makar brethren in the rhyme-tags and line-fillings—the 'belyves,' 'perde's,' and the like, which clog our early vernacular poetry and go current among the verse-mongers past Gascoigne's day. Even in his rôle as moralist he has, as we have already hinted, a sense of decorum, rarely permitting himself to mix (if we may adapt the historic figure) his cadger's 'hornpipes' with the 'funerals' of homily.

It is indeed something to find in a secluded Northern poet of that age of poor copyists these qualities of sympathy, vivacity, and taste, singly and united so suggestive of Chaucer himself, and to be able to say that, notwithstanding all Henryson's indebtedness to that master and to others, he holds, by virtue of these qualities, high place as an original poet. The reader must test this opinion for himself. An anthologist will offer for proof the Testament of Cresseid, the Fables, especially the tales of the Cadger and the Sheep in the Dog's Skin and the two 'mouse' pieces, for their dialogue and setting, Robene and Makyne, and the dirge in Orpheus and Eurydice; and
an editor, who must give the whole—with the dull and doubtful poems included—has no fears that the first impression will be blurred.

II.

We know so little about Henryson's life that the task of an editor who is expected to offer the customary 'Memoir' resolves itself in the main into warning the reader against the surmises and fictions of his predecessors. David Irving, the first to make serious attempt at a biography, was fully conscious of his ignorance, and, while regretting that he could not add to the scraps recovered by Hailes and Sibbald, registered the opinion, in his sententious manner, that though "the grateful curiosity of posterity may induce them to explore every avenue, . . . research, however laborious, will only be productive of unavailing regret." ¹ He showed, at least, that he had the gift of editorial prophecy. It is literally true that David Laing's 'Memoir,' the longest of all efforts in Henrysonian biography, and the quarry for all later accounts, disclosed nothing new of the man or of his literary work. Laing followed up every clue, only with the result that we have but a halfpenny-worth of evidence to an intolerable deal of free conjecture. Yet he rarely fell, with antiquaries of the class of George Mackenzie, into the vices of false identification and learned irrelevance, and he served a good purpose in showing not so much how little we know, as how little we can expect to know. So the lesson of this

historical zeal remains as the earlier David left it; and we must wait patiently, perhaps till the Greek Kalends—perhaps even till Laing's own manuscript collections have been fully explored—for some stray encounter with forgotten facts.

We can all be agreed on Henryson's *floruit*, though we cannot fix the years of his birth or death, or, indeed, a single date in his life. Dunbar's reference to him in his *Lament for the Makaris* gives us a posterior limit.

"In Dunfermelyne he has done rovne
With Maister Robert Henrisoun."

These words appear first in Chepman & Myllar's print of 1508, and may have been written within a year or two of publication. It is clear therefore that Henryson did not survive the first decade of the sixteenth century. Lyndsay in his *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo,* printed in 1538, and written about 1530, gives a list of poets then dead, including Henryson (Henderson) and Gavin Douglas. The latter in a holograph note on the Cambridge MS. of his *Aeneid,* which must have been made not later than 1522, refers to Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice,* but does not speak of the poet as deceased. Sir Francis Kinaston, in a gossipy note (written c. 1640) printed by Francis Waldron in 1796, tells us that Henryson was "very

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1 Laing's identification of the poet with the "venerabilis vir Magister Robertus Henrisone in Artibus Licentiatius et in Decretis Bachalarius," who was incorporated in the University of Glasgow on 10th Sept. 1462, is mere conjecture, and not more valid than other suggestions which he summarily dismisses. In his own words, "the surname was not uncommon in different parts of Scotland during the fifteenth century" (The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, 1865, pp. xi, xii, and, again, xxxvii).

2 Ed. Laing, I. p. 62.

3 Infra, p. 1.

4 See the Appendix (pp. xcv et seq.), "The Kinaston Manuscript."
old" when he died, and, in confused recollection of what he had heard from Sir Thomas Erskine and "divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation,"¹ asserts that the Testament of Cresseid was written by the poet, "sometimes cheife schoolemaster in Dumfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to king Henry the 8th by Mr. Thinne, which was neere the end of his raigne." As William Thynne's edition of Chaucer was first published, by Thomas Godfroy, in 1532, Kinaston's chronology is at fault, in the light of the evidence of Chepman & Myller's print of Dunbar's Lament; and his further statement, that "about or a little after his time the most famous of the Scottish poets Gawen Douglas made his learned & excellent translation of Virgils Æneids," is vitiated when we remember that the literary portion of the Bishop's career had closed twenty years before the appearance of Thynne's great book. We can see how Kinaston jumbled the facts supplied by the "aged schollers." They probably told him that Henryson was the author of the Chaucerian 'supplement' which was printed by Thynne, and that "about or a little after his time" Douglas produced his Æneis.

If we assume, therefore, that Henryson died about the beginning of the sixteenth century, we cannot fix the date

¹ Kinaston's association with Arthur Johnston in the Musae Aulicae may supply a clue to the 'Schollers of the Scottish nation,' who were probably among the Northerners at James's Court or at that of his son. Or Kinaston may have had some gossip of the poet from his friend Patrick Young (1584-1652), to whom he dedicated the first book of his Latin version of Troilus. (See infra, p. clvi.) Young was the fifth son of the ever-famous Sir Peter, co-tutor, with George Buchanan, of the young James VI. Kinaston may have known his friend's father, who was an 'aged scholar' when he died in 1628. Sir Peter was born in 1544.
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of his birth much before the close of the first quarter of the fifteenth. This would give him over threescore years and ten, and amply satisfy the tradition of his having lived to a good age. If we knew when he wrote the Testament of Cresseid and could satisfy ourselves, as some have done, that in the lines beginning—

"Thocht lufe be hait, 3it in ane man of age
It kendillis nocht sa sone as in southheid" ¹

there is any personal reference or intimation that he is really old, we might attempt to be more precise in fixing his birth-year. There is not much risk in committing ourselves to c. 1425.

The historical allusions throughout the poems are too uncertain to help us in defining his period more nicely. The prayer ² that the King be given power

"All sic Uolfis to banis out of the land"

may refer, as Lyndsay's in his Papyngo, to the troubles of the reign of James III., but the allusion is in too general terms to be treated as evidence; ³ and in the Prayer for the Pest it would be difficult to find to which of the many plagues of the century the poet refers. ⁴

All that can be said therefore is that Henryson may have been born about the beginning of the second quarter

¹ III. p. 4, ll. 29 et seq.
² II. p. 204, ll. 2766-2768.
³ See also the note on p. lxiii infra, referring to the "bloody shirt" of the Northern rebels in 1489.
⁴ If it be the Great Plague, 1499-1500 (described in Alexander Myln's Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, Bann. Club, 1823, p. 40 et seq.), which continued throughout the early years of the sixteenth century (see the Letter of the Preceptor of St Anthony's of the year 1505, printed in Gairdner's Letters of Richard III., &c., II. p. 199), the poem must fall near the close of the poet's life. It may be that the old man whose last illness is referred to in the 'bourd' recorded by Kinaston (infra, p. ciii) was himself a victim.
of the fifteenth century, and must have died not later than 1508. There will be less chance of quarrel with the most meticulous in chronology if we content ourselves with 'floruit 1470-1500.' This is in agreement with the literary and linguistic evidence, which places him between Chaucer and Lydgate, on the one hand, and Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay on the other, and makes him a contemporary or follower of Caxton.

Henryson has by persistent tradition been associated with Dunfermline. Though no direct local evidence has been found, there is good reason to believe that he was a native of the royal burgh and a resident there during all, or the greater part, of his life. Here again Dunbar's lines, quoted above, are our first authority for the connection. Henceforth, in verse-allusion and on title-pages, he is styled 'of Dunfermline,' and in fuller designation, 'schoolmaster of Dunfermline.'

That there is no evidence of his life there is not the fault of the antiquaries. The greater part of Laing's 'Memoir' is a record of search among burghal, ecclesiastical, and national documents for particulars of every Henderson or Henryson of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who was in any way associated with Dunfermline. He rightly dismisses the suggestion that the poet was of the family of Henderson of Fordell, but would identify him with one 'Robertus Henrison, notarius publicus,' who is a witness to three deeds in the abbatial Registrum de Dunfermelyn. This conclusion is not less arbitrary than that which makes the poet and the incorporated Robert of Glasgow University one and the same.

1 Poems (1865), p. xiii. 2 Supra, p. xx, footnote.
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In certain circumstances we may be less likely to find two of the same name in a small community than in a University drawing its membership from a wide area, but we must not forget that in Dunfermline and its neighbourhood, the homeland of the Hendersons, there might well be more than one Robert Henryson, and more than one of these who could claim to be notary.

The poems yield nothing that can be construed as direct evidence of Henryson's personal knowledge of Dunfermline. Laing suggested that when the poet makes Cresseid appeal to be allowed to go to "3one Hospital at the tounis end," he may have been thinking of the Spital at the east end of the burgh. Others, with Laing, have found in the lines

"Allone as I went vp and doun
in ane abbay was fair to se"  

an allusion to the famous Benedictine foundation. There is perhaps more to be said for the clue supplied in the title of a lost poem described in the Contents of the Asloan MS. as "Master Robert Hendersonis dreme, On fut by forth," which might well be the work of a Dunfermline man who was in the habit of taking the air by the Ferry Hills and Rosyth, as later generations have done before the enclosure of the area as a naval base. There is perhaps another hint in the absurd Practysis of Medecyne, where the poet claims for his leechcraft that there is nothing to equal it "fra lawdian to lundin."  

1 See note to III. p. 16, l. 382 infra.  
2 III. p. 128, ll. 1-2.  
3 Specimens of Middle Scots, 1902, p. lxxi. This appears in the list of 'good tales' or 'fables' in the Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 (ed. E.E.T.S., p. 63), as "On fut by forth as i could found (as I did go)."

4 On the question of Henryson's authorship, see infra, p. lxxiv.  
5 III. p. 152, l. 61.
This phrase, translated in general terms 'from South to North,' would come naturally to one who lived so near the royal ferry connecting the capital with 'Fife and the North.' We need not lay stress on the poet's minute description of flax-spinning in his rendering of the fable of the 'Swallow and other Birds,' for the reasons stated at length in the note to the passage, but at the same time we admit that it may reflect his experience of the craft as practised in the royal burgh. Though none of these points have, individually, the value of evidence confirming the tradition of the poet's association with Dunfermline, they in no way contradict it. Taken together, they have some interest as circumstantial corroboration.

Henryson's life at Dunfermline appears to have been spent as a schoolmaster. The designation is found in the earliest texts of the Fables, on the title-page of Charteris's edition of 1570, and on that of the Harleian M.S. of 1571, and again on that of Charteris's edition of the Testament of Cresseid in 1593; and Sir Francis Kinaston confirms it in the passage already quoted. There is reason to think that the poet was associated with the Benedictines of Dunfermline, as teacher, and later head-teacher in the Grammar and Song School of the royal burgh then under the control of the Abbey. A side-light is thrown on this aspect of his career—not on his family history, as some have assumed—in a complaint to the Privy Council on 14th October 1573, by a John Henrysoun, master of the Grammar School within the Abbey of Dunfermline. The

1 Lit. 'from Lothian to Lundin' (not London).
2 II. p. 134, l. 1817 et seq.
3 Infra, p. 28.
4 See the facsimiles in Vol. II.
5 See the facsimile in Vol. III.
preamble states that John and his predecessors "hes continewit maisteris and teichearis . . within the said schole past memor of man, admittit thairto be the Abbottis of Dunfermling for the tyme, as havand the vndoubtit richt and privilege to that effect, be virtew of the foundatioun of the said Abbay." ¹ We must not, however, conclude that this John was a descendant or kinsman of the poet, who may or may not have been a churchman. The petitioner nowhere suggests that his predecessors bore his surname or had any blood-relationship to him or to each other. The words 'past memor of man,' which Laing prints in italics, smacks of the style-book, and may be only a touch of plaintiff-hyperbole, like the familiar 'bauch, bla, and bludie strykis' in paltry cases of assault. It means, at most, that John's office was of old standing, and it explains what Robert's was. Nowhere in the poet's writings do we find any allusion to his office, though, to some, he may appear to make confession of the schoolmaster's cast of mind in the choice and treatment of his subjects. His Fables—Moral Fables he prefers to call them—may well have found their origin in a set of school exercises on Aesop.

These then are the only facts of Henryson's personal history: first, that he flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century; secondly, that he was a resident, and probably a native, of Dunfermline; and, thirdly, that he was a master of the Grammar School controlled by the Benedictine Abbey of that royal burgh. "Ther is na-more to seyne."

Of his literary career we have not a scrap of evidence,

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, II. p. 288.
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bibliographical or 'internal.' An attempt has been made to date the *Fables* and to divide them into chronological groups, but it remains, in respect of its entire lack of proof and some confusion in argument, unconvincing. Not a few of the Middle Scots poets, with Dunbar in their company, have thwarted the best efforts to discover the dates or sequence of their writings, and Henryson has held, and is likely to hold, his secret as long as any of his fellows.

III.

All the poems in this edition have hitherto been accepted as Henryson's, and all, with a single exception, have been ascribed to him by one or other of the earlier authorities. We proceed in this section to discuss each poem, to apply the tests of authorship that are at command, and to suggest some clues to the literary relationships. There are difficulties in the solution of each of these problems which only the investigator of widest experience in this period can measure; and in the

1 A. R. Diebler, *Henryson's Fabeldichtungen* (Diss. Leipzig), Halle, 1885, pp. 10 et seq.; also *Anglia* (1886) IX. pp. 337 et seq. He divides the work into three periods: "I periode (c. 1450-1462), also bis zu seinem aufenthalte an der universität Glasgow. Hierher gehören die erotischen und allegorischen gedichte, die sich schon durch die natur des stoffes als jugendwerke charakterisieren," &c.—for which we have not a single proof and not even the 'fact' of his Glasgow sojourn. The division of Henryson's work into this, and a second (c. 1462-1488) of poems "einen vorwiegend didaktisch-satirischen charakter," and a third (c. 1488 to his death), when he produced poems "mit vorwiegend geistlichem charakter" seems to be a poor copy of the old test for the grouping of Shakespeare's dramas into a sort of skittish, sober, and solemn trilogy, and is even more imaginary and futile.

second more than ordinary risk of exaggerating the lesson of 'parallels.' Certain similarities may reasonably suggest contact, especially when their testimony is cumulative, but the modern editor too often forgets that in alleged or seemingly obvious borrowings no vested literary right can be established. The fuller is our reading of the literature of the later Middle Period, whether alliterative or 'Chaucerian;' the more wary do we become in founding theories of derivation upon the common 'tags' and patterns of the literary workshop. Too many have allowed themselves to forget that the authors of such books as The Kingis Quair, The Testament of Cresseid, The Goldin Targe, and The Palis of Honour have broad family rights in subject and manner. This caveat is important in the case of Henryson, who remains, in spite of the fact that the greater part of his verse is, in its subject and manner—as translation, adaptation, or sequel—necessarily connected with earlier work, one of the most individual and original of the Makars. Intelligent reading of his poems will make it clear how (to take but one example), notwithstanding what indebtedness may be proved to Romulus, or English Walter, or Lydgate, or Caxton, his Fables possess that transmuted quality by which genius confounds the mere genealogists of letters. One confesses to some diffidence in tracking the poet in the Aesopic snow. He owed so much to himself that it is supererogation to trouble about his little debts to predecessors. He picks his material so freely, readjusts an episode or saying in one fable to the telling of another, and creates a fresh mosaic out of the old tesserae with a cunning which disconcerts the antiquary in origins. If it be our duty to point out whence he drew material and how he used it, we
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perform the task without prejudice to the healthy opinion that these antiquarian niceties have little or no critical bearing on the ultimate interest of Henryson's work.

The Moral Fables.

The bibliography of the Fables, in manuscript and print, is given in the Prefatory Note in the Second Volume.¹ The ascription of the work to Henryson has never been in doubt; and the evidence of poetic style, language, and prosody is, with full allowance for formal differences arising in the process of recension by various hands, conclusive in showing that the series is the work of one writer. The date of composition cannot be determined, and there are no clues whether the writing was done at different times or at long or short intervals.

The later history of the Aesopic Fable is so complicated by cross-borrowings that it is difficult to determine the genealogy of a given text. Our task here, in the light of what has been already said, is simply to collect the evidence of Henryson's knowledge of certain authorities. In some cases that evidence is textually precise, but the general impression left by his mixing up and adjustment of phrases and figures from different sources is one of memory guided by good literary taste. Though he speaks of his work as "ane mater of Translatioun," it only rarely suggests the open book at elbow; and if he borrowed more deliberately from any single text than we have been able to discover, he will never lose the right of defence which

¹ Pages vii-xviii.
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his weaker successor claimed for his 'thigging' of fables from De la Motte.

"And, tho' it be a bairn of Motte's,  
When I have taught it to speak Scots,  
I am its second dad."  

§ i. Gualterus Anglicus.

We have Henryson's statements that he based his Fables upon a Latin text, and that he undertook the task for an unnamed patron.

"Of this author, my Maisteris, with your leif,  
Submitting me in your correction,  
In Mother tongue of Latyne I wald preif  
To mak ane mater of Translatioun;  
Nocht of my self, for vane presumptioun,  
Bot be request and Precept of ane Lord,  
Of quhome the Name it neidis not record."  

Of the large number of Aesopic texts in Latin then in circulation the only one of which Henryson's poem may be said to be reminiscent is the verse rendering of Romulus by Walter the Englishman (Gualterus Anglicus), generally identified as Anonymous Neveleti. This was one of the most popular versions of Aesop in the later Middle Ages, and was well known as a school-book. It was

1 Allan Ramsay, 'Epistle' to Fables and Tales, 1722-1730.  
2 II. p. 4, ll. 29-32.  
4 See Tyrwhitt, Chaucer, 1778, V. 280-282.
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printed at Rome in 1473 and again in 1475, and by 1500 had appeared in more than a score of editions.\(^1\) We may assume that the book was in use in the Grammar School at Dunfermline, and that Henryson’s dealings with it there suggested the preparation of a ‘translation’ in Scots. The ‘Lord’ who encouraged him may have been the Benedictine Abbot, or a nobleman of the district; but the reference is as likely, as such references often are, a mere literary convention, perhaps used in the hope that someone would accept the post of patron thus vaguely offered.

That Henryson’s book, taken as a whole, is not a translation, in even the loosest sense, is clear. In the Latin text of the ‘Prologue,’ ‘The Cock and the Jewel,’ and ‘The Wolf and the Lamb’ (to name the first in the series) the number of lines is, in order, twelve, ten, and sixteen. These in the Scottish version become sixty-three, ninety-eight, and one hundred and sixty-one. The poet follows little more than the outline; he ‘writes round’ to his heart’s content, and in each ‘Moralitas’ wanders freely beyond the two-line limit of his model—as might be expected of a fifteenth-century poet and a schoolmaster. His work is (to use his own word) ‘superfluous,’ rarely ‘deminute,’\(^2\) but his abundance does not show the vice of garrulity.

The evidence of association with Walter’s text may be briefly set out thus:—

(a) The series begins with the ‘General Prologue,’ and the fable of ‘The Cock and the Jewel.’ All the vernacular versions based upon Romulus (among these, Lydgate’s and Caxton’s) start in this way, in contrast with those

\(^{1}\) Hervieux, \textit{u.s.}, I. pp. 542 \textit{et seq.}

\(^{2}\) See II. p. 4, l. 41.
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derived from Phaedrus, which begin with 'The Wolf and the Lamb.' This preliminary fact proves no more than that Henryson followed some version of Romulus. He draws attention to the circumstance that his Aesop begins in this order.

"And to begyn, first of ane Cok he wrait" (l. 61).

So, too, Lydgate says—

"And as myn auctour at the Cok begynne" (l. 50).1

(6) Walter begins:—

"Ut juvet, ut prosit, conatur pagina praesens: Dulcius arrident seria picta jocis."2

Henryson quotes the second line verbatim in l. 28 of his Prologue. This line is printed on the title-page of Charteris's edition, 1570.3

(c) We may note the similarity of the figure of flower and fruit in Henryson's Prologue, and the direct rendering of the last lines—

"Verborum levitas morum fert pondus honestum, Et nucleum celat arida testa bonum,"

in the third stanza, beginning—

"The Nuttis schell, thocht it be hard and euch Haldis the kirnell, and is delectabill," &c

(d) Henryson's use of the word 'Iasp' in the title4 and throughout the text is an important clue. In Phaedrus the word is margarita ('Pullus ad margaritam'); so, too, in the early Romulus. Walter's title is De Gallo et Iaspide,

1 See infra, p. xxxvi.
2 See the variants in the B. M. text (Addit., 18,107) apud Ward, u.s., II. 317.
3 See the facsimile, II. opp. p. viii.
4 II. p. 7.
and *iaspis* is used in his text. No other English Aesopic text supplies (as far as the Editor is aware) an example of *jasp.* Lydgate has *iaconet* or *iacynete,* and Caxton *precious stone.* Chaucer knows only the fuller form *iaspre,* the modern *jasper.* No earlier example in Scots has been recorded. In this place it is in all probability a direct formation from the Latin word, in the manner so familiar in Middle Scots literature.

(e) In the *Sheep and the Dog* (No. VII.) certain parallels not remarkable in themselves become more striking when Walter is compared with Phaedrus. The most important is in ll. 1245-1249—

"His way vnto ane Merchand of the Toun,
And sauld the woll that he bure on his bak;
Nakit and bair syne to the feild couth pas."

Walter reads—

"Ergo suum, licet instet hiems, pervendit amictum,
Et Boream patitur, vellere nuda suo."

Phaedrus simply adds to the statement of the sheep's payment of the wrongous damages—

"Post paucos dies
Ovis jacentem in fovea conspexit Lupum."

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1 In the section in Hervieux, *u.s.*, II. 498, entitled *Fabulae ex Mariae Gallicae Romulo et aliis quoque fontibus exortae*, the title is *De Gallo et Iaspide*, but *margarita* is used in the text.
2 *iaconet* (Harl. MS.); *iacynete* (Ashm. MS.). See note, p. 4 infra.
3 In his *Troilus, Tale of Melibeus*, and *Parlement of Foules.*
4 See *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902), p. lxiii. There can be no suggestion of borrowing from Fr. *jaspe* (as in the Bestiaries) or from earlier Southern examples (as noted in *N. E. D.*), in some of which the effect of direct translation is clear.
6 Hervieux, *u.s.*, 387.
7 I. 17.
"The Lion and the Mouse" is a straightforward expansion in Walter of the older text, most clearly in the mouse's argument when pleading for his life. This, as found in the later Phaedrus (not in the early) runs: "Leo cogitabat, si occideret, crimen esset, et non gloria. Ignovit, et dimisit." Walter elaborates thus:

"Haec tamen ante movet animo: Quid Mure perempto
Laudis emes? summum vincere parva pudet.
Si nece dignetur Murem Leo, nonne Leoni
Dedecus, et Muri coeperit esse decus?
Si vincat summum minimum, sic vincere vinci est.
Vincere posse decet, vincere crimen habet.
Si tamen hoc decus est, si laus sic vincere, laus haec
Et decus hoc minimo fiet ab hoste minus.
De pretio victi pendet victoria: victor
Tantus erit, victi gloria quanta fuit.
Mus abit, et gratu reddit; si reddere possit
Spondet opem." 

Our 'schoolmaster' had his opportunity here, and he used it to good purpose.

A like enlargement by Henryson is to be noted in 'The Wolf and the Lamb' (No. XIII.) and 'The Paddock and the Mouse' (No. XIV.), which are juxtaposed in Walter (Nos. 2 and 3). Though Henryson elaborates the details, he retains the main order of the Latin text. Some passages reflect the earlier text clearly: notably from 1. 2860 to the end, thus presented in Walter:

"Pes coit ergo pedi; sed mens a mente recedit.
Ecce natant; trahitur ille, sed illa trahit.
Mergitur, ut secum Murem demergat; amico
Naufragium faciens, naufragat ipsa fides.
Rana studet mergi; sed Mus emergit, et obstat
Naufragio: vires suggerit ipse timor.
Milvus adest, miserumque truci rapit ungue duellum:
Hic jacet, ambo jacent, viscera rupta fluunt."

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1 Fabulae Antiquae ex Phaedro, in Hervieux, u.s., II. 127.
2 Hervieux, II. pp. 292, 293.
3 Hervieux, II. 386.
There is no mistaking the first line in Henryson's:

"Then fute for fute thay lap baith in the brym;
Bot in thair myndis thay wer rycht different";

or "vires suggerit ipse timor" in

"The dreid of deith his strenthis gart Incres" (l. 2874).

Each touch, down to the final disembowelling, is reminiscent. The whole passage is indeed a remarkable translation.

To these hints of Henryson's indebtedness to Walter we may add that of the fourteen sections of the Fables eight are found in the Latin text. The familiar 'salmon' episode in No. V. appears in the Appendix to Walter, as also in Marie de France's version of Romulus, under the title De Lupo et Mutone.

§ ii. John Lydgate.

Though Henryson's statement that he 'translated' the Fables from a Latin work is thus corroborated and explained, it is at the same time clear that he drew from other sources, Latin and vernacular. Among the latter we find Lydgate's version of the Prologue and seven fables of the Romulus group, in the category of the Fabulae extravagantes, derived immediately from Marie de France, —the Isopos Fabules of Harl. 2251 (ff. 283 b, et seq.) and MS. Ashmol. 59.

1 I.-XIV. in the Table. 2 II. 725-745. 3 Hervieux, II. 421. No. 7. 4 ib., p. 490. 5 The Harleian text is printed by P. Sauerstein in Anglia, IX. (1886), pp. 1-24; the Ashmolean by J. Zupitza in Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, LXXXV. 1 (1890). A. R. Diebler (Hen. Fab., u.s.) was perhaps the first to examine the parallels with any minuteness, but he overrates Henryson's indebtedness and cites a number of 'likenesses' which
Five of the Fables chosen by Henryson appear in Lydgate, and in two others there is partial overlapping. Both texts having a common Romulean origin preserve much the same order in the narrative.

The following points may be noted:—

(a) Though the poet's protest on the inadequacy of his vernacular art is a fifteenth-century commonplace, the united effect of the parallelisms in the 'Prologue' leaves it open to us to hold that he had Lydgate's version before him, or secure in memory.

"For whiche I cast to folwe this poyete,
And his fabulis in Inglyssh to translate,
Although I have no rethoryk swete;
Have we excused, I was born in Lydegate;
Of Tullius gardyn I entrid nat the gate,
And cause why? I had no licence
There to gadre floures of eloquence.

Than I can forth I wil procede
In this labour I wil my foile dresse,
To do plesaunce to theym, that shal I rede
Requyreing hem of verray gentillesse,
Of theyr grace to pardon my rudenesse,
This compilacioun for to take at gre,
Whiche, theym to please, translated was by me.

And if I faile, bi cause of ignoraunce,
That I erre in my translacioun,
Lowly of hert and feythful obeisaunce
I me submyt to theyr correccioun
To theym, that have more cliere inspeccioun
In matiers that touchen poyetry,
And to reforme, that they me nat deny.

And as myn auctour at the Cok begynne" . . .

are by no means clear. J. Zupitza, in the first section of his paper, compares Sauerstein's text with the Harleian original, and, in the second, prints the fables of the Cock and the Precious Stone, the Wolf and the Lamb, and the Frog and the Mouse from the Cambridge MS., Trin. Coll. R. 3. 19.

1 Prolog, ll. 29-50.
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The plea for 'correction' is, of course, familiar, but the general likeness, especially in the italicized lines, and in the sequence, points to some knowledge of Lydgate. It is clear that the prologues cannot have a common source, either in Latin (for they are concerned with translation from Latin) or in English (unless some earlier verse translation of Romulus or Walter be found).

(b) The 'Cock and the Jewel' shows some likeness in its extended portions, *e.g.*, ll. 88-91; with which compare Lydgate's:

"Precious stones longgith to jwellers
And to princis, whan they list to be sayne;
To me more deynte is in barnes or in garners
A litel reward of corne or of goode grayne
To take; this stone to me it were but veyne."

(c) The Fable of 'The Town Mouse and Country Mouse' (No. III.) does not appear in Lydgate, but in it there are some echoes of Lydgate's mouse-fable, 'The Paddock and the Mouse,' which Henryson also gives (No. XIV.) The 'burden' throughout the 'Moralitas' recalls the last line of Lydgate's tenth stanza:

"Nor more asswerd, to myn oppynioun,
Than glad pouert with smal possessioun."

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"And set to jis I gif my will,
My wit I ken sa skant partill
That I drede saire fame till offend
That can me and my work amend,
Gif I writ oufer mair or lese,
Bot as jis story beris witnes;
For, as I said, rude is my wit
And febll to put all my writ, . . ."

If the hunter for parallels find something here, he had better not overlook Gavin Douglas's first Prologue to the *Aeneid* for more quarry.

2 II. p. 8.

3 ll. 113-117.

4 ll. 69, 70.
and is most closely followed in the Harleian text, l. 388.¹

The stanza which follows² completes the evidence of association. Lydgate’s next stanza runs:—

“Salamon writeth, how it is better behalf
A smal morsel of brede with joy and rejoysyng,
Than at festis to have a rosted calf
With hevy chiere and froward grucchyng.
Nature is content with ful litel thyng,
As men sayne, and report at the beste,
Nat many deyntes, but goode chiere makith a feste.” ³

The borrowing is of further interest. Lydgate, like Marie de France, prefaces his story of the Paddock and the Mouse with a long narrative which is in substance the story of the Two Mice. The mouse is sitting by the mill, “ferre from al daungeire,” when the frog passes. The latter is invited to take his ease on a corn-sack, and is, in due course, served with dinner. “This is a mery liff,” quoth the mouse, “. . . in suffisaunce is my condiцион.” And again: “Better is quyet than trouble with richesse.” The frog, after hearing his host’s reflections at considerable length, replies—

“ I have had here plente of goode vitaile,
Bot of fressh licour this is a bareyn melle.
I prais no feste, where goode drynk doth faile;” ⁴

and proceeds to draw the mouse’s attention to the abundance of fresh water in the river running by. They walk to the brink, but the mouse is “ wery with the frossh to abide.” The deceiver proposes a return visit to his

¹ II. p. 29.
² II. p. 30. ll. 381-388.
³ ll. 71-77: a plainer reference to Proverbs xvii. 1 than Henryson’s transcript (see the note to II. 383, infra, p. 9), though, as P. Sauerstein has shown, borrowed from Robert Holcot’s Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis, lectio 119 and lectio 124 (Über Lydgate’s Aesopübersetzung, 1885, p. 35).
⁴ ll. 100-102.
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house on the other side. At this point the familiar fable of the Paddock and the Mouse (in the Romulus and Walter form) begins.

We have here a good example—and others are not wanting—of Henryson’s literary taste and editorial ingenuity. He declines to accept the enlarged form or to confuse the two Walter fables, and is quick to see that some of Lydgate’s ‘padding’ may be used to good purpose elsewhere. If in some places his verse is deliberately ‘superfluous,’ it is here successfully ‘deminute.’

On the foregoing evidence taken as a whole, we may conclude that Henryson was familiar with Lydgate’s Aesop; but we must qualify this by saying that his use of it was in the main by literary reminiscence, and never, except perhaps in a single instance, a direct adoption or adaptation.

1 Supra, p. xxxi.
2 It is unnecessary to consider certain minor parallelisms of a verbal kind urged by A. R. Diebler (u.s. passim). Not one of his citations proves direkte anlehnung; not even the line, “With emptie hand no man suld Halkis lure” (II. 172. 2327), which, though found, in almost identical form, in Chaucer (Wife of Bath’s Prologue, 415) and Lydgate (‘The Wolf and the Lamb,’ l. 50), was familiar as a proverb. Lydgate’s lines (‘The Frog and Mouse,’ 149-151)—

“There is no vice so parlous of reasoun,
As is the vice of ingratitude,
For it is worse than pestilence or poysoun,”

may have been lingering in memory when Henryson wrote (II. 214. 2897-2898)—

“It passis far all kynd of Pestilence,
Ane wickit mynd with wordis fair and sle”;

but this does not constitute evidence of borrowing in any literary court.

3 See ‘c,’ supra, p. xxxvii.
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§ iii. William Caxton.

Henryson includes in his collection several Fables which are not Aesopic. The material of these is drawn from the popular Reynardian cycle, but it is freely treated and pieced together in his own way. There is some show of evidence that he was familiar with the English rendering of the Fox stories printed by Caxton.¹

No importance is to be attached, by way of argument, to parallelisms in general outline, or to such minor likenesses as the Fox’s burying of his father,² his basking in the sun,³ or the episode of the shriving.⁴ Nor is there anything in the identity of the names given to some of the animals in the two texts, as Chantecleer, Pertelot, Coppen (Henryson’s Coppock or Toppock), Corbant, Courtois, and Noble. These are of general currency in the beast-epic, in different languages, and supply no clue to Caxton’s version to the exclusion of others. The presence of such a name as Sprutok, which, if not Henryson’s own Northern form,⁵ is reminiscent of the cock Sprotinus of the Latin Reinardus,⁶ would show that the Scots poet had ranged beyond Caxton’s pages.⁷ But a more definite value attaches to the following points:—

¹ Caxton’s History of Reynard the Fox, translated from the Dutch version of 1479, was first printed, at Westminster, in 1481, and in a second edition, without name, place, or date, in 1489. It was reprinted by W. J. Thoms for the Percy Society in 1844, and by E. Arber, in ‘The English Scholar’s Library,’ in 1878.
² II. p. 60; Arber, p. 39.
³ Arber, p. 12.
⁴ Arber, p. 25.
⁵ See note, p. 10.
⁷ And the same may be said of ‘Russell’ (II. p. 144, l. 1954), lit. ‘reddish creature,’ a name frequently applied to the Fox in the Reynardian epic, but not (so far as the Editor is aware) by Caxton.
(a) The name of 'Waitskaith' given to the wolf in the heading of the fifth Fable and in l. 659 is found in Caxton's twenty-eighth chapter, 'How reynart the foxe excused hym before the kynge,' where the fox in conversation with the ape is promised the aid of "prentout, wayte scathe, and other . . . frendis and alyes." There is no hint of the name in the Dutch text from which Caxton drew. It has not been found elsewhere in English before this date, and Henryson cannot be credited with a knowledge of Willem or Leeu.

(b) In the episode, in the sixth Fable, of the mare's kicking the wolf when he looks for the document under her hoof, Henryson follows the traditional setting, and would give no occasion for comment, were it not for the presence of one line. In Caxton the mocking fox says to the wounded wolf, 'I heelde you for one of the wysest clerkes that now lyue. Now I here wel it is true that I long syth haue redde and herde that the beste clerkes ben not the wysest men.' In Henryson we read—

"The Lyoun said, 'be 3one reid Cap I ken
This Taill is trew, quha tent unto it takis:
The greitest Clerkis are not the wysest men;
The hurt of ane happie the vther makis."

However ingeniously Henryson transfers the saw to the Lion and his merry Court, the juxtaposition of the verbal

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1 See the note to this line.
2 Arber, p. 70.
3 "Wie wat gheuen mach dien helpht hi gheerne . daer is prentout . ende luuster vele . ende scalck vont Ghif mi een greep volle dat sijn alle onse naeste maghen Oeck soe sal ick een deel ghelts mede nemen . of ick des yet te doen hadde." See Die Hystorie van Reynaert die Vos, naar den druk van 1479, vergeleken met William Caxton's Engelsche vertaling, met Inleiding en Aanteekeningen uitgegeven door J. W. Muller en H. Logeman. Zwolle, 1892, p. 90.
4 Arber, p. 63.
5 II. p. 78, ll. 1054-1057.
identity with the story of the kicking raises the suspicion of his having read Caxton—perhaps of having had the *History of Reynard* by him as he wrote. Nor is this assumption open to the criticism urged against Henryson’s use of another popular saw in another place.¹

(c) There may be evidence of contact in the use of the word ‘Parliament,’ in the same Fable,² for the Court held by the Lion. The term is generally ‘Court’ or ‘Council,’ as in the heading of the first and thirteenth chapters of Caxton; but in the fourteenth chapter we have the calling of a ‘parlament’ for the trial of Reynard.

There is no conclusive evidence to show that Henryson was indebted to Caxton's translation of *Aesop* from the French.³ The sections common to both are: Book I. No. 1 (Hen. No. II.), No. 2 (Hen. No. XIII.), No. 3 (Hen. No. XIV.), No. 4 (Hen. No. VII.), No. 12 (Hen. No. III.), No. 18 (Hen. No. VIII.), No. 20 (Hen. No. IX.); Book V. No. 15 (Hen. No. XII.); the story of the mare’s hoof in Book IV. No. 1 (Hen. No. VI.); and No. 9 of the Supplement of the ‘Fables of Alfonce’ (Hen. No. XI.). There is no similarity between the Prologues, and no textual correspondence throughout the Fables of a kind to suggest Henryson’s indebtedness. The main argument for such indebtedness cannot be stated more specifically than that the matter supplementary to what is found in Walter—the mare’s hoof episode,⁴ the fable from the *Fab-

¹ See p. 35.
² II. p. 60 (heading); p. 64, l. 854; p. 72, l. 950. Henryson uses the term again in The Testament of Cresseid, III. p. 12, l. 266.
⁴ *n.s.*, p. xli.
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ulae extravagantes,1 and another from Alfonsus 2—is also present in his English contemporary's volume of 1483-4. These facts, however, though deserving of record, do not guide us so definitely as the evidence in the case of Walter or even Lydgate, and do not exclude the possibility of Henryson's having been acquainted with Steinhöwel or another text.

On the more general argument of Henryson's use of Caxton, in either of his books or both, it must not be forgotten that we assume that copies of these had reached the Fife schoolmaster almost immediately after publication,3 and that his series of Fables was not written, or completed, till the later years of his life. If the Caxton or Steinhöwel provenance could be proved, we should have an important clue to at least one date in Henryson's literary career. But that proof is not forthcoming.


The question of Henryson's immediate knowledge, in No. XI., of the Latin text of Petrus Alfonsus4 cannot be determined, for though the Disciplina was well known in

1 Fabulae extravagantes, the fifth book of Steinhöwel, and so entitled by him. Steinhöwel's Aesop, in Latin and German, c. 1480, is the original of Caxton's, through the intermediary Machault, in his French version, c. 1483. Caxton's Fable of the Dog, Wolf, and Wether (Jacobs, u.s., II. pp. 180-182) is also the 15th in Steinhöwel's Fifth Book.

2 See next section.

3 Cf. the note on the rapid circulation of the printed Gesta Romanorum, infra, p. lix.

4 Petrus Alfonsus (Alfonsi), a Spanish Jew, baptized in 1106, was the author of Dialogi and Disciplina Clerialis. Both texts are printed in Migne, Patr. Lat. (1899), Vol. CLVII. coll. 535-706. (See the prefatory note there by J. Labouderie, coll. 531-536, and the corrections in Ward, Cat. of Rom., u.s., II. pp. 235 et seq.) The Fable of the ' Fox, the Wolf, and the Husbandman' (Hen. No. XI.) is the twenty-first in Alphonsus (ib., coll. 695-696).
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MS. and print, in the original Latin and in early vernacular versions, we cannot conclude from a close comparison that the advantage as a Henrysonian source lies with the original Alphonsus as against Caxton's or Steinhöwel's or any other text.

The general conclusion, in this search for Henryson's borrowings, must be that his book is in no real sense a 'translation,' and that in the cases where connection is clearly proved, as in that of Walter and Lydgate, we can say no more than that he knew these authors and used them in a free manner. He may have taken over some of their material in a mere act of memory. A schoolmaster could hardly escape from this, after many years' routine in Aesop. Even the Latin quotation in the Prologue, which supplies such an important clue, may have found its place there, as tags from Chaucer and other poets have found theirs, and may mean no more than that he knew Walter, as he knew Chaucer. There is certainly no evidence, at any part of the work, of a plodding recovery of other men's words and phrases, or indeed of the traditional details of these world-wide stories. He defies all 'scientific' tables and theories of 'sources' by the originality of his treatment at every turn. In this respect he follows the example of the greater masters in the long history of the beast-fable, and helps with each

1 In the ninth section of Steinhöwel's *Fabule collecte*, the concluding portion of the book following the *Fabule extravagantes* (see note, *supra*, p. xliii) and selections from Remicius and Avian. Steinhöwel (or Stainhowel) has been edited by Hermann Oesterley (‘Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart,’ 1873).
and all of them, from the days of Phaedrus to the days of Marie de France and Steinhöwel and Willem, to create a problem for the lasting confusion of the makers of 'cob-webs' of origins.

The Testament of Cresseid.

The text of the Testament of Cresseid is printed from the unique copy in the British Museum of the edition of Henry Charteris (1593), the first extant separate issue of the poem, and the first known Scottish impression. No manuscript that can be dated before this has been preserved.

The earliest record of the poem is in the Table of Contents of the Asloan MS., c. 1515 (No. 14), "Item, the Testament of Cresseid, xxiiij," but the portion containing it has been lost. William Thynne printed the text in his edition of Chaucer in 1532, where he introduced it with the words: "Thus endeth the fyfth and laste booke of Troylus: and here followeth The Pytiful and dolorous Testament of fayre Cresseyde." This is the oldest extant text, but it is not of the first order, for Thynne freely substituted Southern forms—not always accurately, though in some places his editorial ingenuity has been helpful to us in the reconstruction of corrupt passages. We need not assume that he believed, or intended others to believe, that the poem was Chaucer's;

1 See Laing, u.s., p. 275, and Specimens of Middle Scots, u.s., p. lxxi.
2 It is printed in the Appendix to Vol. III., infra, pp. 175-198.
3 Recorded in the Notes, infra.
his own labours as a ‘translator’ must have kept him right on that point, and such lines as—

“For worthie Chauceir, in the samyn buik,”

“Quha wait gift all hât Chauceir wrat was trew,”

should have saved the reader from making a false ascription. Yet its reappearance in later editions of Chaucer down to Urry’s in 1721, in which Henryson is named as the writer, associated it in the general mind with Chaucer, and misled such eminent persons as Leland, Bale, and Tanner, or encouraged anthologists like Alexander Chalmers to shirk the question of authorship. Eighteenth century scholarship was better informed in this matter, as in so many others hitherto unsuspected, and had not overlooked Urry’s ascription. There is, however, some significance in the vigour of Godwin’s following of Urry in establishing Henryson’s claims in his Life of Chaucer. William Thynne probably used a printed text in the preparation of his ‘supplement,’ but of it, and of Charteris’s original

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1 ll. 58 and 64, infra, III. p. 5.
2 Cf. Francis Thynne’s Animadversions on Speght’s Chaucer, printed in 1599. “One other thinge ys, that yt would be good that Chaucers proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde. . . .” (E.E.T.S., ed. Kingsley, 1865, p. 56.)
3 Who gives it in the list of Chaucer’s works (Commentarii de Scriptoribus, Collectanea IV.): “Testamentum Chrysidis, & ejusdem Lamentatio.”
4 In the list of Chaucer’s works: Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summariun, 1548, ed. Poole, 1902, pp. 76, 77.
5 Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 1748, art. ‘Chaucerus.’
6 Works of the English Poets (1810), I. pp. 294 et seq.
8 1803, I. pp. 308 et seq.
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(perhaps also a print, and perhaps the same one\(^1\), we have no information.\(^2\)

Charteris's separate edition of the poem (1593), a black-letter quarto of ten leaves, is the first to give the author's name.\(^3\) The British Museum copy is the only relic of what appears to have been a large edition;\(^4\) and it is the only available text (with the exception of a sixteenth-century manuscript,\(^5\) copied, as Laing reasonably suggests, from a printed edition of Chaucer's works) before Alexander Anderson's black-letter edition of 1663.\(^6\) Yet there is evidence to show that the book had been in demand,\(^7\) and that the English interest in it had been maintained.

For about 1640 the scholar-courtier, Sir Francis Kinaston (1587-1642), wrote a Latin translation, and, in a manuscript published in part by Francis Waldron in 1796 and now recovered, annotated the text and added some

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\(^1\) An Edinburgh bookseller, Robert Gourlaw or Gourlay, had, in 1585, three copies of the Testament, valued at 4d. each (Bannatyne Miscell., II. p. 214).

\(^2\) "Henryson's Cresseid we may presume," says Laing (Poems, p. 259), "was printed by Chepman & Myllar with other popular works which are now preserved." For this there is, of course, no evidence.

\(^3\) See the facsimile title-page, vol. III. facing p. 2. It is the text reprinted by Chalmers in his Bannatyne Club edition.

\(^4\) Charteris had, in 1599, 545 copies in stock, also valued at "iiijd the pece." (Bannatyne Miscell., II. p. 224).

\(^5\) St John's Coll., Cambridge, MS. L. 1, in which the Testament is added to a fifteenth-century copy of Chaucer's Troilus. See Skeat's Chaucer, II. p. Ixxv, where the copy of Henryson's poem is dated of the sixteenth century. In M. R. James's Catalogue, 1913, p. 274, it is described as "in a hand of cent. xvi." Laing (Henryson's Poems, p. 257) dates it "of the seventeenth century." By a curious omission Skeat does not refer again to this MS. in his edition of the Testament in his supplementary volume of 'Chaucerian and other Pieces.'

\(^6\) Printed at (?) Glasgow. A copy is preserved in Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

\(^7\) Bannatyne Miscellany, u.s.; Laing, u.s., p. 259; Dickson and Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing (1890); H. G. Aldis, List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700 (1904); William Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets (S.T.S., 1912).
gossip about Henryson. There he corroborates the testimony to his authorship.

It is not till Waldron's time that any scholarly interest in the text of the Testament begins to be shown, and the credit for the first, but rather ineffectual, attempt may be given to Sibbald, whose Chronicle of Scottish Poetry appeared in 1802.\(^1\) This was followed in 1865 by Laing's reprint in his collected edition of the Poems, and in 1897 by Skeat's, in the Supplement to his Chaucer.\(^2\)

The Testament is an original poem, offered by Henryson as a sequel to Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, and so explained by him in the opening stanzas (ll. 1-70). Chaucer having confined himself to the tragedy of Troilus, Henryson sets himself to expound the "fatall destenie" of Cressida, his undoer. Not only does the narrative connect itself, of necessity, to the older poem, but in its general style and in its echoes of phrase it is strikingly 'Chaucerian.' The description of Saturn\(^3\) recalls in many of its details the earlier sketch in the Assembly of the Gods, for some time ascribed to Lydgate:

"But he was clad me thought straungely,  
For of frost & snow was all his aray;  
In hys hand he helde a fawchon all blody.  
Hyt semyt by his chere as he wold make a fray.  
A bawdryk of isykles about hys nek gay  
He had, and aboue on hygh on his hede,  
Cowchyd with hayle stonys, he weryd a crowne of leede."\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Vol. I. pp. 157-177, with a short preface (p. 157), in which he claims that the text "has not before appeared in any Collection of Scottish Poetry," and a page of Notes at the end.

\(^2\) Several popular reprints (some modernized) have appeared since Chalmers's in 1810; among them Ross's (1878), Fitzgibbon's (1887), Eyre Todd's (1892), Arber's (1908), Sir George Douglas's (1910). For a full bibliographical account see William Geddie, A Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, u.s.

\(^3\) ll. 153-168.

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If Henryson’s passage is a copy, it but offers further evidence of the Scot’s art in remaking and turning about the old ‘properties’ and setting. None of the more striking decorations common to both pictures—the weapon, the icicles, the hailstones—are used in the same way. Henryson may, after all, have gone to his own storehouse, to some book *De Deorum Imaginibus*, like Alfred the Englishman’s, for the traditional dressing of ‘olde colde Saturnus.’

On the date of the composition no conclusion can be reached.

**Orpheus and Eurydice.**

There are three early texts of *Orpheus and Eurydice*:

(a) The black-letter tract printed by Chepman & Myllar (1508) entitled: *Heire begynnys the traitie of Orpheus kyng and how he yeid to hewyn & to hel to seik his quene And| ane othir ballad in the lattir end*—a unique copy (imperfect), preserved in the Advocates’ Library in a volume described as ‘The Porteous of Noblenes and ten other rare tracts.’ It is reproduced in Laing’s black-letter edition (*The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane, and other Ancient Poems. Printed at Edinburgh by W. Chepman and A. Myllar in the Year M.D.viiij. Reprinted M.Dccc.xxvij.*), and reprinted in this edition in Vol. III. (pp. 26 et seq.).

(b) The Asloan MS. (c. 1515), foll. 247a et seq. This text is, unfortunately, now inaccessible, but a transcript

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2 See *supra*, p. xxi.
3 For the ‘Ballad,’ see *infra*, p. lxxvi.
4 The eighth Tract.
5 The sixth Tract.
6 See *infra*, II. p. x.
made when it was deposited in the British Museum, and lent by Professor Bülbring of Bonn,¹ is printed in the third volume of this edition.²

(c) The Bannatyne MS. (1568), fol. 317b et seq.; also printed in the third volume of this edition.³

These texts vary in length. The Chepman print (461 lines) lacks a portion corresponding to ll. 59-175 of the Asloan and Bannatyne; the Asloan contains 578 lines; and the Bannatyne, by reason of additional sections in the 'Moralitas,' reaches a total of 633 lines.⁴ Neither Chepman nor Asloan name the author, but Bannatyne concludes "Finis: quod mfr. R. H."⁵ This ascription is authenticated by an interesting, and earlier, piece of evidence in the Cambridge MS. (Gale 03.12) of Gavin Douglas's Aeneis, in a gloss in the Bishop's own hand.⁶

The poem was included by Laing in his collected edition (1865), and given in a form in which the Asloan MS. was "chiefly followed."⁷

The tale of Orpheus, made familiar by Virgil in the fourth book of the Georgics, attracted the later Middle Ages in three different ways. In one its appeal was as a classical story of old-world adventure and tragedy, and its telling followed, with due allowance for mediaeval idiosyncrasy, the traditional lines. In another it was the mere setting or excuse for elaborate reflections on the philosophy of life, on human purpose, destiny, and, gener-

¹ See Prefatory Note to Vol. III.
² Pages 27 et seq.
³ Pages 66 et seq. The reader may be reminded that all the texts found in the Bannatyne MS. and printed in this edition are included in Vols. II., III., and IV. of the Hunterian Club edition of the Manuscript. Some errors in the text and in the glossary in Vol. I. of that reprint are noted in the present edition.
⁴ See infra, p. 58 (note to l. 634) and III. p. xv.
⁵ III. p. 87.
⁶ See infra, p. 58.
⁷ Laing, u.s., p. 250.
ally, on those mystic doctrines which have come to be associated with the name of Orphism. This attitude is by no means rare before and after Henryson's time, in the commentators on classical mythology, but it is shown perhaps most succinctly by Bacon in his well-known chapter on 'Orpheus, sive Philosophia.' The story of Orpheus, says Bacon, following older writers, "is intended for representation of universal Philosophy"; and, again, "Orpheus himself . . . may stand by an easy metaphor for philosophy personified." In a third way, especially in Middle English literature, it becomes a tale or romance of faery carrying over the main situations from a mythical Thrace to a mythical Winchester, and, perhaps under the influence of the mystic habit, throwing a veil of elfin fancy over the whole. To this last category belong the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis (Auchinleck MS.: Adv. Lib.), Sir Orphee (B.M. Harl. 3810), and King Orfeu (Ashmol. MS. 61.: Bodl.), the ballad of King Orfeo orally recorded by Child, and, doubtless, the Opheus, kyng of portingal, named in the list of tales in the Complaynt of Scotlande. In the whimsical Interlude of the Laying of a Gaist there is a reference to "Orpheus king and Elpha quene."
Henryson's *Orpheus*, as might be expected from the poet's general cast of mind, has nothing in common with the romantic type. But, while it reproduces the classical story with reasonable accuracy, it superimposes on the plain narrative a philosophical purpose. The Henryson of the *Fables* and Minor Poems could hardly resist this, and the extravagant length of the 'Moralitas' shows how readily he seized the opportunity of indulging in an exercise to which the story had attracted many others. This strong interest in the 'interpretation' of the tale might have helped us to track the sources, had he not made confession (or what proves to be a confession) in his tedious exposition.\(^1\)

Though we need not doubt that Henryson was familiar with the *Georgics*, and with the descriptions (incidental to Orpheus's wanderings) in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the fourth of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,\(^2\) it is clear that he shares, with every literary contemporary, an acquaintance with the *De Consolatione* of Boethius,\(^3\) and probable that he knew Chaucer's translation. He opens his 'Moralitas' with the lines:

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"Lo, worthy folk, Boece, that senature,
To wryte this feynit fable tuke in cure,
In his gay buke of consolacion,
For our doctrine, and gude instruction;"\(^4\)
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and in the tale, in the ordering and treatment of the episodes, he follows Boece's chapter in the third book

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1 There is (if it be not an accident of the printing-house) some propriety in the conjunction, in Chepman's print, of the 'ballad' of *The Want of Wyse Men* with this piece.

2 See note, *infra*, p. 56 (l. 178).

3 And perhaps, too, of the same author's *De Musica*. See Notes, *infra*, p. 54.

4 *III*. p. 56, ll. 298-301.
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But for the elaboration of the ‘doctrine’ he draws literally from Boece’s English commentator Nicholas Trivet. The ‘Moralitas’ continues:

“Quhilk in the self suppose it fenyeit be,
And hid vnder the cloke of poesie,
Yit maister trowit doctour Nicholas,
Quhilk in his tyme a noble theolog was,
Applyis it to gude moralitte,
Rycht full of frute and seriositee.”

How closely he has followed Trivet’s commentary in that ‘Moralitas,’ in substance and in order of detail, is shown by the accompanying extracts:

“Per orpheum intelligitur pars intellectiua instructa sapientia et eloquencia. vnde dicitur filius phebi et calliope. . . . et eius filius dicitur quilibet eloquencia instructus et quia phebus est deus sapi-entie . . . Cuius uxor est eur[i]dice scilicet pars hominis affectiuas quam siobi copulare cupit. aristewi qui interpretatur uirt?/j. set ilia dum fugit per prata id est amena presentis uite calcat serpentem non ipsum conterendo set seipsam que superior est inferiori scilicet sensuali-tati applicando a qua mordetur dum per sensualitatem ei occasione mortis datur (?) sicque ad inferos descendit id est terrenorum curis se subiciendo orpheus autem id est intellectus uolens eam a talibus abstrahere modulacionibus placat superos. id est per suauem eloquenciam coniunctam sapiencie rationatur commenda-do celestia. ut ab istis terrenis ipsum abstrahat set quia ascensus ad celestia difficultatem habet propter substraccionem multarum delectacionum que impedient uiututem per quam sit ascensus. . . . Deinde cum dicit. stupet ostendit quomodo orpheus placuerit monstra infernalia primo incipiens a cane qui fingitur Janitor

1 See note, infra, p. 56 (I. 178 and 298).
2 See note, infra, pp. 56-57.
4 From the fourteenth century MS. MM. 2. 18 in the Cambridge University Library, transcribed for the Editor by Mr Alfred Rogers. See p. 57 infra for a list of the other MSS. of Trivet.
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infernì et habere tria capita. per istum canem intelligitur terra. 

Secundum ysidorum libro xj. ethimologiarum c. de portentis. per hunc canem trium capitum signantur tres partes etatis per quas mors hominem deuorat. id est per infanciam iuuentutem et senectutem quorum quelibet admiratur sapienciam. Deinde describit aliud monstrum ubi notandum quod omne scelus uel est in cogitacione uel in sermone uel in opere propter quod ponuntur tres dee sceleris que propter connexionem istorum adinuicem dicuntur sorores. quorum prima uocatur allectio, secunda thesiphone. tercìa megera. . . . Tertium monstrum quod describit est pena yrionis [yxionis] de quo fingitur quod uoluit concumbere cum Junone. vnde accepit cognomen audacis quia uoluit ita alte amorem querere. cui Juno apposuit nubem in qua recepto semine nati sunt centauri. ipse autem adiudicatus inferno continue uoluitur in rota. . . . set Juno interponit nubem quia per hanc uitam incurrit homo obscurentatem rationis vnde nascentur centauri qui in parte sunt homines et in parte equi. quia in parte sunt rationales et in parte irrationales qui apud inferos in rota uoluitur quia deditus curis temporalibus continue elevatur prosperitate et deprimitur adversitate que quadem rotacio desistit quando homo sapience instructus talia contemptit. . . .

Quartum monstrum quod tangit est pena tantali qui fingitur lacerasse filium suum et dedisse eum diis ad comedendum pro quo dampnatus in inferno. dicitur habere aquam usque ad mentum et poma ante os suum pendencia et cum fame et siti deficere. quia tamen pomum uel aquam carpere subterfugijunt tantalus aurum signat qui filium suum lacerat dando eum diis ad comedendum quia quicquid natura causarum habet lacerat et exponit vnde diuicias acquirat quibus tamen cum habundauerit in egestate est. quia non sustinet in necessitatibus sui ea expendere quia delectatus vsu pecunie non ult' aceruum diminuere vnde dicit et tantalus perditus longa siti. silicet auaricie. spernit fluminia et diuicias que more fluminis labuntur. Quintum monstrum est pena ticii qui fingitur uoluisse concumbere cum latona mater apollinis qui est deus divinacionis. latona dicitur quasi latitona. id est certitudo futuri temporis que in dubio iacet. Quequidem
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For the text of this poem, perhaps the best known of the poet's works, we are indebted to Bannatyne.1 The entry in the 'Table' of the Asloan MS., "Ane ballat of making of [ . . . ," can hardly refer to this piece, as Laing suggests,2 and it is of little value without the text. Ban-

2 Henryson's Poems, u.s., p. 229. If the lost word after 'of' were found to be 'Henderson' or 'Henrysoun,' a case would be made out for 'Making' as a name; though in another place in the 'Table' Asloan writes 'Maister Robert Hendersonis dreme, On fut by forth,' putting the author first. In references of this kind it is more usual to give the first words, and here there is no reason why Asloan should not have called it 'the ballat of Robene' rather than 'of Making.'
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natyne is our sole authority for the ascription to Henryson. The authorship has never been disputed, and there is no reason, despite its lighter cast, to doubt that Henryson wrote it.

The poem is a disputoison of the pastoral type, and shows points of likeness to The Murning Maiden and the better known Nut Brown Maid. The motif, as expressed in Makyne's words—

"The man þat will nocht quhen he may
Sall haif nocht quhen he wald,"

is of wide literary interest, and in Henryson's case may have been suggested by French models. We think—and not merely because of the similarity in title—of Adan de la Halle's Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion, beginning

"Robins m'aime, Robins m'a;
Robins m'a demandée, si m'ara,"

and of the simpler and earlier pastourelles in which Adan found his dramatic opportunity. But there is no direct clue to Henryson's indebtedness, and it may well be doubted whether he has availed himself of more than a poet's right to work on a familiar theme. The 'a b c' of Love given in ll. 17-24 had become a platitude in courtly and amatory verse from the time of the Roman de la Rose, and it would be difficult to guess when and where Henry-

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1 III. p. 94, where he gives the name more fully than is his custom.
2 In the Maitland Folio MS. Printed in Specimens of Middle Scots, u.s., pp. 64-69.
3 III. p. 93, ll. 91-92.
4 Monmerqué et Francisque Michel, Théâtre français au Moyen Âge. Paris, 1885, pp. 102 et seq.
son made it his own, even were the collocation 'wyse, hardy, and fre,' in l. 20, proved to be a recovery of one of Chaucer's lines.¹

These verses have won for Henryson the distinction of being the first English pastoral poet. They were made accessible by Allan Ramsay in the *Ever Green* (1724)² with, *more suo*, no attempt at textual accuracy. This version reappeared in 1748 in a volume of *Poems in the Scottish Dialect*. In 1763 Langhorne could say—

> "In gentle HENRYSON's unlabour'd strains
> Sweet ARETHUSA's shepherd breath'd again."³

The poem attracted the attention of the editor of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), probably at the instigation of his correspondent, Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), who was the first to print it with any approach to accuracy, in *Ancient Scottish Poems* (1770)⁴ Pinkerton reissued it in 1783 in his *Select Scotish Ballads*.⁵ This interest in republication was continued throughout the nineteenth century by Sibbald,⁶ Campbell⁷ (who supplied elaborate notes), Ritson⁸ (who followed Hailes),

¹ *Nonne Preestes Tale*, l. 4104. On the 'Statutes of Love' see Prof. W. A. Neilson's *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, 1899, pp. 168 *et seq.* Parallel treatment in contemporary or almost contemporary Scots will be found in "Gif ȝe wald lufe and luvit be," ascribed to Dunbar (ed. S.T.S., II. pp. 312-313), and "'Off Luve quhay lyikis to haif Joy," ascribed by Bannatyne to Mersar (ed. Hunt. Club., III. pp. 603-605).
² Vol. I. pp. 56 *et seq.*
³ *Genius and Valour*, in *Poetical Works* (publ. 1766), I. p. 22.
⁴ Pages 124-129 ; and notes, pp. 325-326.
⁵ Vol. II. pp. 63-69.
⁶ *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* (1802), I. pp. 115-120.
⁷ *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819), II. pp. 77-83.
⁸ *The Caledonian Muse* (1821), pp. 21-25.
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George Chalmers,¹ and Laing.² Since 1865 the poem has been reprinted in anthologies and other collections at least nine times.³

THE BLUDY SERK.

The Bannatyne MS. supplies the only text of this poem.⁴ It is there described as a Fable⁵ (No. vii.) in a set including, among others, some of the Moral Fables and Orpheus and Eurydice (No. vi.) At the end it is ascribed to Henryson.⁶ The title is entered in the MS. in a later hand.

The poem does not appear to have attracted attention till 1792, when Pinkerton printed it as one of 'three pieces before unpublished' in the appendix to the third volume of his Scotish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions.⁷ Ten years later Sibbald thought it "worthy of notice, from its being one of our earliest specimens of the Ballad Stanza," a reason as erroneous as some of his commentary on the poem.⁸ It was included by Laing in his Select Remains (1822),⁹ and again by him in his collected edition; and Edmondstoune Aytoun gave it in a modernized form in his Ballads of Scotland.¹⁰

¹ 1824, in the Bannatyne Club volume containing the Testament of Cresseid. The notes on Chalmers's MS. are preserved in the Advocates' Library (MS. 19.2.16).
² Hensyson, u.s., 1865.
³ See the list in Geddie's Bibliography, u.s.
⁴ Foll. 325a et seq.
⁵ See infra in this section.
⁶ See III. p. 100.
⁷ Pages 189-194.
⁸ Chronicle, u.s., I. pp. 178-182. See the reference to his note on l. 61 infra, I. p. 62.
⁹ u.s., edit. 1885, pp. 200 et seq.
¹⁰ 1858, Vol. I. pp. 86-91. It is also included, in a modernized form, in Arber's Dunbar Anthology.
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The source of this poem is found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, in the tale of the daughter of the Emperor Frederick.¹ In ordinary circumstances it would be safe to assume that Henryson had made the acquaintance of the story in a Latin printed text, but there are some considerations which point to his knowledge of one of the earlier English versions.

The volume of the *Gesta*—a selection of one hundred and fifty tales—printed by N. Ketelaer and G. De Leempt at Utrecht (? 1473) has been accepted as the *editio princeps*. A reissue came from the press of Arnold Thér Hoernen of Cologne, probably within a year or two; and a third text, containing one hundred and eighty-one sections, appeared about the same time, with the imprint of Ulrich Zell, also of Cologne.² There is evidence to show that at least one copy of Ketelaer’s book was in circulation in Fifeshire in the seventies of the fifteenth century,³ and the Abbey Library at Dunfermline may have had a copy as soon as its neighbours.

¹ No. IX. in the Harl. text, quoted *infra*, pp. lx et seq. It is No. XLI. in Addit. 9066; Nos. LXVI. & XXV. in the printed Latin texts; and No. XI. in W. de Worde. Warton printed a summary of the story in his Dissertation on the *Gesta*, in the *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, I. p. ccii (edit. 1824). In the Latin text the gest is entitled ‘De Constantia.’

² See Hermann Oesterley’s edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*, 1872. There is a copy of each of these incunabula in the British Museum. The dates suggested in the catalogue are, in order, ?1473; ?1474; ?1475.

³ “I have one [a copy of Ketelaer] in its original binding. . . . On the first leaf is written, ‘Iste Liber constat Magistro Henrico Barry Rectorj de Culass, empt. ij Aprilis anno 147[5?]’; and Barry seems to have given it to the Friars Preachers of Dundee:—‘Liber Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum de Dwnde’ is repeated more than once. I mention this as an instance of such works speedily finding their way into this country.” (Laing, *Henryson, n.s.*, p. 240).

We may supplement this evidence of early circulation in the North by such an instance as that of the copy of Caxton’s *Ordre of Chivalry* (1484) made about 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant (*Gilbert of the Haye’s Prose MS.*, ed. S.T.S., 1914, II. pp. xxx-xxxii).
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On the other hand it must not be forgotten\(^1\) that the *Gesta* is an English product, of the close of the thirteenth century, that it was well known in England in its vernacular guise before the appearance of the Latin printed texts, and that these Latin texts which undoubtedly gave the tales their wide European vogue were compiled and translated from sources originally English. Three of these English MSS. are extant.\(^2\) It is not beyond the range of possibility that Henryson had access to another copy of an English version.\(^3\) In the Harleian MS. in the British Museum the text is conjoined with texts of the *Canterbury Tales*, a portion of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, some of Lydgate and Occleve\(^4\)—an association which may have been repeated elsewhere and been a ready means of familiarizing a northern 'Chaucerian' with the *Gesta*. Further, it may be pointed out that if there be any proof of textual indebtedness by Henryson, we find it in the English version of the Harleian MS. It is quoted here to show the story in its original form, and the differences in Henryson's treatment as well as the likeness.

"Fredericus was a wise Emperour, regnyng in þe Cite of Rome, the which hadde a faire douter; And whanne þe Emperour was in his deth-bedde, he bequathe to his dowter all his Empire. So what tyme þat a Certayne Erle hurde of

Unless Oesterley's compelling evidence be thrown aside.

\(^1\) B.M. MS. Harl. 7333 (c. 1440), MS. Addit. 9066 (c. 1450), and Univ. Lib. Cambridge, Kk. 1. 6. The first (the best) and the second have been printed by Sidney Heratige in *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, E.E.T.S., 1879, Extra Series No. XXXIII.

\(^2\) Wynkyn de Worde's edition (extant in a unique copy in St John's College, Cambridge) is, of course, out of the question. It has been dated c. 1510.

\(^3\) Herriatige, *n.s.*, p. xix.
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this, after þe deth of þe Emperor, he come to þe dameselle, and sterid hire to synne, and anoon the dameselle enclinid to his wordis. So whanne þe dameselle was filid with synne, he put hire out of hire Empire; And þan she made lamentacion more than ony man can trové, And þede into an onþer kyngdome or cuntre. So it happid in a certayne day, as she sat in hire sorowe and weeping, she sawe afer comyng to hire-ward a faire yong knyȝte, sitting vp on a faire hors; & come to hire, and salowid hire, and askid of hire þe cause of hire sorowe. Thanne saide she, “My worshipful lord, I haue gret cause to sorowe. I am come of gret blode & Reial; the Emperor was my fadir, and when he deyde, he made me his eyr, for he had no moo children þan me. Whan he was ded, þer come a knyȝte, and spoiled me of my virginite; and after þe synne, he put me out of myne heritage, In so moch that I aske nowe my brede fro dore to dore; And, lording myne, if it be your wille, þis is þe cause of my sorowe.” Tho spake þe knyȝte, and saide, “Now sothly, damyselle, þis is yveal I-do, and grete compassion I haue on þe; And þerfore, if þou wolte graunte to me oo thing, sothly I shal fiȝte for thyn heritage, and behote þe the victorie.” “A! lord, alas!” quod she “for I have nothing to ȝeve þe but my selfe.” “And I aske noon oþer of þe, but that þou be my love, and love non so wele as me.” And þenne saide she, “þis, lord, and þat I behote the.” Thenne spake he, “þat I wolþ haue an oþir certayne of þe, as þis: If it happe me to dye for þe in batail, and not to have victory, þat þu sette out my blody serke on a perch afore, for twey skilis; the first is, þat þe siȝte of my serke may move þe to wepe, as ofte tyme as þou lokist þwon; The secunde skile is, for I wolþ, that whenne ony man comyth to þe, for to haue þe to wife, þat þou renne to þe serke, and biholde þe serke, and say to þi selfe, ‘god forbede þat euer I sholde take ony to my husbond, after þe deth of þis lord, which deyde for my loue, and Recoueryd myne heritage!’” And þenne saide þe lady, “My worshipful sir, aþ þis, with þe grace of god I shal fulþ.” And when þe knyȝte hurde þis, he safe Bataile azen the Erle, and hadde þe victory. Neuertheles he
gate his death ther, and biquaṭ his serke to his love, for whom
he deyde, commaundyng ḫat she shold holde covenaut. Thenne
whan she hurde of his death, She made grete lamentacioun many
days; But whenne she sawe his blody serke, CHEMY her bowelis weree
troubelyd more than tounge may telle; And hongyd it vp on a
perche in hire chambir, And at euery tyme ḫat she lokid on ḫe
serke, she wepte ful̄ sere. The lordis of ḫe lond, seying howe
the Empire was wonne, To hire they come, and wolde have I-hadde
hire to wife. Thenne whenne she had enteryd ḫe chambir, and
sawe ḫe blody serke, she seide with a lamentabiH voys, “allas!
ḥat I shold take ony husbond, after ḫe lord that daide for me,
And wan myne heritage !” And so she answerid to ALCHEMY ḫat come
to hire for that erende, and fayr endid hire lyfe, &c.

MORALITE.

Deere frendis, ḫis Empour is ḫe fadir of hevyn. ḫe only
douȝter, that is so faire and so fresh, is ḫe soule of man, ḫat is
made to his owne likenesse, to whom god hath ʍevin and bequeȝon
his Empire, ḫat is to sey, paradise. But Ḯenne comiȝ an Erle,
scil. ḫe deviH, and exciȝ hire to synne, As whenne he saide,
Quacumque hora inde comederitis, eritis sicut dii, This is to sey, In
what houre ḫat ȝe eat of ḫis frute, ȝe shuH be as goddis And
so, for breking of ḫe commaundement of god, we were aḤ y-put
out of the heritage of paradise into ḫe kyngdome of ḫe wordle,
and ḫat in gret wrecchidnesse, as scripture shewitH, In sudore
vultus tui &c. But Ḯenne comiȝ a wele faire knyȝte and a
strong, scil. ḫat is to sey, our lord ihesu crist, ḫe which hadde
compassion of mankynde; and he drowe matrimony with vs,
颏at is to say, whan ḫat he tooke our kynde, and hayld batail
aȝenst the deviH, and gate our heritage. And Ḯerfore, seris, late
vs do as dude ḫe dameselle, late us [honge the] serke, scil. a fresh
mynde, vp on ḫe perche of our herte, scil. to sey howe ḫat our
lord ihesu criste shadde his bloode for vs; And Ḯenne if ony,
scil. the deviH, or ḫe flesh, or eny oþer stery vs to synne, lat vs
renne swiftly to ḫe ḫɔṣt of ḫe passion of criste, and sey, ḫat we
woth haue non opher but him pat so shadde his bloode for vs, for
we shold haue euerlasteing life in blisse. To pe which he vs bring
that is Lord euerlasting! Ad quam nos perducat! Amen.¹

It is matter of interest that the words ‘bludy serk,’
which, though a later addition to the title, occur through-
out the poem,² appear throughout the text quoted above.
In the other English text the term is ‘cote-armour,’ de-
scribed as ‘all be-spryngeld with blode.’³ In the Latin
editions the phrase is ‘arma sanguinolenta.’ There are
also apparent points of contact in the ‘Moralitas.’ But it is
impossible (and perhaps of little moment) to prove Hen-
ryson’s debt to any one manuscript. Nor can we prove
that he knew the tale in its English guise, though the
assumption is reasonable. He has modified the story in
many ways in a manner analagous to what we find in
all his adaptations.⁴ In some respects he is no nearer
his original than Rossetti is in The Staff and Scrip,⁵
which also was inspired by this old gest of the Emperor’s
daughter.⁶

² Cf. especially the last line (p. 100).
⁴ e.g., the King does not die before his daughter’s misfortunes begin.
⁵ Collected Works, 1887, I. pp. 75-82 and note on p. 516.
⁶ Mr P. W. Thomson, of New College, Oxford, suggests, in a communica-
tion to the Editor, that Henryson may have found an incentive in the circum-
stance that in the Aberdeenshire insurrection in 1489, headed by Lord Forbes,
the rebels took for their standard the “bloody shirt” of James III. The
suggestion is recorded here, but it is not offered as an argument for the dating
of the poem.
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THE GARMONT OF GUD LADEIS.

This poem is found only in the Bannatyne MS., and there it is ascribed to Henryson.1 It appears to have been printed for the first time by Allan Ramsay in 1724 in the *Ever Green,*2 but with his customary freedom. Hailes gave it a place in his *Ancient Scottish Poems* (1770), and added two notes,3 and Ellis, in 1801, in his *Specimens.*4 Since its appearance in Laing's collected edition of 1865 it has been reprinted in one or two popular anthologies.5

Hailes speaks of the piece as a tedious "paraphrase" of 1 Tim. ii. 9-11, but the subject is so common and the treatment so much elaborated that Henryson must escape the tracker of sources. It supplies many curious antiquarian details about women's dress of the period, and is more deliberate in its description than the familiar passages in the *Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies.*6 Ellis7 was the first to point out the likeness in conception and treatment to the *Triumpe des Dames* (alias, *Le Parement des Dames*8), by Olivier de la Marche, who died in 1502. This poem of 1448 lines, with several prose sections, works out the allegory in great detail, beginning with the shoes, and then passing to the garters and every item in the feminine wardrobe, and adding

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1 See III. p. 103.  
2 *u.s.*, I. pp. 234-236.  
3 Pages 130-132 and 327.  
5 See Geddie, *u.s.*  
6 *Chaucerian and other Pieces,* ed. Skeat, 1897, pp. 365 (ll. 141 et seq.) and 397 (ll. 519 et seq.)  
7 *Specimens of the Early English Poets,* 1801, I. p. 364.  
8 A text, based on the MSS., is printed by Julia Kalbfleisch, in a Dissertation published at Rostock in 1901.
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sound practical advice at each stage of the millinery progress. If Henryson got his 'idea' from this poem (and the suggestion is open to doubt), he got no more. An anonymous piece in the Bannatyne MS., "Wald my gud Ladye that I luif,"\(^1\) may, on the other hand, be described, with some confidence, as modelled on Henryson's *Garmont of Gud Ladeis*.

The allegory of feminine attire in poems of this type probably arose in simple analogy to the old chivalric 'significations,' such as we find in the contemporary Scots MS. of Gilbert of the Haye.\(^2\) It was easy to pass from the description of the crossed hilt, the spear, the helmet, the habergeon, and other accoutrements and their symbolism, to the not less interesting and symbolical wardrobe of the good knight's love.

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THE PRAIS OF AIGE.

Texts of this piece are given in the Makculloch MS. (after 1477), in a print from the press of Chepman & Myllar (1508), and in the Bannatyne MS., both draft and final copy. It is ascribed to Henryson in each of Bannatyne's texts.

Hailes printed it in 1770;\(^3\) Pinkerton in 1792, as one of seven 'ballads' from Chepman & Myllar's prints;\(^4\) and Laing, in his collected edition of 1865.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Hunt. Club edit., III. pp. 656-659. It is much longer than Henryson's poem.

\(^2\) S.T.S. edit., 1914, II. xxiv. et seq.

\(^3\) u.s., pp. 136-137.

\(^4\) *Scottish Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions*, u.s., pp. 128-129.


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The poem, like those following immediately, is of a common type, in choice of subject and prosodically. There is no obvious argument from style against Bannatyne’s ascription, but there are none to prove that Bannatyne had any more authority for his ‘quod mi. R. Henrisone’ than others had had for fathering certain poems of a ‘Chaucerian’ cast on Dan Chaucer himself.

The likeness of the opening lines to those of one of Dunbar’s poems has been referred to in the Notes. In recalling also Gavin Douglas’s lines—

"Ontill a garth vndir a greyn lawrer
I walk onon,"  

we add point to what has been already said about the traditional rights of fifteenth and sixteenth century verse.

The poem and the next may be compared with Ane Welcum to Eild in the Maitland Folio MS.

_The Ressoning betuix Aige and Jowth._

There are four MS. texts of this poem: (a) Makculloch (incomplete), (b) and (c) Bannatyne Draft and MS., and (d) Maitland Folio (c. 1570-1590). Here again Bannatyne is our sole authority for ascribing the piece to Henryson. The earliest printed texts are in Hailes, and Sibbald. Laing includes it in his collected edition.

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1 *Infra*, p. 64.
2 *Aen.*, Prol. to Bk. XIII. (ed. Small, IV. p. 170, ll. 8, 9).
3 *Supra*, p. xxviii.
4 See Pinkerton, _Ancient Scotish Poems_, 1786, II. pp. 192-194.
5 *III*. pp. 114-123. See the Comparative Table of the Texts, *III*. p. xvi.
6 *1770*, *u.s.*, pp. 167-170, with notes, pp. 332-333.
7 *Chronicle*, *u.s.*, pp. 186-189 (with notes).
8 Cf. also cancelled pages of his _Dunbar_ (1834).
The poem and the companion piece, 'The Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man,' preserve the traditional character of the moral dialogue or interludium. The former shows, as already stated, some textual parallelism with *Ane Welcum to Eild* in the Maitland MS.¹

**OBEY AND THANK THY GOD OF ALL**

**OR**

**THE ABBAY WALK.**

Bannatyne preserves this poem in the Draft of his MS. without a signature. In the completed MS. he ascribes it to Henryson. Maitland, who gives it in his Folio MS., writes 'authore incerto.' Laing records that it appears with the title of 'Ane Sonnet' in a MS. transcribed by Alexander Riddell at Bowland, in 1636, who "chose to add his own name to this and other articles, as if he had been the author."² To Laing also we are indebted for information of the first printed text. John Forbes, of Aberdeen, issued it in 1686, in a modernized form, with other 'popular verses,' under the title, "An ancient Dittie, entituled, *Obey and thank thy God of all.*"³ Hailes was however the first to make an attempt to reproduce the Bannatyne version with any accuracy.⁴

¹ Cf. also both the 'Ressoning' poems with, among others, 'Walking allone amang thir levis grene,' which precedes them in the Bannatyne MS. (ed. Hunt. Club, II. pp. 145-149).
² See Laing, Henryson, p. 240. This MS., which Laing found in the Library of Mr Chalmers of Aldbar, cannot now be traced.
⁴ *1770, n.s.*, pp. 133-135, and notes, p. 327.
Ellis included six of the seven stanzas in a modernized form in his Specimens (1801),¹ and Sibbald printed it in his Chronicle (1802).² Before Laing’s collected edition (1865) it had appeared in Edmondstoune Aytoun’s Ballads of Scotland (1858),³ and earlier (1828), in an incidental way, in Mercer’s History of Dunfermline.⁴ Since 1865 it has been reprinted at least seven times.⁵

The short title The Abbay Walk was, as stated in the Notes,⁶ given by Hailes—the second line and a similar title in the Complaynt of Scotlande suggesting its form. The cheapel valk mentioned there is unknown, and it is useless to suggest that it may be Henryson’s poem.

This piece, like its neighbours, conforms to a common type, but some interesting evidence can be produced to show that Henryson was recasting or adapting earlier material. In the Vernon MS. (Bodl.), of the later fourteenth century, there occurs a poem of seventeen stanzas (136 lines) on the same subject, and with the burden “Evere to þonke god of all.”⁷ Another copy of this text is found in the Simeon MS. in the British Museum;⁸ and a shorter text of twelve stanzas, differently arranged and with internal changes, is preserved

¹ I. pp. 364-366, with notes.
² I. pp. 183-185.
⁴ Pages 66-7. The text, which is not complete, is quoted because of the assumed local interest of the second line.
⁵ See Geddie, _u.s._
⁶ _Infra_, p. 68.
⁸ Addit. MS. 22,283. f. 130 v. The variants in this text are given by Varnhagen in notes to his reprint of the Vernon text (see previous note). It concludes: “Explicit a song: þonke god of al.”
among the Cottonian MSS. A comparison of these texts with Henryson's seven stanzas will prove at once the Scot's indebtedness, and at the same time show his talent in remodelling. In the latter respect he contrasts favourably with his rival of the Caligula text. The following statement of the main parallelisms may suffice for evidence. The first stanza of the Vernon, which is also the first of the Caligula, and corresponds with the first of Henryson's, reads:

“Bi a wey wandryng as .I. went
Sore .I. syked for serwyng sad;
For harde happes .I. haue hent,
Mournyng mad me al-most mad.
Vn-til a lettre al-one me lad,
Pat wel was writen on a wal;
A blisful word .I. rad,
Euere to .jonke god of al.”

Henryson's third stanza recalls the fifth of the Vernon (and the sixth of Caligula), beginning:

“Penk on Iob .pat was so riche,
Hou he wox pore from day to day;”

and his fourth is clearly a resetting of the second of the Vernon (the third of Caligula):

“þauþ Þou waxe blynd or lome,
Or eny seknesse on þe be set,
þenk riht wel hit is no schome,
Wij þ such grace god haþ þe gret.”

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The Bannatyne MS. preserves an anonymous piece, beginning "O wrechit man! full of iniquite,"¹ which has clearly some kinship with the *Abbey Walk*, as shown by the following lines selected in the order of the Henrysonian parallels:—

"Bot neuirtheles he thankit God of all" (l. 35).
"It gois away as calf dois with the wind" (l. 30).
"Thy gud, thy geir, thy claithis, nor thy fee
Spreidis nocht of the in Appryll, nor in May" (ll. 22-23).
"This day ane lord, the morne ane pure begeir" (l. 31).

But the tedious elaboration of the poem and other critical considerations leave the impression that the unknown verse-maker is Henryson's debtor. Had the Vernon or Caligula text escaped notice, we could have said no more than that the poem revoiced a common sentiment of fifteenth century poetry, and that lines like the fifty-first and fifty-second reminded us very intimately of lines such as are to be found in the anonymous piece 'This warld is verray vanite.'² Now, however, we can venture to be more precise; and the identification increases the suspicion that originals may be forthcoming for others of his minor poems. The 'schoolmaster' who adapted and elaborated Aesop so successfully may well have amused himself, and to good purpose, in the gentle art of 'paraphrase' among the poetic commonplaces of his age; just as he himself served in turn the purposes of later nameless rhymers.

² In the Gray MS. c. 1500. Printed in *Specimens of Middle Scots*, u.s., pp. ii-13.
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THE RESSONING BETWIXT DEATH AND MAN.

The Bannatyne MS. is our only authority for this piece. It appears in the Draft, unidentified, and in the final text as the work of 'hendersone.' It was printed once, by Hailes, before its appearance in Laing's collected edition.

The poem is a recasting of reflections on the instability and vanity of human affairs, which had done good service in all the vernacular literatures of the fifteenth century. Parallels can be found in nearly every English author and in every anthology like the Vernon MS., and suspicions raised of borrowing—until another possible creditor is discovered.

AGANIS HAISTY CREDENCE OF TITLARIS.

In both the Bannatyne MS. and Maitland Folio MS., our sources for this poem, Henryson is named as the author.

The title appears to have been given by Hailes, who first printed the poem from the earlier of the Manuscripts. It was printed once again, by Laing in his collected edition.

1 III. p. 138. 2 1770, ii.s., pp. 171-173.
3 And not again before the present work, except partially, and as copy from Laing, in Ebenezer Henderson's Annals of Dunfermline (1879), p. 722.
4 It is possible, for example, as Mr P. W. Thomson has suggested to the Editor, that Henryson had Lydgate's Dance of Machabree in mind. But such community of sentiment as we find between passages in our text and, say, Death's speeches to the Amorous Squire or the Friar Minor or the Reply of the Gentlewoman are not in the category of evidence.
5 See the Table in III. p. xvi for the different arrangement of the stanzas in these texts.
6 1770, ii.s., pp. 174-176.
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Though the subject of this poem is familiar in the literature of the later Middle Period, there are some grounds for holding that Henryson had in mind Lydgate's Fall of Princes (Bk. I. c. xiii) and The Chorle and the Bird.¹ He may have known the De Casibus itself, but the likeness of his treatment to that of Lydgate's stanzas, and certain identities of phrase, e.g., 'For there is none more dredfull pestilence' (st. 10) and 'hasty credence' (Envoy to The Chorle and the Bird), may not be accidental. On the other hand, we may recall Lydgate's lines in his fable of the Paddock and the Mouse (l. 149-151):

"There is no vice so parilous of reason,
As is the vice of ingratitude,
For it is worse than pestilence or poysoun,"

and their parallel in Henryson's corresponding fable (l. 2897). Here again is an illustration of the difficulty of dogmatizing on the Scots poet's indebtedness, especially when he is at work within a limited range of rhymes in '-ence.' If the reader be convinced that there is a direct rehandling of Lydgate's 'Bochas,' he will admit at the same time that it has, like all Henryson's recensions, some merit of originality.

The Annunciation.

This piece, called by Laing 'The Salutation of the Virgin,' has no title in the Gray MS., which supplies our only text. There the scribe names Henryson as the

¹ Suggested by Mr. P. W. Thomson in a communication to the Editor. See Tottel's 1554 print of the Fall of Princes, ff. 25 b, 26. Mr. Thomson also draws attention to the Act of Parliament (6 March, 1457) confirming the Statute "Anent lesyng makaris."
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author. The verses were first printed by Laing in his collected edition (1865); and they do not appear to have been reprinted till 1902, and not again till the present edition.

Against the ascription to Henryson, given on the authority of a MS. almost contemporary (c. 1500), no serious argument can be offered, though the differences of style are striking. The piece belongs to a type by no means rare in Middle English, and is in all probability a recast or paraphrase of some older example. Laing suggested that it was "an early performance," perhaps from its staccato or congested style. But its treatment, which presents many difficulties of word and phrase, is an effect of the prosodic limitations imposed, and the task of manipulating the formula ababbaabab in six short-lined stanzas might require an old verse-hand, if it were to be done as tolerably well as in the text before us—unless we assume that it is a closer adaptation than Henryson has made in any of the pieces which have been traced to earlier models. Study of the linguistic forms almost compels us to consider the poem a direct Northern version of a Southern text.

Sum Practysis of Medecyne.

This text is found only in the Bannatyne MS., where Henryson is named as the author. Laing printed it for the first time in his collected edition. It appears, of course, in the Hunterian Club issue of the Bannatyne text, but it has not been reprinted before the present edition.

1 III. p. 148.  
2 Specimens of Middle Scots, u.s., pp. 8-10.
There is no reason to doubt Henryson's authorship of this eccentric piece. Its absurdity and coarseness constitute no argument that the sober 'schoolmaster' could not have written it. It belongs to a type of burlesque verse which is fully represented in Middle and later Scots literature, and of which one notable example is supplied by each of the greater Makars. With our knowledge of Dunbar's Bohemian Muse, we accept the Ballad of Kynd Kittok with no surprise. There is also the good Bishop of Dunkeld's Prologue to the eighth book of his translation of the Aeneid, a sort of Tullochgorum breaking in upon the serious deportment of the Trojan heroes; and Lyndsay too has his whimsical moments. Each and all of these pieces have the historical interest of supplying a link in the chain of popular alliterative verse which remained in opposition to Chaucerian influences. Such burlesques are no more than occasional exercises in sheer fun, with perhaps a touch of protest against the more orderly and derivative style imposed by the ruling fashion in verse. They express the sense of freedom, or the demand for it, which is the excuse and motive force of the rough 'flyting.' The persistence of the form throughout the century is a warning to us not to treat its appearance amid an alien setting as suspicious. And just as it is (all other argument apart) no proof that James I. did not write Peblis to the Play or Christis Kirk on the Grene because he has been credited with the Kingis Quair, so we cannot rule out Sum Practysis of Medecyne from the Henrysonian canon because we accept the Testament or Robene & Makyne.

Annotation is difficult—in many places impossible; and
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It may appear to be editorial foolishness to attempt to unriddle what amused Henryson's contemporaries simply because it was written in fifteenth-century 'Hunting of the Snark.' Yet some of the problems have an antiquarian interest, and the notes in this volume are offered as a first contribution to their better understanding.

**The Thre Deid Pollis.**

There are two MS. sources of this poem, the Bannatyne and Maitland Folio. Hailes printed it from the former, and Ellis reprinted it, in part, in 1801. Laing, who had given it in his edition of Dunbar in 1834, published it in his collected edition of Henryson. After that date it appeared twice (once in part) in popular anthologies of 1878 and 1887. In the Bannatyne MS. it is ascribed to Patrick Johnstoun; in the Maitland Folio MS. to Henryson. Hailes, using only the former text, gave it to the 'obscure versifier' Johnstoun, but Laing included it ("and I think correctly," he remarked) in Henryson's works. There is little to be said on this problem, except that there is no reason, based on style or subject, to deny Maitland's ascription.

The subject is familiar. Hailes thought it odd that the poet should introduce three 'deid pows' or death's-heads —"the more so, because they all speak at once." We

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1 [1770, u.s., pp. 177-179.]
2 [Specimens, u.s., I, pp. 367-369, with Notes. Ellis follows Hailes (and the Bannatyne MS.) in ascribing the poem to Johnstoun.]
3 In the pages afterwards cancelled.
4 See Geddie, u.s., p. 173.
5 See Notes, infra, p. 76.
6 III. p. 160.
7 Ellis, too, u.s., following Hailes.
might as well ask why the poets in the Vernon MS., who worked on the Bernardine tradition, wrote on Man's 'three enemies' and the "three messengers of death," or, more generally, why 'three' is one of the selected numbers throughout all mediaeval court and ballad literature. And a modern, indifferent to the evidences of literary tradition, might argue that the lesson to 'sinful man' from three 'deid powis' would be more effective than the warning of one.

**Ane Prayer for the Pest.**

This is preserved in the Bannatyne MS. in the Draft and final text; and in the last there is added, in a later hand, "quod Henrysone." This is our only authority for the ascription. There is no internal evidence which might contradict this conclusion. The poem first appeared in print in Laing's collected edition, and was reprinted, in part, in 1879, in Henderson's *Annals of Dunfermline.*

The verbal and prosodic similarities between this piece and Dunbar's *Ballat of our Lady* and portions of his *Flyting* are referred to in the Notes.

**The Want of Wyse Men.**

The oldest text is that printed by Chepman & Myllar (1508), where it is associated with *Orpheus and

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1 *Pt. II. ed. Furnivall, pp. 443 et seq. and 511 et seq.*
2 *In an Appendix (pp. 722-723). See also Notes, infra, p. 77.*
3 *Infra, p. 77.*
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Eurydice in a common title. Another is given by Bannatyne, who has taken many liberties, rarely to its bettering.

The poem was first printed in 1792 in the third volume of Pinkerton's *Scotish Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions,* which followed the text of Chepman & Myllar. Sibbald reissued it in 1802 in his *Chronicle,* again "from the Edinburgh Collection, 1508." It appeared in Laing's 'facsimile' of the Chepman & Myllar tracts in 1827, and was included by him, with modifications from the Bannatyne text, in his collected edition.

*The Want of Wyse Men* is the only poem in the present edition which is not ascribed to Henryson in the early texts. The collocation of the piece with *Orpheus and Eurydice* in Chepman & Myllar, not only in a single tract but with a run-on title, must have some weight as evidence of contemporary opinion on the authorship. Close examination of the style suggests nothing to controvert the assumption.

The poem deals with a well-worn subject, and may or may not be a recasting of some predecessor's effort. Sibbald's statement that "it seems to point unequivocally to the feeble Reign of James III," and Laing's corroboration that "it evidently belongs to the reign of James the Third, when the unsettled state of public affairs might give too much truth to the burden of each verse," are certainly not 'evident,' but they constitute a reasonable surmise.

1 See III. p. 26 of this edition, and the Notes in this volume, pp. 53 and 80.
2 See Notes, *infra,* pp. 78 et seq.
3 *u.s.*, III. pp. 133-135.
4 *u.s.*, I. pp. 199-200.
5 *Chronicle, u.s.*, p. 199.
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LOST POEM.

Reference has been made to a poem entitled, in the Table of Contents of the Asloan MS., “Master Robert Hendersonis dreme, On fut by forth,” and to its appearance in a list of ‘good tales’ or ‘fables’ in the Complaynt of Scotlande,¹ where we find the first line, or perhaps the burden,

“On fut by fortht as i coud found.”

Unfortunately the portion of the Asloan MS. containing the text has been lost, and no other clues have been discovered. We may guess that Henryson’s ‘Dreme’ was a didactic piece or set of moral reflections on the times, like the companion ‘Dremes’ of his fellow-Makars Dunbar and Lyndsay.

OTHER POEMS ASCRIBED TO HENRYSON.

No other poems have been ascribed to Henryson with any show of evidence. In the Preface to a reprint of the Moral Fables in 1886 Dr A. R. Diebler allotted to the suppositious ‘third period’ of Henryson’s literary work some smaller religious poems (einige kleinere religiöse gedichte) in the Makculloch MS.,¹ but he did not name the pieces which he selected (unless he implied that he gave

¹ Supra, p. xxiv.
² Anglia, IX., referred to supra.
³ Ib., p. 339 and p. 340. Mr Geddie records this ascription, without comment, in his Bibliography of Middle Scots Poets, 1912, p. 183: “Diebler gives Henryson some short religious poems in the Makculloch MS., not printed by Laing or Prof. Gregory Smith.”
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Henryson all that had not been identified), or offer any argument for the assumption. He may have been tempted to his conclusion by the fact that four of the pieces inserted in the MS. are by Henryson.¹

Of the six poems given anonymously in the MS. which might be described as 'religious,'² one is known to be by Dunbar,³ and others may be found, like No. 12 ('Rules of Health'),⁴ to be by poets of earlier date. Dr Diebler's assertion, brief and vague, does not put us in a position to revise the opinion that there is no evidence, external or internal, to justify the ascription of any of these poems in the Makculloch MS. to Henryson.

IV.

No manuscript is extant which can be called original, in the sense of being either a holograph or a copy made by an authorized scribe. This we might almost take for granted—there are so many cases of the kind in Middle English Literature and especially in Northern verse. Further, it must be remembered that there is no manuscript which can be certified as strictly contemporaneous, though one or two came reasonably near Henryson's time, and that there is no single text con-

¹ The Prologue to the Fables; The Cock and the Jasp; The Prais of Aige; and The Resoning betwix Aige and 3owth. See under each.
² Nos. 2, 3, 6 (a metrical version of the Lord's Prayer), 7 (a 'Hail Mary' of five lines), 10, and 13. See the descriptive summary of the contents of the Makculloch MS. in Specimens of Middle Scots, 1902, pp. lxvii-lxix.
³ No. 10.
⁴ Found in many MSS. Cf. Halliwell, Minor Poems of Lydgate (Percy Society, 1840), pp. 66 et seq.
taining all, or most, of the poet's work. Not till the issue of Laing's collected edition in 1865 did that public which had some claim to know what Henryson had written find itself in a position to satisfy its curiosity. The preparation of that edition, and of this, is therefore a gleaning of scraps from many quarters, and the encountering of difficulties from which the editor of an accredited corpus is happily spared.

These considerations have determined the method of the present edition. It has been found best to print all the known texts. In the first place, it would have served no good purpose to give only one text of each poem, altered here and there by the incorporation of verbatim, or modified, or modernized readings from other texts, when the editor thought he was in the way of improving a line. Laing did this, and frequently without intimation of his meddlings. For this it is no defence in these days that such was Bannatyne's procedure in 1568. To add every variant in footnotes would cumber the pages to an extent which a Minellius would not dare to rival or a modern student consent to endure. In the second place, it is in the majority of cases impossible to select a single text as the best in respect of authenticity or literary merit. Sometimes where we seem to get near to the original form, we find we have no more than a fragment, and are compelled to turn for the rest to some later anthologist's version.

Henryson's Poems have been gathered together from these ten works, manuscript and printed:—

(a) The Makculloch MS. (after 1477).
(b) The Gray MS. (c. 1500).
(c) The Chepman & Myllar Printed Tracts (1508).
(d) The Asloan MS. (c. 1515).
(e) Thynne’s *Chaucer* (printed in 1532).
(f) The Bannatyne MS. (1568).
(g) Charteris’s edition of the *Fables* (‘newlie imprentit’ in 1570).
(h) The Harleian MS. 3865 (1571).
(i) Charteris’s edition of the *Testament of Cresseid* (printed in 1573).
(k) The Maitland Folio MS. (c. 1570-1590).\(^1\)

What may be called the idiosyncrasies of the texts must be kept in mind when they are taken as evidence of Henryson’s language or of normal Middle Scots. The conditions of transcription differed greatly. In the Makculloch and Gray MSS. the fragments are scribbled on fly-leaves or interpolated in such alien matter as Latin lectures on logic, notes on genealogy, or notarial styles, written perhaps from memory, and in all cases without the care bestowed on the original prose entries. There is more of the scribe’s deliberation in the anthologies of Asloan, Bannatyne, and Maitland; yet these vary considerably, and in the second, in its final form, both matter and language have suffered from editorial zeal. Chepman & Myllar’s English craftsmen dealt honestly with their Scots ‘copy,’ but they at times betray their Southern habit; and Thynne’s version of the *Testament of Cresseid*, though of importance for reasons already specified, is, for

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the study of Scots, of little value. Thus Henryson’s text, as we have it, is, from the point of view of language, a conglomerate, as indeed all our Middle Scots material is, if considered as a whole. Yet the variety helps rather than thwarts our knowledge of that artificial middle speech; and within the Henrysonian texts themselves, as a sort of ‘picture in little’ of the greater corpus, there is no lack of evidence of the main characteristics. The language is, on a general estimate, identical with that of all the Makars, greater or lesser, in or near to Henryson’s time, and it would therefore be a task of supererogation to define and tabulate again what is already familiar to every student of the Kingis Quair or Dunbar or Douglas.¹ Examination of the full Index of Words and Glossary appended to the present volume will show that identity and supply ample illustration of Middle Scots usage. It will be found that there are few or any peculiarities of word, form, or construction in Henryson’s verse, which are not represented in the extant texts of his contemporaries and immediate successors.²

¹ An account of the main characteristics of Middle Scots was attempted for the first time in the Introduction to Specimens of Middle Scots, u.s., pp. xvi et seq.

² Perhaps his texts are richer in examples of the dropped and adventitious initial ‘h,’ not merely in such familiar classical words as habill, Ector, all (hall), but in heir (ear), as (has), oure (hour), his (is), awthorne, and others. In fauvour (favour), in II. 248. 142, we have a remarkable example of the silent internal ‘l’ (musilk, in III. 28. 44, may be an error of Chepman & Myller’s compositor). It must be noted, however, that nearly all these forms are found in the Bannatyne MS. and in its revised text.
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V.

Henryson's reputation as a metrist has never been in doubt. The mastery of verse-forms alien to native tradition, and worked out in language and phrase also to a great extent alien, has often been remarked by readers of the poetry of the Northern Chaucerians. They not only outstripped their hobbling contemporaries in the South, but moved, not seldom, with a freedom and grace which Dan Chaucer himself has not bettered. Among them Henryson holds his own, when we have him at his best, in such passages as the ‘Complaint’ of Cresseid and the ‘Dirge’ of Orpheus; and duller moments, as in some of his minor didactic poems, do not press upon him more often or more cruelly than on the merriest of his neighbours. He has not the metrical range of Dunbar, but he shows he is not behind him in competence when they follow common models.

He has left over five thousand lines, of which all except one hundred and sixty-four are grouped in stanzas. Almost four-fifths of these stanzas are in the seven-lined form known as Rhyme-royal or Troilus Verse.

The metrical varieties may be tabulated thus:—

I. STANZAS.

i. Four lines.

Common or Ballad Metre: alternately four feet and three feet, iambic, rhyming abab.

The Garmont of Gud Ladeis. (Cf. the connected

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1. III. pp. 17 et seq.
2. III. pp. 71 et seq.
3. 5085, with the addition of 72 from Bannatyne.
4. Or 220, if we add Bannatyne’s supplements.
5. Strictly, 3829 lines, or 547 seven-lined stanzas.
double form in *Robene and Makyne* and *The Bludy Serk*, with rhymes in the first four lines continued throughout the second four lines in each group.)

ii. *Seven lines.*

Troilus Verse, or Rhyme-royal: five feet, iambic, rhyming *ababbcc.*

*The Moral Fables* (except the ‘Moralitas’ of *The Two Mice* and the first three stanzas of the ‘Moralitas’ of *The Paddock and the Mouse*); *The Testament of Cresseid* (excluding the ‘Complaint’); *Orpheus and Eurydice* (excluding the ‘Dirge’ and the ‘Moralitas’).

iii. *Eight Lines.*

(a) Five feet, iambic, rhyming *ababcbbc.*

The ‘Moralitas’ of *The Two Mice*; the first three stanzas of the ‘Moralitas’ of *The Paddock and the Mouse*; *The Prais of Aige* (with burden); *The Ressoning betwix Aige and 3owth* (with burden); *The Ressoning betwix Deth and Man*; *Aganis Haisty Credence of Titlars* (with burden); *The Thre Deid Pollis*; *Ane Prayer for the Pest* (with burden: see also under ‘8’); *The Want of Wyse Men* (with burden).1

(b) Four feet, iambic, rhyming as in ‘a.’

*Obey and Thank Thy God of All*, or *The Abbay Walk.*

(γ) Alternate four feet and three feet, iambic, rhyming *abababab* (Cf. I. i. supra).

*Robene and Makyne*; *The Bludy Serk.*

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1 Bannatyne has used six feet in some places.
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(8) As in 'a,' but with internal rhymes.

The concluding stanzas of Ane Prayer for the Pest.¹

iv. Nine lines.

Five feet, iambic, rhyming aabaabbab.

The 'Complaint' in the Testament of Cresseid.

v. Ten lines.

Five feet, iambic, rhyming aabaabcbbc.

The 'Dirge' in Orpheus and Eurydice.

vi. Twelve lines.

Alternate four feet and three feet, iambic, rhyming ababbaabbaab (a being always four feet and b three feet).

The Annunciation.

vii. Thirteen lines.

Alliterative stanza of irregular feet, with bob and wheel in the last lines, rhyming ababababcdddc.

Sum Prac'tysis of Medecyne.

II. Decasyllabic couplet or 'Riding-rhyme.'

The 'Moralitas' of Orpheus and Eurydice.

It will be observed how readily Henryson turned to the stanzaic form, for he has only once, and only in part of a poem, attempted the riding-rhyme. In this respect he is like many of the Northern Makars, to whom the Chaucerian stanza proved more attractive than the Chaucerian couplet. Though he writes the latter with considerable ease, and shows at times that like Chaucer he had

¹ See note, p. 77 infra.
an ear for enjambment, he is most successful in the stanza, even in its more involved varieties. There too, especially in the Troilus and nine-lined stanzas, both exemplified in the Testament, he is at once disciple and worthy successor. The Scottish poets seem to find their metrical opportunity when the emotions are uppermost. James I., though cumbered by a courtly convention and an artificial style, surpassed his master in describing his royal passion, even when the echo of old lines remained with him; and our 'schoolmaster,' lover of fable and didactic commonplace, gives us again and again, perhaps most triumphantly in Cresseid's 'Complaint' and Orpheus's 'Dirge,' passages of high poetic expression and movement. Nor do the complication of the verse-form and the formalities of the setting retard or obscure his power.

Of other staves outside the group more strictly Romance in origin, we have specimens of the Ballad or Common Metre and the Rhyming Alliterative Stanza. He is least successful in the simpler 'ballad' form, though it may be that the subject of the Garmont of Gud Ladeis (the only example left by him) did not lend itself so readily to treat-

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1 E.g. III. 58. 352 et seq.; 60. 390 et seq.; 64. 453, &c.
2 See a succinct and just account of Henryson's prosody in Professor Saintsbury's History of English Prosody, I. pp. 271-272. "Both in the rhyme-royal," says Mr Saintsbury, "and in the nine-line stanzas of his capital poem, the Testament of Cresseid, he follows Chaucer with a really wonderful sureness and mastery of form, and that form enables him, to a very large extent, to give the astonishing variety of colour and tone which exists there, though it has been too little recognised. Not Chaucer himself, not Sackville, has brought out the echoing clangour and melancholy majesty of the metre better than is done in the great tragic passages of this piece. And not even Chaucer has done much better, while Sackville has not attempted, its adaptation to the middle style of poetry in the opening of the poem, as well as in the Fables. With the octave of eights (as in the Abbey Walk) and in that of tens (as in Youth and Age) he has shown himself equally conversant" (p. 271).
ment in this way; but in an extended variety of the metre, in which he links up two quatrains into a single stave of eight with only two rhymes throughout, he proves his complete understanding of the metrical motif. For this reason, perhaps as much as for his choice of language and his clear psychology, is his Robene and Makyne accepted as a masterpiece, and The Bludy Serk as more than a tolerable allegory. Here again we have illustration of what has been noted, that Henryson achieved success under metrical conditions which are none of the best for the poet who would be direct and simple.

If we cannot claim either directness or simplicity for the tumbled humour of Sum Practysis of Medecyne, we can at least recognise the poet's facility in the weaving of its complicated stanza. Though much of its meaning (if, indeed, he intended it to be anything but sheer topsyturvy) is lost, the lines still 'go.' We can read them if we cannot understand them; and in this respect these verses compare favourably with other examples, more sedate or less nonsensical, in this traditional form. Its chief interest is, of course, historical, as a belated example, with others left by his fellow-Makars, of a popular pre-Chaucerian type, originally dedicated to themes of high seriousness, and preserved, in one of its many varieties, in the brave tale of Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight.

That Henryson had good command of rhyme almost follows as a corollary to what has been said of his facility in the management of complicated staves. No fifteenth-century poet shows less effort. His rhymes appear to come easily, disclosing zest as well as cunning

1 Supra, p. Ixxiv.
in his ordering of them. If, with an apparently strange abstinence, he has only once indulged in the mediaeval frolic of internal rhymes,\(^1\) he may have felt that his Muse could be indifferent to such exercises. There are few deviations from this general excellence, and because they are rare they acquire a special interest. Attention has been drawn in the Notes to abnormal usages, but a rough \textit{précis} of the main peculiarities may not be out of place in the accompanying footnote.\(^2\) Some of these, however, are problems in historical phonology and orthography rather than prosodic tricks or lapses. It may be added that Henryson’s rhymes are generally, we might say always, based upon single syllables;\(^3\) and also that in marked contrast with the practice of weaker contemporaries, especially in the South, he is sparing in the use of the literary ’tag’ as an aid against difficulties in rhyming\(^4\) as well as against poverty of ideas.

\(^1\) \textit{Supra}, p. lxxv.

\(^2\) (a) Violation of word-form is rare. Examples are \textit{plank} for \textit{plack}, to rhyme with \textit{thank} (II. 168. 2262); \textit{wane} for \textit{?way}, to rhyme with \textit{allane} (III. 42. 128); \textit{say} (\textit{?} past part.), to rhyme with \textit{may} (III. 93. 89); perhaps \textit{mak} for \textit{maid} (III. 99. 96). But see the Notes in each case.

(b) Slurred and coalesced endings—not without precedent and parallel in other Scots writers. See \textit{dude} (II. 212. 2852), \textit{declarde} (III. 170. 2), and note on p. 41 (l. 2852). See also \textit{applidis} (III. 147. 28) and note.

(c) \textit{Deir} in III. 98. 58 and \textit{cleird} in III. 150. 15 are faulty rhymes. The former may be excused as assonance. See the Notes. On the question of assonance in Chaucer, see Skeat, \textit{Chaucer}, VI. pp. lvi-lvii, and in the fifteenth century poets, \textit{The Cambridge History of English Literature}, II. p. 236.

(d) Other points of more direct phonological interest will be found in the notes to \textit{flaid—glaid—outraid} (II. 214. 2889); \textit{borne—trone} (II. 282. 184-185; see I. p. 43); \textit{seggis—egeis—dreggis} (III. 150. 24). \textit{Sicht} in III. 92. 58 may be simply orthographic (see note).

\(^3\) Extended rhymes as in III. 164. 58-60-61, are extremely rare.

\(^4\) As \textit{belyve} (III. 56. 310); and \textit{wilsun way} and the like, occasionally.
VI.

There is, in conclusion, the consideration of Henryson's place in the perspective of Scots poetry and of his influence upon his immediate successors.

Henryson is one of the forerunners of the band of poets who broke with the older habits of Northern verse and established that more or less artificial style which, expressed in a language modified to its own purposes, ruled for over a century. If we give the honour of pioneer to James I., Henryson will be the second in order among the greater Makars who professed a whole-hearted discipleship to Chaucer and achieved a success which was denied to the master's Southern imitators. He has little in common with the older popular verse, and the divergence may be described as the result of a deliberate attempt to impose a new rule of art from without. Scottish Literature has at other times yielded to influence from the South, in the sixteenth century, again in the seventeenth, and again in the eighteenth, but it never accepted a literary fashion so completely as it did in the fifteenth. Northern talent was absorbed in this Chaucerian cult; for though the popular elements remained and were in due course to reassert themselves, they then accomplished little or nothing of poetic account.

Two characteristics of this Scottish enthusiasm for Chaucer deserve to be noted, apart from its widely spread expression. It was in essence a literary, we might say an academic or bookish, movement. Chaucer was taken as an exemplar in the craft of verse as much as an inspirer
of fresh motives. Hence, as in England, but with more artistic insight, the poets made close textual study of his writings, and carried over his words and happiest phrases and verse-forms. In the second place, this Middle Scots manner was not, as some have thought, especially in the case of Douglas, the expression of a reaction from mediaevalism towards the mood of the Renaissance. There is no suspicion of this in Chaucer himself or in his immediate following in England, and in Middle Scots poetry, representing the same tradition transferred to Northern soil, no reason to assume it, even if evidence to the contrary were lacking. It would be hard to prove, for example, that Henryson "gives signs of the approach of the Renaissance in his pictorial treatment of allegory."¹ For though we may recognize a change in approach in the Makars—Henryson, Dunbar, and Douglas showing that allegory is less of the essence of the poetic conception than it is at an earlier period when the Rose is in full bloom, that it is used more as a decorative or homiletic aid than it is, say, in the Kingis Quair—the difference is due not to the ingrowing of Renaissance habit, but to the natural dulling of an old interest, aggravated by the fact that the Scot had adopted an alien style and had learned it in a literary or bookish way. That he was able to preserve it with such freshness—to avoid, on the one hand, the dangers to which Lydgate succumbed, and, on the other, the heartless imitation of a later age of transition—counts much to his literary credit.²

² For fuller discussion of the Chaucerian and popular strains in Middle Scots and of the mediaeval quality of that verse see the Editor's chapters in the second volume of the Cambridge History of English Literature (X. and XI.)
It is unnecessary to show how thoroughly Henryson knew the poems of Chaucer, both in spirit and technique, or to point out in detail the different ways in which he worked from his model, whether writing in plain sequel as in the Testament of Cresseid, or recalling familiar passages, as in his apologue of Chantecleer and the Fox, or utilizing the verse-forms and applying with no inferior power the famous seven-lined stanza to the double purpose of high tragedy and workaday narrative, or picking out his lines with turns and words detached from the Canterbury Tales, The Parlement of Foules, or Troilus and Criseyde. In his prosodic practice he rarely strays from Chaucer’s path: perhaps only twice, when he reverts to the older measure of Robene and Makyne and the Garmont of Gud Ladeis, and to the alliterative stanza of Sun Practysis of Medecyne. In the last he and his fellow Makars¹ find themselves in the same spirit of burlesque which consumed Chaucer when he turned to a popular measure for the fun of his Sir Thopas.

That Henryson was known to the next generation of Scottish poets may be allowed without denying them the credit of having taken their own buckets to the ‘spring-and well’ of English. Some influence may be assumed when we find early personal references in so many places, in Dunbar, Douglas, Lyndsay, and others, and when we have from the first Scottish press, the first Scottish anthologists, and Englishmen like Thynne and Kinaston, evidence that his fame had passed, not long after his day, beyond the Abbey precincts of Dunfermline. The hints of indebtedness are sometimes obscure, but their accumu-

¹ Supra, p. lxxiv.
lative weight leaves no doubt as to a vogue which the frequency of early editions and his speedy introduction to Southern readers\textsuperscript{1} go far to establish. The rule of caution against making overmuch of parallelism\textsuperscript{2} remains as binding when we proceed to estimate what successors like Lyndsay and Montgomerie owe directly to him rather than to Chaucer.

Dunbar’s verse yields little proof of an intimacy which the kindly reference in the \textit{Lament for the Makaris} might suggest. Such likenesses as appear in \textit{Musing Allone}\textsuperscript{3} or in the rhyme-scheme of the \textit{Ballat of Our Lady}\textsuperscript{4} must not be pressed,\textsuperscript{5} though they are more convincing than those which one critic has found in the \textit{General Satire}.\textsuperscript{6} If we must find the tracks of the fabulist in the friar, the latter’s \textit{Wowing of the King}, otherwise \textit{The Tod and the Lamb}, might be selected, not merely for its story of ‘reid haird lowry,’ but for its association with Dunfermline. Douglas tells us that he knew the \textit{Orpheus and Eurydice},\textsuperscript{7} and shows in at least one passage that he had read more widely in our poet. The most striking parallelism appears in his Prologue to the Seventh Book of the \textit{Aeneid}, where he defies the “perrilus peirsand cauld” by “mychty drink” and a good fire,\textsuperscript{8} just as the schoolmaster had feigned by way of introduction to his tale of Cresseid.\textsuperscript{9} An earlier

\textsuperscript{1} Among these perhaps Sir Thomas Wyatt. See “Of the mean and sure Estate.”
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Supra}, p. xxviii; and well illustrated in Diebler’s attempt to establish loans from the \textit{Kingis Quair} (\textit{direkte Einflüsse} which are by no means direct). See \textit{Henr. Fabeldichtungen}, \textit{u.s.}, pp. 36, 47, 59, 75.
\textsuperscript{3} See p. 64.
\textsuperscript{4} See p. 77.
\textsuperscript{5} See also \textit{infra}, p. 16 (note to l. 878).
\textsuperscript{6} When compared with Henryson’s fable of the \textit{Wolf and the Lamb}. “Der einfluss ist unverkennbar,” says Diebler (\textit{u.s.}, p. 81)!
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Supra}, p. l.
\textsuperscript{8} Ed. Small, III. pp. 76, 77.
\textsuperscript{9} III. 4. 36 \textit{et seq.}
passage in the same Prologue, describing the severities of Winter, is also reminiscent, even verbally, of the earlier poet's account of the seasons in his fable of the Swallow and other birds. It may be that Douglas's reflections, in his eleventh Prologue, on the old theme of spiritual and carnal quarrel, in which

"The spreyt wald vp, the cors ay doun lyst draw."

recall how

"The saule vpwart, the bodie precis doun."

in Henryson's moralizing on the fortunes of the Paddock and the Mouse. The textual similarities which have been noted in Montgomerie suggest, when taken together, some memory-acquaintance with the Fables; and the more than verbal identity of the lines in an anonymous poem of the same time can hardly be explained as accidental. Lyndsay's reference to 'Henderson' among other Makars, in the Prologue to the Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo—

"Thocht thay be deid thair libellis bene levand, Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to rejose."

seems to give the poet more than a formal place in the Lyon King's literary acquaintance, and in the affection of his contemporaries. From the seventeenth century, with

1 II. p. 126.  2 Ed. Small, IV. p. 4, l. 6.
3 II, 219. 2952.  4 See notes, infra, II. 878, 1942, 2804.
5 See the quotation in the note to II. 1650.
6 Not much can be said for the suggestion that Rolland is indebted in his Court of Venus to Henryson's account of a Consistory Court. See note infra, II. 1140.
7 Ed. Laing, I. p. 62. See notes to II. *2948 and III. 167.
the coming and going of fashions, his verse, like Dunbar's and Douglas's, fell into obscurity, and it was left to the antiquaries of the eighteenth century to rescue it and the others, and by an almost perverse ingenuity to welcome the conventions of the Middle Ages and the strictest Chaucerian tradition in aid of the vernacular revival and the protest against artifice.
I.

THE KINASTON MANUSCRIPT.

(Bodl., MS. Add. C. 287.)

Reference has been made in the Introduction to the Latin translation of the Testament of Cresseid by Sir Francis Kinaston or Kynaston ¹ (1587-1642), and to the gossip about Henryson and his work which he obtained from "diuers aged schollers of the Scottish nation." ² Hitherto we have relied on the extracts made by Urry, and, at greater length, by Waldron in his partial reprint of the manuscript in 1796. Laing, when using the material supplied by the latter in his collected edition of 1865, remarked that "the MS. was sold in London at the sale of Mr Singer's library a few years ago, and it is to be regretted that it has again fallen into private hands, which may render it inaccessible." ³ By good fortune the original text has been found in the Bodleian Library, just in time for its inclusion in this volume. The Editor is indebted to Mr Nichol Smith, who had kindly undertaken the collation of the proof of the Waldron passages, for this chance discovery, and for his aid in the preparation of this Appendix. The MS. had been catalogued (in print, since 1905), but it does not appear to have attracted attention. Chaucerian scholars have now a fresh document of great interest, which we hope will be made accessible in its entirety. Here we are concerned solely with the portion containing the supplementary 'Sixth Book' by Henryson.

We have no information how Kinaston disposed of the MS., but it is found at the close of the century in the possession of Henry Aldrich (1647-1710), Dean of Christ Church, the worthy

¹ Or Kinnaston, as on the title-page of the 1642 edition of his Leoline and Sydanis.
² Supra, pp. xxi, and note.
who set so many of his "young men to work" for the double purpose of furthering learning and raising funds for the building of the new quadrangle. Among these was John Urry, committed, rather unwillingly, to the task of editing Chaucer; and there is evidence that the references to Kinaston which we find in his book (printed posthumously in 1721) were made when the manuscript was at the 'House,' or accessible to the friends of the late Dean. Of the subsequent possessor, or possessors, of the volume we have no information till we come to the Rev. John Haddon Hindley, M.A., the young Orientalist, from whose library it passed, on 9th March 1793, to Francis G. Waldron (1774-1818) of Drury-Lane theatre. On Waldron's death it was acquired by S. W. Singer (1783-1858), the editor of Spence's Anecdotes. At the sale of Singer's library on 3rd August 1858, it came into the hands of Mr James Crossley

1 See Prof. C. H. Firth's School of English Language and Literature [at Oxford], 1909, pp. 15-16.

2 Aldrich, as stated above, died in 1710, and Urry began, it would appear, in 1711, at the instigation of Atterbury, who succeeded Aldrich as Dean in August 1711. We may speculate that Urry had seen the MS. in Aldrich's lifetime, or that it had remained in the Dean's study after his death, or was within reach of the 'House' coterie. See Supplementary Note B, p. clxi.

3 Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. 1793: "Farther Addenda [Communicated by Mr Park]."

4 Ib. A copy of the Auction Catalogue of Hindley's library "of Books, and Classical and Oriental Manuscripts," London, 1793, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The MS. was lot No. 1215. Hindley was born in 1765, took his Master's degree in 1790, and parted with his collection at the age of 28!

5 Singer, in quoting Southey's opinion of the translation (Notes and Queries, 1st Ser. III. 297, No. 77, 19th April 1851), remarks in a footnote: "Southey was not aware that the whole of Chaucer's Poem, and the 'Testament of Cresseid' by Henryson, was translated by Kinaston and accompanied by a copious commentary in English, but only exists in one sole MS. The press of the Camden Society would be well employed on it." No one took this dark hint of the Manuscript's accessibility, and in the next volume of Notes and Queries, David Laing raised the hue and cry (1st Ser. IV, p. 176, No. 97, 6th Sept. 1851) by asking "Who is now the possessor of Kinaston's manuscript, which Mr Singer recommends as worthy of the attention of the Camden Society?" The owner's silence seems to show that he had no desire to disclose the ownership, at least to Laing. It is curious that the same number of Notes and Queries (19th April 1851) which contains Singer's note prints a 'reply' on another matter by James Crossley, the next possessor of the Manuscript. The latter was not, amico teste, a bookish dog-in-the-manger; but the MS. was lost to all enquirers in his stacks of unplaced volumes.

6 In Singer's Sale Catalogue it was Lot No. 134. Singer has written a note on the inner front cover.
(1800-1883), a great book-collector, whose hundred thousand volumes were dispersed in three sections. It was purchased, on 20th June 1886, for ten guineas by Mr Bernard Quaritch, bookseller, who sold it, in September 1886, for ten pounds to the Bodleian Library, where it found a permanent resting-place. Its press-mark is MS. Add. C. 287, and it is entered on p. 663 of Mr Madan’s Summary Catalogue, 1905.

The MS. is a paper folio, bound in old calf, containing 525 (strictly, 526) numbered pages, closely written. It has a decorated title-page in ink and sepia, representing Fame on a pedestal, holding a trumpet in each hand, and displaying a scroll held by both hands, with the following description of the work written thereon: Troilus & Creseid | Written in five Books by the most famous Prince of Poets | Geoffre Chauser | Donn into Lattine with ye Coments | by | Sr Fra: Kinaston K: | 1639. Four medallion portraits surround the scroll: on Fame’s breast, that of Chaucer; under her right hand, that of Troilus; under her left, that of Creseid; and between her feet, that of Kinaston. On the pedestal is written “Begun August 21 Ann 1639.”

The MS., with perhaps the exception of a few marginal annotations, is in the same hand throughout, and appears to be ‘copy’ for the printer. Comparison with a holograph letter of Kinaston’s, inserted in the volume, shows that no part is written by him.

The matter dealing with Henryson begins on p. 475 (strictly, 476) with a continuous passage of forty-six lines of personalia; and on p. 476 (strictly, 477) begins: “The Sixt & last booke of Troilus and Creseid written by Mr Robert Henderson and called by him The Testament of Creseide.” Each page contains, on an average, thirty-five lines; and the conclusion of the book is reached on p. 509 (strictly, 510). The Latin translation of each

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1 The ‘private hands’ in Laing’s reference, supra, p. xcvi.
2 Lot No. 2951.
3 Quaritch’s Catalogue, Pt. 369, No. 35,797.
4 Cf. the title-page of Leoline and Sydanis by D. Des Granges, reproduced in facsimile in Saintsbury’s Caroline Poets, II. p. 61. The Troilus title may be by the same artist. He was a refugee and had been a pupil of Peter Oliver. As he had some reputation in England as a miniaturist, his selection for the medallion treatment of Kinaston’s earlier title-page is not unlikely. For a short account of him, see Bryan’s Dictionary of Painters & Engravers, ed. Williamson, 1909, II. 271.
5 The number ‘3’ is indifferently written, and may be mistaken for ‘2.’
6 Infra, pp. ciii-civ.
stanza follows its vernacular original, which is a transcript from Thynne's or Speght's text.\textsuperscript{1} There are occasional notes (on stanzas 1, 31, 45, and 59), with a few entered in the margin. Then follows (pp. 510-525) "Annotationes in Triste Creseide Testamentum," running, on an average, to 50-55 lines a page.

Portions of the translation and notes have been printed or referred to on four occasions. The first is when the author, in 1635, published his version of the first and second books, with the title: \textit{Amorum Troili et Creseide Libri duo priores Anglico-Latini}. Oxoniae, Excudebat Johannes Lichfield, Anno Domini 1635.\textsuperscript{2} A second clue to the MS. is found in Urry's Chaucer, where, in the Glossary, Kinaston is quoted in reference to the word 'Morter' (IV. l. 1245), and 'Kyn' is explained in a list of abbreviations as meaning his version and notes. Again, in 1748, the second volume of the \textit{Biographia Britannica} (p. 1297) offers the conjecture, derived from Urry,\textsuperscript{3} "that Chaucer in writing the Lives and Loves of Troilus and Creseide, glanced at some private persons in the Court of King Edward III. and did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any Historian of those times," and repeats, in a marginal note, that "The sixth book, or Testament of Creiseide, is not Chaucer's, but one Mr Henderson's." The fourth occasion is when Waldron printed, in 1796, \textit{The Loves of Troilus and Creseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary, By Sir Francis Kinaston: Never before published, London. MDCCXCVI.} In the Preface, dated 'December 1, 1795,' he informs the public that "a Latin translation of the entire poem two books only of which have been already printed, with a most erudite Latin commentary on the whole, form a moiety of this long lost manuscript; and will, if patronized by the learned, be published, so soon as the Original poem and English commentary shall have been completed." The response was not enthusiastic, and Waldron's

\textsuperscript{1} Kinaston appears to have known several editions. See p. cliv, note.

\textsuperscript{2} "Sir Francis Kynaston of Otely in Shropshire published the first and second books of a Latin version of Troilus and Creseide, and compleated his translation of, and notes upon, the other three; and from some specimens that are extant in the Glossary at the end of Mr Urry's edition, the world may well perceive, how valuable a performance we are deprived of, by the loss or concealment of his manuscript." (\textit{Biographia Britannica}, art. 'Chaucer,' 1st edit. 1748, p. 1307, reprinted in the 2nd edition, vol. iii. 1784, p. 466, Note U [by Dr Campbell]).

It may be recorded that this year (1635) saw the foundation of Kinaston's fantastic 'Museum Minervae' in Bedford Street, Covent Garden.

\textsuperscript{3} In 'The Life of Chaucer,' 20th page (unnumbered), 'f. 1' verso.
venture was not carried further. Laing reprinted, in his collected edition of 1865, the greater part of the note about Henryson which Waldron had borrowed from Kinaston. It is to be observed that the ‘sixth book’ or Henrysonian section of Kinaston’s work, containing the translation of the Testament and annotations thereon, has never been printed till now, and that the biographical note, used by Urry, Waldron, and Laing, is here presented for the first time in its original form.

Kinaston’s notes on Chaucer and Henryson have a special interest as an earlier example of editorial attention to a vernacular text than Patrick Hume’s commentary in the sixth edition of Paradise Lost (1695), which won for its author the painful notoriety of being the “first annotator” of an English poet. We cannot call Kinaston the first, for E.K.’s glosses and scholia to the Shepherd’s Calendar were printed in 1579, and Spenser’s friend made some claim to novelty when he said that his ‘maner of glosing and commenting, well I wote, wil seeme strange and rare in our tongue.’ Perhaps E.K. taught Thomas Watson to play the expositor of his own meaning and sources in each part of his Εκατομπαθία (1582); and there must be others to prove the habit before Kinaston’s time. But Kinaston certainly takes, by reason of the fulness of his annotation and of the fact that he is not glozing his own text or that of a contemporary friend, a leading place in the history of English ‘editing,’ and deprives the egregious Hume of his claim on posterity. When that history is fully examined, it will be found that Hume had other predecessors, and that commentators like the German Levinus Moltkius in 1652, and, more notably, the Englishman Thomas Keck in 1656, in their annotations on the Religio Medici, were supplying a form of literary entertainment, already familiar. Nor may we in our present investigation forget the labours of Thomas Speght.

It is difficult, if it be possible, to recall any earlier Scots poet whose vernacular has been honoured in the curial tongue, or others later till we come to the amusing age of the Phingaleis and the Matrona Auchtermuchtiensis. Henryson, notwithstanding his excellences, would have been denied this attention but for the

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1 See p. civ, note 2.
2 This remains generally true, though in some places his commentary is concerned with the propriety of his own Latinity. Yet even there there is a covert back-reference to Henryson’s meaning.
4 See Supplementary Note C, p. clxii.
happy, if uncritical, association with Chaucer in Thynne's historic edition.

Of the quality of Kinaston's Latin rendering each reader will form his own opinion. Southey, we are told, described it as "the best serious piece of Latin in modern metre," and an article in 1825, offered as a 'review' of the 1635 print, by the indefatigable and ever delightful Retrospective allows Sir Francis "very tolerable Latin, perfect clearness of style, and unembarrassed fluency," and praises him "for the fidelity with which he adheres to his original." Mr Saintsbury, in subscribing to this and more, points out how thoroughly Kinaston had "saturated himself" with the Chaucerian rhythm. All three critics concluded from but two books, and thought that Kinaston had written no more. It may be left to the curious to test in the following stanzas whether one who 'caught' his Chaucer so well, has achieved as much with the poet whose fame rests, in part, on his successful recovery of Chaucer's art. Kinaston has left on record that it was his first care to preserve in his Latin verses the rhythm of his English original.

1 See Notes and Queries, 1st Ser. iii. 297.
3 Caroline Poets, II. (1906) pp. 64 and 68.
4 Ibid., p. 65.
THE

TESTAMENT OF CRESEIDE.

For the Author of this supplement called the Testament of Creseid, which may passe for the sixt & last booke of this story I haue very sufficiently bin informed by Sr James Eriskin late earle of Kelly & divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made & written by one Mr Robert Henderson sometimes cheife schoolemaster in Dumfermling much about the time that Chaucer was first printed & dedicated to king Henry the 8th by Mr Thinne which was neere the end of his raigne: This Mr Henderson Wittily obseruing, that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseid, he learnedly takes vppon him in a fine poetical way to expres the punishment & end due to a false vnconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery, about, or a little after his time the most famous of the Scottish poets Gawen Douglas made his learned & excellent translation of Virgils Æneids, who was bishop of Dunkeld, & made excellent prefaces to euery one of the twelue bookes: For this Mr Robert Henderson he was questionles a learned & a witty man, & it is pitty we haue no more of his works being very old he dyed of a diarrhea or fluxe, of whome there goes this merry, though somewhat unsauory tale, that all phisitians hauing giuen him ouer & he lying drawing his last breath there came an old woman vnto him, who was held a witch, & asked him whether he would be cured, to whome he sayed very willingly. then quod she there is a whikey tree in the lower end of your orchard, & if you will goe and walke but thrice about it, & thrice repeate theis wordes whikey tree take away this fluxe from me you shall be presently cured, he told her that beside he was extreme faint & weake it was extreme frost & snow & that it was impossible for him to go:

1 Waldron inserts "James is striken out by a pen, and over it is written Tho;" The correction (Tho :) is in another hand.
2 A doubtful 'd.' The word may be 'has' corrected to 'had.'
3 The MS. reads: "Scottish poets in English Gawen Douglas." The deletion is apparently in the hand of the original scribe.
4 The quickenberry or wicken-tree, or rowan-tree, or mountain ash.
5 MS. 'lowerend.'
She told him that unless he did so it was impossible he should recover. Mr Henderson then lifting up himself, and pointing to an Oken table that was in the room, asked her and said good dame I pray ye tell me, if it would not do as well if I repeated thrice these words oken burd oken burd garre me shit a hard turde. the woman seeing herself derided and scorned ran out of the house in a great passion & Mr Henderson within half a quarter of an hour departed this life: There is a like tale told of Mr George Buchannan who lying at the point of death proposed such a question & made such an answer to some ladies & women, that came unto him persuading him to dy a Romane Catholicke, but it is so unciuell & unmannerly, that it is better to suppress it in silence then relate it. 1

Waldron inserts 'was.'

2 Kinaston's note is on one page. It runs to forty-six lines (excluding the heading) in continuous writing, without paragraph breaks, and is (as will be seen) indifferently punctuated.

Waldron (Introductory Extracts, pp. xxix-xxxii) prints verbatim, but not litteratim. He introduces the extract thus: 'In Mr. Tyrwhitt's "Account of the Works of Chaucer," prefixed to his Glossary, Vol. V. 1778, p. xvii, he says; The Testament and Complaint of Creseeid appears from ver. 41 [of that Poem] not to have been written by Chaucer; and Mr Urry was informed "by Sir James Ereskin, late Earl of Kelly, and diverse aged scholars of the Scottish nation," that the true author was "Mr Robert Henderson, chief school-master of Dumferlin, a little time before Chaucer was first printed, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. by Mr Thynne." I suppose the same person is meant that is called Robert Henryson in "Ancient Scottish Poems," where several of his compositions may be seen, from p. 98 to p. 138. Mr Tyrwhitt has been led into a gross mistake, in supposing this to have been told by the Earl of Kelly to Mr Urry, by the vague manner in which the information is given at the head of The Testament of Creseeid, in Urry's Chaucer; it being merely an abridgment of Sir Francis Kinaston's Ms. note: of which the following is a copy. (Then follows 'For the author,' &c.)

Waldron continues: 'Coarse as this story is, it serves to show that, even in so remote a period, men of understanding had no faith in charms or witchcraft. Exclusive of Henderson or Henryson's Supplement, in various editions of Chaucer; it appears, by the following notice, to have been separately printed [here Waldron refers to Henry Charteris's edition of 1593, as cited in Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, 4to. 1700, vol. III. p. 1514].' Waldron's reference to 'Ancient Scottish Poems' must be to Ancient Scottish Poems, published by Hailes in 1770, not to Ancient Scottish (with one 't') Poems, published by Pinkerton in 1786; but the pages are not correctly cited. The extracts begin on p. 124.

Laing, in his collected edition of 1865, reprints from Waldron the extract from "For this Mr Robert Henderson" to "departed this life" (p. xx, note).
THE
SIXT & LAST BOOKE OF TROILUS
AND CRESEID WRITTEN BY
MR ROBERT HENDERSON
AND CALLED BY HIM
THE
TESTAMENT OF CRESEIDE.

A doly season till a carefull dite
Should correspond & be equiualent.
Right so it was when I began to write
This Tragedy; the weder right feruent,
When Aries, in the middes of the lent,
Showres of haile gan fro the North descend,
That scantly fro the cold I might me defend.¹

¹ The English text follows, generally, that of Thynne (printed in Vol. III. pp. 177-198); but see p. c, note 1.
The punctuation conforms to that adopted in the reprinting of Thynne's, supra. In the Latin, as prepared for press, in the copy presented to the licenser Dr Thomas Wykes, there is hardly any pointing, and in some places the marks are misleading.
Com[ment].

Middle of the lent, &c.: Lent is an antient Saxon word and doth properly signifie that time of the yeare wherein beggers creepe out of their booths, & do lie sunning themselues in the open feilds: hence the Saxons haue an antient proverbe in their owne tongue, Lent nempt knechten, that is, lent takes vpp seruants. the word now is indeferently vsed for all the time betweene Shrouetide & Ester, which falls out allways in the begining of the Spring.

2.

Yet neuertheles, within mine orature
I stood, when Titan had his beames bright
Withdrawen doune, & scyled vnder cure,
And faire Venus, the beaute of the night,
Vraise, & set vnto the West full right
Her golden face in oppositioune
Of God Phoebus right discending doune.

p. 477.

2.

Nil minus meo steti in conclaui
Splendorem suum Titan cum ingentem
Subduxerat sub noctis vmbra graui
Et Venus surgens aureum decentem
Vertebat faciem versus occidentem
Directè ex opposito tunc stantem
Ad Phœbum sextam domum peragrantem.

3.

Throughout the glasse her beames brast so faire
That I might see on euery side by me
The Northerne wind had purifide the aire,
And shed his misty cloudes fro the skie;
The frost freesed, & blastes bitterly
Fro pole Artike come whisking loud & shrill,
And caused me remoue ayenst my will.

1 Kinastons 'Saxon' may keep company with Jamieson's 'Meso-Gothic.'
2 The marginal notes are written in another hand.
3 T, 'me by.'
3.

Per vitra eius radij penetrabant,
Vt undequaque pictui me videre
Arctoi venti aerem serenabant
Nubeculas & coelo abigere:
Rigebat gelu, flatus qui seuere
Strepentes polo Arctico venerunt
Nolentem me recedere coegerunt.

4.

For I trusted that Venus, loues queene,
To whome sometime I hight obedience,
My faded hart of loue she would make greene;
And thereupon with humble reverence,
I thought to pray her high magnificence;
But for great cold as then I letted was,
And in my chamber to the fire gan paas.

4.

Sperabam enim Venus quod regina,
Cui solebam obs[œ]quium præstare,
Cor meum senij marcidum pruina
Virere faceret rursum & amare;
Ergo eius numen statui invocare,
Sed impeditus frigus ob intensum
Recepi memet ignem ad accensum.

5.

Though loue be hot, yet in a man of age
It kindleth not so soone as in youth heed,
Of whome the bloud is flowing in a rage,
And in the old the courage dull & deede,
Of which the fire outward is best remeed:
To helpe by phisicke where that nature failed,
I am expert—for both I haue assailed.
5.

Nam quamuis calet amor tamen sene
Tardius accensus est adolescente,
Cuius feruenti sanguine æstuant venæ,
Senili animo interim algente,
Cuius remedium ignis\(^1\) est repente :
Arte naturæ subleuare statum
Expertus sum, vtrumque nam probatum.

6.

beaked that
is warmed
or tosted.

I made the fire, & beaked me about,
Then toke I drinke my spirits to comfort,
And armed me well fro the cold thereout :
To cut the winter night, & make it short,
I tooke a queare, & left all other sport,
Written by worthy Chaucer glorious,
Of faire Cresseid & lusty Troilus.

6.

Refeci ignem, me circum torrebam,
Me potu prolui cor lætificare,
Externo me a frigore muniebam :
Brumalem noctem tum abreuiare
Accepi scapum, alia haud curare,
Chaucero scriptum ab eruditissimo
De Cresseida & Troilo dignissimo.

7.

And there I found, after that Diomede
Receaued had that lady bright of hew,
How Troilus nere out of his wit abrede,
And wept sore, w/th visage pale of hew;
For which wan hope his teares gan renew;
While Esperance reioyced him againe :
Thus while in ioy he liued, & while in paine.

\(^{1}\) MS. ‘ingnis,’ a known form; but cf. st. 6, l. 1.
\(^{2}\) See note, p. 45.
7.

p. 479. Quo legi, vt Tydides accepisset
Lucenti illam dominam colore,
Quod fere Troilus mente excidisset,
Affatim plorans pallescente ore
Se sensit enim desperatum fore
Vsque spes rursus eum reficiebat;
Sic nunc dolore, gaudio nunc viuebat.

8.

Of her behest he had great comforting,
Trusting to Troy that she would make retour,
Whiche he desired most of all earthly thing,
For why she was his only paramour;
But when he saw passed both day & houre
Of her gaine come, the sorrow can oppresse
His wofull hart in care & heauinesse.

8.

Ex pacto enim gaudium captabat
Sperans quod Troiam vellet ea redire,
Quod is præ cunctis rebus exoptabat,
Nam illam solam statuit deperire;
Sed videns dies horas præterire,
Nec illa redijt: dolor opprimebat
Cor eius mæustum curis & implebat.

9.

Of his distres me needeth not reherse,
For worthy Chaucer, in that same booke,
In goodly termes, & in jolly verse,
Compiled hath his cares, who will looke.
To breake my sleepe another queare I tooke,
In whic I found the fatall destinie
Of faire Creseid, whic ended wretchedlie.
9.
Non opus loqui plus de eius poenis
Chaucerus nam eodem libro vere
Politis verbis doctis & camœnis
Descripsit illas, vti est videre.
Tum aliam schedam somnum meum arce
Cepi, quo legi decretum fatale
Creseidam stringens quæ desiuit malè.

10.
Who wot if all that Chaucer wrot was trew?
Nor I wot not if this narration
Be authorised, or forged of the new,
Of some poet, by his inuention
Made to report the lamentation
And wofull end of this lusty Creseid,
And what distresse she was in er she deid.

10.
Quis scit an vera quæ Chaucero dicta,
Aut vtrum is sequutus est authorem
Aut hæc de nouo omnia sint ficta
Ab aliquo poeta in hunc morem
Enunciare planctum & dolorem
Et exitum Creseidæ maestum satis
Miserrimæ priusquam cessit fatis.

11.
When Diomede had all his appetite,
And more, fullfilled of this faire lady,
Vppon another set was all his delight,
And send to her a libell repudy,
And her excluded fro his company.
Then desolate she walked vpp & downe,
As, some men saine, in the Court as Commune.
II.

Quum Diomedes suum appetitum
Satiasset super dominam hanc formosam,
In aliam desiderium erat situm
Repudij & chartam misit fastuosam
Illam ab se abdicans vt exosam.
Errabat inde castris diffamata
A cunctis &, vt aiunt, vitiata.

I2.

O faire Creseid, the floure & a per se
Of Troy & Greece, how were thou fortunate
To change in filth all thy feminite,
And be with fleshly lust so maculate.
And go among the Greekes early & late,
So giglotlike,\(^1\) taking thy foule pleasaunce!
I haue pite thou shouldst fall such mischance.

p. 481.

O Creseida, flos Troiae sine pare
Et Græcie, vt fuisti infortunata
Sic sorde pudicitiam commutare
Libidine carnali maculata
Et inter Danaos fronte perfricata
Quotidie ire, foedae voluptati
Dedita, doleo vices tui fati.

I3.

Yet neuertheles what euer men deeme or saie
In scornefull language of thy brutlenes
I shall excuse, as ferforth as I may,
Thy womanhede, [thy] wisdome, & fairenes:
The which fortune hath put to such distres
As her pleased, & nothing through the gilt
Of the, through wicked language to be spilt.

\(^1\) MS. ‘gligotlike.’
Nilminus quicquid dicent derisores
De te ob tuam imbecillitatem,
Vt possim, tuos minuam errores,
Sexus, prudentiam atque venustatem
Quam sors iniqua naufragam vt ratem
Mersit, non tuum nempe ob erratum
Obloquio cum perire erat fatum.

This faire lady, on this wise destitute
Of all comfort & consolation,
Right priuely, without fellowshipp, or refute,
Disheueld passed out of the towne
A mile or two, vnto a Mansion,
Builded full gaye, where her father Chalcas
Which that among the Greekes dwelling was.

Hæc pulchra domina eius post diuertium ¹
Orba solatij omnis quod captabat,
Non vllum habens comitem aut consortium,
Clam comis passis castris emigrabat
Ad domum primum lapidem quæ distabat
Affabre structam, patrem qua Chalchantem
Inuenit, apud Graios tunc morantem.

When he her saw, the cause he gan enquire
Of her coming; she saied, sighing full sore,
' Fro Diomedes had gotten his desire
He woxe weary & would of me no more.'
(Quod Chalcas) ' daughter weepe thou not therefore;
Perauenture all cometh for the best:
Welcome to me, thou art full dere a gest.'

¹ So MS.: a known form of 'diuortium.' The seventeenth century pronunciation probably met the requirement of rhyme.
15.

Vt vidit illam causam sciscitatus
Aduentus; Ea suspirans respondebat,
'Vt Diomedes me est satiatus
Deuenit lassus 1 & me respuebat.'
'Ne leas, nata,' Chalcas tunc dicebat,
'Fortassis hoc in bonum cessit, nata,
Vtcunque mihi hospes ades grata.'

16.

This old Chalcas, after the law was tho,
Was keeper of the Temple, as a preist,
In which Venus and her sonne Cupido
Were honoured, & his chamber was nest,
To which Cresied with bale renewed in brest
Vsed to passe, her prayers for to say;
While at the last, vpon a solemne day,

16.

Hic senior Chalcas, iure tunc sic lato,
Æedituus erat Templi quo diuinum
Honorem Veneri atque eius nato
Dabant, concluere erat & vicinun
Quo Creseida, cuius cordi anodynum
Non erat, preces fundere solebat;
Cum tandem die fasto accidebat,

17.

As custome was, the people ferre & neere,
Before the noone, nto the temple went
With sacrifice, devote in their manere.
But still Creseid, heuy in her entent,
Into the church would not her selfe present,
For giuing of the people any deeming
Of her expulse fro Diomede 2 the king.

1 MS. 'lissus,' with 'e' partially erased.
2 MS. 'diomede.'
Quod, vt solenne erat tunc, plebs tota
Ante meridiem ad templum festinabat
Diis facere, persoluere & vota.
Ast Creseida quae maesta sola stabat
Seipsam non in fano præsentabat
Ne illa foret populo suspecta
Quod a Tydide fuerat reiecta.

But passed into a secret oratore
Where she might weepe her woffull destiny.
Behind her backe she closed fast the dore,
And on her knees bare fell doune in hie;
Vppon Venus & Cupid angerly
She cryed out, & saied in this wise :
‘Alas, that euer I made you sacrifice.

Ast in secretum sacellum cedebat
Quo sortem suam possit deplorare,
Et pone se ea ostium claudebat,
Et genua nuda cito inclinare
Cupidinem & Venerem accusare
Coepit, sic dicens: ‘hei mihi, quod amabam
Aut vobis vnquam thure quod litabam.

‘Ye gaue me once a diuine responsaile
That I should be the floure of loue in Troy;
Now am I made an vnworthy outwaile,
And all in care translated is my ioy.
Who shall me guide? Who shall me now conuoy,
Sith I fro Diomede & noble Troilus
Am clene excluded as abiecte odious?
'Responsio a vobis data est mihi recta
Quod Troiae flos amoris ego forem;
Nunc flo indignissima abiecta,
Mutato meo gaudio in dolorem.
Quis ducet me? Quem habeam amatorem,
Me Diomedi Troilo & generoso
Abiecto 1 existente iam exoso? 2

'O false Cupid, none is to wite but thou,
And the mother of loue that blind goddace, 3
Ye caused me to vnderstond allway & trow
The seed of loue was sowen on my face,
And aie grew greene through your supple [and] grace.
But now, alas, that seed with frost is slaine,
And I fro louers left, & all forlaine.'

When this was saied, doune in an extasy,
Rauished in spirit, in a dreame she fell,
And by apparance herd, where she did lie,
Cupid the king tinging a siluer bell,
Which men might heare fro heauen into hell;
At whose sound before Cupid appeares
The seuen planets, descending fro their sphereas.

1 MS. 'Obiecta.' 2 MS. 'exoso.' Cf. st. 11, l. 5, and st. 41, l. 4.
3 Texts in Vol. III.: 'and thy mother, of love that blind goddess.'
21.

His dictis ea in extasin cadebat
Habens interea spiritum laborantem
In somnio,¹ & Cupidinem audiebat
Argenteam campanellam tunc pulsantem
A coelo vsque ad inferos sonantem;
Ad cuius sonum septem apparebant
Planetæ & a sphæris descendebant.

22.

Which hath power of all thing generable
To rule & stere by their great influence,
Weder & wind, & course variable.
And first of all, Saturne gaue his sentence,
Which gaue to Cupid little reverence,
But, as a boistous chorle in his manere,
Came crabbly, with austerne loke & chere.

p. 485.

Qui regunt huius mundi sublunaris
Res omnes per eorum influentiam
Cœlum, ventorum cursus, æstus maris.
Primus Saturnus venit in præsentiam,
Cupidini dans nullam reuerentiam,
Sed vt colonus rudis & incultus
Venit, austeros valde habens vultus.

23.

His face frownced, his lere was like the lede;
His teeth chattered, & sheuerd with the chin;
His eien drooped, hole sonken in his hede;
Out of his nose the mildrop fast gon rin;
With lips blawe, & cheekes leane & thin;
The Iseicles that fro his heere doune hong
Was wonder great, & as a speare as long.

¹ MS. 'insomnio.'
² See note, p. 46.
23.
Rugatus facie plumbei coloris;
Tremebat mentum stridulis cum dentibus
Depressi[s] oculi[s] in recessu oris;
De naso semper stirijus effluentibus;
Cum macris genis, labris & liuentibus;
Pendentia stillicidia coma vasta
Immensa erant longa sicut hasta.

24.
Attour his belt his liart lockes lay
Felterd vnfaire, ouer fret with frostes hoare;
His garment & his gite\(^1\) full gaie of gray;
His widdred weed fro him the wind out wore;
A boistrous bowe within his hond he bore;
Vnder his girdle a\(^2\) flash\(^3\) of felone flaines,
Federed with ice, & heeded with holstaines.

24.
Cincturam circum furui stant capilli
Incomptis nodis, cana quos velabat
Pruina; vestis vilis erat illi;
Attritum tegmen ventus lacerabat;
Robustum arcum lœua is gestabat;
Sub zona dirum fascem sagittarum,
Nix pluma grando cuspis erat quarum.

Then Jupiter right faire & amiable,
God of the Sterrs in the firmament,
And notrice to all thing generable,
Fro his father Saturne farre different,
With burly face & browes bright and brent,
Vppon his heed a garlond, wonders gay,
Of flores faire, as it had bin in May.

\(^1\) See note, p. 46.  
\(^2\) MS. 'girdle of flash.'  
\(^3\) See note, p. 47.
25.

Tum Jupiter perpulcher & amabilis,
Ast[or]orum decus, prīmi & honoris
Nutritius omnis rei generabilis,
Dissimilis Saturni genitoris,
Virili facie ciliis & decoris,
Et serto caput redimitus florum
Fragrantium vt in Maio collectorum.

26.

His voice was cleere; as cristall was his eien;
As golden wier so glittering was his heare;
His garment & his gite full gay of greene
With golden listes gilt on euery geare;
A burly brand about his midle he beare;
And in his right hand he had a grounden spere,
Of his father the wrath fro vs to bere.

26.

Vox eius clara; oculi splendentes;
Micabant crines fila vt aurata;
Vestes colore viridi nitentes
Cum stola aureis clauis fimbriata;
Machaera medio cinctus erat lata;
Et extra hastam visus est gestare
Nos patris eius ira propugnare.

27.

Next after him came Mars, the god of ire,
Of strife, debate, & all.discention,
To chide & fight, as feirce as any fire;
In hard harnesse, hewmund, & habergioun;
And on his haunch a rousty fell fauchioun;
And in his hand he had a rousty sword;
Writhing his face with many angry word.
Illi successit deus Mars irarum,
Dissidij, litis, altercationis,
Ad pugnam pernix, ignes ut flammarum;
Thorace, galea indutus, armis bonis;
Diri gestabat onus crus mucronis;
Rubiginosus dextra erat ensis;
Os torquens verbis plurimis insensis.

Shaking his brand, before Cupid he come
With red visage & grisly glowing eien;
And at his mouth a bluber stood of some,
Like to a bore whetting his tuskes keene,
Right tulliure¹ like, but temperance in teene;
A horne he blew with many boistous bragge,
Which all this world with warre hath made to wagge.

Conquassans tela coram veniebat
Rubente vultu, oculis candescentibus;
Os eius spumae bulla obsidebat,
Ut ferus aper frendens suis dentibus,
Sicarijs simillimus furentibus;
Cornu stentoreo strepitu inflabat,
Quo totus mundus bello vacillabat.

Then faire Phœbus, lanterne & lampe of light,
Of man & beast, both fruit & florishing,
Tender norice, banisher of night,
And of the world causing by his mouing
And influence life in all earthly thing,
Without comfort of whome, of force to nought
Must go die that all this world hath wrought.

¹ Cf. C and T, and Glossary, s.v. Tultzeour. See also Kinaston’s ‘Annota-
tiones,’ infra, p. cliv. Stow (1561) and Speght (1598 and 1602) read ‘tulsure’;
and in the latter’s Glossary ‘tulsurelike’ is explained as ‘tilekil-like’!
29.

Post illum ecce Phæbi iubar clarum,
Animalium omnium fructuum florescentium
Nutritius almus, victor tenebrarum,
Qui mundo causa omnium est viventium
Vitam per influentiam suam habentium,
Sine virtute cuius est necesse
Vt omnia pereant quæ videmus esse.

30.

As king royall he rode vppon a chare,
The which Phæton sometime gided vnright;
The brightnes of his face, when it was bare,
None might behold for peircing of his sight;
This golden cart with firery\(^1\) beames bright
Foure yoked steedes full different of hew,
But bait or tireing, about the sphæares drew.

30.

Vt rex curruli sella est locatus,
Quam olim Phæton perperam regebat;
Eius splendorem vultus cum nudatus
Nullius oculi acies sustinebat;
Hanc rhedam flammeis radijs quæ lucebat
Iugales quatuor diuersicolores
Per sphæras rapiunt, ventis ocyores.

31.

The first was sord, with mane as reed as rose,
Called Eoye into the orient;
The second steed to name, hight Ethiose,
Whitely & pale, & some deale ascendent;
The third Pirose, right hot, & eke feruent;
The fourth was blacke, called Phlegone,
Which rolleth Phæbus downe into the sea.

\(^1\) So MS.
[31.]

Primus rubente iuba est ornatus,
Eous dictus nempe Oriente;
Secundus equus Æthios est vocatus,
Nempe ab ore flammis euomente;
Pyrous tertius animo feruente;
Et quartus niger, Phlegon dictus, vndas
Deuoluens Phoebum maris in profundas.

[Comment.]

Called Eoye &c. Theis foure horses of the Sunne do mithologically represent the cullors & tempers of the foure partes of the artificiall day. First, from the dawning till awhile after Sun rising, when the cullor of the skie is blushing red as a rose. The second, the morning from 7 a clocke till 10, when the skie is more bright & pale. The third, the midday from 10 till 3, when the Sun beames are most hot & feruente. The fourth, the euening from 3 a clocke till Sun set & after, at what time the skie begins to darken & to looke blacke.

p. 489.

[32.]

Venus was there present, that goddes gay,
Her sonnes quarrell to defend, & make
Her owne complaint, clad in a nice array,
The one halfe greene, the other halfe sable blacke;
Bright heer as gold, kembed & shed abake;
But in her face seemed greate variaunce,
While parfite truth, whiles inconstauence.

[32.]

Ibi erat Venus illa dea formosa
Querelam nati tueri parata,
Amicta veste artificiosa,
Quæ semiiuiridis erat semiatrata;
De[c]ompta auraea coma incrispata;
Sed facie visa est magna variatio,
Nunc veritas, nunc subita mutatio.
33.

Vnder smiling she was dissimulate,
Prouocatiue with blinkes amorous,
And sodainly changed & alterate,
Angry as any serpent venemous,
Right pungitiue with wordes odious:
Thus variant she was, who list take keepe,
With one eie laugh, & with the other weepe

33.

Subridens fallax erat simulata,
Aspectu alliciens & libidinosa,
Et rursus de repente est mutata,
Irata sicut anguis venenosa,
Malitiae plena lingua odiosa:
Inconstans erat sic vt vno flere
Ocello poterat altero & ridere,

34.

In tokening that all fleshly paramour
Which Venus hath in rule & gouernance
Is sometime sweete, sometime bitter & soure,
Right vnstable, & full of variance,
Minged with carefull ioy & false pleasance,
Now hot, now cold, now blith, now full of wo,
Now greene as lefe, now widered & ago.

p. 490.

34.

In signum omnis amor qui carnalis
Quem Venus habet sua potestate
Quandoque dulcis est, quandoque haud talis,
Inconstans plenus & varietate,
Mellitus curis falsa & voluptate,
Nunc calens, algens, nunc tristis, iucundus,
Nunc vt flos viridis, nunc moribundus.
35.

With booke in hand then came Mercurius,  
Right eloquent & full of rethory,  
With polite termes & delicious,  
With pen & inke to report all redy,  
Setting songs, & singing merrely;  
His hood was reede, heled attoure his crowne,  
Like till a poet of the old fashion.

35.

Tum librum tenens venit Maia natus,  
Rhetor disertus, orator facundus,  
Verbis politis phrasibus ornatus,  
Stylo pinace nemini secundus  
Carmina pangens, cantans & iucundus;  
Mitella rubra vertex redimitus,  
Poetis vt antiquis erat ritus.

36.

Boxes he bare with fine electuares,  
And sugered syrops for digestion,  
Spices belonging to the potiquares,  
With many wholsome sweet confection,  
Doctor in phisicke clad in a scarlet goune,  
And furred well, as such one ought to be,  
Honest & good, & not a word couth lie.

36.

Pyxides tulit & electuaria  
Mellitis cum syrupis digestiuis,  
Aromata pharmacopole varia  
Cum alijs rebus bonis & nociuis,  
Vt medicinæ doctor est aut ciuis  
Purpurea toga gestiens amiciri  
Probus, honestus, nescius & mentiri.

1 See the note on p. 48.
Next after him came lady Cynthia
The last of all, & swiftest in her sphere,
Of cullor blacke, busked with horns twa,
And in the night she listeth best tapere;
Haw as the leed, of cullor nothing clere,
For all the light she borroweth at her brother
Titan, for of her selfe she hath none other.

Post illum venit Cynthia diminuta
Lumine, omnium sphæra velocissima,
Colore nigra, atque bicornuta,
Apparens nocte semper splendidissima,
Vt plumbum \(^1\) pallens atque opacissima,
Nam lumen omne a fratre est mutuatum
Phœbo, nam alius nullum illi datum.

Her gite was grey, & full of spots blacke;
And on her brest a chorle painted full euen,
Bearing a bush of thornes on his backe,
Which for his theft might clime no nere the heuen.
Thus when they gadered were the goddes seuen,
Mercurius they chose with one assent
To be fore speaker in the parliament.

Cæruleam stolam habuit, qua colonus
Erat depictus & delineatus,
Ceruice suo veprium portans onus,
Ob fur tum cœlum scandere negatus.
Sic septem diuum plenus cum Senatus,
Mercurius vna voce est electus
Comitijs prolocutor & præfectus.

\(^1\) MS. 'plumbus.'
39.

Who had bin there & liking for to here
His facond tongue & termes exquisite
Of Rhethoricke the practicke he might leere,
In breife sermon a pregnant sentence write;
Before Cupid vailing his cap a lite,
Speris¹ the cause of that conuention.
And he anon shewed his intention.

p. 492.

39.

Quicunque ibi coram audiuisset
Facundae sue linguae eloquentiam
Praxin Rhetorices discere potuisset,
Vt paucis magnam scriberet sententiam;
Cupidini tunc pilei reuerentiam
Dans, causam is conuentus percontatur.
Cui rex Cupido, tandem sic profatur.

40.

’Lo,’ quod Cupid, ‘who will blaspheme the name
Of his owne god, either in word or deed,
To all Goddes he doth both losse & shame,
And should haue bitter paines to his meede:
I sey this by yonder wretch Creseid,
The which through me was sometime floure of loue,
Me & my mother she stately can reprove.

40.

‘En is qui proprio numini maledicit
Proteruis factis dictis aut superbis
Iniuria omnes caelites afficit
Et plane poenis dignus est acerbis;
Nempe istam volo Creseidam his verbis,
Quae per me olim erat in delicijs,
Nunc me & matrem lacessit conuitijs.

¹ First written ‘spered,’ and corrected to ‘speris.’
41.

'Saying of her great infelicity
I was the cause; & my mother Venus
She called a blind goddes, & might not see,
With slander & defame injurious:
Thus her living uncleane & lecherous
She would retort on me & my mother,
To whom I shewed my grace above all other.

42.

' Dicens quod ego eius sermonarum
Causa sum; Matrem meam & formosam
Vocabat caecam deam castam parum
Infamem reddens eam & exosam:
Sic vitam turpem & libidinosam
Retorqueret in me & matrem meam
Præ cæteris quæ mulcebamus eam.

And sithe ye be all seuen deficate,
Participant of divine sapience,
This great injury done to our high estate
Methinke with paine we should make recompence;
Was never to Goddes done such violence,
As well for you, as for my selfe I say;
Therefore go helpe to reuenge I you pray.'

42.

' Et cum vos septem estis Dij ornati,
Diuina sapientia veneranda,
Iniuria hæc facta vestrae dignitati
Est penis, reor, magnis compensanda; \(^1\)
Dij nunquam talia passi sunt nefanda,
Pro vestro æque ac meo interesse;
Loquor vindictam sumere est necessae.'

\(^1\) MS. 'compensenda.'
Mercurius to Cupid gaue answer
And saied, 'Sir king, my counsaile is that ye
Referre ye to the highest planet here,
And take to him the lowest of degree,
The paine of Creseid for to modifie:
As god Saturne, with him take Cynthia.'
'I am content,' quod he, 'to take they tway.'

Cyllenius refert, 'Domine rex, sententia
Hae mea est: Te moneo accire
Planetam sumnum; pariter pro clementia
Et infimum tu facias conuenire,
Acerbas pcenas Creseidæ lenire,
Saturnum nempe & Lunam ambos deos.'
Cupido refert, 'esto accipiam eos.'

Then thus proceeded Saturne & the Moone,
When they the matter ripely had degest,
For the despite to Cupid that she had done,
And to Venus open & manifest,
In all her life with paine to be opprest,
And turment sore, with sicknes incurable,
And to all louers be abhominable.

Per Lunam & Saturnum tunc sic ratum,
Mature cum res fuerat digesta,
Ob damnum quod Cupidini illatum
Obloquia & in Venerem manifesta,
Quod pena semper Creseida molesta
Opprimeret & morbus insanabilis,
Et ea amasij cunctis detestabilis.
This dolefull sentence Saturne tooke on hond,
And passed downe where carefull Creseid lay,
And on her head he layed a frosty wand;
Then awfully on this wise can he say:
’Thy great fairenes, & all thy beauty gay,
Thy wanton blood, & eke thy golden heere,
Here I exclude fro thee for euermere.

Saturnus hoc exequitur mandatum,
Qui, lapsus vbi Creseida iacebat,
Imponens eius capiti gelatum
Vimen, austero vultu hæc dicebat:
‘Venustam tuam formam quæ placebat,
Salacem sanguinem, crines & auratos
Æternum a te velim abdicatos.’

Com[ment].

Frosty wand, &c. Whether there were use of wands or twiggs or rods in the effecting of magickal conclusions before Moses time, his rod being the first of which wee read, is very vn certaine, but sure it is that since his time, & it may be in imitation of him, allmost nothing in magicke is performed without a rod, witnes Mercuries rod or Caduceus with which he commands soules & infernall spirits to appeare & stints all strifes & debates, of which the two snakes wound about it are an emblem, for Mercury finding them fighting & putting his rod betweene them, they both folded themselues about the rod as it were in amicable embraces. Wands allso were vsed in that diuination, which in the Greeke is called Rabdomantia. Furthermore, a hasell wand, which the Germains vse in discouering Mines of siluer or any other treasure in the earth, is a kind of Magicall wand. Lastly, all Tragetors & Coniurers in the raising of infernall spirits will do nothing without a wand or smale staffe, of which it was my hap to se one being smale & about a yard long, the wood being brazell, & a strange vgly figure at one end.

1 MS. ‘lawfully,’ with ‘1’ erased. See note on p. 49 (l. 312).
2 Brazil-wood, unless ‘brazell’ be a scribal error for ‘hasell’ (‘hasell,’ n.s.), hazel.
46.

'I change thy mirth into Melancholly,
Which is the mother of all pensiuenes;
Thy moisture & thy heat into cold & drie;
Thine insolence, thy play, & thy wantonnes
To great disease; thy pompe & thy richesse
Into mortall need; & greaté penury
Thou suffer shalt, & as a begger die.'

46.

'Facetias tuas muto in moerorem,
Tristitiae matrem; inque siccitatem
Et frigus tuum humidum & calorem;
Et ludos tuos & salacitatem
In morbos; pompam tuam & dignitatem
In dedecus; penuriam patieris,
Et misera vt mendicus morieris.'

47.

O cruell Saturne! froward & angry,
Hard is thy doome, & too malitious:
Of faire Creseid, why hast thou no mercy,
Which was so sweete, gentile, & amorous?
Withdraw thy sentence, & be gracious
As thou were neuer; so sheweth through thy deed,
A wrekefull sentence giuen on Creseid.

47.

Saturne ô ingenij nimis feri,
Iniqua hæc sententia est & dura:
Creseidæ quare nolles misereri
Quæ adeo dulcis erat atque pura?
Subtrahere iudicium nunc cura;
Sed hoc non facies, vti est monstratum,
Per hoc dictamen in Creseidam datum.
Then Cinthia, when Saturne past away,
Out of her seat discended downe b[e]lieue,
And reed a bill on Creseid where she lay,
Containing this sentence difinitiue:
'Fro heale of body here I thee depreue,
And to thy sickries shall be no recure,
But in dolour thy dayes to endure.

Turn Cynthia, cum Saturnus recedebat,
Descendit sedem liquit & lucentem,
Et schedam super Creseidam legebat
Finalem hanc sententiani continentem:
'En corpus ægrum, maestam tuam mentem
Reddo non erit morbo tuo medela,
Sed vitam duces semper cum quæreola.

'Thy christall eyen menged with blood I make;
Thy voice so cleere, vnpleasant, hoarse, & hace;
Thy lusty leere ouerspred w/th spotes blacke,
And lumps haw appearing in thy face;
Where thou comest, each man shall fly the place;
Thus shalt thou go begging fro house to house,
With cupp & clapper like a Lazerous.'

'Micantia lumina sanguine permista
Reddo; vox rauca erit tua sonora,
Et nigra næuis alba cutis ista,
Et massis liuidis facies indecora;
Vbicunque venies omnis sine mora
Te fugiet; sic misera mendicabis
De domo in domum Lepra & errabis.'
This dooly dreame, this vgly vision
Brought till an end, Creseid fro it awoke,
And all that Court & convocation
Vanished away; then rose she vpp & tooke
A polisht glasse, & her shadow couth loke;
And when she saw her visage so deformate,
If she in hart were wo I ne wite, God wate!

Hoc somnio mcesto spectro hoc horrendo
Finito, mox Creseida expergiscitur
Omnis Senatus modo cum tremendo
Euanuit; ea surgens profisciscitur,¹
Et vt se videat speculum nanciscitur;
Et adeo se deformem vt videbat,
Nescio, Dij norint, illa an dolebat.

Weeping full sore, 'lo, what is this (quod she)
With froward language to moue & sterre
Our crabbed goddes, & so is seene on me!
My blaspheming now haue I bought full dere;
All earthly ioy & mirth I set arere.
Alas, this day! alas, this wofull tide!
When I began with my goddes to chide.'

Tum fatur lachrymans: 'En quid est mouere
Procaci lingua numina morosa,
Vt sicut hodie in me est videre!
Blasphemia mea est mihi exitiosa;
Terrena omnia gaudia sint explosa.
Heu, diem liceat tempus detestari
Cum primum cum dijs coeperim altercari.'

¹ MS. 'profisci tur.'
Be this was saied, a child came fro the hall,  
To warne Creseid the supper was redie;  
First knocked at the doore, & eft couth call:  
"Madame, your father biddeth you come in hie,  
He hath maruaile so long on grofe ye lie,  
And saieth, your beads beth too long some deale,  
The goddes wot all your entent full weele.'

His dictis, puer ex atrio festinabat  
Monere illam coena quod parata;  
Primo ostium pulsat, postea clamabat:  
"Hem! domina, patris adfero mandata,  
Qui stupet quod tamdiu es prostrata;  
Dicit perlongas vestras orationes  
Esse; Dij norint vestras intentiones.'

Quod she, 'faire child, go to my father dere  
And pray him come to speake with me anon.'  
And so he did & saied, 'daughter, what chere?'  
'Alas,' quod she, 'father, my mirth is gon.'  
'How so?' quod he, & she gan all expone  
As I haue told, the vengeance & the wrake,  
And her trespas, Cupid on her couth take.

Cui illa: 'Puer, tu patrem huc vocare  
Cura, colloquium mecum iam habere.'  
Is veniens dixit: 'Nata vt vales fare,'  
Ea refert, 'Heu, mea gaudia abiere.'  
Tum is: 'Qui fit?' Ea singula recensere  
Cœpit, qua dixi, qualem & vindictam  
Cupido obtinuit in illam afflictam.
He looked on her vgly lepers face,
The which before was white as lilly floure,
Wringing his hands, oft times saied, alace,
That he had liued to se that wofull houre;
For he knew well that there was no succour
To her sicknes, & that doubled his paine;
Thus was there care enough betwixt hem twaine.

Vt lepræ faciem contigit tueri,
Candidior ante hac lilij quæ flore,
Comprimens manus ille ccepit queri
Superstitem se esse istius horæ;
Nam nouit nullam medicinam fore
Illi, quo poena sua duplicata
Et cura est inter illos geminata.

When they together mourned had full long,
Quod Creseid, 'father, I would not ben kende;
Therefore in secret wise ye let me gang
To yon hospitall at the townes end;
And thither some meate for charity me send,
To liue vppon; for all mirth in this earth
Is fro me gone; such is my wicked werth.'

Cum longos planctus visum est finire
Ait illa: 'pater, nolo esse nota;
Ergo clam, quæso, sine me abire
Ad ista hospitia oppido semota;
Et illuc cibum mihi mitte, vota
Dum soluo, omnis mundi nam lætitia
Aufugit, talis fati est malitia.
When in a mantell & a beuer hat,
With cuppe & clapper, wonder priuily
He opened a secret gate, & out thereat
Conueyed her, that no man should espy,
There to a village halfe a mile thereby;
Delivered her in at the spittle hous,
And dayly send her part of his allmous.

Tum pallio amicta & galero,
Panario & lagena, ambulabat,
Is forulam aperiens earn sero
Dimisit, quando nemo obseruabat,
Ad villam quatuor stadia quæ distabat;
Ibi in Nosoterio earn linquebat,
Et indies ei victum is mittebat.

Some knew her well & some had no knowledge
Of her, because she was so deformate
With biles blacke ouersped in her visage,
And her faire cullor faded & alterate:
Yet they presumed, for her high regrate,
And still mourning, she was of noble kin;
With bitter will there they toke her in.

Quidam eam norint, quidam ignorabant
Nimirum vultus eius ob errorem
Quem nigra apostemata fœdabant,
Mutantia eius lucidum colorem:
Nil minus autumabant ob dolorem
Et eius luctus nobilis erat nata;
Idcirco illis erat magis grata.
58.

The day passed, & Phoebus went to rest,
The cloudes blacke ouerwheled all the skie;
God wot if Creseid were a sorowfull gest,
Seing that vncoouth fare & herbory!
But meat or drinke she dressed her to lie
In a darke corner of the house alone;
And on this wise, weeping, she made her mone.

p. 500.

58.

Præterijt dies, Phoebus quiescebat
Et cœlum atris nubibus velatum;
Dij norint num Creseida dolebat,
Videns hospitium hoc insitatum!
Ieiuna suum posuit grbbatum¹
Obscuro domus angulo, vbi mæsta
Et sola plorans talibus est queda.

59.

' O soppe of sorrow, sonken into care!
O caitiffe Creseid! now & euermare
Gon is thy ioy, & all thy mirth in earth;
Of all blithenes now art thou bleake [and] bare;
There is no salue may helpe thy sare.
Fell is thy fortune, wicked is thy werth;
Thy blisse is banished, & thy bale vnberth.

59.

' Eheu, doloris vippa mersa cura
Cuius solatia omnia abiere!
O Creseida, miserrima futura
Te decet in æternum nunc dolere;
Cum medicinam nequeas habere
Pro morbo, nam fortuna id negauit
Et omne gaudium a te exuluit.

¹ Class. 'grabatum.'
O sop of sorrow, &c. The way of running upon the letter in rime was very much in request when Mr. Henderson writ, witness the complement that king Hen: 8th writ to his lady & Mrs. Catherine Parre in their words, which in those days was thought very elegant.

O Parre the peerles paragon
Of proper princely Peates,
The diamond of dainty dames
And countenance of conceits.

However, it is now thought balladry; & for the authour his varying of his measure & number of lines in his Stanzes, because I know not how to excuse it, I have neglected it, keeping my selfe in my translation to the number of Heptenaries, which is consonant to all the rest of the workes.

p. 501.

‘Where is thy chamber wantonly beseen,
With burly bed & bankers brouded been,
Spices & wine to thy collation,
The cupps all of gold & siluer sheene,
Thy sweete meates, serued in plates clene,
With saury sauce of a good fashioun,
Thy gay garments with many goodly goun.

60.

‘Vbi est camera mea nunc ornata,
Aulæis acu pictis & auratis,
Aut vina aut aromata odorata,
Vbi crateres ponderosi satis,
Vbi mellita grataque palatis,
Aut vbi vestes splendidæ rigentes
Auro & gemmis, ecce sunt absentes.

1 Kinaston’s inability to appreciate Henryson’s art when it is perhaps at its best (see supra, p. lxxxvi) may be explained by the circumstances referred to in the note to stanza 62, infra.
61.

'Where is thy garden with thy greces gay
And fresh flouris, which the queene Floraie
Had painted pleasantly in euery pane?
Where thou were wont full merrily in May
To walke and take the dew be it was day,
And here the Merle & Mauis many one
With ladies faire in carolling to gone.

61.

'Vbi sunt horti semitis vallati,
Quos herbis redolentibus pinxit Flora,
Et floribus diuersis variegati?
Quibus solebas matutina hora
Spatiari recens nata dum Aurora,
Audire Maues Merulas cantantes
Et dominarum vocibus concordantes.

62.

'This leper lodge take for thy goodly boure,
And for thy bed take now a bunch of stro;
For wailed wine & meates thou hadst tho
Take mouled bread, pirate, & sider soure:
But cuppe and clapper is all now ago.

p. 502.

62.

'Pro aula hoc tugurium leprosum
Habe, & fascem straminis pro cubile;
Pro cibis lautis frustum hoc pannosum,
Pro vino zythum vapidum & vile;
Mendici sume cantharum & sedile;
Pro vestimentis auro reluentibus
Te oportet indui tramis his olentibus.

1 MS. 'braue.' Kinaston deliberately discards 'gay' through misunderstanding 'pane,' which is corrected to 'pane.' See Supplementary Note C, p. clxii.

2 The text is here imperfect, as in Thynne. Kinaston was not unnaturally perplexed by the 'pie' of Thynne's text, where, apart from the muddle after I. 437, several of the stanzas appear as eight-lined, by the omission of the last line. The break at stanza 62 throws the numbering out. '63' is '64' in Charteris and Thynne (and Speght), and Kinaston's last stanza is numbered '80.'
63.

'O ladies faire of Troy & Greece, attend
My fraile fortune, mine infelicitie,
My great mischeife, which no man can amend,
And in your mind a mirror make of me;
As I am now, perauenture that ye,
For all your might, may come to the same end
Or els worse, if worse may be.

63.

'O domínæ Græciæ atque Troiæ clarae,
Mee mementote infelicitatis,
Quam nemo potest arte meliorare:
Me tanquam speculum coram habeatis;
Quod ego nunc sum id, si visum fatis,
Vos sitis, vel si tristius euenire
Quid possit, per malitiam sortis diræ.

64.

'Nought is your fairenes but a fading floure;
Nought is your famous laud & high honoure
But wind inflate in other mens eares;
To rotting shall your rosing red retoure.¹
Exemple make of me in your memore,
Which of such things no full witnes beares,
All wealth in earth as wind away it weares.

64.

'Nil vestra est forma nisi flos caducus;
Nil laus quin ventus auribus aliorum
Inflatus; roseus desinet vester fucus
In putridum pigmentum indecorum.
Me cernite quæ sum exemplum horum
Quæ tristes has attestor veritates
Vt venti transeunt omnes voluptates.'

¹ A transposition of the words in the line in C and T.
So chiding with her dreiry destiny,
Weeping she woke the night fro end to end;
But all in vaine; her dole, her carefull crie,
Might not remedy, ne yet her mourning mend.
A leper lady rose, & to her wend,
And saied, 'why spurnest thou againe the wall,
To slea thy selfe, & mend nothing at all?'

Sic dum cum fato suo altercatur
Plorando totam noctem consumebat;
Sed frustra; dolor eius non sedatur
Remedium vllum, planctus nec præbebat.
Vna ex lepris illi tum dicebat:
'Cur contra murum visa es calcitrare,
Occidere te potius quam iuuare?'

'Sith that thy weeping but doubleth thy wo,
I counsaile thee make vertue of a neede;
Go learne to clappe thy clapper to & fro,
And learne after the law of lepers lede.'
There was no bote, but forthwith then she yede,
Fro place to place, while cold & hunger sore
Compelled her to be a ranke beggore.

'Cum fletus tuum geminat dolorem
Et est necesse ferre debes poenam;
Sed potius ito & nunc disce morem
Concutiendi ligneam lagenam,
Vt lepræ solent qui deposcunt coenam.'
Nil profuit, coacta est migrare
De ostio in ostium & sic mendicare.
67.

The same time of Troy the garrison,
Which had the cheiftaine worthy Troilus,
Through ieopardy of warre had strucken downe
Knightes of Greece in number marueilous:
With great triumph & laud victorious
Againe to Troy right royally they rode,
The way where Creseid with the lepers stode.

p. 504.

67.

Eodem tempore turmæ Troianorum,
Pro duce illustrem Troilum habentes,
Victrici manu atqve vi armorum
Graiorum multos milites ingentes
Strauissent, & victoria gaudentes,
Ad Pergama per viam repedabant,
Qua Creseida & alij lepræ stabant.

68.

Seeing that company come all with a steuin,
They gaue a crie, & shake cups good speed;
'Worthy lords, for gods loue of heuin
To vs leper part of your almous deed.'
Then to her crie noble Troilus tooke heede,
Hauing pittie, neere by the place gan pas
Where Creseid sat, not weting what she was.

68.

Vt prope venerint, lepræ eiulantes
Vnita voce cantharos quassabant,
Ab ijs eleemosynam postulantes.
Quam Deum præ amore ij rogabant.
Clamores aures Troili penetrabant,
Qui misericordia tactus pertransibat
Creseidam prope illam & nescibat.

1 So passim.
69.
Then vpon him she kest vpp both her eien, 
And with a blinke it come in till his thought 
That he sometime her face before had scene; 
But she was in such plight he knew her nou3t; 
Yet then her looke into his minde he brought 
The sweete visage and amorous blenking 
Of faire Creseid, sometime his owne derling.

69.
Vt illa eum rursus aspexisset, 
En ictus oculi illi suggerebat 
Quod faciem istam olim is vidisset 
Quam nunc deformem prorsus negligebat; 
Sed eius vultus menti imprimebat 
Lasciuos gestus frontis impudicæ 
Creseidæ pulchrae, quondam suæ amicæ.

70.
No wonder was, suppose in mind that he 
Toke her figure so soone, & lo, now why 
The idoll of a thing in case may be 
So deepe enprinted in the fantasy, 
That it deludeth the wits outwardly, 
And so appereth in forme & like estate 
Within the minde as it was figurate.

70.
Nec mirum est quod mens perstringebatur 
Tam subito idolo eius, quia 
Imago rei mente imprimatur 
Tam firmiter vt nostra fantasia 
Externos fallat sensus noua via; 
Nam res apparat mente sic formata 
Vt pridem cerebro est delineata.
71.

A sparke of loue then till his heart couth spring,
And kindled his body in a fire,
With hot feuer in swette & trembling
Him tooke, while he was redy to expire;
To beare his sheild his brest begon to tire;
Within a while he changed many a hew,
And neuertheles not one another knew.

71.

Tum corde coepit oriri amoris
Scintilla, quæ præcordia adurebat;
Nam sudor, febris comes & tremoris,
Per omnes eius artus diffuebat;
Gestare parmam pectus fatiscebat;
Et sæpius interim vultus variabat,
Sed vnus alteram tamen ignorabat.

72.

For knightly pitty & memoriell
Of faire Creseid, a girdell gan he take,
A purse of gold, & many a gay iewell,
And in the skirt of Creseid downe gan shake;
Then rode away, & not a word he spake,
Pensiue in hart, while he came to the towne,
And for great care oft sith allmost fell doune.

72.

Præ miserecordia dulci & memoria
Creseidæ pulchriæ extulit crumenam
Quam illi dedit, refert vt historia,
Auro & gemmis pretiosis plenam;
Hoc facto fræni obuertit habenam,
Et silens versus urbem equitabat,
Tam moestus vt is fere expirabat.
The leper folk to Creseid then couth draw,
To see the equall distribution
Of the allmous; but when the gold they saw,
Each one to other priuily gan roune,
And saied, 'yon lord hath more affection,
How euer it be, vnto yon Lazarous
Then to vs all; we knew by his allmous.'

Creseidæ statim lepræ adiere
Æqualem diuisionem postulare
Donarij, sed vt aurum ij videre
Cœperunt inter sese mussitare,
Dicentes: 'iste dominus affectare
Hanc lepram plus quam omnes nos videtur;
Per eius eleemosynam hoc probetur.

'Th' What lord is yon (quod she), haue ye no fele,
That doth to vs so great humanitie?'
'Yes (quod a leper man), I know him wele;
Sir Troilus it is, a knight gentle & free.'
When Creseid vnderstood that it was he,
Stiffer then steele there stert a bitter stound
Throughout her hart, & fill downe to the ground.

Tum Creseida: 'Num vos intelligatis
Quis sit, qui nobis fuit tam benignus?'
'Immo,' ait lepra, 'nouf illum satis
Est Troilus ternobilis & dignus.
Vt Creseida amoris sensit pignus
Rigidior chalibe ea deueniebat
Et tremor omnia ossa percurrebat.

So MS.: 'thrice noble.' Perhaps a scribal slip for the more usual 'penny'  (cf. 'perpulcher' in st. 25 and 'perlongas' in st. 52).
When this was saied, with paper she sate downe,  
And in this manner made her testament:  
'Here I bequeath my coarse and carrioun  
With wormes & with Toades to be rent;  
My cup, my clapper, & mine ornament,  
And all my gold, theis leper folke shall haue,  
When I am dead, to bury me in graue.

Pertæsa vitæ macraque dolendo  
Disponit testamentum se scribendum:  
'Cadauer meum foetidum commendo  
Per vermes & bufones commedendum;  
Omne aurum meum lego possidendum  
Per hosce lepras qui velint curare,  
Cum moriar, sepulchro me humare.

'This royall ring, set with this rubie red,  
Which Troilus in dowry to me send,  
To him againe I leaue it when I am ded,  
To make my carefull death vnto him kend:  
Thus I conclude shortly, & make an end;  
My spirit I leaue to Diane, where she dwells,  
To walke with her in wast woods & wells.

'Hunc annulum fulgentem & rubinum  
Quem dote mihi Troilus largiebatur  
In eius transferendum lego sinum  
Vt lethum meum illum cognoscatur.  
Sic breuiter his finis imponatur  
Dianæ spiritum lego vt per montes  
Cum illa spatiatur & per fontes.

1 Five stanzas of Thynne's text (see III. pp. 196-197) are here omitted.  
2 So passim.
‘O Diomede! thou hast both broch & belt, 
Which Troilus gaue me in tokening 
Of his true loue,’ & with that word she swelt: 
And soone a leper man tooke of the ring, 
Then buried her withouten tarying; 
To Troilus forthwith the ring he bare, 
And of Cresseid the death he gan declare.

O Diomedes, gemmam qua[m] donauit 
Me Troilus cum primum diligebat 
Tu habes’: hisce verbis expirauit: 
Tum lepra annulum statim auferebat 
Cresseidam & extemplo sepeliebat 
Et annulum ad Troilum deportabat, 
Cui mortem tristem Cresseidæ narrabat.

When he had heard her greate infirmity, 
Her legacy and lamentatioune, 
And how she ended in such pouerty, 
He swelt for wo, & fell downe in a swoune; 
For sorrow his heart to brast was boune; 
Sighing full sadly, saied, ‘I can no more; 
She was vntrue, & wo is me therefore!’

De eius magna vt infirmitate 
Et testamento ille audijsset, 
Et vt extrema illa paupertate 
Miserrimè e viuis excessisset, 
Cor eius mæustum fere deliquisset: 
Alte suspirans tantum hoc est fatus, 
‘Infida fuit & ego infortunatus.’

Some saith he made a tombe of marble gray, 
And wrote her name & superscription, 
And laied it on her graue, whereas she lay, 
In golden letters, containing this reason:
'Lo, faire ladies, Creseid of Troy the towne,  
Sometime compted the floure of womanhed,  
Vnder this stone, late leper, lieth dedde.'

79.
Marmoreum cippum, dicunt, quod parabat,  
Cui nomen eius dulce inscribbat  
Quem super eius tumulum locabat,  
Qui aureis literis tantum continebat:  
'En, dominae, Creseidæ que splendebat,  
Quondam flos omnis muliebritatis,  
Heic iacet lepra, quæ concessit fatis.'

p. 509.
Now, worthy women, in this ballade short  
Made for your worship & instruction,  
Of charity I monish & exhort,  
Minge not your loue with false disception;  
Beare in your minde this sore conclusion  
Of faire Creseid, as I haue saied before:  
Sith she is dedde, I speake of her no more.

80.
Nunc, heroinæ, paucis his camœnis  
Factis in vestrum commodum & honorem,  
Vos moneo non fucatis subtus genis  
Miscere vestrum fraudibus amorem;  
Memoria tenete nam dolorem  
Creseidæ pulchrae finem & horrendum:  
Cum mortua sit nil amplius est dicendum.1

1 Though the MS. is, as stated above, 'in the same hand throughout' (see p. xcix) i.e. written by one scribe, it may be pointed out that the Scots and Latin verses are written in different styles, the former in 'English,' the latter in 'Italian.' It is probable that Kinaston intended the printed book, of which the MS. is the copy prepared for press, to follow the pattern of the volume of 1635, in which the Latin (on the left-hand page) is in Roman, and the Scots (on the right-hand page) in black letter. The English comments between the stanzas and the English marginalia would have appeared in black letter.
ANNOTATIONES

IN

TRISTE CRESEIDÆ

TESTAMENTUM.

Hep.¹ i.

*Ab Ariete, &c.*: Aries est primus Zodiaci Asterismus, & in eius primo minuto Sol, vt creditur, collocatus est in mundi creatione, de quo plurima sunt scripta per doctissimum Petrum de Aliaco Cardinalem Camerancensem & Themata celestia ad istud momentum erecta. Ab ingressu Solis in primum minutum Arietis annus verum suum sumit exordium, & ab annua Solis revolutione ad idem punctum nouus ortus omnibus sublunaribus datur. Nam ex figura caeli Astrologica erecta ad solum istud momentum aliqua praedictio de statu totius anni sequentis tantum ex genitura infantis instituatur, & non ex vilia alia figura.²

² *Venus surgens, &c.*: Authoris error, qui in duobus vltimis huius Heptenarij versiculis aliquantulum dormitare & in Astronomicis cæcuitre videatur, ægre defensionem admittit. Venus enim Solis pedissequa nunquam distat sex signis a Sole, nec vllam suscipit oppositionem ad Solem, cum maxima eius elongatio a Sole nempe in Perigæo sui Epicycli sit 48 gra. & 00 min. quo tempore vt per nouum Galilæi perspicillum fuit observatum

¹ Heptenarius, seven-lined stanza.
² *The famous Pierre d’Ailly (d. 1426), archbishop of Cambrai, aquila Franciae et malleus a veritate aberrantium indefessus.*
³ This first paragraph is printed in full as a specimen of Kinaston’s commentary on general topics. Subsequent entries, dealing in like way, and frequently at greater length, with physical, astronomical, mythological, and other matters not intimately connected with the interpretation of Henryson’s text or Kinaston’s Latin version, and not containing allusions of contemporary interest, are recorded in the following pages, but are not reproduced.
orbis eius sicut Luna in plenilunio repletur lumine, & illa reuertente prope Solem rursus lux minuitur quamuis non totaliter deficiat vt in Luna, cuius rei observatio ansam dedit Keplero mittendi Romam hunc versiculum tanquam nouum Ænigma: Cynthiae figuræ imitatur mater amorum, nimirum quod Venus vt Luna erat cornuta & aucta & minuta lumine.

3. Per vitra, &c.: Id est, per fenestram vitrearum quadris compactam quarum rarior erat usus, nisi in templis aut ecclesiis, ob magnos nempe sumptus in compagibus plumbeis componendis, cum artifices nondum excogitassent machinam instar molendini ad plumbeos bacillos ducendos & in canali formandos iam accommodatum, sed magno labore solemabant crebris morsubus dolabræ excuare virgulas plumbeas vt quadrae vitrearæ illis inætherent immotæ.

Æstuant vena, &c.: . . .
Ignis remedium, &c.: . . .


Anodynum, &c.: Quæcunque siue Pharmaca, siue potiones, siue emplastra Podagrae, Partus, Calculi, Dentium, aut Membri alicuïus læsi stuporem inducendo dolorem tollunt aut sedant Anodyna dicantur, vnque Ladanum medicamentum soporiferum dictum est Anodynum, vt et illud Causticon quo in membrorum

1 Cf. note infra, p. 44.
2 MS. 'dolabr.'
3 MS. 'corruptæ.'
amputandorum abscissione Chyrurgij vtuntur ad angoris sensum
tollendum (qui et lapis infernalis dicitur), quo pars corporis
perfricata illico nigrescit & quasi mortua fit Anodynum etiam
censendum est. Hoc in loco autem Anodynum metaphorice
vsurpatur pro remedio doloris quo mens Creseidæ laborabat.

Die Fasto, &c.: . . .

18.

Sacellum, &c: Quasi sacra cella, locus paruus est in ecclesia
vbi aliquis orare potest, vt videre est hodie in ecclesijs Chathe-
dralibus & Parochialibus interdum; sed vtrum fuerunt adyti in
templis Ethnicorum, prout author 1 noster heic innuit, dubitari
potest.

Thure litabam, &c.: . . .

19.

doctissime scripsit nobilis ille Ianus Iacobus Boissardus in libro
suo de diuinatione, 2 nullibi tamen, quod sciam, legitur Venerem
aut Cupidinem oracula habuisse, aut, vt author noster hic innuit,
responsa dedisse. . . .

20.

Cupido fallax, &c.: . . .

Culpandus, &c.: His verbis Creseida more omnium mortalium
crimina sua in alios transfert, nempe in Cupidinem & Venerem,
opinantur enim nonnulli astra & numina per eorum influxus &
potestates homines ad peccatum impellere.

21.

Extasin, &c.: . . .

In Somnio, &c.: . . .

Argenteam Campanellam, &c.: Vsus campanarum (in quantum p. 514.
legimus) apud antiquos Hebræos, Chaldeos, Aegiptios, & omnes
priorum seculorum homines ante Christi saluatoris nostri
aduentum aut ignotus fuit aut omnino neglectus, nec hodie
campanarum melos vspiam auditur præterquam in solo Christi-
anismo, cuius rei ratio forsan haec sit quod, cum sonus cam-
panarum strenue diuerberet aerem at in se contineat dulcissimum
musicum concentum, spiritus autem maligni harmoniam omnem

1 MS. 'auther.'
2 Jean Jacques Boissard (1528-1602). His De Divinatione et Magicis
præstigiis, de geniis, etc., appeared posthumously at Hanover in 1611, and
Oppenheim in 1615.
tanquam naturis suis contrariam valde abhorreant & detestentur. campanarum omnis vsus ab illorum cultoribus in suis delubris & templis omnino negligatur & prorsus eliminetur, quamuis Paracelsus refert se vidisse Magum quemdam in Hispania qui sonitu Tintinnabuli in quo nomina aliquorum daemoniorum erant insculpta Myriadas spirituum sibi accersuisset.

22.

Mundi sublunaris, &c.: Neoterici Astronomi ope nuperi perspicilli obseruarunt in orbe Lunæ montes, valles, & maria, ob eamque causam Lunam mundum alium esse asserunt, quae quidem opinio hodie adeo inuuluit vt aliqui Selenographiam fecerint & chartis delineauerint, quorum omnium nouissimus Johannes Keplerus in suo somnio nuper edito miranda narrat. Influentiam, &c.: . . .

Ventorum cursus, &c.: . . .

Æstus maris, &c.: . . .

Saturnus, &c.: Heic incipient descriptiones omnium quos vidi elegantissimæ cum quoad authoris inuentionem poeticae tam quoad Mythologiam Saturni & caeterorum planetarum quam in gratiam fateor me hasce annotationes scripsisse & hoc paruum opusculum ex lingua Scotica in Latinam transtulisse.

Colonus rudis, 6°r.: Saturnus est agricolarum & omnium in fodinis metallicis operantium, summatim omnium in solitudinis viuentium, planeta & genius prædominans.

[23.]

Rugatus facie, &c.: Id est, frons eius erat caperata & rugis sulcata more senum in seueritatem composita, vt Metoposcopie gnari lineam frontis summam prope capillos vocant Saturninam, Mediam tribuunt Marti, & Infimam Veneri, lineas autem in glabella volunt esse Mercurij signaturas, secundum earum rectitudinem aut obliquitatem iudicant de indole, ingenio, et moribus hominis.

Plumbei coloris, &c.: Ob eamque causam Chymici vocant

1 The Somnium, seu opus posthumum de Astronomia Lunari, edited by Kepler's son, Ludovick, appeared at Frankfurt, in 4to, in 1634. It consists of three sections: Somnium, sive Astronomia Lunaris; Notæ in Somnium astronomicum; and Appendix Geographica, seu mavis, Selenographica. These are reprinted in vol. viii. pt. 1. of Frisch's collected edition of Kepler's Works, Frankfurt, 1870.

2 In the MS. 'in' is added above the line without a caret.

3 MS. 'Metaposcopie.'

4 MS. 'summum.'
plumbum Saturnum & patrem metallorum, eumque etiam appellant Trinounum eo quod contineat & aurum & argentum. Alio p. 516. etiam sensu Saturnus dicatur Trinounus, quia cum videatur oculis nostris esse vnica tanquam stella iam ope exactissimi perspicilli oculo admoti deprehenditur (vt asserunt Keplers & Galilaeus) esse stella triplex oblonga, quae in tria astra duobus quasi filis tenuissimis distincta sit & diuisa. De sacrario Saturni & eius in medicina vsu, vtptote de eius oleo praestantissimo ad ulcera sananda sit elogium satis amplum penes Chymicos.

Tremebat Mentum, &c.: His sequentibus circumstantijs author satis poetice describit Saturnum tanquam patrem frigoris suil. persona senis algentis & præ frigore trementis, intenso enim algore maxillarum & mandibularum ligamenta Sphagydes dicta contrahuntur, vnde calore cum frigore luctante fit menti tremor & dentium concussio.

Stridulis dentibus, &c.: Generatio ossium quæ fit primo mense & dentium quæ plerumque est octauo ob eorum soliditatem & durabilitatem dominio Saturni tribuitur, illis enim mensibus Saturnus præesse dicitur.

De naso, &c.: Propter humiditatem aut frigiditatem potius in senibus aëque ac in pueris prædominantem fluores de nasis sequentur, vnde Iuuenalis eleganter in sene describendo inter alios proprietates addit, 'madidiqz infantia nasi.' 2

Stillicidia, &c.: Intelleguntur gelati isti comi in glaciem indurati qui pendent hyeme sub tectis domorum vbi pluuiæ decidunt.

[24.]

Incomptis nodis, &c.: Periphrasi heic vtendum est vt verbum Scoticum feltred exprimamus, licet non adeo plene cum nullum sit in lingua Latina vocabulum quod genuine eius energiam explicet, tale enim significat capillorum discompositionem, quæ maior sit vlla complicatione textura aut connexione. Metaphora sumpta est ab artificio nupero conficiendi galeros ex lana ouina aut lanugine Castorea priscis (quantum autumo) ignoto, quorum galeri, petasi, & pilei texebantur, & ex serico bombycino aut pannis coco & murice tintcis & ferarum pellibus ornati conficiebantur. Id genus galeri etiam apud decessores nostros per multa saecula in vsu fuit donec patrum nostrorum memoria nouus modus componendi rudem lanam igne & aqua calida in formam galeri inuentus est, qui lodie dicitur Felt, estque talis lanæ condensatio, vt omnem texturam longe excedat cum petasi hoc modo elaborati nec ventis nec pluuijs sint penetrabiles. Est et alia

1 ' & 3 is added above the line, without a caret. 2 Sat. x. 199.
etiam capillorum concrispatio quae an naturalis sit dubitari potest, plane autem mirabilis est, visitur in humana caesarie & equorum iubis, qua capilli adeo inter se densantur & nodosi euadunt vt nulla ratione extricari possint. Hi nodi in iumentorum iubis creduntur (satis improbabiliter fateor) sagarum & Sylphium noctu equitantium opificium esse, vt cunque certa & frequenti experi-entia compertum est huiusmodi crinium in caesarie humana in-nodationem signum esse inusitatum nec leuis momenti ominosum enim quiddam illis qui tales crinium nexus habent portendit, nec percuto vacat si illos computent, quin potius exitiale est & morbum aut mortem plerumque præcurret. Hercules a Saxonio medicus Pataunius de Plica doctum tractatum scripsisse dicitur vnde plura, quae ad hoc argumentum pertinente petenda sunt, sed liber nunquam peruenit ad manus nostras, & haec in præsentiarum expositionem vocis Scoticæ sufficiant.

Cana pruina, &c. : Perquam poetice & eleganter author pro canicie pruinam Saturno tribuit, quoniam ille niuium, grandinum, & omnis frigoris genitor est.

Vestis vilis, &c. : Saturnus in loco genethliacæ figūræ abiecto situs praeter caeteras virtutes facit natos mendicos & secundum suam debilitatem nempe casum aut exilium descriptur habitu vili ceu sordido & lacerato.

Iupiter, &c. . . .
Et amabilis, &c. . . .
Serto caput, &c. : Hoc ornamenti genus author satis eleganter Ioui tribuit non solum quia homines Iouiales hilares, laeti, & iucundi sint, quod plerumque floribus & herbis redolentibus, sed etiam quia in conuiuijs priscorum qui erat nepos facetissimus & presidebat in conuiuo caput serto rosarum redimitum habebat, vnde Martialis ad suum Liberum scribit, 'Liber, in ætæna viuere digne rosa.'

Maio collectorum, &c . . .

Vox clara, &c. . . .
Oculi splendentes, &c. : . . .
Filæ aurata, &c. : . . .
Stola clausis, &c. . . .

1 Hercules a Saxonia (1551-1607) was the author of Pantheum Medicæ selectum, sive Medicæ Præctice Tempulum (ed. Petrus Uffenbach, 1603, fol.), of which the eleventh book is entitled De Plica. (See Lindenius Renovatus, Nürnberg, 1686, Bk. I. p. 405.)

2 So MS. ?in praesentia.'

3 Epigr. VIII. lxxvii, 2.

Machæra, &c. : Quamuis machæra intelligatur pro quouis gladio tamen heic accipi velim pro curuo lato ensis genere in vsu apud Turcas, quod vocatur Scymiter, qui gladiij ex metallo quod Damascenum vocant conficiuntur & fornice liquefactione non autem malleis super incidibus formantur ac in tantam duritiam arte Machæropæa euadunt vt ferrum pari facilitate ac lignum scindant.

Thorace, &c. : Vox Scotica Habergeon significat genus armaturæ quod ferreum indusium vocatur & Anglice a Shirt of Maile. vox autem Maile quoddam monetæ genus ex cupro aut aere factum significat, & erat paruum numisma rotundum interdum quadratum circa valorem Sestertij apud Romanos. Huiusmodi nummos aliquot vidi ferreos rotundos & ouales, in medio quadrato formine formatos, sed sine vila imagine aut inscriptione, qui dicebantur esse Chinensium. Ob similitudinem istarum ferrarum laminarum quæ consuebantur tanquam squamae super tunicam cum hisce monetis ortum est vocabulum apud Anglos a Coat of Maile. Huiusmodi tunica erat munimentum satis validum contra gladiorum aut sagittarum violentiam, sed nullius usus contra vim tormentorum & Bombardarum globos cui nulla resistit Panoplia, quamuis doctissimus Ianus Boissardus in libris de diuinatione mentionem faciat indusij cuiusdam arte diabolica texti & consuti quod apud Alemannos in vsu est, quodque Nothemdi vocant, cuius linum virgines quædam diabolicis incantationibus praerarent sub vesperam vigiliarum Natalis Christi & nent & texunt & consuunt (nam sic oportet fieri) ante sequentis diei crepusculum. hoc indusium corpori impositum fertur esse tutela contra omnia laesionis generis ; sed credat Iudæus Apella.

Os torquens, &c. : Vultus & praecipue oris distortio appositissime hoc in loco iræ effectum & cholerici hominis gestum exprimit, cum os distortum & tremulum in Physiognomia iræ & perturbationum indubitatum sit indicium.

1 See p. cxlix. 2 MS. 'diobolica,' 'diobolicis.' 3 Is this Nothhemd (Noth, danger, and Hemd, shirt)?
[28.]

Spuma bulla, &c.: Vt videre est in canibus rabidis qui spumam venenosam emittunt ex ore eamque adeo exitialem vt eius virus in veste morsu canis rabidi lacerato magnetico contacto hominem inficiat & interminat. Ferunt etiam peste moribundus in articulo mortis virus lethale dispumare, quod in phyala vitrea seruatum post decennium & ultra myriadas hominum gramine vel satum in illo madefacto tectos valeat inficere. Haud minus nocuam spumam euomunt Epileptici in eorum paroxismis a qua diligentem est sanis cauendum. Hæc ebullitio spumæ proprie Marti conuenit tanquam homini irato aut pestis & febriiis authorīs.2

Sicariis, &c.: Propter ignorantiam veræ significacionis Scotici vocabuli Tullieur erratum est fere in omnibus impressionibus in quibus perpaeram describitur Tulsur.3 vox hæc apud Scottos hominem truemin & efferum significat qualem nos Angli vocamus a Swaγger, & Itali unu Braus.

Stentoreo cornu, &c.: Elegantissima est hoc in loco Authoris obseruatio qui sonitum cornu potius quam tube aut litui vsurpat, quoniam reuera usus cornuum prior erat in rebus bellicis. Nam apud Hebræos in obsidione vrbs Iericīh Israelæ cornu vtebantur: eadem etiam est obseruation Virgilij in bello & prælio Latinorum vbi dicit, 'Rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu.'4

Phoebi iubar, &c.: . . .
Causa mouentium,5 &c.: . . .
Vita[m] per, &c.: . . .6

1 MS. 'seto.' 2 That is, Mars.
3 Kinaston's criticism and emendation of the impossible 'tulsure' is interesting, and his reference to 'all the editions' indicative that he had, not unnaturally, some trouble with the form. We may well believe that it was some of his Scottish friends, probably one of the Youngs, Patrick, or his father, the 'aged scholler,' who helped him here as in other matters connected with Scotland and Henryson. See p. cxix, note, and p. 48.
4 Aen. viii. 2.
5 It is 'viuentium' in the text, but 'mouentium' is a more direct rendering of the Scots original (q.v.).
6 In this long note on the question of the continuance of animal life without food, Kinaston says incidentally: 'Horum omnium fidem mihi addidit relatio Isaaci Symanouitz Pogogi Legati extraordinarij a magno Muscouitarum Duce ad serenissimum Regem & Dominum meum Iacobum anno Domini 1622: qui per literas a fratre suo Demetrio Symanouitz acceptas tunc temporis Ziberici Dynasta hæc omnia confirmavit.' This is quoted here merely for its contemporary reference, which may be of interest to someone engaged on another task.
Curruli Sella, &c. . . .
Oculi acies, &c. . . .
Rhedam, &c. . . .
Ventis ocyores, &c. . . .

Maris [in] profundas, &c. . . .

Semiuiridis, &c. : Cum color flauus tribuatur Soli, & cæruleus Ioui, et ambo hi colores permisti pariant viridem colorum, Venus dicta fuit Iouis nata & Solis soror, vnde qu[u]idam asserunt quod omnia folia & gramina campi virescere ob potentiam Solis & Iouis.

Decompta, &c. : Inter mulierum cosmetica comæ ornatus & capillorum decens compositio illis semper maxime curæ fuit, nam aliquando coma erat plicens texta & gyris nodo in vertice ligata, aliquando vittis & intertexta, vt videre est in Dearum & Heroinarum tam Græcarum quam Latinarum priscis imaginibus.

Incrisipata, &c. . . .

Sed facie, &c. : Vultus dupliciter est index animi nempe per formam & signaturas faciei quæ sunt indicia immutabilia, aut per motus vultus qui maxime cernuntur in oculis & ore & Gallice dicuntur Les mouvements de visage. In ijs enim decus & deformitas visitur, non materialis ex disproportionem aut coloris vitio sed spiritualis, vt dicam, cernitur pulchritudo aut toruitas, nam talis erat, vt refert Suetonius, vultus Caj Imperatoris, vt dum silebat satis honestus & amabilis videbatur, sed loquens valde erat deformis cum laboriorum suorum tremor rictu spumanti efferam indolem eius prodebat.1

Subridens fallax, &c. : Nota est in phisiognomia plerumque certa qui os habet quasi semper ridens semper leuis, fallax, & inconstans est, quod saepius est videre in fæminis quam in viris, cum is qui, vt Suetonius refert de Vespasiano, habet vultum veluti intentis,2 aut os cuius extremitates deorsum vergunt sit indolis grauioris & constantioris ingenij.

Malitie plena, &c. : Mulieris malitia, vt refert Solamon, est omnium maxima ob impotentiam forsan ingenitam moderandi animi perturbationes. Mulier enim, vt vulgo dicitur, aut amat aut odit. nullum enim est medium, & quod vult id valde vult;

1 MS. ‘prodebant.’
2 So MS.
vnde forsan in iure ciuili cum puella impubes plenis vix nubilis annis coniugem appetat virum \(^1\) (licet immatura videatur), tamen cum sit praeocis ingenij & constitutionis dicitur quod Malitia supplet ætatem.

\(Vnó fľere, &c.\) : Quamuis impossibile sit vt contrariae passiones sint simul & semel in animo & eodem momento producunt risum & fletum, partim quia dolor sicut pœna non solum cor sed et cerebri mammulas vnde per earum expressionem lachrymæ effluunt modo lactis quasi emulgentur, partim quia oculorum & ciliorum fibræ & nerui eodem sortiuntur regimine & pro passionum qualitate siue gaudij siue doloris pari moderamine fruuntur, tamen egregia hæc est & energetica authoris expressio ad magnam inconstantiam & mutabilitatem mulierum exprimendam.

[35-]

\(Stylo pinae, &c.\) : Cum Mercurius sit interpres Diuum ac etiam Scriba Legatus & ab epistolis placuit aliquantulum ab authore deuiare, & antiquissima scribendi instrumenta illi adscribere nempe stylo & pinacem potius quam cornographium aut calamum præsertim cum literarum & elementorum delineatio stylo chalibeo acuto super pinacem id est tabularum læuigatum siue corticem videtur fuisse in vsu apud priscos ante membrane aut papyri inuentionem. enim rei exemplar videre est Oxonie in celeberrima illa Bibliotheca Bodleyana \(^2\) vbi cortices quidem longi latitudinis vnus digitis visi sunt in quibus antiqui characters ignoti idiomatici delineantur, vt videtur, stylo, qui tunc temporis vices calami supplebat.

\(Mitella rubra, &c.\) : Non satis constat qualia fuerunt antiquorum poetarum capitis ornamenta cum imaginibus eorum qui visuntur in priscis numismatibus aut marmoribus illos exhibent nudis plerumque capitis nisi forte laureis sertis ornatis vt videre est in antiquissimo Publij Virgilij Maronis numismate argentoe imagine excusa hodie penes doctissimum amicum meum Dominum Patricium Tunium \(^3\) qui mihi copiam videndi fecit, sed quoad authoris hoc in loco placitum de ornamento Mercurij,

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\(^1\) 'virum' is added above the line, without a caret.

\(^2\) The Library had been so styled since 1604 (under letters patent), and before Sir Thomas Bodley's death in 1613 had won its title to the epithet 'celeberrimus.' Kinaston's own MS. now rests there (supra, p. xiix).

\(^3\) Patrick Young (n.s., p. xxi), to whom he dedicated the first book of his Latin version of Chaucer's Troilus & Criseyde: "Clarissimo et | Ornatissimo | Viro, | Domino Patricio Tunio | Bibliothecario Regio." The passage above offers further evidence of Kinaston's close association with the group of Scots scholars at Charles's Court.
si liceat coniectare, credo quod eius descriptio petita est ab imagine Francisci Petrarchæ qui visitur depictus panni mitella super caput indutus, aut saltem ab effigie picta celeberrimi vatis Chauceri sui sæculi ornamenti & Petrarchæ supparis, quae eodem modo stat depictus super suum sepulchrum in æde magna Westmonasteriensi ornatus nigro cucullo, qui istius ævi videtur esse poetæ peculiaris habitus.

Mellitis Syrupis, &c.: Quamuis author verba facit de saccharatis syrupis, nihilominus etiam & heic paululum ab illo digredi visum est & vice Sacchari mel substituere tanquam magis antiquum & proprium condimenti genus cum nostri maiores temporibus Aristotelis, Theophrasti, & Dioscoridis videantur potius aliquid auduiisse de Saccharo quam illud vidisse aut gustasse. De forma calami saccharati & omnibus ad compositionem sacchari pertinentibus quam multa praebet saccharum dulciaria & mense tragemata vide Baptistam Portam lib. ii. & cap. ultimo suæ Villæ.

Cynthia diminuta, &c.: Rectius author Lunam lumine diminutam describit quam lucis plenam, partim vt eam distingueret a Sole cuius facies est orbicularis, partim vt inuenret multas observationes fieri super Neomenijs tam naturales quam ciuiles, potius quam a plenilunijis a quibus antiquitus pendebant permulta festa Iudæorum, vt hodie færiæ superstitiosæ Turcarum qui nihil auspiciantur nisi visa prius noua Lun[n]a.

& Bicornuta, &c.: De Lunæ cornibus prisci loquuntur nempe secundum apparentiam, sed eo usque inualuit ea Ethnica opinio, quod Luna erat re ipsa mulier vt Æminæ putabant decorum fore capillos suos componere ad modum Lunæ crescentis siue falcatae, unde verisimile est quod ornatus modernus venetarum puellarum originem suum traxit, aut a more antiquarum Æminarum Romanarum, quas iuuenalis in sua Sat. 6. lepide perstringit quæ ante videbantur proceræ vt Hectoris Andromache & pone aut a tergo pumilionis et nani.

Fratre mutuatum, &c.: . . .

1 MS. 'suppurris.'
2 And in the well-known marginal portrait in the MS. of the De Regimine of Occleve (Harl. 4866, fol. 91).
3 See notes on p. 48, li. 244 and 245. "ii" (without dots in the MS.) means 'undecimo' ('xi'). Kinaston is drawing from the eleventh book ('Sēges'), chap. lvii., of Baptista Porta's Villa. See the Frankfurt edition of 1592, p. 902.
4 Cf. note p. 50, l. 420.
5 See notes on p. 48, ll. 244 and 245.
6 MS. 'antiquitas.'
Qua colonus, &c.: Vnde haec anilis fabula coloni in Luna orta est non possum coniectare, nec an vspiam audita est quam apud Anglos qui narrant fabulas de septem fatuis de Gotham, inter quos vnus erat qui Luna clare lucente iumentum ad fouaeam paruam in qua erat modicum aquae, quae Lunae speciem reflectebat quam vt iumentum ebibisset fatuus credebat illud etiam absorpsisse Lunam. Talis forsan morio insequens colonum qui arripuisset veprum onus per aquam aut lacum in qua Luna lucebat dedit illi ansam credere quod colonus cum vepribus decidisset per lacum ad Lunam & ibi erat fixus & inde probabile est quod haec fatua opinio vulgi originem duxit, quae non magis absurda est quam iste error Ethnicorum quod strepitu & tinnitu peluium poterant in Eclypsibus laboranti succurrere Lunae.

Pilei reuerentiam, &c.: Incertum est, in quantum legi, vtrum mos denudandi caput venerationis siue salutationis ergo fuit prior in sacris quam in ciuilibus, quod hodie gentes Europae plerumque capita denudant in signum obseruantiae & humilitatis videatur fieri hac ratione quod cum pileus apud antiques Romanos datus erat libertis in signum quod emanciparentur, & omne capitis ornamentum pro vt galerus, petasus, cucullus, mitella, & similia erat quodammodo insigne potestatis & dominij saltem libertatis & quasi diminitium coronae, mitrae, diadematis, cydaris, infusae, quae omnia erant ornamenta regalia & pontificia. Pilei humilliatio testari videtur obseruantiam in salutationibus alicuius tanquam dignioris & cum homo discomoperiat & inclinet caput coram alioc innuere vellet, quod is alterius seruus, cum mos sit apud Turcas in signum reuerentiae maxime denudare pectus aperiendo plicam superioris vestimenti vsque ad subulcam, quod fit in cultu diuino.


1 Class. 'subuculam.'
Nullam medicinam, &c.: Quamuis aliqui opinantur quod lepra morbus erat frequentior apud Iudaesos quam alibi ob situm maritimum regionis et eorum cibationem, qui plurimum vesceabantur piscibus marinis recens captis & raro sale conditis, sic assignando causas naturales istius horrendi morbi, tamen probabilius est quod Lepra infligebatur per immediatem Dei omnipotentis manum vindicem cum in quantum legimus nulla erat naturalis medela adhibenda, sed morbus erat omnino insanabilis sine diuino auxilio, quamuis Paracelsus in sua Archidoxi Magica numerans Lepram inter morbos quos vocat Astrales doceat modum conficiendi & cudendi sigillum metallicum sub horis & influentiis \(\frac{1}{2}\) & \(\frac{1}{2}\) quod sanabit Lepram.

66.

Ligneam Lagenam, &c.: Heic author loquitur more Leprarum in Scotia vbi Lepra mendicantes vt distinguenter ab alijs morbidis pauperibus & eleemosynas petentibus non vociferabant verum coopercula suorum cantharorum quassabant in quibus olus aut zythum servabant, ita rumorem facientes vt sani illos euitarent.

76.

Diana spiritum, &c.: Antiqua fuit opinio non solum apud Ethnicos sed, quod magis est dolendum, apud christianos quod umbrae siue animae mortuorum ambulabant noctu, præsertim si mortuorum cadauera erant inhumata, vnde Ethnici mori per naufragium inprimis expauebant. Paracelsus etiam eiusdem docti erroris patronus contendit probare quod homines omnes habent suos genios secum congenitos, & eadem forma & specie ac eorum corpora præditos, qui cum sint substantiæ, vt ille loquitur, astrales mediam obtinent naturam inter corpora & meros spiritus, qui omnino sunt inuisibiles. Hi ergo Genij aeria corpora habentes aliquando visuntur post mortem defunctorum & intra certum temporis spatium resoluuntur in sua primordia astalia a quibus originem ducunt vt corpora mortua in elementa interim aliquando conspiciuntur vt imagines in speculo & pro eorum placito disparent & vt Ethnici putabant noctu cum Dianæ comitibus, vtceunque author heic improprie tribuit custodiam spiritus tam impudici vt istius Creseidæ tutelæ Dianæ.

79.

Marmoreum cyppum, &c.: Usus vinarum apud veteres Ethnicos ad conseruandum crematorum corporum cineres vt &

1 Saturn.

2 See note on p. 49.
marmoreorum cypporum ad conservandum memoriam potius quam cadauerum defunctorum in Christianismo frequens est & fuit, vnde opinio eorum non omnino est abscura qui assurunt quod Ethnici quodam modo credebant aut sperabant resurrectionem carnis post revolutionem magni anni Platonici & primi Mobilis nec omnino diffitebantur immortalitatem anime, cum per vrnarum & cypporum inscriptiones Dijs Manibus, &c.: non solum videbantur prospicere memoriae mortuorum, sed vt in quadam resurrectione per nomina marmore inscripta vnaquaeque anima agnosceret suos proprios cineres.

FINIS

Quarto Maij 1640. Imprimatur

Jun: 2 Tho: Wykes. 1640.

1 The 'Annus Magnus' or Platonic Year, at the conclusion of which the heavenly bodies complete their movements and return to their original place at Creation. Cf. the almost contemporary reference in Drummond's Cypresse Grove.

2 The reader who has followed Kinaston in these lucubrations, and will proceed to the expository passages on 'general knowledge' which have been omitted as impertinent to the present undertaking, is probably in a fair position to recover the matter and method by which the Regent and Professors of the Museum Minervae attracted Charles's London.

3 The colophon of Book V. runs: "Hic liber cum annotationibus Angiolatinis absolutus fuit ij° Aprilis ann. domini 1640." This shows that the scribe was engaged on the Testament between 2nd April and 4th May 1640.

4 Thomas Wykes (1602-1644), licenser for the press, was chaplain to the Bishop of London and played a part in the trial of Laud (see Pryne's Canturburies Doome, 1646, pp. 255, 357, 528). He is the Thomas Weekes, in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, who was appointed Canon of St. Paul's in 1636 and received his Doctor's degree on 9th May 1639. This is corroborated by the Registers of the Company of Stationers, in which, from 1639, 'Master Wykes' is styled 'Doctor Wykes.' There is some account of him in John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, Part ii., p. 49, and occasional references to his work as licenser in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1640 (e.g. at p. 352). He is not to be confused with John Weekes, the friend of Herrick, D.D., chaplain to Laud, and member of St. John's, Oxford.
[Supplementary Note A.—Two passages may be quoted from the 1635 print in further illustration of what has been said about Kinaston’s attempt to carry over the rhythm of Chaucer’s verse (and Henryson’s) and the date of his version of the Testament.

(a) In the dedication to John Rous, prefixed to the second Book, Kinaston says: “Quibus si versus nonnulli claudicare & pedes Agrippinos habere videbuntur, cum tamen sensum genuinum Chauceri patris & mentem integram tanquam ex traduce derivatam cum accuratissimâ rythmorum Anglicorum observatione in versione Latinâ (quæ mihi præcipuè curæ fuit) vbiq; à me retentam esse deprehenderint: si æquâ lance momenta omnia perpenderint, vel ipsi vnius aut alterius paginæ periculum fecerint, rem non adeo proclivis & facilis negotii mecum fortasse fatebuntur.” Elsewhere, in the Preface referred to in the next paragraph, he speaks of the difficulty of rendering Chaucer; and in the commendatory verses he is praised for making the poet intelligible—for recovering something of that “matchless strain” which Waller, speaking for his generation and century, had found “defaced.”

(b) In the Preface ‘Candido Lectori,’ preceding the first book, he writes: “Si Deus Opt. max. vitam meam pro sua clementiâ prorogare dignabitur: tres libri sequentes Latinitate postea donabuntur, & commentariolus aut annotationculæ quædam ad pleniorum poematis illustrationem adjicentur: si quæ hactenus tentavi, viris eruditis non omnino dissplicere intellexerim.” This is dated “Ex Aula alba Regiæ XIII Calendarum Decembris, Anno Domini 1633.” The reference to “tres libri sequentes” shows that he had not yet thought of the “sixth book,” or Henryson’s Testament.

Supplementary Note B.—We may add to Note 2 on p. xcvi an extract from the Preface to Úrry’s Chaucer (eleventh page, unnumbered; signature ‘m’) by ‘A Student of the Same College’ [Timothy Thomas]. “In 1635 Sir Francis Kinaston of Otely in Shropshire published the First and Second Books of Troilus and Cresside, with an elegant Latin Version of them in Rhime, dedicated to Pat. Junius, Library Keeper to the King: And in the Epistle to the Reader, he promises to translate the remaining Books in the same manner; and in case that Essay met with the Approbation of the Learned to publish the whole, with a Comment or Notes for the fuller Illustration of that Poem. And it seems he lived to finish this Work, though not to publish it; for I have been informed that there was a MS. of it in the hands of the late Dr. Henry Aldriche, Dean of Christ-Church, Oxon. (whose Name is never to be mentioned by a Member of that Society without the utmost Respect and Gratitude) out of which Mr. Úrry procured some of the Notes to be transcribed, which...
have been made use of in the Glossary. I could never learn
what became of that MS., but I am persuaded if it falls into the
hands of a person capable to judge of it, he will not grudge the
Learned World the use of so valuable a Piece by suppressing it,
or delaying it's Publication."

Urry's work was continued by Thomas Ainsworth, who died in
August 1719. There is no evidence that this successor had used
the MS., and the phrase of his successor Timothy Thomas, who
brought out the work in 1721, ("I could never learn what became
of that MS.") does not necessarily imply that the manuscript had
gone astray at Ainsworth's death. The Preface is our authority
for 1711 as the date on which Urry began his task. The refer-
ence to Aldrich, then dead, seems to suggest that he had lent the
volume; and it is open to us to assume that Urry had kept it,
probably in his rooms, till 1715, the date of his death.

It may not be inappropriate, in this Henrysonian connection,
to record that Urry's friends considered that his chief quali-
fication for editing Chaucer was his familiarity with Lowland
Scots (see 'Preface' to Chaucer, p. i, unnumbered). His
Scottish descent, perhaps northern accent, had evidently im-
pressed the 'House' as to his fitness for the 'dialectal'
niceties of a classic which they found hard to read.

Supplementary Note C.—Speght in his Chaucer, first issued in
1598, gives, in addition to a 'Life' (18 pp.) and 'Arguments to
every Tale and Booke' (6 pp.), the following Appendices: 'The
old and obscure words of Chaucer, explained' (14 pp.), 'The
French in Chaucer, translated' and 'Most of the Authors
cited . . .' (together 2 pp.), and 'Corrections of some faults, and
Annotations upon some places' (10 pp.). In his notes on
Henryson's Testament in the last section we find:—

"Fol. Pag.
"195. 1. But, read, Bout.
"195. 1. Philologoi, read, Phlegone.
"195. 1. Undersmiling she was, &c.) So Homer often
calleth Venus Φιλομείδης: and Theocritus
μητήρ γελασάσα: smiling or laughing Venus.
"196. 1. Pane, read, Way. [Here he changes to 'Way' to
rhyme with 'gay' in the first line. Kinaston
(see p. cxxxvii and note) encounters the same
difficulty, but takes 'pane' as an error for
'paue' (see N.E.D.) and alters 'gay' to
'braue.']

These annotationculea, together with references in the Glossary,
like that on 'tulsure' (supra, p. cxix), give Speght some claim to
be considered the first commentator of Henryson (see p. ci).]
II.

THE FABLES.

(ENGLISHED IN 1574 AND PRINTED IN 1577.)

An account is given in the second volume (pp. xi-xvi) of a lost edition of an anonymous English version of the Fables, "finished in the Vale of Aylesburie" in 1574, and published in London in 1577 by Richard Smith, the printer of Gascoigne's Steel Glas. All that is known of the book is derived from notes, made by David Laing in his "younger days," from the unique copy once in the library of Sion College. When Laing paid a second visit to consult the text for the purposes of his collected edition of Henryson (1865) he found that the volume had disappeared. Later search during the progress of the present edition proved fruitless. The Editor had, however, overlooked a clue hidden in the bibliographical gossip which the late Mr W. C. Hazlitt offered in 1897 in his Confessions of a Collector. "I saw," wrote Mr Hazlitt, "in a catalogue of miscellaneous books sold at Sotheby's in 1890 a lot which fixed my attention as a bibliographer. It was the English or Anglicised version of Henryson's Aesop, printed at London in 1577, and of which David Laing, in his edition of the old Scottish poet (1865), speaks as having been seen by him in the library of Sion College when he visited that institution about 1830. He mentions that he wished to verify something at a later date, and that the volume had disappeared. I found on inspection that this was the identical book, no other being known anywhere; and I bought it under the hammer for £6, and let Jarvis & Son have it for £12, 12s. They sold it to Lord Rosebery. It had probably been a wanderer above half a century, since it quitted the College in the pocket of some divine of elastic conscience or short memory."  

It is a pleasure to record that the volume is in the safe-keeping of Lord Rosebery in his Scottish library at Barnbougle, on the shore of the Firth of Forth, and that his Lordship has generously offered to place it at the disposal of the Editor. Unfortunately, the book is for the present inaccessible. On the outbreak of war the collections were removed in packing-cases to a place of safety. When the time comes for the return of the volumes to their old places, the Editor, or another, will have an opportunity of giving an account of this sixteenth century 'Englishing' of the Fables. It is useless to speculate on its value, beyond suggesting that the effort of an appreciative Elizabethan to interpret Henryson's text may, even by its errors, help us to a better understanding of some of the more obscure readings. It is not likely that any biographical or bibliographical evidence escaped David Laing when he made his careful summary of its contents.
EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

A  Asloan MS. (Chalmers Transcript).
   II. 319-327.

A* Asloan MS. (Bülbring Transcript).
   III. 27-65 (right).

B  Bannatyne MS.
   II. 231-315; III. 66-103, 110-111, 118-120, 128-129, 136-142,

B* Bannatyne Draft MS.

C  Charteris (1570).
   II. 2-218 (left).

C* Charteris (1573).
   III. 3-24.

CM Chepman & Myllar, 1508.
   III. 26-64 (left), 107-108.

G  Gray MS.
   III. 146-148.

H  Harleian MS. 3865.
   II. 3-219 (right).

M  Makculloch MS.
   II. 223-228; III. 106-107, 114-115.

MT Maitland MS.
   III. 121-123, 130-131, 142-144, 158-160.

T  Thynne (1532).
   III. 175-198.

In Vol. II. (The Fables) the numbers in heavy type indicate the lines in C.
   The first number following a capital letter (H, M, B, or A) refers to
   the page, the second to the line. Thus "2933" in the left-hand
   margin is the line in C which corresponds with lines "H 219. 2955"
   and "B 283. 186."

In Vol. III. the numbers in heavy type indicate the lines in the first text
   of each poem. References to other texts are by page and line, as in
   Vol. II.

When the first text is incomplete (as in Orpheus and Eurydice) the
   notes to passages in the omitted portions are indicated by aster-
   isked line-numbers, with the reference-letter and page added within
   brackets.

A page-index to the texts, excerpted from the General Table in II.,
   pp. xx.-xxii., and III., pp. x.-xi., is printed in the heading of each
   x.-xi., xv.-xvi.) and in the headings of certain poems in Vol. III.,
   are used only for the purpose of differentiating the parallel texts,
   and are not to be confused with the heavy-faced capitals indicating
   the MSS. and Editions.

For an explanation of contractions see the Note prefixed to the Index
   of Words and Glossary.
VOL. II.

THE FABLES.

I. PROLOG.

Texts—C II. 2-6 (left); H II. 3-7 (right); M II. 223-225; B II. 270-272.

5. *caus* has a disyllabic value in this line in all the texts.

6, 7. The sense in *C* and *H* 3. 6-7 is clear, but the introduction of the personal forms in *M* 223. 6-7 (‘he’ and ‘his’) confuse the text. Were emendation called for, ‘O man’ for ‘of man’ would remove the difficulty.


22. The acephalous line in *C* and *H* 4. 22 and the octosyllabic line in *M* 224. 22 are normalized in *B* 271. 22.

27. The omission of ‘said’ in *B* 271. 27 is probably a slip.

28. *Dulcius*, *&c*. For discussion of this clue to the text which Henryson translates or paraphrases, see the Introduction, p. xxxii. The quotation appears on the title-page of *C*. See the facsimile facing p. viii. (Vol. II.)

35. Henryson’s secret is still secure. See Introduction, p. xxxi.

36, *&c*. The poet’s plea for generous treatment of his vernacular effort is for the most part conventional. See Introduction, p. xxxvi.


47. *B* agrees with *M* in giving ‘put in’ for ‘putting.’

50. *be lyke*. ‘No marvel is it that a man be like a beast.’

51. *lufs ay carnall*. The variant ‘leiffis’ (lives) in *M* 225. 51 requires the insertion of ‘in,’ as in *B*. 272. 51.
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

58. **Purpurate** has caused the scribes some difficulty, through a misunderstanding of 'facund,' which is a substantive ('eloquence'). M 225. 58 is probably nearest the original ('in excellent metre and with great eloquence'). 'Purpurate,' which is no more than a superlative epithet or a rhetorical expletive, tempts C to a colour contrast in 'gray vestiment,' and H 7. 58 to the free emendation 'as poete lawriate.' The line in B 272. 58 is good, and might have stood, had the evidence of M been lost. For facund (adj.) cf. III. 268 infra.

60. **Lak.** B 272. 60 follows M 225. 60 in preferring 'tak.' 'Lack' in H has, with 'disdane,' the sense of 'disparage,' 'make light of.' In C, with 'wisdome' it may have the ordinary meaning, 'be wanting in.' For examples of 'lak' in Henry the Minstrel, G. Douglas, and others, see N. E. D., s. v. 'Lack. v. 6.'

II.

THE TAILL OF THE COK AND THE IASP.

Texts—C II. 6-12 (left); H II. 7-13 (left); M II. 225-228; B II. 272-276.

69. **Iasp** (A.F. jaspe, L. iaspis) as in 'jasper,' but used in the general sense of 'jewel.' Cf. II. 75, 81, &c.; and M 227. 120, and the variants in C, H, and B. See Introduction, p. xxxii.

74. C, H, and especially B appear to dislike the repetition of 'tak no tent (care)' as in M, which is not in itself an unhappy turn, if 'tynt (lost)' did not follow immediately in l. 75.

83. on mold (and in H 9. 83) may be a mere verse tag, or may mean, literally, 'on the ground.' M 226. 83 reads 'and mold,' taking 'mold' in a synonymous sense with 'muk' ('mould,' 'loose earth,' 'dirt'). B following M's 'and,' but unwilling to depreciate the familiar sense of 'mold,' inserts 'mwd' (mud) and changes the rhyme in the next line. Cf. moll and mow, l. 93 infra.

91. B 273. 91 reads 'cafe' (chaff) for 'draf.'

94. B 273. 94 transposes 'draf' and 'corne,' with good effect.

97. B, again, follows M, and gives a better line.

102. C and H require the insertion of 'bat,' as in M 226. and B 274. 'Wyse men' for 'wyffis' ('my hens') in B is no improvement.

106. B 274. 106. 'Tributation' (med. L. tributatio), tribute.

111. midding. M and B give monosyllables, the former (227. 111)
"fene" (filth: cf. G. Douglas, ed. Small, ii. 132. 11), the latter ‘aft’
("dirt; ‘ashes").

119. Cf. note supra, l. 36.
125. hoip: so M. H and B read hap (chance).
126. H agrees. Note variants in M and B.

136. in one Realme or hous. B 275. 136, ‘citie and burchgus.’
H follows M ‘realme, citie, or hous.’ The unusual form burchgus
is hardly med. Lat. burgus (cf. burcus in Du Cange), a burgh or
town; more likely burgess (pl.), the inhabitants, ‘bourgeoisie.’

139. nor othre rust can fret. ‘Sreet’ in H 13. 139 and ‘ket’ in
B 275. 139 are difficult variants of ‘fret’ in M and C. The former
suggests kinship with ‘shred,’ but it may be a scribe’s error, begun
by writing ‘s’ for ‘f’ and then filling in a ‘c’ in an impossible
’sreit.’ ‘Ket,’ in B 275. 139, may be one of the recognized forms
of ‘cut,’ or it may be associated with the word ‘ket,’ carrion or
rubbish. ‘Fret’ has good authority and makes good sense.

141. sempill, simple.
143. moik, mok (mock): so all the texts except B, which has
‘knak’ (snap of the fingers).
149. Ignorance. All the other texts read ‘ignorantis’ (ignorant
persons), a not uncommon Scots usage. Cf. James VI., Schort
Treatise (‘Quadrain’)—

“To ignorants obdurde, quhair wilful errour lyis.”

155. Science. All the other texts read ‘this Iasp.’

III.

THE TAILL OF THE UPONLANDIS MOUS AND
THE BURGES MOUS.

Texts—C II. 14-30 (left); H II. 15-31 (right); B II. 283-291;
A II. 319-327.

164. Borrous toun (borrowis toun, &c.), borough-town, a town
with borough rights. The N. form is preserved in several Scottish
place-names, notably in Borrowstounness or Bo’ness, on the Firth
of Forth; the S. form appears in Burton (O.E. burhtun).

165. Uponland, upland, landward (‘landwart,’ in contrast with
‘burgh’).

166. breir is ‘brier,’ almost synonymous with busk (bush) and
often found with it as a conventional alliterative doublet (Cf. Shake-
spere, M. N. D., III. i. 110: “Through bogge, through bush, through
brake, through bryer”). Cf. line 184 infra.
167. And other mennis skaith. ‘In’ for ‘and’ in B 282. 6 is a simpler reading. ‘Schecht’ in B is an unusual spelling, though it approximates to ‘schath,’ recorded in N. E. D.

168. waiith, hunting. B’s ‘waicht’ is a rhyme-form, and is not to be taken as meaning ‘watch’ or ‘search.’

173. but custum mair or less, free of (without) custom, both the Great (magna custuma, levied on imports and exports) and the Little (parva custuma, levied on goods sent to market).

176. vnfute sair, lit. ‘not footsore,’ i.e., ‘comfortable,’ not ‘on foot sorely’ as B’s reading might suggest. The phrase, as Jamieson has pointed out, caused difficulty to Pinkerton and Sibbald (see Sc. Dict., s. v. ‘Unfute-sair.’) The lines in the Thrie Tailes of the Thrie Priests of Peblis (Laing, Early Sc. Met. Tales, ed. 1889, p. 13) explain the usage:

“In Peblis town sumtyme, as I heard tell,
The formost day of Februare, befell
Thrie Priests went unto collatioun,
Into ane privie place of the said toun.
Quhair that they sat, richt soft and unfute sair;
They luifit not na rangald nor repair:
Quhair that they sat, full easily and soft.”

—ll. 1-9.

Dr Diebler (Henr. Fabeld., p. 40) quotes from a thirteenth century version of the fable, printed in Reliquiae Antiquae, I. 320, where the outsetting of the mouse is described, “Movit igitur iter facili pede.” Though this is no proof of Henryson’s indebtedness, it illustrates the phrase unfute sair.

179. Vnder the wand, prob. ‘in the open, or wild’ (‘wand,’ osier, reed), synonymous, as Jamieson suggests, with ‘under the lind,’ but unconnected in sense with ‘wand’ or rod of authority, as he and Laing state (cf. l. 1261). The phrase cannot mean “under a state of subjection.”

183. Wilsum wayis, a common verse tag. See A 324. 143; Orpheus and Eurydice, Vol. III. pp. 37, 71, and 46, 47, ll. 173, 290, &c. Cf. also ‘This world is verra Vanite’ in the Gray MS. (Specimens of Middle Scots, 1902, p. 11), and Dunbar’s ‘Hale sterne superne,’ l. 35.

See Glossary and note on will, l. 300 infra, and notes to Test. of Cress., III. 22, 543, Orph. and Eur., III. 37, 155, and Rob. and Mak., III. 94, 122.

184, 185. The lines in H, B, and A, which have a family-likeness, are superior to those in C.

‘Quaik’ may mean (a) ‘cry,’ ‘screech,’ ‘quack,’ though the epithet ‘hiddeous’ is extravagant in association with ‘peip’ in line 187, or, better, (b) ‘dread,’ ‘fear.’ If ‘with’ were changed to
'by,' 'quaik' might be taken as 'peat-hole' or 'quagmire' (mod. dial. 'quaw'), in natural sequence to the description in the preceding line.

187. Cry peip. See also l. 308. Cf. Kingis Quair, st. 57: "Now, sweete bird, say ones to me pepe."

189. 'By reason of their kinship,' or, 'naturally' ('by very nature').


198. fog, moss, generally in N. usage. Also, as in S., the rough winter grass.

199. steidfast, fast in its place. B 285. 38 follows A 320. 38 in writing 'erdfast,' fast in the earth.

207. I do it on thame besyde (B doit on; A I dud). 'I leave it to them.' Cf. 90. 1221, and see note to l. 2852 and Glossary.

215. rate (H rait), style, manner. ryt (B and A), 'rite,' with the same sense.

223. B repeats teith in error.

235. seik. Better set (A), 'place,' or seith, seethe, (H and B) 'seethe.' Cf. Proverbs, xv. 17.

236. Modicum. This appears to be the earliest known instance of the word.

248. 'My Good Friday is merrier than your Easter.'

251. nor fall-trap (B na fall, na trap; A na trape, na fall). 'Fall' or 'fa,' a trap-door, something that falls.

253. In stubbill array. This appears to be corrupt. B reads in skugry ay, 'ever concealed,' 'by secret ways ever,' and A in stowthry ay, where stowthry may convey the sense of 'secrecy' as involved in its familiar use for smuggled goods (stoutherie, stouthrief, &c.). If array be correct in C and H, we may read sempill (simple) for stubbill. B gives the most straightforward reading.

262. A reads in till ane innes. Inn, shelter; used in pl. in sing. sense. Cf. Henry the Minstrel, Wallace, iv. 381 (S.T.S., p. 60):

"For him he gert ane inny's graithit be."

270. 'Mutton and beef cut into great portions ('cuts').'

278. B 287. 117 3ít deme, 'yet think.'

281-287. Omitted from A.

Subcharge, surcharge, additional course. Cf. Barbour, Brus, xvi. 458—

"Thai had ane felloun entremaf,
For that surcharge to chargeand wafl!"

The sense is much the same as in 'entermess' (entremets), that which is served between the courses. See also l. 346 and note.

283. Thraf caikkis, cakes of unleavened bread. See N. E. D., s. vv. 'Tharf,' 'Tharf-cake.' John Ray, in the list of northern words in his Collection of English Words not generally used (2nd edition, 1691),
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

describes 'Tharcakes' (s. v. 'Bannock') as "cakes made of oat-meal
... and fair water, without yeast or leaven, and so baked."

285. *mane*, bread of fine quality, simnel-cake. 'Mane' is generally
used with 'bread' in an attributive sense (see Dunbar, Freiris of
Berwik, i6o, 'breid of mane,' Pitscottie, Chron., ed. S.T.S., i. 337,
'maine breid.') Cf. Chaucer's *payndemayn* (see note in Skeat's
Chaucer, vol. v. pp. 184, 185, and Amours, Scottish Allit. Poems,
S.T.S., p. 356). B reads *furmage*, cheese (A.F. *fourmager*). *Geill,
*geljy.

287. B substitutes 'crasch thair teithis,' for the familiar 'gust thair
mouth,' in C and H. See Glossary.

288. *This*, thus, a common M.Sc. usage. See Specimens of Mid.
Scots, pp. xxi, xxxv. 'Thus they made merry, as long as they could.'

293. *Spenser*, steward. (Cf. *spence*, l. 263 * supra*, larder.) *Spens
(as in B 288. 132) is also applied to the keeper of the larder.

300. *will of,* 'at a loss for,' uncertain. Phrases like 'will of rede,'
'will of wane' (=at a loss what to do) are common. Will, wild.
Cf. 'wilde of rede' in Florence of Rome, in Ritson's Metrical Romancees
(1802), iii. 35. 'To go wyll' = to wander, go astray (as in G. Douglas,
*Aen.*, ed. Small, ii. 24. 6.) Cf. wilsom, l. 183 *supra* (note).

304. *sker,* in C and H, 'scare'; *char,* in A and B, 'chase' or 'drive
away,' as in G. Douglas, Pal. of Hon., ed. Small, i. p. 13, l. 14, and *Aen.,
i8., ii. 81, l. 7. In the former, Douglas gives both words as rhymes in
the stanza:

"And stand on rowme, quhair better folk bene charrit,

With that they raid away as they war skarrit."

315. All the texts except C read 'honey.'

321. *watter caill.* 'kail' (broth) made without meat, *soupe maigre.*
See l. 2747.

326. *Gib hunter.* With 'Gib-cat' (from Gilbert) compare 'Tom-
cat'(from Thomas). The Reynardian name is Tybert.

329. *Bawdronis* (A Balderonis), another familiar name for the cat.

330-334. Cf. Henryson's parallel description in the Paddok and the

331. Here, as in so many cases, C and H go together, on the one
hand, and A and B on the other.

*Cant,* lively; *tait,* playfully. 'Cant and keen,' 'tait and trig' (cf.
l. 1402), are common alliterative doubles.


336. *ane burite.* So H. B reads 'dressour' (dresser). 'Dosor'
(dosser, dorser) in A need not be a scribal error for 'dressor.' It is
supported in its sense of 'a hanging on a wall or seat' by 'courtyne'
in l. 348. It probably refers to the curtain drawn over the shelves of
the upper part of the dresser in the larder.
337. **parralling**, that is, 'parpalling,' partition-wall. See note to l. 348.

341. *let*, prevent.

343. *defy*, renounce, *vilipendo*.

345. 'Thy goose is good, but thy sauce is sour as gall.' *Gansell*, O.F. *ganse aillie*, garlic sauce, served with goose.

346. *subcharge*. See note to l. 281 supra. *A* reads *suchardis*; *B* bungles over the word, as in l. 120 (p. 288). Perhaps by Bannatyne's day it was being forgotten.

347. *na faill*, without doubt. The reading in *B* and *A* makes *fall* a verb, meaning 'come to pass,' 'chance' ('as it may come to pass').

348. *perpell wall* (*A* *parpell w.;* *B* *parpane w.*), partition-wall, a wall built with parpens, or single bricks or stones with smooth or faced surfaces on either side. See *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Parpen.'

351. *kith*, country, home, 'place' (as in *B*).

356. 'found her way to the moor.'

359. 'although it was not large.'

360. *baith but and ben*, both in its outer and inner parts. The phrase, common in Scottish writers and current in all the modern dialects, refers to the plan of the old-fashioned single-doored dwelling-house, still to be found in cottages, in which the kitchen or first room is the 'but' or 'but-end' of the house, and the parlour, entered from the kitchen, the 'ben,' and another room entered from the parlour, the 'far-ben.' The parlour and bedroom constitute the 'ben-end' of the house. To go from the kitchen to the parlour is to 'go ben,' and from the bedroom, or parlour, to the kitchen to 'go but.'

365. 'if ye will take heed.' In *B* *will* may be 'while' (quhill), as in *A*, or 'will' (if ye will).

369, 370. These lines are transposed in *C*.

383. The passage does not occur in this form in any of the books of Salomanian wisdom in the Vulgate. It suggests a memory-blend of *Ecc. iii. 22* ('Et deprehendi nihil esse melius quam laetari hominem in opere in suo, et hance esse partem illius') and *Prov. xvi. 8* ('Melius est parum cum iustitia quam multi tructus cum iniquitate'); but it is most probably, in the light of Henryson's use of Lydgate, a rendering of *Prov. xvii. 1*. See the *Introduction*, p. xxxviii.
IV.

THE TAILL OF SCHIR CHANTECLEIR AND THE FOXE.

Texts—C II. 30-46 (left); H II. 31-47 (right); B II. 243-250.

392. inclination, in plural sense. \textit{Diuers i.}, 'divers kinds of inclination.'

394. semis. \textit{feinzeit} in H and B is a better reading.

395. 'guard the house.'

403. drop, dorp, thorpe, village. This N. metathetic form is not recorded in \textit{N. E. D.} or Jamieson.

404. \textit{Rok}, distaff.

409. Deuydit, 'broke into two halves.' Cf. 'divide' and 'division' in Cambridge University usage. See \textit{N. E. D.}

418. \textit{Toun}, 'town,' in N. sense of dwelling-house, farm-house, stead, village, as preserved also in 'farmtown,' Newton, Milton, Netherton, &c.

420. 'weary of night.'

421. \textit{Lowrence}, Lawrence, a familiar name for the fox; more commonly in the form 'Lowrie.' As the name does not appear to have been explained, the suggestion is here offered that the association with Lowrence or Laurence is a secondary stage in the history. The commoner form is (a) 'Lowrie,' or (b) 'Tod Lowrie,' which may mean simply (a) the lurker, skulker, croucher (cf. l. 2286, 'Lowrence come lourand,' and see \textit{lour} in Glossary), or (b) fox lurker, or lurking fox. Extension of the form to 'Lowrence' would easily follow, especially in the ceremonious Beast-Fable. There is no evidence of the association of the Scots 'reynard' with the Saint, as in 'Lazy Laurence,' or, in Germany, in \textit{der faule Lens.} Laziness is not a vice of the fox, in the flesh or in fable.


463. 'You lack one special trick, or knack.'

469. \textit{Wawland} (B \textit{walkit}, walked), rolling the eyes, staring.

473. 'hied with him straightway (without delay).'

475. Familiar hen-names. \textit{Pertok} (B \textit{partlot}) is the Chaucerian \textit{Pertelote} (\textit{The Nonne Prestes Tale}, \textit{passim}) and the \textit{'Pinte'} or \textit{'Pintain'} of the \textit{Roman de Renart}. \textit{Sprutok} (B \textit{Sproutok}) may be associated with 'sprutili,' a speckle, 'sprutilit,' speckled, as in G. Douglas, ed. Small, iii. p. 93, l. 21; but cf. \textit{Sprotinus}, the cock in the Latin Reynard (see Introduction, p. xl). \textit{Sprutok} occurs in \textit{The Tale of Colkelbie Sow}, l. 117. \textit{Toppok} (H 530 \textit{toppok}, B \textit{coppok}) may convey the sense of top, tuft, as in 'tappit hen.' The Reynardian form is Coppe or Coppen. Both the 'c' and 't' forms are common in Scots. Both are used in a couplet in \textit{The Tale of Colkelbie Sow}, ll. 105-106.
478. B reylock, p. 246, l. 90. This remains unexplained, and may be corrupt. It supplies a syllable which is wanting in the other texts.

492. curcheis. This is an interesting example of the original and correct usage in the singular. Curcheis represents the O.F. couvrechés, and was generally transformed into a false singular curch, with ‘curches’ or ‘curcheis’ as a plural. N.E.D. does not give this instance, but shows that the plural form was already in vogue before Henryson or his transcribers, or in their time. See the quotations from the Acts of James II. (1457) and Henry the Minstrel’s Wallace.

502-503. The punctuation is unsatisfactory. Read:

“ye be too mad, who make such lamentation for him. We shall fare well,” &c.,

that is, ‘ye be too mad, who make such lamentation for him. We shall fare well,’ &c.

503. Sanct Iohn to borrow, lit. ‘St John as security or surety (pledge).’ See note on this common Sc. phrase in Skeat, Kingis Quair, S.T.S. (N.S.), p. 65; also to l. 1226 infra.


515. B Sproutok for Pertok.

516. In B (p. 247, l. 128) this line describes the hen, more appropriately, in the light of her confession.

519. ‘I take you by my hand,’ as in B.

525. Kittokis, ‘wives,’ paramours. ‘Kittok’ or ‘Kittie’ is a name for a woman, sometimes in no disrespectful sense, but generally with the meaning of a wanton. See Dunbar’s Kynd Kittok and Lyndsay’s Kitti’s Confessio; and cf. Lyndsay’s Agaist syde Taillis, 108, &c. Sissokkis in B 248. 137 is probably a corrupt reading: there is no N. evidence to make it a diminutive of S. Siss (from Cicely), in its lower sense.

537. Kennetdis. See note infra, l. 547.


How! berk (H How, bark, B How birkye). This may be read as ‘bark,’ or in B ‘bark ye’; but ‘birkye’ may have been taken by Bannatyne as a name, in the sense, still current, of a ‘spirited fellow,’ and suggestive, in this place, of a terrier.

Berrie, Burry, ‘burry,’ shaggy. Cf. ‘burry dog’ on p. 292, l. 21; and the variants ‘Perrie’ and ‘Pirrie’ on pp. 86, 87, l. 1158, 1159; also the note in N.E.D., s.v. ‘Pirrie,’ which discusses the relationship of both forms with ‘Birr.’ ‘Bell’ in B is a familiar name for a female servant (‘Bell o’ the Manse’), and is not infrequently given to a collie bitch.
Bausie Brown is familiar as the name of a spirit in Dunbar's *Dance of the Sevin Deidy Synnis*—

"Than all the feynis lewche, and maid gekkis, 
Blak Belly and Bawsy Brown."

—ll. 29, 30.

(Cf. also the composite 'Belly Bassy' in *Sir John Rowll's Cursing*, ed. Laing, *Anc. Pop. and Rom. Poetry*, 1885, p. 218, l. 252.) The widow's dog may have been given the 'brownie's' name, as appropriate to its tricky temper, or, more probably, may have been so designated because it had a brindled appearance, lit. a brown or bay coat, with black spots on the face. Cf. Burns, *Twa Dogs*, 31, "a faithful tyke ... His honest sonsie hawn't face." See 'Bausond' in *N. E. D.*

*Rype schaw*, 'covert-searcher': perhaps the name of a dog, or the excited call of the widow to the dogs to 'rype' the 'schaw.'

*Rin weill*, 'run-well.' Either a name or the widow's imperative, as above.

*Curtes*, the Reynardian name for the Dog (*Cortois*; Caxton, *Courtois*).

*Nuttieclyde*, 'brown Clyde' (still a common name). B reads *cutt and clyid*, where *cutt* may be *kit*, but the variant is probably corrupt.

For analogous exercises in name-making cf. *The Tale of Colkelbie Sow*, i. ll. 161 *et seq.*, and iii. ll. 101 *et seq.*

543. 'without bidding.'
546. 'And did not stop till they saw Lawrence.'
547. *Kennet*, a diminutive of *chien* (A.F. 'chienet'), is a small hunting-dog. *Raiche*, in B 248. 159, ratch-hound (O.E. ræcc), is, in Scott's phrase (*Demonology*, iv. 131), a 'hound of scent.'
548-9. 'God send that I and thou were safely in my den.' This he says 'in mind.' B's reading would mean: 'Good luck indeed (good were it, or God!) if thou and I were lifted into (were secure in) my den,' where 'sen' seems to have a conjunctive, rather than a verbal sense.
557. *friuolous*, 'not worthy of regard, or trust.'
566. 'without board or wage (meat or fee).'
573. B 249. 185 makes the sense clearer than C or H 45. 581.
577. *Luwer, lewer* H, *lewar* B, the louver, perhaps on the barn-roof; or it may be the opening or 'bole' to the hen-roost.
595. *leif* Loif in H 45. 596 and *loife* in B 250. 207 are better readings. *To leif* (loif) and *le*, to praise and lie. Contrast to *leif in le* (ll. 216. 2917*), to live in security.
600. *sucker*, B *socour*, sugar.
605. H 47. 606 'ar vennemous.' So B 250, 217.
THE TAILL HOW THIS FOIRSAID TOD MAID HIS
CONFESSIOUN TO FREIR WOLF WAITSKAITH.

Texts—C II. 46-48 (left); H II. 47-59 (right); B II. 251-257.

610. waiting (wayting H), hunting, robbing (cf. l. 168 supra, note); miching, in B 251. 5, skulking, pilfering.
613. B completes the line: ‘Quhill ḟat Thetes, the goddesḍ of þe flude.’
634. ‘without astrolabe,’ &c.
640. ‘that sent me to learning.’ B ‘that sent me first to learning.’
642. auentour, in astrological sense.
643. H 49. 644, my mortale men (‘mien’). B (p. 252) gives the most satisfactory reading. Dr W. A. Craigie conjectures that ‘ken’ and ‘men’ in H are dittographies of ‘kend’ and ‘mend,’ and that ‘ene’ in C is an attempt at improvement.
649. ‘each night are put.’
650. mischeuis, ‘do injury to,’ ‘injurc,’ or (also in older sense) ‘slander.’
653. ‘In the end called Widdinek and Crakraip too.’ ‘Widdinek’ is a rogue hanged by the neck by a halter of willow twigs (by a withe or withy, in contrast with a hempen rope): ‘Crakraip,’ crack-rope or crack-halter, a gallows-bird.
654. ‘and for our reward (‘hire’).’
659. Waitksaith, that is, one who ‘waits’ or watches a chance ‘to do skaith.’ The name appears in Caxton’s Reynard: “Ther is prentout, wayte scathe, and other of my frendis and alyes.” See Introduction, p. xli.
665. The alliterative doublet binge and bek (beck) is not rare in Scots. Binge, s. and v., has the sense of ‘cringe,’ and may have been formed analogically.
667. feir may mean (a) fear, or (b) demeanour. Either suits the context.
668. doid, dude, do it. See note to l. 2852 infra.
669. count tell. count kneill, H 53. 690, which rhymes better, can be read ‘began to kneel,’ with ‘and to say’ understood.
704-706. thow wantis pointis twa . . . The thrid part of penitence (B 254. 101 pennisce). The Catholic sacrament of Penance consists of three parts: (1) Contritio; (2) Confessio; (3) Satisfactio. Perhaps the most succinct account is that offered in the Concordantia
Armenorum cum Sancta Romana Ecclesia (dated at Florence, 22nd Nov. 1439), in which Pope Eugenius the Fourth says:—

"§ 13. Quartum Sacramentum est Poenitentia, cujus quasi materia sunt actus poenitentis, qui in tres distinguuntur partes. Quaram prima est cordis contritio, ad quam pertinet, ut doleat de peccato commisso cum proposito non peccandi de caetero. Secunda est oris confessio, ad quam pertinet, ut peccator omnia peccata, quorum memoriam habet, suo Sacerdoti confiteatur integraliter. Tertia est satisfactio pro peccatis secundum arbitrium Sacerdotis, quae quidem praecipue fit per orationem, jejuniunum, et eleemosynam. Forma hujus Sacramenti sunt verba absolutionis, quae Sacerdos profert, cum dicit : Ego te absolvo, &c. Minister hujus Sacramenti est Sacerdos, habens auctoritatem absolvendi, vel ordinariam, vel ex commissione Superioris. Effectus hujus Sacramenti est absolutio a peccatis" (printed in Cherubini, Magnum Bullarium Romanum, I. p. 358, Lyons, 1692-1697, and also in Mansi, Concilia.) For other accounts posterior in date to Henryson's text, see Bellarmine (1542-1621), De Controversiis, III. i. xvii., col. 943, Paris, 1608; Melchior Canus (1523-1560), Opera, p. 386, Bassano, 1776; the Canones et Decreta of the Council of Trent, Sessio xiv. (25th Nov. 1551), c. iii. p. 134, Paris, 1848, and the Catechismus of the same Council, p. 277, Paris, 1848). The Editor is indebted to Mr John Salmon for these references, and those under l. 1148.

717. 'Here I grant thee full remission.' Reik, 'reach.' Cf. reik remeid in l. 1459 infra.

722. 'For thy great necessity I give thee leave to do it twice weekly.'

724. God yeild zow, 'God you requite'; a common phrase (cf. Chaucer, Troilus, i. 1055) appearing in several contracted forms, 'God-dilge yee,' 'God ild ye,' &c.

727 et seq. The association of the Fox with salmon appears in the earlier apologue in Barbour's Brus, XIX., 649 et seq.

733-735. H 57. 734-736 and B 255. 128-130 have the same variants from C's rhymes. 'To lait,' to seek, search for.

746. C and H 'finely, completely.' B 'finally, at last, fully.'

748, 749. Cf. line 1399 infra.

752. 'Upon this (target-) belly of mine how well could an arrow be planted.'

755. wait, watch; perhaps, 'hunt about' (cf. 'wait,' ll. 610, 659).

764. 'He (the goatherd) dragged him along.' See B p. 256.

772. gret=(a) 'great,' with verb understood, or better (b) 'weep,' for greitis (in co-ordination with repentis).

774. ryte. So too H, correctly. vyce in B is clearly a scribal error, easily made.

783. 'And let it in your hearts be noted.' So H. 'And note it in your hearts,' B.
THE FABLES (717-843).

VI.


TEXTS—C II. 60-84 (left); H II. 61-85 (right); B II. 258-270.

793. Fatherwar (Fatherwer); H father war; B fader were: 'father-worse (*waour),' on the analogy of Sc. 'father-better' (better than one's father). The meaning is developed in l. 797.
794. *tig and tar,* the N. equivalent to *tick and toy,* to play with, or meddle with (rather roughly). *Tig,* or *tick,* has the sense of 'tickle up,' or 'paw about,' or tap, as of a mouse by a cat; and *tar* that of 'irritate' or 'weary.'
802. 'By scent.'
809. *covetous* in B may be the noun, as in C and H, or the adjective used as a noun = covetous one.
813. 'Not fearing to lead the same life.'
816. *pietie* may be either 'piety,' u.s., or 'pity,' u.s. and in B, p. 259. *faderlye* in B has the sense of 'for (of) his father.'
819. *Ay rinnis,* &c. This saying also occurs in Dunbar's *In vice most viciss he excellis,* ed. S.T.S., ii. p. 191, ll. 47, 48. Cf. too, Knox, *Hist.,* ed. Laing, i. 116: 'So that the Scots proverbe was trew in him: 'So long rynnis the fox, as he fute hes.'"
824. 'worldly goods.' *gude=gudis.* The reading in B 259. 37 is *wrangwil,* 'wrongously taken.'
828, 829. *Execute,* in the legal sense. *To do,* to act for (cf. Sc. 'doer,' agent, solicitor.) 'Thy latter will (testament),' 'Thy debts and legacies.' Note the different couplet in B 259. 41, 42. "To sing or say masses for the salvation of thy soul: from the moment of thy death all devotion or piety to thee is at an end." B probably represents the original form, C and H giving a recension to suit the atmosphere of Reform.
833, 834. Transposed in B 259. 46, 47, with the change from 'he' to 'I.'
835. *Bill,* formal document. Cf. *bull,* H 65. 845. *buste* (B 259. 48), box or case, containing the document. See l. 57 in B.
843. *Greitlie agast.* B 260. 56 reads *govand agast* ('gove,' to stare, gaze).
844. Breist. The MS. reading buist, in the note on this page, should be retained here as in H and B. For ‘buist,’ ‘boist,’ ‘buste,’ ‘bus[t] H,’ (box), see note to line 835 supra.

846. sadly, solemnly, soberly, steadily.

847. Noble, the customary epithet for the Lion in the Romances and in the Reynardian tales, sometimes treated as a name (e.g., Reynart . . . went in the mydel of the place stondying to fore Noble the Kynge : Caxton, Reyn., xiii). Cf. ll. 1409, 1447, &c.

878. Formal lists of this kind, based on the Bestiaries, are common in Middle Eng. and Middle Sc., and are in some cases directly inspired by Chaucer (cf. the Parl. of Foules). See in Scots The Kingis Quair, stt. 154-158, and the opening stanzas of Montgormerie’s Cherrie and the Slae. The correspondence between Henryson and the author of the Kingis Quair may be only accidental, and need not be pressed. Cf.—

“I sail reheirs ane part of euerik kynd,
Als fer as now occurris to my mynd”

with—

“And also, as It come vnto my mind,
Off bestis sawe I mony diuerse kynd”

and—

“With mony an othir beste diuerse and strange,
That cummyth noght as now vnto my mynd,”

and note certain similarities in the sequence of the animals’ names. The debt of Montgormerie to Henryson is less obscure. Cf.—

“I saw the Hurcheon and the Hare
In hidlings hirpling heere and there”

—Wreittoun Text, in S.T.S. Edition, ed. G. Stevenson, p. 73,

with l. 895 (p. 68 supra). Also, perhaps, line 35 of the same stanza—

“The Hart, the Hynd, the Dae, the Rae,”

with l. 892 (p. 66 supra). Cf. also note to l. 905 infra.
The alliterative sequence hard—hurcheoun—hirpland appears to have attracted Dunbar too, who in his Flyting (see note to l. 895 infra) may be recovering Henryson’s line unconsciously.

887. sparth. This has not been identified. It probably is a corrupt reading for a word of two syllables, required by the line.

890. Gillet, mare. B 261. 103 Ionet, jennet, a small Spanish horse. For gillet see Dunbar, Tua Mariit Wemen, l. 114 and Sir John Rowll’s Cursing, l. 178.

893. Beir, bear ; Bair, boar ; Bugill, buffalo, wild ox.


> “Hard hurcheoun, hirpland, hippit as ane harrow.”

See note to l. 878 supra.

898. ‘The wild ounce.’ **B** 262. 110 reads *bauer bakon*, the meaning of which is not clear. **B** refers to the ‘beaver’ in the next line (*fyber*).


902. *Glebard* (*globert*) suggests glow-worm (cf. ‘glowbard’), with the suffix ‘-bird,’ as in ‘lady-bird’; but this is unsatisfactory. If the text be strict in its selection of four-footed animals in this stanza, we must look for another signification. But what?

903. *Quhitret*, stoat; *Quhaisill*, weasel.

904. *Feitho*, mod. E. ‘fitchew’ or ‘fitchet,’ a foumart or polecat. Cf. Shakespeare, *T. and C.*, V. i. 67, *Lear*, IV. vi. 124, and *Oth.*, IV. i. 150. In the Acts of Parliament of James I. (I. 22), it is ordained “That na man haue Mertrik skinnen furth of the Realme, and gif he dois, that he pay to the king two schillinges for the Custome of ilk skinne, and for ten *Foumartes* skinnes called Fithawes ten pennies.” There is great confusion in the literary references to these varieties of cats, and the popular application is not always clear. It is useless for the reader to promise himself a perfect differentiation of all the names in such passages.

> *hes furrit*, &c., ‘has trimmed many an opening in a garment (at the throat, placket, &c.).’ See the parallel reference to the mantle of summer in l. 1671 *infra*.

905. *Mertrik*, martin; *con*, squirrel. *Cunning* (rabbit) and *con* give easy alliterative opportunity (cf. Montgomerie, *Cherrie and the Slae* (S.T.S., ed. G. Stevenson, p. 73)—

> “The Con, the Conny, and the Cat”;

as do *Hurcheoun* and *Hair* (*ib.*), *infra*, l. 895 (q.v. and note), and “the Hart, the Hynd, the Dae, the Rae” (*ib.*), *infra*, l. 892.

**VOL. I.**
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

906. Bouranbane; B 262. 119, The lurdane lane, 'the (?) lone ——?'
The context appears to refer to some animal of the rodent kind, which, so far, has not been identified. Bannatyne seems to have found the passage corrupt, and he has not made it clearer.

Lerioun, ? the grey dormouse, F. liron. See N. E. D. Other interpretations, less attractive, have been offered: 'a young rabbit' (F. laiperon) and 'a small, greyhound' (Fr. levron).

910. Musk, perhaps the civet cat in this context. Cf. Florio, s. v. 'Lattitio': "a kind of Muske or Zuet-cat." 'She proceeded to that high hill or mound' (l. 866 supra). For haik and hicht see also note to l. 2230 infra.

921, &c. A familiar pronouncement by the Lion in the beast-fables. Cf. the passage in Dunbar's Thrissil and the Rois, with its echo, in line 119, of the old saying Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis, here developed. See Specimens of Middle Scots, p. 276, note.

924. 'To all who oppose my estate or authority.' In C the text should read standfray, as in the original (see footnote), with standfray in an adverbial sense. H has the easier reading, 'stand[a]t fray,' i.e., 'show fight.' B reads simply aganis.

940. fence (Sc. legal term), to open a Parliament or Court of Law with a formula ordering the lieges under pain to refrain from all unnecessary interruption of the proceedings. Cf. line 943.

941. absence, absentees (absentis).

963. This stanza and the next are found in H, but not in B.

967. On the evidence of physiognomy see again infra, ll. 2809 et seq.

969. blasit, defamed, decried (blaze, blow about); baisit, abased, lowered. Blunt may be little more than an alliterative tag, without any exact sense. It can hardly mean 'rough,' 'rude,' and it may carry over the sense of 'blent,' either as 'pale' or 'with eyes down-looking and ashamed.' Blait means 'pale' 'abashed,' 'dulk.'

990. Clergie, learning, clerkly skill. See ll. 1002, 1003.

991. Rampand, 'rearing,' assuming a threatening attitude; generally of the lion, and perhaps here with heraldic association. B has braiding (cf. supra, C 64. 844, &c.).

993. For ron and rute see Glossary. The allit. sequence ron and ryce (brushwood, small twigs) is commoner. Cf. l. 1327 infra. Both phrases are found in Tayis Bank, ll. 38 and 109.


997. C and H are happier than B in this line. 'Let be your jargon of the Courts.' Knax is pl. of 'knack,' trick, device, quibble. Cf. Knakis, l. 1058.

1000. 'Be done with this bounce and folly.'
1005. 'He has authority,' 'is authorized (fully qualified).'

1017. Lupe, 'O Lupus.' Cf. H and B.

1021. be Sanct Bryde (Brigit, or Bridget), a common expletive.

1024. ants forfault him. anys faltum in B may be either scribal slipshod or intentional quasi-Latin rhyme-doggerel. Cf. lorum at the end of a line preceding a Latin quotation, p. 208, l. 2816, and the fuller form colorum (being the final syllables of in secula seculorum) in Langland (ed. Skeat; several examples, by Index), and colorum in Leg. of the Saints, ed. S.T.S., ii. 107. 281.

1025. Felix quern, &c. The line is quoted by Erasmus in his Adagia (ed. Hanover, 1617, fol. p. 636), in reference to his observations on Optimum aliena insania frui, and is translated by Richard Taverner, 1539, "He is happy, whom other mens perills maketh ware." Plautus, as Erasmus points out, has the same saw, "Feliciter sapit, qui alieno periculo sapit" (ib., p. 636). The proverb appears in most of the Scottish collections (Kelly, Henderson, Cheviot, and others): "Better learn frae your neebor's skaith than your ain."

1034. (a) 'On one side, to the rear;' or (b) 'sideways, to the rear,' with implied reference to the fox's way of moving. Baulk in B (266. 233) suggests, in association with l. 232, 'back' (bucket or trough), but it is more probably a misreading of bank ('sideways along a bank'), or bauk, a balk (in a field).

1056. Diebler (Henrisonds Fabeldichtungen, 1885, p. 51) points out these concluding words in Caxton's Hist. of Reynard the Fox, chap. 27: "Now I (the foxe) here wel, it is treue, that I long syth haue redde and herde, that the beste derkes ben not the wysest men." See Introduction, p. xli.

107. 'thought of withdrawing,' 'would be off.'

1081. B reads party tresoun (p. 268, l. 280). The sense is not clear. Is 'party' to be taken as 'partly' 'in part' (as in party- or parcel-gilt), or 'on his part,' or 'pretty,' (by metathesis 'praty': cf. mod. 'perty') in its old sense of 'tricky'?

1087. Boucher, executioner. B reads basare, a word found in Barbour, Legends, Cristofore, 597. See N. E. D., s. v. 'Baser.'

1089. 'in his mineral,' that is, in his metallurgical craft, in his work as a miner.

1092. sad sentence, &c., 'serious meaning (or lesson) may seek for, and in due course find.'

1095. B And preue thare preching be a poesy.

1105-1108. Here, as in ll. 828, 829, C and H tone down the Catholic sentiment. See B 269. 304, 305.

That presis god to pleis, 'that strive to please God.'

1125, 1126. So too as in 1105-1108. See B 269, 325, 326. Sagis, in B (p. 269, l. 325), 'sieves,' 'makes assault on'—an illustration of 'a' for 'e' in later 16th century pronunciation.
1130. C and H Thay go; B He gois.
1131-1133. Here again as in 1105 et seq. and 1125 et seq.; but B 270. 330-332 shows a modification of the older text. See the footnote on p. 270.

VII.

THE TAILL OF THE SCHEIP AND THE DOIG.

TEXTS—C II. 86-98 (left); H II. 87-99 (right); B II. 292-298.

1140. Consistory, Consistory Court. Lord Hailes remarks: “The fable contains the form of process before the ecclesiastical court. It is a singular performance, will be entertaining to lawyers, and may, perhaps, suggest some observations not to be found in books” (Ancient Scottish Poems, 1770, p. 328). Dr Walter Gregor sees the influence of this poem on the third book of John Rolland’s Court of Venus, and reprints it in his edition of Rolland, S.T.S., 1884, pp. xvi. et seq. This suggestion is referred to, supra, p. xciii.

1141. ‘To recover a piece of bread from him.’

1147. partles, pairtles: ‘neutri favens,’ says Hailes. It means ‘having no part in,’ ‘uncommitted to,’ and is equivalent to the Latin expers.

1148, 1149. Hie Suspensioun . . . greit Cursing . . . Interdictioun. These ecclesiastical penalties, Suspensio totalis, Excommunicatio major, and Interdictum or Interdictio, are fully discussed in Ferraris, Prompta Bibliotheca Canonica (Genoa, 1767-1769), viii. 169-175, iii. 527-563, iv. 661-674; but a good summary will be found in Deshayes, Memento Juris Ecclesiastic (Paris, 1897), pp. 550 et seq.:


‘Excommunicatio seu anathema est ‘censura qua christianus bonis fidelium communibus privatur.’—Alia est major seu proprie dicta, alia minor. . . .

‘Suspensio est censura qua clericus exercitio sui officii (ordinis, jurisdictionis) vel usu sui beneficii (fructibus, administratione), in toto vel in parte privatur. . . . Simpliciter et absolute prolata suspensio reputatur ‘totalis.’ . . .

‘Interdictum est censura qua certis personis, aut locis, (a) divina officia, (b) sacramenta quaedam (quoad participationem), et (c), sepul-
tura ecclesiastica interdicuntur. Interdictum potest esse personale, locale, aut mixtum . . .; ratione extensionis, aliud est generale, aliud particulare; et, ratione effectus, aliud totale, aliud partiale."

The full contemporary vernacular text of a "terrible cursing" by Gawin, Archbishop of Glasgow, will be found, with a letter from Magnus to Wolsey, dated 28th Oct. 1525, in State Papers: King Henry the Eighth, Part IV., Scotland and the Borders 1513-1534, pp. 416 et seq. It follows the Latin text, and is introduced "Sequitur processus in vulgari sermone fulminandus ut laici et illiterati melius intelligant, et majort concuciantur terrore, &c."

1152. Corbie, raven: here 'Sir Corbie, the raven.' Apparitor, the officer of the ecclesiastical or consistorial court. Cf. "Corby messenger" in the Buke of the Howlat, 812, and the following passage in Cursor Mundi:

"To scipp com he neuer again;
For í men sais on messenger
hat lengs lang to bring answere,
He mai be cald, with right resun,
An of messagers corbun."

1154. "Charges to pay or to perform, issued in the name of the Sovereign, are still termed the King's letters" (Hailes, u. s.).

1158. Perrie Dog. See note to ll. 538, 539 supra. B, burry. 'Will say to thee.'

1162. Freely: 'hadn't "heart" for a mouthful (of grass).'

1164, 1165. At sundown. Hailes quotes from Blount's Customs of Manours (p. 147) a reference to a court held "at cock's crowing" by the Lord of the honour of Ralegh, called "the lawless court," because held at an unlawful hour. The sheep makes a point of this in his protest in ll. 1191-1193.

1177. Lit. 'Out of his own head, and without an advocate, (and) alone.'

1182. Enter in pley, to plead. B reads interply, that is 'inter-plead,' apparently a διαξε λέγειν, if not an error.

1190. thocht I mycht not it lat, 'though I might not say it.' Lat is prob. ON. lát, in the sense of 'to express, say.'

1198. 'Should be tried before the wolf.'


1209. New and ald: "alluding to the ridiculous division of the Pandects, into digestum vetus, infortiatum, et novum, made by Bulgarus in the 12th century" (Hailes, u. s.).

1210. B 294, 73 gives the correct reading 'pro and contra, strait (or straight) argument they resolve.' C and H show a scribal mis-reading of 'Contra et Pro, strait argumentis thay resolue.'
1221. 'I leave it to the learned in the law whether this decision was just.' "No appeal lay from the judgement of the arbiters. They were judges chosen by the parties themselves, and parties cannot appeal from their own deed" (Hailes, u. s., p. 329). See l. 207 and note.

1223. 'without advocate.'

1225. befoir the hand, an early form of beforehand.

1226. 'For a [certain] piece of bread (or loaf).' Borrow, B borch, bail, pledge. "I put in bail to prosecute, for recovery of a pension or pittance of bread which I had purchased from the sheep" (Hailes, u. s., p. 329). Cf. note to l. 503.

1228. meid. See quotation in note to l. 1270 infra.

1242. B institut to, apparently means 'given over to,' 'made the victim of,' conveying the sense in the Roman Law use of institute, 'to appoint as executor or heir.'

1246. wull. B flei, fleece.

1253. mak ane wrang conqueist, to obtain wrongfully. Conqueist in Scots law is the acquisition of real property in other ways than by inheritance. See Craig, Jus Feudale, II. xv., § 10 (p. 332, ed. 1732). "Nos conquestum dicimus; Angli and Normanni POURCHES."

1257. "It is remarkable," says Hailes, u. s., p. 329, "that the whole satire of the fable is aimed at the ecclesiastical judge, whereas the application is to the civil. Henrysoun probably stood more in awe of the court spiritual than of the temporal."

1258. 'Buys a forfeit or fine.' At, under.

1260. 'Poor country folk.'

1265. Portiou, a misreading for porteow (see B 296. 128), for it cannot well be taken in the sense of 'share.' 'Porteous' (Eng. Portas, orig. the portable breviary, then any 'book' or manual: cf. The Portus of Nobilnes, printed by Chepman & Myllar in 1508) has a specific meaning in Scots law. It is "a roll of the names of offenders, which, by the old practice of the Justiciary Court, was prepared by the Justice-Clerk from the informations of crimes furnished by the local authorities" (Bell, Dict. of the Law of Scotland).

1270. 'and so take a bribe (bud) from both parties.' tal in H may be a scribal error or rhyme-variant. skat (B 296. 133), 'may exact (in an oppressive way).' In the Scots Acts, James I., 1436, we read: "All jugeis sail gar the assysouris sweir . . . that thay nouther haue tane nor sall tak meid na buddis of ony partie."

1282. baid, stay, biding, resting-place.

1287. An echo of Ps. xliv. 23, not uncommon in the Scottish poets.

1290. peillit, in a double sense, 'plundered' and 'shorn of wool.'

1298. for micht, 'by force.' Better for meid, 'by bribe,' as in B.

1301. Lord, the superior, or laird.
THE FABLES (1221-1356).

VIII.

THE TAILL OF THE LYOUN AND THE MOUS.

TEXTS—C II. 98-120 (left); H II. 99-121 (right); B II. 304-315.

[PROLOGUE—C II. 98-104 (left); H II. 99-105 (right); B II. 304-307.]

1319. ' without a guide.'
1324. ' The place was full of enjoyment (abounded in all kinds of pleasure), with sweet, &c.; not 'that place, of all pleasances, was full of.'

1326. marning, morning. See H and B.
1327. Rone and Ryce. See note to l. 993 supra.
1329. boynt. See Glossary.
1337. C and H again give a 'reforming' touch. Cf. notes to II. 1105, 1106, 1125, 1126, 1131-1133 supra.
1338. bene, pleasant.
1342. Chemeis (med. L. camisia), a shirt, loose gown or robe, not necessarily an under garment. B reads chymmeris, pl. of chymmer or chimer, a loose upper gown (O.F. chamarre, med. Lat. chimera, F. simarre). Cf. Barbour, Brus, xvi. 580 (S.T.S., ii. p. 72)—

"A chemeyr, for till heill his veid,
   Aboue his armyng had he then."

Chambelote, chambelet, chamelet, camlet, a fine cloth or 'union' made of wool (camel's or goat's) and silk, and later of wool and cotton or linen. In mediæval tradition it was always associated with camel's hair, as in the Kingis Quair, st. 157—

"For chamelot, the camel full of hare;"

but this etymology has been disputed, and the word has been related to Arab. khamilat, nap or pile. See N. E. D., s. v. 'camlet.'

Purpour broun, purple (perhaps reddish) brown.

1343-1345. See the close parallel in the description of Mercury in III. Testament of Cresseid, ll. 244, 245, and the notes there.

1346. 'his eyes were large and grey.' B 'his eyes were green and grey,' that is, of a greenish grey.

1349. Pen, quill, feather. vnder, behind.

1350. pretty gilt, perhaps, simply, 'pretty gilt'; but the phrase may be, by easy metathesis in the first word, the familiar 'party-gold' or 'party-gilt,' made of, or plated with, beaten gold. Cf. note to l. 1081.

1356. Couth, 'familiar,' 'agreeable,' conveying something of the sense of the mod. dialectal form couthie.
1359. ‘Be not displeased, my good master, if I ask,’ &c.
1360. facultie, occupation.
1373. prudence, wisdom.
1382. haly, B hail, probably = holy, holy, though it may be interpreted in the ordinary sense, ‘whole,’ ‘entire,’ ‘all the.’
1387. eir; H hart; B E.
1389. brutal heist. See l. 44 supra, and note.
1392. denze, deign. Dedene in B 307. 81 is an error, probably an echo of the word in l. 66, unless a negative has been omitted.
1397. ‘very exhausted (overrun).’
1399. Cf. the Fox, supra, ll. 748, 749.
1402. Cf. l. 331 (note).
1406. Campis of his beard. Cf. l. 2797 (H) and B 277. 28.
1409. See note to l. 847 supra.
1411. I put the case, ‘let me suppose,’ ‘suppose.’
1448. feiris, companions, fellows.
1459. ‘Unless thy proper (kindly) [kingly, H and B] mercy extend grace or remission.’ Cf. l. 717 supra, note.
1471. ‘What value (honour) or praise.’
1496. ‘And became reasonable.’
1501. forceild. B 3eld. See note to l. 724 supra.
1509. rod, path, apparently different from ‘road.’ See N. E. D., s. v. ‘rod.’
1511. The sense is, ‘Then the hunters spread themselves out (in single file) within the wood, and, encircling the lion, drove him into the net.’ For range, with the meaning of a ‘company of hunters,’ see G. Douglas, Aen., ed. Small, ii. 182. 20, 21—

‘Quhen that the rangis and the faid on breid
Dynnis throw the gravis, sersing the woddis wyde.’

On raw is a common alliterative verse-tag, and may be neglected here, as the sense of ‘row’ or ‘order’ is contained in range. See note to III. Robene and Makyne, l. 12.
1512. Kennettis. See note to l. 547 supra.
1517. Quhyle to, quhyle fra: a common Henrysonian touch. Cf. ll. 330-334 and note supra, and III. Orph. and Eur., 393. It is of course found elsewhere (cf. Barbour, Brus, x. 604, Rolland, Court of Venus, S.T.S., p. 26, l. 356), but it is a favourite figure with Henryson. See the Index and Glossary.
1530. wy (man, person) is the correct reading. ioy in B is clearly a scribal error.
1534. Be, ‘by the time that,’ ‘when.’
1538. ‘the lion that did her kindness.’
1572. lowne and le, ‘unruffled and sheltered from the wind.’ Cf. Holland, Duke of the Howlat, 14-18 (for these words, and generally)—
"This riche Revir down ran, but resting or ruf,
Throwe ane forest on fold, that farly was fair;
All the brayis of the brym bair branchis abuf,
And birdis blythest of ble on blossomes bair;
The land lowne was and le, with lyking and luf . . . ."

For an account of the forms, see _N. E. D._, s. vv. 'Lown' and 'Lee,'
1573 _ferly_. See Glossary and quotation in note to l. 1572.
1581, 1582. 'When they see their Lords and Princes do not execute
justice.'
1584. _thay_ stand _nane_ aw, 'they stand in no awe of.' For a histo-
cr account of this curious grammatical usage see _N. E. D._, s. v.
'Awe,' sb. 4. a. Cf. _Cursor Mundi_ (Fairfax MS., l. 482), "hat of his
lord walde stande nan awe."
1585. _garris_. _B_ reads _gavis_, probably an error for _garris_, less
likely with the meaning of 'galls' (_gavis_).
1589. The reading in _B_ (314.277), 'and metigat mercy with crewelty,'
destroys the sense by the transposition of 'mercy' and 'with.'
1590. _small degre_, of 'low degree' or rank, contrasted, in _B_, p. 314,
with 'a commoun,' or man of no degree.
1591. _quit ane turne_, paid (a turn), remitted. In _H_ (l. 1592) for
tune we read _kinbute_, that is, _lit._, 'kin-boot,' or wergeld paid by
the slayer of a man to the kin of the deceased; hence fine, debt, &c.
The word is familiar in legal documents, and will be found in
1594. _Rolland_; _H rowand_, a common variant. _H wit_ is probably
a scribal misreading, easily made.
1598. _blindis_, _B bindis_.
1604. _as now_, at this time.
1606. Hailes (u. s.) suggests that the poet "alludes to the revenge
taken on Robert III. by Dunbar, and on James I. by Graham." But
see Introduction, p. xxii.
1608. Another instance of the sensitiveness of _C_ and _H_ to Church
associations. Cf. the reading in _B_ 315. 296.

IX.

THE PREICHING OF THE SWALLOW.

_Texts—C II. 120-144 (left); H II. 121-145 (right); B II. 231-242._

1616. _Ingenious_. _B_ reads _ingeing_, interpreted in the Hunt. Club
Edition as 'engaging.' It must be the familiar disyllabic word
_ingyne_ (ability, &c.); and the line, which is incomplete, may be
read 'and [of] so [greit] ingeing.'
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

1625. *deidle*, mortal, sinful (in the theol. sense). So too *natural*, the 'natural body.'
1626. Lit. 'the spiritual working,' that is, 'the working of the Spirit.'
1650, &c. An echo of this stanza is unmistakable in an anonymous poem from the Laing MS., printed by Mr George Stevenson in his *Supplementary Volume* on Montgomerie (S.T.S., p. 219, No. xxiv.):—

"The royall palice of þe heichest hewin,
the staitlie fornace of þe sterrie round,
the lofie wolt of wandring planettis sewin,
þe air, þe fyre, þe wattir, and þe ground," &c.

1671. See note to l. 904 supra.

1678. *Hir barnis benit*. *Barnis* is 'barns,' with *benit* as a pp., meaning 'filled,' 'made full,' from the adj. *bene*, pleasant, comfortable. (See *N. E. D.*, which does not give another example of this verb equivalent in sense to Lat. *locupletare*). Though the strictest grammar would permit us to translate 'has rejoiced her children,' the coordination of *pyypis* shows that this is not the meaning.

1680. *tume*, empty. *B* reads *louid* (*tome* in the Hunterian Club reprint). Bannatyne may have misread (easily enough) *tome as louid*, or thought of 'loud' through misunderstanding of *pyypis*. *Louid* is scarcely a natural Sc. form for *lowed*, lessened, reduced in contents.

1685 et seq. G. Douglas's more elaborate picture of a winter-scene in his Prologue to the Seventh Book of the *Aeneid* shows some parallels in the details of this passage and that beginning at l. 1824. It is not unlikely that Douglas had seen Henryson's sketches of the seasons. Elsewhere the Bishop gives proof of his indebtedness (see Introduction, p. xcii).

1693. *bene*, adj., goodly (as taken by *B*), rather than the verb 'are,' *Baissit* (*O*), humbled, made to look miserable in their baseness; *lafit* (*H*), 'left' bare; *bethit* (*B*)? beaten, stripped. The comma after *bethit* is at the will of the reader.

1701. *fell*, severe. So too *feill* in *B*, though it may be taken in the sense of 'many' (*feel*), that is, severe by continuance.

1705. *soft*, pleasant; not 'wet,' as in mod. colloquial usage.

1714. *pleuch can wynd*, drive or guide the plough, lit. turn to the left. See the entries s. v. 'wynd' in the *English Dialect Dictionary*. 
1722. **ferlie.** This may mean ‘wonderful’ (referring to the size of the flock), but it is better interpreted by ‘sudden.’ Cf. l. 1762 *infra.*

1727. **crop, crop,** top or head of a tree. Cf. the Scots phrase *crop and rute—*S. Eng. ‘root and branch.’

1745. **with Instante,** forthwith. *Instante,* a rhyme-form, attracted by the Latin of the next line.

1746. **Nam leveius, &c.,** a common saw, and familiar in the vernacular; but Henryson’s source has not been traced.

1750. **B prowye befoir,** an emendation to supply a missing syllable in C and H. But *foirse* may be read trisyllabically.

1762. **ferlie,** suddenly. See note to l. 1722 *supra.* *Ferlye in B* means ‘vigorously.’ Cf. *forcelie* in l. 1658 *supra.*

1767 **ferliand—farie:** a common alliterative sequence (cf. the well-known opening lines in Langland). Here *farie* may be taken as ‘dream,’ ‘thing of fairyland,’ though to translate it with something of the sense of hubbub (*farie* : cf. feery-fary) would not be inappropriate to the context.

1771. **Quaile** (quail), here, probably, the corn-crake.

1775. **be auenture and cace,** by chance: a common sequence of almost identical terms.

1777. **hoip ;** ‘expect’ (think), in mod. weak sense.

1778. The sense is: “besides a place of safety, and also secluded.”

1780. **pyme,** cry. No other example of this word has been recorded. It is probably an onomatopoeic or imitative word, perhaps of Henryson’s coining.

1795. **Linget,** flax seed, the seed of the *lint.* Cf. the fuller form in l. 1736 *supra.* See ll. 1796, 1797.

1799. There should be a comma after *freindis.* The sense is, ‘Well, friends, by all means let it be so. Do as ye will.’ *Hardlie = hardelie* (hardy+ly), ‘let it be boldly said,’ ‘by all means.’ *Beid = be it.* See note to l. 2852 *infra.*

1800. ‘But of a certainty I sorely fear.’

1806. ‘Unless we birds all the more wary be.’ The Hunterian Club Glossary to the Bann. MS, interprets *warrer* as ‘worse,’ but this makes no sense in the context.

1816. **the none,** noon.

1817-1823. This is an accurate summary of the processes in the preparation of flax. ‘The flax ripened; the man pulled the stalks, rippled (removed the seeds from) the pods (bolls), and put or tied up the green flax in beats or beets (little sheaves); steeped it in water (now generally a “flax-hole,” seldom running water) [till it was “retted,” that is, till the woody substance was loosened from the fibre], and then dried it (by spreading it out on the fields); and with a beetle struck it and beat it (to break up the dried “wood” still adhering); then scutched it well (completely separated the “wood” from the fibre), and hackled (combed) it within doors.’
The first record extant of the weaving industry in Dunfermline, still the chief centre of the manufacture of linen in Scotland, is dated 1491, when six ‘wabsters’ were charged before the magistrates of the city for ‘strubbance,’ or breach of the peace. It is probable that spinning and linen-weaving had been an industry there long before that date, perhaps as far back as the time of David I., a native of that place, who during his reign (1124-1153) invited English craftsmen to establish themselves in Scotland.

Henryson did not, however, need to live in Dunfermline to gather these minute details of an industry then found in every countryside. Most of the terms are, or were, common to many districts of England and Scotland; and in the north of Ireland, now the greatest linen-producing area in the world, nearly all are still in use. ‘Beet’ is still found in the Counties of Down, Antrim, and Derry, and ‘swingled,’ as in texts C and H, in North Antrim, for the more familiar ‘scutched,’ as in B. (See the verses by Andrew Scott, a Border minor poet (1757-1839), on The Swingling of the Lint, in a volume of Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect, published in 1811.) ‘Swingle’ is known in Ulster for a ‘flail,’ and the man who wields it is called a ‘swingle-man.’ ‘Flet’ too is familiar in Ulster, in the sense of the ‘inner part of a house,’ and is probably more directly due to Scottish influence. That influence was undoubtedly strong in this connection, as in not a few others in Ulster life and tradition, and it is likely that the words were carried to Ireland by Scottish settlers.

The passage is remarkable not only for the accuracy in detail and the conciseness of description, but for the fact that it is the earliest known account in verse of the flax industry.

1826. Maid faw. Faw may mean either streaked or variegated (that is, discoloured to brown and yellow tints by the frost, or fretted by the frost) or bright and glistening with frost. O.E. faȝ, fah.


“Sitand into ane holl valle or slak.”

1828. ‘The fair birds (or the birds fairly, plainly, ‘clean’) for want succumbed indeed.’ Of feit (feat), ‘in fact.’

1829. na bute, ‘no good.’

1834. expence, ‘waste (of his goods).’

1836. ‘has cleared a space.’

1849. ‘Be off, I counsel you.’

1851. ‘Therefore (forthly) beware in time.’

1855. C and B ‘while he may have the benefit of it’: H ‘till the time comes when he can make no use of it.’

1868. ‘when they well knew they were about to die.’

1872. ‘some half-alive he stuffed in his sack.’

1882. autentik, authoritative, important, but here in the additional
sense of 'serious,' 'trustworthy,' as opposed to 'fictitious' and 'fabulous.' Cf. l. 1105 supra.

1887. Bond, peasant, husbandman. 'Lacking (deprived of) all true gentility, or honourable feeling.'

1895. delectioun (C and H), dilection (the choice of those things on which the soul's affection is set): delectatioun (B), delight, pleasure.

1917. walk, in the sense of 'wake' (to rouse themselves), though 'walk' ('exhorting people in their going') suggests itself.

1920. in this warld calf dois scraip. B reads in his warldis wrak do scraip, where wrak means goods, gear, with a suggestion that it is trash (wrack, wreckage). The conjunction of the alliterating wretch and wrak with warld is not uncommon. Cf. also in the Bannatyne MS. (ed. Hunt. Club):

"Quhill I had ony thing to spend,
And stuffit weill with waridis wrak,"

—II. p. 223 (fol. 81 a);

and

"With an O, and ane I, ane wreche full haif no mair,
Bot ane schorl scheit at heid and feit
For all his wrak and wair.

For all the wrak a wreche can pak
And in his baggis imbrace, &c."

—II. p. 321 (fol. 113 a).

1924. wormis Keiching, 'the worms' kitchen,' the grave.

1933. 'It is known to no man.'

1938. B gives a more regular line. seif (in B), cease from.

1942. It may be that Montgomerie was alluding to Henryson when he wrote in the Cherrie and the Slae (st. 13, Waldegrave text):

"To lait I knaw, quha hewes to hie,
the speill sail fall into his eye:
to lait I went to schooles:
to lait I hard the swallow prich,
to lait experience dois teich—
the School-maister of fooles,"

and it is tempting to confirm the association by taking the last line as a reference to the 'schoolmaster' of Dunfermline, and the word 'fooles' as an echo of ll. 1852-1858 (C). 'School-maister' may, however, arise naturally out of 'schooles' in the third line, without any allusion to Henryson; and Montgomerie's knowledge of the popular fable need not have come from the older poet. But the suggestion has been made, and it is perhaps worth recording it here.
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

X.

THE TAILL OF THE UOLF THAT GAT THE NEKHER-ING THROW THE WRINKIS OF THE FOXE THAT BEGYLIT THE CADGEAR.

Texts—C II. 144-164 (left); H II. 145-165 (right).

1944. As myne Authour. The source of this fable, one of Henryson's best, has not been traced.
1945. upon cais, perchance. H upon purche[s], by the chase, or spoil.
1946. On (C) goes with leuit, lived on: in H On bestiall (if 'on' has not the sense 'of') is co-ordinate with purche[s], 'by theft, on cattle.'
Bestiall, 'bestial,' cattle, animals of a farm, still the Scots term for the live-stock of a farm. And maid him weill to fair=mod. colloq. 'and did himself well.'
1949. breith, in his fury. See N. E. D., s. v. 'Breth.' H reads wrath, wrath.
1956. 'I allow you to stand up.' Leif: see N. E. D., s. v. 'Leve, v.'
1961. 'That is not suitable (of any use) to me,' 'that avails nothing to me': a common idiom.
1966. schow, chow, a shove, spring, thrust, pronounced 'shoo' (as 'doo,' dove), and surviving in Scots 'shoggie-shoo,' a swing. Cf. Rauf Coilzear, ll. 697-700:

"As he gat ben throw,
He gat mony grit schow,
Bot he was stalwart, I trow
And laith for to stynt."

1977. thocht, 'if,' 'supposing.'

"Among the wives with wrinks and wyles,
As all my marrows, men begyles
With our fair fals flattrie."

The sense is 'For every trick they know, you know another.'
1983, 1984. ‘My two pointed ears and my two grey eyes cause my presence to be suspected even when they have not seen me (or, when I would not otherwise be seen).’

1987. *sonzeis*. The form *seinzes* in H is unusual, and is probably due to scribal confusion.

1988. *Busk* is here figurative. ‘Though thou shouldst beat about the bush.’


1997. *in to ply*, in good condition (‘plight’).


2015, 2016. ‘That one (single, very) word—‘leill”—makes me angry, for now I see you have doubts about me (of my loyalty).’

2017. ‘though it be unnecessary.’

2027. Stewart. See 1. 1958 supra.

2028. *Siluer seik*, silver-sick, meaning, generally, ‘greedy,’ ‘avaricious;’ here, perhaps, with a *nuance* of ‘hungry.’ Cf. Elyot, *Lat. Dict.* (1548), ‘Argentangia, the syluer sickness,’ also called the silver-quetsy, Gr. *Ἀργυράγχη*, with which Demosthenes was charged, it being reported that he had been bribed and had declined to speak on the ground that he was suffering from quinsy.

2029. *chuf*, clown, boor, peasant, or ‘greedy fellow.’

2033. *traist*, prob. a misprint in C of *craft* (H), caused by the easy confusion of ‘c’ and ‘t,’ and ‘s’ and ‘f,’ in the MS. It may be taken as ‘be trusted,’ ‘rely’ (‘if I can succeed in blinding’). In H *craft* is a noun, and *can* (v.) has the sense ‘know;’ ‘if I know craft.’ *Bleir* —Ee, deceive, cajole. Cf. the quotation from Chaucer in the note to l. 2139 infra.

2044. *vnliklie*. Here it would mean ‘uninviting,’ ‘heavy,’ as applied to ‘bray;’ but H gives a better reading, ‘lay, no pretty object.’

2050. ‘At the next halt for refreshment or feed, or for rest at the top of the hill.’ Cf. ‘bait’ in this sense in III. 10. 210. The tanners’ ‘bate’ suggests itself, but it may be discarded. In *N. E. D.*, s. v. ‘Bait, sb. III.,’ the word is explained as ‘baiting,’ ‘chasing with dogs;’ but this is not borne out by the context, in which the Cadger thinks he has found a dead fox.


2066. *Till Flanderis*, that is to the skin-merchants of the Low Countries.

2071. *Or he stint*. The ordinary meaning of *stint* is ‘paused,’ ‘stopped.’ The pronoun *he* refers to the fox (in association with *his* in the same line), and the sense is that the fox did not cease from his efforts until he had pulled out the ‘stoppell,’ and so completed his mischief.

2073. ‘to good purpose.’
2075. Huntis vp, an old song and air (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 34). Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) claims for 'one Gray' (probably William Gray, d. 1551) that he was esteemed by Henry VIII. and later by Protector Somerset, "for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte is vp, the hunte is vp*" (see *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, Oxford, 1904, ii. p. 17 and note). The air is referred to in Alex. Scott's *Of May*, c. 1560 (S.T.S., p. 23, l. 13), and is named in the list of dance tunes in the *Complaynt of Scotlande*, 1549 (E.E.T.S., p. 66, and Introd., pp. lxxxvii, lxxxviii). See Chappell, *Popular Music*, I. 60, where a reference to an offence in 1537 against the Proclamation of 1533 suppressing 'fond ballads' is claimed as the first reference on record. Henryson's allusion shows that the song was known at least half a century earlier. In all probability it was ancient in his day. Its abiding popularity in the North is shown by its use in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (see S.T.S. edit., p. 174).

2075. The second inverted comma should follow the second 'vp.' *yppoun hie* refers to the cadger's singing: 'with loud voice' and merrily.

2079. *He wan his hole*, 'reached his den,' 'got away.'

2081. *Nekhering*, neckherring, a stiff blow on the neck, or cuff on the ear. 'A Nekherynge, *colaphus*, occurs in *Cath. Angl.* (1483), 251 (E.E.T.S., ed. Herrtage). A note there connects, with no show of evidence, the term with the Alapa, or blow given with the blade of the sword on the shoulders of a man when knighted (cf. mod. 'accolade'). See also Meyrick, *Ancient Armour, passim*, and Ducange, s. vv. *Alapa* and *Colaphus*. No other example of the use of the term in English has as yet been recorded. Henryson seems to confirm his pun in the second stanza on p. 156.

2087. 'On to market!' or 'Go on thy ways!'

2091-2093. *It is weill worthie, &c.* 'No wonder I missed (I well deserve to lose) that rascal, for not having had in my hand so much as a stick or piece of wood with which to strike the rogue.'

2103. *in gud tyme*, indeed, to be sure, of a truth. (The earliest example of this sense in N. E. D. is from Shakespeare, s. v. 'Time, sb. 42. c. (d.).')


2113. 'Now, by God, if I be hanged!' ('I'll be hanged').


2119. 'piping (wet and glossy) like a partridge's eye.'

2139. 'I swear to thee by my luck (or if all goes well, or*if I succeed).* Cf. Chaucer, *The Reeve's Tale* (ed. Skeat, IV. 118, l. 4049)—

"But, by my thrift, yet shall I blere hir yë."

2142. 'Do him little harm—cause him little trouble.' *Deir*, 'dere,' harm, annoyance.
2144. 'Unless you get.'
2145. 'There's an end to your fishing till Easter.'
2146. *In principio*, the first words in *Genesis* and in *John*. Cf. "Such is the limiter's saying of *In principio erat verbum*, from house to house" (Tyndale, *Works*, ed. Parker Soc., iii. 61), and Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 254 (character of the Friar). It was recognized as a common phrase in friar-jargon.
2150. 'With that the wolf got ready (prepared himself) to go.' For the common construction 'and to go,' cf.—

"And quhen thay saw the buss waig to and fra,
Thay trowd it wes ane gaist, and thay to ga."
—King Berdok, ll. 43, 44.

2167. We may read, according to the punctuation preferred, *either* 'Gently!' (expressing caution, lest the new opportunity be lost) or 'He said gently (whispered) to himself.'
2174. *he*, the wolf. 'Ere he could get (to) his feet.'
2198. *but leis*, without leasing, truly; a common verse-tag, especially in G. Douglas. See note to III. 114. 15, and note in *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902), p. 283.
2199. The construction is not clear. (C) 'Against (under) whom all *must* contend.' (H) 'Against (under) whom all *men* contend.'
2200. 'All that ever received life must, in course of nature, die.' See III. 156. 10 and note.

XI.

THE TAILL OF THE FOXE THAT BEGYLIT THE UOLF IN THE SCHADOW OF THE MONE.

Texts—C II. 164-180 (left); H II. 165-181 (right).

2223. *elderis*. It is doubtful whether this is an example of the M.Sc. plur. of the adjective. Translate as a genitive, 'of our elders.'
2224. 'a husbandman.'
2226. *in streiking tyme of yeir*, at the beginning of Spring. To *streik* the plough is to draw the first furrow: generally, to 'break ground,' to begin.
2227. *feir*, corresponding to the mod. *feerin*', is a belt of land marked off in a field for ploughing. See *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Feer* (*v.*), 'Feering.' The ploughman and his man are described as leading the oxen in the morning into the field to the spot where the plough (unto the *pleuch*) had been left overnight.
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

2228. ‘Only his driver and he.’ Gadman, goadsman, the farm-hand who leads the plough-team on the field, so called because he used a goad when oxen drew the plough. The later form is gadsman or gaudsman. See Burns, The Inventory, l. 36. Cf. caller in l. 2230 and note.

2229. straucht: ‘put in line’ (to begin work).

2230, 2231. ‘The driver called “Ho, gee up; pull, my beauties.”’

Upon hicht in haik upon hicht, lit. ‘go on, on high,’ is little more than a tag. Cf. l. 911 supra, where the sense is more literal and exact. Draucht, draught, load. Dowis, ‘doves,’ ‘dears,’ ‘beauties.’

2232. licht, ‘skittish,’ ‘wild,’ not, in this context, ‘of light weight (for draught).’ See l. 2244.

2233. ‘And in their eagerness (furious energy) began to spoil the furrow.’ Cf. Alphonsus (see Introduction, p. xliii), “quod boves illius recto tramite nollent incedere”; and Caxton’s rendering, “bycause that they smote with theyr feet.”

2235. Patill, pattle, plough-staff, the ‘paddle’-shaped tool used by the ploughman for scraping off the heavy earth sticking to his plough. Cf. Burns, To a Mouse, i. 5, 6:

“I wad be laith to rin an’ chase thee,
Wi’ murdering pattle,”


Grit stanis, large stones, picked up from the ground, which the angry ploughman cast, with the pattle, at the oxen.

2236. ‘The wolf may have you all together’—‘may have the lot.’

2245. thay lousit, they (the man and his boy) took the oxen from the plough—'unyoked' the team. Cf. ‘he lowsit the pluche’ in The Wyf of Auchtermuchty (ed. Laing, l. 9). The term is still in use.

Fra that, for, because. ‘It was pretty late,’ ‘it was getting late.’

2247. gait, either ‘way,’ ‘road,’ or ‘manner of walking.’ We may render: (a) ‘the wolf came limping on his way’; or (b) ‘the wolf came limping in the way of the man’; or (c) ‘the wolf came, limping in his walk.’ Perhaps most may be said for the second.

2251. this, thus. See Glossary.

2262-2263. plank—mark. (H mart). Plank would appear to be an arbitrary rhyme-variant of ‘plack.’ ‘Better to give freely a small gift than be forced to give a greater.’ The plack, in Henryson’s time, was a small copper coin worth four pennies Scots, and the mark, or merk, 13s. 4d. Scots=13½d. English. There is no word like ‘plank’ describing a small animal or other gift which might stand in association with ‘mart,’ an ox fattened for the market.

2264. ‘Fie on the generosity which comes not from the heart.’

2269. ‘Did I give you my hand (signature) or covenant?’
2270. 'Or have you witnesses or any writing (document) to show?'

2272. *et seq.* 'A lord, if he be true (or a truly noble-minded man), who shrinks from being put to shame or scruples to be reproved—his word is as good as his seal.'


"Than with his driend and sle controvit feir."

2280. 'with half of a story'—by hearing only one side.

2283. *thairfoir,* &c., 'that shall not be wanting.'

2289. *lang eir,* erelong (in the older sense of past time).

2297. 'if it may be done—if it may so be.'

2300. 'then both submitted themselves (their case) frankly.'

2306. 'And are sworn, on the fox's tail, to accept the decision.'

2309. 'will not remit a single ox-hide (of his claim on you),'

2313. 'This will not [go] through without great cost and expense.'

2314-2316. 'See you not how bribes help a man [men] through and gifts make crooked matters straight? Sometimes a needle (H hen: cf. l. 2319) secures a man his cow,'

2320. 'I care not for all the rest, if you but leave me the cock.' (An inverted comma has dropped out at the end of the line.)


"With empty hand men may none haukes lure";


"With empty hand men may no hawkes lure."

It is referred to by John of Salisbury as an old proverb: "Veteri celebratur prouerbio: quia uacuae manus temeraria petitio est" (*Policraticus*, V. 10).

2338. *unroikkit,* that is, probably, 'unrocked,' 'excited,' 'vociferant,' in the metaphor of the rocking of a cradle.

2347. *Somer Cheis,* that is, made when milk is at its best. The rest of the line shows that the epithet is not analogous to that in the phrase *somer meill,* explained in a note in the S.T.S. edition of Dunbar, III. 248, as "meal intended for use during summer, till the new crop was reaped."

2349. *I do.* The sense of this phrase and its setting in the line may be explained thus: "Is that thy counsel (namely, that) I allow That, &c."

2354. 'It will not bring you the value (price) of a withered (rotten) turnip.'
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

2364. hors (C and H). This is a scribal error for hous (house). The correction is supported by l. 2366, where woke (wouke) the dur cannot mean anything but 'watched the door.' The husbandman had escaped, and was on the alert at home, 'till daybreak.'

2366. See note to l. 2364.


"Sum led is lyk the belly blynd
With luve, wer bettir lat it be";

also Montgomerie (ed. Cranstoun, S.T.S., p. 130, l. 43):

"Thairin the fall of princes sall 3e find.
That bloodie bitch [Fortune] that buskit belly blind
Dings dounwards ay the duchtiest lyk duiks."

2378. 'Restrain yourself a little.'
2379. manure place, manor-house.
2380. pennyfull, full and round as a penny.
2381. 'These "fine fellows" passed without delay.'
2383. Cf. note on l. 1517 supra. See also l. 2411, and Glossary.
2394. Dart is obscure. We may guess 'draught,' but with some hesitation.
2399. flail, in the technical sense of the well-beam, by which the buckets may be raised and lowered reciprocally.
2411. See note to l. 2383 supra.
2435. Trusterie. From trust.
2442. well, referring to the 'well' on pp. 176 et seq.
2444. buttrie, 'buttery,' figuratively suggested by cabok.

XII.

THE TAILL OF THE UOLF AND THE UEDDER.

Texts—C II. 182-192 (left); H II. 183-193 (right).

2466. 'For all the wild beasts that before have been kept in subjection or fear.' bandonit, aph. form of abandonit with the sense 'thoroughly controlled.'
2471. 'Do not show (manifest) sorrow for a dead dog.'
‘I take upon myself the care of watching your sheep at noon, late and early.’

‘They lie (in that).’

wantoun of his weid, right pleased with his get-up.

fra the hand, that is, when freed from the leash.

cunning. The orig. camming (see footnote) might have stood (‘For well aware was he of the coming on of the dog’) if \( \text{H} \) had not supplied the reading kenenes.

rekill: \( \text{H} \) strand. rekill expresses the idea of a ‘heap,’ as in the mod. forms rickle and ruckle, and may be a pile of stones, a ‘drystane dyke,’ or a peat-stack. strand, in \( \text{H} \), is a small stream or drain.

‘The wether was getting to him (south to him wyn).’ \( \text{H} \) ‘The wether was closing with him,’ where ‘bind’ may have the sense of a hawk ‘binding’ its prey.

weild: \( \text{H} \) beild, refuge, place of safety. Weild is probably due to a misreading of ‘b’ as ‘v,’ and the substitution of ‘w’ for ‘v’; or it may be a misprint in \( \text{C} \).

‘white (in your wool) as a Friar (Carmelite).’

Cache (\( \text{H} \) catche), chase. See footnote on p. 188.

Crab, provoke, cross. Cf. crabbit, mod. Eng. crabbed. See note to III. 60. Orph. and Eur., l. 386; Rolland, Court of Venus, ed. S.T.S., ii. 827, iii. 387, 491.

ofspring, descent, origin, not descendants (as in the restricted modern sense).

Cf. The Priests of Peblis, 614 (Laing, Early Scot. Metr. Tales, 1889, p. 155)—

“For wit thou well, Hal binks ar ay sliddder,”

and Kelly, Scottish Proverbs: “Hall binks are slidderly: Great men’s favour is uncertain. Lat. Favor aulae incertus.”

‘It does not become a servant to maintain a feud (against his superior).’ Cf. line 2603.

XIII.

THE TAIL OF THE UOLF AND THE LAMB.

Texts—\( \text{C} \) II. 194-204 (left); \( \text{H} \) II. 195-205 (right); \( \text{B} \) II. 298-304.

fyle and bruk. So \( \text{H} \). ‘defile and brook (make use of).’ \( \text{B} \) reads ‘defile this brook (stream).’ The latter reading is supported by \( \text{C} \) 2642 and \( \text{H} \) 2643 (‘3our Bruke’), where in \( \text{B} \) 299. 35 the word is changed to ‘drink.’
2626. &c. ‘It were a kindness to draw and hang thee that darest with thy foul vile lips to make my drink muddy and defile this fair stream.’

2637. ‘Nature and perfect experience of the deed (= fact) will defend me.’

2639. *on force*, perforce.

2640. ‘in no way ascend.’ B 299. 33, ‘in no way cause you offence.’

2648. ‘comes naturally.’ B 300. 41, ‘becomes thee naturally.’

2649. *at ba trans*, in enmity. ‘Had quarrel with me.’ *boist* and *shore* are synonyms.

2651. ‘So (and) had I the use of my head,’ ‘so may I have the use of my head,’ a common form of asseveration. Cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, l. 273—

“For, al-so brouke I wil myne heed,
Ther may be,” &c.

See also *N. E. D.*, s. v. ‘Brook v.‘, for quotations showing the application of the phrase to chin, eyes, and other parts of the body; and Skeat, Chaucer, III. 250 note.

2653. For ‘h’ in *exhorbitant* see Introduction, p. lxxxii, and *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902), xxiii.

2659. *prais*, H *prayis* (merit); B *paist* (*peise*, weight, burden of blame, responsibility).

2663. *pleyis*. B 300. 56 *plyis*, ‘pleadest, arguest, wranglest.’

2664. ‘I would you know.’


2670. *thay twa*, ‘these two charges.’


2677. *contrairie*, v. ‘thwart.’ In B *contra* may be taken as equivalent to *contrair*, v. thwart, or it may be a loose use of the prep. as a verb suggested by the *pro* in *propone*. Cf. note *supra*, l. 1210.

2682. *Instant use*, present or recognised use; H 2683 *instant gyis*, present ‘guise,’ way, method; B 301. 75 *justest wyft*, justest way, method.

2683. *pretend* (C and H), in legal sense, ‘to bring an action at law’; *proceed* (B).

2684. ‘to give and take (hear) statements of fact or arguments.’

2686. ‘should remain in possession.’

2689. *Be his woundis*: in later form ‘Zounds!’

2700. *Maill men*, tenants. Cf. *maill* (l. 2746), money-rent; *mailing* (l. 2726), farm for which rent is paid; *mailleris* (l. 2736), small farmers, cottars. See note on *gressum*, l. 2737.

2705. *in facultie*, in the exercise of their power or authority. B or sutele.
2708. Poet, a slip for poleit, as in B 302. 101. Cf. line 3 supra.
2727. 'without mercy,'  
2730. croip and calf is simply 'crop and calf;' that is, crops and cattle, the small farmer’s sole sources of income. The interpretation 'corn and grass,' suggested by Jamieson's explanation of calf-leave ['"infield ground, one year under grass (Angus). It seems to have received this designation from the calves being turned out on it"'], is much the same, though less literal. Cote and cruse, B 302. 116. Cote, cot, cottage. If cruse be correct, meaning 'pot,' 'utensil,' the phrase means 'cottage and household "geir"'; but Hailes, Laing, and the Hunterian Club editor of the Bann. MS. suggest that the scribe intended to write crusfe, cruive, small hut, pen, byre, or sty. With the latter reading the phrase would be equivalent to 'cottage and pertinents.' This is supported analogically by 'Barn and byre' in l. 2732.
2731. 'In awe of God,' or 'For fear of God,' or 'With the fear of God upon thee.'
2732. big, well-conditioned, of good standing, full of resource. The alliterative sequence bene and big is not uncommon. Cf. Rolland, Court of Venus (ed. S. T. S., p. 51, Bk. ii., l. 130):

"So bene, so big, and so Auripotent,"

and Philotus (Bann. Club edit.), stanza 11—

" Philotus is the man a faith,  
Ane ground-riche man and full of graith :  
He wantis na jewels, claith, nor waith,  
Bot is baith big and beine."

Cf. bigly (in Glossary).


2736. 'And grants to the cottars a right of pasture.' 'Set' is still the technical term in Scots Law. Mailleris: see note to l. 2700 supra. Villeage (H villege; B willage), "a leave to pasture cattle" (Bann. MS., Hunt. Club, I. 171). Du Cange, "Villagium: praedium rusticum."

2737. Gressome, gressum, gersum, girsum: in Scots Law, a fine paid by a tenant to his superior on entering upon, or upon renewing, a holding. "Gressumas dicimus summas pecuniae, quae in principio assedationis aut solvantur aut promittuntur, supra annuam mercedem," Craig, Jus Feudale, 1732, Gloss. p. 49. The fine on renewal was generally equal to the annual maill (see l. 2700 and note) or rent, and was in practice analogous to the duplicand on a feu-duty.

2742. Court (C and H); better cairt (B).
2744. swing=swynk, as in B.
2746. 'That barely can he manage, by reason of his rent, to live upon, &c.' *Mail*: see note to l. 2700 *supra*.

2747. waiter caill. See note to l. 321 *supra*.

2750. gude, 'that is good,' 'fit to.' Or it may be taken substanti- vely, in the sense of provisions ('goods').


XIV.

THE TAILL OF THE PADDOK AND THE MOUS.

Texts.—C II. 206-218 (left); H II. 207-219 (right); B II. 276-283.

*2797. (H p. 207, B 27, 28) campis. Cf. l. 1406 *supra*.

2798. still, 'quietly,' and so 'at my ease' or 'easily.'

2799. brym (C and H); bruk (B).

2804. fronsit, frowned, wrinkled. Cf. *Testament of Cresseid* in vol. III., p. 8., l. 155. Laing in his text repeats the error (frosnit) of Charteris's edition of 1583. Earlier evidence of this confusion is shown in *The Flying of Montgomerie and Polwart*, l. 575, where the Tullibardine text reads "his froisnit front," and the Harleian "his frojin front" (Supplementary Volume, ed. G. Stevenson, S.T.S., pp. 170, 171.) A fuller quotation will show that fronsit was intended, and that Montgomerie probably had (as in other places) Henryson in memory:—

"With scoiris and crakis athort his froisnit front,
In runkillis run ruwth in þe stewis brunt."

2805. runkillit cheikis (C and H); runclit beik (B). The line in B is short by a syllable.

2808. ran abak, in the sense of 'held back,' 'held aloof.'

2809, &c. See note, l. 967 *supra*.

2812. proceidis (C and H); persavis (B 278, 51) for 'persevis,' written 'persevis' and misread by scribe.

2815. thrawert (= thraward) : H thrawin (and thrawit, pp. of thraw or 'throw,' as in 217. 2918), distorted : B frawart, froward, but perhaps = thrawert (cf. threid and freid in Glossary). See the parallel readings in 216. 2910*, and III. 58. 361*.

2816. Lorum, a shortening of culorum, the final portion of in secula seculorum, meaning 'conclusion.' 'Culorum' is found several times in Langland, and 'colorum' in the *Scottish Legends of the Saints*. See the references in the note to l. 1024 *supra*.
2818. taid, 'toad,' = paddock, frog, u. s. Cf. the readings taid and pad, infra l. 2858.

2819. fundin (C and H); foull (B), foully.

2823. this Scripture (writing, motto, proverb) in all place (C and H); in Scripture in a place (B).

2836. Let be thy preiching (C and H); 'thy' omitted in B.

2838. some zondir (C and H); je zondir (B). In Sc. and Northern Eng. the duplication occurs sometimes. See Wright, Eng. Dial. Dict., s. v. 'Yonder.'

2844. Cf. the line in C and H with that in B 279. 83.

2847. I schrew (C and H); eschrew (B), a doubtful form, in error for 'I schrew,' as in C and H, rather than intended for 'beschrew.' Cf. line 2083 supra and III. 150. 17; and Chaucer, Nonne Prestes Tale, l. 606 (Skeat, IV. 288)—

"Nay than," quod he, "I shrew us bothe two,"

and Wyf of Bathe's Tale, l. 1062 (Skeat, IV. 350)—

"Nay than," quod she, "I shrew us bothe two."

2850. murther aith, murder oath. Cf. l. 2854-2856, 2869.

2852. dude, do it. Cf. l. 668 supra. This is a common form, especially in M.Sc.; e.g., "that I could nocht bot dude," Rolland, Court of Venus, S.T.S., p. 11, l. 268. Cf. heird, infra, III. 17. 415, and 141. 46; also for'd, for it, III. 150. 8, and Lyndsay, Sat. of the Thrie Estatis, ed. Laing, II. 107, l. 2099; seid, III. 150. 19; beid, II. 134. 1799, III. 150. 21; leird, III. 153. 81; declarde, III. 170. 2; and layd, lay it, in Rauf Coitzear, ed. S.T.S. (Scot. Allit. Poems), p. 94, l. 374. See also N. E. D., s. v. 'It' (A. 8).

2858. tappald. This might, by easy confusion of MS. 'c' and 't,' be 'crappald' = toad ('crapault' in Caxton: Fr. crapaud), but the duplication (crappald taid) is unusual. It is unsatisfactory to take the form as [k]rappald, throated (thraptle, the throat), and translate foul trappald as 'foul- or false-throated,' though some support might be found in H 2866, which reads foull carpand pad, that is, 'false-speaking toad.' B reads fals crabit taid, where 'crabb'd' refers to the countenance and character of the toad (see lines 2809 et seq.).

2874. C and H 'The fear of death caused her strength to increase'; B 'The fear of death gave her strength increase.'

2875. mane in C and H means 'strength' ('main'); in B it may be taken as 'cry' ('moan').

2877. Quhyle to, &c. See parallels supra (note to l. 1517). In C and H a comma may be inserted after dowkit, to help the sense. Cf. the emendation in B (p. 280).

2878. B reads this plungit, 'thus plunged.' See 'this' (= thus) in Index and Glossary.
NOTES TO VOLUME II.

2881. Fechtand thusgait. 'They' struggling in this way.'

2889. bellieflaucht in association with the verb flaid implies more than mere quickness in the act, as in the simpler adverbial use of the word (cf. Horstmann, Barbour's Legendensammlung, I. p. 91, l. 316, '& bely-flawcht flede alsone,' and other examples in N. E. D.) A rabbit is skinned 'bellyflawcht,' that is, the skin is pulled whole over the head. In the context, even without the addition of 'full fattillie,' there is the suggestion of deliberation and thoroughness, as much as speed, in the process.

2889-2892. The rhyme-forms are:—flaid—glaid—outraid (C); fled—gled—outred (H); flaid—gled—red (B). Without the evidence of C and H, B would show perfect rhymes, as in the N.E. dialect at the present day, in which short vowels are lengthened before b, d, and g. See Specimens of Middle Scots (1902), xix.

2897. all kynd (alkynd) of, the modern usage; but we find the earlier lingering after Henryson's date. Cf. Dunbar, The Tua Mariit Wemen, l. 18, "Off alkin hewis under hewin," and Lyndsay, Complaynt to the King, l. 300, "Weill wors than thay in alkin thyng."

2899. 'With whom thou associatest thyself (makest fellows or companions for thyself).'

2900, 2901. 'It were better for thee to bear a barrow (=handbarrow) of stones (that is, be a mere labourer), to delve all thy days while, &c.' B might read, as it stands, '... barrow of stones or of steaming (sweating) dung, and delve while, &c.,' if we accept 'ding' as a scribal error for 'dung' or 'dong' (for 'ding' is rare, very early, and Southern); but it is better to emend, as suggested by Dr W. A. Craigie, 'or sueitand dig and delffe quhill, &c.,' that is, 'or sweating dig and delve while, &c.'

2903. fair presence: better pretence, as in H and B, after what has been said about the frog's ugly appearance.

2912. frank and fre, a common phrase, derived from feudal law: lit. unbound by any conditions of villeinage or serfdom.

2913. 'From the moment (when) thou art bound.'

2914. nor 3it thy libertie. B 281. 153 is corrupt. We may substitute thy for in, as in C and H, or read 'win' (wyn) for in.

2916. The not infrequent occurrence of tarrow in prose, and within lines in verse, shows that it is not a rhyme-form (as might be suspected in this context), but a recognised parallel form of tarie, tarry.

2924. Now hie, now law. See note to line 2877 and reference there.

2930, &c. Lit. 'Which ever stands in dread of being drowned by the suggestion of carnal lust, which ever draws the soul and drags it down.' In B 282. 178 the second 'ay' (probably intentional) mars the line, by weakening the accent on the second verb (haldis) and making it a monosyllable.
THE FABLES (2881-2942).


*2938. (H, p. 217). 'now gay gowns, now poor clothes, carefully looked after,' lit. laid in the clothes-press (lucunar, panniplicium, vestiplicum, Cath. Angl. 290; pressorum, Manip. Vocab.), or 'carefully stowed away in a clothes-press' (vestiariurn; Baret, Alvearie). The reading in B 282. 169 is more satisfactory, 'now gay gowns, now content (compelled) to wear (lit. embrace) poor clothes.' It is overingenious to interpret B 'now gowans (daisies) gay, now children (brats) to embrace,' signifying a contrast between youthful freedom and happiness and parental cares!

*2939. (H, p. 217). fitche, hardly 'fitch'='fitchew (feitho, ii. 68. 903): to be taken as in B=fish (fysche).

*2948. (H, p. 219). Cf. the stanza in Lyndsay, Prologue to the Dreme, ed. Laing, I. p. 6, ll. 127 et seq. Henryson uses 'welterand' as an epithet of the badger (supra 68. 898, and 69. 899).

*2949. (H, p. 219). wall, wave, perhaps in plural sense. In B wayfiff) means 'waves,' not 'ways.'

*2951. (H, p. 219). B 282. 182 reads 'standis distinyt and hair opinionu,' where 'and' may be corrected to 'in.' 'Distinyt' may be taken as 'distinguit,' distinct, distinguished ('different,' as in H).


"The spreyt wald vp, the cors ay down lyst draw."

*2953, *2954. (H, p. 219). Note the different rendering in B 282. 184, 185. The rhymes in B (borne—trone) illustrate a not infrequent usage in M.Sc. which cannot always be explained by the transposed 'r' as in 'cros' and 'cors.' See the examples quoted in Specimens of Middle Scots (1902), p. 286. The usage is puzzling, as there is no evidence that 'r' was not trilled in M.Sc. as in the modern dialects.

2934. cuttis, ends (as in B). C and H preserve the metaphor (see the second stanza on p. 214).

2939. morrow, morning (as in B, morne).

2942. 'I left the rest to the friars.'
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

VOL. III.

THE TESTAMENT OF CRESSEID.

Texts—C* III. 3-24; T III. 175-198.

For remarks on the value of Thynne's text see the Introduction, pp. xlv et seq.

4. feruēnt, severe, intense, wintry. Cf., in this sense, Stewart, 
Croniklis of Scotland, II. 337, "The feruent frost so bitter wes," and 
see other quotations in N. E. D. For the commoner sense, see l. 215 
intra.

5, 6. in middis of the Lent, 'in mid-Lent,' or April. See Skeat, 
Supplement to the Works of Chaucer, p. 521: "The date indicated 
is the first week in April"—if we are to take the poet quite literally!
'When Aries in mid-Lent caused showers of hail to descend 
from the North.'

10. cure. Skeat renders 'guard,' but the word is simply 'cover.'
Under cure is a common phrase. See the examples in N. E. D., 
s. v. 'Cure, sb.'

15. glas, window-pane. Pedro de Ayala, in a letter to Ferdinand 
and Isabella on 25th July 1498, records that he found the Scottish 
houses "provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great 
number of chimneys" (Spanish Calendars, I., No. 210). Henryson 
and his northern contemporaries were (contrary to a persistent 
antiquarian heresy) familiar with windows 'wel y-glased' with 
'glas' (e.g., Book of the Duchesse, II. 321, 322), and did not require 
to make literary borrowing from Chaucer in this particular. See 
Kinaston's note, supra, p. cxlviii.

20. Thynne's rendering of quhisling as whiskyng is a quaint an-
ticipation of Russell Lowell's difficulty with quhissill (see his Essay 
on Spenser).

36, 37. These lines and the entire setting may be compared with 

42. worthie Troylus, emended lusty T. by T, perhaps to avoid 
the recurrence of the epithet in the preceding line; but the repetition 
in C* need not be taken as a slip.

43. ihair I fand. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, v., II. 1030 et seq.

44. "My lady bright Crisyde hath me bitrayed," ib., l. 1247.

45. "For which wel neigh out of my wit I breyde," ib., l. 1262.
46-49. Cf. ib., ll. 1207, 1208—

"Betwixen hope and drede his herte lay,
Yet som-what trustinge on hir hestes olde."

48. Esperus (T esperous) for esperans (the contrary of wanhope), by confusion with the familiar Hesperus. See the marginal note on p. cviii, and The Garmont of Gud Ladies, infra, p. 103. 29, 30—

"Hir slevis suld be of esperance,
To keip hir fra dispair."

Cf. also the contrast in Rolland, Court of Venus (S.T.S., p. 129), between the Knights Desperance and Esperance. The word is common in Scots down to a late period.

Qhill, till.

49. Quhyle, sometimes. For 'quhyle . . . quhyle,' see note to ii. 1517 supra, and Index and Glossary.

50. The reference to Cresseid's promise (behest) is to Troilus and Criseyde, v., ll. 1423 et seq. Cf. also ib., iv., ll. 1527-1596.

64-70. Here Henryson, with literary subtlety rare in our mediæval literature, introduces his own sequel to Chaucer's poem. 'I know not whether this tale has authority or is a modern fiction by some poet, invented to declare, &c.' For a like contrast between a true (authoreist, autentik) narration and a fable (fen3ezit), cf. II. 1882 and note: also G. Douglas, Prol. to Aen., I., ll. 184-190.

74. Lybell of repudie : libellum repudii of Matthew v. 31, and other passages in the Vulgate. Nisbet (ed. S.T.S., I. p. 31) translates it 'libel of forsaking,' following Wycliffe—'a libel, that is, a litil boke of forsakynge.'

77. into the Court commoun, that is, 'became a strumpet.' Cf. the terms 'courtesan,' 'common woman.' T reads 'in the courte as commune,' as a 'common woman.'

78. A per se, 'the best'; equivalent to our colloquial form, 'A 1.' A per se, or 'Aperesie,' or 'A per C,' is a reduction of 'A-per-se, a,' meaning, literally, 'a' by itself=the word 'a.' The letter was so called (A-per-se-A) by printers and others, just as the character ' & ' is still called 'ampersand,' that is, ' & ' by itself=the word 'and.' For 'A per se' and its association with 'flour,' cf. Dunbar's verses on London (ed. S.T.S., II. 276-278)—

"London, thou art of townes A per se
Soveraign of cities, semeliest in sight.

London, thou art the flour of Cities all." . . .

The usage is common. See the examples from Montgomerie given by Cranstoun in his edition (S.T.S.), p. 390, and in his edition of the Poems of Alexander Scott (S.T.S.), p. 142.
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

79. how was thou forunait, ‘how wast thou fortuned,’ ‘how wast thou (as in l. 89) put to such distress by Fortune’: not (ironically) ‘how wast thou fortunate!’

82. air and lait, at all times, with no restraint.

84. thou suld fall. T reads the, dative after fall (‘should befall thee’); but thou is defensible, with fall in the sense of ‘obtain,’ ‘receive as one’s share,’ ‘come in for.’ See N. E. D., s. v. ‘Fall, v. 54.’

92. but, ‘without,’ as in T.

96. Mansioun may convey the special meaning of an ecclesiastical residence (for Calchas, the priest).

97. beildit. T takes this as ‘built’ (byldeit), and Skeat follows. This is possible, but biggit would be the more usual word. Beild conveys the sense of ‘covered over,’ ‘decorated.’

98. See Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, I., ll. 78-91.

106. ‘according as the law then was.’

108. Skeat reminds us (Chaucer, Suppl., p. 522) that Calchas was a priest of Apollo, not of Venus (cf. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, I., 69-72), and suggests that “Henryson probably altered this intentionally, because it enabled him to represent Criseyde as reproaching her father’s god.” Cf. ll. 124, 134 infra.

129. outwaill, outcast: lit. that which is chosen (wale, choice: and cf. note on l. 440 infra) to be thrown out. See the quotations in N. E. D., s. v. ‘Outwale.’ It remains in mod. dialectal Scots: cf. Hogg (Tales, 362), “The outwale, wallie, tragic kind o’ wooers.” See also the Eng. Dial. Dict., s. v. ‘Out-wale.’

133. ‘as a hated (or hateful) cast-off creature.’

134. is nane to wyte bot thou, ‘there is no one to blame but thou.’ Cf. T (p. 182).

140. forlane, forgotten, passe (= in sense, not etymologically, ‘my lane’). Cresseid would hardly speak of herself (at this stage, at least) as ‘unchaste’ (see Skeat, Chaucer Supplemtum, 522). N. E. D. explains the word as a past participle of ‘forlie,’ with the primary meaning ‘to prostitute’ or ‘violate.’ The word occurs twice in Dunbar, in the Twa Mariit Wemen, I. 137 (perhaps in the sense of ‘passe,’ ‘worthless’: Schipper suggests ‘importunate’), and The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedie, 132 (worthless, devoid of). In Rolland’s Court of Venus, S.T.S., p. 127, I. 496, we have the sense in which Henryson appears to use the term—

“Be quite forgot, oursene, and all forlane.”


155. frosnit for frosit, as in l. 2804, though the setting suggests ‘frozen.’ T reads ‘frounsed’ (cf. p. cxvi). leid, lead: in the old alchemy the ‘metal’ of Saturn. Cf. Chaucer, H. of Fame, 1448-9; C. Tales, 16296.

157. how, hollow.

164. *gyis*. T gate. Cf. l. 178, C*gyis*, T *gyte*, and l. 260, C*gyse*, T *gyte*. T has the better readings, for *gyis* or *gyse*, 'guise,' is not in keeping with the specific terms in the line (garmound: grene). *Gite* or *gide* is the O.F. *guite*, a gown or dress. Here and in l. 178 it might be taken in the sense of 'hat,' as in Godefroy's explanation of *guite*, but in l. 260 it must be a garment. And so it is generally in English. See the quotations from Chaucer, Skelton, and others in *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Gite.' The words *gite* and *grene*, with *gay*, *ganand*, &c., are not uncommon in alliterative association. Cf.—

"Here gite was glorious and gay, of a gresse grene,"

—*Aumyrs of Arthure* (Sc. Allit. Poems, S.T.S., p. 144, l. 366), and

"Likel he was, richt byge and weyle beseyne,
In till a gyde of gudly ganand greyne."

—Henry the Minstrel, *Wallace*, l. 213, 214 (S.T.S., p. 8).

167. *flasshe*, T *fasshe*, apparently a sheaf (of arrows). This word is the subject of a special entry in *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Flash*, sb.3 "The examples of 16th-17th c. prob. echo Henryson; possibly the copy in Chaucer's *Works*, 1561, may be correct in reading *fasshe*, a. O.F. *faiss* or *faisse*, bundle, sheaf." Quotations are given from Fairfax's *Tasso* (1600), XI. xxviii. 201—

"Her ratling quiuer at her shoulders hong,
Therein a flash of arrowes feathered weele,"
and from Skinner's (1671) and Phillips's (1678) dictionaries. *Fasshe*, in T, may, however, be a mere misprint, occasioned by the dropping out of the '1.' Speght reads *fasshe*, but *flash* in his Glossary.

The association of the word with *flask* (O.F. *flache*) in the sense of a leather case carried by hunters (as preserved in the compound 'powder-flask') is disputed in *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Flash, sb.2?' The history of *fleche*, *fletch*, *fledge*, and *flush* (as in 'flush of ducks') throws no light on the term.

173. *browis bricht and brent*, 'forehead fair (clear) and high (or smooth).' This alliterative sequence is not uncommon. Cf. 'with browis full brent, brightist of hewe' in the *Destruction of Troy* (E.E.T.S., ed. Panton and Donaldson, l. 3030). See also G. Douglas, *Aen.*, VIII. (ed. Small, III., p. 260, l. 10).

176. *as Cristall wer his Ene*. Cf. *Thy Cristall Ene*, l. 337 et passim. The simile and epithet are conventional and of frequent occurrence. Cf. Dunbar, *Thrissil and the Rois*, l. 9, and *In May as that Aurora did upspring*, l. 2.


"In purpour rob hemmit with gold ilk gair."
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

187, 188. roustitte, rusty. The epithet refers to the colour, and means 'bronze' or 'bronzey.' Kinaston in his Latin version writes 'rubiginosus.' See supra, p. cxix.

194. 'Right quarreller-like (or like a man of quarrel), without restraint in his anger.' See note on p. cxix, and Glossary.

202. of force, of necessity.

205. upricht: unright. The latter reading is the more straightforward, for the poet is thinking of Phaethon's disaster (Ovid, Met., ii. 37 et seq.), and is probably recalling Chaucer's line in the 5th Book of Troilus and Criseyde:

"The sonnes sone, Pheton, be on-lyve
And that his fadres cart amis he dryve."

—ll. 664, 665.

But cf. the sense in II., p. 36, l. 462.

211-216. The names of the four steeds of the Sun are drawn, with some latitude in spelling, from Ovid, Met., ii. 153-155:

"Interea volucres Pyroeis, et Eous, et Aethon,
Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon, hinnitibus auras
Flammiferis implent, pedibusque repagula pulsant."

The last (Phlegon) appears in both texts in the quaint form Philologie or Philologee. Skeat reconstructs the line—

"The feird was blak callit Philegoney;"

but it seems better to read thus—

"The feird was blak [and] callit Phlegonie."

Soyr, sorrel, reddish brown.

214. ascendent. This does not appear to have an immediate astrological signification. It may be taken in the sense of 'moving upwards,' in contrast with 'rollis down' in l. 217.

231. lauch, weip, infinitives with the value of the subjunctive (would laugh, &c.).

244. heklit. Skeat (Index to Chaucer Supplement) explains this as "drawn forward over"; but the meaning is 'fringed,' edged, like the hackle of a cock, or folded. Cf. II. 100. 1344 supra, and the marginal note in the Kinaston MS., supra, p. cxxiii. In Lichtounis Dreme (Hunt. Club edit. of Bann. MS., ii. p. 291) we have "Ane heklit hud maid of the wyld wode sege." Examples of this 'turban' are familiar in old Dutch and German prints.

245. The poetic 'headpiece' or 'turban' which lingered on in official portraits till the middle of the 18th century. Cf. II. 100. 1345.

246, &c. These lines echo Chaucer's Prologue, 410 et seq., in some of the details of the description of the Doctor of Physic.
260. Gyse. See note to l. 164 supra.
261. Churle, Man: 'the Man in the Moon.' Cf. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, i. 1023, 1024:

"Quod Pandarus, 'thou hast a ful gret care
Lest that the cherl may falle out of the mone.'"

262. Bunche of Thornis. Cf. Shakespeare, M. N. D., V. i. 251, 252, and Tempest, II. ii. 131. See the five stanzas beginning—

"Mon in the mone stond ant strit,”


263. The moon having the smallest orbit could not approach 'nearer' the utmost sphere or heaven.
267. Liken may be likand (cf. T), liking, 'of a mind'; or liket, wished.
273. Schew, showed. This irregular analogical construction of the past tense is not uncommon in M.Sc.

290. It is strange to find 'Injurie' in C* and the truer Scots form 'injure' in T, the more especially as the former cripples the line. 'Injure' is also Chaucerian (cf. Troilus and Criseyde, iii. 1018).

299. Modifie, 'modify,' award, assess; still in use in Scots law.
312. Lawfullie. Skeat explains this as meaning 'in a low tone,' which is inconsistent with the description of Saturn (supra) and the epithets fraward and angrie in l. 323. It must be taken as 'lawfully,' that is, 'in accordance with the decision of the Court,' though the spelling is generally 'lauchfullie.' See p. cxxviii.

318. In the old physiology 'moisture' and 'heat' were component qualities in the 'sanguine' humour, temperament, or complexion: 'coldness' and 'dryness' in the melancholic.

337, &c. The late Sir J. Y. Simpson quoted these lines to show that "the leprosy in this country was, as on the Continent, truly the Greek Elephantiasis." (The Edin. Med. and Surg. Journal, 1841: see Laing, u. s., p. 261.)

343. There are many references to the leper's cup and clapper. Each victim carried his own cup, and a clap-dish, a wooden utensil with a wooden lid (or clapper), which he rattled as a warning of his approach. Cf.—

"And tristrem duelled bare
To wite what men wald say;
Coppe and claper he bare
Til he fifteen day,
As he a mesel ware."

—Sir Tristrem (S.T.S., p. 89, ll. 3171-3175).

Scott discusses this passage in the Notes to Sir Tristrem (Poetical Works, V. pp. 453, 454).
358. 'When this was said.'
382. "There is reason to believe," says Laing (ed. Henryson, p. 261), "that a spittail house existed in Dunfermline; and the name Spittal Street, at the east end of the town, is still retained. This may have afforded Henryson an opportunity of personally witnessing the victims of this frightful malady." Unless the poet was a stay-at-home, he had easy opportunity of seeing or hearing about leper communities elsewhere.
386. baver, beaver. Cf. 'hat of hair,' p. 37, l. 159, as a symbol of distress or poverty. Beggars, like their betters, wore fur caps, perhaps 'cast-offs.'
391. Spittaill hous, 'spittle,' an old aphetic form of hospital. Cf. The Spittle (near Berwick-on-Tweed) and Spittal Street, Edinburgh; and see the note on l. 382 supra. The name Liberton, near Edinburgh, is said to be a corruption of Lipper-toun.
407. The prosodic model of the Complaynt of Cresseid, with the rhyme-formula aabaabbab, is probably Chaucer's Compleynt of Anelida in Anelida and Arcite, ll. 220 et seq. See Introduction, p. lxxxv.
sop . . . sonken: a figurative reference (by Cresseid, describing her state) to a piece of soaked bread (sop). 'Cair' is sorry 'wine' for this tit-bit; and she is 'sodden' and hopeless.
413. on breird. See Glossary. The sense is 'thy bale increases.'
415. heir'd, hear it. See note to II. 2852, p. 41 supra.
416 et seq. With Cresseid's picture of lost luxuries compare the more elaborate description of a 'fine lady's' daily round given by the Macrell in Philotus (ed. Bannatyne Club), §§ 10 et seq.; also the passage in Lyndsay's Squire Meldrum referred to infra, in the note to l. 429.
417. bene, adv. or a. See Glossary.

'With goodly bed and coverings (of the furniture—benches and chairs) embroidered beautifully;' or 'beautiful embroidered coverings.'
420. sweit Meatis, pleasant meats (not 'sweetmeats' in the modern restricted sense).
421. 'With saffron sauce of good seasoning.' In T 'With savoury sauce of good making (or kind).'</423. "This is a very early mention of lawn" says Skeat: but of the spelling only, for launde is earlier. The reference here is to some portion of a woman's dress, perhaps to the hangers from the headpiece, or the corniches, or the bodice or light mantle.
429. 'Walk.' This is simply 'walk' (cf. III. 33. 93), hardly, as Skeat suggests, 'wake' (but cf. 'stert up' in the quotation from Lyndsay below). Tak the dew does not mean, as Skeat states, to gather dew, as is done on the first of May. It is a common phrase, still current, meaning little more than 'go afield'; cf. III. 33. 95 infra, and B's variant, tak the air, p. 69. The reader may turn to the story of the lady's adventure in Lyndsay's Squire Meldrum (ed.
Laing, I. p. 189, ll. 927 et seq.), when in "the mirrie tyme of May" she "stert up to take the hailsum air," and to the conversation with her chamber-women.

433. on euerie grave, in every colour. Skeat translates 'in every particular,' but unconvincingly (see Chaucer Supplement, p. 525).

438. burelie, as in l. 417, stately, goodly. Here the duplication of sound has struck Thynne, who prints 'goodly' (l. 433).

440. 'choice wine (or wines).’ Cf. note on l. 129 supra.

441. 'perry and cyder.'

456. 'the end approaches near.' So, too, l. 468.

463. Skeat points out parallels in Chaucer's Boethius, Bk. III., Prose vi., 3, 4, and its copy in the Testament of Love, Bk. II., ch. viii., l. 69 (Chaucer Supplement, p. 76); and in a note (Chaucer, Works, II. 439) refers to the original passage in the Andromache of Euripides (319).

464. 'Your rose-like (rosy) red.' This is the only example in N. E. D. (see 'Rosing').

471. 'she lay awake the whole night through.'

478. 'make virtue of necessity.' This old saw, older than Horace (e.g. Odes, I. 24, ll. 19, 20), appears in the familiar form in the Roman de la Rose, 14217:—

"S'il ne fait de nécessité
Vertu,"

which may be echoed by Chaucer in Troilus and Criseyde, IV. 1586, The Knightes Tale, 2184, and The Squieres Tale, 585. Henryson may have used the saying in recollection of the passage in the Troilus.

480. leir efter, learn (as in T), follow. Skeat makes a fault of the repetition of leir, and writes—"Surely miscopied from l. 479. Read live." Dr W. A. Craigie supports this view, and suggests that the old MS. probably had lere in l. 479 and leve in l. 148, the former written with an 'r' of the shape easily confused with 'v' in the latter.

483. "In the old Burrow Lawis of Scotland, cap. 64," says Laing (ed. Henryson, p. 262), "it is enjoined, that 'Leper folke sall noch gang fra dure to dure, but sall sit at the posts of the Burgh, and seik almes (with cop and clapper) fra thame that passes in and forth.' And James the First, anno 1427, Act 106, ordains that 'na Lipper folk sit to thig, nought in kirk nor kirkyard, nor uther place within the burrowes, but at thair awin hospital, or at the port of the towne.' "'Most of the Scottish leper-houses,' says Dr [J. Y.] Simpson, 'were very poorly or not at all endowed. Their principal subsistence seems to have been derived from casual alms. . . . The inmates of the Greenside or Edinburgh lazar-house were allowed four shillings Scots (about fourpence Sterling) per week, and for the remainder of their subsistence they were, according to the original rules of the institution, obliged to beg at the gate of their hospital.'"
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

483. rank, in the sense of ‘foul,’ ‘miserable (with dirt and disease),’ loathsome.

490. the Lipper, the leper folk, as in ll. 526, 580. Cf. l. 494.
494. ‘To us leper folk give of your charity (alms-deed).’

501. plye, plight. The word is common in Scots, though Skeat in his note says: ‘I know of no other example of ply in this sense.’ Henryson alone supplies other examples. See III. 52. 246 (53. 363 and 78. 363); also II. 148. 1997* and note. See Glossary.

541. The Gaelic ‘ochane’ or ‘O hone’ puzzles Thynne, who reads atone (531).

543. will of wane, lit. desolate (or devoid) of hope (O.N. vân), in despair, is a common alliterative tag. Cf. Barbour, Brus, I. l. 323—

“Than wes he wondir will off wane,”

and the parallel construction, identical in meaning, ib., l. 348—

“Then wes he wa and will of red (counsel).”

Cf., too, the fuller form wilsome of wane, as in the Buke of the Howlat—

“Wa is me, wretche in this warld, wilsome of wane” (l. 43),

and ‘wilsome way’ (II. 183). See Index and Glossary.

550. ‘And climbed so high on Fortune’s fickle wheel.’

552. ‘Were in themselves fickle, &c.’ The self, in Scots = itself: here pl., in association with the pl. verb was.

557. ‘And assisted, aided their reputation (or good fame).’

567. sad, steadfast, reliable. Cf. Chaucer, Clerkes Tale, ll. 939, 940:

“O stormy peple! unsad and ever untrewel! Ay indiscreet and chaunging as a vane.”

573. ruse, extol, commend.


581. to burie, ‘for burying,’ ‘if they will bury.’

583. in drowrie. This may be either ‘as a love-token’ or ‘during courtship.’ T reads ‘dowry.’

584. deid, dead.

585. deid, death.

588. Wellis, ‘fountains,’ as associated with Diana.

589. The brooch which Troilus had given to Cresseid, and she in turn to Diomede, finds its place in Chaucer’s story (Troilus and Criseyde, V. 1661-1666, 1669, 1688-1694). Chaucer does not refer to the belt, which, as Skeat suggests, may be Henryson’s addition. It may be introduced deliberately as the cincture or girdle of chastity, just as the brooch represents the badge of true love, placed over the heart.
ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE.

Texts—CM III. 26-64 (left); A* III. 27-65 (right); B III. 66-87.

Heading. *One other ballad in the latter end*; the poem printed on pp. 170, 171 infra, beginning ‘Me ferlyis of this grete confusion.’ It is without title and author’s name. See Introduction, pp. lxxvi et seq.

12. renk. **A* reulr** (ruler), perhaps a misreading of renk. 

rusticate, ‘countrified,’ vulgarized, like a peasant. This example is much earlier than any quoted in *N. E. D.*

20. tendouris, tenders, attenders, guides.

23. fontall, in the sense of ‘original’; an earlier example than any in *N. E. D.*

25. carage. The original tarage (see footnote) is after all the better reading, though it would appear to have troubled Bannatyne who writes knowlege (III. 67. 25). Tarage, meaning ‘flavour,’ quality, goes better with smell, trace, ‘colour,’ tinge, quality, and counter-balances sapour (l. 23) in the simile.

44. musilk: an error for musik. This cannot be an example of the Sc. intruded ‘l.’

51. Quhilk, &c., in explanation of Erato’s function as the Muse of amorous poetry.

52. Pollymyo, Polimiio= Polyhymnia, from the secondary form Polymnia.

71. wadlyng strete, Watling Street; here, the Milky Way or Galaxy. Cf. Chaucer, *The House of Fame*, II. ll. 935 et seq.—

“‘Now,’ quod he tho, ‘cast up thyn ye;
See yonder, lo, the Galaxye,
Which men elepeth the Milky Wey,
For hit is whyt: and somme, parfey,
Callen hit Watlinge Strete:
That ones was y-brent with hete,
Whan the sonnes sone, the rede,
That highte Pheton, wolde lede
Algate his fader cart, and gye;’”

G. Douglas, *Aen.*, III. viii. (ed. Small, II. p. 151, ll. 11 et seq.)—

“Of every sterne the twinkling notis he
That in the stil heuin move cours we se,
Arthuris huyfe, and Hyades betaiknand rane,
Syne Watling streit, the Horne, and the Charle wane, &c.;”

and *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (E.E.T.S., p. 58, ll. 14-16): “aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis vatlant streit.” The second demon in the 30th
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

Towneley Play (‘The Judgement’) says “Let us go to this dome/ vp watlyn strete” (ed. England and Pollard, E.E.T.S., p. 371). Stephen Batman in his Bartholome His Booke de Proprietatibus Rerum, 1582, has “Galaxia, that is Watling-strete” (viii. c. 33).

The ascription of the name of a great road to the Via lactea (“Hac iter est Superis ad magni tecta tonantis,” Ovid, Metam., I. 170) was common in Europe. The English also spoke of ‘Walsingham Way’ (see Blomfield’s Norfolk), the Italians of Strada di Roma, and the Spaniards of the Santiago road (see Skeat, Chaucer, III. 263, and Langland, II. p. 8).

73. Cf. the reading in B, p. 72, l. 190.
94. but mare, without more (ado or said).
*95. (A*, p. 33). take he dewe. See note to Test, of Cresseid, l. 429.
*102. (A*, p. 33). B reads and to his cave hir draw.
*105. (A*, p. 33). B gives the commoner dialectal form strampit.
Cf. also l. 124 (p. 70).
107. Quhilk moving cesse wnyt perpetuall. This is corrupt, and the repetition of quhilk is to be suspected. Is the sense that the motion of the spheres is inaudible because of its perfect unison?

110. The musical terms in Henryson’s perfunctory list, here and later (he makes frank admission of his poor qualifications in ll. 123-125), are recorded in the Index and Glossary. He was probably familiar with the De Musica of Boethius (see Migne, Patr. Lat., LXIII., fol. 1167-1300, and the drawings and tables there). The following passage from Higden’s Polychronicon, 1495, fol. 101 (printed by Wynkyn de Worde), quoted by Dr Leyden in his edition of the Complaynt of Scotlande, and reprinted in the E.E.T.S. edition, p. xcv (see also pp. 37 and 64), has an illustrative interest.

“Here wyse men I tell, that Pictagoras passed som tyme by a smythes hous, and herde a swete sowne, and accordynge in the smytynge of four hamers vpon an anuelt, and therefore he lette wye the hamers, & found that one of the hamers weyed twyes so moche as another. Another weyed other halfe so moche as another; and another weyed so moche as another, and the thyrde dele of another. As though the fyrste hamer were of syx pounde, the second of twelue, the thyrde of eyght, the fourth of ix.—When these accordes were founden, Pictagoras gaued them names, and so that he called in nombre, double, he called in sowne Dyapason, and that he called in nombre other halfe, he called in sowne Dyapente, & that that in nombre is called alle and the thyrde dele, hete in sownes Dyatesseron, and that that in nombres is called alle & the eyghteth dele, hete in tewnys DOUBLE DyapASON. As in melodye of one strenge, ye the strenge be streyned enlonge vpon the holownses of a tree, and departe euen atwo by a brydge sette there vnder in eyther part of the strenge,
the sowne shall be Dyapason, if the strengue be streyned and touched. And yf the strengue be departed euene in thre, and the brydge sette vnder, soo that it departe bytwene the twey deles and the thyrde, then the lenger dele of the strenges, yf it be touched, shal gyue a sowne called Dyatesseron. And yf it be departed in nyne, and the brydge sette bytwene the laste parte and the other dele, and the lenger dele of the strengue, yf it be touched, shall gyue a sowne that hete Tonus."

See the later passage, ll. 251 et seq.; and cf. G. Douglas, Palice of Honour, ed. Small, I. p. 20, ll. 12 et seq. and l. 21 for a like confession of ignorance of music.

124. at this mater a stra I lay, 'to this matter I give [the value of] a straw.' Cf. G. Douglas, Aen., I. Prol. 33, "Stra for this ignorant blabring imperfye."

127. grauis gray. grave, grove. The phrase is analogous in meaning, and as an alliterative tag, to hollis hair (see note to III. 94. 122).

128. wilsum wane. See notes to l. 155 and l. 173. If wane is not a rhyme-form of way, it may be taken, as Dr W. A. Craigie suggests, as wane (dwelling) used despairingly for a rhyme.

138. hellis: prob. poss. = hell's (as in l. 190 infra). Cf. 97. 27 infra.

*139. (A*, p. 37). gule & greit: 'bitter crying and lamentation.' gule conveys the sense of whine, as of an animal (cf. gowling and yowl); greit, v. to lament (with the voice primarily, rather than with the eyes). The collocation is common. Cf.—

"Thare salbe Gowlyng and gretynyn,
But hope of ony confortynyn."

"The turtil began for to greit, quhen the cuschet Joulit."

*140. (A*, p. 37). pyynis, 'pins' or pegs of a harp (earlier than the examples in N. E. D.).

142, 143. 'And Orpheus stole in over the belly of Cerberus, and farther (or lower) down in hell proceeded, as ye shall hear.' nethir mair. See l. 228 (p. 50) infra. Cf. G. Douglas, Aen., VI. v. (heading), ed. Small, III. p. 28—

"Tyll hellis fludis Enee socht nether mair."


*159. (A*, p. 37). hat of hair. See note to III. 17. 386.

*161. (A*, p. 37). beft, beasts, as in modern Scots.

164. B (p. 75, l. 281) 'for his thirst no relief'; but the reading is evidently corrupt and the line is metrically incomplete. See the other texts.

166. tolter, so A*; B, twynid. tolter, here apparently with the sense of 'swaying,' 'swinging,' is common in lit. and dial. Scots with the
meaning of unsteady, 'tottering,' insecure. It occurs in The Kingis Quair (ed. S.T.S., st. 9), and again as an adverb (ib., st. 164). It is found in Lydgate (see N. E. D.).

173. wilsum way. See note to l. *155 supra.

178. Theseus (also in l. 185). In B (p. 76, ll. 297, 302) titius, as in Boethius. See the extract from Chaucer's Boece, note to l. 298 infra. For Tityus see Virgil, Aen., VI. 595, and Ovid, Met., IV. 456. Cf. also Chaucer, Trililus and Cricseyde, l. 786 (Ticius).

182. his paynis, &c.: that is, Tityus's pains (or torment) increased, not the vulture's zest or energy increased.

197. 'too many to be reckoned.'

234. A conventional phrase. See the quotation in the next note.

237. rude, complexion, rud. rude as rose (in this connection) is a common phrase in Eng. and Scots. Cf.—

"As ony ross hir rude wes reid,
Hir lyre wes lyk the lillie."

—Christ's Kirk, l. 21.

252. ypodorica, Hypodorian, a plagal mode in mediæval music, a fourth below the authentic Dorian mode.

253. gemynyng; B, 79. 370, gemilling. The sense is perhaps conveyed in the terms 'variations' ('doubles'), 'second part.' Gemilling suggests connection with gemel, which connotes, in all its meanings, doubleness or coupling (gemel=twins). G. Douglas uses gemmell in a technical musical sense, in the Palice of Honour, ed. Small, I. p. 20, ll. 19-21—

"In modulatioun hard I play and sing
Faburdoun, pricksang, discant, countering,
Cant organe, figuration, and gemmell."

Palsgrave, quoted by N. E. D., s. v. 'Gimmal,' has "Gymell song, jumeneau."

ypolerica, Hypolocrian, a rejected plagal mode, a fourth below the authentic Locrian.

261. bot wyth condicion, 'but on an understanding,' 'with a pact.' See l. 273. Cf. underneith this payne, 'under this penalty,' in l. 264.

280. a luke, 'one look,' 'a single look.'

292. 'Heart is on hoard, and hand is on (always touching) the sore place.' Dr W. A. Craigie supplies a parallelism in the Icelandic proverb Tungan leikr við tanna sár, 'the tongue plays with the sore (place) of the teeth.'

293. 'where love leads, the eye will follow (of necessity turns).'

294. 'I am familiar, 'I have experience.' (L. expertus.)

298. Boethius, De Consolatione, Bk. III. metrum xii. Henryson takes the 'classical' episodes in Hell in the order given by Boethius, by his commentator Nicholas Trivet (see next note), and by Chaucer in his translation (Skeat, Chaucer, II. pp. 90-92).
304. *trowit doctour Nicholas*: A*, *trewit*: B, *trivat*. Nicholas Trivet (?1258-1328), Dominican friar, author of a *Chronicle (Annales sex Regum Angliae . . . [1136-1307]*) and several theological works, including *In [librum] Boetii de consolatione philosophiae*. Of the last, which is unprinted, copies are extant in London (B.M. Addit. MSS. 19585, 27875), Oxford (Bodl., Auct. F. 6. 4), and Cambridge (Univ. Lib., MSS. Dd. 1. 11, Mm. 2. 18). "That it was known in Scotland," says Laing (Henryson, p. 256), "appears from the inventory of books belonging to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, drawn up in the year 1442, in which we find, 'Item, Liber Boetii cum glossa Trevet,' then remaining in the hands of one of the canons, during the pleasure of the Chapter ([Chart. of Glasgow, II. p. 336])." Henryson may have had access to a copy in the Library at Dunfermline. For the bearing of Trivet's book on Henryson's text see the Introduction, p. liii.

310. *belyve*. Here, as frequently, merely an expletive or rhyme-tag, though it may have the secondary sense (not uncommon) of 'in due course,' 'by-and-by.' In l. 330 it may have its original sense 'immediately,' 'quickly,' or, again, be only a rhyme-tag.

311 *et seq. part intellectiue*, one of the parts or kinds, which with the nutritive, sensitive, and others constitute the soul (Ψυχή), according to Aristotle and the Greek philosophers and their mediaeval followers. In ll. 312, 313 we have the familiar contrast between the sensual (sensatiue) souls of animals and the rational (intellectiue) of man. See the extracts from Trivet printed in the Introduction, pp. liii-lv; and cf. Stephen Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure*, xxii.

339. Cf. l. 603 in B (p. 86).


363. *outwert*, 'outwardly expressed.' B p. 82, l. 480, *inwart*, 'in one's thoughts.'

376, 377. 'That he would not set his heart lower than on Juno.'

383. *nature*: in the sense used by Chaucer in the *Persones Tale* (Skeat, Chaucer, IV. p. 604—"or elles doth unkindely sinne, by which man or womman shedeth hir nature.")

386. *crabbing*, vexation, crossing. See II. 2572 and note.

Cf. Lyndsay, *Complaynt* (ed. Laing, I. p. 45, l. 32)—

"I will nocht flyte, that I conclude,  
For crabyng of thy Celsitude."

craving in B (p. 83, l. 503) is an inferior reading, especially if the verb *take* refer to both nouns.

393. *Quhile vp, quhile doun*. See notes to II. 330-334, 1517, &c., and Index and Glossary.

406. *nakit*. n. nakedness. The usage is rare. An adjectival sense is possible, and could be supported by the co-ordinated adjectival
phrase in the next line ('To suffer hunger and thirst, [to be] naked and cold and right woebegone').

411. call. B tak, p. 84, l. 534. 'To receive and take in as a guest.'

422, 423. Cf. ll. 390, 391 supra, and the reading in B ll. 545, 546. p. 84.

425. 'guarded with anxiety.'

426. Equivalent to 'who have the grace of understanding.'

432. Theseus. B titius, p. 85, l. 559. See note to l. 178 supra.

439. previdit=provvidit (as in B, p. 85, l. 566), a form derived from the late Latin rendering of previdere (praevidere) for providere.

446. sekis up, 'seeks up,' 'strives upward.'

*571-*576. (B, p. 85). Lit. 'Each man that hears this ending [of the story of Tityus] should fear to search, by [study of] the stars (constellations), for things happening under heaven, which are indifferent (=equally probable) to yea and nay (i.e., to be or not to be), being without preordained and certain cause, [and] which no human being (none on earth) may learn, but God alone.' Cf. the extract from Trivet (Introduction, supra, p. liii).

*592. (B, p. 86). This line is corrupt and irregular. caus may be a scribal carrying over from the preceding line. Indure, as it stands, has no meaning, and cannot be explained as a rhyme-form. Dr W. A. Craigie suggests the emendation: 'The quhilk mone cum and to pair end indure.'

*599. (B, p. 86). 'which [has] no stable or fixed cause.'


*605. *607. (B, p. 86). To kene, &c. : 'To know itself it may not see a little ("bit"), for (or but) it stumbles on after affection (i.e., following its own likings); from ill to worse all thus (in this way) to hell goes down.' The forms ale and hale (especially the latter) are unusual. ale may be a misreading of 'and.'

*609. (B, p. 86). 'falls into.'

*611. (B, p. 86). biddis ho, 'calls a stop.'

*613. (B, p. 86). full, either 'full' or 'foul' (as elsewhere).

*615. (B, p. 87). on forf, perforse.

*634. (B, p. 87). This ascription to Henryson, which is wanting in CM and A*, is supported by G. Douglas's gloss (in his own hand) to the word 'Muse' in Aen. I. cap. i. l. 13 (Small, II. p. 22) in the Cambridge MS. Gale 03.12.: "Musa in Grew signifieis an iwuentryce or inuention in our langgagge. And of þe ix Musis sum thing in my palys of honour and be Mastir robert hendirson in new orpheus." See the facsimile in Small, I., facing p. clxxii.

Bannatyne adds to Henryson's dull Moralitas, fifty-five (6+4+45) duller lines, probably his own. (See footnotes at pp. 60, 62, and 64).
Makyne, Mawkyne, Malkyne, a diminutive of Matilda, or Maud, a common name for a woman or girl (as Marion is) in the pastourelles. Like the name Kittok, or Kit, it was, at an early stage in its history, sometimes used in the deteriorated sense of slut, or wanton.

2. 'flock of sheep.'

5. *lowd and still,* 'openly and secretly,' that is, 'at all times.'


8. *but dreid* has the same meaning as *Dowtleð,* and may be taken as an intensive.


"And other quhiliis wald scho raik on raw,
Or pas tofore the alturis:"

also Lyndsay, *Test. and Compl. of the Papyngo,* l. 643 (ed. Laing, i. p. 84):—

"The fallow deir, to see thame raik on raw."

The examples in *Golagros and Gawane* supply interesting evidence of the use of this alliterative tag, analogical to what is noted in the case of *rufe and rest,* infra. Thus—

"The roy rekinnit on raw
Thretty and thre"
—ll. 246, 247,

and

"He is the riallest roy, reuerend and rike,
Of all the rentaris to ryme or rekin on raw"
—ll. 402, 403,

may be interpreted in the plain sense of 'in a row,' or 'one after another.' But in—

"As the reuerend roy wes reknand vpone raw,
With the rout of the Round Tabill, that wes richest"
—ll. 519, 520,

an arithmetical process is not indicated, and *reknand* may be taken
as an error for raikand (moving on, advancing). The phrase conveys no deliberate meaning to the reader.


19. heynd, hende, gentle, gracious (O.E. gehende, at hand), a common doublet of courtab. Cf. p. 100, l. 118. Some reprints have wrongly assumed a misreading of 'kynd.'

21. 'harm thee.' Cf. p. 102, l. 8 infra.

22. 'strive earnestly according to your ability (as you can).'

27. incertane, i.e. in certane, certainly.'

28. this, thus. See Glossary.

30. 'My sheep all stray up the hill'; or 'flock together (go in a flock) up the hill.'

31. And, 'an if,' if. Cf. ll. 42 and 45.

39. I dern=In dern (cf. line 7). 'Unless I "deal" with thee secretly.'

43. 'may go astray.'

45, 46. 'But I am ill at ease if I remain when they begin to move about.'

49. roif and rest, a common alliterative doublet used as a tag. Cf. rest and rufe, III. 146. 10; Henry the Minstrel, Wallace, VI. l. 60—

"Now at vnes, now in to rest and ruff";

The Buke of the Howlat, l. 14—

"This riche Revir down ran, but resting or ruf";

Alexander Scott, Poems, S.T.S., p. 76, l. 19—

"That thay may nowther rest nor rufe";


The combination rest and rowe (roo, roe) is common in M.E. Cf. York Plays, ed. Toulmin Smith, p. 19, l. 38, p. 31, l. 76, p. 277, l. 178, &c.

58. sicht, sigh. See N. E. D., s. v. 'Sight, v.²' where the suggestion is made that it is a formation from the past tense 'sight(e)' of v. 'siche,' and three quotations are given, including one from the Sc. Leg. of the Saints, xxvi. 1138 ('and sichtit sare.') This example from Henryson, and others in the Maitland MS. (The Murning Maidin, l. 5, "Scho sychtit sely soir," and l. 25, "garris me ... sycht full sair"), show that the form is by no means rare. We cannot be certain that the 't' was pronounced. It may be no more than a scribal mannerism analogous to what we find in 'witht,' 'Edinburght,' &c. B reads sichit, in l. 124.

84. 'without division or undivided'; not 'with no question of going away (to my sheep).'

85. The comma after haul should be deleted, as it gives all haul the appearance of a phrase of greeting. The sense is 'wholly.'
89. *say*, perhaps a rhyme-form of the past participle. Dr W. A. Craigie suggests that the error may lie in *soun* for *sing*; and that a scribe might naturally alter the first word, and then find he had to leave the second for the rhyme.


“This kyth and this castell
Firth, forest, and fell,”

and *ib.*, l. 1357—

“In toure and in toune,
In firth, forest, and fell, and woddis so wide.”

*Firth or frith* is wooded country, coppice, or hunting-ground. Cf. p. 114, l. 2 infra. *Fawld* or fold is an enclosed piece of ground, generally attached to a farm. *Fell* is a down or a moorland stretch (wild or under pasture).

108. *wend*, past ind.

109. ‘madest it as play’; ‘thou madest game.’

110. *spend*: ‘spent my time (or self).’

117. ‘never to fail, as many others.’


“Befor hym in hys bosum he hir bair,
And socht onto the wilsum holttis hair.”

(See note on *wilsum*, II. 14. 183.)

**THE BLUDY SERK.**

**Text—B III. 96-100.**

1. *This hundir zeir* = ‘a long time ago.’

*be tald*, *betald*, betold, declared. Cf.—

“As she haf herde befor betaulde.”

—Wyntoun (S.T.S.), II. p. 199, l. 758.
7. *fald,* 'fold,' embrace.
9. 'to bear the flower,' like 'to bear the palm,' to have pre-eminence.
12. *bot and,* 'and also.'

"That he his sistir paramouris
Luftt."

Cf. I. 38. 498, and see Glossary.
16. *our all quhair,* 'all the world over,' lit. 'over all-place, or everywhere.'
17. *alyt,* a lyte, a little way off.
18. *A fowll gyane of ane;* 'a very (or specially) foul giant.' For this
M.Sc. usage see Specimens of Middle Scots (1902), Introd. p. xlii.
24. 'In her dwelling:'
25. 'to look on.'
27. *hellis.* Cf. note to III. 44. 138. (Probably the genitive).
38. 'with him in person.' Cf. l. 51.
56. *weir,* were—would be, was.
57. *be bricht,* the bright (beautiful) lady. Cf. *myld,* III. 146. 13,
gay, III. 146. 21, &c. On the substantival use of adjectives (generally
feminine), see Specimens of Middle Scots (1902), Introd. p. xli.
58. *deir* does not fall in with the rhyme-scheme, though it might
be explained by assonance (see Introduction, p. lxxxviii). Dr W. A.
Craigie suggests *fre,* noble, dear (cf. note to l. 79 infra).
61. In a note on this line Sibbald (Chron. of Scot. Poetry, I. 182)
comes to a curious conclusion. "In the MS. *likame,* certainly an
error of the transcriber for *lynkome,* linen; 'his linen was rendered
unlusum.' The word occurs nowhere else but in Christ's Kirk on the
Grene; an additional presumption that the two poems were written
by the same person. A resemblance can easily be traced. Compare
st. 2 of this with st. 2 of the other; st. 4 with st. 19; st. 11 with
st. 17, &c. The alliteration would require this phrase to be *lynkome
licht,* and probably Henryson wrote it so." It would be hard to find
a passage of like length so perverse in its statement of facts and in its
speculation. See Glossary.
64. *sy,* see.
79. *fre* has been taken here in the sense of 'lady;' that is 'By Our
Lady (Mary)'; but it is perhaps better to read it in the common com-
plimentary sense of 'noble,' 'dear.' See *Fre* in the Glossary of
Specimens of Middle Scots (1902), and the references there.
87. *in quert,* in health, alive and sound.
96. *With prayaris to him mak.* *Mak* presents difficulties. If it be
the infin. of 'make,' *with* should read *and.* But it may be a false
formation (for rhyme's sake, and not without precedent) of the past
participle ('with prayers made to him'). The identity of the word in
form and meaning with *mak* in l. 92 is contrary to Middle English usage, though not surprising in Henryson’s texts (cf. the rhymes in ll. 33, 39 *supra*).

98. ‘Both in heaven and here (on earth).’

112. Lit. ‘where laws are strictly led,’ that is, ‘where justice is done.’

118. *hend.* See note to *Robene and Makyne*, l. 19 *supra*. Here *hend men* is equivalent to ‘good people.’

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**THE GARMONT OF GUD LADEIS.**

**Text—B III. 102, 103.**


11. *schame,* modesty; *dread,* horror of dishonour, or, perhaps, reverence.

15. *mailzeis,* eyelet-holes, ‘eyes.’

24. *tholl,* endure; here in sense of ‘stand.’

27. ‘her ruff of good meditation.’ For *patelet* (patlet, partlet) cf. Dunbar, *Devorit with Dreme* (S.T.S., II. p. 83, l. 64)—

> "Sic skaith and scorne, so mony paitlattis worne
> Within this land was nevir hard nor sene."

28. ‘Her neck-ribbon (band) made of pity.’


38. *by my seill,* either ‘under my seal,’ or ‘by my happiness (sele).’


> "A schip wiþ grene and gray,
> Wiþ vair and eke wiþ griis."

But there is perhaps the suggestion that whether gaily or quietly dressed she would never look half so well as in the confection in the poet’s allegory.
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

THE PRAIS OF AIGE.

Texts—M III. 106, 107; CM III. 107, 108; B* III. 108, 109; B III. 110, 111.

1-3. Cf. Dunbar, Musing allone, 3, 4 (S.T.S., II. p. 92)—

"Within ane garth vndir a tre,
I hard ane voce," &c.

See Introduction, p. lxvi.

5. The punctuation of this line is open to question. It appears to be better to read: And, to my dowme, he said in his dittyng, that is, 'And, in my opinion (or as I, the poet, heard it), he (the old man) said in his singing.' This is supported by B's emendation of the text of B* (And as me thocht he said). The commoner construction is 'As to my dowme.'

6. 'For I would not be young [again], to be lord and king of all this world.' Wylf, wish, desire. Me, myself.

10. ourset with; besoucht with='a prey to.' syt: CM, B*, B syn. synnyf: CM sytis, B* sichis, B slichtis. syt, site, sorrow; sichis, sighs; slichtis, sleights, wiles.

12. CM all welthis wete to wo.

13. stemyt, in M, CM, and B, 'put to flight.' Freemnit in B*, if not a corruption (by common interchange of '1' and 'r'), may have the ordinary meaning of 'exiled,' 'made a stranger,' 'estranged.'

19, 20. Cf. readings in CM, B*, and B.

21. 'he most enjoyed,' '[in which] he most rejoiced.' Cf. CM, B*, and B.

THE RESSONING1 BETUIX AIGE AND 3OWTH.

Texts—M III. 114, 115; B* III. 115-117; B III. 118-120; MT III. 121-123.

5. firth. See note to Robene and Makyne, p. 93, l. 96.

10. one a club, that is, leaning on a staff.

11. hoir is in meaning the same as lyart, and is, here, as often elsewhere, little more than an expletive. See the note to III. 94. 122.

15. but lef) (B but lyis), truly, lit. without lying or leasing; a

1 'N' has dropped out in the making up of page 113.
common verse expletive or tag, useful as a rhyme. Cf. G. Douglas, 
_Aen._, III. ii. 115—

"By Olearon and mony ill but les
Scatterit in the see, iclepit Ciclades,"

and _ib._, IV. iv. 87—

"And on the hillis hie toppis but les
Sat murnyng nymphis, hait Oreades."

See note to II., I. 2198.

18. _misdom_, ? misjudgement. The only example in _N. E. D._ (s. v. 
'Misdoom') is from _Sir Giles Goosecappe_ (1606). _B*, B, and MT_
read _makdome_, which occurs frequently in _M.Sc._ in the sense of 
'form,' 'comeliness.' In _M_ the youth is represented as marvelling 
greatly at the old man's opinion; in the other texts the youth 
admires his own figure and proceeds to name his 'points.' The 
reading in _M_ is probably an error.

20. _bair_, boar.

21. _grume on ground_, a common alliterative sequence, meaning, 
simply, 'man on earth.' Cf. _frek on fold_, I. 28 infra, and p. 134, 
l. 13 _infra_. _my gardone_, 'my guerdon.'

22. _pair_, the aphetic form of _empair, appair_; impair, reduce. Cf. 
_Bann._ MS. (Hunt. Club ed., II. p. 187, ll. 29, 30)—

"Be actyve, wyse, trew, constant, glaid, and fre;
Tak no suppryif! that may your honour pair,"

and _Catholic Tractates_ (S.T.S.), p. 10, I. 27: "nother eikand nor 
pearand ane word."

28, 29. Cf. readings in _B*, B, and MT_, and see Glossary. _Frek 
on fold_; cf. _grume on ground_ (I. 21 _supra_). _Forfy_, as an adjective 
= _forcy_, is not recorded in _N. E. D._; but cf. _Dunbar_ (S.T.S., II. p. 
306. 35)—

"Off lordis in to this land perfay,
Sum wyse, sum wicht, sum forss, sum fell."

_Forty_ in _MT_, meaning 'strong,' is probably a scribal misreading of 
_forcy_ (MS. 'c' and 't'), unless it be intended for _forthy_.

31. _laithly_, loathsome. So _MT_ (p. 122); but _B* and B_ read 
_laikly_. This second form is probably a corruption, through the 
attraction of the 'k' sound in the other alliterating words _luk_ and 
_lykyne_ (lycome, luking), and need not be taken as a rare form, 
derived from _lack_, meaning 'deficient,' 'done,' 'withered.' _Luking_
in _B_ (p. 119), though it might be taken as 'appearance,' must in 
the light of the variants, and especially of _B*, be treated as a form 
of _lycome_ (body). _Bannatyne's_ emendation of his draft cannot have 
been for a reason such as _Sibbald's_ (note to I. 61, p. 98 _supra_), for 
he was not ignorant of the word.
35. **cramp.** The sense (taken in connection with *crampyn* in the extended text, p. 117, l. 42, p. 123, l. 57, *cramping*, p. 119, l. 42) appears to be ‘to move briskly,’ ‘swagger,’ ‘strut,’ ‘display.’ It is not recorded in *N. E. D.*, which quotes *crampand*, from the *Thre Deid Powis* (infra, p. 156, l. 22), in the sense of ‘curling,’ ‘curly’ (‘Thy crampand hair and eik thy cristall ene’), and suggests that it “implies an intrans. *cramp*, to curl, not otherwise known.” The idea of ‘springiness,’ or ‘resiliency,’ seems to be involved, as suggested in the conventional ‘curliness’ (cf. Chaucer’s ‘crulled lokkes’) of youth in mediaeval sketches. If the word be connected with the modern *cramp*, it will have the sense of ‘trigness’ in contrast with the carelessness of old age, and with the ‘cowering’ referred to by the old man in l. 42 of *B* and other texts (p. 117 et seq.) ; but speculation must wait for further evidence.


*bailis beit* (*B* bailis beit, *B* bailis beit, *MT* baill to beit), ‘relieve my pain or torment.’ Hailes’s translation of the phrase ‘abate my fires’ set Sibbald thinking of the common usage ‘to beit the fyre,’ and perhaps of Douglas’s phrase ‘bad beit ye fyre’ in the Prol. to the 7th Aeneid. He committed himself, with characteristic perversity, to the statement: “So says Lord Hailes, but erroneously. It probably means the very reverse,—to help, increase, or rouse my amorous fire.” Cf. Bann. M.S. (Hunt. Club ed., p. 724)—

> "O lauris all, to lufe bene thrall,  
> Now latt us fall befor the godis feit,  
> To clip and call in generall,  
> Both grit and small that may our baillis beit,"

and G. Douglas, Prol. to *Aen.* xii. (ed. Small, iv. p. 87)—

> "To beyt that amouris of thar nychtis baill."

It is a common phrase in amatory verse. Cf. Alex. Scott (S.T.S., p. 42, l. 23)—

> "To 3ow, my hairt, quha ma my baillis beit."

*41 (B*, p. 117). *greif,* ?grieve, reeve, farm·bailiff, =man, as in *MT.*

*42 (B*, p. 117). *For,* ‘notwithstanding,’ or ‘in return for.’ *Cramphyn* (see note on l. 35 supra).

*43 (B*, p. 117). *defy,* renounce. See Glossary.

*44 (B*, p. 117). ‘paramour’ (sb.) ‘And ill-health shall keep thee from love affairs.’ Cf. note to III. 96. 15 supra.
*45 (B*, p. 117). *bird.* See l. 39 *supra.* *blyth of.* ‘well pleased with.’
*46 (B*, p. 117). *salt move.* More clearly in *B* and *MT.* ‘shall
pass or diminish.’
*52 (B*, p. 117). *in dew proportioun:* *MT* ‘ar dowbill in pro-
portioun.’
(Skeat, IV. p. 605): “or elles he did it for his youthe, or elles his
complexioun is so corageous.”
*57 (B*, p. 117). *bevir hair (bevar hoir),* ‘old man,’ ‘grey beard.’
See the discussion in *N. E. D., s. v.* ‘Bevar,’ and the quotation given
there from the *Proverbs of Alfred.*
*58 (B*, p. 117). There should be a comma after *sone.* ‘Son, be
assured,’ rather than ‘Son, however lusty thou mayst be.’
*59 (B*, p. 117). *thocht it be stark and sterne.* So *B.* *MT*
reads (p. 122), *thocht Johne be never so sterne.* ‘John’ might be taken here in
the general sense of ‘man,’ ‘fellow,’ ‘he,’ ‘Jock,’ but it is more likely,
as Dr W. A. Craigie suggests, that it is a misreading of ‘thow’ (pow).
‘Though thou be never, &c.’
*60 (B*, p. 117). *Fierce fevers and old age shall make thee grow
weak (or fail).* *MT* ‘Fever, cruel (dangerous) to old age, shall make
thee grow weak (or fail).’
*62 (B*, p. 117). *but hwn (hove),* ‘without delay,’ ‘quickly’ : often
no more than an expletive or verse-tag.
*65 (B*, p. 117). *gowand.* So *B; galjart (MT),* galliard, gay or
spirited fellow. *gowand* has worried Henryson’s editors. Hailes
puts it in his Glossary as “Gowan, field daisy,” but places the line in his
list of “Passages not understood” (ed. 1770, p. 379). Jamieson
suggests, (1) a ‘traveller,’ or one ‘going’; (2) a reference to “the
untutored state” of a young man’s mind (explained by an *alleged*
O.E. *gown, tirocinium*); and (3) a youth (Germ. *jugend* and Moe.
Gothic *juggons.*) The author of the Glossary in the Hunterian
Club edition of the Bannatyne MS. explains it as ‘a startled or
astonished one, a simpleton,’ presumably connecting the word with
the verb *gaw* or *gow,* to gape or stare. *N. E. D.* does not appear
to record the form.

The sense presents no difficulty: it implies a contrast with the
‘senior’ or ‘old man.’ As to the word, may it not be simply ‘gallant’
with the double ‘l’ in ‘galland’ easily mistaken for the first long
strokes in the old ‘w’? *MT* reads *galjart.* *grathit,* likewise, is an
easy scribal misreading of *grutchit* in *MT.*

We should not be far out (all lexicographical propriety apart) if
we laid violent hands on two of the fantastic suggestions made by
previous editors, noted *supra,* and translated in colloquial phrase,
‘This daisy!’ or even ‘This Juggins!’
*66 (B*, p. 117). *wrechetly.* *B* *wrethly,* perhaps ‘rathely,’ quickly
(cf. Henry the Minstrel, Wallace, IX. 1805, S.T.S., p. 291), supported by *full sone* in MT (p. 123); but it may mean ‘angrily,’ but wene, doubtless, without doubt; probably no more than an expletive.


*70 (B*, p. 117). *tremefit* . . . *tone*. B *triumphit* . . . tone. MT *trevist* . . . *toun*. *Tremefit* is a scribal error for *treuesit. trevist*, which is probably the correct reading, appears to mean ‘traversed,’ ‘ran contrary in their declarations.’ This is supported by the poet’s quoting the opposing views together in the concluding lines of the stanza.

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OBEY AND THANK THY GOD OF ALL

OR

THE ABBAY WALK.

Texts—B* III. 126, 127; B III. 128, 129; MT III. 130, 131.

The familiar short title The Abbay Walk was added by Hailes. “I have given this poem the title of the Abbay Walk, from a like title given to a popular poem mentioned by Sir James Inglis in his Complaint.” The reference is to ‘The cheapel valk,’ in the anonymous Complaynt of Scotlände, 1549 (E.E.T.S. edit., p. 64, l. 30). See Introduction, p. lxviii.

2. *fair to see*. MT for *to see*.


15. Cf. MT (p. 130).

17. *In writ*. MT *I wait*.

23. *he and he*, the one and the other, a not uncommon demonstrative use. Cf. G. Douglas, Aen., VI. xii. 68 (ed. Small, III. p. 60).

"And gan begyn desyre, baith he and he,
In bodeis conciliation for to returne agane."

Tennyson supplies a modern instance in the opening sonnet in Harold:

"But he and he, if soul be soul, are where
Each stands full face with all he did below."
28. by skill, with reason, on good grounds. **MT** throw skill.
47. the, thee. **MT** Thairfoir, quhone euir ye till him bown.
50. wilful, willing. **MT** wofull, miserable.
53, 54. Cf. reading in **MT** (p. 131).
55. quha his law and lawis he: **MT** Quhilk rasis be law and humilis be hie. The poet is perhaps echoing the pseudo-Chaucerian *Cuckoo and the Nightingale* (by Clanvowe), ll. 3, 4—
   "For he can make of lowe hertes hye
   And of hye lowe."
But the phrase must have been common property.

THE RESSONING BETWIXT DETH AND MAN.

Texts—**B*** III. 134-136; **B** III. 136-138.

13. freik on fold, a common alliterative tag. *Cf.—*
   "Gif he be freik on the fold your freynd or your fay."
   —Golagros and Gawane, l. 56.

It signifies little more than 'man,' 'fellow.' Cf. mod. colloq. 'man
on earth,' and see notes to III. 114. 21, 115. 28.
15. Is none, none is (by inversion).
16. on forð (and in l. 24), perforce, of necessity, *u.s.* See Glossary.
24. heill, **B** haill, wholly.
35. **B** corrects **B*** metrically.
37. dispone for he. **B** dispone thy self: prepare thyself (or put thy
affairs in order).
43. 'to thee Death.' luke; **B** lurk (p. 138), a better reading.
   vndir bi caip, under thy cope or cape: either to be covered by
Death's mantle, or, as Hailes suggests, to be in his coffin. *caip of
leid* or *Cope of lead* is a Scots phrase for a coffin. Cf. Bellenden,
*Hist.*, XVI. xix., and Knox, *Hist.* (1846), l. 179, both quoted in
*N. E. D."
45, 46. 'Praying God that the Devil, my enemy, have no power
to afflict ( = 'assail') my soul.'
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

AGANIS HAISTY CREDENCE OF TITLARIS.

Texts—B III. 140-142; MT III. 142-144.

The title of this poor set of verses appears to have been given by Hailes. It was adopted by Laing. Titlar (MT tutlar, tutelar) = tailltellar (l. 10), tell-tale.

4. MT supplies a better reading. If than, in B, be read ïai, or ïat, a colon or period should follow lie.

23. ryme . . . ressoun (cf. also III. 174. 61). For early examples of the phrase see N. E. D., s. vv. ‘Rime, sb. I. b,’ ‘Rhyme, sb. III. b,’ and Cranstoun’s edition of Montgomerie, S.T.S., p. 352. The phrase is probably very much older, but Henryson’s example is among the earliest yet recorded.

27. MT freyndis, in the Northern sense of ‘kin.’

29. distance, in the earlier sense of ‘discord,’ ‘dispute.’

46. heird, hear it. Cf. III. p. 17, l. 415; and see note to II. 2852.

49. ‘It is no bourd (joke, jesting matter) to hear backbiters.’ Cf. reading in MT, p. 144.

[THE ANNUNCIATION.]

Text—G III. 146-148.

No title is given to these verses in the MS.

1. ‘Strong as death is happy, or “true,” love.’ Likand = lit. pleasing, favourable.

4. letis. The meaning here is obscure. Perhaps the simplest interpretation is to take let (i.e. lētē = O.E. lētē) in the sense of ‘think,’ ‘consider’ (‘Nothing is hard to him who feels that he is in love’).

10. Rest and Rufe. Cf. note to III. p. 91, l. 49.

12. Perhaps ‘Set thy resolves in Him.’ But decreitis may be decreit is: in which case the line would mean ‘In Him is thy purpose set (or ordained).’

13. mervale is probably a verb, ‘This message caused that gentle maid (to) marvel’ rather than a noun, ‘this message caused wonder
to (astonished) that gentle maid.' For the substantival use of the feminine adjective *myld*, see note *supra*, III. p. 98, l. 57. Cf. *gay* in l. 21.

15. *Infild*, 'in-fild,' undefiled.

22. 'By God's grace in no way deprived of her chastity by fraud or mortal sin.'

23. *Chaumer*, 'chalmer,' room, apartment.

27. 'princess pure.'

28. This appears to mean 'full pleasantly hearkens, or consents, or conforms herself.' See *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Apply,' v. III. *Applidis* ('applied is') is, like other examples throughout the poem, a mere rhyme-form. Cf. Alexander Scott (*S.T.S.*, p. 37, ll. 43-44)—

"Be courtas in your company,
For that sall caus thame to apply."


38. 'that from Love's river flow.'

43. *but wete*, 'without sap (or moisture).' Cf. *O.E. wëta*, n.

47. *may* (maid); *maid* (made).

50. *bosum*, womb.

51. *fra deid*, apparently 'from death,' in contrast with l. 55.

54. '“Despised” himself, in order to prosper us.'

55. *one deid*, 'indeed.'

57. *bacis*. The meaning may be guessed, but the word is difficult. Is it 'establishes (bases),' in the sense used in the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, xl., "By bloudshed they doe . . . bace . . . their state"? Or does it mean 'kisses,' 'embraces,' *baisis*?

68. *termigant*. Termagant, a character representing bluster and insolence in the Miracle plays; here, in the stricter mediaeval Christian tradition, a false god of the Mahometans (Ital. Trivigante, O.F. Tervagan). In the *Chanson de Roland* he is so named with Mahoun and Apolunny:—

"Pleignent lur deus Tervagan e Mahum
E Apollin." (ll. 2695, 2697);

and again in ll. 3267, 3268. Later references in mediaeval literature are plentiful. For the secondary sense of a bully or savage, cf. Dunbar, *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*, 115:—

"Thae tarmegantis, with tag and tatter,
Full lowd in Ersche begowth to clatter."

The sense of 'virago' does not appear till later.
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

SUM PRACTYSIS OF MEDECYNE.


1. *Guk, guk* (cf. l. 79), an offhand expression, somewhat contemptuous; 'Fool!' *Guk or gowk* is a fool, or, primarily, the cuckoo, and *guk-guk* is Sc. for cuckoo. Cf. Montgomerie, *Cherrie and the Slae*, 701. "Go, go, we do not heir bot guckis," that is, *Nugamur duntaxat* (in Dempster's translation). The word *guk* will be found in the line of mongrel Gaelic in the *Buke of the Howiat* (S.T.S., p. 74, l. 796).

*gukill*, till.

1 and 2. A semicolon may be placed at the end of each line.

6. ‘gathered from all quarters’ (as refuse or dirt).

7. ‘I have duly (meetly, properly) measured it.’

8. *ford*, for it. See note to II. 2852.


"That all the blayd, vp to the hylt and hand,
Amyd hys flaffand longis hyd hes he,"

where he is translating ‘in tumido pulmone’ (*Aen.*, X. 387).

12, 13. ‘Whether I know anything of the craft (of the apothecary) here let it be shown.’

14. ‘Your knowledge of curing (cures).’

15. ‘clouted,’ in the sense of ‘clumsy,’ or ‘patchy’: ‘clamped,’ ‘botched’ (cf. l. 74).

*nocht weill cleird*, confused or uncertain.

16 ‘poor.’

17. ‘A curse on (out on) them that lied.’ See note to II. 212. 2847.

18. *fell*. Is this the substantival use of the adj. ‘fell,’ dire, meaning ‘fell disease?’

19. *seid*, see it. See note on l. 8.

20, 21. ‘But I can “cut” them and heal them from lameness and hurt, [and] with salves make them sound.’ In the glossary to the Hunterian Club edit. of the Bannatyne MS., *lib* is taken in the more restricted (and commoner) sense of ‘castrate,’ and this interpretation may be right in this specimen of rough topsy-turvy fun; but the word appears to have at times a more general meaning ‘to cut open.’ O.E. *lyb*, a medicine, drug, simple, suggests a still more general rendering ‘to cure,’ but there is no record of a corresponding verb in either Old or Middle English.

21-23. *beid*, be it. See note on ll. 8 and 19.

‘On your soul be it, that you make sure of this prescription I send you, with those reliable fellows (the apothecaries).’
24. This line is almost past guessing. The Hunterian Club Glossary interprets egeis as ‘ages’ (cf. ege, III. 173. 35). This leaves the rhyme-formula ‘seggis—egeis—dreggis’ (whether ‘dg’ or hard ‘g’) unexplained, and does not help us to understand the passage. Can glean be ‘infection,’ ‘illness’ (= gleim), and all egeis a miswriting of allegeis (allay)—‘who allay distemper or illness’? If glean be a verb = gleam, to smear, may egeis be ‘eggs,’ in allusion to the practice in mediaeval pharmacy of mixing drugs with eggs, raw or pounded?

25. Dia (the familiar prefix dia- in the language of pharmacy) sometimes occurs as a separate word. See l. 53 infra, and note to l. 26-7 infra. Cf. Langland, Passus B, xx. 173 (ed. Skeat, I. p. 589)—

ˮAnd to dryue away Deth · with dyas and drogges.”

The collocation in this quotation suggests that dreggis in l. 25 may be ‘drugs’; but drag and drug are often confused with dreg and drag (dredge) in the sense of a preparation (draggiel).


“For ane male eß tuk him so sare,
That he on na vift mycht be thar.
His mail eß of ane fundying
Begouth,” &c.,

and G. Douglas, Aen., xii. 1. 114 (ed. Small, IV. p. 94)—

“The moir encressys and growis his mail eys.”

26/27, et seq. Dia- in the titles of the four mock prescriptions (Diaculcakit, Dialongum, Diaglaconicon, Diacustrum) means ‘made of’ or ‘consisting of.’ It was generally prefixed to the name of the chief ingredient, e.g., Diasenna, ‘a preparation of senna.’ See the full account of the history and use of the form in N. E. D., s. v. ‘Dia- pref. 2’

Diaculcakit, a prescription for the colic (l. 39). cul = O.F. cul, appears in l. 30 in its fuller form culume fundament, the culum of Lyndsay, Sat. of the Thrie Estaitis (ed. Laing, II. p. 107, l. 2102); and cakit or cakkit (l. 34) is the pp. of cack, Lat. cacare.

27. Cape (Lat.), take (in prescriptions). Cf. recipe, l. 40. cukmaid is obscure, but from the context may well signify excrement. collo- aige, not ‘garden stuff’ as in the Hunterian Club Glossary, but the water-pepper plant (Polygonum hydropiper), otherwise known as Arsesmart (see Gerard’s Herball).

29. satlingis, ‘settling,’ or dregs, ? the lees of wine. Sop = sap, juice. Sege may be ‘sage,’ from which a decoction (known later as ‘sage-tea’) was made; or it may be ‘sedge,’ either specifically the Sweet Flag (Acorus), or vaguely (as is common in early instances) some plant of a succulent kind.
30. ‘broken up (chewed) by your teeth.’

31. luffage, lovage \((Levisticum officinale)\), a popular medicinal herb, mainly used as a diuretic. (Not ‘borage,’ as in the Hunterian Club Glossary.)

36. sottin, ? mix, add. Perhaps connected with soudie, a hotch-potch.

40. ruggis, ‘pulls,’ ‘tugs,’ of a rook tearing carrion. The word may refer to the act of pulling, rather than to the torn-off portions, as explained in \(N. E. D.\) (s. v. Rug. sb.1 2). The component parts in the opening lines of this verse of burlesque prescription are intangible (yawn, clack, &c.)

reid, red. But why ‘red rook,’ except for alliterative purposes, or in burlesque verse?

42. the dram of ane drekterf. If drekterf be ‘a drake’s tail,’ as in the Hunterian Club Glossary, may dram be translated as ‘shake’ or ‘waggle’? But drekterf may be simply ‘drek-terse’ (see \(N. E. D.\), s. v., ‘Tarse’), and dram may have its ordinary meaning.

douk of a duke, ‘the dive of a duck.’

43. gaw, probably ‘gall-bladder.’

45. sleisfull, sleeve-full. (The Hunterian Club text reads, in error, sleisfull, and interprets ‘a skimming-dish full.’) slak is probably some variety of edible river-algae, like in kind, and analogous in name, to ‘sloke,’ still a favourite dish in parts of Ireland. Cf. Thomas Ruddiman’s Glossary in his edition of G. Douglas (1710), s. v. Slike: “Scot. Bor. call a kind of Sea-weed, very soft and slippery, Slake, which they also eat.” sluQ may be ‘slush,’ soft river-mud, where these algae are found. The Hunterian Club Glossary interprets slak=mud, and sluQ=‘stream, pool in a stream.’ \(N. E. D.\) identifies shift with ‘sluice.’

46. in ane maf. This may be either (a) ‘in a mass,’ en masse, ‘all together,’ or (b) ‘in a mess, or broth, or pottage.’ The latter is perhaps the better, and more in keeping with vntment in the next line.

with the mone cruke, at full moon. Cf. G. Douglas, \(Aen.\), Prol. VI. (ed. Small, III. 2. 5)—

"Lyke dremins or dotage in the monis cruik."

52/53. Diaglaconicon, called diaglelocicon in l. 65.

53. The Hunterian Club Glossary explains denteit in daill “to be dealt out in small portions,” but the line may be interpreted, ‘this preparation is right dear and dainty in part.’ dainteth and denteth are common in Scots for mod. ‘dainty’; and deir and denteth is not a rare alliterative collocation.

58. ‘of the she-bat.’

61. lundin, Lundin (Fifeshire), not London. ‘From Lothian to Lundin’ may be taken as equivalent to ‘from South to North.’ See Introduction, p. xxiv.
62. 'It is called in our canon (of pharmacy).'
63. 'To put foes to flight.' Fon (pl.)
67. 'hoarseness, and coughing, or heartburn.'
70. guse. Jamieson has "guse: the long gut or rectum," but adds no explanation or illustration. The English Dialect Dictionary quotes this and adds, "Not known to our correspondents."
74. clamp, ? add (lit. 'pile on,' 'botch'). Cf. note to l. 15 supra.
77. zule stok, 'winter cabbage or kale.' zule probably refers not so much to the lateness of the kale as to its place in popular festivity at Christmas, as also at New-Year's Eve (Hogmanay) and Hallowe'en. zule stok might mean 'Yule log' (see the quotation from the Folk Lore Journal in the English Dialect Dictionary, s. v. 'Stock': "When open chimneys were universal in farm-houses the Christmas stock, mock, or block . . . was kindled with great ceremony"), but the first ex-
78. 'Is good for the cough.'
79. guk, guk. See l. 1 and note.
81. leird—leir it. See note to II. 2852.
84. I pary, I bet. L. pariare, Fr. parier.
86. out of 'he fary. Cf. Dunbar (S.T.S., II. 111. 38-40)—

"Bot evir be reddy and addrest
To pass out of this frawdfull fary;
For to be blyth me think it best."

The sense of the passage seems to be that the wonderful medicine will so work upon the patient that he will soon get rid of all his trouble—perhaps of all earthly troubles!
87. gressis & gersf, herbs, a repetition of the plural in two forms, enforced by the coming rhyme. Or is there any distinction implied between herbs and unguents (grass being on record as a misused form of 'grease' and also as equivalent to adipocere)?
90, 91. Apparently a rough parody of the proverb "A mirk mirrour is a man's mind," which Laing finds in the collection of David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline (d. 1599), printed in 1641 (Henryson, Poems, u. s., p. 302).

THE THRE DEID POLLIS.

Texts—B III. 156-158; MT III. 158-160.

2. vaill, vale, valley. MT (fastidious in emending the mixed metaphor) reads well.
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

3. *with gaistly sicht,* 'with eyes of terror,' 'in horror.' The phrase is applicable alike to 'sinful man' and the 'death's-heads.'

10. 'who has received life.' Cf. II. 162. 2200 and note.

15. *fair:* MT *sair.*

18. *renewit* conveys the sense of 'healthy,' 'ever fresh in complexion.' 'White' and 'red,' taken together, are favourite mediaeval epithets in (a) the description of spring and its flowers, and, by analogy, in allegory, for (b) the bloom of youth ('white' for the skin and 'red' for the blood), and (c) the true knight's virtues of loyalty and courage.

For illustration of these in Scottish literature, cf.—

(a) "Of blomyt branchis and flowris quhite and rede."

—G. Douglas, *Aen. XII., Prol.* (ed. Small, iv. 86. 7);

(b) "Bot joutheid had him maid ane courttie cote

    Ane wysar, hat wes payntit for the sicht
    As ruby Reid, and pairt of quhyt amang."

—G. Douglas, *King Hart* (ed. Small, i. 97. 4-10);

(c) "The proprietie is marvalous, for quhat thing euir it be appliat to it semis to be of the samyn culour and imitatis all heuis, except onelie the quhyte and reid, and for [his caus] ancient writtaris commounlie comparis it to ane flatterare quhilk [imitatis] all be hau[maner is] quhorne he fenjeis him self to be freied to, [except] quhyte quhilk is takin to be be symboll and tokin gevin commounlie in diuise of colouris to signifie sempilnes and loyaltie, and reid signifying manli[nes] and heroyicall courage."


21-23. It seems preferable to put a semicolon after *weid* and a comma after *ene* (or no commas in l. 22). Lines 22, 23 would read:

"Dismal death shall make sorry ending of {or to thy sorrow destroy) thy curly locks and also thy bright eyes."

22. *crampand,* curly. See note to III. p. 115, l. 35.

29. *quhailis bane.* See Glossary.

33. *wofull:* MT *wilfull.*

38. *erdly:* MT *vper.*

52. *at god greit:* MT *at god, and greit* (greet).

56. *quhen he sail call &° cry:* MT *to rew and glorifie.*

59. MT *For mercy cry, and pray in generall.*

61. MT *Throw your prayar that we and ye may Regnne.*

65. *Patrik Johnistoun:* MT *Mr Robert Henrysoun.* Patrick Johnstone is named by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris,* l. 71—

"He [Death] has Blind Hary & Sandy Traill
Slaine with his seour of mortall haill,
Quhilk Patrik Johnestoun myght nought flie;
Timor mortis conturbat me."
Little or nothing is known of him, and he has been identified, on small show of evidence, with one Patrick Johnston, a clerk of the Royal Chapel at Linlithgow, and one of the King's players, to whom there are several references in the Exchequer Rolls and Treasurer's Accounts. See a résumé of these in the S.T.S. edition of Dunbar, I. Introd., pp. ccxxxvii, ccxxxviii. The player appears to have died soon after the middle of the year 1494. See Introduction, supra, p. lxxv.

ANE PRAYER FOR THE PEST.

Texts—B* III. 162-165; B III. 165-168.

There is no internal evidence in this poem to help us to determine to which of the plagues in the fifteenth century the writer refers, whether to the Great Plague of 1500 (see Myln's Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum, ed. Bann. Club, p. 40, and the editor's Days of James IV., 1890, p. 71), or to earlier epidemics. See note to l. 65 and Introduction, p. xxii.

37. servis, deserves (a common aphetic form).
45. 'Of creatures in Thine own likeness.'
53. punis than be deid (by death): B punis than bot dreid (without fail).
64. 'Finis' appears in B* only, perhaps to indicate the close of the first set of stanzas. The elaborate internal rhymes of the remaining stanzas follow a common pattern. Cf. Dunbar's Ballat of our Lady (S.T.S., II. 269-271) and the conclusion of some of the sections of The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie (S.T.S., II., e.g., ll. 233-248, p. 19, and 545-552, p. 29). In the latter, as in other passages, and in the text under consideration, the elaborately rhymed staves appear at the close as a sort of 'grand finale.'
65. If the comma after superne be retained, the reading is 'Celestial Being (adjective as substantive), Lamp (of Heaven) or Shining Light': if it be deleted, it is 'Celestial Lamp.'

The occurrence of superne, lucerne, and guberne in the same order, but not contiguous, in Dunbar's Ballat, referred to supra, means little when the exigencies of the rhyme-vocabulary is considered. If this poem be not Henryson's, we are not compelled to believe that it was written by one who had Dunbar's poem in memory. Nor can we settle whether Dunbar was indebted to Henryson or another predecessor. See Introduction, p. lxxxviii.

66. serue may mean, 'bring comfort,' 'minister to our need,' 'help,' &c. Its use as an internal rhyme was the poet's first purpose.
NOTES TO VOLUME III.

68. 'truly have pity.' B reads O trewth. 'Let not our slothfulness (in contrition) bind (destroy) us.'

69. Lit., 'Our suffering, full quickly, were we contrite, would cease.'

70. 'Whoever sought Thee Thou didst never cast away.'

71. With space, with time (or opportunity), on occasion. Cf. Dunbar, Man, sen thy lyfe is ay in Weir (S.T.S., II. pp. 152, 153, in the concluding line of each stanza)—

"Thyne awin gude spend quhill thow hes space."

for to arrace fra sin : B and us Imbrace fra syn. arrace, pluck, wrest (O.F. arracher, L. exradicare).

74. Lit., 'We pray Thee turn it aside into exile.'

75. 'Unless Thou helpest, this death is but a snare.'

76. 'He laif, the rest, that is, 'those remaining,' or 'the living.'

77. byle (boil), outbreak, plague, with perhaps an inclusive reference to the 'boils' of the disease.

79. 'For ill-gotten gains.' Cf. p. 170, l. 22 infra.

84. B deluge = disluge, dislodge, remove.

85. 'Give Thy assent in good time, before we are undone by death.'

86. for thocht (B forthocht); apparently synonymous with mispent = 'misused,' 'wrongly planned.' B, 'We repent us and our time mispent and wasted.'

THE WANT OF WYSE MEN.

Texts—CM III. 170, 171; B III. 172-174.

Bannatyne has dealt freely with his text, and rarely to its bettering. Only the more important variants are noted below. He has also given some of the lines six feet.

1. ferlyis : B mervellis.
2. declerde (B declar'd), declare it. See note to II. 2852.
3. vp so doun : B vpsyd doun.
4. Now three cannot be found who may safely trust the (a) fourth.'
5. worthin, become : B wrochtin to, turned to.
6. Now sele is sorrow, now happiness is changed to sorrow : B No seill is sover now, 'no seal (or prosperity) is secure now.'
8. 'For faut o' wise men, fools sit on binks.' See Hislop, Proverbs of Scotland (1862), p. 63; Henderson (1881), p. 22; Cheviot (1896), p. 108. Laing finds it in David Fergusson's Collection (see p. 75 supra). Bink, bench, justice-seat, high place.
11. B Nou ellis we wat, forsuth, quhither it turnis.
14. his rynkis: 'Reason kept its course,' or 'Reason controlled
his (Octavian's) people (rinks). B hair rinkis: 'Reason controlled their (men's) courses.'

17. 'for his moral philosophy.'

18. 'for his Divinity.'

19. placebo, the name applied, in common use, to Vespers in the Office for the Dead, from the opening word of the first antiphon (Ps. cxiv. 9, Vulg.), Placebo Domino in regione vivorum. Cf. Caxton, Reynard the Fox (ed. Arber, 1878, p. 11).

dirige (in popular corruption 'dergie,' as in Sir John Rowll's Cursing, l. 108, mod. 'dirge'), refers to the service at Matins in the Office for the Dead. It is the first word of the antiphon (Ps. v. 8, Vulg.), Dirige, Domine, Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam mean. Quha can placebo =, in secondary sense, 'who flatter.' See supra, II. p. 34, l. 441. noucht half: B nocht to haif:


walkis, wakes.

25. B places this stanza after the fifth.

Now, but defense: B (l. 33) Weir but defens, which seems to mean 'doubt (or apprehension) without [hope of] defence.'

'Right is (lies) all desolate.'

26. Delete the unnecessary comma after Rycht.

'under no roof has rest': an interesting example of the persistence of an alliterative tag, even when the meaning is different. Cf. rufe and rest, in the ordinary usage, in Robene and Makyne, supra, l. 49 and note.

27. his: B (l. 35) is. His may be is, with initial 'h' (cf. heir=eir, ii. 270. 4, the converse as=hes, ii. 326. 216, and many other examples in these texts); or it may be hes, has (perhaps a typographical error in CM).

raddour (B reddour) in Scots generally means 'terror,' 'fear,' only rarely 'harshness' or 'harsh treatment,' the sense of the different southern word reddour. The contrast with age's obstinacy gives the developed sense of 'timid uncertainty' or 'fickleness.'

30. 'Though their learning be small, yet 'ferlies' (wonders, strange things and doings) sink into (have an effect upon) them.'

36. connsele should read counsel, as in the original text of CM.

37. B's reading (l. 29) is corrupt. Proplexite=perplexitee (CM). As there is no sense in 'all perplexity is driven away,' we may read in B all semente to perplexite, and interpret 'all is turned (driven) to perplexity.'

38. our, over.

39. This warld is ver: B The warldis war. Ver, typographical for wer, worse (waur). Cf. wisemen in l. 40 of CM.

41. Cf. B's unsuccessful tinkering. Just in CM= Justice. Evin in B may be taken as an adjective ('justly balanced').

42. So too preisit is weakened in present in B. Preisit may be
either 'praised' or 'prized,' hardly 'pressed' ('urged on' or supported). The form suits each of the three equally well.

46. lorne. B lost. Lynk, link, the link of a chain. 'Loyalty is broken.'

47. fasse, or fas, something of no value. Cf. G. Douglas, Aen. IV., Prol. (ed. Small, II. 169. 22):

"Sayis nocht your sentence thus, scant worth a fas,"

also Aen. V., vii. 84 (ib., II. p. 248. 4):

"Eneas
Pasis thair wecht als lychtile as a fas,
Thair hiddous braseris swakkand to and fro."

Noucht worth a fasse may be translated 'not worth a hair,' without any committal to Small's association of the word with O.E. feax, hair. Mod. German faser, a string, thread, or fibre, and O.E. faes, a fringe (fimbria), appear to be more akin. See N. E. D., s. v. Fas; where the line in this text is given as from a "Ballad of Golagros and Gawane, sig. b. v."—a misleading reference to CM in Chepman & Myllar's set of prints of 1508, in which it follows the text of Henryson's Orpheus and Eurydice, and is associated with it in a common title (see supra, III. p. 26, and note). Golagros and Gawane is merely the first piece in the collection preserved in the Advocates' Library and reprinted by Laing in 1827 (see the Introduction, p. xliii, supra). B recasts the whole line.

47, 48. worth, want, wise, &c., are typographical settings in CM. gouernante in B (p. 173, l. 47) is a misreading by Bannatyne of gouernance ('c' and 't' being easily confused in manuscript). Editorial ingenuity may some day find our anthologist of 1568 making reference to Queen Mary in our gouernante!

*50 (B, p. 173). 'who gets the worse gets all the blame.'

50. mare &+ lesse, 'of great and small.' See supra, ii. 14. 173 (applied to the Customs). Cf. also mare &+ myn, as in Dunbar, Flying, 412.

53. B 69, p. 174, supplies another instance of editing to suit Protestant sentiment. See notes to II. ll. 828, 1105, 1125, 1131, &c.

*53 (B, p. 174). 'they count excommunication as nothing.'

*54 (B, p. 174). 'that right sorely grieves me.'

*57 (B, p. 174). Lue (not necessarily a slip for lufe), love.

*59 (B, p. 174). soir, sorely, grievously (as in l. *54).

*60 (B, p. 174). laddis, in the now obsolete sense of 'servants,' 'serving-men.' For the contrast of 'la'ird' and 'lad,' cf. Lyndsay, Testament of the Papyngo, 391 (ed. Laing, I. p. 75)—

"Pandaris, pykthankis, custronis, and clatteraris
Loupis up, from laddis, syne lychtis among lardis,"
and the proverb: "Lay up like a Laird, and seek like a Lad" (Kelly, Sc. Prov., 240). Cf. also Mary Magdalene, I. i. 43 (N. Shaks. Soc., Dighy Mysteries, 1882, p. 56): "Lord and lad to my law doth lowte."

A contrast of lower degree is given in the phrase laddis and lounis. Cf. Dunbar, Flyting, l. 227. As Jamieson points out, the lad stands in relationship to the loun as the ploughman to the 'herd' who guides the horses (cf. gadman, in II. 164. 2228, and see note), and the terms are so applied in popular use.

*61 (B, p. 174). *ryme or ressoun. See note to III. 140. 23. heble hable, confusion (the root idea is 'hobble'); a formation analogous to 'skimble skamble,' &c.

*62 (B, p. 174). *sturtfull, vexatious, troublesome; stering (steir), commotion, meddling, fuss. 'Such mischief stinks in God's nostrils.'

*63 (B, p. 174). *Bot he haif rew, 'unless He have compassion.'
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AND

GLOSSARY

(Volumes II. and III.)
NOTE.

The Roman letters (ii., iii.) refer to the volume. The first Arabic number refers to the page, the second to the line. In a series of references the page- and line-numbers are separated by a full stop; one reference from its neighbour in the same volume by a comma; and the references in one volume from those in another by a semicolon. Thus: ii. 36. 471*, ii. 1534*; iii. 16. 358.

An asterisk after a number signifies that the word will be found in the parallel text or texts (at the corresponding place) in one or other of the forms in the heading of the entry.

A sloping line between two numbers indicates the place of a word in a heading or unnumbered line. Thus '26/27' means 'between l. 26 and l. 27.'

The customary abbreviations are used, of which the commoner are: a. (adjective), aph. (aphetic form of), comp. (comparative), conj. (conjunction), exclam. (exclamation), gen. (general-ly), mod. (modern), N. (Northern), N. E. D. (New English Dictionary), pl. (plural), prep. (preposition), pron. (pronoun), n. (noun, substantive), S. (Southern), superl. (superlative), v. (verb), var. (variant), v. n. (verbal noun), v. p. (verb, present participle), v. pp. (verb, past participle), v. pres. (verb, present indicative), v. past (verb, past indicative).

Forms due to scribal error are entered within square brackets. The putting of the initial word in an entry within parentheses signifies that the word is not found in that form in the texts and is intended as an aid in relating the variants which follow to kindred forms in other parts of speech recorded in the Glossary.

The Index includes—
(a) A full list of words and word-forms, with the meanings. Note.—The omission of the meaning of a word implies that the earlier and modern usages are identical.
(b) All proper names (printed in small capitals).
(c) Idioms and phrases (e.g. s.v. 'mak,' 'tak').
(d) Latin quotations, phrases, and words (s.v. 'Latin Quotations').
(e) Proverbs and popular sayings (s.v. 'Proverbs and Sayings').
(f) Songs (s.v. 'Songs Cited').

See INTRODUCTION, p. xlv, on Thynne's text of the Testament of Cresseid (T).
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Minotaure, Menataure, n. the Minotaur, ii. 66. 879*

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Mirk, merk, myrk, a. and adv. dim, obscure, dark, 'wicked,' 'evil,' ii. 120. 1625*; iii. 86. 600, 602, 99. 85, 100. 116, 153. 90

Mirt, mirreit, n. merit, iii. 171. 42*

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Mislound, n. hurt, disease, ii. 48. 643*; iii. 19. 455, 164. 78*

—, v. do injury to, slander, ii. 50. 650

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Misjudgement, n. i. misjudgement, iii. 114. 18 (see note).

Misknaw, v. misknow, refuse, be unaware, ii. 106. 1424*, 118. 1585*

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Modifie, v. award, assess (legal); m. a pane, iii. 13. 290 (see note).
Modulacion, modelatioun, n. music (singing), iii. 28. 38*
Moik, mok, n. mock, ii. 12. 143*
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Musand, p. musing, iii. 114. 5.
Musik, musik [musik], n. music, ii. 28. 44* (see note), 157. 46*.

Musk, n. civet-cat, ii. 68. 910* (see note).

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Myx, n. excrement of mice, iii. 152. 73. See Mous.

Mynd, n. thought, ii. 162. 2203*; held in m., ii. 216. 2919*; myndis see, iii. 64. 449*.

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Mynnis, v. wane (of the moon), iii. 123. 61.

Mynorall, minorall, minorale, n. miner's work, metallurgical craft, ii. 82. 1089.

Myynour(e), minor, n. miner, ii. 82. 1089*

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Myre, n. mire, soft ground, ii. 186. 2525*.

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Nakit, n. nakedness, iii. 62. 406 (see note).

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Name, n. to n., by name, iii. 10. 213.

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Nar. See Neir.

Narratioun, n. tale, iii. 5. 65.

Nartialand, ii. 102. 1363*. Cf. Natall.

Natur(e), natour, n. Nature, natural law or process, ii. 68. 908*, 196. 2636*; iii. 4. 34. 26. 8*, 135. 25*; character, habit, instinct, &c., ii. 58. 775*, 60. 802*, 106. 1435*, 122. 1634*, 208. 2814*, 282. 184*; iii. 35. 107*; constitution, ii. 54. 709*; powers, virility, ii. 38. 499*, 511*; semen, iii. 60. 383*; Dame N., ii. 210. 2830*; god of n. (Jupiter), ii. 212. 2854*; queen of n. (Juno), iii. 60. 377*; be n., ii. 206. 2780*; of n., ii. 48. 635*.

Naturall, a. natural, according to nature, ii. 196. 2646*; iii. 126. 22; n. corps (body natural), ii. 120. 1625*.

Nay, n. See Withoutin nay.

Nede, nedis. See Neid, Neidis.

Nedill, n. needle, ii. 172. 2316.

Neglication, n. foolishness, negligence, &c., ii. 4. 40*. 216. 2911*; of (by) n., ii. 106. 1429*.

Nedid, ned, need, necessity, want, ii. 8. 99*, 52. 701*, 54. 723*; iii. 14. 321*, 20. 478 (see note), 46. 169*; suppose it be not n., though it be unnecessary, ii. 150. 2017*.
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Neidlingis, adv. of necessity, ii. 58. 779*

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Prem(6), Pryame, Priam, iii. 48.
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Price, pryce, pryF n. price, cost, fee, offer of money, bribe (legal), ii. 174. 2361*; iii. 152. 66; prayer or ps., ii. 90. 1212*, 200. 2717*, 303. 130

— n. honour, praise, &c., ii. 110. 1471*. Cf. Preis.

Prik, v. prick (of conscience), ii. 52. 682*; p. with lust, iii. 33. 101*; past, prikkit, preckit, transfixed (by arrow), ii. 56. 759*

Primeros, prymerois, prymeros, prumrofi, n. primrose, ii. 100. 1328*, 210. 2821*

Princes, n. princess, iii. 147. 27

Principal!, n. chief person, leader, ii. 74. 1004*

— a. chief, main, iii. 171. 53

Principio. See In, 'Itiprincipio.'

Priuelie, See Preuelie.

Privilege, priuilage, preuilege, w. exemption, ii. 76. 1007*, 78. 1050*

Probleme, n. problem, consideration, ii. 190. 2584*

Proceid, v. proceed with a case, or in an action-at-law, ii. 92. 1230*, 301. 76

Proces, n. process (legal), ii. 90. 1217*, 92. 1231*

Procure, v. obtain; p. sentence, ii. 88. 1171*

Profecy, n. prophecy, iii. 86. 586. Cf. Propheyt.

Profession, n. profession (of good life), ii. 58. 771*

Profibill, a., ii. 2. 19* et passim

Profikit, a. previously fixed, pre-ordained, iii. 85. 575

Profund, profound, a. deep, iii. 30. 55*

Progenitour(e), n. progenitor, ancestor, iii. 26. 10*; pl., ii. 34. 432*

Progenitrys, progenetryse, n. ancestress, iii. 31. 66

Promis, v. promise, iii. 22. 551, &c.

Promissio(u)n, n. promise, iii. 52. 262*

Proponit [prwmmgit], v. p.; p. furth in, moved with, ii. 16. 208*

Prompt, promp(e), a. prepared, ready, iii. 64. 457*

Pronounce, v. deliver (of a judgement in court), ii. 92. 1235*

Properti, n. quality, attribute; in p., ii. 58. 778*; pl., ii. 10. 120, 30. 396*; in p., possession, ii. 16. 217*


[Proplexite]. See Perplexitee.

Propone, v. propose, state a case (legal), ii. 4. 46*, 88. 1174*, 170. 2301*, 198. 2677*; iii. 33. 80*

Proportionat(e), proportionate, a. proportioned, in proportion, iii. 42. 109

Proportiuon, proporciou(u)n, n.; dew p., iI. 117. 52*; (musical), iii. 52. 251

Proserpine, Proserpyn, Proserpina, Proserpene, iii. 35. 110, 48. 191*, 50. 229*, 52. 256*, 52. 260*

Prosperitie, n., iii. 22. 548, 87. 626

Prostrate, prostrat, a. prostrate, stricken down, ii. 70. 922*; iii. 162. 15*

— a misreading of 'Pro strait,' ii. 90. 1210* (see note). Cf. Prowe.

Proverb(e), n. proverb, saying, ii. 62. 818*, 208. 2816*, 210. 2818*; iii. 54. 291*

[Provers and Sayings]:—

All growis nocht that in the ground is set, ii. 130. 1757*

Als gude lufe cummis as gais, ii. 38. 504*

A mirk mirror is a man's mind (parodied), iii. 153. 89 (see note).

Ane gude turne for ane other, ii. 114. 1549*

Ay rinnis the Foxe, als lang as he fute has, ii. 62. 819*

But lawte all vther vertewis ar nocht worth ane fle, ii. 168. 2277, 2278

Deith on the fayest fall, ii. 130. 1759*

Distortum vultum sequitur distortio morum, ii. 208. 2817

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum, ii. 76. 1025 (see note).

For want of wysemen garris fulis sit on binkis, iii. 172. 8 (see note).

Hall benkis ar rycht slidder, ii. 192. 2600 (see note).

Hert is on the hurd, and hand is on the sore, iii. 54. 292 (see note)

Lukand werkis ar licht, ii. 8. 102 (see note).

Als leuius ledit quicquid prævidimus ante, ii. 130. 1746

Neid may haif na law, ii. 54. 723*

The barne is eith to busk that is unborne, ii. 130. 1756*

The greatest clerkis ar not the
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wysest men, ii. 78. 1056 (see note).
The nek to stoup, quhen it the straik sail get, is sone aneuch, ii. 130. 1758, 1759*.
Thow said not iuge one man efter his face, ii. 210. 2824.
Thy guse is gude, thy ganesell sour as gall, ii. 26. 345 (see note).
To fisch lang befoir the Net, ii. 130. 1755*.

Prouisioun, n. foresight, providence, thought of future, ii. 58. 768*; iii. 127. 45*.
Prouocatiue, a., iii. 11. 225.
Prouoit, prowokit, v. past, incited, 'made,' ii. 106. 1434*.
Province, provynce, «., iii. 33. 83*.
Prowdens. See Prudence.
Prowe = Lat. Pro, ii. 294. 73 (see note to ii. 90. 1210).
Prudence, prudens, prowdens, 1:., wisdom, providence, ii. 102. 1373*; iii. 164. 67*, 170. 15*, 171. 38*.
PrumroP. See Primeros.
Pryce. See Price.
Pryd(e), n. pride, ii. 70. 927*; iii. 155. 32*, 174. 8*.
Pryd(e)lull, a. proud, full of pride, ii. 40. 529*.
Pryme, n. Prime (6 A.M., or sunrise), iii. 153. 84.
Pych(e), v. pick (a bone, eye, &c.), ii. 86. 1153*; (a quarrel), ii. 178. 2421*, 202. 2739*.
Pyr(e)nt, pyrant, v. n. robbery, ii. 70. 1081*, 152. 2061*.
Pyme, n. cry, ii. 132. 1780* (see note).

Put, v. passim; p. the caec, suppose, ii. 108. 1441*; p. to distres, iii. 6. 89; p. doun, destroy, iii. 162. 20*; p. in memorie, ii. 86. 1138*; p. in (var. puttyng), shown in (or showing), ii. 4. 47*.

Pyrant, pyrant, v. pipe (of wine), ii. 124. 1680* (pl.).
Pypant, pypant, v. pipe, sing (of a bird), ii. 134. 1798*, 214. 2886*.
Pyk(e), pike, v. pick (a bone, eye, &c.), ii. 152. 2063*; iii. 170. 20*; p., ii. 32. 415*.
Pygger, pykar, n. pilferer, thief (cf. 'pickers and stealers'), ii. 16. 203*.
Pykstaff, pykstaff, n. pikestaff, ii. 14. 180*.
Pyking, pykeing, v. n. robbery, ii. 152. 2061*.
Pyker, pykar, n. pilferer, thief (cf. 'pickers and stealers'), ii. 16. 203*.
Pykestaff, pikestaff, n. pikestaff, ii. 14. 180*.

Pure, peure, pore, a. poor, passim; as n., the p., the poor, iii. 170. 20*, 171. 28*; p. folks, the poor, iii. 173. 26.

Purifit, v. pp. cleared (of the air by wind), iii. 3. 17.

Purpurate, a., lit. empurpled, but a mere superlative epithet = 'very great' or the like, ii. 6. 58, 225. 58, 272. 58.
Purs, n. purse, iii. 21. 521; pl. purs, iii. 152. 2062*.
Pursephant, pursehant, pursevant, n. pursuivant, ii. 62. 836*.
Pusoun. See Poison.

Pytht. See Pith.
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Quadrant, n. (instrument), ii. 48. 634*.

Quadruplat(e), quadruplait (musical), quadruple tone, iii. 42. 111*.

Quaik, n. squeak, cry, ii. 14. 185 (see note).

Quaqu, n. shake, quake, ii. 70. 947*, 96. 1285*, 194. 2630.

Quaile, quaile, n. 'quail,' corncrake, ii. 132. 1771*.

Quair, n. book, iii. 4. 40, 5. 61.

Quantitie, quantete, ii. 28. 376*.

Quarter, n. (measure of length), iii. 97. 28.

Queen, n. queen, iii. 148. 72, et passim.

Querrell, querell, quarell, n. plea, contention, dispute, case, ii. 42. 558*, 172. 2326*, 178. 2421*; iii. 11. 219.

Quert, n. health; in q., in health, alive and sound, iii. 99. 87.

Quha, pron. who, passim.

Quhair, quhar(e), adv. where, passim. Cf. All quhair.

Quhairthrow; through which, ii. 42. 72. 976*.

Quhais, quhais, wasyll, n. weasel, ii. 68. 903*.

Quhome, pron. whom, passim.

Quhynand, a. ? striking (cf. O.E. hrinæ), ii. 68. 903.


Quhy, quhi, why, passim; for q. because, since, ii. 4. 37*, 8. 85*, 118. 1584*, 208. 2801*; iii. 5. 53, 107. 25* (also for qhyn). Caus q. caus qhyn, why, ii. 223. 5, 270. 5.

Quhyte, n. time, period, iii. 4. 49, 11. 224, 58. 340*, 60. 393*.

Quhylum, adv. whilom, once on a time, ii. 144. 1943*.

Quhyt(e), quhite, a. white, fair (of skin), ii. 176. 2387*, 188. 2542*; iii. 11. 222, 157. 25*, 27*, compar. quhylte, quhylter, iii. 33. 100; q. and (or) reid, iii. 156. 18*.

Quik, n. the living, ‘quick,’ ii. 38. 514*.

Quhiddar, n. (of a whale) ? blowing, iii. 152. 55.

Quhiddir, quhether; whether, ii. 90. 1198*; quhether, ii. 170. 2304*.

Quhither; whether, ii. 142. 1935*, 166. 2251*; iii. 172. 11.

Quhilsis, adv. at times, passim.

Quilke, pron. who, which, passim.

Quilke; whether, quhether, quhither; whither, ii. 142. 1935*, 166. 2251*; iii. 172. 11.

Quirl(e), quhirll, n. whirl, iii. 60. 370*.

Quirlyng, n. whirling, iii. 44. 153*.

Quhir(e), quhirll, n. whirl, ii. 178. 2411.


Quhitlie, a. 'white-like,' white, whitish, iii. 10. 214.

Quhitret, quhithrat, n. stoat, ii. 68. 903*.

Quhidder, n. (of a whale) ? blowing, iii. 152. 55.

Quhidde, quhither; whether, ii. 90. 1198*; quhether, ii. 170. 2304*.

Quhirly; whether, quhether, quhither; whither, ii. 142. 1935*, 166. 2251*; iii. 172. 11.

Quhirl(e), quhirll, n. whirl, ii. 178. 2411.

Quhir(e), quhirll, n. whirl, ii. 178. 2411.
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Quit. See Quyte.
Quitclame, v. release, discharge, ii. 176. 239*
Quotidiane, cotidiane, a. daily, iii. 156. 15*, 164. 73.*
Quyet. See Quiet.
Quyte, quit(e), v. requite, repay, return, ii. 114. 1540*, 1549*, 118. 1591*, in adv. and other senses, clear of, quite, free, gone, entirely, 'clean,' ii. 40. 519, 154. 2077*, 174. 2344*, 2357*; iii. 93. 106

R
Ra, re, a. roe (deer), ii. 66. 892*, 186. 2511*
Rache, n. a hound of scent, ii. 248. 159 (see note to ii. 42. 547).
Rad, raid, a. afraid, terrified, ii. 146. 1962*, 190. 2574*, 303. 145.
Raddour, reddour, n. fear, iii. 171. 27* (see note).
Radical, radicate, p.p. rooted, ii. 6. 55*
Rage, n. violent passion (of love), iii. 4. 31.
Ragynge, reging, n. raging (of 'blood'), iii. 106. 19*
Raid, v. rode. See Ryde.
Raif, v. rave, be angry, ii. 172. 2338*
of, v. tore off. See Ryve.
Raik, v. go, wander; r. on raw, iii. 90. 12 (see note).
Rais, n. race, ii. 188. 2544*
Rait, rate, n. style, manner, ii. 16. 215, 17. 215
Raithe, adv. soon, quick; full r., promptly, thereupon, ii. 166. 2240*.
Rakleslye. See Rekleslie.
Raklie, adv. hotly, impetuously, ii. 186. 2511*
Ram (sign of the Zodiac); the Rammis hede, ii. 48. 629*
Ramynd. See Remane.
Rampand, v. p., rearing, &c. (of a lion), ii. 74. 991* (see note); iii. 35. 121*; (of a wolf), ii. 194. 2621*
Range, raing, n. company of hunters, ii. 112. 1511* (see note).
Rank, a. coarse, foul (of grass), ii. 287. 92*; iii. 20. 483 (see note); grow up r., iii. 140. 1*
Ransoun, n. ransom, iii. 97. 36
Rany, a. rainy, rain-, iii. 60. 381*
Rarit, v.past, called out, called loudly, ii. 263. 159
Ras, v. past. See Ryse.
Rasis, v. pres. See Rais.
Rathly, rythly, adv. swiftly, iii. 46. 159*. Cf. Raith.
Rattoun, n. rat, ii. 68. 902*
Raucht, racht, v. 'reached,' gave, delivered, tendered, ii. 78. 1053*; (of a blow), ii. 154. 2078*
Rauenenous, revenus, rewanus, rewanuf 1, a. 'ravenous, ' cruel, ii. 88. 1184*, 194. 2608*, 202. 2720*; iii. 35. 121*
Rauin, rawin, n. raven, ii. 86. 1152*, 1160*, 94. 1264*
Rauschit, v. torn, spent, iii. 8. 142
Rauk, rawk, a. raucous, rough, hoarse, ii. 206. 2781*; iii. 18. 445
Raw, n. row, order; on r., in a row, together, ii. 42. 547*, 112. 1511* (see note); iii. 90. 12 (see note).
Rax, v. prevail, have one's own way, 'hold up one's head,' ii. 40. 531*; r. and ring (regn), ii. 62. 810*, 82. 1100*, 1115*, 268. 299, 269. 314*
Rayndeir, raynder, reyndeir, n. reindeer, ii. 66. 889*
Rebellioun, n., v. 118. 1583*
Recipe, v. take, Lat. (in prescription), iii. 151. 40, 152. 68
Recleme, v. reclaim, iii. 85. 579
Recompence, n.; to mak a r., to take one's due, to take tit for tat, ii. 58. 766*
Raydeir, raynder, reyndeir, n. reindeer, ii. 66. 889*
Rebellioun, n., ii. 118. 1583*
Recip(e), v. take. Lat. (in prescription), iii. 151. 40, 152. 68
Reclame, v. reclaim, iii. 85. 579
Recompence, n.; to mak a r., to take one's due, to take tit for tat, ii. 58. 766*
Recure, n. recovery, iii. 15. 335
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Recure, recurir, v. recover, get back, ii. 86. 1141*
Red. See Reid.
Reddie, redy(e), redy, a. ready, ii. 84. 1127*, 142. 1919*, 216. 2925*; r. payvient, ii. 92. 1248*
Reddour. See Raddour.
Rede. See Reid.
Redeme, v. redeem, iii. 163. 43*
Redress(e), v. put right, iii. 171. 55*
Refer, v. make reference, apply, iii.
Refet(e), v. recuperate, revive ('reffect'), iii. 52. 248*
Reforme, v., iii. 171. 54
Regrait, n. complaining, complaint, sorrow, iii. 17. 397, 157. 51*, 162. 10*
Reheirs, reherse, reherf, v. rehearse, tell, ii. 10. 119*, 94. 1275*; iii. 26. 7*, 28. 28*
Reid, n. 'rede,' thought, advice, ii. 138. 1875*; tuitl of r., at a loss what to do, ii. 22. 300*
Reif, n. theft, robbery, ii. 52. 678*, 62. 814*, 178. 2422*, 198. 2686* —, v. See Ryve.
Renoun, renowne, n. fame, good fame, ii. 18. 424; iii. 18. 424, 102. 18
Rent, n. rent, income, possessions, ii. 62. 824*, 204. 2755 —, v. pp. torn, devoured, iii. 23. 578; crucified, iii. 163. 39*
Renje, reinje, v. rein in, govern, ii. 6. 52, 7. 52, 72. 964*. See Derenje.
Repair, n. association, resort, attention; study and r., iii. 157. 47*
Repent, v., ii. 40. 528*; iii. 134. 11*, 135. 33*, 165. 86*
Repleit, replet(e), a. replete, full, overflowing, ii. 106. 1432*, 116. 1575*; iii. 54. 270*
Report, v. tell, write, ii. 206. 2769*
Repreif, v. See Reproufe.
Reproufe, v. shame, iii. 146. 11 —, repruit, reprouf, repref(e), repreue, v. reproufe, ii. 2. 6*; iii. 13. 280. 91. 32. 127. 28*, 168. 2273*
Repulse, n. reputation, forsaking; abuse of r., iii. 5. 74 (see note).
Reput(e), v. reckon, hold, iii. 106. 17*
Requeist, n. request, ii. 4. 34*
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Requyre, v. ask, ii. 188. 2551*; iii. 31. 77

Resai, reassaif, ressaue, v. receive, ii. 126. 1711*, 208. 2802*; iii. 4. 44 (as a lover), 62. 411*

Residens, residence, n. abode, place, ii. 32. 413*, 48. 633* (of a planet); iii. 162. 22*

Resist, risist, v. resist, iii. 134. 8*

Rest, n. quiet, peace, iii. 171. 26*; r. and rufe, iii. 146. 10 (see note).

Reskew, v. rescue, ii. 40. 541*, 110. 1492*

Resolute, resoll, v. resolve (an argument), ii. 90. 1210*

Resoun, reasoun, reasone, ressone, reson(e), ressoun, n. Reason, statement, declaration, ii. 82. 1115*; iii. 24. 606, 122. 1639*; reason or r., iii. 140. 23 (see note), 174. 61

Respite, n. exemption, ii. 74. 1001, 76. 1009*, 78. 1052*

Responsaill, n. response, iii. 7. 127

Ressoning, n.; to fall in r. See Fall.

Resil, v. resolve, an argument, ii. 90. 1210*

Resolue, resell, v. resolve (an argument), ii. 90. 1210*

Resou, reasoun, reasone, ressone, resoun, n. Reason, statement, declaration, ii. 82. 1115*; iii. 24. 606, 122. 1639*; reason or r., iii. 140. 23 (see note), 174. 61

Respire, n. exemption, ii. 74. 1001, 76. 1009*, 78. 1052*

Rest, n. quiet, peace, iii. 171. 26*; r. and rufe, iii. 146. 10 (see note).

Restles, adv. without a break, on and on, ii. 188. 2535*

Rethorike, rethory. See Rhetoric.

Reteuil, n. ruler; perhaps a misreading of renk. See var. to. See iii. 27. 12

Revollue, rewoll, v. turn over, consult (of books), ii. 90. 1208

Rewanul'. See Rauenous.

Rewanul'. See Rauenous.

Rew, n. compassion, iii. 174. 63

Reward, reward, ii. 48. 645*

Rewanul'. See Rauenous.

Rewert, v. recuperate, recover, be oneself again, iii. 78. 365

Rewth, reuth, n. compassion, pity, ii. 108. 1460*, 192. 2688*, 200. 2697*, 204. 2748*; iii. 46. 169*, 52. 254*, 103. 28, 162. 13*, 163. 39*, 45*, 164. 68*

Ricke, v. enrich, ii. 62. 826*

Richt, rycht, n. right, iii. 171. 25*, 26*

—, adv. a. right, passim; r. religioun, ii. 82. 1105*

Rid(e). See Reid.

Rigorous, a., ii. 196. 2647*

Rigour, n. harshness, severity, ii. 108. 1464*, 178. 2422*; do r., act severely, ii. 118. 1592*

Ring, n. ring (on finger), iii. 23. 582, 45. 309*

Richteouslie, rychtuuslye, adv. legitimately (in wedlock), ii. 60. 789*

Richteousnes, n. righteousness, ii. 72. 964*

Rid(e). See Reid.

Rigorous, a., ii. 196. 2647*

Rigour, n. harshness, severity, ii. 108. 1464*, 178. 2422*; do r., act severely, ii. 118. 1592*

Rin, ryn, v. run, go one's own way, ii. 40. 531*, 178. 2424*; et passim; r. rynnand, ii. 162. 2194*; r. nor ryde, ii. 70. 938*; See Rin weill.

Ring, n. ring (on finger), iii. 23. 582, 157. 30*

—, v. ring (a bell), iii. 8. 144

—, v. reign, rule, be in power, ii. 10. 130*, 63. 813*, 82. 1100*, 1115*, 121. 1611*, 192. 2598*
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Ryn, rynk, n. course, iii. 170. 14*; ryn rinkis, run (take to) courses, ii. 178. 2424*
Rin weill; perhaps the name of a dog ('run well'). See note to ii. 40. 539*
Rippillit, ripplit, v. past, removed the seeds from, ii. 134. 1818* (see note).
Risist. See Resist.
Roall. See Ryal(l), a.
Rob, roib, n. robe, ii. 66. 871*; iii. 37. 157*; (applied to fox's hide), ii. 146. 1968*
Robene (personal name), iii. 90. 1 et seq.
Roch, roche, rotche, n. rock, ii. 194. 2610*
Rod, n. path, ii. 112. 1509* (see note).
Rodomantus, Rhadamanthus, iii. 48. 191*
Roib. See Rob, n.
Rolf. See Rufe, n.
Roisning, a. rose-like, rosy, iii. 19. 464
Rok, n. distaff, ii. 32. 404
—, v. rock, sway, iii. 46. 167*
Roll, rowll, row, n. writing, document, roll (of paper), ii. 100. 1348; iii. 117. 55*
—, row, v. roll, move (of the planets), turn (of a wheel), sway, ii. 66. 867*, 118. 1594*, 122. 1650*, 217. 2937*; iii. 44. 150*, 76. 284 (p. rowand, pp. rold).
Rollyng, rolling, rollyn, v. n. rolling, iii. 42. 105*
Rome, ii. 102. 1363*
Ron, rone, n. thicket, bushwood, ii. 66. 889*, 74. 993* (see note), 100. 1327*, 112. 1513*, 166. 2239*
Rosier, rosere, n. rose-tree, iii. 106. 1*
Rotch, See Roch.
Rottoning, rowttoning, v. n., bellowing, roaring, ii. 112. 1516*
Runkillit, runclit, y^, as a. wrinkled, ii. 208. 2805*
Rurall, rurale, a. country, ii. 18. 225*; r. heist, ii. 18. 245
Ruse, v. extol, commend, iii. 23. 573
Russel, a. reddish; r. gray, ii. 144. 1954 (see note).
Russell, a. reddish; r. gray, ii. 144. 1954 (see note).
Rust, rowst, rwst, n. rust, ii. 12. 139*
Rustick(e), v. pp. and a. countrified, vulgarized, iii. 26. 12* (see note).
Rute, n. root, iii. 157. 33*; herbage, undergrowth, rough ground, ii. 74 993*
—, v.; r. furth, root out, ii. 132. 1787*
Ry, n. rye, ii. 28. 361*
Ryal(l), royall, ryell, royell, roall, a. royal, ii. 10. 107; iii. 26. 12*, 134.
Royallie, royaliie, adv. triumphantly, ii. 20. 489
Ryallie, royelle, rialte, n. ceremonious
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or magnificent feast, ceremony, pomp, ii. 29. 385*; iii. 126. 10*; kingly r., majesty, ii. 106. 1425*.

Ryce, ryf. n. twigs, brushwood, ii. 100. 1327* (see note to ii. 74. 993), 265. 192.

Ryght. See Richt.

Rythe, v. ride; ryn norr., ii. 70. 938*; past, raid, iii. 10. 204. 20. 489.

Ryip, rype, a. ripe, ii. 134. 1817*, 206. 2784*; v. ripen, ii. 134. 1802*, 140. 1902*.

Ryme, n. saying, rhyme, iii. 150. 4; r. or resoun, iii. 140. 23 (see note), 174. 61.

Ryn. See Rin.

Ryker, rinker. See Rink.

Rype schaw, n. perhaps the name of a dog ('covert-searcher'), ii. 40. 539* (see note).

Ryse, v. rise, passim; past, rais, iii. 19. 474.

Ryt(e), n. custom, habit, rite, ii. 54*. 58. 774*, 285. 54, 321. 54 (see note to ii. 16. 215).

Rythly. See Rathly.

Ryuer, rywir. See Reuer.

Ryve, ryue, reif, ryfe, rife, v. tear, break, destroy, rob, ii. 70. 925*, 168. 2271*; iii. 35. 108*, 86. 584, 91. 49; past, rail of, tore oft, ii. 188. 2537*; p. ryvand, ryifand, ii. 36. 481*, 70. 946*; pp. ryvin, revin, ii. 126. 1687*; iii. 64. 433*.

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Sa, adv. so, passim.

Sabill, a. sable; s. blak, iii. 11. 221.

Sacrament, n., ii. 34. 447*.

Sacrifices, u. ii. 1. 126; (in temple), iii. 7. 115.

Sad, a. sober, serious, ii. 82. 1092*; solemn, grave, iii. 171. 36. 26. 19*; dull (in colour), ii. 210. 2820*; steadfast, reliable, ii. 23. 507 (see note).

Sane, v. See Sayne.

Sapheir, a. sapphire, iii. 157. 28*.

Sapience, sapiens, n. wisdom, iii. 13. 289, 56. 308*, 82. 469*, 83. 507.

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