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The Scottish Text Society

THE BASILICON DORON  
OF  
KING JAMES VI.



THE  
BASILICON DORON  
OF  
KING JAMES VI.

*WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES,  
AND GLOSSARY*

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE.

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THE publication of the present volume completes the Scottish Text Society's edition of the *Basilicon Doron* of King James VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain, the first volume of which appeared in 1944. The long delay in producing this second volume has been largely due to circumstances beyond the control of the editor of the work and of the Society's printers. Even now, certain matters have had to be left less completely investigated than might be desired—in particular, the very complex relationship of the various 1603 London editions to each other and the even more complex relationship to each other of the various copies of each of these editions. The pages in the Bibliography dealing with these editions and the copies belonging to them had to be written without the assistance of the Folger Shakespeare Library cards referring to *Basilicon Doron*. When copies of them become available in this country they should clear up much that is still obscure concerning these early editions. It is also to be regretted that Miss Rosemary Freeman's *English Emblem Books* (1948) came to hand too late to be used for the remarks on Peacham's illustrations to *Basilicon Doron*. It is believed, however, that the material here presented, the greater part of it here assembled for the first time, will provide the basis for a juster appreciation of *Basilicon Doron* than has hitherto been possible. It may even persuade some that not all of James's contemporaries considered him, as Sir Walter Scott erroneously says Sully did, to be "the wisest fool in

Christendom." Bibliographical material which came very late to hand will be found on pp. 188-190 and 313-314.

The editor's task has proved to be much more laborious and involved than was anticipated when it was first begun, and without much help, generously and freely given, it could not have been carried through with any measure of success. Special thanks are due to Dr H. W. Meikle, Historiographer Royal for Scotland, whose encouragement has been continuous and stimulating. Thanks are also due to the Lord President of the Court of Session, Lord Cooper; Professor della Vida, Rome; Miss M. E. Kronenberg, The Hague; Mr H. N. Paul, Philadelphia, U.S.A.; Mr Laurence Hanson; Mr H. I. Giuseppi; Professor Hugh Watt; Professor J. E. Neale; Mr J. D. Mackie; Mr F. F. Madan; Mr J. R. P. Lyell; Dr Marguerite Wood; Lady Rait and the executors of the late Sir Robert Rait; and Dr William Falconer. Thanks are also due to the Librarians and staffs of the National Library of Scotland, the British Museum, the Bodleian, and New College Library, Edinburgh; and of the University Libraries of Amsterdam, Cambridge, Durham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Leyden, and Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.; and of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; of the Royal Libraries at Copenhagen and Stockholm; and of the New York Public Library. The editor's two colleagues, the late Miss J. N. Couston, M.A., B.A., and Miss J. A. H. Kinnear, M.A., have read the proofs of the present volume and greatly reduced the number of errors. For those which remain the editor is solely responsible. Both the Society's late General Editor, Dr R. F. Patterson, and the Society's printers are also thanked for their long-suffering patience.

# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	V
INTRODUCTION—	
THE HISTORY OF <i>BASILICON DORON</i> . . . . .	I
THE REPUTATION OF <i>BASILICON DORON</i> . . . . .	39
THE LITERARY ANTECEDENTS OF <i>BASILICON DORON</i> . . . . .	63
THE THREE TEXTS . . . . .	88
THE LANGUAGE OF <i>MS. ROYAL 18 B XV.</i> . . . .	117
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	136
NOTES . . . . .	191
APPENDICES—	
APPENDIX A . . . . .	277
APPENDIX B . . . . .	280
APPENDIX C . . . . .	283
APPENDIX D . . . . .	303
APPENDIX E . . . . .	305
APPENDIX F . . . . .	311
GLOSSARY . . . . .	315
INDICES—	
INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS . . . . .	329
INDEX OF NON-SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS . . . . .	331
INDEX OF MARGINAL REFERENCES OTHER THAN SCRIPTURAL . . . . .	332
INDEX TO VOL I. . . . .	337
INDEX TO VOL II. : INTRODUCTION . . . . .	339





## INTRODUCTION.

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### I.

#### THE HISTORY OF *BASILICON DORON*.

THE *Basilicon Doron* of King James VI. belongs to that large class of books whose immediate success is greater than their lasting reputation ; often, as in its case, this transient success is partly due to adventitious reasons, and after that has faded what were to contemporaries the more solid merits of the work come to be overlooked, because the interests and tastes of readers have changed. When *Basilicon Doron* appeared the interest it aroused was so great that ambassadors reported on it to their governments, and translators turned it into other languages to make it more accessible than it was in its native dress to readers who knew no English. Thus, it was the first prose work in the vernacular of Great Britain which could be read by Frenchmen who knew no language but their own.<sup>1</sup> More significant even of its contemporary reputation is the fact that it was the first, and for a very long time the only, prose work in English to be translated into German, Dutch, and Danish at the time of its first publication.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is probably not

<sup>1</sup> Sir Sidney Lee, "The Beginnings of French Translation from English" in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. viii. (1904-1906), p. 94. His reputation as a poet had already been established on the Continent in 1591, in which year a French translation of his poem on the battle of Lepanto, made by the Huguenot poet, Du Bartas, had been published at La Rochelle.

<sup>2</sup> James's *Lepanto* had already been translated into all three of these languages in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

going too far to say, and the Bibliography printed at the end of this Introduction will bear the statement out, that no earlier work written *in English* had ever aroused such curiosity abroad or had enjoyed so wide a circulation outside the bounds of Great Britain.

To its early success the time of its appearance contributed not a little, for by a happy but undesigned chance its publication coincided almost to a day with the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of its author to the throne of England. To-day we who see that event from the rear, as it were, and who know all that followed in its train, cannot easily feel or even realise the anxious expectancy with which men had looked forward to the change of sovereigns, and their consciousness of great impending changes in the State. For the great queen was gone who had filled such a large part of the European scene for almost as long as most men could remember, and her passing was everywhere felt to mark the end of an age. Her successor was a comparatively obscure prince, called from the oversight of one of Europe's minor kingdoms where on the fringes of civilisation he had ruled over a turbulent and poverty-stricken people. His native country had ever been little more than a pawn on the chess-board of European politics. His new dominion was a great, a rich, a civilised, and a powerful State whose acts or policy might at any moment decisively affect the whole course of European events. And since in those times the policy of the State was determined largely by the character, the ambitions, and the ideals of the prince at its head, it became a matter of importance as well as of curiosity to know what manner of ruler this new King of England might be expected to be, particularly in his relations with foreign powers. In this respect his behaviour as King of Scotland had not been without its ambiguities, but now the time for ambiguities was past, and he must follow a definite course. What was that course to be? Was it in any manner possible to discover his principles of state-craft and from them to anticipate what he would

do so that, even if only dimly, there might be seen in outline the shape which the future was to take? Possible it must have seemed, for had he not written a book with a Greek title in which he sought to instruct his eldest son in the duties of the kingly office and in the character of its holder? There surely, if anywhere, it ought to be possible to discover what manner of man he was, and what manner of ruler he might be expected to prove to be. And so, to satisfy its curiosity about him, politically-minded Europe turned to read the book which he had entitled *Basilicon Doron*, which in English means *The Kingly Gift*. But the story of this work begins several years before it was made available for readers in general, and to that earlier part of its history our attention must first be given.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To doubt, as does David Mathew, *The Jacobean Age* (1938), p. 118, whether James was responsible for anything more than such personal touches as the allusion to the Blue Blanket and was not in any real sense the author of *Basilicon Doron* is to carry scepticism to excess, in view of all the contemporary evidence that the book was really James's own work, even if the manuscript of it in his own handwriting had not survived to this day. An earlier attempt to deprive him of the full credit for it will be found in Harris, *Life and Writings of James I.* (1814), vol. i., p. 53, note, where there is quoted from Macky, *A Journey through Scotland* (1723), p. 71, a statement that he was assisted in the composition of it by Dr Balcanquhal. This was Dr Walter Balcanquhal, son of that Mr Walter Balcanquhal who was one of the thorns in James's flesh among the ministers of the Kirk. Walter Balcanquhal the younger went to England some time after James became king of that country and was received into the royal favour, more probably because he was nephew to James's crony, the Edinburgh goldsmith and jeweller, George Heriot, who named him in his will as one of his executors, than because he was his father's son. He was sent by King James to the Synod of Dort, 1618-19, as the Scottish representative, and in connection with his presence there the following curious story occurs in a letter written on 14th January 1618-19 to the Bishop of Llandaff by Sir Dudley Carleton, at that time English ambassador at the Hague: "I do not find by what I hear from *Dort*, or what I observed here, that Mr *Balcanquhal* doth give any just subject for the report which is raised of *undecencie in apparel*, but on the contrary that in all respects he gives much satisfaction." (Printed in Hales, *Golden Remains* (1673), pt. 2, p. 178.) The peak of his career was reached when he became Dean of Rochester, a dignity he did not live long to enjoy. Macky's authority for saying that he assisted King James in the composition of *Basilicon Doron* is unknown, and for several reasons his statement appears most unlikely. According to Stevens, *History of George Heriot's Hospital* (new ed. 1859), p. 36, who is followed by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he was born about 1586, and therefore can have been little

*Basilicon Doron* was written in the summer or early autumn of 1598, when Prince Henry, for whom it was destined, was still little more than four years old. The approximate date of its composition and the reason for its being written are given in the following letter which Nicolson, the English agent at the Scottish court, wrote to his master Cecil in October of that year :—

“ I have hard but in great secrett and so I beseche your honour to kepe it. That .126 was troubled in his chamber in his slepe. and hathe taken conceipt that .200 shall out live him. and thereon hathe written an appollogy and rule howe his soun shalbe brought to succede .200. to that place, and how all shalbe governed for the attayninge thereunto, and governement of .226. possessions also. but the perticulars I know not. Allwais this is given in trust to one to kepe. I like not of these conceptes, nor knowes not what they meane.”<sup>1</sup>

The interest of this letter goes beyond the bare facts it recites, for it makes clear the source of two of the undertones in *Basilicon Doron*. We can see that it was from the

more than twelve years old when *Basilicon Doron* was written, which was in 1598. Nor is there any evidence that he at that time enjoyed any share of the royal favour. Indeed, the violent differences of opinion between the father and James would seem to preclude in those years any possibility of much intimacy between James and the son. Further, there is no hint of such an association in any of the contemporary references to the composition of *Basilicon Doron*, and had it really existed one feels certain that Cecil's agents in Scotland, who could usually ferret everything out, would have got wind of it. It must be remembered, however, that not all their reports may have survived. Against all these considerations can be set only the fact that the story is such an odd one that it is difficult to see why anybody should ever have troubled to invent it and to put it into circulation if it were not true. It may be, however, that Balcanquhal had at some time been confused with one or other of two Scotsmen, Thomas Reid and Dr Patrick Young, who had been responsible for the versions in the Latin folio of King James's prose works which was first published in 1619; this would account for Macky's story.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 63, No. 50, in the Public Record Office, London; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 759. In the cypher employed James was 126, and 200 was Elizabeth. The individual denoted by 226 has not been definitely identified.



fear of death that he called his book his "testament & latter uill,"<sup>1</sup> that he could say, "I ame heire upon my testament,"<sup>2</sup> and that he was moved to write both that "the houre of death is uncertaine to me as to all fleshe,"<sup>3</sup> and that "because god maye call me before ye be readie for mariage I uill shortlie sett down to you heir my aduyse thairin."<sup>4</sup> We can see, too, that it was fear that death might baulk him of his great ambition, the throne of England, that made him pen such passages as "gif ye inioie not this haill yle according to goddis richt & youre lineall discent ye uill neuer gett leue to brooke this north & barrenest pairt thairof,"<sup>5</sup> and "as for englande I uill not speake be gesse of thame neuer hauing bene among thaim, althoch I hoape in that god quha euer fauouris the richt before I die to be alsueill aquent uith thaire facons,"<sup>6</sup> and "I hoape ye sall be king of ma cuntreis then this,"<sup>7</sup> and "gif god prouyde you uith ma cuntreis then this, chose the borne men of euerie cuntrey to be youre cheif counsallouris thairin."<sup>8</sup> If he could not live long enough to succeed Elizabeth he must at least do his best, he seems to have decided, as a father to arrange for his son's virtuous and godly education and as a king to provide timeously for his training up in all the points of a king's office, "sen ye are," he tells him, "my naturall & lafull successoure thairin" so that he might be fitted for "the deutifull administration of that greate office that god hes layed upon youre shoulderis."<sup>9</sup> To this end, that he might leave behind him a successor who by his training should not fall below the high level of duty which the calling of a king demanded, he wrote *Basilicon Doron*. The first draft of it in his own handwriting, which he elsewhere calls his "vnlegible and ragged hand,"<sup>10</sup> has survived to this day to show us by its numerous corrections how his mind worked during the process of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 9.<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 78.<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 9.<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 121.<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 71.<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 72.<sup>7</sup> Vol. i., p. 96.<sup>8</sup> Vol. i., p. 116.<sup>9</sup> Vol. i., p. 7.<sup>10</sup> In the "Authour to the Reader," prefixed to *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres* (1591), p. (6).



composition, and from it the preceding quotations have been taken. It is now in the British Museum, where its press-mark is *MS Royal 18. B. xv*, and is remarkable in that its language is Scots, while that of all the printed editions is English. It began, as we have seen, in a dream. Yet, it is interesting to notice, in it James warns his son to "take na heade to freatis ather in dreames or any other things, for that erreure proceidis of ignorance."<sup>1</sup> Not even the British Solomon could be wholly consistent.

By the middle of February in the next year Nicolson was able to report further to Cecil that he now had "The King's Testament," and that Cecil should see it when it was safe.<sup>2</sup> This would seem to imply that it was now in print, though the first printed edition has 1599 as the date on its title-page, and that year did not begin then till 25th March, or five weeks after Nicolson's letter was written. The printing was done by the Englishman Waldegrave under conditions of the greatest secrecy, which James himself has informed us of:—

"I onely permitted seauen of them to be printed, the printer being first sworn for secrecie: and these seauen I dispersed amongst some of my trustiest seruands, to be kepted closelie by them."<sup>3</sup>

The volume which the king now distributed among his friends was a quarto of 168 pages with an Anglicised text of *Basilicon Doron* printed in a large and handsome italic type. Its existence, however, was very little of a secret. Thus, Sir Robert Bowes, writing to Cecil from Edinburgh on 12th May 1599, was able to say this about it:—

"The malcontents hitherto appearing vnto me are those, *that the king so earnestly prosecuteth the principall*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 64, No. 30, in the Public Record Office, London; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 766.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 13.

*ministers that he hath so bitterly defamed vpon in his last book, which though it be secret, as whereof a few coppies were onely printed, yet as it is spreading, it is likely to grieve many, especially in the points: that he will not endure the church discipline, and that he is resolved to take none for faithfull who were not faithfull to his mother."*<sup>1</sup>

Then, on 8th June, another of Cecil's correspondents, an anonymous Scotsman this time, was able to tell to whom copies of the book had been given, for he wrote that

"the king hes thus distributed the buikis of his last will to his sone, ane to the queynis Majestie, another to the princis scholemaister, ane to ather of the Catholicque erlis, and ane to the Marquiss of Hamiltoun. Thay ar sworne not to divulgat this buik during his lyfetye and sall performe the same to thair power after his death."<sup>2</sup>

If it is allowable to take "ather" here in its somewhat rare meaning of "one each of several" instead of its normal meaning of "one of two," this letter accounts for six of the seven copies printed. Of the recipients the prince's schoolmaster was Mr Adam Newton, only recently appointed to this post.<sup>3</sup> The Catholic earls were the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol, now nominally Protestant, having been reconciled to the Kirk two years earlier. In view of their past record of armed opposition to the Crown in the Catholic interest they seem a curious choice. The Marquis of Hamilton was Lord John Hamilton, third

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 64, No. 74, in the Public Record Office, London; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 770. The italics denote underlinings in the original.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 64, No. 80, in the Public Record Office, London; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 770.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of him here as tutor to Prince Henry is earlier by several weeks than the earliest reference to him in that capacity noted in the article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

son of the Duke of Châtelherault, who had had his marquisate conferred on him only some seven weeks before the date of the letter. Since he had served loyally first Mary Queen of Scots and then King James himself he must have been one of those intended by James in that passage in *Basilicon Doron* where he says that he had found no loyalty in any that had been of full age in his mother's time save those who had also been loyal to her.<sup>1</sup> The copy still unaccounted for, the seventh, was presumably that intended for Prince Henry himself. He was certainly given a copy of the revised second edition four years later.

Some of the trouble which Bowes had foreseen in May burst upon James in September when a storm blew up in the Synod of Fife under circumstances which suggest that more was involved than appeared on the surface. That particular Court of the Kirk under the leadership of Mr Andrew Melville, he who three years earlier at Falkland had called the king to his face "God's sillie vassal," was strong for a theocratic State in Scotland on the Genevan model, but the party to which he belonged had recently suffered two serious set-backs. One was when the General Assembly of the Kirk which met at Perth in February 1597 had passed a number of Acts accepting the control of the ministers by the civil magistrates, what Melville and his associates wanted being the exact opposite; and they had been further worsted on the same occasion when they had tried unsuccessfully to challenge the legality of the Assembly's actions. The other was when the Dundee General Assembly of March 1598 had agreed to go some part of the way towards Episcopacy in Scotland by accepting an arrangement whereby those ministers who were named as bishops should be members of the Scottish Estates. This had followed upon an enactment of the Estates that henceforth only ministers of the Kirk should be appointed to the title and office of bishop; the title had survived the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 67.

Reformation, but since 1560 it had usually been held by laymen who had simply drawn the revenues of the sees and had performed no ecclesiastical functions. This decision of the General Assembly Melville and the Synod of Fife had also unsuccessfully opposed. Besides, at this time, Melville himself can have had no very kindly feelings for the king. Thus, when James had visited St Andrews in June 1597 he had deprived Melville of the Rectorship of the University, a post which he had held since 1590, and, further, it was James who had been personally responsible for Melville's exclusion from the Dundee General Assembly of 1598 by himself ordering him to withdraw. There was accordingly a personal feud involved as well as a struggle over principles. The explanation of the affair now to be described would therefore seem to be that Melville and the extreme Presbyterians thought that in what James had said in *Basilicon Doron* about themselves and their pretensions he had put into their hands a weapon which, by revealing him as an enemy of the true Kirk, might be used to discredit him in the eyes of the country, and so lead to the recovery by them of some at least of their lost authority. If such, however, was their intention, they failed completely in their purpose.

What happened was this.<sup>1</sup> Through Sir James Semple,

<sup>1</sup> The account which follows is based chiefly upon *The Diary of James Melville* (Wodrow Society. 1842), pp. 444-446. Melville's was first-hand information. He was a member of the Synod of Fife; he was nephew to Andrew Melville, whose hand can be discerned behind the whole affair, though he never came out into the open; and Mr John Dykes, who brought the matter up in the Synod of Fife, was his ministerial colleague in the parish of Kilrenny. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1844), vol. v., pp. 744-745, practically copies Melville, but adds one or two details of his own. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (1655), pp. 455-456, is not to be relied on. Thus the letters quoted in the text from the State Papers show that *Basilicon Doron* was in print four months before the Synod met and invalidate his statement that "the same year (i.e., 1599) did the king publish his *Doron Basilicon* upon this occasion" of the trouble in the Synod of Fife. Melville, followed by Calderwood, says that "the book was not as yitt published," and strictly speaking this was true, since the edition of 1599 was a limited one for private circulation only. It is Spottiswoode, however, who has been followed



one of the king's servants, who had been entrusted with transcribing *Basilicon Doron*, presumably to make a fair copy for the printer,<sup>1</sup> Andrew Melville, with whom he was on friendly terms, had been allowed to get a sight of it. He, offended by what he read in it about the ministers of the Kirk and their pretensions as well as by its assertion of the royal authority in matters ecclesiastical, extracted from it certain "Anglo-pisco-papistical Conclusions" and circulated them among his ministerial brethren. Eighteen in number, these conclusions were

by subsequent writers—e.g., Sanderson, *History of Mary Queen of Scots and Her Son James* (1656), p. 223; Hume, *History of England* (1754-1762), ed. of 1802, vol. vi., p. 14, note; Irving, *Lives of the Scottish Poets* (1804), vol. ii., p. 228, who quotes Spottiswoode verbatim, and adds in a footnote: "James in the preface to his work presents us with a different account of its publication; but I prefer the authority of Spottiswoode"; Lucy Aikin, *Memorials of the Court of King James I.* (1822), vol. i., p. 33; R. Chambers, *Life of King James the First* (1830), vol. i., p. 227; Tytler, *History of Scotland* (1843), vol. ix., p. 263; Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland* (1859), vol. i., p. 551; Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (1861), vol. ii., p. 276; Story, *The Church of Scotland* (1897), vol. ii., p. 477; Mathieson, *Politics and Religion* (1902), p. 278; Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), vol. ii., p. 179; Charles Williams, *James I.* (1934), p. 136; H. R. Williamson in *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 138 (1935), p. 366. Lang, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. (1907), p. 438, alone seems to have consulted the State Papers, and so he alone gives the events of that year in their correct order. Earlier, however, M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (1819), vol. ii., p. 165, had written of the belief started by Spottiswoode: "It has been said that this work contributed more to smooth his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory." The whole of M'Crie's account of *Basilicon Doron*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 160-165, is printed at pp. xxi-xxvi of the Preface to the Roxburghe Club reprint in 1887 of the Waldegrave print of 1599, but is wrongly called "observation of Bishop Russell, in his edition of 'Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland.'"

<sup>1</sup> Such is the natural interpretation of Spottiswoode's remark in his *History of the Church of Scotland* (1656), p. 455, that Semple's "hand was used in transcribing that treatise," and it was so understood by T. F. Henderson in his article on Semple for the *D.N.B.*: "Sempill assisted James VI. in preparing for the press his 'Basilicon Doron.'" D. H. Willson, *James I.'s Literary Assistants*: Huntington Library Quarterly, vol. viii. (1944-45), p. 38, "In preparing the *Basilicon Doron* (James) had the assistance of Sir James Sempill, a writer of some learning and dialectic skill whom James had known from boyhood," seems to wish to credit Semple with being something more than a transcriber, but there does not seem to be any evidence either to confirm or disprove this supposition. The "Noates" in the *Hawthornden MSS.* (see p. 104, below) suggest strongly that James did have assistance, but no helper can yet be definitely identified.



laid before the Synod of Fife in September in the following form :—

1. The office of a King is a mixed office betwix the Civill and Ecclesiastic Estate.<sup>1</sup>
2. The rewling of the Kirk weill is na small part of the King's office.<sup>2</sup>
3. The King sould be judge if a Minister vag from his text in pulpit.<sup>3</sup>
4. The Ministers sould nocht mell with maters of estate in pulpit.<sup>4</sup>
5. The Minister that appealles from the King's judicator in his doctrine from pulpit sould want the head.<sup>5</sup>
6. Na man is mair to be hated of a King nor a proud Puritane.<sup>6</sup>
7. Paritie amangs the Ministers can nocht agrie with a Monarchie.<sup>7</sup>
8. The godlie, lerned, and modest men of the Ministerie sould be preferred to Bischopries and Benefices.<sup>8</sup>
9. Without Bischops, the Thrie Esteats in Parliament can nocht be re-established ; thairfor, Bischops mon be, and paritie banished and put away.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 52, " ye are cledd uith tua callings," and p. 172, " ye are mixed of baith the professions, togatus as a iuge making & pronouncing the law, palliatus be the pouaire of the suorde, as your office is lykeuayes mixed betuixt the ecclesiastike & ciuill estait." The parallel passages are here given from *MS Royal 18.B.xv*, since the form 'democratie' used in the fourteenth Conclusion shows that Melville's extracts were made from it, not from the printed text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 144, " conteine youre kirke in thaire calling (as *custos utriusque tabulæ*) for the reuling thaime ueill is na small pointe of youre office."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 145, " taking speciallie heade that thaye uague not from thaire text in the pulpite."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 145, " gif euer ye ualde haue peace in youre lande suffer thaim not to medle uith the policie or estaite in the pulpitte."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 145, " gif he lyke to appeale or declayne, quhen ye haue tane order uith his heade his brethren may gif thaye please polle his haire & paire his nailis."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 80, " hate na man mair then a proude puritane."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 79, " paritie, quhilke can not agree uith a monarchie."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 79, " intertenie & aduaunce the godlie, lernid, & modest men of the ministrie . . . be thair præferrement to bishop-rikkes & benefices."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 79, " ye shall not onlie banishe thaire paritie . . . but ye also sall reestablishe the aulde institution of three estates in parliament."

10. They that preatches against Bischops sould be punished with the rigour of the law.<sup>1</sup>
11. Puritans ar pests in the Comoun-weill and Kirk of Scotland.<sup>2</sup>
12. The principals of tham ar nocht to be suffered to bruik the land.<sup>3</sup>
13. For a preservative against thair poison, ther mon be Bischops.<sup>4</sup>
14. The Ministers sought till establishe a democratie in this land, and to becom *Tribuni plebis* tham selves, and lead the peiple be the nose, to bear the swey of all the Government.<sup>5</sup>
15. The Ministers' quarrel was ever against the King, for na uther cause bot because he was a King.<sup>6</sup>
16. Paritie is the mother of confusion, and enemie to unitie, quhilk is the mother of ordour.<sup>7</sup>
17. The Ministers thinks be tyme to draw the Policie and Civill Government, be the exemple of the Ecclesiasticall, to the sam paritie.<sup>8</sup>
18. Na Conventionnes or meittings of Kirkmen to be suffered bot be the King's knowledge and permission.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nothing like this is to be found anywhere in any of the existing forms of *Basilicon Doron*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 78, "thir puritanis uerrie pestis in the kirke & comounueill of skotland."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 79, "suffer not the principallis of thame to brooke youre lande gif ye lyke to sitt at rest."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 79, "for præsruatife againis thaire poison intertenie & aduance the godlie, learnid, & modest men of the ministrie . . . to bishoprikkes & benefices."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 74, "sum of oure fyrie ministers gatt sicc a gyding of the peopill . . . as . . . they begouth to fantasie to thame selfis a democratie forme of gouuernement . . . & after usurping the libertie of the tyme in my lang minoritie setled thame selfis sa fast upon that imagined democratie, as thaye fedd thame selfis uith that hoape to becume tribuni plebis, & sa in a populaire gouuernement be leading the people be the nose to beare the suey of all the reule."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 76, "querrelling me not for any euill, bot because I uas a king quhilke thay thocht the hiest euill."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 77, "paritie the mother of confusion & ennemie to unitie quhiche is the mother of ordoure."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 78, "thay thinke uith tyme to drau the politike & ciuill gouuernement to the lyke."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 145, "suffer na conuentiones nor meittings amongst kirkemen but be youre knauledge & permission."

Against the first fifteen of them there is in Melville a marginal note which reads, "The righteys Chryst knawes what wrang he and his servands gettes heir."

It was a Mr John Dykes who brought these Conclusions to the notice of the Synod.<sup>1</sup> The name of the author who had written the book from which they had been taken was apparently never mentioned, but there seems to have been little of a secret about his identity. The motion put to the Synod was in these terms :—

"What censure should be inflicted upon him that had given such instructions to the prince, and if he could be thought well affected to religion, that had delivered such precepts of government?"

This amounted to a vote of censure on James, but the Synod was never allowed to carry its proceedings to their conclusion. For when news of the doings at St Andrews came to James's ears<sup>2</sup> he referred the matter to the Privy Council, which summoned Dykes to appear before it on 1st November, and sent Mr Francis Bothwell to arrest him in order to make sure that he obeyed its summons. But before the arrest could be made Dykes had fled the country and gone into voluntary exile. Thereupon the Council outlawed him, and with that the matter was dropped for the time being. The incident was finally closed a year later, in November 1600, when the intercession of James Melville and the presentation

<sup>1</sup> He had been appointed colleague to James Melville at Kilrenny in Fife in 1596, but at this time was acting as *locum tenens* at Anstruther for Mr John Durie, who had gone as chaplain to that expedition by which the Gentlemen of Fife hoped to colonise and civilise the island of Lewis and which is referred to in *Basilicon Doron*. See vol. i., p. 71, ll. 20-25, and note *ad loc*.

<sup>2</sup> There are three versions of how this information reached James. Melville says that the Synod itself, "thinking that sic things could nocht be, directed tham to the King." Spottiswoode leaves it to be understood that it was the King's Commissioners to the Synod, Sir Patrick Murray and Mr James Nicolson, who reported to the king what had taken place. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1599-1604*, p. 34, says that the king's informant was Mr Thomas Douglas, presumably the Thomas Douglas who was minister at Balmerino in North Fife from 1578 to 1634. The information probably came from more than one source.

to the king of certain "Eucharisticke Sonnets" which Dykes had written to celebrate James's escape from the Gowrie Plot secured the royal pardon for the exile, and he was able to return home.<sup>1</sup>

The passages objected to by the Synod of Fife were not the only parts of *Basilicon Doron* excepted against by contemporaries when they could read the king's book for themselves. Two others are the subject of a long letter preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and assigned by Thorpe to November 1600.<sup>2</sup> Since both the writer and the recipient were Englishmen—unfortunately neither has been identified—it provides some information about the reactions in England to the king's book. The writer says that he finds there two matters which may give offence, the king's advice to his son to revenge the death of his mother and his hostility to the Puritans; their relative importance in his eyes may be judged from the fact that he gives about four times as much space to the discussion of the second of them as he does to the first.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of James Melville* (Wodrow Society. 1842), p. 488; Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1844), vol. vi., p. 82.

Tytler, *History of Scotland* (1843), vol. ix., p. 263, added a conclusion for which there is absolutely no foundation. After recounting what occurred when the Synod of Fife met, but without giving the month, and stating, wrongly as has been shown, that as a consequence the king resolved on the publication of *Basilicon Doron*, he goes on to say that when it was published "the whole Kirk agreed to proclaim a general Fast, to avert by prayer and humiliation, the judgements so likely to fall on an apostate king and a miserable country." Actually nothing of the kind ever happened. The only Fast of 1599 which the chroniclers of the time mention was one about midsummer, and it was proclaimed by the Synod of Lothian alone, not by the whole Kirk, James was a consenting party to it, and nowhere in the reasons given for it is *Basilicon Doron* mentioned. (Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1844), vol. v., p. 737.) That this was the Fast which Tytler had in mind is proved by his quoting as his authority for it a letter from Bowes to Cecil, dated 25th June of that year. (State Papers, Scotland, vol. 64, No. 87, in the Public Record Office, London; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 771.) The story has been given currency in recent times by Charles Williams, *James I.* (1934), p. 136, and H. R. Williamson in *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 138, (1935), p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 66, No. 104; Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 790. Since it has never been printed it is given in full in Appendix C below.



For this ground of criticism he finds these causes in the book itself: (a) "he pronounceth his mothers freindes most faithfull to him, and judgeth otherwise of others";<sup>1</sup> (b) "he counsaileth his sonne to begin his governement with severity";<sup>2</sup> and (c) "he chargeth him to be avenged on his enemies."<sup>3</sup> In all this, he says, James seems to the English nobility to be giving to Prince Henry the same advice as King David on his death-bed gave to Solomon, to take vengeance on his father's enemies. He ends this section of his letter by suggesting that the king should reassure them by declaring publicly that he is to be understood as referring to Scotsmen only. Four reasons are then given for criticising James's references to the Puritans: (1) the king uses the term Puritan too indefinitely, for in one sense all Protestants are Puritans; (2) two men famous throughout the Protestant world are too severely handled;<sup>4</sup> (3) the form of Church government in Scotland is said to be incompatible with monarchy;<sup>5</sup> (4) parity of ministers and papal bishops is equally condemned.<sup>6</sup> That this extreme sensitiveness on the part of the Puritans to James's criticism of them was not confined to the writer of this letter finds unexpected confirmation in a work published fully half a century later in which the following remarkable passage appears:—

"King James, a Prince of more policy then puissance, while he was yet King of Scotland, penned a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 66, Waldegrave, 1599, "I may justlie affirme, I neuer founde yet a constant byding by me in all my straites, by any that were of perfite age in my Parentes daies, but onely by such as constantlie bode by them, I meane speciallie, by them that serued the Queen my Mother."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 60, Waldegrave, 1599, "bee yee contrare at your first entrie to your Kingdome, to yone *quinquennium Neronis*, with his tender harted wish, *Vtinam nescirem literas*, in giuing the lawe full execution against all breakers thereof but exception."

<sup>3</sup> Nothing corresponding to this is to be found in *Basilicon Doron*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Knox and Buchanan. See vol. i., p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 78, Waldegrave, 1599, "their Paritie which can not agree with a Monarchie."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 80, Waldegrave, 1599, "being euer alike war with both the extremities, as well as ye repressse the vaine Puritane, so not to suffer proud Papall Bishoppes."



*Book* entituled Δῶρον Βασιλικόν; which whoso shal advisedly read, tho of no very sharp eyesight or deep reach, yet may easily discry a *Design* carried all along in it, to ingratiate himself with the *Popish side*, by commending the fidelity of his Mothers servants, as to her, so to himselfe, with the *Prelatical partie*, by giving them hope of continuing that government that he should find here established, with the *Common people*, by allowing them their *May-games* and the like sports: onely he had bitterly expressed himself in high terms against the poor *Puritans*, whome he least feared, and deemed generally disaffected by those other three parties.”<sup>1</sup>

While we may dismiss the motives here given for the publication of *Basilicon Doron*, the writer’s remarks are additional evidence of the uneasiness certain parts of it had excited in England.

It is interesting to read the Preface *To the Reader* which James prefixed to the 1603 public edition of his book in the light of this letter, for there we find answered the very points which it makes against James, and answered very much in the way the writer had suggested they could best be. To the first of them James replies by declaring that he bears no vindictive resolution against England or to any there, and that he intended Scotsmen only when he advised severity against the enemies of his mother.<sup>2</sup> He even refers to the same Scriptural passage as the letter-writer had cited, and asserts that he has no need to make any such “*Dauidicall testament*.” The second he meets by defining whom he means by Puritans; they turn out to be the Anabaptists, the Brownists, and

<sup>1</sup> Gataker, *Vindication* (1653), p. 75. It was left to the eighteenth century to point out that the servants of his mother whom he praised so much had all been Catholics. See Harris, *Life of James I.* (first ed., 1751. Ed. of 1814), p. 53 note: “The praise of his mother’s servants, and the acknowledgment of their singular fidelity to him is most amazing: for who were they but most bigoted papists, and enemies to the reformation.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 18.

similar extreme sects.<sup>1</sup> The answers thus follow the criticisms of the letter so closely that we might be tempted to believe that James had read it. There is, however, no evidence for this, and it is more probable that the objections were not peculiar to the writer, but were being commonly expressed in England; having in time come to James's ears he felt that they must be publicly answered to allay the fears and anxieties to which they plainly bore witness. For by 1600 James was becoming very sensitive to English opinion, and wished to do nothing which might jeopardise his chances of being Elizabeth's successor. Yet Spottiswoode, unless he refers to the edition of 1603—and he gives no hint that he does—must have been in error when he finished his account of *Basilicon Doron* with the following passage:—

“The rumour by this occasion dispersed (*i.e.*, the doings in the Synod of Fife), that the king had left certain directions to his son prejudicial to the Church and religion, he took purpose to publish the work; which being come abroad, and carried to England, it cannot be said how well the same was accepted and what an admiration it raised in all mens hearts of him, and of his piety and wisdom. Certain it is, that all the Discourses that came forth at that time (and those were not a few) for maintaining his right to the crown of England, prevailed nothing so much as did the Treatise against which such exceptions had been taken.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i., pp. 15-17.

<sup>2</sup> Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland* (1655), p. 456. Spottiswoode, in fact, seems to be paraphrasing the following sentences from the passage in Camden, *Annales*, first published in 1615, in which he discusses under the date 1598 the pamphlet literature which preceded James's accession to the throne of England: “sed his longe praececelluit liber ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, a Rege ad filium conscriptus, in quo optimus Princeps omnibus numeris absolutus elegantissime depingitur. Incredible est, quot hominum animos & studia inde sibi conciliarit, & quantam sui expectationem cum admiratione apud omnes conciterit. Quid Elizabetha de his senserit, non comperi.” (Ed. of 1628, p. 729.) The last sentence would suggest that he too had in mind the edition of 1599 when he penned these words, but he must be in error in thus ante-dating the popularity of *Basilicon Doron* in England; the tributes

In the end it was Cecil's diplomacy, not the excellence of his own writings, which secured for James his undisputed succession to the throne of England, and it is probable that in this passage Spottiswoode was antedating the undoubted popularity of *Basilicon Doron* in England during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The interest taken in the book was not confined to England and Scotland, for M. de Brissize, French ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, wrote to his master, Henri IV., in January 1600 thus :—

“ Le dict Roy a composé trois livres du gouvernement de son royaume qu'il adresse à son filz. Au dernier il luy enseigne comme il faut traicter les

to it all come after 1603. A juster statement of the facts would seem to be that contained in the fragment of a *History of Great Britain* by Sir Francis Bacon : “ At which time (*i.e.*, 1603) there came forth in print the king's book entitled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ : containing matter of instruction to the prince his son, touching the office of a king ; which book falling into every man's hand, filled the whole realm, as with a good perfume or incense, before the king's coming in ; for being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the king's disposition, but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration, which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith princes in the beginning of their reign do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious in the eyes of their people.” (Bacon, *Works* (ed. of 1740), vol. iii., p. 511.) The fragmentary work from which this passage is taken is said by Ellis and Spedding, *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. vi. (1858), p. 273, to have been first printed in Rawley, *Resuscitatio*, which first appeared in 1657, but they give its probable date of composition as 1610, and say a copy seems to have been sent to King James. This may explain why exactly the same passage is to be found in Sir Robert Gordon, *History of the Earldom of Sutherland* (1813), p. 252, a work whose dedication bears the date 1630 and whose MS. title-page that of 1639, but which is said by its editor to have remained in manuscript till he printed it. Bacon's statement is supported by the Bishop of Winchester in his Preface to the 1616 folio of King James's *Workes*, sig. d<sup>b</sup> : “ Basilicon Doron, a Booke so singularly penned ; that a Pomegranat is not so full of kernells, as that is of Excellent Councells : What applause had it in the world ? How did it inflame mens minds to a loue and admiration of his Maiestie beyond measure ; Insomuch that comming out iust at the time his Maiestie came in, it made the hearts of all his people as one Man, as much to honour him for Religion and Learning, as to obey him for Title and Authoritie.” Spottiswoode's statement was repeated in Sanderson, *Compleat History* (1656), p. 223, and Robertson, *History of Scotland* (ed. of 1797. First ed., 1759), vol. iii., p. 42, but questioned in Brodie, *The British Empire* (1822), vol. i., p. 413, note, though on no better grounds than strong dislike of King James.



Anglois, et luy commande, s'il estoit prévenu de mort, de poursuyvre le droict qu'il y a et ne s'en désister jamais." <sup>1</sup>

Knowledge of it must have reached even Rome in October of the same year, for the Master of Gray wrote to Cardinal Borghese there that

"What Crichton and Dromond have asserted as to the King's religion is most false, for within a few days the King has dedicated a little book to his son, by which he conjures him towards Calvinism." <sup>2</sup>

Meantime a new edition was in preparation, the first mention of which is found in a letter from Nicolson to Cecil on 22nd September 1602, in which he states that "the King's testament is to be printed." <sup>3</sup> In October of the same year John Chamberlain wrote to his friend Dudley Carleton in Paris, informing him that

"I heere that king is printing a little peece of worke christened with a Greeke name, in nature of his last will or remembrance to his sonne, when himselfe was sicke, and because yt hath gon abroad subject to many constructions and much depraved by many copies, he will now set yt out under his owne hand." <sup>4</sup>

This edition came out almost certainly in the latter part of March 1603, for about that time references to it come from both Scottish and English sources. The Scottish reference is contained in a letter written to Prince Henry by James himself some time between 28th March, when he received the news that Queen Elizabeth was dead and that he was King of England, and

<sup>1</sup> Teulet, *Papiers d'état relatifs à l'histoire d'Ecosse* (Bannatyne Club, 1860), vol. iii., p. 613.

<sup>2</sup> Hatfield MSS. (Historical MSS Commission), vol. x. (1904), p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 69, No. 8, in the Public Record Office, London: Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 817.

<sup>4</sup> *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Camden Society, 1861), p. 157; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1601-1603* (1870), p. 249; *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. M'Clure (Philadelphia, 1939), vol. i., p. 167.

7th April, when he set out from Edinburgh for his new kingdom. It was a letter of farewell, and with it went a copy of the newly printed *Basilicon Doron*, which the king exhorted his son to study well.<sup>1</sup>

In England, on the very day on which James learned that his fondest hopes had been fulfilled, *Basilicon Doron* was entered on the Stationers' Register to a syndicate of booksellers.<sup>2</sup> Two days later, as the Diary of John Manningham and the correspondence of John Chamberlain show,<sup>3</sup> copies of it were available in London.

<sup>1</sup> "My sonne, that I see you not before my pairting, impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa precieuse, but that shall, by Goddis grace, be recompencid by youre cumming to me shortlie, and continuall residence with me euer after. . . . I sende you herewith my booke laitle prentid, studdie and profite in it as ye wolde deserve my blessing, and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhair of ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the uerrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye leuell euerie mannis opinions or aduyces unto you as ye finde thaim agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett down, allowung and followung thaire aduyces that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon thaim that aduyces you to the contraire." The original is Item 39 in Harleian MS. 6986, and was first printed by Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (1760), pp. 25-26. It has also been printed by Ellis, Sir H., *Original Letters* (1824), vol. iii., p. 78; *Letters to King James the Sixth* (Maitland Club. 1835), p. xxviii; Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First* (1828), vol. i., pp. 147-148; Halliwell, J. O., *Letters of the Kings of England* (1846), vol. ii., p. 105; and in the Roxburghe Club edition (1887) of the 1599 edition of *Basilicon Doron*, p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Arber, *Register of the Stationers' Company*, vol. iii. (1876), p. 230: "28 marcij 1603 j Regis Jacobi j. Master Byshop, master man, master waterson, Master John Norton, master Burbie, ffelix Kingston. Entred for their Copie A booke Called *Basilicon Doron* or his maiesties instructions to his Dearest sonne HENRIE the prince. vjd."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the letter written on 24th April 1603, written by the Venetian Secretary in England to the Doge and Senate of Venice: "His Majesty's religion is not, as was said, Calvinist, but Protestant, as may be gathered from a book published by his Majesty in the English tongue, and sent to press here within an hour of the Queen's death. In this book he drew up regulations for the guidance of his eldest son Prince Henry, and incidentally warned him to beware of the proud Bishops of the Papacy, and calls the Puritans a very plague." *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-1607, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *The Diary of John Manningham* (Camden Society. 1868), p. 155: "30 March, 1603. The Kings booke Basi(li)con Doron came forth with an Epistle to the reader apologeticell." John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton on 30th March, 1603, quoted by Birch, *Court and Times of James I.* (1849), vol. i., p. 5, "I know not whether you have seen the kings booke before, but I send yt at all adventures, for yt is new here." (See also *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. M'Clure (Philadelphia. 1939), vol. i., p. 191.)



The new edition was far from being a mere reprint of the earlier one, for many changes were introduced. The first of the two sonnets in the Waldegrave print of 1599. was dropped; the text was so thoroughly revised that hardly a sentence remained as it had been originally written; numerous marginal references to classical authors were supplied; and a wholly new section was added, entitled *To the Reader*, about a fifth in length of the original work. In it King James explains that he had intended to keep *Basilicon Doron* a secret but has been forced to publish it because faulty copies of it have got into circulation and because he wishes to make it clear that some of the things he has said in it have been misunderstood or misrepresented.<sup>1</sup> If James was speaking of pirated editions no such are known to exist or ever to have existed. He may, however, merely be referring to the manuscript copies to which he refers a few pages later,<sup>2</sup> and particularly to the notes made by Melville when Semple showed him the MS. That the truth was not always told about its contents the letters both of M. de Brissize and of the Master of Gray show, for nowhere in *Basilicon Doron*, contrary to what the French ambassador says, does King James either tell Prince Henry how to handle his English subjects or exhort him never to desist from his claim to the throne of England, should his father have to pass it on to him; nor is the Master of Gray any more accurate in saying that James urges Calvinism on the prince. One of the misrepresentations that James deals with is an accusation of insincerity in religion, a charge he traces to the hard things he had said against the Puritans. Against it he defends himself

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 13, "Since contrarie to my intention and expectation this booke is nowe vented, and set forth to the publicke viewe of the worlde . . . I am nowe forced . . . both to publishe and spred the true copies thereof, for defacing of the false copies that are alreadie spred, as I am informed: as likewayes, by this preface, to cleare suche parts thereof, as in respect of the concised shortnesse of my style, may be mis-interpreted therein."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 20, "Some, thinking it too large already (as appeares) for lack of leasure to copie it, drewe some notes out of it, for speeds sake; putting in the one halfe of the purpose, and leauing out the other."

by explaining whom he means by that term. By Puritans, he says, are to be understood not all who are opposed to episcopacy on the English model but only Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and such sectaries as the Englishmen, Brown and Penry. He also alleges that it has been charged against him that he urges his son to be revenged on the slayers of his grandmother. To this he answers that in what he had said about never finding any faithful to him but those who had served the queen his mother, he had intended only to refer to Scotsmen and had no thought of including Englishmen in his strictures. This, it will be noted, is exactly what the unknown letter-writer of 1600 had suggested he should do to clear himself of just this charge.

The allusion to *Basilicon Doron* by the Recorder of London in his address of welcome to King James on his entry into the city on 7th May<sup>1</sup> amounts almost to direct quotation, and may be no more than a piece of courtly flattery, just as are Daniel's lines in his laudatory poem on James's accession to the throne of England;<sup>2</sup> neither need be a proof of any very widespread popular interest. It is otherwise with the editions which appeared in London in 1603, for they would hardly have been published had there been no public demand for the book.

<sup>1</sup> See Nichols, *Progresses of James I.* (1828), vol. i., p. \*132; *A Speech delivered to the Kings most excellent Majestie in the name of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex*, "Nor are we fed with hopes of redresse by imagination (as hungry men with a painted banquet), but by assurance of certaine knowledge drawne out of the observation of your Majesties forepast actions, and some bookes now fresh in every mans hands, being (to use your Majesties owne words) the Fife (*sic*) ideas and representations of the minde; those excellent wholesome rules your Majesty will never transgresse, having bound your Princely Sonne by such heavy penalties to observe them after you." For the phrase, "vive idea and representation of your mind," cf. vol. i., p. 19, above, "bookes are viue Idees of the authours minde."

<sup>2</sup> Daniel, *A Panegyricke Congratulatorie: Works* (ed. Grosart. 1885), vol. i., p. 150:—

"It is the greatest glory vpon earth  
To be a King, but yet much more to giue  
The institution with the happy birth  
Vnto a King, and teach him how to liue."

Some striking evidence of the general interest taken in *Basilicon Doron* at the time of its publication in 1603 and of the demand for copies of it is to be found in the records of the Stationers' Company of London. Hitherto all of it that has been noticed<sup>1</sup> are two brief entries in their *Register*, the volume in which were entered the particulars of books registered by the booksellers and printers in order to secure their rights in them. But on the blank spaces of two pages in it, otherwise filled with registrations of books published in 1603, there have been inserted two notes referring to *Basilicon Doron*. The first of them, brief and not very informative, reads thus :—

“Receaued of these insuinge accordinge to an order sett Downe 13 *aprilis* concerninge the *basilicon Doron* the somme folowinge.”

Then follow the names of twelve printers and booksellers and the amounts paid by them. Edward White paid six shillings and eightpence for himself and Edward Alde. Thomas Chard, Nicolas Ling, Master Henry Lownes, Master Bankworth, Edward Weaver, John Browne, Clement Knight, Matthew Law, John Baily, and Edward Blunt each paid three shillings and fourpence, and James Shaw paid six shillings and eightpence for “two parts.” This note is dated 14th April.<sup>2</sup> The second entry was made seven weeks later—it is dated 30th May—and reveals that there had been a pirated edition of *Basilicon Doron* for which Alde had been responsible, and in which White had also been implicated. It reads as follows :—

“Yt is ordered that master Edward White shall pay *vj<sup>li</sup> xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>* for a fine for that he had .v<sup>c</sup>. of the bookes of *basilicon Doron* of the second ympression Disorderly printed by Edward Aldee and hath sold the same number so that they cannot be taken beinge forfayted by the ordonnances.

*vj<sup>li</sup> xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. iv. (1909), p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Arber, *Transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company of London*, vol. ii. (1875), p. 835.

“ And beinge to indure imprisonment for the same by the ordonnances his ymprisonment is respyted to the further order of the Company.”<sup>1</sup>

For the full story behind these entries we have to go to the still unpublished *Court Book C* of the Stationers' Company, where we find three entries dealing with *Basilicon Doron*. Two of them are Minutes of meetings of the Court of the Company; the third is the actual submission made by Alde and signed by him on 6th June 1603.<sup>2</sup> The first Minute, dated 13th April, explains how the earlier of the two entries quoted above from the *Register* came to be made. From this Minute it appears that Edward Alde and divers others—these are not named but we know them from the *Register*—had printed an edition of fifteen hundred copies of *Basilicon Doron* without authority, for the book was found by the Court to have been properly entered to John Norton and his partners.<sup>3</sup> For this offence Alde and his associates were condemned to deliver up to the Company all unsold copies of their edition still in their possession, to hand over to it the value of these copies which they had sold, to pay a fine to the Company of three shillings and fourpence each, and to give an undertaking to refrain for the future from printing either the whole book or any part of it. But when they paid their fine they were to receive back their unsold copies and whatever sums of money they had paid over as having been received from their sales of this edition. The note of 14th April in the

<sup>1</sup> Arber, *Transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company of London*, vol. ii. (1875), p. 836. A further note on the same page, dated 27th June 1603, names certain booksellers fined for dealing in this edition of the book and gives the amount each paid as a fine.

<sup>2</sup> For knowledge of the documents concerned I am indebted to the courtesy of F. S. Ferguson, Esq., London, who has kindly allowed me to see a transcript of them made by Mr Wm. A. Jackson, Librarian of the Department of Rare Books (the Houghton Library) in the Library of Harvard University. Mr Jackson is editing *Court Book C* for the London Bibliographical Society. The matter of *Basilicon Doron* occupies foll. 1b-2b. The surviving records of the Star Chamber in the Public Record Office, London, have been examined, but contain no reference to any proceedings against Alde or his associates.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 20.



*Register* shows that the fines were paid the next day. This same Minute also discloses that at the same meeting of the Court Norton and his associates were fined forty marks for charging for their edition of *Basilicon Doron* a higher price than that permitted by the Company under an order limiting the price of books. Evidently they had sought to make an illegal profit out of the public demand for the book.

The second Minute in the Court Book, dated 30th May, discloses a much more serious offence on the part of Alde, though its story has to be supplemented from his submission of 6th June, already referred to. What had happened seems to have been this. For some reason not disclosed an order of the Star Chamber had been obtained forbidding Alde to print any more copies of *Basilicon Doron*, but despite this he had gone on to print a second edition also of fifteen hundred copies.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Court now decided to put into execution the decree of the Star Chamber against him, which was to the effect that, if he again offended, his types were to be defaced, his press broken, his goods confiscated, and himself imprisoned. Against the full execution of this sentence he appealed in his submission, promising good behaviour for the future. In his submission he admitted that White had received five hundred copies of this "second ympression" and that the remainder had gone to certain persons whom he had named in a note delivered to the wardens of the Company. Who these others were is not known nor is what treatment was meted out to them. But for the five hundred he had received White was condemned to pay a fine of £6, 13s. 4d. The fine was so large because they had been ordered to be forfeited, but since he had sold them all seizure of them was impossible. Besides this he had rendered himself liable to imprisonment, but this part of his punishment was suspended for the time being. It is to this sentence

<sup>1</sup> The actual words of the submission are, "I printed 1500 the second tyme."



on White that the second entry in the *Register* refers. It is odd that the first of these two entries there says nothing about the offence committed by Norton and his associates, and that the second of them says as little about Alde's, which was more serious than that of his friend White. The punishment meted out may seem severe to us, but the printers and booksellers of the time jealously guarded their rights in any book in which there was money for them, and the treatment of Alde and White proves that there must have been quite a lot of money in *Basilicon Doron* for those to whom it had been regularly entered on the *Register*. The offenders must have known that they were taking a big risk, for three of the syndicate to whom the king's book was entered were officers of the Stationers' Company. Bishop was the Master of it in that year of 1603, and Man and Waterson were the Wardens. They were touched in their pocket and flouted in their authority.

After 1603 there was no further separate issue in English for fully three-quarters of a century, but during all that time *Basilicon Doron* could be read in the 1616 and 1620 folio editions of King James's English *Workes*. In 1682, however, an edition was published in London by order of Charles II., according to its title-page. Its appearance was probably a consequence of the use of King James's book which had been made by several contemporary pamphleteers in the political struggle created by the revelations of Titus Oates and the Whig opposition to the Exclusion Bill. It is curious that about the same time two editions of Bishop Montague's Latin version, to be found in the 1619 folio of King James's *Opera*, were issued in Germany along with its version of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. The next reprint was that of the Roxburghe Club in 1887.

Almost as soon as *Basilicon Doron* had been published a copy must have been sent off to Rome, for on 14th May the Jesuit Parsons wrote to one of his correspondents

to tell him what comfort he had derived from the reading of it, and how Pope Clement VIII. had heard with great joy his account of its contents :—

“ The last week,” he wrote, “ I receyved a certayne booke of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> intituled βασιλικὸν δῶρον (which in deed is a princely gifte and a princely worke and talked of many times heer before but neuer seene before now that I had it of our London printe of this yeare 1603) the reading of this booke hath so exceedingly comforted me, as I haue imparted also the same comforte to other principal men of this place and namely yesterday to his Hol. who I assure you could scarce hold teares for comforte to heare certayne passages in favour of vertue, and hatred to vice w<sup>ch</sup> I related to him out of that booke, and in very truth I do highlie admire many thinges in that booke, and could neuer haue imagined that which I see therin. Christ Jesus make him a Catho- like for he would be a mirrour of all princes.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 8; Public Record Office, State Papers, vol. i., No. 84. No. 118 in the same volume of State Papers is a letter from an anonymous Jesuit father, and is generally considered also to refer to *Basilicon Doron*. It does not, however, name the work it is concerned to discuss, the contents of which, from the account given of them, are so different from anything to be found in *Basilicon Doron* that the identification seems doubtful. Since it has never been reprinted it is given here : “ Ie uous dirois dauantage de bouche sur la censure que uous demandes du liure dAngleterre, en gros il est tel que Ie doute sil soit de la boutique dun Roy, mais quil ne soit de son ordonnance Il nen faut point feindre, Qui de leurs oseroit dire tant de bien de la ste vierge ? qui parler si reuerement, qui professer les premiers siecles absolument, deferer tant de ranc au st pere, redarguer authentiquement ceux qui sesloignent plus de nos ceremonies & loix ecclesiastiques, nous conuier a son endoctrinement, nous reprendre de lauoir taxé dheresie sans debat de cause ? remarques le premier traitement quil a fait aux bons Catholiques a son arriuee, ains quil nous donne maintenant dune autre procedure, & les diuerses promesses que nous auons de plusieurs de son royaume, & uous esperes avec moy—beaucoup en sa douceur & force de nostre cause le toute consiste en conduite Il y faudra ueiller specialement, J’attans la dessus nos conferences renuoier mon liure il mest demandé de pluisieurs, mais il ne le fault—permettre qua ceux de nostre choix & en suprimier la traduction francoise aultant quil se pourra.”

Others at Rome, when *Basilicon Doron* became known there, were much less favourable. One writer roundly declared that the religious system advocated by James appeared to be nothing but a medley of all the erroneous ideas of the age.<sup>1</sup> Another said that the book was wonderfully learned for a king but that its political theories were without any solid foundation to rest on.<sup>2</sup>

It must have been out of this interview that there came from the Pope a request that a translation of *Basilicon Doron* be made for his own benefit, a request with which Parsons hastened to comply, as the following letter from him to Clement shows :—

“ Beatissime padre

Con questa vanno l'ultimi folij della traduttione del libro del Re d'Inghilterra, commandatici da Vostra Santità, il padre che l' ha tradotto è huomo dotto et confidente et s'ha sforzato d'esprimere la vera sentenza dell'autore, et reddere sensum sensui ; ci resta che preghiamo Iddio (come facciamo) che ispiri a sua Maiesta d'essequir nel suo gouerno, le cose ben dette et scritte in questo libro, et correggere quelle, nelle quali per causa dell'educatione Iddio fin qui non gli ha dato bastante luce o più presto egli non ha aperto l'occhi, il che speriamo per la gratia . . .<sup>3</sup> diuina, et con l'aiuto di Vostra Beatitudine potrà far con tempo, et cosi restiamo pregando, et per la lunga et prospera vita di Vostra Santità la quale Iddio mundi saluator

<sup>1</sup> Lämmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, p. 261. Both this reference and that in the next note come from Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland* (trans. Hunter Blair), vol. iii. (1889), p. 364, note.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Corsin, 680, fol. 54, “ Ma quanto alla somma del trattato, tutto siccome è molto erudito et dotto et maraviglioso per un Rè, così la sostanza da tutta questa dottrina politica che egli mette inanzi al figliuolo per regola del gouerno che ha da tenere nel suo Regno, pare che sia apunto una fabrica magnifica et bella, sì, ma locato nell'arena, per non dire nell'aria, et senza alcuno stabile fundamento.”

<sup>3</sup> Hole in MS.

conserue, et questo humilmente baccio li suoi sacri piedi etc.

Di Vostra Beatitudine

humillissimo seruo in Cristo

Roberto Personio <sup>1</sup>

(Superscription) Al santissimo Domino Nostro."

Along with this letter is bound up the greater part of the translation which Parsons had had made, the part that is missing being the rendering of the First Book of King James's work. The version is in Latin, but the translator has not been identified. A crown on the contemporary parchment of the MS. links the volume with Scotland, for it reveals that it once belonged to Cardinal Camillo Borghese, who was Protector of the Scottish Nation when Clement VIII. was Pope, and who as Pope Paul V. was later himself to put *Basilicon Doron* on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. That, however, was in the future. Meanwhile Clement seems not to have been wholly satisfied with the version presented to him by Parsons, for he had the Papal Nuncio in Paris obtain for him a copy of the Latin version published in London by John Norton in 1604.<sup>2</sup> This version cannot have been very acceptable to Clement, because where the original speaks merely of "the olde masse" it has *nugamentum Missae*.

In the end all efforts to commend the king's book to the Holy See failed and the reading of it was forbidden

<sup>1</sup> Vatican Library, Rome, *Fondo Borghese*, iv., 95. There is a copy in the Public Record Office, London, *Roman Transcripts*, vol. 9/112. The original is undated, but is assigned by the transcriber of the P.R.O. copy to 1603.

<sup>2</sup> A. O. Meyer, *Clemens VIII. und Jacob I. von England* (Rome, 1904), p. 24, note 2: "Am 8. März 1604 schickt der Pariser Nuntius dem Pabste auf dessen Wunsch ein Exemplar des 'Libro fatto dal Re d'Inghilterra,' von dem er eine in London gedruckte lateinische Uebersetzung besorgt hat."



to Catholics. Uncertainty as to when this was actually done is created by the fact that three different dates are given for it. In the Biblioteca Casanatense at Rome there is a copy of Norton's 1604 Latin version with this note of unknown origin written on its title-page, "prima Julii 1604 prohibitus."<sup>1</sup> But this date must be wrong. There was at that time no breach, though perhaps an aloofness, between King James and the Pope. Indeed, both were still hoping that it would be possible to arrive at a *modus vivendi* whereby the English Catholics could live at peace with the English government, and the prohibition of *Basilicon Doron* would have been an act which could only anger James and a step towards wrecking any chance of a compromise. Clement was too astute a diplomatist to jeopardise success by committing such a blunder. That the hope was in the end disappointed was due to the Gunpowder Plot and the consequent Oath of Allegiance which the king and his advisers felt obliged to impose upon the English Catholics, an oath which so outraged Catholic sentiment that it was condemned by Pope Paul V., who succeeded Clement in 1605, in two Briefs—one on 22nd September 1606 and the other on 23rd August 1607.<sup>2</sup> It would therefore appear as if this date, 1st July 1604, for the prohibition of *Basilicon Doron* must be given up. Some of the older printed editions of the *Index* give the date of the decree by which a book was prohibited, some do not. By those that do, 7th September 1609 is given as the date of that prohibiting *Basilicon Doron*, and this is the date generally accepted down to the end of the last century. The original of the decree has perished, having disappeared some time between the removal to Paris by Napoleon of that portion of the archives of the Congregation of

<sup>1</sup> A. O. Meyer, *Clemens VIII. und Jacob I. von England* (Rome. 1904), p. 24, note 2: "Das in der Biblioteca Casanatense zu Rom bewahrte Exemplar diese Aufgabe trägt auf dem Titelblatt den handschriftlichen Vermerk 'prima Julii 1604 prohibitus.'"

<sup>2</sup> *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. xi. (1911), p. 582.



the Index in which it was contained and their return to their proper home in 1815. It is, however, to be found in print in a volume with the title-page, *Librorum post Indicem Clementis VIII. Prohibitorum Decreta Omnia hactenus edita. Romae, ex Typographia Rev[erendae] Cam[erae] Apost[olicae]. M.DC.XXIV.*, where it is headed, *Editto del Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*. On page xxix of the volume in which it is found *Basilicon Doron* is given as one of the works forbidden by it. No reasons are given for the prohibition, only that it is forbidden. This date is a more attractive one than that already discussed, since it associates the condemnation of *Basilicon Doron* with the condemnation of King James's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, which was certainly condemned in 1609. But it is difficult to reconcile with certain contemporary statements which will shortly be quoted, and so ought probably to be set aside. Finally, the editions of the *Index* published in the present century give the date for the condemnation of *Basilicon Doron* as 20th January 1606.<sup>1</sup> Where this date is obtained from is not stated, but even in the absence of such information it seems the most likely of the three since it would appear to be confirmed by statements in documents printed in the *State Papers, Venetian*. The most important of these is a letter from the Venetian Ambassador at Rome to the Doge and Senate of Venice, which he wrote on 24th December 1605, and in which he

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Joseph Hilgers, S.T., *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Freiburg im Breisgau. 1904), p. 418: *Indice dei Libri Proibiti* (Vatican City. 1929), p. 248. This last on its title-page claims to be *riveduto e pubblicato per ordine di Sua Santità Pio Papa XI*. Other three works by King James were also put on the *Index*, and it is curious that the dates given for their condemnation by the two works cited at the head of this note differ from those given in older editions of the *Index*—e.g., *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Rome. 1758), p. 119. Their dates are: *Apologia pro Iuramento Fidelitatis*—i.e., *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, 9th July, 1609; *Meditatio in Orationem Dominicam*—i.e., *A Meditation on the Lords Prayer*, 18th October 1619; *Hypostasis Inaugurationis Regiæ*—i.e., *The Paterne of a Kings Inauguration*, 28th September 1620. The older dates are: *Apologia*, 23rd July 1609; *Meditatio*, 22nd October 1619; *Hypotyposis*, 16th March 1621.

said that after much discussion among the Cardinals as to what was to be done with *Basilicon Doron* it was finally resolved to place it on the *Index*.<sup>1</sup> Again he reported on 8th August 1609 that the Pope had supported the prohibition of King James's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* on the ground that *Basilicon Doron* had already been prohibited and that he could see no reason why the same should not be done now.<sup>2</sup> Statements in two other documents of 1609 support the opinion that *Basilicon Doron* had already been condemned some time before they were written. The weightier of the two, of date 11th September 1609, shows that in Venice the prohibition was openly disregarded, perhaps because the Republic was at that time at loggerheads with Paul V.<sup>3</sup> These statements can be fitted into the general sequence of events only if *Basilicon Doron* was prohibited in 1606. Moreover, this date, 20th January 1606, falls about the time when Paul V. was angered by the Oath of Allegiance. It seems, therefore, that it should be accepted. But why there are so many con-

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607*, p. 306: "The Inquisitor of Venice has sent to the Congregation of the Index, the King of England's book, containing instructions to his son. As it expresses many impious and detestable sentiments entirely opposed to our fundamental dogmas, consultation was held as to what ought to be done. Some opined that one of the Cardinals should be deputed to refute it, but seeing that this would add to the importance of the work and would stimulate many heretics to a rejoinder, it has been resolved to place it on the Index."

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1607-1609*, p. 315: "The Pope said it must be prohibited. This was no innovation; for another book by the same sovereign had been prohibited—namely, the book written for the instruction of his eldest son; he could not see why the same should not be done now."

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1607-1609*, p. 337: "The Inquisitor, notwithstanding the fact that his Majesty's book—the *Basilicondoron* addressed to his son—was prohibited, allowed the libraries to sell it." The other and less important statement will be found on p. 308 of the same volume of the *Calendar* under the date 31st July 1609. For the political background which explains the position at Venice with regard to the sale there of prohibited books, see Miss Frances A. Yates, *Paolo Sarpi's 'History of the Council of Trent'*: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, vol. vii. (July to December 1944), pp. 123-129.

traditions as to the date when *Basilicon Doron* was put on the *Index* is still an unsolved mystery. Put there, however, it was, and there it remains to this day. Yet that act seems to have caused little stir at the time. *Basilicon Doron* does not appear on such seventeenth-century editions of the *Index* as those published in 1611 at Hanover and at Augsburg, or that published at Geneva in 1619, or in those published at Madrid in 1619 and 1640; its omission from the two last is particularly odd. More striking still, King James himself does not seem to have heard of it, or if he did he paid no attention to it, for he makes no mention of it anywhere in his writings, not even in his controversial ones against the Catholics.

The publication of *Basilicon Doron* excited quite as much interest in France as it did in England, for almost as soon as it had appeared proposals were made to the English ambassador in Paris, Sir Thomas Parry, to have it issued in a French translation. In a letter dated 31st May 1603 he referred these back to Cecil in London to know the king's pleasure on them.<sup>1</sup> From a letter written by the Venetian Ambassador in Paris about the middle of July to his employers we learn that it was from the Huguenots that the demand for a version of King James's book came.<sup>2</sup> Cecil's reply to Parry's letter of the end

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, London, State Papers, France, 1603, March to August; S.P., 78/49, fol. 136v: "Here is mutch emulation among diverse goode spirites about the translation in to french of the kings maiestes booke/euery on of them desyrouse to committ his endeouours to print/Mr Hottoman an honerable gentleman and learned wrate vnto me about the mattre/I thought it my duty to stay the Printing vntil I were aduertised of his maiestes pleasure/for that sum of the traductions are very insufficient and dooth obscure the excellency of the worke/ thorough the ignoranc of the translatours not acquaynted sufficiently with the energy of the wordes and pythynes of the phrase wherin it is written."

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-1607, p. 65: "A book called 'Basilicon,' the work of the King himself, is to be seen. It is addressed to his eldest son, and is written in English. It has been translated into French by some who wished to publish it here. The English ambassador vetoed this until he had his Majesty's pleasure on the subject. The King replied that he was content that it should appear, but without any additions. It is sure to appear, for the heretics desire to haue it" (15th July 1603).



of May was written ten days later, and gave Parry full authority from the king to handle the matter in his own way, allowing the best translation to be printed, provided only that there was nothing in it which might harm the king.<sup>1</sup> With this authorisation to proceed, Sir Thomas Parry seems to have set about making the selection of the translation to be printed and to have submitted at least a sample of it to London for approval, since on 16th-26th July he again wrote to Cecil asking what the king thought of it.<sup>2</sup> Apparently the reply was favourable, for in little more than two months' time the translation had been printed and was ready for publication, despite the fact that powerful forces in the French Government had sought to prevent this.<sup>3</sup> On 29th September (O.S.) Sir Thomas Parry sent Cecil a copy of the printed translation and again asked for the

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, London, State Papers, French, 1603, March to August; S.P. 78/49, foll. 151-154: "Sir Thomas Parry, since my last writing vnto you, I haue receaued sundry *lettres* from you, of the 23, 24, 26 and 31 of May, containing such advertisements, as that place doth afforde, with all *which*, his *Maiestye* hauing ben particularly acquainted, remaineth very well satisfied, and commendeth *your* diligence, and so willed me to take notice vnto you. . . .

As for the stay you haue made there of the printing of the translation into french of his *Maiestys* booke of Instructions to the Prince his sonn, because you hold it very vnproperly translated; his *Maiesty* acknowledgeth *your* duetifull respect towards him in it; but being a matter as this is, *which* can not be well avoyded, and wherevnto euen the best writings in the world haue euer ben subiect vnto; yf it doe not appeare, to haue ben don maliciously and as it were of purpose to disgrace the worke, you may geue way to it, and as neere as you can preffer the better translation before the worst, for it is not to be doubted, yf it be stayed there at Paris, but it will be printed in some other partes of France."

<sup>2</sup> Public Record Office, London, State Papers, French, 1603, March to August; S.P. 78/49, fol. 196v: "It may please *you* to aduertise me whether *the* kings *maieste* lykethe of *the* gentlemens travayle *that* hathe in hand *the* translation of his highnes booke in to frenche *the* worke is here greatly sought for."

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, London, State Papers, French, 1603, September to December; S.P. 78/50, fol. 37r: "Nous auons eu peine a auoir permission de faire Imprimer le liure du Roy en francois Et le plus grand aduersaire a este Rosny finalement il y a permission Capiettement Mais non priuilege." From a correspondent signing himself "Saint Sauueur" to Sir John Carleton in Paris; it is endorsed, "a paris le 9 octobre 1603."



king's opinion of it.<sup>1</sup> The book, however, was now freely on sale, and the astute ambassador even turned the difference between it and the English text to good use on his master's account, representing them to the Papal Nuncio in Paris as corrections which showed how well disposed the king was to the Catholic religion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, London, State Papers, French, 1603, September to December; S.P. 78/50, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>: "The translation and impression of *the Kings* booke being finished *the* translâtour brought me *the* first copy, which here with I send your Lordship, the goode old Chauncelor and *the* rest of his Maiestes Counsel notwithstanding *the* Sorbons opposition graunted *the* Printer liberty to publish it/euery man very desyrous to see it/*the* yong Prince of Conde hauinge gotten one of them at *the* printers hande, and committed to memory *the* translation of *the Kings* Maiestes Verses/comming to *the* Court rehearsed them to dyuers noblemen, who Immediately sent to *the* printer to saue *the* worke/I stay hym what I may from vttering of it vntill I may understand from your Lordship whether his Maieste mislyke eny thing, that it may be amended."

<sup>2</sup> A. O. Meyer, *Clemens VIII. und Jakob I. von England* (Rome, 1904), p. 24, note, quotes from a letter of the Nuncio of date 10th October to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in Rome as follows: "Non solo ella lo vedrà pre ordine del medesimo re tradotto in lingua francese, ma moderato et emendato in quei luoghi, ove parla di Sua Santità e de' cattolici, che per dimostrarmi quest'ambasciatore Inglese la buona inclinazione del suo re verso Sua Beatitudine, mi ha egli stesso mandato il libro et avisato della correctione suddetta." Meyer, being unacquainted with the documents in the Public Record Office, London, and relying entirely on those he found in the Vatican archives, took this letter at its face value and concluded that the French version was specially made for presentation to the Pope; in this opinion he has been followed by the writer of the article on James I. of Great Britain in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. xv., p. 137, reprinted without change in the 14th ed., vol. 12, p. 877; and by H. R. Williamson, *King James I.* (1935), p. 15. Meyer, *op cit.*, p. 27, shows clearly that he regarded the whole business of the French translation as an imposition practised by King James on the Pope: "Diese ganz litterarische Zwischenspiel aber wirft auf die Zweideutigkeit des Königs deutliches Licht, und ist bezeichnend für die Mannigfaltigkeit der Mittel, mit denen Jakob I. Diplomatie arbeitete."

That the translator held a higher opinion of the way in which he had performed his task than did the English Ambassador is seen from the following letter which he wrote to Parry on 6th October 1603: "Monsieur. J'ay appris de l'Agent du Duc de Wirtemberg quil va faire traduire le Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον de Sa Maieste en langue Allemande mot à mot de l'Anglois ou Escosois, dequoy j'ay voulu vous donner aduis pour le seruice de Sa dite Maieste Car estant le pais d'Allemagne aussi bigarré d'humeurs & religions diuerses qu'autre quel quil soit, il me semble, sauf meilleur aduis, que les mesmes considerations que nous auons apportées pour la version François, doivent valoir pour toutes autres versions, les quelles il est impossible d'empescher sur tout pour obmettre les citations en marge, et traduire les allegourris

These corrections were of two kinds, but in only a few places was the meaning affected. First, phrases in the Waldegrave text of 1603 such as "because I am no Papist,"<sup>1</sup> and "with the Papistes,"<sup>2</sup> were not translated. Other phrases which might also have given offence were toned down. Thus, "as the papists call it"<sup>3</sup> became "Comme en parlent aucuns"; "suffer not proude Papall Bishops"<sup>4</sup> was rendered by "fuyez le faste Episcopal"; and "the Masse"<sup>5</sup> became "les cerimonies, desquelles on vsoit en l'Eglise & seruice de Dieu au tems de nos peres & ayeux."<sup>6</sup> This translation was published at Paris by Guillaume Auvray at the sign of La Bellerophon Couronne, and it was the appearance of this volume which made King James the first writer in the vernacular of Great Britain whom Frenchmen knowing no language but their own were able to read for themselves. It was extremely popular, for not only did Auvray publish two more editions in the next year, but pirated editions of it appeared at places outside Paris, at

Latines en abbregeant les textes; et addoucissant vn peu les mots donc les Catholiques Romains se pourroient dégouter: puis quil est question que ce liure face fruit, & quil augmente la reputation de ce grand Prince, lequel en cette seule partie se rend si admirable, qu'vn de nostres a desja apprins par cœur partie de ce liure, et que toute la France brusle du desir de le voir & le lire. Il n'y aura donc point de mal d'en toucher vn mot à cet Agent de Wirtemberg; et faire promptement faire la traduction Latine, laquelle j'entreprendray moymesme si Sa Maieste la agreable (*sic*); comme j'enten qu'elle a eu la Francoise. Je desire extremement luy rendre tres-humble & fidele seruice si elle m'enjuge digne & capable, et de demeurer Monsieur,

Vostre plus affectionné  
seruiteur

Hotman

(Public Record Office, London, State Papers, French, 1603, September to December; S.P. 78/50, fol. 14.)

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 45, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> For other examples of how the translator dealt with his original, see the notes to vol. i., p. 59, l. 30; p. 60, l. 32; p. 67, l. 29; p. 75, l. 25; p. 77, l. 29; p. 83, ll. 21, 29; p. 85, l. 32; p. 91, ll. 11, 32; p. 93, l. 9; p. 105, l. 29; p. 107, ll. 21, 24; p. 123, l. 21; p. 125, l. 24; p. 131, l. 17; p. 133, l. 24; p. 139, l. 33; p. 147, l. 20; p. 149, ll. 29-32; p. 155, l. 15; p. 171, l. 20; p. 189, ll. 12, 30; p. 195, l. 12.

Rouen and Lyons in 1603, and at Poitiers and Hanau in 1604, and elsewhere. To assert his rights in the translation Auvray printed the following notice at the end of his second edition :—

“ Je t’aïse, Lecteur, que cette impression sous mon nom & ma marque, avec le pourtraict du Roy d’Angleterre, est seule mienne, & seule vraye ; comme faite de l’aueu de ceux qui m’ont mis la copie entre les mains, et de l’autorité de Nosseigneurs du Conseil qui m’ont permis de l’imprimer. Toutes les autres sont contrefaites & supposées pour me frustrer du gain honeste de mon labeur.”<sup>1</sup>

When he reprinted this notice at the end of his third edition he added these words to the first sentence :—

“ Apres auoir reconu que le Roy d’Angleterre en auait approuué la version en nostre langue,”

and included a completely new one, declaring he bore patiently the wrong done to him, since it increased the glory of the English king.<sup>2</sup>

The translator was the eminent French Protestant scholar, Jean Hotman, Seigneur de Villiers. In an undated letter of his to an unnamed correspondent he says that he had undertaken the task of translation by King James’s own command, and had been led to expect a handsome reward for his pains, but he complains that up to the time of writing he had received nothing for all his trouble. Now he asks his correspondent to plead his case with the king.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Address of the printer to the reader, sig. Oij<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Address of the printer to the reader, fol. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanni Epistolæ* (Amsterdam. 1700) p. 368, “ Jussu Regis vestri & hortatu amicorum βασιλικὸν illud Δῶρον de Anglico Gallicum feci . . . Cum vero Princeps alioquin, ut scio, munificentissimus honorarium aliquod sperare me jussisset, nescio quo pacto factum sit, ut absentis mei rationem non habuerint ii, qui Regiam pecuniam administrant. Itaque cum alia de caussa uxor mea proficiscatur in Angliam, nec turpe sit a Principibus homines tenuis conditionis laboris mercedem & expetere & expectare ; negotium hoc Illustri Viro D. Sidneio, Illustri item fæminæ Dominæ Riche commendavi, tibique studiose commendo, ut pro tua humanitate efficere velitis, ne inanis mea opera & meum erga Regem vestrum obsequium & studium infructuosum fuisse dicatur.” In the printed edition the letter is headed,

Hotman's was not the only French version made and published. Another appeared at Hanau near Frankfort-am-Main in 1604, and a third was made as late as 1646 by Pierre Menard and published in that year in his *Academie des Princes*. A fourth by Louis Servin, Avocat-General to Parliament under Henri III., Henri IV., and Louis XIII. still remains in manuscript.

Nor was French the only modern vernacular into which *Basilicon Doron* was turned. A Dutch translation was printed twice at Amsterdam in 1603, a German one at Spire in 1604, and a Swedish one at Stockholm in 1606. Printing of a Welsh version was begun in 1604, but no more than five sheets of it, containing about one-third of the complete work, seem ever to have been struck off. It has been conjectured that the work of printing it was interrupted by an outbreak of plague in London in that year and never resumed. An Italian version by John Florio, the Elizabethan translator of Montaigne, still remains in manuscript, as does a Spanish one made by John Pemberton of London in the early years of the seventeenth century.

The admiring contemporary was therefore not without some grounds for his boast when he wrote that—

“his Maiesties *Instructions* haue worne *Xenophon* out of credit in al other Countries, where they are trulie translated and read vnto all Noble mens children, the fathers themselves not disdaining to keep a booke of them in their owne bosome.”<sup>1</sup>

*Cuidam Anglo*, who has been identified by D. Baird Smith, *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xiv. (1917), p. 155, with the Scottish poet, William Fowler, an identification accepted by the editors of Fowler's *Works* (Scottish Text Society), vol. iii. (1940), p. xxxv.

<sup>1</sup> Cleland, *Ἡπο-παιδεία, or The Instruction of a Young Noble-man* (1607), p. 151. The great authority assigned to Xenophon, whose *Cyropædeia* was far more highly esteemed then than it is now as an educational treatise is explained by Spenser in the *Letter* he prefixed to his *Faerie Queene*: “For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a Commune welth, such as it should be; but the other in the person of Cyrus, and the Persians, fashioned a gouernement, such as might best be: So much more profitable is doctrine by ensample, then by rule.” (Globe ed., p. 3.)



## II.

THE REPUTATION OF *BASILICON DORON*.

THE reputation of *Basilicon Doron* has passed through at least three phases. In the lifetime of its author and for some time after it was greatly esteemed. Then came a period when it lay with the rest of his writings under the charge of pedantry, but for the last century or so its reputation has again been rising.

That the author of *Basilicon Doron* himself thought highly of his work is shown by the numerous occasions on which he cited it in support of the point he wished to make. The earliest of these occurred within a few days of its publication in 1603. On 3rd April of that year he made a farewell speech to the citizens of Edinburgh before setting out for London to take possession of his new kingdom, and in the course of it he told his hearers that—

“As I haue a bodie als able as anie king in Europ, whereby I am able to trauell, so I sall vissie you euerie three yeere at the least, or offer as I sall haue occasion ; for so I haue writtin in my booke directed to my sonne ; and it were a shame to me not to performe that thing which I haue writtin.”<sup>1</sup>

But the promise he gave here he never kept, for he only visited Scotland once after his departure in 1603, and that visit was not made till 1617. In a letter to Prince Henry, undated but probably written soon after the departure from Scotland, the young prince was told that

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1844), vol. vi., p. 216. Cf. vol. i., p. 97, above.

his father longed to receive from him a letter that might be wholly his

“as well maitter as forme, as wellformid by youre minde as drawin by youre fingers, for ye maye remember that in my Booke to you I warne you to bewaire with that kynde of witte that maye flye out at the end of youre fingers,”<sup>1</sup>

The king's memory, however, must have been playing him a trick on this occasion, as there is nothing like this in *Basilicon Doron*. In 1610 he justified the punishment to be imposed on a Sir Thomas Dutton by what he had said in his book to the prince about the necessity of maintaining discipline among soldiers.<sup>2</sup> When he wrote in 1621 to the Privy Council of Scotland urging it both itself to observe and to enforce on others the observance of the Five Articles agreed on at the General Assembly of Perth three years earlier, he reminded its members how he had once advised Prince Henry where reformation in a country should begin,<sup>3</sup> adding a gloss on what he had said then. Twice in later works James referred to his avowal in *Basilicon Doron* that there was nothing in his life that he need be ashamed to have made public, that he had laid his count

“euer to walke as in the eyes of the Almightye, examining euer so the secretest of my driftes, before

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of King James I.* (1814), vol. i., p. 304; *Letters to King James the Sixth* (Maitland Club. 1835), p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 627. Sir T. Lake to the Earl of Salisbury. 7th August 1610. “His Ma. took information of some particularities both of Mr Leigh and of Sir Th. Duttons fact. Concerning whom his Ma. sayd his answer was then that he should be punished according to his desert and that frendes in court should not heale him wished me to assure your lo. so and to referre you for his opinion in such cases to his Basilicon doron where you may see his Ma. sayes that of all faults those that are made in warre are straightest to be looked to for that a smale fault there may be cause that no faults more shalbe committed.” Cf. vol. i., p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Original Letters relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Bannatyne Club. 1851), vol. ii., p. 671, “as We haif said in Oure ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΟΡΟΝ (*sic*), that We will haif reformatioun to begin at Oure awne elbo, quhilk is Oure Preuie Counsell.” Cf. vol. i., p. 85.

I gaue them course, as howe they might some day byde the touche-stone of a publike tryall." <sup>1</sup>

One of them was in his *Premonition to all Christian Princes* of 1609, when, justifying the anonymous publication in 1607 of his *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, he wrote :—

"As for this *Apologie* of mine, it is trew, that I thought good to set it first out without putting my name vnto it ; but neuer so, as I thought to denie it, remembring well mine owne words, but taken out of the Scripture, in the beginning of the Preface to the Reader, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ, *that nothing is so hid which shall not bee opened, etc* : promising there, which with GOD his grace I shall euer performe, neuer to doe that in secret, which I shall need to be ashamed of, when it shall come to be proclaimed in publike." <sup>2</sup>

The other was in his *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609, when he declared that he hoped

"Neuer to speake that in priuate, which I shall not auow in publike, and Print it if need be (as I said in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.)" <sup>3</sup>

*The Premonition to all Christian Monarchs* contains in addition the following passage in which James somewhat angrily defended himself against the accusation that he was inclined to favour the Puritans :—

"As I euer maintained the state of Bishops, and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake ; so was I euer an enemie to the confused Anarchie or paritie of the *Puritanes*, as well appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ. And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what brasen face this Answerer could say, *That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemie to Protestants*. . . . I that in my said Booke to my Sonne, doe

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 12, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Workes* (1616), p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> *Workes* (1616), p. 532.

speake tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papists; hauing in my second Edition thereof, affixed a long Apologetike Preface, onely in *odium Puritanorum*.”<sup>1</sup>

The last of such references was made in the Epistle Dedicatorie to his *Paterne of a Kings Inauguration* (1619), when, addressing Prince Charles, he wrote :—

“ In making your affections to follow and second your Fathers, you shew what reuerent loue you carry towards me in your heart : besides the worthy example you giue to all other Kings eldest Sonnes for imitation, beginning heereby to performe one of the rules set doune to my sonne HENRY, that is with God, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.”<sup>2</sup>

It was not, however, only James who could quote *Basilicon Doron* in support of his statements, and it is pleasing to be able to cite several occasions when it was used to justify opposition to the wishes of the reigning monarch, twice against James himself, once against his son Charles. The first of them was at the General Assembly of Perth in 1618, at which James managed to get adopted Five Articles by which certain ceremonies of the Church of England were to be introduced into the Kirk of Scotland. During the discussions the opposition sought to present a protest embodying their views in which the following sentence occurred :—

“ Learned and graue men may like better of the single forme of Policie in our Kirk, then of the many ceremonies of the Kirk of England. Epist. before Basilicon Doron.”<sup>3</sup>

The protest, however, was unavailing.

The second was during the negotiations for the marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta in 1623.

<sup>1</sup> *Workes* (1616), p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Workes* (1620), p. 602. Cf. vol. i., p. 65, above.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club. 1839-1845), vol. iii., p. 1161. Cf. vol. i., p. 16, above.



Among the contemporary pamphlets which this project produced is one entitled *Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost, sent from Elizian*, and in it occurs the following sentence :—

“ Without doubt, king James cannot but know in his conscience, that it is directly against the revealed will of God in holy writ, for Christian princes and people that professe the gospell, to match with Romane Catholickes ; which made himselfe match with Denmarkes daughter, a Protestant princesse, and afterwards hee matched his only daughter with the Count Palatine, a Protestant prince ; witnesse also his majesties owne pen, in *Basilicon Doron*.”<sup>1</sup>

The third was in 1634 when the Scottish Parliament protested to Charles I. against certain financial proposals of his, and reminded him that

“ Your Maiestie wes graciouslie pleased, be your former and later speeches in the Parliament house, to declair that your Maiestie had no purpose at this tyme to lay any burthen vpon this nation, according to the wyse counsell of King James in his ‘ Basilicon,’ treating of the right vse of subsidents.”<sup>2</sup>

The first evidence of contemporary esteem is William Willymat’s *Princes Looking Glasse*, published at Cambridge in 1603, which contains, according to its title-page, “ sundrie wise, learned, godly and Princely precepts and instructions, excerpted and chosen out of that most Christian and vertuous ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.” In this work the author has distilled out of King James’s book some 169 ‘ thoughts,’ which he has expressed in Latin ; each of these Latin sentences he has then paraphrased in four Latin hexameters, and has then englished his hexameters in three heroic couplets. It was some years later that

<sup>1</sup> Somers, *Tracts*, ed. Scott (1809), vol. ii., p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Maitland Club. 1842), vol. i., p. 166. Cf. vol. i., p. 159, above.

Henry Peacham made his sets of 'emblems' to illustrate *Basilicon Doron*. These are three series of drawings, one in water-colour, the others in pen-and-ink. Each drawing has below it an elegiac quatrain, and also in most cases a quotation from *Basilicon Doron* itself. They still remain in manuscript.

The earliest writer to use *Basilicon Doron* as a source-book for material to support his argument seems to have been James Cleland, a fellow-countryman of the king's,<sup>1</sup> whose 'ΗΡΩ-ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, or the Institution of a Young Nobleman, was first published at Oxford in 1607, and was reissued there five years later with a new title, *The Introduction of a Young Nobleman*. In the address *To the Noble Reader* which he prefixed to his book Cleland frankly admitted his indebtedness to *Basilicon Doron*, saying—

" Herein so farre as it is possible for me, I haue essaied, espetiallie to imitate our Soveraigne and Roiall Doctor, who seeketh not after those extravagāt formes of doctrine used by Plato in his Commō-wealth, by Xenophon in the Institutiō of young Cyrus, by Cicero in forming his Orator, by Horace in making his Poet, or by S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Moore in describing his Vtopian, (which are all faire shaddowes in the aire) but plainlie out of his owne common practise, and usual

<sup>1</sup> Nothing seems to be known about him. He is not in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, no mention of him is to be found in the various collections of State Papers, and his name is apparently absent from the published registers of the various Scottish Universities. His Scottish nationality is to be inferred from various *obiter dicta* scattered through his book—e.g., p. 149: "I would haue you also to be familiar with the histories and cronicles of your owne Countrie, *ne sis peregrinus domi*, before you read those of *France, Italie, Spaine & Germanie* especiallie; that you maie knowe the life, Nature, manners, and estate, both of your freinds and foes, which maie bee verie profitable vnto you at al times. In Scotland wee haue verie fewe of this kinde"; and p. 177: "If my aduise could serue any thing at al to amende such abuses, and those apish toies of bowing downe to euerie mans shoe, with *I kisse your hands Sir, and I am your most humble seruant*, I would retaine our good olde Scottish shaking of the two right hands together at meeting with an vncovered head." Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, give him two other works, *A Monument of Mortalitie upon the death of Lodowick, Duke of Richmond* (1624), and *Jacobs Well and Abbots conduit paralleled* (1626).

*experience hath proposed a Princely Pupil for a perfect patterne to all your imitations."*<sup>1</sup>

The debt here acknowledged is to be found chiefly in almost a score of quotations found in Books Three, Four, and Five of his work and taken mainly from the First and Third Books of *Basilicon Doron*. Those in his Third Book are to be found in ch. i., *Of a Young Noble mans Duty towards God*, p. 106 (= p. 47, l. 29-p. 49, l. 10)<sup>2</sup>; *id.*, p. 107 (= p. 49, ll. 10-14); *id.*, p. 108 (= p. 37, ll. 11-25); *id.*, p. 115 (= p. 51, ll. 13-28, a passage which is called "the Kings conclusion worthy to be printed in your harts with golden letters"). In his Book Four they are found in ch. 1., *Of a Young Noble mans duty towards his Parents*, p. 129 (= p. 155, ll. 15-24); and ch. 7, *What bookes you should read priuately*, p. 149 (= p. 151, ll. 21-25, this praise of the *Commentaries* of Cæsar being described as "his Maiesties iudicious Iudgement, wherevnto the learned sort subscribes"). Book Five contains twice as many of the quotations as the other two put together. They are to be found in ch. 19, *Of a young Noble mans eating & drinking*, p. 210 (= p. 169, ll. 14-16); *id.*, p. 211 (= p. 169, ll. 16-21); *id.*, p. 212 (= p. 169, ll. 27-31); ch. 19, *Of sleepe*, p. 214 (= p. 171, ll. 23-28); ch. 20, *Of Apparrel*, p. 214 (= p. 171, ll. 30-31); *id.*, p. 215 (= p. 171, l. 32-p. 173, l. 17); *id.*, p. 216 (= p. 177, ll. 14-18); ch. 22, *Of Hunting and Haucking*, p. 223 (= p. 191, ll. 14-19); ch. 24, *Of Howse-games*, p. 227 (= p. 195, ll. 23-29); ch. 25, *Of those house-games, from which a Nobleman should abstaine*, p. 228 (= p. 195, ll. 13-15); *id.*, 229 (= p. 199, ll. 12-14); *id.*, p. 230 (= p. 195, ll. 16-21); ch. 28, *Of deadly Feides*, p. 239 (= p. 83, ll. 30-34). In addition, the reader is on several occasions directed to *Basilicon Doron* without its being actually quoted, viz., Book III., ch. 1, *Of a Young Noblemans duty towards God*, p. 105, "What should bee the forme of

<sup>1</sup> Sig. 3<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The references in brackets are to the first volume of this edition of *Basilicon Doron*, and give the exact passages quoted by Cleland.

your prayer, and what circumstance of time and place, you should obserue in praying, I remit you to his *Maiesties* wise and godlie precepts" (cf. p. 37, l. 7 sqq.) ; Book IV., ch. 7, *What bookes you should read priuatly*, p. 150, "I particularlie recommede vnto your reading his (Maiesties) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, wherevnto I am much obliged in this. For if I durst speake my simple iudgement, it exceedeth as far *Xenophōs* ΚΤΡΟΥ-ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ in good & godly instructions, as currage doth couardlines" ; Book V., ch. 7, *How a Noble man should speake*, p. 185, "Your qualitie being aboue the common, I wish that your speech were also not popular ; and with foolish affectation and verbal pride, not ful of triuiat words, but plaine and perspicuous, as flowing from a natural fountaine of eloquence ; not Pedantike or ful of inkehorne tearmes" (cf. p. 179, ll. 28-32) ; and Book V., ch. 24, *Of Howse-games*, p. 226, "His Maiesties permission of honest house-games as Cardes, Tables, and such like plaies, is sufficient to protect you from the blame of those learned men, who thinke them Hazards" (cf. p. 191, l. 31 sqq.).

*Basilicon Doron* was laid under contribution almost as much by Patrick Scot for his *Table-Booke for Princes*, of which the first edition was published in 1621 and a second in the next year. Scot in his dedication to Prince Charles calls his book

" These lame Essaies of my barren braine (or rather crums falne from the Princely Table of your more then Salomon-like Father) : " <sup>1</sup>

the crumbs, however, turn out not to be direct quotations such as Cleland had made. Instead, Scot states his opinion and then adds a marginal reference to the page in the 1603 edition of the king's book which contains something relevant to his argument ; it is beside the point that his references are not always right. These references are found on the following pages : Sectio. I., *Of the condition and true happinesse of Princes*, p. 6 (cf.

<sup>1</sup> Sig. A3<sup>b</sup>.



p. 25, l. 25 sqq., and p. 55, l. 15 sqq.);<sup>1</sup> *id.*, p. 10 (cf. p. 12, ll. 20-23); *id.*, p. 12 (cf. p. 12, l. 32 sqq.); Sectio. III., *Of the vertuous life of Princes*, p. 33 (cf. p. 53, ll. 15-16); *id.*, p. 44 (cf. p. 117, ll. 30-31); Sectio. V., *By what meanes the generous mindes of Princes are knowne*, p. 58 (cf. p. 87, l. 22); Sectio. VIII., *How Princes ought to moderate their power*, p. 70 (cf. p. 27, ll. 13-15); Sectio. IX., *Whose image good and bad Princes represent*, p. 78 (cf. p. 151, ll. 8-11); Sectio. X., *By what meanes a Prince may secure himselfe in his kingdome*, p. 88 (cf. p. 159, ll. 13-15); Sectio. XI., *Princes ought to be easie in giuing accesse*, p. 93 (cf. p. 69, ll. 26-28); Sectio. XIII., *Of Lawes and Iustice*, p. 113 (cf. p. 59, ll. 21-23); *id.*, p. 116 (cf. p. 139, ll. 17-18); Sectio. XV., *Of two sorts of flattery*, p. 119 (cf. p. 45, l. 18); *id.*, p. 125 (cf. 115, ll. 25-26); Sectio. XIX., *Of Church controuersies*, p. 156 (cf. p. 149, ll. 19-20); Sectio. XXI., *Of the mutuall friendship that ought to be betweene neighbouring Princes*, p. 168 (cf. p. 97, l. 29); Sectio. XXII., *Of warre*, p. 176 (cf. p. 101, l. 19). This was a much greater use of *Basilicon Doron* than Scot had made in a work published slightly earlier, in 1619, with the title, *Omnibus & Singulis*, and reissued in the next year with a new title, *A Fathers Aduice, or last Will to his Sonne*. Though he had assured King James in one dedication that he had

“borrowed from the ouer-flowing Source of your Maiesties Princely and Learned ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, the best matter contained in it,”<sup>2</sup>

and in another had told Prince Charles that he had

“presumed to present this deformed Portraicture, drawn from the Patron (of the Apelles-like Picture) of ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.”<sup>3</sup>

His obligations turn out to be very few, only two passages in fact, in the first of which he paraphrases what James

<sup>1</sup> The references in brackets are again to the pages of the first volume of this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. A2<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Sig. A4<sup>b</sup>.

has to say about the four Cardinal Virtues,<sup>1</sup> while in the other he paraphrases the royal advice on dress.<sup>2</sup>

Far more popular than any of these was the anonymously written book entitled *The Fathers Blessing: or Second Councell to his Sonne*, of which the first edition appeared in 1616, and which on its title-page claims to be "Appropriated to the generall, from that particular example of Learning and Pietie his Maiestie composed for the Prince his Sonne." It is a hand-book of conduct and practical morality with a good deal of devotional matter added, and, in fact, owes nothing to *Basilicon Doron* beyond a few such sentences as—

"Yeeld all respect and duty to your suruiuing Mother: remember her care, trauell, and the dangers she hath sustained for you; and forget not her, who as the Poet could say, *Quae decem longes<sup>3</sup> tulerit fastidia menses:*"<sup>4</sup>

and—

"O, be not of their mindes that say, They care not for their Parents offence, so they deserve it not: Yet inuert not the course of Nature by iudging your Superiors: for it is obseruable (as his Maiestie well noted) *That the Parents Blessing or Curse, hath almost euer a Propheticke power ioyned with it:*"<sup>5</sup>

and—

"The choice of his first wife is one of the greatest consequence he committeth in his whole life."<sup>6</sup>

How far its own merits and how far the statement on the title-page ensured its popularity—it went into its sixth edition in 1630<sup>7</sup>—cannot be determined. But it is

<sup>1</sup> Sig. F8<sup>a</sup> (cf. vol. i., p. 137, ll. 24-33).

<sup>2</sup> Sig. G2<sup>b</sup> (cf. vol. i., p. 171, l. 32 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>4</sup> Sig. A9<sup>b</sup>. Cf. vol. i., p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> Sig. A10<sup>a</sup>. Cf. vol. i., p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> P. 49. Cf. vol. i., p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> A similar work with the title *The Mother's Blessing*, by a Mrs Dorothy Leigh, was much more popular. First published also in 1616, it had reached its sixteenth edition by 1630.

unlikely that such a claim would have been put there unless it was believed that it would have a definite selling value. Such works show that *Basilicon Doron* was esteemed by the age, partly, at least, as a store-house of moral maxims, and help us to understand why on the eve of the Restoration in 1660 an old gentleman, remembering the days of his youth nearly half a century before, could recommend it among other books to his grandson in these words:—

“ I would commend unto you especially, for precepts of morality and virtuous education, Xenophon’s ‘Cyrus,’ and Tully’s ‘Offices,’ together with K. James’s ‘Basilikon Doron.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

Even after the Restoration of Charles II. to the throne of Great Britain Edward Waterhouse in his *Gentlemen’s Monitor* (1665) could put the work of his sovereign’s grandfather to the same use as Cleland and Scot had put it half a century or so before. Here in margins crammed with citations from classical writers the title of *Basilicon Doron* takes its place as marking quotations weighty enough to be promoted to the text instead of being relegated to the obscurity of the side of the page. As far as post-classical authorities it is one of an oddly assorted company which includes Petrarch, Holinshed, Sir Henry Wotton, Bishop Gauden, *Eikon Basilike*, and Archbishop Laud. The places where Waterhouse quotes *Basilicon Doron* are as follows: Sectio X., *Apt Marriage*, p. 81 (= p. 129, ll. 15-21); Sectio XIX., *Wicked and expensive Children*, p. 156 (= p. 11, ll. 21-22); Sectio XXXI., *Vain and Profuse Gaming*, p. 269 (= p. 195, ll. 23-30); Sectio XXXII. (properly XXXVI.), *Piety and Religion*, p. 324 (= p. 27, ll. 22-33); Sectio XXXVI. (properly XXXVII.), *Due politure in Youth*, p. 337 (= p. 189, ll.

<sup>1</sup> Higford, *Institution of a Gentleman, or Advice to his Grandson*, printed in the *Harleian Miscellany* (1812), vol. ix., p. 592; quoted by W. G. Blaikie Murdoch, *The Royal Stewarts* (1908), p. 134. Higford’s book was published posthumously in 1658, a year after his death. He had been born in 1580.

17-18) ; Sectio XL., *Avoidance of disparaging Marriages*, p. 372 (= p. 131, ll. 21-22) ; Sectio XLII., *Great Men, To conform to the Laws*, p. 397 (= p. 105, ll. 11-19). In addition, at Sectio XXXII., *Pompous Housekeeping a great Decay to Families*, p. 278, the margin carries a reference to the Third Book of *Basilicon Doron* against the following passage, which is incidentally an excellent specimen of Waterhouse's normal prose style :—

“ Greatness of minde is seen in brave and aequanimous Designs, proportionated by such an aequature as has no less or more then the true poise and ingredients that it ought ; the recession from which, causes excesses of both hands, whence the unwelcome and defaming fates are, which they avoid that model things in and out of the house after the temper of true Harmony, wherein every note has its location and air peculiar to it, and conform to the consent of the whole, which is sutably ornamental and beauteous in Housekeeping to other things.”

It is difficult to trace in this verbiage any likeness to anything said by King James ; if he had written as obscurely his book might have been less popular than it was, for Waterhouse's never reached even a second edition.

One of the last acknowledged borrowings from *Basilicon Doron* made in the seventeenth century, if not actually the very last, is that to be found in the work entitled *Advice to a Young Lord* which appeared anonymously in 1691. There the following passage appears :—

“ In the choice of your exercise, affect none that are over robust and violent ; . . . but let them be moderate, and withal Virile, and Masculine ; such as Riding the Great Horse, and Hunting, whose Encomiums are celebrated by the most Famous of the Antient, as well as Modern Writers . . . if you have



a mind to see a large commendation of it in a few words, I refer you to King James *de Officio Regis*, Lib .3." <sup>1</sup>

Much of the work from which this quotation comes is taken unchanged and without acknowledgment from the *Instructions to his Son* (1661), written by the 1st Marquis of Argyll while he was a prisoner in the Tower of London. The most interesting thing about the quotation is that down to "Great Horse" it is word for word Argyll, while the recommendation to read *Basilicon Doron* is the addition of the unnamed author of the *Advice to a Young Lord*.<sup>2</sup> Argyll's book was written with an eye to Scottish conditions, and when he advised his son to "cherish and maintain the Ministers of the Gospel, especially Pious and Learned Preachers" he repeated a piece of advice which King James had already given his son.<sup>3</sup> These words also are repeated in *Advice to a Young Lord*,<sup>4</sup> where they seem to be somewhat pointless.

But it was not only young men to whom it could be commended for their guidance. When the Rev. William Pemberton, B.D., came to preach the assizes sermon at Hertford in 1619,<sup>5</sup> he drew on *Basilicon Doron* for some of his exhortations to the judges who were his hearers. Thus, he reminded them of—

"That worthy saying of our most *learned & religious King* in a solemne disputation in the *Vniuersitie*. *The King himselfe ought to obey the Minister,*

<sup>1</sup> P. 32.

<sup>2</sup> It is also interesting to note that in Argyll's *Instructions*, p. 105, there follows here a passage in praise of golf; in the later work this becomes praise of tennis.

<sup>3</sup> *Instructions to his Son*, p. 35. For the similar passage in *Basilicon Doron* see vol. i., p. 79, above.

<sup>4</sup> P. 21.

<sup>5</sup> "The Charge of God and the King, to Iudges and Magistrates, for execution of Iustice. In a Sermon preached . . . at the Assizes at Hartford, by William Pemberton, B.D., and Minister at high-Ongar, Essex. (London. 1619.)" The preacher, so far as can be discovered, was no relation to the John Pemberton who made the Spanish translation of *Basilicon Doron* which has survived in manuscript.

as to a spirituall Physician prescribing to him out of the word of God. This accords with his *Maiesties* instructions to the *Prince* his eldest sonne; When any of the spirituall office-bearers in the Church speaketh vnto you any thing that is well warranted by the word, reuerence and obey them as the heralds of the most high God;”<sup>1</sup>

reminded them that—

“Euery good King ought to acknowledge that God hath aduanced him, as a little *God*, to sit on the Throne;”<sup>2</sup>

and told them that—

“The power of gouernment is as well *onus* as *honos*,”<sup>3</sup>

by way of leading up to an exhortation to the judges to do their duty under the king.

Thomas Fuller, best remembered for his *Worthies of England*, makes no acknowledgment of indebtedness to *Basilicon Doron* in his *Holy and Profane States* (1642). But that he had read and admired it is shown by his commendation of it in Book IV., ch. 19, *The Prince or Heir apparent*, Maxim 5, p. 338, of that work, where he says—

“Next to Gods word, our Prince studies *Basilicon Doron*, that Royall gift, which onely King James was able to give, and onely his sonne worthy to receive.”

It is therefore perhaps not merely idle fancy which finds traces of the influence of the earlier work in such remarks of his as these in *The Holy State*—Book I., ch. 3, *The good Husband*, Maxim 4, p. 8, “*That she may not intr trench on his prerogative, he maintains her (i.e., his wife’s) propriety in feminine affairs*” (cf. p. 135, ll. 16-19); Book I., ch. 5, *The good Parent*, Maxim 3, p. 12, “His main land

<sup>1</sup> P. 18. Cf. vol. i., p. 49, above. <sup>2</sup> P. 20. Cf. vol. i., p. 25, above.  
<sup>3</sup> P. 21. Cf. vol. i., p. 7.

he settles on the oldest: for where man takes away the birth-right, God commonly takes away the blessing from a family" (cf. p. 135, l. 31 sqq.); Book II., ch. 20, *The good Souldier*, Maxim 7, p. 122, "*He will not in a bravery expose himself to needlesse perill*" (cf. p. 103, ll. 16-22); Book IV., ch. 19, *The Prince*, Maxim 13, p. 340, "*He conceives they will be most loving to the branch, which were most loyall to the root, and most honour'd his father*" (cf. p. 67, ll. 30-34): and this from the *Profane State*, Book V., ch. 17, *The Tyrant*, Maxims 2 and 3, p. 445, "He takes the Laws at the first, rather by undermining then assault. Afterwards he rageth freely in innocent bloud" (cf. p. 55, l. 31 sqq.).<sup>1</sup>

With the approach of the Civil War *Basilicon Doron* furnished matter for two pamphlets, both written by controversialists on the king's side. One, entitled *The Dutie of a King in his Royal Office*, consisted of the Second Book of *Basilicon Doron*, to which were prefixed the six paragraphs from the opening part of James's *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609, where are set forth the nature and power of true kings. The other, called *A Puritane set forth*, applied to the supporters of the Parliamentary cause what James had said about the Puritans in 1603. Even forty years later the king's book was felt to have a message for the times. When the Whig agitation which later culminated in the Rye House Plot against Charles II. was in full course, James's criticism of the Puritans was again extracted from it and published in a pamphlet, entitled *A Just Vindication of the Honour of King James of Blessed Memory Against the vile aspersions cast upon it, and Him*, in order to discredit the sectaries who followed the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Such allusions to it and such uses of it suggest that the studied praises of a courtier-scholar like Sir Henry

<sup>1</sup> For a slightly different view of Fuller's borrowings from King James, see Walter E. Houghton, Jun., *The Formation of Thomas Fuller's 'Holy and Profane States'* (Cambridge, Mass. 1938), p. 146, note 25.

Savile, or a courtier-politician like Sir Francis Bacon,<sup>1</sup> arose from a genuine admiration for it and are not merely courtly adulation.

The next phase set in about the time of the Revolution of 1688, when the fashion began of attaching the stigma of pedantry to James and his writings. *Basilicon Doron* was not completely forgotten or overlooked, for Collier's *Great Dictionary* (ed. of 1707) could say of it that it was well known, which incidentally was the only remark that Stark, *Biographica Scotica* (1805), thought worth making about it a century later. Evidence of a lack of interest in it, however, is to be found in the omission of any mention of it from all the editions of Horace Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, first published in 1759, till Thomas Park revised and added to that work at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even since then it has not always received the notice one would have expected. Thus, T. F. Henderson dismisses it in one sentence on p. 124 of his extremely detailed *James VI. and I.* (1904). The *Cambridge History of English Literature* refers to it only in connection with the pirated edition of 1603.<sup>2</sup> J. H. Millar, *Literary History of Scotland* (1910), merely notes that in it we see James's not unnatural dislike to Presbyterianism in full vigour,<sup>3</sup> and quotes with disapproval in a footnote the views expounded in it on the nature of poetry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Savile's Dedication to King James of his edition of the *Works* of Chrysostom, published in 1612: "De cæteris immortalitate dignissimis ingenij tui monumentis in omni fere disciplinarum varietate, quæ magno cum mundi stupore leguntur, facilius est tacere, quam pauca dicere. Vnus mehercle βασιλικὸν Δῶρον libellus ad effigiem iusti & moderati imperij à te conscriptus, omneis omnium philosophorum, in hoc quidem genere, disputationes, & auctoritatis pondere, & vtilitatis vbertate videtur, me iudice, superare." Bacon, *Advancement of Learning: The Second Book*: "I cannot but mention, *honoris causa*, your Majesty's excellent book touching the duty of a king: a work richly compounded of divinity, morality, and policy, with great aspersion of all other arts; and being in mine opinion one of the most sound and healthful writings that I have read." (*Works*, ed. Spedding and Ellis, vol. iii., p. 429.) A Latin version of this passage is to be found in Bacon's later work, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Book VII., ch. 2. (*Works*, ed. Spedding and Ellis, vol. i., p. 727.)

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. (1909), p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> P. 167.

<sup>4</sup> P. 165.



The *Encyclopædia Britannica* only says that it is strongly Protestant in tone.<sup>1</sup>

The general lack of esteem into which the writings of James fell after the Revolution of 1688 must be taken to cover *Basilicon Doron* as well as his more political and polemical writings. This change in opinion was a direct result of that political upheaval. Earlier, his person, his manners, and his morals had come in for bitter attack in highly partisan works such as Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*, Weldon's *Court and Character of James I.*, and Mrs Lucy Hutchinson's *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, which, unfortunately, have each contributed not a little to form the opinion usually held of James as somebody shallow, vain, and contemptible. But it was only towards the end of the seventeenth century that the serious and sustained assault upon his literary reputation really began, though Osborne already had sneered at his learning when he wrote in his *Advice to a Son* (1656) :—

“ *King James* had such an over esteem of his own *Learning*, that he Imagined all who deserved in that kind, robbed the Monument he sought to build to his Fame : the Foundation of which he fondly conceived to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Posterity at the same rate his Flatterers set them up to in his life time.”<sup>2</sup>

Nor is the reason far to seek or hard to find, for James has been the victim of both political and religious prejudice. With the flight of his grandson in 1688 the line of monarchs who had reigned and ruled by Divine Right came to an end for ever, and parliamentary monarchs took their place. Party feeling ran far higher then than now, and the triumphant party in the English Revolution was little inclined to spare its fallen opponents, for these had been overcome only after a struggle lasting nearly

<sup>1</sup> 11th ed., vol. xv., p. 137 ; 14th ed., vol. xii., p. 877.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. of 1673, p. 11.

three-quarters of a century, in which they, when they had had the upper hand, had not dealt too tenderly with their enemies. So when James II. ceased to be king of Great Britain, it was not an individual who fell but a whole conception of kingship, and its discredit covered all who had ever supported it. Now, therefore, that the Divine Right of Kings had in England passed into history and was no longer a living issue, hate turned into contempt, and the greatest contempt was naturally felt for him who had first preached it, and preached it consistently and insistently in all men's ears. This was James I. of Great Britain, the author of *Basilicon Doron*. He, like Duns Scotus, suffered in reputation, because he had stood at the head of the side which had lost and was now vanquished for ever. But beside the political reason there was another. A change had come over English literary taste with the Restoration of 1660, and now everything written before that date was out-moded and appeared barbarous and unpolished. Not even Shakespeare, it will be remembered, wholly escaped the censure of the Restoration wits and the fine gentlemen of the eighteenth century, and his plays had to be freely adapted to find acceptance with the playgoers of these times. The writings of King James were by now definitely old-fashioned; a work like *Basilicon Doron* lacked the wit to captivate the coffee-house frequenters of the days of Queen Anne.

One of the first to move to the attack seems to have been Roger Coke, in whose *Detection of the Court and State of King James* (1696), the following passage appears:—

“ This King's Learning wherein he and his flatterers so much boasted, was a Scandal to his Crown; for all his writings against *Bellarmino* and *Peron*, of the Papal power of *King-Killing* and *King-Deposing*, were only Brawls and Contentions, and no Learning on one side nor the other.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 130.

Here it was only James's controversial writings that were excepted against. But when Echard published his *History of England* in 1707, he widened the scope of the attack and set the fashion of decrying James's learning by declaring that it bordered more upon pedantry than rose to complete understanding.<sup>1</sup>

The work of depreciation was carried on by Burnet's *History of his own Times*, which appeared posthumously in 1723. There, in a very unfavourable pen-portrait of James, it is said of him that while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment.<sup>2</sup> A few years later Oldmixon's *History of England* (1730) gave Echard's remarks further currency by quoting them verbatim.<sup>3</sup> So Bolingbroke was only paraphrasing earlier writers when he said in his *Idea of a Patriot King*, first printed in 1738, that James had all the pedantic appearances of a scholar.<sup>4</sup> Finally Pope embalmed the common view for ever when he wrote these lines for the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad*, which he published separately in 1742 :—

“ Oh, cried the goddess, for some pedant reign ;  
Some gentle James to bless the land again ;  
To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,  
Give laws to words, or war with words alone,  
Senates and courts with Greek and Latin rule,  
And turn the council to a grammar-school.”

(ll. 175-180.)

By this time the image was fixed, the legend established. In the early part of the next century one historian of repute and two men of genius lent their authority to reinforce what was now accepted almost without question. The historian was Lingard, who wrote of James that his literary pride and self-sufficiency and the ostentatious display which he made of his learning provoked the contempt of real scholars, though they won the flattery

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 979.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. of 1724, vol. i., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. of 1749, p. 216.

of his attendants and courtiers.<sup>1</sup> Already in 1822, only a few years earlier, Sir Walter Scott's novel of London and the court of James, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, had appeared, the fifth chapter of which contains a carefully drawn but not very flattering portrait of the king, who is characterised as deeply learned without possessing useful knowledge, as a wit who was also a pedant, and as a scholar fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Then in 1831 appeared Macaulay's *Essay on John Hampden*, in which he gave his character of King James; in him, he said, there seemed to meet all the most ridiculous weaknesses, and the first of them he named was pedantry; then, admitting that James was a man of learning, he went on to add that he wrote and spoke, not well, but still in a manner incredibly good for one so foolish. It will be remembered that Macaulay was somewhat similarly puzzled by the excellence of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. So Craik was expressing no novel point of view when in his *History of English Literature* (1871) he lumped *Basilicon Doron* with the rest of James's writings, and declared them all to be of little value, either theological or literary, declaring their author to have been a person of no depth either of learning or of judgment, though he was, Craik admitted, of some reading in the single province of theology, was also of considerable shrewdness and readiness, and was possessed of an inexhaustible flow of words which, it is asserted, he mistook for eloquence and genius.<sup>2</sup> So Professor G. M. Trevelyan has plenty of precedent for calling James "every inch a pedant."<sup>3</sup> All this is very different from the description of James given by the seventeenth-century Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* as a famous scholar himself and the sole patron, pillar, and sustainer of learning,<sup>4</sup> or from Clarendon's, in his *History of the*

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. vi. (1825), p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (16th ed. 1937), p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Part I., Sect. II., Mem. III., Subsect. XV.; ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. i., p. 370. This compliment was written after James was dead.



*Rebellion*, where it is said that the king was a prince of more learning and knowledge than any other of that reign.<sup>1</sup>

The detractors of King James as a writer, however, had their own way unchallenged for only a comparatively short time, and before the attack upon his reputation had gone on for little more than half a century protests began to be made against the injustice done to him when he was criticised unfavourably for qualities not peculiar to himself but common to his age. The first two attempts at rehabilitation both appeared about 1760, and may perhaps from their date be associated with the early stages of the reaction against the severe classicism of the eighteenth century and its depreciation of nearly everything before 1660. But it is perhaps more significant that they were both made by Scotsmen who were leaders in the intellectual life of Edinburgh, which in the mid-eighteenth century made it the rival of London as the literary capital of Britain.

One of these defenders was David Hume, who declared in his *History of England* that though King James might be a middling writer he was by no means a contemptible one, and pointed out that many of the views for which he had been reproached had been held by men of far greater genius, such as Napier of Merchiston and Sir Isaac Newton.<sup>2</sup> The other defender, Hume's fellow-countryman and friend, Principal Robertson, made a similar plea, but in more general terms, for not viewing James apart from his age. Recognising that great changes in taste had come about since such a work as *Basilicon Doron* had been written, he yet in his *History of Scotland* gave it as his opinion that that work was no mean performance, and one not inferior to the works of most of its writer's contemporaries, whether either the purity of the style be considered or the justness of the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Macray (1888), vol. i., p. 11. Clarendon's book was not published till the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, thirty years after his death, so that the view it expressed was already out of date.

<sup>2</sup> Hume, *History of England* (ed. of 1812), vol. vi., p. 196.

composition. He admitted that its vain parade of erudition was distasteful to his own age, but explained, what was true, that it had raised the admiration of King James's contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Arguments similar to those of both these writers have been advanced in our own day by Professor C. J. Sisson, who has pointed out that the belief in witchcraft, condemned in James, is excused in Burton and Sir Thomas Browne, and who also holds that as a prose-writer he falls behind only the greatest writers of English prose.<sup>2</sup> In this opinion he goes far beyond the late Professor Saintsbury, who was not willing to allow that James was any more than a good plain writer.<sup>3</sup> Another historian who thought that the king had been harshly judged was Ranke, who agreed in his *History of England* that the pedantry in his works was due to the taste of his times, and not wholly or exclusively to the temper of his own mind.<sup>4</sup> Isaac D'Israeli even denied that any pedantry was to be found there, and quoted as awareness of the fault, and therefore apparently of any liability to commit it, the passage from *Basilicon Doron* in which Prince Henry was warned against using "book-language and ink-horn terms,"<sup>5</sup> and also that in which he was advised to write in his own language and not in Latin or Greek, if he had any mind to become an author.<sup>6</sup> On this last piece of advice D'Israeli commented that no scholar of a pedantic taste could have dared so complete emancipation from ancient, yet not obsolete, prejudices at a time when many English authors still imagined that there was no fame for them unless they neglected their maternal tongue for the idiom of ancient Rome.<sup>7</sup> With views like these M'Crie, the biographer of Knox and Andrew Mel-

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, *History of Scotland* (ed. of 1797), vol. iii., p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Sisson, "King James the First of England as Poet and Political Writer," in *Seventeenth-Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* (1938), pp. 49-50.

<sup>3</sup> Saintsbury, *History of English Literature* (various dates), p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke, *History of England*, English trans. (1875), vol. i., p. 470.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> D'Israeli, *Miscellanies of Literature* (1840), p. 327.

ville, and no friend to the son of Mary Queen of Scots, would have agreed. The literary merits of *Basilicon Doron*, he wrote, were not contemptible, and it was in a great measure free from that disgusting vice of pedantry which was so conspicuous in James's other works.<sup>1</sup> To R. Chambers it was a work of much good sense.<sup>2</sup> Further evidence of much the same kind could be quoted to show that the first king of Great Britain has not been without his admirers and champions, but this will perhaps suffice. Others have appeared in our own century, particularly in the period between the two world wars. In addition to Professor Sisson's essay noted above, there have been some very appreciative pages in Mr Charles Williams' study of the king,<sup>3</sup> and Dr Agnes Mure Mackenzie has spoken of its shrewd and racy vigour in setting forth its ideal of kingship.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the reign of James I. of Great Britain is so great that it is perhaps impossible to view the man himself with a detachment wholly freed from political prejudice. But if the attempt is made to view him dispassionately as a writer only, the final judgment ought not to be completely unfavourable. Whatever may be true of his theological writings and his contributions to the political controversies of his time, there is little of pedantry in the text of *Basilicon Doron*, though perhaps an undue display of erudition in the margins; but this need in no way interfere with our enjoyment of the text. It is written, too, in a straightforward and easy manner, eschewing most of the stylistic tricks of the period, and flexible enough to allow of the employment of racy colloquialisms and a naturally earnest eloquence

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (1819), vol. ii., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> R. Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1854), vol. v., p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Williams, *James I.* (1934), pp. 136-146.

<sup>4</sup> Dr A. M. Mackenzie, *The Scotland of Queen Mary* (1936), pp. 263-264. She has also mentioned it briefly in her *Scottish Literature to 1714* (1933), p. 199, but by what must be a slip, speaks there of it as if it had been originally written for Prince Henry's younger brother, Prince Charles.

without either clashing with the other. King James was a natural writer who wrote out of a well-stocked mind, the contents of which he could readily command. Had he used his native literary gifts on subjects in which later generations could find more of interest than they do, his reputation as a writer would have stood much higher than it is usually placed.



## III.

THE LITERARY ANTECEDENTS OF  
*BASILICON DORON*.

THE first to provide *Basilicon Doron* with any kind of literary pedigree was Jean Hotman, Seigneur de Villiers, the author of the authorised French translation of 1603, who associated it in his *Preface du Traducteur* with similar works by three Byzantine Emperors.<sup>1</sup> These were the *Adhortationes* of Basil I., the Macedonian (867-886), written for the benefit of his son, Leo VI., the Wise; the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus<sup>2</sup> (913-959), addressed to his son, Romanus II., and the *Præcepta Educationis Regiæ* of Manuel II., Palæologus (1391-1425), intended for the instruction of his son, John VII.<sup>3</sup> Whether, however,

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 5-6, "Des siecles precedens nous sont restez trois beaux traitez de trois Empereurs de Constantinople, adressés par les peres à leurs fils, qu'ils destinoient heritiers & de leur vertu & de leur empire : asçavoir de Basile le Macedonien, de Constantin huitième, & d'Emanuel le Paleologue, & ne doute pas qu'autres Rois chrestiens n'en ayent usé de mesme : puis qu'il est ordinaire & naturel qu'un pere enseigne son art à son enfant. A l'exemple de ces Rois, ce grand Roy escriuit trois ans y a ce Discours, pour l'instruction de Monseigneur le Prince son aîné." The reference to other Christian monarchs may be to St Louis of France, the existence of the MS. of whose *Enseignements à son fils* was apparently quite a well-known fact at the time when Hotman wrote (see Primaudaye's *French Academie* (English trans. of 1618), p. 272); to Louis XI. of France, whose *Rosier des guerres* had been printed in 1521; and to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V., whose various Testaments are mentioned later in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Not Constantine VIII., as Hotman says.

<sup>3</sup> The first two may be read in Banduri, *Imperium Orientale* (1711), and the third with Manuel's other works in Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. clvi. In every case a Latin translation accompanies the original Greek text.

the jejune moral precepts of Basil or the detailed account of the political state and the resources of the Eastern Roman Empire which Constantine gave supplied anything for *Basilicon Doron* is an open question. There were, as we shall see, other and more likely sources for both its ethical and its political content. In any case, it is not easy to see how James could know much about the *De Administrando Imperio*, for the *editio princeps* of it was apparently not printed till 1611, thirteen years after *Basilicon Doron* was written. The probability is that their association with *Basilicon Doron* by Hotman was intended as a compliment to King James by seeming to put him on a level with these illustrious and royal authors. For it should be remembered that the art of authorship was in those days thought to be beneath the dignity of a monarch.

When the folio edition of King James's English *Workes* came out in 1616 it was provided by the editor, the Bishop of Winchester, with a dedication to Prince Charles in which the same three names were again cited, and a sixteenth-century one added to them, that of the Emperor Charles V.<sup>1</sup> This more modern precedent had also occurred to the John Pemberton who was the author of the MS. Spanish version of *Basilicon Doron*,<sup>2</sup> but neither he nor the bishop indicated whether he had in mind the genuine political writings of the Emperor or the pseudograph which passes under his name. Of the authentic writings the most likely are the two papers of advice which Charles drew up for the instruction of his son Philip in 1543 when he left him as Regent in Spain, and the instructions which

<sup>1</sup> Sig. a3<sup>b</sup>, "Basilius wrote *de Institutione Principis* to his Sonne Leo; Constantinus to his Sonne Romanus; Manuell to his Sonne Iohannes; and Charles the fift to his Sonne Philip. His Maiestie, after the Example of those Emperours, and sundry other Kings, wrote his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΡΟΝ to Prince Henry, your Highnesse most worthy Brother."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 171, below. Despite what Pemberton says, no contemporary English rendering of Charles V.'s political writings seems to be known; at least, neither the British Museum's *Catalogue of Printed Books* nor Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640* (1926), makes any mention of a printed one. But one may have circulated in manuscript and been lost since.

he sent him in January 1548.<sup>1</sup> Both deal in detail not only with policy but with administration, and with foreign relationships as well as with internal affairs. The first is the narrower in scope since it treats of Spain only, and much of it is taken up with sketching the characters of the various ministers with whom Philip will have to work. Foreign affairs bulk largely in the second, but an important topic is the necessity for Philip to marry in order to secure the succession to the throne of Spain in the family of Charles's descendants. These documents, then, have a general resemblance to those parts of *Basilicon Doron* in which King James applies himself to the problem of governing Scotland. The scale, of course, is vastly different. Charles is concerned with all Western Europe and the Indies beyond the Atlantic; James only with a kingdom smaller in size than many of the provinces of Charles's vast and scattered dominions. The Emperor has to give advice on how to treat with kings and princes and with the Pope, and seldom departs from matters of high policy; the King of Scotland confines himself almost entirely to the problems created by his own subjects and arising from the political ambitions of the ministers of the Kirk, the turbulent and unruly habits of the Scottish nobles, the touchiness of the craftsmen in the towns, and the self-interest of the merchants. The likeness, then, is general and not particular, and may quite well arise from the similarity in the position and purpose of the two writers. There is, however, one other likeness between Charles's instructions of 1548 and *Basilicon Doron*. These

<sup>1</sup> They may most conveniently be read in summary in Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V.* (second ed. 1910), vol. ii., pp. 78-84, for the papers of 1543, and pp. 206-213 for the instructions of 1548; or Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V.* (English trans. 1939), pp. 485-493, and pp. 583-586. The Spanish text of the document of 1548 is printed with a French translation in Weiss, *Papiers d'état du Cardinal Granvelle* (1842), vol. iii., pp. 267-318. It contains (*op. cit.*, p. 307) the following reference to Scotland: "Quant aux Écossais, si vous réussissez à conclure avec eux un traité pour la sûreté du commerce et de la navigation, c'est tout que vous pouvez attendre de ce côté." His last Testament, dated 6th June 1554, dealt mainly with the inheritance of the dynastic lands. (See Brandi, *op. cit.*, pp. 630-631.)

were written at a time when the Emperor was so ill that he believed himself to be in danger of death, and, says his biographer, had therefore resolved, in view of the uncertainties of his life, to trace for his son the path he should pursue as king.<sup>1</sup> The last clause here might equally well stand, as we have already seen, as a statement of the origin and purpose of King James's book.

These writings of the Emperor Charles V. devote themselves to the practical business of governing, and, unlike *Basilicon Doron*, say little or nothing about the principles by which a prince should be guided in managing his affairs. But there was in circulation by the end of the sixteenth century a supposititious work passing under Charles's name in which some general rules are laid down for a prince's guidance in peace and war.<sup>2</sup> It purported to have been written by him when he had finally made up his mind to renounce the crown of Spain in Philip's favour and to have been intended for that prince's benefit. It is not usually accepted as genuine, and probably passed itself off under his name to gain reputation and circulation. We cannot be sure that James knew the genuine political writings of Charles, but there is a strong probability that he knew this work, for when Giacomo Castelvetro was in Scotland for some indefinite period between 1591 and 1595, he presented the king with an Italian version of it in a manuscript which he had written out himself.<sup>3</sup> Some of the advice it gives seems to be echoed in *Basilicon Doron*. Thus, the *Discourse*, as it calls itself, speaks of the heavy weight which is to be placed on Philip's shoulders, and Prince Henry is reminded that God has laid the heavy weight of a great charge on

<sup>1</sup> Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V.* (second ed. 1910), vol. ii., p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> For this alleged Testament, see R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, vol. iii. (1925), pp. 407-408, and the references given there.

<sup>3</sup> This MS. is now in the National Library of Scotland, where its press-mark is MS. 23.I.6. Its title-page, letter of dedication, and colophon are printed in *The Works of William Fowler* (Scottish Text Society), vol. iii. (1940), p. cxxvii note, and p. cxxix note.



his.<sup>1</sup> Again, it likens a prince to a mirror in which his subjects may see themselves, and James more than once uses a similar comparison.<sup>2</sup> Then, its advice never to rely too much on one minister is to be found in *Basilicon Doron* in almost the same words as it uses.<sup>3</sup> So, too, its recommendation that the recipient of it should visit each of his dominions often is not unlike James's to Prince Henry to visit each of his kingdoms once every three years.<sup>4</sup> Further, when it advises frequent audiences at which the prince is to be accessible to all,<sup>5</sup> the hearing of complaints patiently, and the taking heed that the great do not use their power to oppress the weak,<sup>6</sup> its advice can be paralleled from King James's book. Yet the likeness of the one work to the other may be due to their common descent, to which we must now turn.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 2a, "m'e paruto ben fatto di porre questo grieve peso sopra le vostre spalle." Cf., however, vol. i., pp. 7-8, above.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 3b, "i prencipi sono come uno specchio agli occhi de sudditi loro esposti." Cf. vol. i., pp. 2, 1; 27, 10; 34, 9; and 104, 7, above. This comparison, however, was a commonplace with writers on political theory.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 11b, "non vi riposate giamai sopra un solo." Cf. vol. i., p. 121, 12, above.

<sup>4</sup> Fol. 16b, "il prencipe debbe spesso visitare le sue signorie." Cf. vol. i., p. 97, 14, above. The *Discourse*, however, continues quite differently from *Basilicon Doron*.

<sup>5</sup> Fol. 16b, "sieno l'audienze agevole, larghi, & frequenti." Cf. vol. i., p. 85, 19, above.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. 16b, "udite i querelanti patientamente, & con benignita respondete loro, & provedete che la potenza de maggiori, la ragion de minori non soprafaccia." Cf. vol. i., p. 69, 20-22 above.

<sup>7</sup> If it still exists and is ever brought to light, the composition attributed by Bishop Montague to Mary, Queen of Scots, may prove interesting as a source for *Basilicon Doron*. In his Preface to the 1616 folio of King James's English *Workes*, sig. c4<sup>a</sup>, he says that "*The Queene his Maiesties Mother, wrote a Booke of Verses in French of the Institution of a Prince, all with her owne hand, wrought the Couer of it with her needle, and is now of his Maiestie esteemed as a most pretious Jewell.*" This work has long since disappeared, but in the Catalogue of the Books presented to Edinburgh University Library in 1626 by the poet Drummond of Hawthornden, there is other contemporary evidence for its former existence; on p. 23 of this there is included among the Queen's works a volume whose title is given as "*Tetrasticha ou Quatrains à Son fils. MS.*" This, of course, may not have been identical with the volume referred to by Bishop Montague, but only a copy of it; in any case, it too has long been lost. The last person to claim personal knowledge of the Queen's book was apparently Sanderson, who wrote in his *Compleat History* (1656), p. 262, "*Queen Mary of Scotland wrote*

Modern readers, probably without exception, find the most interesting pages of *Basilicon Doron* to be those in which the state of Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century is described as it appeared to the monarch on the throne, and wish that more had been said on that topic and less space given to advice on conduct and behaviour; yet it was for what it said on these subjects that the book was most highly valued by its first readers. Each age has its own interests. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were more interested in the systematic exposition of ethics and manners than this one is, and in *Basilicon Doron* they found summed up in a concise fashion the teaching of their own and several earlier

a Book of Verses in *French* of the *Institution* of a *Prince*, all with her own hand, wrought the Cover with her Needle, which the *King* kept as a Relick of her Memory, as I have seen." How much reliance is to be placed on his evidence is uncertain, for elsewhere in his book he reveals himself as little more than a mere transcriber of other men's words. Thus, his account of *Basilicon Doron* on p. 223 is taken word for word from Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, and it can easily be seen that the sentence just quoted from him has been transferred, practically unchanged, from Bishop Montague's *Preface*, all except the last clause. At the beginning of this century an exhaustive search was made for it by Mrs P. Stewart-Mackenzie Arbuthnot, but with no success. (See her *Queen Mary's Book* (1907), p. 33.) There is, however, no certainty that it was an original work. Julius Sharman, *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots* (1889), p. 36, suggested that it was merely a copy made by the queen of some existing work. It has been noted that when what still remained in Edinburgh Castle of Queen Mary's library was inventoried in 1578 one of the volumes was entered as "The Gouvernament of Princes writtin in parchement." (*Inventaires de la Roynne Descosse* (Bannatyne Club. 1863), p. cxliii.)

Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), p. 511, includes "Monita Regalia ad filium, lib. i," among the compositions he attributes to Queen Mary, but it is doubtful if he had any other authority for his statement than Bishop Montague's *Preface*. Thomas Park, in one of the additions which he made to Horace Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, as printed in Walpole's *Works* (1798), vol. i., pp. 494-495, credited Mary with two works, a "Royal advice to her son, in two books," and "The institution of a prince, in French verse; she translated it with her own hand and embroidered the cover." He gives no authority for the first of these, but it is obviously Tanner, as Bishop Montague's *Preface* is for the second; his statement that she translated it with her own hand seems to be his own addition.

By the time, however, that he came to reprint the *Royal and Noble Authors* separately in 1806, he had changed his opinion, for in the account of Mary, Queen of Scots (vol. v., p. 36), these two works are identified with each other. There was no mention of the Scottish queen in the original edition of Walpole's book, published in 1758.

centuries.<sup>1</sup> There is in it no abstract reasoning, only practical rules which everyone could understand and all could follow if they would. Further, not only was much, if not all, of its content familiar, but so, too, was the form in which it was presented, since *Basilicon Doron* is very nearly, if not actually, the last English example of a class of writing once widely practised all over Western Europe.<sup>2</sup> The type has, however, been so long dead that though particular examples of it are still remembered and read, they are usually studied in isolation and their generic nature is overlooked.<sup>3</sup> To understand why this class of work was evolved we must look at the political circumstances out of which it took its rise.

The spread of parliamentary democracy in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, and with it the relegation of the monarch to a rôle often of little more than ceremonial importance, caused men to forget what their forefathers had well understood from their own experience, that

<sup>1</sup> James's own explanation for the brevity of his book, that he had no time to write a long one, that Prince Henry was still too young to read a long work, and that when he grew up he would have no time for any reading, will be found in his Preface *To the Reader*. See vol. i., p. 20, ll. 13-26.

<sup>2</sup> It had been a work of this kind that Sir David Lyndsay had wished James V. to study. Cf. his *Testament of the Papyngo*, ll. 304-308 :—

*Amang all vther pastyme and plesour,  
Now, in thy adolescent zeris zeing,  
Wald thou, ilk day, studie bot half one hour,  
The Regiment of princelie gouernyng,  
To thy peple it war ane plesand thyng.*

(Works, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society),  
vol. i. (1931), p. 65.)

Perhaps the English work with the best claim to be considered the last of the type is Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King*, published in 1739.

<sup>3</sup> In the paragraphs which follow I am much indebted to the writings of two American scholars, Lester K. Born, "The Perfect Prince," in *Speculum*, vol. iii. (1928), pp. 470-504; "Erasmus on Political Ethics," in *The Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xliii. (1928), pp. 520-543, with Bibliography; *The Education of a Christian Prince* (New York. 1936); and Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Fore-runners* (Duke University Press. 1938), with Bibliography. Between them these two scholars provide the material for an understanding of the type down to about 1520. On the verso of his title-page Dr Born prints the sonnet by King James which appears at the beginning of *Basilicon Doron*. It is distressing to a Scot to find him in his Index confusing that monarch with his great-grandfather, James IV.

whenever uncontrolled authority had put such absolute power into the hands of one individual that the only limits to his actions were those which he himself was pleased to recognise, then the weal of the State and the welfare of every citizen depended wholly on the aims and character of the absolute ruler, or prince, as the political writers called him. This process of concentrating all political power in one individual began for the modern world towards the end of the later Middle Ages, and increased so steadily that one student is able to write :—

“ Renaissance monarchs held a central place on the stage that can hardly now be understood. Their personal qualities could tremendously influence the well-being of their subjects. Over war and peace, religious freedom or persecution, economy or extravagance in managing public funds, prudence or dishonesty in control of the coinage, encouragement of commerce or hostility to it, the individual ruler could exercise a great and perhaps a controlling influence.” <sup>1</sup>

Extravagance and avarice on his part could equally lead to vexatious exactions, ambition to costly foreign wars, an interest in commerce to the stimulation of trade with increasing prosperity as a direct consequence, and a taste for letters to the fostering of learning and the arts. Now the men of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance no more preferred bad rulers to good than have the men of any other period, and to ensure that they should get the second kind rather than the first, they did what had seldom been attempted before, they endeavoured to make certain that the prince should be formed by training to discharge the duties of the high office to which he was called. No longer were they content to trust to nature and to the prince's own good sense, but they sought by education to mould his character so that he should be such a ruler as they desired. By that way good natures

<sup>1</sup> Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Fore-runners* (Duke University Press. 1938), p. 3.



would become better and bad ones be saved from becoming worse, to the ultimate great benefit both of princes and of subjects. Were it otherwise, one who came to great power without previous training might become corrupted though his first intentions were good, and one who was bad to start with would certainly deteriorate when he had no proper principles to guide him in the exercise of his power. So, as soon as the men of the Middle Ages began to reason about the State, they began to write treatises on the training of the prince. As the need for them was first felt where the rudimentary political organisation of earlier times had given way to the centralised State in which the oversight of the machinery of administration and of government demanded all the energies and the whole attention of the prince, it was in such States that they were first written. This explains why the earliest of them were written by natives of Britain, for it was in England that this type of State first developed under the later Norman kings.<sup>1</sup> The first of them was the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, which was finished in 1159, but in which the prince and his government is only one of the topics treated. The next was the *De Principis Institutione* of Gerald the Welshman, the first *Distinctio* of which, comprising nearly half of the whole work, is taken up with an exposition of the moral qualities which a prince ought to possess. This part of the work was probably written in the last decade of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> There had been one or two works of a similar kind in classical antiquity, such as the *Ad Nicoclem* of Isocrates in the fourth century B.C. and the *De Regno*, which Synesius of Cyrene addressed to the Emperor Arcadius at the close of the fourth century A.D. But for obvious reasons neither the city state of the Greeks, the Republic of the Romans, nor the empire which rose on its ruins was favourable to the growth of the type.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xiv-xvii of Warner's edition (1891) in the Rolls Series, where it is the eighth and last volume of Gerald's works. The first *Distinctio* is on the whole a dull work, the only really interesting passage being that on pp. 126-129 of Warner's edition, describing the discovery at Glastonbury of King Arthur's tomb. The other two *Distinctiones* are a history of Gerald's own times, in which Henry II. of England is held up as an awful example of the fate awaiting all who neglect the rules of conduct laid down in the earlier part of the book.

second half of the next century saw the appearance on the continent of three works, each of which had a wide and lasting influence. The earliest was probably the *Secretum Secretorum*, a mixture of ethics, manners, physiology, and medicine, which purported to be the reply of Aristotle to a letter from Alexander the Great asking how he should comport himself towards the inhabitants of the countries he had conquered, but which was in reality a Latin version of an Arabic work, conjectured to have been written in the eighth or ninth century A.D. by a member of the then flourishing Christian school of medicine in Syria.<sup>1</sup> Then, about 1265 there appeared the *De Regimine Principum* ascribed to Thomas Aquinas,<sup>2</sup> and, towards the end of the same century, the work of the same name by Egidio Colonna, tutor to Philip the Fair of France.<sup>3</sup> From then on similar works kept on

<sup>1</sup> See p. ix of Steele's edition of Lydgate and Burgh's *Secree of Philosophres* (Early English Text Society. Extra Series, No. LXVI.). The Latin text may most conveniently be read in the Oxford edition of Roger Bacon's *Opera hactenus Inedita*, vol. v. (1920). There were numerous versions made of it in a great variety of vernaculars. Steele edited three prose ones in English for the Early English Text Society (Extra Series, No. LXXIV.), and there is a Scottish version of it in *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1914), pp. 71-165. It was also the quarry whence many other writers drew much of their material, such as Jacques de Cessoles, a French version of whose book, *De moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scachorum*, was the source whence Caxton took the second English work which he printed, *The Game and Playe of Chesse* (1475). The early fifteenth century poet, Hoccleve, also drew upon it for his *Regement of Princes* (Early English Text Society. Extra Series, No. LXXII.). There is a Scots metrical version of Jacques de Cessoles' work in *The Asloan Manuscript* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1923), pp. 81-152, and a *Regiment of Kingis* was one of the pieces in the lost portion of the same MS.

<sup>2</sup> Only as far as Book II., ch. 4, roughly a quarter of the work is regarded as genuinely his, the rest being a continuation by his pupil, Ptolemy of Luca, Bishop of Torcelli. See Joseph Mathis, *Divi Thomæ Aquinatis De Regimine Principum* (Turin. 1924), pp. v-vii.

<sup>3</sup> It was written in Latin, but was soon translated into French at the command of Philip the Fair himself. For Colonna, who was of noble Roman birth but became an Augustinian canon, see *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xxx. (1888), pp. 421-566: his *De Regimine Principum* is described on pp. 517-539. In the reign of Edward VI. a verse translation of Colonna's work, under the title of *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelye Practise*, was made by a Sir William Forrest, priest, and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset for presentation to the king. It is now in the British Museum, press-mark MS. Royal 17 D. 3, and selections from it were printed by Herrtage, *England in the Reign of King Henry VIII.* (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, XXXII.), pp. lxxxv-cxix.

appearing in ever-increasing numbers, in manuscript till the printing-press was invented, and then as printed books ; and all the time copies of the older ones were also continually being produced. Colonna's work was being reprinted as late as the early years of the seventeenth century, having thus an active life of nearly four hundred years. Even the poets, both the great and the not so great, took their share in disseminating the ideas expounded by the men of letters, as some examples widely separated in time and place will show. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Italian Petrarch wrote, though in Latin and in prose, a work which he entitled *De Republica Optime Administranda*,<sup>1</sup> and a little later in the same century the English poet, Gower, gave over the greater part of the Seventh Book of his enormous poem, *Confessio Amantis*, to the moral qualities needed in the ruler.<sup>2</sup> The fashion even spread to Scotland. There, in addition to the translations noticed in a footnote on an earlier page, at least two original compositions were attempted. One was by an anonymous poet who composed about 1460 the poem with the title *De Regimine Principum* which forms the eleventh chapter of the Eleventh Book of the chronicle of Scottish history known as the *Liber Pluscardensis*. This was issued in black-letter from the press of Chepman and Myllar about the beginning of the next century, and also got itself copied into the Maitland Folio some time after the middle years of that same century.<sup>3</sup> The other was by the equally anonymous author of the Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik*, who introduced into the middle of his poem a long passage in which instruction of the kind provided by works of this type is given to King Arthur by a priest.<sup>4</sup> The last

<sup>1</sup> *Opera* (Basle. 1581), vol. i., pp. 372-386.

<sup>2</sup> *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Macaulay (1900), Book VII., ll. 1641-5438.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F. Skene (1877), vol. i., pp. 392-400 ; *The Maitland Folio*, ed. Sir William Craigie (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1919), pp. 115-125 ; *The Makculloch and Gray MSS.*, ed. Stevenson (Scottish Text Society. 1918), pp. 171-178.

<sup>4</sup> *Lancelot of the Laik*, ed. Gray (Scottish Text Society. 1912), ll. 1598-1998. In England, even Skelton, Henry VIII.'s Poet Laureate, wrote a *Speculum Principis*, but in Latin prose, in 1501 for the two sons of Henry VII. (See *Speculum*, vol. ix. (1934), pp. 121-132.)



examples to be cited will be taken from France. In that country two of the chief ornaments of the literary movement known as the Pléiade wrote poems of advice to their kings. First, the poet Du Bellay addressed a *Discours au Roi* to Francis II., the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots,<sup>1</sup> and shortly after that king was dead the greater Ronsard wrote for his brother and successor a similar poem under the title of *L'Institution pour L'Adolescence de Charles IX.*<sup>2</sup> In Renaissance times, when the fuller knowledge of the classics provided a far more abundant supply of material, there was hardly a scholar of note who failed to write a work of this nature. The effect of the Renaissance was, in fact, to stimulate their production, and the sixteenth century was the most prolific of all in this respect. Indeed, in the Bibliography to his article, *Erasmus on Political Ethics*,<sup>3</sup> Born is able to list well over a hundred such works produced in this period in countries as far apart as Portugal and Hungary, Italy and Sweden, and written not only in Latin but in the vernaculars of half a dozen countries; and this list, he says, is incomplete. When, however, kings ceased to control the destinies of Europe, such works became rarer and rarer and their readers fewer and fewer. Yet, where personal rule persisted, they lingered on, and Gilbert cites the case of the work by the Spanish Mendo, *Principe Perfecto y ministros ajustados*, which, written in 1657, was translated into Italian as late as 1816 for the benefit of those still living in Italy under the despotic power of the Bourbons.<sup>4</sup> For Britain *Basilicon Doron* virtually marks the end of this style of writing. Except for Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King*, addressed nearly a century and a half later to a prince of the House of Hanover, King James's book is the last work of its

<sup>1</sup> *Poésies Choisies* (Edition Lutetia. 1936), pp. 369-383.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain (Paris. 1866), vol. vii., pp. 33-38.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *The Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xliii. (1928), pp. 520-543.

<sup>4</sup> Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Fore-runners* (Duke University Press. 1938), p. 231.



kind to be written in English. But at the same time it helped to bridge the transition to a new kind of writing. By the time *Basilicon Doron* appeared the conception of an English gentleman in the modern sense of the word was developing, and writers of the seventeenth century found it profitable to produce works whose aim was to teach both manners and morals to their leisured contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> The ideals there inculcated had already a long history on the continent, going back to such fifteenth-century Italian educators as Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona, and had been enshrined for ever in the Italian prose of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. They were known to sixteenth-century Englishmen both through Sir Thomas Elyot's *Booke Named the Gouvernor* and through Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's work. But it was only with the coming of the seventeenth century that the pursuit of them began to be widely undertaken, though this was tinged with a moral earnestness largely unknown on the continent. This moral earnestness is strongly marked in *Basilicon Doron*, and its harmonising with the times, as well as the authority of the author, may help to account for the way in which it was laid under contribution by the English writers of courtesy books in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> It thus sees out one epoch and ushers in a new.

This is not the place to make an exhaustive survey of the type, the history of which has still to be written. But some attempt must be made to show how *Basilicon Doron* reproduces much that is to be found in other works of the same nature; additional illustrations of its close relationship to them will be found in the Notes to this edition. Where particular works are cited it is not to be understood that these were necessarily known to

<sup>1</sup> The English courtesy books, as they are usually called, are best studied in Ruth Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman*: "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," vol. xiv. (1929), pp. 1-288; and John E. Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia and London, 1935).

<sup>2</sup> W. Lee Ustick, *Advice to a Son*: "Studies in Philology," vol. 29 (1932), pp. 409-441.

James, though it will be shown later that some of them almost certainly were. Most of those drawn upon for illustration were the ones enjoying the widest popularity; that some of them were fairly distant in time from the date when *Basilicon Doron* was written shows how little the type changed with the passage of time.

Though the end aimed at was in general the same, in every case each writer handled his subject in his own way and made his own selection of topics. Gerald the Welshman was interested chiefly in moral topics. The *De Regimine Principum* of Thomas Aquinas is largely a work of political theory. Machiavelli regarded a state of war as natural for a prince, and in his book, *Il Principe*, framed his advice accordingly. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis* (1570), gave much space to the nurture and formal education of princes in their youth. Sturm's *De Educatione Principis* (1592) is an essay on the right choice of a royal tutor. In the *Basilicon Doron* there is little or no political theory. That had been dealt with by King James in his *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, published anonymously in 1598; it and *Basilicon Doron* are really complementary to each other, and should be regarded as the two halves of a single work. Nor has James anything to say about education in the narrower sense. His interest is chiefly in morals as the springs of conduct, and in the prince's manners. The first of these topics had been extensively studied in Patrizi, *De Regno et Regis Institutione* (c. 1494), and the second was dealt with at length in works like Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, and Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour*, both of which set forth the aristocratic ideals of the Renaissance. In one respect the practice of all was nearly uniform, they seldom made any reference to each other. Allusions like the two in Elyot to the *Institutio Christiani Principis* of Erasmus are rare.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Boke Named the Gouvernour*, Book I., ch. 11 (Everyman ed., p. 48), and Book III., ch. 11 (Everyman ed., p. 234). The statement in the text is more true of the Renaissance period than of the earlier one; the writers of the Middle Ages were not unwilling to admit their debts.

For the most part they all wrote as if they had had no predecessors in this particular kind of writing, and all made it appear as if they drew directly on the classical writers of Greece and Rome. In this respect *Basilicon Doron* is true to type; no one reading it without a knowledge of its background would ever dream that its own century and the ones immediately preceding it had seen similar works appear at the rate of one every five or six years, taking an average over the whole period; and this does not include reprints of previous works.

As well as the ancient classics, the Bible was a recognised source-book of maxims and illustrations. But its importance was greatest in the earlier period of production, and as knowledge of the classics grew the material drawn from them came more and more to predominate. Thus, Thomas Aquinas drew about equally from the Scriptures and from Aristotle, but to Patrizi at the end of the fifteenth century the classics were all in all; he has, in fact, only a single reference to the Bible,<sup>1</sup> and his volume is far from being a slim one. Another example will help to make the change clearer. The flood of legislation which proceeds from the modern parliaments of all countries would have appalled these earlier writers, for they taught, as *Basilicon Doron* does, that laws should be as few and as simple as possible.<sup>2</sup> In the fourteenth century Wyclif defended this opinion by arguments drawn from the Scriptures and from common-sense.<sup>3</sup> Two

<sup>1</sup> *De Regno* (ed. of 1582), fol. 93b: "Quis non intelligit ex his dictis Orpheum Mosaicam sapientiam attigisse."

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i., p. 147: "Preasse to drawe all your lawes and processes, to be as short & plaine as ye can."

<sup>3</sup> *De Officio Regis* (Wyclif Society. 1887), p. 56: "Oportet regem statuere leges iustas et per consequens lege domini regulatas ut secundum illas tam ipse quam sui subditi serviant in iusticia deo suo. Et patet prudentia quod leges ille sint pauce. Primo quia sunt principales excedentes statum innocentie; de talibus autem oportet servos dei solum necessariis contentari, quia superhabundancia distraheret multipliciter a lege dei. Secundo quia multitudo legum talium generaret confusionem et intricacionem ad ipsas cognoscendum et exsequendum, et per consequens necessitaret ad multiplicandum populum pro ipsis discendis, et subtraheret occupacionem sapientium regni pro ipsis interpretandis. Et tercio colligitur quod talis multitudo foret regno gravis

hundred years later the German humanist, Heresbach, said the same thing about the number and nature of laws, but now the statement was justified by a reference to the opinion of Plato on this very point, and by a comment from Isocrates.<sup>1</sup> *Basilicon Doron* draws on both sources, in this helping to form the fashion followed by the seventeenth-century writers of courtesy books. Like the *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina* (1580) of the Portuguese bishop, Osorio, it also goes to the history of its writer's native land for illustrations of the points it seeks to make.

While all indebtedness to post-classical writers was carefully concealed, there was no secret made of obligations to the writers of ancient Greece and Rome. The Greek writings most laid under contribution were the *Republic* and the *Laws* of Plato, and the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle for political and ethical theories, and Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* for illustrations. In Latin literature the works chiefly relied on were the *De Legibus*, the *De Finibus*, and especially the *De Officiis* of Cicero and the *Moral Essays* of Seneca, in all of which much ancient philosophy was to be found in a popular form, while Livy and Tacitus provided illustrations from the history of Rome. It is just these works which are most frequently cited in the margins of *Basilicon Doron*. This dependence on the classics strikes us as pedantic and unoriginal, but it was not felt to be so then. There was as yet no such separation between the classics and modern life as there is to-day, nor had there yet arisen the view now widely held, that the classics had no immediate or practical value. It was then universally accepted that on any question the classical treatise was the most authoritative one avail-

atque inutilis: gravis, quia distraheret homines armorum ad eius intendenciam propter lucrum, et precipue tales secundum mundanam sapienciam multiplicarent in regno iniurias propter questum et libidinem dominandi. Multitudo igitur legum talium preter necessaria foret inutilis et nociva."

<sup>1</sup> *De Republica Christiane Administranda* (ed. of 1592), p. 259: "Leges sint paucae & breues, nam è multitudine perniciem Reip. oriri Plato censuit: Et legum multitudinem indicium esse malè administratæ Reip. dixit Isocrates," with a reference in the margin to the Fourth Book of Plato's *Laws*.



able, and in loading his margins with classical references as he did, King James was only following the practice of his age.

Kingship was regarded by all these writers as the most nearly perfect form of polity, but they saw the relationship between the ruler and his subjects in a very different light from what we do.<sup>1</sup> More fundamental to their political thinking than even the Divine Right of Kings so particularly associated with the Stewart monarchs, and especially with James VI. and I., was their view of the patriarchal nature of kingship, which regarded the monarch as the father of his people, the shepherd of the flock, the captain of the ship of State. This was a conception of monarchy largely derived from Scriptural sources, and one which, becoming dominant before the reign of Justinian, dominated Western political thought till at least the end of the sixteenth century. By this theory it behoved the prince to be a pattern of all the virtues, for it was a commonplace then that *Qualis princeps talis populus*, and the standard justification for this view is to be found at the beginning of the Second Book of *Basilicon Doron*. It is the saying attributed by Cicero to Plato that in any State the citizens are like their prince. The quotation from the late Latin poet Claudian with which James follows it up had already been used over and over again, from the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury on,<sup>2</sup> to drive the point home. It is by acceptance of this theory that King James advises his son to support the weak against the strong, to exercise a personal supervision over the administration of justice, to regulate the behaviour of the craftsmen and merchants in the general interest, not to debase the coin, and to defend the realm against foreign aggression.

The corollary to this assumption of the patriarchal nature of kingship was that the relationship of the prince

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph and the next owes much to John Dickinson, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury* (1927), pp. xl.-lviii.

<sup>2</sup> Book IV., ch. 4.

to his subjects was a purely personal one, and not essentially different from their relationship to each other. As the sixteenth-century writer, de la Primaudaye, said in his *French Academie* :—

“ A kingdome is nothing els but a great familie, and a king the father of a great many.”<sup>1</sup>

The firm hold which the doctrine had on men's minds is shown by the fact that it is essentially it which Fénelon preached at the end of the seventeenth century in his *Télémaque* to his pupil, the heir-apparent to the throne of France, and which Bolingbroke recommended in the middle of the next to Frederick, Prince of Wales, in his *Idea of a Patriot King*. Hence the importance in the prince of the virtue of personal morality, and hence the earnestness with which the writers on kingship strove to inculcate it in the holders of the supreme political power. To them it was more important that he should possess and practise the Four Cardinal Virtues than that he should have high administrative abilities. Saint Louis of France, not Louis XI., was their ideal. Therefore James advised his son to excel his subjects in the practice of virtues, as Clichtoveus had advised his prince.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, too, he must be chaste, temperate, magnanimous, humble, just, liberal, and constant in his dealings with his subjects ; he must beware of flatterers and tale-bearers ; in brief, he must be a model and mirror of true conduct to his people, and he could have learnt to be such equally well from John of Salisbury, Colonna, Patrizio, Beroald, Erasmus, or any one of a score of other writers as well as from *Basilicon Doron*.

It is the same with manners. If the contents of the Third Book of *Basilicon Doron* at times remind us of the advice of Polonius to Laertes, we must remember that

<sup>1</sup> English ed. of 1618, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Clichtoveus, *De Regis Officio*, 6 : “ Par est eum qui dominatur ut dignitate subditis praestat : ita virtute eos antecellere.” (Quoted by Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Fore-runners*, p. 80 note.) Cf. vol. i., p. 27.

even in the sixteenth century the rules of polite behaviour were still being painfully acquired, and that the ideal of a gentleman comparable to the old Greek conception of the καλὸς κἀγαθός, equally developed on all sides, mentally, morally, intellectually, was still far from being fully attained. The ideal was there, but it required constant reiteration, for practice often fell short of it. Table manners, for example, were not yet all they might be, and even princes could behave in ways which were beneath their dignity. They must, and James comes back to it more than once, observe the mean in all things, and never be unworthy of themselves or their position. It is no ignoble ideal to set before anyone.

Even when James might seem to be drawing most on personal experience it often turns out that his is hackneyed advice. The King of Scotland at the close of the sixteenth century could easily have known from his own circumstances how there must be a mean in giving, and we can easily believe that the warning against a liberality which strained the resources of the Crown was begotten of his own situation.<sup>1</sup> Yet the same warning expressed in almost the same words is to be found in the *De Principis Instructione* of Gerald the Welshman, written four centuries earlier.<sup>2</sup> This was the moralistic view of Liberality, but side by side with it there had existed another, the chivalric, which taught that a prince could never be too free in giving. An extreme expression of it is to be found in the anonymous *Lancelot of the Laik*, where King Arthur is told that all the ills which have come upon him are the result of his niggardliness, and is reminded that "In to largess al thi welfar lyis," and "Largess is the tresour of o king."<sup>3</sup> Wherever, as here, there are two opposing views,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i., p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Distinctio*, I., ch. 8: "Habendus est modus in dando. Non enim propter liberalitatis officia aut thesauri exhauriundi, aut patrimonium funditus effundenda." (Ed. Warner (Rolls Series), p. 28.) James can hardly have known this work since it was not printed till seven hundred years after it was written, and manuscripts of it seem always to have been few, only one having survived.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. M. M. Gray (Scottish Text Society. 1912), ll. 1678-1872.

James inclines towards the more moderate. Thus, those who read the *Secretum Secretorum* would find the prince recommended to dress very showily.<sup>1</sup> It was generally held, however, that more modest raiment better suited a prince, and this is the view expressed by James.<sup>2</sup> In at least one matter he was in a minority for his time, when, with respect to the presence of the prince on the field of battle, he advised that the prince should be satisfied and not adventure his person further, once the reputation for courage has been gained.<sup>3</sup> This would not have appealed to such a one as his contemporary, Henri IV. of France, and, in fact, James's views run counter to the general view that it was the duty of the prince to be more expert in the art of war than in anything else.<sup>4</sup>

That King James could have read many of the works dealing with the institution of a prince is certain, for in the library collected for him by his tutor, Peter Young, between 1573 and 1583 were these volumes of this class of writing: Budæus, *L'Institution du Prince*, two copies; Chelidonius, *Institutio Principis*, two copies, one French, one in English; Guevara, *The Diall of Princes*, translated by Sir Thomas North from the Spanish; Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis*; Lorch, *De Institutione Principis Communes Loci*; Maugin, *Le Paraugon de Vertu pour l'institution*

<sup>1</sup> *Buke of the Governauce of Princis*, cap. vi.: "It effeiris till magestee ryale to be ever stately cled and honourably in preciouise vestementis and in faire maner grathit. And that suld be abone all otheris of his subjectis bathe in riches in fassone and in fairenesse, and suld ever have maist notable and fairest and rychest and strangeast and best fassound anournementis." (*Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1914), p. 92.)

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i., pp. 171-175. Cf. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis* (ed. of 1592), p. 124: "Curandum autem vt elegantia magis & decorum paretur, quam splendor, & munditia adhibeatur, non odiosa nec exquisita nimis."

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i., p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Colonna, *De Regimine Principum*, iii., 10, 1: "Hanc autem prudentiam videlicet militariam, maxime decet habere regem." (Quoted by Gilbert, *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Fore-runners* (1938), p. 71.) Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, ch. 14: "Debbe adunque uno principe non avere altro obietto né altro pensiero, né prendere cosa alcuna per sua arte, fuora della guerra et ordini e disciplina di essa; perché quella è sola arte che si aspetta a chi comanda."



*de tous Princes*; Osorio, *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina*; and Synesius, *De Regno*, in a French translation.<sup>1</sup> There were also in the collection a few other volumes still educational in their aim but less exalted in the pupils they aimed at: Ascham, *Scholemaster* and *Toxophilus*; Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, in Italian and English; and Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*. That he read them, and others not on this list, is clear from the contents of his book. But the only previous writer of this class named by him is Colonna, *De Regimine Principum*, whom he cites twice in the margins of *Basilicon Doron*,<sup>2</sup> but who is not on Young's list. Another work not on Young's list which James seems to have read is Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani*, for the play upon *honor* and *onus* in the Epistle to Prince Henry is probably derived from it.<sup>3</sup> It and *Basilicon Doron* also more nearly resemble each other than any other two of the type in the deeply religious strain which runs all through them. The advice to Prince Henry to marry a princess of the same faith as himself may come from Heresbach, who seems to have been the first writer to give such advice to the prince whom he addressed.<sup>4</sup> These are the only works which it seems possible to associate directly with *Basilicon Doron*.

It must not be thought, however, that King James's book is nothing better than a mosaic of quotations from other men's books. Though so much of it is derivative, it still bears the imprint of the king's own mind. By study and reflection he made thoroughly his own the matter which he had borrowed, and can be no more called a plagiarist than any man who handles a subject so well-worn that the only scope for originality is not in the matter but in the treatment. This is the chief virtue of *Basilicon Doron*. It is an individual handling of a familiar subject,

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Warner, *The Library of King James VI., 1573-1583* (Scottish History Society), Miscellany Volume I. (1893), pp. xxxi-lxv.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 127 and 135.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 129.

with the familiarity of its subject-matter one of its assets. Readers found nothing to disturb them in the king's book. It told them very much what they wanted to hear about its chosen topics, and was attractive because it spoke not long-windedly but briefly and to the point in a plain and easy style. It was a distillation of conventional morality certainly, but the conventions are not always wrong, and, indeed, the ideals of conduct and behaviour which *Basilicon Doron* set before its readers are not necessarily out of date to-day.

There are in *Basilicon Doron* other links with the thought and interests of the late sixteenth century. The low opinion of the Apocrypha expressed in the First Book<sup>1</sup> could only belong to post-Reformation times, for it was only with that event that its religious value became a matter of dispute among Western Christians. James's is the Protestant view. In his modified approval of card-play,<sup>2</sup> however, he reveals the difference, not between Catholics and Protestants but between the moderates and the extremists on both faiths, the latter class on both sides being equally puritanical on such points of behaviour. Another point on which the extremists on both sides agreed was tyrannicide, which James mentions to condemn.<sup>3</sup> Yet there was strong approval in many quarters for the doctrine ever since it had been enunciated by John of Salisbury in the twelfth century. On the Protestant side George Buchanan had given it his approval, and on the Catholic side so had the Spanish Jesuit Mariana, whose book in support of it, called *De Rege*, was publicly burned in Paris. The attack on mathematical astronomy in the passage prescribing a method of study reminds us that the spread of the ideas of Copernicus were having a disturbing effect.<sup>4</sup> The remarks on the nature of the test for true poetry are a reminder of one of the chief literary controversies of his time, when scholars debated at great length whether the essence of poetry lay in form

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 143.

or content.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, there seems to be an echo of a purely Scottish debate on a matter of legal import in the question asked as to whether a man is to be accounted guilty of murder if he kills in self-defence an assailant who is already at the horn.<sup>2</sup> In all of these James had plainly made up his mind on what was right and what was wrong.

In so far as it merely repeats the advice given in innumerable books on kingship, *Basilicon Doron* is only another of those works in which "the man of the study takes upon himself the task of telling the man of affairs what he ought to do,"<sup>3</sup> though the man of the study this time happened also to be a man of affairs. Its royal author, however, did not restrict himself to generalities, but took the opportunity of discussing some of the particular problems with which a king of Scotland in the late sixteenth century had to deal. That country he had elsewhere declared to be "a kittle land,"<sup>4</sup> and the topics he selected for mention were the most intractable, because the most abiding and most deeply seated. The result is that we are given a picture of Scotland, the only one of its kind, in which that realm is seen from the point of view of the administrator, not from that of the administered, and the change of viewpoint alters the look of the land in no small degree. Thus the ministers of the Kirk, who receive first place and most space, appear as a discontented faction in the State, ambitious for rule, not as the upholders of liberty against a tyrannous king. It is not on points of doctrine that James quarrels with them, but over their endeavour to set themselves above the crown and to exercise an irresponsible control over the secular ruler, designs which they cloak under a pretence of seeking the welfare of the people, so seducing them into becoming their cat's-paws. Any ruler faced with such a challenge must either face it or abdicate. James, with his lofty conceptions of the nature of king-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> R. Steele on the "Secretum Secretorum" in his Introduction to Roger Bacon, *Opera hactenus Inedita* (1921), vol. v., p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> See Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), p. 53.

ship, was not the man to do the second. He did face it, and in the end he conquered it, and reduced the Kirk to a real, if unwilling, subjection to the royal authority. Had his son Charles been ready to follow in his father's footsteps, much probably of the religious trouble which afflicted Scotland in the seventeenth century would have been avoided, though a very different Scotland would have been the result. The means James recommended to his son for controlling the Kirk, the ones which he himself largely followed, were a strict supervision of its assemblies, a ban against ministers meddling in the pulpit with affairs of State, and, above all, by the restoration of the episcopal order to restore ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>1</sup> Just at the time when *Basilicon Doron* was being written James's ecclesiastical policy, as history shows, was on the point of achieving enough success to make him the master of the ministers.

The Scottish nobility were another worry with their feuds and turbulent behaviour, often used to pervert the ends of justice. Since much of their power to make nuisances of themselves came from the hereditary sheriffdoms and similar offices which they held, James advises that these should be gradually extinguished by not being renewed whenever they fall vacant. At the same time they are to be attached to the Court and to the person of the king, where they will learn manners and civility and in time give up their evil ways. They are not, however, to be employed in any administrative offices: these are to be given to "mean"—i.e., middle-class—men. James, in short, was anticipating something like the system which came to its fullest development in eighteenth-century France, where the nobles became almost purely ornamental and the work of government was carried on by men of lower rank, who were entirely dependent on the royal favour.<sup>2</sup>

A third class which came for criticism was the merchant class and the trade-gilds. The first of these is accused of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 73-83, 145.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 83-89, 117.



buying cheap abroad and selling dear at home, of raising prices in time of scarcity but never lowering them when plenty returns. The others are accused of regarding consumers as their natural prey by insisting that their prices must be paid without regard to the quality of the workmanship. If their demands are refused, then "up must the bleu blankete go."<sup>1</sup>

Certain regions as well as classes also harassed the government of Scotland in the sixteenth century. The chief were the Borders and the Highlands and Islands. If England and Scotland were united the first of them would cease to present any problem, James believed, and time proved him to be right. For the other, James saw no solution but expropriation and extirpation, essentially that which he was later to apply to the problem of Ulster. He even tried to make a beginning of solving the problem along these lines with the project for colonising the island of Lewis by the Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife, but it was the Lewismen who did the extirpating, and the plan came to nothing. James is not even so bitter against the ministers of the Kirk as he is against the Islesmen: wolves and boars are his epithets for them.<sup>2</sup>

A certain bitterness, too, creeps in when he turns to warn his son against "the filthy vice of adultery." He is able to illustrate its evil consequences from the experiences of his mother and himself. Her evil genius had been her half-brother, Lord James Stewart, the bastard son of James V. His own reign had for a time been disturbed, and his own life even threatened by Lord James Stewart's son, Francis Earl of Bothwell, about whom he speaks in tones of the frankest animosity.<sup>3</sup> If James had been less impersonal, how much more interesting a book *Basilicon Doron* would have been.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., pp. 125, 133.

## IV.

## THE THREE TEXTS.

*Their relation to each other.* The text of *Basilicon Doron* exists in three forms, *MS. Royal 18. B. xv*, which is in King James's own hand, and two Waldegrave prints, of 1599 and 1603 respectively. It is proposed to say here something about their textual relationship to each other.

The two which most resemble each other are the autograph MS. and the earlier Waldegrave print. Careful comparison of them reveals, however, that the print differs in over ninety places from the MS., showing that at some intermediate stage there had been a careful revision of the text. These differences, which are tabulated in Appendix B., are of various kinds. Two passages, one on p. 28 and the other on p. 138, have been very considerably rewritten. Errors have been corrected. Thus, the number of the cardinal virtues is changed from seven to four,<sup>1</sup> and the proper name of the Roman glutton, Apicius, substituted for the erroneous Appius.<sup>2</sup> In most cases, however, the revision seems to have aimed chiefly at stylistic improvement, for most of the changes consist of the omission, addition, or transposition of words and phrases. These variations, together with the fact that *MS. Royal 18. B. xv* shows no signs of ever having been used as printing-house 'copy,' make it clear that the print of 1599 is not descended immediately from James's autograph. Admittedly all the changes noted might have been introduced into the print at the proof stage, but since we know that at least one copy was made of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 136, l. 24 ; 137, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 166, l. 28 ; 167, l. 5, but printed APITIVS.

the original manuscript,<sup>1</sup> it seems reasonable to assume that it formed the 'copy' for the printer, and that they appeared in it.

The real relation of the 1603 print to the two earlier forms of the text is not so immediately obvious. At the first glance that edition would seem to be merely a revision of the edition of four years earlier, since there are present in it all the changes noted in the previous paragraph. A close scrutiny of the two, however, discloses a number of other places where the readings of the MS. and of this print agree with each other and differ from those of the print of 1599. These are set out in the following table where the readings of all three texts are given. The references are to *MS. Royal* 18. B. xv only, since it is easy to find the corresponding passage in either of the prints when the MS. reference is known.

	<i>MS Royal</i> 18. B. xv.	Waldegrave, 1599.	Waldegrave, 1603.
P. 80, l. 8	the kirke estait	the Church state	the Churche estate
P. 93, l. 3	lauis	the lawes	lawes
P. 106, l. 7	uill not be	will be	will not be
P. 109, l. 9	ye kneu	ye know	ye knew
P. 112, l. 1	ye man not	yee muste	ye must not
P. 132, l. 5	succeidis to you	succede vnto you	succede to you
P. 165, l. 2	using thaime	vsing of them	vsing them
P. 193, l. 8	corruption	corruptions	corruption

One explanation of this reversion to the original readings could be that when a new edition of the book was decided on the print of 1599 was carefully compared with the MS: But in view of the thorough-going revision which the text underwent for this second edition, it is unlikely that either James or any other body felt called upon to go to so much trouble. The restored readings of 1603 will then be restored in appearance only, and will really take us back to some form of the text anterior to the print of 1599, which can only have been a fair copy of *MS. Royal* 18. B. xv, in all likelihood the same one as was used

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 9, above.

in the preparation of the first edition. The variants in that are therefore seen to be printer's errors which escaped correction because they gave a sense which was not immediately seen to be obviously wrong.

It is also to be noted that in a number of places the later print retains spellings characteristic of *MS. Royal 18. B. xv*, which are replaced in the earlier print by anglicised forms. Thus for the modern *heart* the MS. always has *hairt(e)*, which is found at 11, 10; 24, 5; 40, 2; 50, 5; 55, 5; 65, 3; 86, 4; 86, 9; 101, 5; 112, 4; 116, 10; 177, 9; 200, 14; 202, 1, with *hartis* at 64, 2. But in all the corresponding passages the print of 1599 has the modern spelling except at 24, 13 and 50, 16, where it has *hart*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the print of 1603 has everywhere the spelling *hart(e)*. Similarly, for the modern *tyrant* the MS. has only *tiran*, or its equivalent, which occurs in it at 54, 2; 55, 8; 57, 6; 61, 5; 165, 10; 197, 7. In all the corresponding places the print of 1599 has *tyrant*, but at only one of them, 167, 9, does that form appear in the print of 1603; elsewhere it has *tyran*. Other instances of a similar difference in spelling practice is to be found in *cairteris*, *carters*, 193, 5, 27, as against *Carders*, 192, 26; *cairtes*, *carts*, 192, 4; 193, 1, 12, 23; 194, 1; 195, 12, as against *Cardes*, 192, 15, 22; 194, 12; *descryued*, *descriued*, 100, 4; 101, 16, as against *described*, 100, 17; *thristillis*, *thrissels*, 141, 10, 32, as against *thissels*, 140, 30; *uemen*, 134, 10; 135, 20, as against *women*, 134, 22; and *tuillesome*, *tuilyesome*, 176, 12; 177, 22, as against *toilsome*, 176, 25.

A grammatical point is also of interest here. In *MS. Royal 18. B. xv* all inflected present singular verbs end in *-es*, *-is*, and this ending is also found in those present plurals where the syntax of Middle Scots requires an inflection. In both prints these endings are replaced by *-eth* when they are singular, and in both they are normally dropped when they are plural. But the print of 1599

<sup>1</sup> But *hairtelie*, 120, 6, 17; 121, 16, and *hairtlines*, 94, 3, 15; 95, 11, are a spellings common to all three texts.

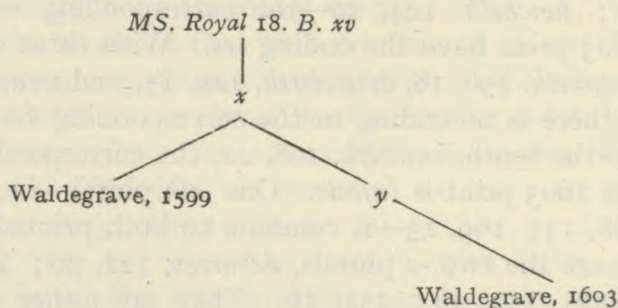


replaces ten *-is* plural endings in the MS. by *-eth*. To six of them—*i.e.*, *belongeth*, 132, 34; *betokneth*, 176, 26; *hoardeth*, 148, 33; *mainteineth*, 148, 34; *runneth*, 140, 22; *twicheth*, 124, 20—the corresponding verbs in the 1603 print have the ending *-es*. With three others—*i.e.*, *commeth*, 156, 18, *disguiseth*, 120, 15, and *wracketh*, 88, 18—there is no ending to the corresponding verbs of 1603. To the tenth, *smitteth*, 108, 22, the corresponding verb in the 1603 print is *infects*. One *-eth* plural—*i.e.*, *increaseth*, 168, 14; 169, 13—is common to both printed texts, and so are the two *-s* plurals, *debarres*, 122, 30; 123, 29, and *thinks*, 152, 18; 153, 16. They are either the slips of a copyist or grammatical errors.

The question provoked by a review of the facts given in the two preceding paragraphs is, If the text of 1599 was taken as the basis for the new edition of 1603, why were these Scots forms restored when everywhere else the purpose intended by the revision of the language seems to have been to bring it into greater conformity with Southern English? The most satisfying answer is that there is no foundation for the assumption in the 'if' clause, and that for its text the print of 1603 goes back beyond the print of 1599 to the manuscript source from which that edition had itself been printed. The *-eth* plural endings of 1599 in that case most probably originated in the printing-house through mistaken normalisation. It is perhaps noteworthy that more *-es* plurals are to be found in the Preface to the Reader, first printed in 1603, than in all the rest of the edition of that year.

One further point seems relevant to a consideration of the question to which these remarks have attempted an answer. It is that, as was seen on p. 6 of this Introduction, only seven copies of the 1599 edition were printed, that it is possible to account for what happened to all of them, and that the way in which they were distributed renders it unlikely that any one of them would be available for use as the basis of a new edition.

The likeliest relationship between the three texts of *Basilicon Doron*, printed in Volume I. above, seems therefore to be that shown in the accompanying diagram :—



where *x* is the fair copy of *MS. Royal 18. B. xv*, prepared for the printer whether by Semple or somebody else, and *y* is either that fair copy after revision for the edition of 1603, or a fair copy of it in its revised state. It should be added that the Notes to *Basilicon Doron* in the Hawthornden MSS., printed in Appendix E., would seem to provide some evidence for the existence of some form of *y*; they cite the text by the pages of the 1599 print, but give it in the form found in *MS. Royal 18. B. xv*.

*The Scriptural Quotations.* Both Waldegrave prints contain a number of passages from the Scriptures which, by being printed in a type different from that used for the rest of the book, are plainly intended to be regarded as direct quotations.<sup>1</sup> Against most of them the margin carries a reference to the place in the Bible from which they come.<sup>2</sup>

The Authorised Version of 1611 did not, of course, exist when *Basilicon Doron* was written, and so an examination of the text of these Scriptural quotations was

<sup>1</sup> This use of a different type for them was carried out more consistently in the print of 1603 than in that of 1599, but even there two were printed in ordinary type, probably by an oversight—*i.e.*, that from 1 Corinthians vi. 19, on p. 125, and that from James ii. 17, on p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> These are occasionally wrong. One such error, Philippians i. 29, for Romans v. 15, on pp. 36, 37, is common to both texts, and must therefore be due to James himself. The other wrong references all occur in the print of 1603, and as that of 1599 has in every case the right one, they are to be attributed to the printer. They are Luke x. 17, on p. 51; 1 Corinthians vi. 10, on p. 123; and Matthew xiii. on p. 129.

made in the hope that they might throw some light on the question, which of the English versions of the Bible current in the second half of the sixteenth century was most familiar to James. Unfortunately the investigation proved inconclusive, since none of James's quotations could be found to agree exactly in its wording with any English version of the Bible then in existence. Some of them have had their wording altered to bring it into conformity with the context in which they are set. Examples of such changes are the substitution of second personal pronouns for ones of the first person in the quotation from Genesis ii. 23, on p. 121, and in that from 1 Corinthians xi. 31, on p. 45; and the change from the second person to the third in that from Luke xii. 2-3, on p. 12. Again, there has been conflation as on p. 27, "The right knowledge and feare of God (whiche is the *beginning of wisdom*," which is made up from Proverbs i. 7, and Proverbs ix. 10, though only the second reference is given in the margin. Further, there is sometimes paraphrasing, as on p. 43, "*Compeare with new & whyte garments washed in the blood of the Lambe*," which is a very free rendering of Revelation vii. 14, and not a direct quotation, as the type and the reference in the margin would suggest. In general, however, the wording of these Scriptural quotations is close enough to the text of the Geneva version of 1560 as to suggest that it was the English translation of the Bible which James best knew. This is what might have been expected, since the Geneva version was the one favoured by the Kirk, which in 1579 through the General Assembly subsidised the Edinburgh printer, Bassendyne, to produce a Scots edition of it.<sup>1</sup> The variations in James's wording

<sup>1</sup> The popularity enjoyed in Scotland by the Geneva version even after 1611 is shown by the present state of the MS. draft in the British Museum of the *Book of Common Prayer*, drawn up by a committee of the ministers after the Aberdeen Assembly of 1616 for use in the Scottish Kirk, but never authorised by the king. The Biblical quotations in it were originally from the Geneva version, but were corrected by another than the original writer to agree with the Authorised Version of 1611. (*Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.*, ed. Sprott (Church Service Society. 1901), p. 98n.)



are then due to a habit of quoting from memory without verifying what was quoted, a practice even commoner then than now.<sup>1</sup>

Confirmation that James quoted largely from memory may perhaps be found in the changes made in 1603 in a number of quotations, with the result that they now more exactly reproduced their original. Such alterations are the change of pronoun from the second singular of the original to the third plural in the quotation from Psalm cxxvii. 1, on pp. 24, 25; the change of tense from future to present in that from John v. 39, on pp. 28, 29; and the substitution of "whatsoever is done" for "prayer" in that from Romans xiv. 23, on pp. 40, 41. At the same time certain definite errors were corrected. These were the replacement of "Cephas" by "he" in the quotation from 1 Corinthians iii. 6, on pp. 24, 25; the substitution of "genealogies and contentions" for "numbers and genealogies" in that from Titus iii. 9, on pp. 36, 37; and the alteration of "as God himselfe saide to Adam" to "as *Adam* saide of *Heuah*" in that from Genesis ii. 23, on pp. 120, 121.

Two instances of what looks very like pedantry occur in James's Scriptural citations. The first is the use on p. 155 of Beersheba, the Septuagint form of the name of Solomon's mother, for Bathsheba, the form found in the Vulgate and all the versions of the Bible derived from it. The other is the attribution on p. 197 to Menander of the line which St Paul borrowed from him, and which appears in the Authorised Version of 1611 at 1 Corinthians xv. 33, as "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

Five of the Scriptural quotations in *Basilicon Doron* are in Latin. These have the same characteristics as the ones in English, and the identity of the Latin version of

<sup>1</sup> After his interview with James in February 1588, Father Gordon noted that the king "has a very powerful memory, for he knows a great part of the Bible by heart. He cites not only the chapters, but even the verses, in a perfectly marvellous way." (*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, 1587-1595, p. 260.)



the Bible from which they come is also uncertain. Their strongest likeness is to that of Tremellius. This was the one from which James made the verse translation of Psalm civ. which was printed in 1584 in his *Essayes of a Prentise*.

*The Classical References.* The Scriptural references in the margin of Waldegrave's 1599 print of *Basilicon Doron* are repeated in the margin of the second and final edition which came out four years later, but there they are almost lost to view in a mass of references to the writings of classical authors, both Greek and Latin, which now appear for the first time. There are, in all, some three hundred and fifty of these new references, and they cite one hundred and ten individual works by thirty-five different authors. The reason for their presence is undoubtedly to give an air of learning to the work in which they appear, and to commend it to its readers by adducing, or seeming to adduce, in support of its ideas and statements the support of classical authority, an authority which was then decisive in every department of life and thought save theology and faith. The Greek writers in the catalogue of James's authorities are Aristotle, Demosthenes, Dio Cassius, Diogenes Laertius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Isocrates, Plato, Plutarch, Polybius, Suidas, Thucydides, and Xenophon, while the Latin ones are Cæsar, Cicero, Juvenal, Livy, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Pliny, Propertius, (pseudo-) Quintilian, Quintus Curtius, Sallust, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus, Varro, Vegetius, and Virgil. The great majority of these, it will be noted, are prose writers, philosophers, orators, or historians. There is no Greek poet in the list, and though there are seven Roman poets, these contribute only that number of references among them. If we exclude poets the number of writers cited from each of the two ancient literatures is to all intents and purposes the same, but the references to the works of Greek authors are twice as numerous as those to the writings of Latin authors. A Roman, Cicero, is,

however, the individual writer most frequently cited, having seventy-five references to his works. After him come Plato with seventy-one and Aristotle with sixty-one. Even Isocrates with thirty-one and Xenophon with twenty-five come out high above Cicero's nearest followers among his fellow-countrymen, who are Tacitus with ten references and Livy and Seneca with nine each. The single works most frequently cited are the *Politics* of Aristotle, the *Laws* of Plato, and the *De Officiis* of Cicero, which have about a third of the total number of references almost evenly distributed over them. Most of the marginal references have been traced and are indicated in the Notes to this edition. A number, however, mostly single references to individual works, are still unidentified. What is surprising is that of a considerable number to the *Politicus* of Plato not one can be certainly assigned to that work; and the same is true of an approximately similar number to the *Letters* of Cicero to his brother Quintus.<sup>1</sup> Some of them can be assigned to other writings of these two authors.

The references discussed in the preceding paragraph are for statements or allusions in the text of *Basilicon Doron*. There are in addition fourteen marginal references to direct quotations from the writings of Cicero, Claudian, Horace, Menander, Ovid, Plutarch, Suetonius, Virgil, and Xenophon, of whom only Horace with five and Plutarch with two have more than one reference for quotations from their works; yet Cicero is quoted more or less directly other eight times, Virgil other twice, and Ovid and Suetonius other once each. The quotation from Menander is, as has already been noted, the line of his which has been preserved by being quoted by St Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. 33. Many of these direct quotations show variations of reading from the standard texts of the present time, but it does not appear that any of

<sup>1</sup> They are not to be found in Cicero's *De Oratore* either; this work was dedicated to his brother Quintus.

these textual differences are due to the use by James of editions where readings occurred which are rejected by modern editors.<sup>1</sup> Some of his variants are clearly due to the adaptation of the quotation to its new context, but most of them are either alterations of word-order or the substitution of one of its synonyms for a word in the original, changes easily made by one who relied on his memory for his quotations.

Some scholars have doubted whether the wide reading seemingly implied by the most impressive array of names and titles in the list of James's authorities was really genuine. Thus, Professor M'Ilwain has suggested that these marginal references are not James's own, but are really the additions of some editor, and has also expressed the opinion that even if they were supplied by the king, they do not necessarily imply first-hand knowledge of the works cited, since he may have known these only through Latin or French versions of them.<sup>2</sup> But such conjectures seem unnecessary when we remember the nature of Renaissance education and James's own training. Since the medium of instruction was then almost exclusively Latin, the study of that language was begun at a much earlier age than it is now, or, indeed, has been for a very long time; it was also pursued with an intensity for which the demands of the modern curriculum leave little room. The result in general was that the pupil acquired a greater facility in the understanding and use of Latin than is customary nowadays, though not necessarily an exacter knowledge. James's own complaint, "Thay gar me speik latin ar I could speik

<sup>1</sup> On the importance of allowing for the changes made in the text of classical authors by three centuries of textual criticism in judging the scholarship of our older authors, see L. C. Martin's edition of Marlowe's *Poems* (1931), Intro., p. 16, and his notes to Marlowe's version of the *Amores* of Ovid, and J. M'G. Bottkol, "Dryden's Latin Scholarship" in *Modern Philology*, vol. xl. (1942-43), pp. 241-254.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. M'Ilwain, *The Political Works of James I.* (1918), pp. viii, ix. James, however, must bear the responsibility for the marginal references, since by allowing them to appear he gave them his authority.

Scotis,"<sup>1</sup> suggests that under Buchanan and Young, the latter of whom recorded the grumble, James's training was no more indulgent to the frailties of childhood than was that which his less exalted contemporaries had to undergo. Perhaps there was even introduced into it something of the system under which the young Montaigne was brought up, and which produced such a skill in Latin at a tender age that Buchanan could only admire it when Montaigne became his pupil at Bordeaux. He admired it so much, indeed, that when master and pupil met later in life Buchanan told Montaigne that he was writing a work on the upbringing of children, and that he was taking Montaigne's early education as his pattern.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, the training James received was such a training that the Venetian ambassador in England was able to report to his government that the new king of Great Britain could speak Latin perfectly.<sup>3</sup> Whether, however, he was a match for professional scholars is another matter. His advice in *Basilicon Doron* to Prince Henry not to use either Latin or Greek if he decided to be an author, would suggest that he was not.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Warner, *The Library of James VI.*, 1573-1583 (Scottish History Society), Miscellany, vol. i. (1893), p. lxxii. T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (University of Illinois Press. 1944), vol. i., pp. 532-556, exhaustively examines the library which Young collected for James, and shows that the royal pupil followed the normal curriculum of the period, and that by it his education can be traced as far as the end of the usual school course.

<sup>2</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I., 25, "De l'Institution des enfans": En nourrice et avant le premier desnouement de ma langue (mon pere) me donna en charge à un Allemand, du tout ignorant de nostre langue et tresbien versé en la latine: ceulx-cy ne m'entretenoit d'aulture langue que latine. Quant au reste de sa maison, c'estoit une reigle inviolable que ny luy mesme, ny ma mere, ny valet, ny chambriere ne parloyent et ma compaignie qu'autant de mots de latin que chascun avoit appris pour jargonner avec moy. Somme, j'avois plus de six ans avant que i' entendisse non plus de françois ou de perigordin que d'arabesque. George Bucanan, ce grand poëte escossois (m'a) dict souvent que j'avois ce langage en mon enfance si prest et si à main qu'il craignoit à m'accoster . . . Bucanan me dit qu'il estoit apres à escrire de l'institution des enfans et qu'il prenoit le patron de la mienne.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-1607, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i., p. 187: "I would also aduise you to write in your owne language for there is no thing left to be saide in Greeke and Latine already; and ynewe of poore schollers would matche you in these languages."



The constant preoccupation with acquiring a mastery of Latin was necessary because so much of the whole field of knowledge was still open only to those who possessed skill in that tongue. Even when there were modern writings on any subject they were more likely to be in that language than in any other, and to be held in lesser esteem than the classical treatises. Hence the range of classical authors then read by educated men was very much wider than that covered to-day, often even by professed scholars, since there was then nothing for it but to read the ancient writers in their own tongue. There is, therefore, no antecedent necessary reason why James should not have read in the original the works he cited in the margins of *Basilicon Doron*; many of them, in fact, appear in the catalogue of the library made for his use by his tutor, Peter Young, while James was still under twenty, and there is no cause for doubting that they were there for use.<sup>1</sup> A knowledge of Greek, however, always remained something of a luxury, and the Greek authors were often read in Latin versions. James VI., for instance, knew Greek, but, as appears below, was less sure in his handling of Greek writers than he was in that of Latin ones.

Miss Chew has a slightly different criticism to make. Without doubting that the marginal references indicate genuine first-hand knowledge of the works cited, she

<sup>1</sup> See Sir George Warner, *The Library of James VI., 1573-1583* (Scottish History Society), Miscellany, vol. i. (1893), pp. i-lxxv. That his early training left James with no distaste for learning is indisputable. The most striking proof of this is probably the anecdote related by Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part ii., Sect. ii., Memb. 4 (ed. Shilletoe (1893), vol. ii., p. 105), where there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of the royal sentiments: "King James, 1605, when he came to our University of Oxford, and amongst other edifices, now went to view that famous Library, renewed by Sr Thomas Bodley, in imitation of Alexander, at his departure brake out into that noble speech, If I were not a King, I would be an University man; and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that Library, and to be chained together with so many good Authors." In a letter to De Thou, written in November 1610, Isaac Casaubon highly praises James's learning. (Casaubon, *Epistolæ* (Rotterdam. 1709), vol. ii., p. 362, No. 692.) There can be no doubt that contemporaries genuinely admired it greatly.

questions whether they are a true statement of the sources of the king's ideas, which in her opinion were derived mainly from the writings of Renaissance thinkers rather than from classical sources, though it was beneath James's dignity to admit this.<sup>1</sup> But these same writers, on whom Miss Chew believes that James drew, were themselves indebted for most of their ideas to those very authors whom James has named in his margins. That the king was well acquainted with the works of the thinkers of the sixteenth century is indubitable, but he also knew, it has been suggested above, their authorities at first-hand, and it is really to the fountain-head of the age's ideas that he is directing his readers.

Since in the sixteenth century neither the learned work nor the popular exposition, no matter in what branch of learning, was felt to be complete without marginal references of the type here being discussed, it is a pertinent question to ask whether James did not owe some of his references in *Basilicon Doron* to his reading in these other writers. It is, for example, a most striking coincidence that he should write in the text of his book, "suche errors may be committed in the warres, as cannot be gotten mended againe," with a reference in the margin to *Veget.* 1,<sup>2</sup> and that the following passage should occur in one of his authorities: "*Le philosophe qui eut non Vegetius dist en liure de chevalerie que l'en puet bien aucunes choses maufetes recouvrer et metre en eus aucun remede, mes quand il mesavient en bataille et l'en est mort, l'en ne puet recouvrer ne ne metre remede a cen, por quoi il covient avoir grant sens et grant avisement en bataillier.*"<sup>3</sup> To the question just asked a certain answer could only be given after all his references had been compared with all the references in all the books he might possibly have

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Chew in *Social and Political Ideas of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw (1926), p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Ægidius Colonna, *Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rois*, ed. Molinaer (New York. 1898), p. 280. For the references to Colonna, see vol. i., pp. 127, 135.

read, a task which would probably produce a result like that which followed the labour of the Mountain, and one which so far has not been attempted. One special class of works requires to be mentioned as another possible source of the references. The character of the passages in the authorities to which some of them must be taken to refer are so brief, so commonplace, and often so little relevant to what is contained in the text of *Basilicon Doron* that it is just possible that some of them at least were taken from some such systematised collection of extracts on particular topics made from the writings of classical authors as the *Civilis Doctrina* of Justus Lipsius or the *Politicorum Aphorismorum Silva* of Lambert Daneau<sup>1</sup>; or they may have been taken from such a compilation as the *Sententiæ Ciceronis Illustriores*, published in 1547, of which a copy was at one time in James's library.<sup>2</sup> Up to the present what checking it has been possible to do has not brought to light any dependence on other writers for the choice of marginal references. Such, however, as those to the *Politicus* of Plato, to the *Consolatio ad Albinum*, to Suidas, and the others which have had to be left untraced, strongly suggest that there is some unidentified secondary source lurking in the background.

Disregarding the places where the looseness of the wording makes it difficult to decide what particular passage in his authority James had in mind, it is possible to say that his accuracy compares not unfavourably with the standards of his age, which tolerated great laxity both of citation and of ascription. Thus, to take two writers who made a great show of learning, one slightly earlier than James and the other slightly later, Guevara, the sixteenth-century Spanish author, whose *Diall of Princes*, to give it its English title, enjoyed immense popularity well into the next century, was

<sup>1</sup> James was certainly acquainted with some of the writings of both men. See vol. i., pp. 156, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Warner, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi.



reproached even in his lifetime with the unreliability of his references, and his modern editor has admitted that he mingled true and false ascriptions beyond all unravelling ;<sup>1</sup> and the editor of the 1893 reprint of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* frequently noted a like shortcoming in his author. The 1604 Latin version of *Basilicon Doron* itself has a striking example of what was possible. It renders James's words, " a colte should drawe the plough, and an old horse run away with the harrowes," by the line from Horace, *Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus*, and attributes it in the margin to Juvenal!<sup>2</sup> James cannot be held responsible for this, but he has his own mistakes, and some are quite as bad. *Liu.* l. 24 for *Liu.* l. 25<sup>3</sup> and *Sen. ep.* 96 for *Sen. ep.* 95<sup>4</sup> are probably only slips, but the ascription of an *Eighth Philippic* to Demosthenes<sup>5</sup> and the citation of the Seventh Book of the *Annales* of Tacitus<sup>6</sup> are more serious blunders, since the first never existed and the second disappeared during the Middle Ages. There are also some odd errors in a number of references to the writings of certain Greek authors. At the beginning of the Second Book of *Basilicon Doron* it is said that " people, like apes, naturally imitate their princes," and the margin carries a reference to the *Politicus* of Plato ; yet nothing like this is to be found either in that or in any other surviving work of Plato.<sup>7</sup> Then, against the passage recommending early marriage there is a reference to the Seventh Book of Aristotle's *Politics*. Most modern readers would take this to mean that Aristotle favoured such a practice, and probably most readers three hundred years ago took it in the same way ;<sup>8</sup> in fact, Aristotle was against it. When the Greek poet Philoxenus is mentioned in the text the margin refers the reader to the Eighth Book of the same work by Aristotle, but there will be

<sup>1</sup> *The Diall of Princes*, ed. K. N. Colville (1919), p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> See note to vol. i., p. 197, ll. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i., p. 53, and note *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. i., p. 127.



found there only the briefest reference to him, and in quite a different connection from what James had in mind.<sup>1</sup> Again, when the text advises Prince Henry to use discretion in the choice of a mate the margin has a reference to Aristotle's *De Generatione Animalium*, but that work has nothing with any relevance to what James has to say.<sup>2</sup> The Second Book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* seems to be adduced in support of the study of mathematics for military ends, but there Aristotle is interested only in 'pure' mathematics, not in the 'applied' branch.<sup>3</sup> The references to the writings of Isocrates are also difficult to understand. His *Euagoras*,<sup>4</sup> his *Panegyricus*,<sup>5</sup> his *Panathenaicus*,<sup>6</sup> his *Peace*,<sup>7</sup> and his *Philippus*<sup>8</sup> are all cited, but not always do they contain anything which bears on what James is saying; yet in every such case a reference to his *Nicocles* would have been perfectly appropriate since it has something which is apposite. But the most amazing error of all is the reference to the Eleventh Book of Plato's *Laws* against the passage where James is warning his son against "the filthy vice of adultery,"<sup>9</sup> when, in fact, Plato makes no mention of this particular vice in that part of that work. But he has plenty to say there about the adulteration of food!<sup>10</sup>

To sum up. James could be just as guilty of carelessness as anyone below the dignity of a king, as the following instances of this very human failing will show. He gives the title of the work written against gaming by the Huguenot divine, Lambert Daneau, as *De Lusu Aleæ*; but its actual title is *De Ludo Aleæ*.<sup>11</sup> He assigns to the *First Week* of the French poet, Du Bartas, a line which really comes from his *Second Week*.<sup>12</sup> He makes the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., pp. 53, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> The notes to this edition of *Basilicon Doron* will provide other instances where the marginal reference has only the slightest bearing on the text.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. i., p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. i., pp. 121, 159.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. i., p. 199.

dissensions which followed the division of Britain among the three sons of Brutus the cause of evil to the island, and cites Polydore Virgil in the margin as if his *History* was the source of the statement in the text. But neither Polydore nor any other author who recounts the mythical history of early Britain knows anything of quarrels between the three brothers, who are agreed to have lived out their lives in perfect amity. If, however, we turn over a few pages to the account of what happened in Britain after the equally mythical King Gorboduc divided it between his two sons, Ferrex and Porrex, we find described just such a state of affairs as James had in mind. Either he, or somebody else, confused the two stories; or, as the language of the longer drafts of the passage found among the "Noates to basilicon doron" contained in the *Hawthornden MSS.* suggests, the allusion was intended to be not solely to the division of his kingdom by Brutus but to the whole course of early British history subsequent to that act; but when the allusion in its original, and longer, form was condensed for inclusion in the printed text the words which made this clear were omitted.<sup>1</sup> Further, the first draft of *Basilicon Doron* had several errors which were corrected apparently at the proof stage, for they are put right in the print of 1599. Thus, the number of the Cardinal Virtues was originally given as seven instead of four.<sup>2</sup> The famous Roman glutton of the reign of Tiberius was called Appius when his real name had been Apicius,<sup>3</sup> and there was attributed to him a remark which had come into circulation several centuries before he was born. In the MS. Roman generals in the field were said to be *palliatos* when it should have

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i., p. 137, and note *ad loc.* The anonymous writer of the "Noates" does not cite Polydore Virgil. He has three attempts at drafting the passage referring to Brutus, two of them very much longer than the form in which it finally appeared in the printed text. His drafts suggest that the real source of the allusion was not Polydore Virgil, but a passage in the early Elizabethan play, *Ferrex and Porrex* (or *Gorboduc*). See Appendix E, below.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 167.

been *paludatos*.<sup>1</sup> Yet no one at the time when the book was being widely read seems to have noticed these mistakes, or, if he did, thought them worth recording.

*MS. Royal 18. B. xv and the Print of 1599.* It requires only a glance at any of the left-hand pages in Vol. I. of this work to perceive that the language of *Basilicon Doron* underwent a complete transformation in the passage of the book from the manuscript to the printed form, for *MS. Royal 18. B. xv* is in Scots, while the print of 1599 is in English. Something will be said later about the linguistic characteristics of the manuscript, including changes of vocabulary. Here it is intended to make some brief remarks about only the more narrowly textual variations between the two earlier forms of the text.

There are over ninety of these, but nowhere is a passage of any considerable length involved. The most striking difference is the appearance for the first time of the sonnet with the title, *THE ARGUMENT (of the booke.)*, printed above at Vol. I., p. 4. This is the only addition of any length or importance. Twice passages three or four lines long have been rewritten. On the first of these occasions the rendering of a passage from the Second Epistle of Timothy in the New Testament has been considerably altered.<sup>2</sup> In the other the rewriting of some remarks on the validity of a plea of self-defence against a charge of murder has caused the disappearance from the text of an alleged technicality in the older Scots law regarding outlawry, which is unknown to all the institutional writers, and which seems to be mentioned only in this particular passage of *Basilicon Doron*.<sup>3</sup> At two other places errors of fact have been corrected, the first that noted above over the proper number of Cardinal Virtues,<sup>4</sup> and the second that over the proper name of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 173. On vol. i., p. 149, there seems to be a confusion between the *delatores* of the Roman historian Tacitus and the 'dilatours' of Scots law.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 28, ll. 5-7; 18-21.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., pp. 138, ll. 22-29; 138, l. 10-139, l. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., pp. 136, l. 24; 137, l. 1.

glutton who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>1</sup> The remaining variations, like the last two, seldom affect more than a single word, as can be seen from the list of them given in Appendix B. below, and appear to be more concerned with style than with meaning. All that therefore appears to be necessary here is an indication of their nature. Thus, singular nouns have become plural, and plural ones have become singular; verbs have been changed from the present tense to the past or the other way round, and from future to conditional; one preposition has been substituted for another; and, finally, words and short phrases have been added, omitted, or transposed. All the changes noted in this paragraph appear in the print of 1603.

*Textual Variations in the Two Waldegrave Prints.* It has been shown, it is hoped, in the previous section that so far as the text, as distinct from the language, is concerned, the Waldegrave print of 1599 is simply a straightforward reproduction of *MS. Royal 18. B. xv*. The volume which Waldegrave produced in 1603 is, however, far from being a mere reprint of its immediate predecessor. In the interval between these two dates the text of *Basilicon Doron*, in fact, underwent such a thoroughgoing revision that hardly a sentence, and certainly not a page, remained wholly unchanged. Since the general tendency of the changes made in this revision was towards expansion, the result was that the text of the work, apart from the *Preface to the Reader*, which now appeared for the first time, was increased by about one-twentieth of its former length. Yet nowhere do the alterations record a change of opinion, so that what James had said in the *MS.* version he continued to say in the printed volume of 1603.

The most striking novelty, the addition of the *Preface to the Reader*, has already been referred to. In this James defends himself against a number of criticisms and seeks to clear away certain misunderstandings of his meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 166, l. 28; 167, l. 5.



It is noteworthy that he passes over in silence the outburst against the book which its printing in 1599 had provoked among certain of the ministers of the Kirk, unless his reference to garbled forms of his book which had been put into circulation is an allusion to the extracts from it which had caused the storm in the Synod of Fife in the autumn of 1599. Most of the time he is concerned with matters which had excited suspicion and distrust in England, such as his advice to his son to punish severely those who had been enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots, and his hard remarks about the Puritans. The seriousness in his eyes of the doubts which he had to allay, and the need he felt for making his meaning perfectly clear, may be judged from the fact that this *Preface* increases the work by about one-sixth of its original length. Another interesting change is the dropping of the sonnet which had appeared in both of the previous forms of *Basilicon Doron* and which in the print of 1599 had been given the title, *THE DEDICATION/ of the booke*. Why it should have been omitted is not easy to see.

The changes in the body of the work are, as has been already noted, very numerous; when tabulated, as in Appendix C. below, they are seen to be very similar to those made in the earlier revision for the edition of 1599. Not all the errors of fact, for example, had been detected in the earlier revision, and those which had then escaped notice were now corrected. Thus, Moses was now correctly named as the author of the Biblical statement that the throne kings sit on belongs to God; previously it had been attributed to King David.<sup>1</sup> The saying, *Fleshe of your flesh, and bone of your bone*, was now rightly taken from God and given to Adam,<sup>2</sup> and a quotation from 1 Corinthians iii. 6 was brought into harmony with the original by the omission of the name Cephas and the substitution of Apollos for Apollo.<sup>3</sup> There were also

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 68, l. 26; 69, l. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 120, l. 28; 121, l. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., pp. 24, l. 19; 25, l. 21.

made now, as in the earlier revision, changes in the number of nouns and in the tenses of verbs, and similar transpositions, omissions, and additions. This time the omissions and additions are much longer and deserve some separate mention.

The omissions are the less important, and occur less frequently. By the longest of them there was removed a passage some six lines long in which was given some Machiavellian advice justifying the use of fair but insincere words to unruly or rebellious subjects till the time of crisis was over.<sup>1</sup> At another place there were omitted two lines advising the prince not to be sparing in severity towards those who might speak disrespectfully of him.<sup>2</sup> The clause, "sen all Prophecies are ceased in Christ," was deleted from the paragraph on dreams and visions.<sup>3</sup> A reference to Priapus was omitted from the passage criticising contemporary fashions in clothes, probably because it was felt to be unseemly,<sup>4</sup> and a reason of a similar nature may account for the disappearance from the First Book of a somewhat undignified comparison used to express James's opinion of the books composing the Old Testament Apocrypha.<sup>5</sup> Compared with these, the additions are both much more numerous and also on the whole considerably longer. The more outstanding of them are as follows :—

(a) Vol. i., p. 29, ll. 14-19, explaining why kings particularly should read the Bible ;

(b) Vol. i., p. 35, ll. 11-19, which gives reasons why the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are especially deserving of close study ;

(c) Vol. i., p. 39, ll. 7-16, against which the margin reads, *Praier & whence to learne the best forme thereof* ;

(d) Vol. i., p. 93, ll. 22-34, which advises Prince Henry that if he would avoid criticism as a ruler he

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 182, ll. 13-19.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 80, ll. 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 98, l. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., p. 174, l. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 34, ll. 31-32.

must give his subjects no grounds for murmuring or complaint ;

(e) Vol. i., p. 101, ll. 7-15, which shows that it is wrong of a king to risk his life in a duel ;

(f) Vol. i., p. 115, ll. 25-32, which contains a warning against flattery and flatterers ;

(g) Vol. i., p. 129, ll. 26-31, explaining to Prince Henry that it will be difficult to find a suitable wife for him from among the Protestant princesses of Europe ;

(h) Vol. i., p. 137, ll. 12-13, which shows by the example of Brutus the evils likely to follow from dividing the kingdom among several heirs ;

(i) Vol. i., p. 151, ll. 18-25, commending the *Commentaries* of Cæsar ;

(j) Vol. i., p. 157, ll. 25-31, where a warning is given to Prince Henry against being over-generous ;

(k) Vol. i., p. 201, ll. 14-26, referring to the union of Scotland and England which James so longed to see consummated in his own life-time ; against it are these two marginal notes, *The fruitful effects of the union*, and *Alreadie kithing in the happie amitie*.

An interesting type of verbal alteration is the substitution for a single word of a phrase consisting of the word originally used, and, joined to it by 'and,' another which extends the idea, thus producing combinations of a kind not uncommon in Elizabethan English. In the following instances of changes of this kind the words added in the revision of 1603 are italicised : "the bookes of Moses interpreted *and applyed* by the Prophets" ; "the resurrection *and ascention* of Christ" ; "*passions & inordinate* appetites" ; "*false and vnreuerent* writing" ; "ashamed *and offended* with their *temeritie and* presumption" ; "*a light & a veniall* sinne" ; "the vice of delicacie & monstrous gluttony." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 33, l. 21 ; 33, l. 31 ; 55, l. 18 ; 65, l. 30 ; 77, ll. 24-25 ; 123, l. 20 ; 167, l. 28.

Contrary to what is sometimes said, few of the alterations seem to have been made for the sake of sparing the feelings of the Puritans, who had been irritated by what they had been told had been said about them in *Basilicon Doron*. Actually the hardest things said about them were left unchanged, and those remarks which were altered were toned down only a very little. Thus, if James did make his accusations a little less precise by substituting "the vaine Pharisaeicall puritanes" for "our vain proud puritanes"<sup>1</sup> and "the Puritanes" for "our puritanes"<sup>2</sup> he retained without change the description of them as "very pestes in the Church & common-weale," and even made it more widely applicable by omitting the words "of Scotland," which had followed "common-weale" in the text of 1599.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Reformation in Scotland was still a rebellion, though the passage in which it was so called was now somewhat differently worded from what it had been;<sup>4</sup> and the only modification of consequence in the unfriendly characterisation of the inhabitants of the Outer Isles is that they were no longer described as "Wolues and Wilde Boares."<sup>5</sup> It is also interesting to note that James twice rewrote a sentence in order to delete references to two contemporary writers, in the one case that to the Huguenot divine, Daneau, and in the other, that to the Dutch scholar, Lipsius, presumably because he did not wish to seem indebted to anyone so recent as either of these.<sup>6</sup>

*The Revision of the Vocabulary.* The chief interest in the vocabulary of *Basilicon Doron* is given to it by the two revisions which it underwent. The first was for the printed edition of 1599, the other for that of 1603. An examination has been made of the changes introduced by these two revisions, and the results are set out below.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., pp. 38, l. 21; 39, l. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., pp. 172, l. 26; 173, l. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., pp. 78, l. 14; 79, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i., pp. 74, ll. 19-20; 75, ll. 13-17.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i., p. 70, l. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i., pp. 156, ll. 23-24; 157, ll. 12-15; 190, l. 32; 191, l. 32.



From them it is clear that one purpose of the reviser in both cases was to purify the text from an English point of view by removing from it whatever he felt to be a Scotticism. All the alterations made on the first occasion were incorporated in the edition of 1603, in which much that had then been passed over now disappeared from the text. It may be noted in passing that King James was not the only Scottish writer of the time who submitted his work to a revision of this nature. Sir William Alexander, for example, revised his writings in this way much more extensively and assiduously than James ever did.<sup>1</sup> Yet not all the changes can certainly be assigned to this cause, for in both revisions the word discarded was often as common in Elizabethan English as that which took its place. Such alterations were probably made on stylistic grounds. In the lists given below the changes made in the two revisions are shown separately, and in each of them those words which on the evidence of the *Oxford English Dictionary* may be regarded as distinctively Scottish are distinguished from those which were also current in Elizabethan English. The words in the first section of each category provide us with the earliest known lists of acknowledged Scotticisms. Differences which are purely spelling ones are omitted, but a number of related words are included because their history has been different. The references are to page and line of the first volume of this edition. The words in brackets are those substituted for the ones which occurred in the form of the text being corrected.

#### I. CHANGES MADE IN "MS. ROYAL 18. B. XV"

##### FOR THE PRINTED EDITION OF 1599.

(a) Scottish forms: *aneu* (= ynow), 186, 7: *aneuch* (= ynough), 29, 2; 43, 10, &c.: *ather* (= either, conj.), 131, 2, &c.: *aucht* (= owe), 95, 2: *breshes* (= breaches),

<sup>1</sup> Kastner and Charlton, *Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1929), pp. xi-xvi.

152, 1 : *cairteris* (= carders), 193, 5 : *cairtes* (= card(es)), 192, 4 ; 193, 1 ; 194, 1 : *comentaire* (= commentarie), 34, 4 : *conqueis* (= conquere), 174, 9 : *conqueise* (= conquete), 62, 1 : *dainte* (= dantone), 134, 12 : *descryued* (= described), 100, 4 : *distingue* (= distinguish), 196, 2 : *exame* (= examine), 47, 2 : *extraordinaires* (= extraordinaries), 158, 3 : *falset* (= falshood), 109, 3 ; 195, 8 : *feinzie* (= feine), 143, 10 : *fra* (= from), 182, 7 : *gange* (= go), 147, 1 ; ( = goeth), 169, 1 ; 192, 9 : *gif* (= if), 24, 8 ; 29, 3 ; 30, 9, &c. : *heich* (= high), 155, 8 : *heicht* (= height), 26, 8 ; 141, 2 : *hereditaire* (= hereditarie), 131, 2 : *inuentaie* (= inuentarie), 42, 5 : *kenn* (= knowe), 62, 10 : *kirke* (= church), 73, 8 ; 74, 4, &c. : *laiche* (= lowe), 189, 4 : *leauē* (= rest), 135, 8 : *man* (= must), 6, 6 ; 7, 2 ; 38, 1, &c. : *meikle, mekill, mekle* (= much), 26, 7 ; 38, 13 ; 46, 8, &c. : *militaire* (= militarie), 151, 6 : *nather* (= neither), 130, 5 : *patrone* (= pat(t)erne), 117, 8 ; 136, 7 ; 190, 3 ; 202, 5 : *peax(e)* (= peace), 55, 2 ; 56, 9 ; 81, 7, &c. : *pleuch* (= plough), 196, 10 : *remead(e), remeid* (= remedie), 88, 6 ; 93, 2 ; 156, 13 : *sen* (= since), 7, 3 ; 48, 9 : *sendill* (= seldome), 60, 6 : *soldat* (= souldier, &c.), 100, 7 ; 101, 4 ; 102, 8 ; 172, 4, &c. : *solistairis* (= solicitors), 114, 2 : *Spangnoll* (= Spaniyard), 100, 12 : *steir* (= stir(r)), 116, 9 ; 124, 4 : *thifteouse* (= thieuishe), 189, 7 : *thir* (= these), 73, 6, 7 ; 76, 13 ; 78, 2 : *tuillesome* (= toilsome), 176, 12 : *uaile* (= choose), 130, 12 : *uall* (= weld), 200, 8 : *uyte* (= cause), 90, 5.

(b) Forms not specifically Scottish : *arrogance* (= arrogancie), 180, 11 : *breake* (= breach), 118, 4 : *condamne* (= condemne), 191, 6 : *ecclesiastike* (= ecclesiasticall), 77, 6 : *euangellis* (= evangelistes), 34, 11 : *greuhunde* (= grey-hound), 189, 8 : *hardiment* (= hardinesse), 100, 9 : *impatience* (= impatience), 183, 6 : *naturall* (= nature), 118, 9 : *papiste* (= popish), 74, 4 : *philosophe* (= philosopher), 197, 9 : *radilier* (= readier), 71, 9 : *rapper* (= rapier), 176, 12 : *skilledest* (= skilfullest), 101, 3 : *speciallie* (= especialie), 34, 7 : *stablishe* (= establish),

58, 6: *treasurer* (= thesaurer), 90, 12: *uardlie*, *uordlie* (= worldly), 127, 3; 128, 8. Of these *arrogance* is recorded as early as 1303, but *arrogancie* not before 1529, and while *impatience* is first noted only in 1526, *impatience* is found as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century: in the one case the old word was rejected, in the other the new. When *dantone* took the place of *dainte*, one Scots word replaced another.

## 2. CHANGES MADE IN THE PRINTED EDITION OF 1603.

(a) Scottish forms: *allie* (= alliance), 126, 34; 128, 15; 200, 19: *anent* (= of), in titles on pp. 24, 52, 162: *anents* (= anent), 84, 25; 196, 33: *athort* (= in those parts), 96, 18; (= in your way), 156, 18: *baird*, *playe the* (= be something satyrick), 94, 25: *bairnes* (= children), 132, 17, 21: *bogle* (omitted), 84, 22: *clatters* (= reports), 170, 13: *coinzie* (= coyne), 90, 18, 30; (= money), 90, 31: *contrair* (= contrarie), 194, 18: *cost* (= bought), 62, 34: *crak* (= talke), 38, 26: *dinging* (= beating), 86, 31: *failzie* (= failing), 8, 14: *forebeares* (= forefathers), 178, 20: *garre* (= causing), 90, 31; 168, 19: *glaikerie* (= vanitie), 48, 14: *gysares* (= balladines), 188, 15: *hinder* (= hinderance), 88, 16: *idleteth* (= idlenes), 190, 31: *Lentron* (= lent), 94, 18: *lowable* (= laudable), 88, 23: *lugg* (= eare), 118, 17, but *eares* had always been in the text at 87, 10; 161, 3; 179, 2: *marrow* (= companion), 140, 25: *marrowes* (= fellowes), 120, 14: *middeses* (= meanes), 54, 22: *minteth* (= præsumeth), 144, 23: *mowes* (= jeste), 46, 16; 132, 21; 194, 26: *nor* (= then—i.e., than), 10, 24; 36, 17; 48, 16, &c.: *pedder* (= wretche), 172, 12: *pet*, *taking the* (= being discontented), 84, 17: *pose* (= treasure), 90, 33; 158, 12: *sen* (= since), 62, 13, 15; 64, 22; 74, 14; 78, 20, &c.; (= sith), 66, 18; 104, 13: *sickerlie* (= seuearlie), 144, 23: *sleuth* (= slouth), 100, 23: *sleuthfull* (= slouthfull),

88, 21 : *smitteth* (= infects), 108, 22 : *snibbe* (= punishe), 144, 22 : *speered* (= asked), 46, 21, 23, 25 : *suppose* (= albeit), 90, 13 ; (= althogh), 122, 21 ; (= though), 108, 16 : *syne* (= then), 44, 21 ; (= next), 74, 26 : *thir* (= these), 28, 32 ; 134, 32 ; 142, 24, &c. : *thraw* (= wreast), 28, 23 : *tinsell* (= losse), 64, 14 : *tome* (= empty), 190, 30 : *visie* (= visit), 96, 12, 14 ; 120, 22 : *whiles* (= at times), 190, 29 ; (= sometimes), 46, 24 ; 76, 20 ; 88, 34, 35, &c. : *wight*—i.e., wyte (= cause), 116, 19 : *yule* (= Christmasse), 94, 18. It is curious that though *anent* was altered in the titles of the three books of *Basilicon Doron* it was retained everywhere in the text, and that *sensyne*, 77, 7, and 133, 23, was still allowed to stand in the text of the 1603 edition, though *sen* and *syne* were usually removed when they occurred independently of each other. By an oversight the following forms, changed elsewhere, were allowed to remain in the final text : *bairdes*, 77, 30 : *fra*, 183, 27 : *middesses*, 207, 17 : *marrowe*, 129, 17 : *remeid*, 85, 13 : *sen*, 65, 33 : *suppose*, 47, 16 : *thraw*, 201, 8. For Scottish forms found in the printed edition of 1603 but absent from that of 1599, see p. 90 above.

(b) Forms not specifically Scottish : *among* (= amongst), 122, 29, 30 ; 186, 25 : *aye* (= euer), 42, 32 ; 88, 21 ; 180, 13 : *baloppes* (= formes in the cloathes), 174, 12 : *bound* (= tyed), 204, 19 : *brewing* (= breeding), 116, 18 : *censure* (= censor), 184, 25 : *cloutes* (omitted), 142, 17 : *commandes* (= commandementes), 32, 21 : *constitution* (= institution), 58, 28 : *counte* (= account), 148, 25 : *euentes* (= effectes), 162, 19 : *faine* (= glade), 140, 29 : *farther* (= further), 36, 18 ; 96, 24 : *ar flitted* (= haue made transition), 148, 33 : *gentliest* (= gentilest), 118, 23 : *harlotrie* (= incontinencie), 124, 23 : *institution* (= instructiones), 6, 9 : *intertayner* (= nourisher), 36, 25 : *language* (= tongue), 186, 22 : *learne* (= teache), 84, 15 : *mell* (= medle), 118, 25 ; 184, 18 : *misseth* (= faileth), 56, 25 : *most* (= larger), 148, 14 : *oftimes* (= oftentimes),



108, 19 : *prefermente* (= prouision), 78, 30 : *reik* (omitted), 158, 13 : *renoume* (= renowne), 56, 21 : *rude* (= grosse), 166, 19 : *rumling* (= rough), 188, 12 : *shaddow(e)* (= image), 104, 20 ; 200, 30 : *scaffold* (= stage), 162, 11 : *sportes* (= pastime), 94, 20 : *state* (= estate), 80, 18 : *teacheth* (= informeth), 8, 21 : *tedder* (= halter), 138, 32 ; 140, 11 : *tente* (= heed), 146, 23 : *till* (= to), 32, 17 : *throw* (= thinke), 150, 31 : *true* (= viue), 200, 30 : *vanish* (= evanische), 162, 18 : *volubilitie* (= revolution), 150, 20 : *while* (= till), 42, 32 ; 122, 17 ; 124, 16 ; (= vntill), 84, 30 ; 148, 31 : *ynow* (= ynewe), 186, 20 : *yone* (= that), 60, 31 ; (= these), 128, 26. *Volubility* is retained in the metaphorical sense of "instability" at 151, 11 ; it is its literal sense of "turning" that has been rejected.

### 3. SCOTTICISMS RETAINED.

As can be seen from these lists, though considerably more changes were made on stylistic grounds in the second revision than in the first, the number of Scots words altered was about the same in each. The revisers might have removed at least half as many more words, but apparently they failed to recognise them as being also Scotticisms. Of these, *feide*, 83, 30 ; 85, 25, 31, *preasse*, 27, 24 ; 37, 15, 17 ; 41, 17 ; 55, 21, &c., *ruse*, 199, 8, and *sterue*, 141, 32, were familiar to English readers in a different spelling. Other three, *dependers*, 83, 26, *righteous*, 137, 18, and *secretes*, 177, 27, were also well known to them, but not in the sense they have in *Basilicon Doron*. The remainder would be quite strange to them. They are : *alluterlie*, 71, 16 ; 195, 28 : *arbitrall*, 149, 14 : *arles-penny*, 41, 11 ; *auer*, 107, 21 : *barbares*, 71, 16 : *begouth*, 75, 23 : *burreaux*, 57, 30 : *caitche*, 189, 18 : *chopppe*, 41, 34 : 43, 18 : *compeare*, 43, 21 : *craig*, 85, 12 ; 167, 30 : *danton*, 25, 10 ; 71, 19 ; 189, 23 : *declaratour*, 183, 20 : *decreits*, 61, 13 : *dicton*, 207, 21 : *dilatours*,

149, 20 : *dispone*, 89, 20 : *doazen*, 157, 17 : *dyted*, 33, 13 : *dytement*, 35, 34 : *faird*, 175, 14 ; 179, 26 : *fashious*, 195, 18, 20 : *fore-fault*, 61, 21 ; 113, 21 : *fore-faltures*, 61, 19 : *freets*, 171, 25 : *hartly*, 121, 16 : *hartlinesse*, 95, 11 : *intromission*, 117, 14 : *jowking*, 181, 22 : *kyth*, 111, 27, &c. : *lairdes*, 155, 17 : *lawe-burrowes*, 139, 27 : *leide*, 179, 30 : *lightly* (vb.), 87, 19 ; 103, 14 ; 175, 16 : *lipening*, 97, 14 : *meaned*, 57, 32 : *moyen*, 193, 28 : *oblishe*, 79, 14 ; 85, 11, 27 ; *preparatiue*, 99, 12 : *prouide*, 135, 30 : *respon-sall*, 117, 11 : *smoared*, 85, 31 : *tratler*, 159, 24 : *tuilyesome*, 177, 22 : *timouslie*, 7, 19 ; 127, 24 : *vaike*, 89, 19 : *vague* (vb.), 145, 24 : *walkrife*, 101, 29 : *writes* (sb.), 185, 19.

## V.

## THE LANGUAGE OF MS ROYAL 18. B. XV.

THE resistance of Middle Scots in its written form to change under the influence of English spelling was never complete, but was naturally greater in its earlier periods than in its later. In this respect the second half of the sixteenth century was a transitional period between adherence to the traditional Scots spelling and acceptance of the English one. The first of those who set themselves to write as an Englishman would seem to have been the chief figure among the Reformers, the great John Knox himself, but his example was not immediately or generally followed. The use of English spellings by Scottish writers became, however, more common, till with the Union of the Crowns Scots practically disappeared as a literary language. It could be, and still was, used for certain purposes; it is employed frequently, for instance, in the official letters to be found in the Register of the Earl of Stirling, and it was also used in formal documents. But its day for serious works of literature was over. This gives *Basilicon Doron* a unique linguistic interest, for, being written just at the end of the sixteenth century and in Scots, as the author's autograph manuscript shows, it is practically the last serious piece of prose writing of which we can certainly say that it was conceived and written down in Scots while that was still a national literary language and before it had sunk to the level of a rustic dialect. The language of the manuscript, therefore, seems to deserve some examination, as presenting the stage which written Middle Scots had reached in its development before its supersession by English.

In the remarks which follow it is only archaic or obsolete features which are dealt with, and only orthography, grammar, and vocabulary are discussed. Phonology comes in only incidentally, since spellings without the aid of rhyme to check their evidence are a very unsafe guide towards the determination of speech sounds. King James's spelling was, of course, not nearly so rigidly standardised as that of to-day, but on the whole it is remarkably regular, and rules for certain of its features can be deduced from it.

#### A. CONSONANTS.

1. *Doubled Consonants.* Wherever modern English doubles its consonants James does the same, except that he writes suffixes like *-less* and *-ness* with a single consonant; but he also has a large number of doubled consonants where they are not now found. They nearly all occur under one or other of the following conditions:—

(a) Final consonants in monosyllabic words with a short vowel: *bedd(e)*, 38, 3; 128, 10: *bidde*, 142, 8: *bredd*, 107, 3; 132, 11: *cann*, 62, 11; 87, 2: *cledd*, 172, 3; 175, 2, 8: *darre*, 47, 2: *farre*, 26, 2; 83, 9, &c.: *fedd*, 76, 11: *gatt*, 74, 9: *gett*, 71, 5; 86, 1; 121, 3; 126, 10: *godd*, 45, 4, but this word is usually written *god*: *hadd(e)*, 112, 4; 113, 7; 125, 2; 128, 4: *happe*, 112, 4; 125, 3: *hidd*, 173, 10: *kinn(e)*, 83, 8; 119, 2, 3; 120, 4: *knitte*, 134, 4: *lett*, 104, 3; 118, 13; 124, 3, &c.: *lotte*, 192, 6: *lugge*, 118, 3: *pett*, 84, 5: *putt(e)*, 61, 3; 70, 6; 86, 2, &c.: *sett*, 28, 13; 91, 3, 4; 121, 8; 154, 2: *sinne*, 26, 7, 9, 10, 11; 32, 8; 34, 3, &c.: *sitt(e)*, 25, 7; 69, 7; 79, 2, &c.: *snibbe*, 145, 4: *sonne*, 33, 3; 42, 12; 58, 4, &c.: *summe*, 32, 9: *tenn*, 32, 9: *trappe*, 140, 3: *uarre* (adj.), 81, 9; 107, 4: *uinne*, 64, 2: *uitt*, 43, 3; 89, 3: *yett*, passim.

The final consonant is still doubled in such words when an inflectional syllable is added, though in three cases, *cum*, *god*, and *men*, the uninflected form has only a single final consonant: *choppis*, 41, 10; 42, 8: *clannis*, 70, 8: *cumming*, 24, 7: *cummis*, 28, 8; 82, 3: *drummis*, 194, 3: *goddis*, 49, 8; 65, 9; 69, 8, &c.: *gunnis*, 86, 3: *mennis*, 47, 8; 59, 7; 60, 1; 64, 2, &c.: *plottis*, 77, 2: *proppis*, 93, 1: *settis*, 186, 11: *shottis*, 178, 2: *sinnes*, 158, 1: *spurris*, 191, 3: *starres*, 143, 7:



*steppis*, 27, 5; 80, 5; 139, 2: *uarris*, 91, 10; 97, 4, &c.: *urittis*, 184, 9. With these may be associated *bishoppis*, 81, 11.

The final consonant is still doubled in such words when a prefix has been added: *becumme*, 106, 12, but cf. *becum*, 57, 7: *becumming*, 108, 10: *becummis*, 181, 1; 194, 2; 196, 7, but cf. *becumis*, 119, 4; 186, 9; 188, 9: *beginne*, 63, 7; 72, 3, &c.: *begunne*, 70, 11: *comitte*, 98, 9: *comittis*, 42, 1: *compell*, 158, 3: *debarres*, 123, 7: *forgett(e)*, 42, 8; 203, 5: *præferre*, 114, 13; 118, 10: *omitt(e)*, 35, 3; 99, 4: *remitte*, 58, 10; 189, 10. Probably *personne(s)*, 27, 4; 104, 11; 118, 5; 136, 4, &c. (but cf. *persone*, 35, 1; 136, 8; 161, 3), *unpardonnable*, 68, 3, and *uorshippe*, 31, 6, are to be included here.

(b) In words of two syllables the consonant is doubled after the first of them when it bears the chief stress: *boddie*, 122, 8; 131, 3, 11; 133, 9; 166, 8, but cf. *bodilie*, 187, 7: *cittie*, 25, 1: *considder*, 42, 3; 54, 1; 62, 8; 91, 3, &c.: *culloure*, 49, 8; 60, 3; 62, 6, &c.: *oppin*, 168, 8: *pitteing*, 69, 9: *pittie*, 98, 3; 147, 10: (all)*readdie*, 31, 8, 9; 46, 2; 59, 3, &c., but cf. *readie*, 121, 7: *proffeit*, 168, 9: *shaddou(is)*, 104, 9; 200, 3; 201, 2: *studdie*, 36, 4; 142, 6; 143, 2, 6, &c.: *uerrie*, 78, 3; 82, 9; 107, 4; 140, 10, &c.

But if the word ends in *l* or *t* it is that consonant that is doubled: (un)*ciuill*, 78, 1; 168, 4; 173, 2: *controlle*, 142, 9: *counsall*, 133, 5; 144, 3; 148, 6, &c.: *dewill*, 128, 9; 140, 8: *euill*, 76, 1, 2; 79, 3; 82, 6; 84, 3, and passim: *gentillnes*, 135, 4: *perrell*, 84, 2; 102, 9; 116, 5; 130, 4: *pupill*, 133, 7: *querrell(is)*, 76, 3; 97, 4; 119, 2: *reueill(ing)*, 47, 1; 68, 1: *bonett*, 142, 5: *pulpitte*, 145, 4: *poettis*, 150, 8.

(c) The adjectival ending *-ful* has always the final consonant doubled: *cairfull*, passim: *disceatfull*, 51, 7: *faithfull*, 37, 9: *laufull*, passim: *neidfull*, 36, 10: *sleuthfull*, 88, 8: *thankefull*, 111, 5: *uillfull*, 64, 8.

So has the adjectival ending *-al*: *æternall*, 56, 11: *artificiall*, 167, 7: *contineuall*, 150, 5; 193, 7: *corporall*, 39, 2: *fundamentall*, 72, 10: *generall*, 31, 9; 60, 3; 182, 7: *liberall*, 101, 5; 150, 12: *lineall*, 71, 4: *literall*, 140, 5: *naturall*, passim: *papall*, 81, 10: *partiall*, 65, 6; 119, 5: *pecuniall*, 139, 5: *principall*, passim: *prodigall*, 180, 12: *responsall*, 116, 3: *rusticall*, 179, 8: *sociall*, 140, 2: *spirituall*, 39, 2; 123, 8: *ueniall*, 26, 4; 122, 10; 123, 10. So also the noun *tryall*, 42, 10; 192, 7.

A few monosyllables ending in *l* also double it: *haill*, 8, 7; 26, 11; 28, 13, &c.: *paull*, 28, 5; 37, 10; 40, 5; 123, 4, but cf. *paul*, 171, 9: *sauill* (= soul), 37, 8.

(d) Certain monosyllables ending in *t* and having a long vowel also occasionally double the final consonant. Thus, *greater*, *greatest*, and *meitter*, *meittest*, are all found, but spellings with a single consonant are very much more common. Yet *uritte* (vb.), 185, 6, 9; 186, 6, and *uritting*, 65, 8; 164, 6; 183, 13, always have a doubled consonant. *Futte*, 61, 6, had probably a short vowel by this time, and *ennemie(s)*, 177, 9; 178, 3, may be due to French influence. *Ellis* is always so spelled.

2. The manuscript always writes *i* for *j*, and almost invariably has *u* for both *v* and *w* in all positions. The few *v* spellings which it exhibits will be found in the glossary, and the only words in which *w* is regular are *awin* and *law*, but spellings of them with *u* are equally common. *Awe*, 31, 1, occurs once.

3. The manuscript always writes *ch* where English has *gh*: *aneuch*, 29, 2; 43, 10; 61, 1: *aucht*, 26, 1; 34, 8, &c.: *bricht*, 27, 4: *brocht*, 107, 9; 113, 7; 200, 5: *dochter*, 125, 1; 132, 11: *fechte*, 104, 6: *heich*, 155, 8: *heicht*, 8, 1; 26, 8; 141, 2: *knichtlie*, 176, 11: *lichleing*, 86, 7; 174, 8: *licht*, 27, 5; 41, 9; 48, 13, &c.: *lichtlie*, 172, 4: *lichtnes*, 113, 2; 172, 9: *micht*, 33, 5; 63, 9: *neichboure*, 30, 4; 31, 2; 83, 6, &c.: *nicht*, 44, 2; 143, 6: *nocht*, 37, 4; 65, 5: *pleuch*, 196, 10: *richt*, 8, 11; 27, 6; 28, 3, &c.: *richteouse*, 136, 6: *richteousness*, 27, 3: *richtlie*, 6, 1; 7, 4; 9, 1, &c.: *sicht*, 110, 2; 159, 9; 161, 2; 202, 7; 204, 9, &c.: *slichte*, 90, 11: (*al*)*thoch*, 41, 5; 42, 1; 57, 1, 7, &c.: *thocht* (vb.), 24, 1; 36, 10; 50, 8, &c.: *thochtis* (sb.), 182, 4; 194, 8, 10: *throuch*, 41, 6; 43, 7; 100, 13; 200, 6: *uecht*, 7, 5; 8, 2; 144, 5; 201, 3: *upricht*, 110, 8: *uprichtnes*, 200, 14; *urocht*, 74, 4.

But when this *ch* is final it may also be omitted: *anenu*, 186, 7: *hie(nes)*, (*st*), 26, 6; 49, 6; 59, 8: *throu*, 127, 4; 190, 8.

So also the manuscript always writes *quh* for English *wh*: *quheillis*, 150, 7: *quhollie*, 31, 7: *quhy*, 66, 9; 122, 8: *quhyles*, 39, 2, 3; 47, 3; 76, 7; 89, 8, 9: *quhyte*, 42, 11. It is also invariable in the relative and interrogative pronouns *quha*, *quhaise*, *quhiche*, *quhilk(e)*, (*is*), *quhom*, in the interrogative *quhat*, in the relative adverbs, *quhair(e)* and *quhen* and their compounds, and in the preposition and conjunction *quhill*, all of which are of very frequent occurrence.

4. Other differences of less frequent occurrence are enumerated below:—

(a) *b* omitted: *rumling*, 188, 2. In the modern spelling the *b* is intrusive.

(b) *c* omitted: *uittaille*, 141, 9, but cf. *uictuallis*, 90, 2. The

modern spelling is a sixteenth-century refashioning on the Latin original.

(c) *c* intrusive: *fructis*, 7, 1; 11, 9; 54, 8, &c. This is a Latinism common in Middle Scots.

(d) *d* for *t*: *pleasande*, 125, 1, but cf. *pleasant*, 168, 8; *reuerende*, 86, 10; 93, 4; 135, 5, but cf. *reuerentlie*, 38, 13; *serua(u)ndis*, 53, 3; 83, 2; 107, 8; 109, 4; 110, 7, &c., but cf. *serua(u)ntis*, 106, 2; 107, 5; 113, 12, &c.: *uarrande*, 49, 5; 76, 5; 78, 7, &c.

(e) *d* for *th*: *farder*, 58, 2, but cf. *farther*, 36, 9.

(f) *dd* for *th*: *teddir*, 139, 7; 140, 1. This is a survival of an older form.

(g) *d* intrusive: *forduarte*, 102, 1; 124, 5.

(h) *f* for *v*: *præseruatife*, 79, 4; *præparatife*, 98, 2; *pre-seruatife*, 44, 1; *selfis*, passim; *thefis*, 78, 11, but cf. *theues*, 138, 10; *uindictife*, 152, 5; 176, 8; *uolfes*, 70, 10.

(i) *gn* for 'n mouille': *compaignons*, 101, 4.

(j) *h* intrusive: *enhabling*, 191, 1; *ghames*, 94, 2; 187, 7; 188, 8, &c., but cf. *games*, 190, 12; *habilitie*, 187, 4.

(k) *l* omitted: *uardlie*, 127, 3; *uordlie*, 128, 8, but cf. *uairdlie*, 27, 1.

(l) *l* intrusive: *saulces*, 167, 1; *ualkenid*, 43, 8; *ualkeryfe*, 101, 2.

(m) Syllabic *le* is frequently written *ill*: *abill*, 100, 7; 187, 9, but cf. *able*, 28, 5, and 144, 8; *bryddill*, 45, 3; *durabill*, 187, 9; *exempill*, 114, 1; 130, 3; 132, 10, but *exemple* is three times commoner: *gentillnes*, 135, 4; *honorabill*, 98, 8; 189, 6, but cf. *honorable*, 120, 10; *honorablest*, 188, 8; *horribill*, 64, 7, but cf. *horrible*, 106, 6; *littill*, 25, 7; 57, 9; *mekill*, 46, 8; 80, 7; 135, 4; 192, 11, but *me(i)kle* is twice as frequent: *miserabill*, 57, 6; 99, 7; 172, 1; *peopill*, passim; *sendill*, 60, 6; *sensibill*, 180, 1; 181, 9; 185, 9. It is also written *el(l)* in *candelstike*, 74, 2, and *prattellis*, 43, 1. The following are found with the *le* spelling only: *comendable*, 187, 7; 188, 8; *noble*, 117, 5; *notable*, 192, 2; *profitable*, 191, 5; *simples*, 166, 12; *table*, 166, 3; *temple*, 126, 1; *unreasonable*, 24, 3.

(n) *mp* for *n*: *acco(u)mpt(is)*, (*id*), 123, 3; 130, 11; *compte*, 42, 5; 44, 3, 6; 45, 6; 122, 12; 123, 9, but cf. *counte*, 149, 1.

(o) *n* for *m*: *conforte*, 32, 2; 38, 5; 42, 3; *infortunitie*, 40, 7, but cf. *importunitie*, 198, 8, 10.

(p) *n* for *ng*: *lenthning*, 155, 3; *strenth*, 99, 4.

(q) *s* for *sh*: *sall*, passim; *soulde*, passim.

(r) *s* omitted: *yle(s)*, 70, 5; 71, 4, 8; 200, 9. This was the form current before the word was refashioned in the sixteenth century.

(s) *t* omitted: *tiran*, 54, 2; 55, 8; 57, 6, &c., but cf. *tirantis*, 159, 5.

(t) *t* for *d*: *forduarte*, 102, 1; 124, 5: *nakettie*, 143, 3: *naiketnes*, 173, 7, but cf. *naiked*, 175, 2, and *nakidnes*, 173, 9: *niggartenes*, 141, 7.

(u) *t* for *th*: *autoritie*, 9, 3; 183, 10, but cf. *authoritie*, 9, 10; 50, 2, &c.: *trone*, 147, 5, but cf. *throne*, 25, 7; 69, 7; 154, 2. These also were earlier spellings in common use.

(v) *t* intrusive: *publict(lie)*, 38, 3; 94, 1; 165, 8; 166, 3, but cf. *publique*, 98, 10; 199, 3, and *publiquest*, 165, 4: *republicts*, 94, 10, but cf. *republike*, 56, 7.

(w) *th* for *d*: *burthe(i)n(e)*, 7, 5; 54, 5; 201, 3, but cf. *burdein*, 144, 5: *murther*, 43, 8; 62, 7; 64, 8.

(x) *u* (= *v*) for *b*: *descryued*, 100, 4.

(y) *x* for *c*: *peax(e)*, 55, 2; 56, 9; 81, 7, &c., but cf. *peace*, 145, 2.

## B. VOWELS.

5. It is practically certain that in Middle Scots by the end of the sixteenth century the connection between spelling and pronunciation had become largely conventional, as it is to-day in English. This separation of sound and symbol was due to the fact that the earlier spelling was largely retained after the sound-shift which occurred about 1500, and which gave to the vowels of Middle Scots substantially their values in the modern vernaculars of Central Scotland. When, therefore, in the paragraphs which follow there is occasion to speak of earlier sounds, it is those current in Middle Scots before 1500 which are intended to be understood.

English influence in James's representation of the vowels is chiefly to be seen in his consistent use of *ea*, which is an English combination, not a Scots one, and in his abandonment of the Scots spelling with *u* where English has *o* or *oo*. Occasional other English spellings are also to be found.

6. *Indication of Vowel Length.* While English adopted final *e* after it became silent as a means of marking a preceding vowel as long, Middle Scots developed independently its own way of indicating vowel length. This was by writing *i* after the vowel which was to be marked as long. The English method, however, was also employed, and often it and the Scottish one both occur in the same word. Whereas earlier, *a*, *e*, *o*, and *u* could all be shown as long in Scots by this method, King James uses it normally only with *a* and *e*; examples of



his use of it with *o* and *u* are infrequent and exceptional. In many words in the lists which follow, English *e* as well as Scots *i* is found. (i) *ai* representing a long vowel: *beuaire*, 46, 4; 48, 1; 167, 8; 168, 2, &c., but cf. *beuare*, 129, 4: *caire*, 7, 8; 9, 11; 105, 10, &c.: *dilaited*, 158, 11: *dissuaide*, 132, 2: *estaite*, 145, 3: *haite*, 204, 4, but cf. *hates*, 66, 6: *haitred*, 112, 7, but cf. *hatred*, 104, 1: *haitteris*, 111, 2: *inuaidit*, 138, 10: *laite*, 205, 7: *naiked*, 175, 2, but cf. *naketlie*, 143, 3: *naiketnes*, 173, 7, but cf. *nakidnes*, 173, 9: *naitions*, 149, 4: *persuaides*, 156, 9: *paire*, 145, 7: *plaigue*, 57, 4: *rairelie*, 57, 2: *snairis*, 140, 3: *spaire*, 80, 3, &c.: *squaire*, 78, 8: *strainge*, 38, 6: *straingeris*, 92, 7, &c.: *taiste*, 167, 4: *uaires*, 90, 1: *unchaiste*, 174, 6. See also 7 (i) below. (ii) *ei* representing a long vowel. See 14 (iv) below. (iii) *oi* is found very rarely, as in *choising*, 106, 10, but cf. *chosin*, 106, 11: *purpoise*, 113, 4; 158, 10; 173, 5, but cf. *purposis*, 180, 5: *suppoise*, 122, 9, but cf. *suppose*, 108, 6. (iv) *ui* is found only in *suirlie*, 192, 1, and *tuchis*, 124, 9.

7. In addition to being employed as in English *a* has in *Basilicon Doron* the following uses which are largely characteristic of Middle Scots.

(i) It is still retained in words which had *ā* in Old English, but which developed an *o* sound very early in the Middle English period. Such words which occur in *Basilicon Doron* are: *aknauledge*, 49, 9; 54, 4: *ane*, passim: *auin*, *awin*, passim, but cf. *owin*, 96, 6: 97, 2: *bane*, 107, 3; 121, 6: *ga*, 186, 10, but cf. *go*, 124, 5: *halines*, 138, 2: *halye*, 94, 8, but cf. *holie*, 126, 1: *hame*, 91, 5; 112, 8: *ham(e)lie*, 38, 7; 101, 4; 118, 7; 181, 5: *knau*, 24, 4; 25, 5; 27, 8; 34, 3, 11, &c.: *knauledge*, 27, 6; 28, 2; 41, 9; 47, 11, &c.: *ma*, 59, 3; 96, 3; 116, 11; 199, 4: *na*, *nane*, *nothing*, *nauayes*, passim: *ouirthrau*, 74, 4: *quha*, passim: *quha(i)se*, 100, 12; 102, 11; 162, 2; 176, 1: *sa*, passim: *shau* (sb. and vb.), 32, 7; 70, 4, 5; 129, 1, &c.: *slau*, 103, 1, 2: *stane*, 119, 10: *thrau*, 28, 9; 200, 4: *tua*, passim. And with the *i* to mark a long vowel: *almaiste*, 155, 1: *betaikinnes*, 176, 13: *baith*, passim: *claithis*, 172, 6; 174, 1, 3; 175, 4, &c.: *haill*, passim: *mair(e)*, *maist*, passim: *raise*, 75, 6: *staines*, 174, 8: *thaise*, 36, 5; 39, 4; 60, 9; 73, 4, &c.: *Holde*, 134, 7, and *uorst*, 89, 9, are southern forms, the Scots forms corresponding to which have *a*. *Laich* (= slow) is from O.N. *lāgr*.

(ii) Northern *a* from O.E. *a* is retained in *amang*, 53, 1; 56, 1; 61, 3; 123, 7; 186, 11, but cf. *among*, 72, 7; 123, 6; 167, 2: *bandis*, 82, 1: *belangis*, 122, 7, but cf. *belongis*, 133, 8; 138, 7; 205, 1: *lang*, 73, 2; 75, 2; 78, 4, &c.: *langsum*,

184, 5: *langsumnes*(se), 146, 4, 7: *thrang*, 170, 3: *urang*, 76, 1; 178, 7, but *urong*(e) occurs at least fifteen times.

(iii) Northern *a* from O.E. (Anglian) *a* appears in *ualde*, which is very frequent, but *uolde* is just as common.

(iv) Northern *a* from O.E. (Anglian) *e* before *r* followed by a consonant is retained in *uarke*, 28, 7; 90, 11; 92, 3; 105, 7, but *uorke* is slightly more frequent: *uarlde*, 30, 2; 32, 5; 51, 6; 57, 8; 74, 1, but *uorlde* occurs four or five times: *uar(l)dlie*, 27, 1; 127, 3, but cf. *uordlie*, 128, 8.

(v) *a* is written for *au* in (*for*)*falt* (*ouris*), 60, 8, 10; 65, 1; 112, 9; 127, 5, but cf. *faultis*, 66, 1; 72, 5.

(vi) The *a* in *pansiue*, 168, 7, and in *parfuming*, 176, 3, is of French origin.

(vii) *a* is written for an earlier long mid-front slack vowel, represented usually in England in the sixteenth century by *ea*, in *chape*, 91, 2: *ressaue*, 9, 3; 56, 8; 166, 9: *ressaueris*, 116, 3. This had almost certainly become a tense sound in late Middle Scots. Such spellings are not uncommon in late Middle Scots, cf. par. 9 (ii), below.

8. *aa* is written regularly for *a* in *aage*, 58, 3; 108, 2; 109, 5; 125, 5, &c.; and once in *paages*, 195, 4, but cf. *pagis*, 108, 1.

9. As well as those noted in pars. 6 and 7 (i) above, *ai* has the following uses:—

(i) It is invariable in the plural forms of the third personal pronouns which are written *thay*, *thair*(e), *tham*(e), in the adverb *thair*(e) and its compounds, in the relative adverb *quhair*, whether alone or compounded with another word, and in *uair*, the past tense of the verb *to be*.

(ii) In a number of words, most of which had formerly a short vowel: (a) before *r* followed by a consonant: *airmed*, 175, 2: *airmie*, 100, 10: *airmis*, 189, 3: *airt*, 143, 8; 150, 13; 151, 6: *cairteris*, 193, 5: *cairtes*, 192, 4; 193, 1; 194, 1: *chairge*, 8, 2; 9, 9; 10, 6, &c.: *dischairge*, 27, 8; 52, 2, 3; 54, 12, &c.: *gairdein*, 37, 10; 130, 8: *hairt*, passim: *hazairde*, 100, 10; 102, 7; 194, 4; 195, 2: *hazairdouse*, 7, 8: *inuairde*, 162, 9, but cf. *inuardest*, 118, 11: *lairgelie*, 32, 10: *lairger*, 33, 8: *mairchai*(i)ntis, 89, 3; 91, 1, 5: *outuairde*, 199, 5; 200, 2, 13, but cf. *outuuarde*, 162, 7: *pairt*, passim: *pairtaker*, 133, 3: *pairtetie*, 142, 2, but cf. *paritie*, 77, 2, 4; 79, 9: *regairde*, 86, 11: *reuairde*, 34, 1; 50, 9; 64, 5; 110, 12, &c., but cf. *reuarding*, 147, 7, and *reuardis*, 56, 8: *shairpe*, 61, 1; 68, 6; 116, 4; 149, 1; (b) before other consonants: *daiggeris*, 176, 12: *maister*, 55, 3; 111, 6; 114, 4; 150, 14: *maitter*, 66, 4; 76, 6; 96, 7; 116, 3, &c.: *paithe*, 137, 2: *uraike*, 63, 8;

74, 13; 132, 11: *uraith*, 152, 8, 10; 153, 4. In view of the earlier value of the vowel in these words and of its value in the modern vernacular in many of them, which is short mid-front slack, *ai* can here hardly represent the same sound as it does in the words with *ai* which are given in pars. 6 and 7 (i), above. It is suggested that James's spelling is an attempt to indicate a pronunciation similar to that of to-day without wholly abandoning the traditional spelling of those words in which it occurred.

(iii) In *hairt*, *passim*, and *desairtis*, 78, 4, it represents earlier *e* before *r* followed by a consonant. But cf. *desertis*, 98, 6.

(iv) Occasionally *ai* is used to represent an earlier long mid-front slack vowel which had apparently survived the sound-shift largely unaltered. The instances in *Basilicon Doron* are *braithing*, 78, 5, and *laiser*, 42, 9; 98, 7; 185, 4; 200, 5. They have very different sounds to-day in the vernacular, cf. par. 7 (vii), above.

(v) *ai* appears instead of *e* in *regrate*, 58, 8.

(vi) *ai* also replaces *e* in the agent suffix in the following words: *allurairis*, 200, 3; *comittaire*, 58, 1; 65, 4; *dependairis*, 83, 2; *executairis*, 87, 5; *followairis*, 105, 10; *helpaire*, 126, 10, but cf. *helper*, 128, 3; 133, 6; *mouaire*, 28, 1; *offendaires*, 158, 1, but cf. *offendoure*, 152, 8; *rentairis*, 136, 5; *reulaire*, 58, 5; 138, 1; *solistairis*, 114, 2; *upbringaires*, 155, 5; *urittaire*, 190, 1, and in the adjective, *longaire*, 204, 7. *pouaire*, 155, 1, also occurs, but *pouer* is the normal form.

(vii) *ai* is found instead of *a* in certain adjectival endings—e.g., *exemplaire*, 106, 7; *particulaire*, 6, 3; 30, 4; 38, 4; 49, 9; 55, 7; 56, 4, &c.: *populaire*, 74, 6; 181, 1; *vulgaire*, 137, 4.

10. Middle Scots *a* from O.E. (Anglican) lengthened *a* before *l* followed by another consonant is written *au*—e.g., *aulde*, 32, 6; 53, 5; 80, 2, &c., but cf. *olde*, 162, 1; *caulde*, 174, 9; 202, 1, but cf. *colde*, 174, 7; *cauldenes*, 38, 10; *haulde*, 59, 7; 60, 5; 83, 1; 163, 6; 177, 8, but cf. *behoulde*, 162, 3; *holde*, 134, 7; *taulde*, 145, 10. This spelling also occurs in *herauldis*, 49, 6, which is a word of French origin. The English spelling, *boldlie*, occurs at 106, 8.

Note. *Aucht*, *passim*, shows the normal development of O.E. *ā* before a guttural, and *saull*, 37, 8, 9; 131, 2, is normally descended from O.E. *sawol*.

11. In a number of words of French origin *au* is written for *a* before *n* followed by another consonant whereas we write *a*—e.g., *aduaunce*, 79, 4; 81, 5, but cf. *aduaunce*, 203, 8; *auncient*, 72, 10; 73, 8; 167, 2, but cf. *ancientnes*, 178, 8:



*glounce*, 177, 8; 178, 3: *graunte*, 25, 2; 39, 4; 66, 1; 83, 10, &c.: *marchauntis*, 89, 4, but cf. *ma(i)rcha(i)ntis*, 89, 3; 91, 1, 5: *plaunte*, 25, 3; 70, 11; 71, 2; 81, 2, but cf. *plantid*, 41, 9: *seruaundis*, 110, 7, but *seruandis* occurs about a score of times: *seruauntis*, 107, 5; 113, 12; 114, 2, 6, 8; 181, 5, but cf. *seruantis*, 106, 2; 119, 6; 121, 2. The *u* present in the modern spelling is omitted from *stanshing*, 127, 1, but *haunte*, 146, 9; 165, 9, and *taunting*, 180, 4, have their present-day spelling.

12. In a number of words derived from Latin, mostly ones beginning with the prefix now written *pre-*, the Latin *æ* is retained—e.g., *æffeminate*, 176, 2; 179, 10: *æquall*, 119, 4: *æstimation*, 48, 13: *æternall*, 56, 11: *fælicitie*, 55, 9; 121, 10, but cf. *felicite*, 56, 11: *hæresies*, 43, 5: *præceidis*, 84, 7: *præceptis*, 99, 3: *præceptouris*, 155, 6: *præcise(lie)*, 28, 12; 48, 11; 50, 5; 84, 4; 97, 6, &c.: *prædecessouris*, 65, 9; 66, 5: *præface*, 11, 8: *præferre*, 82, 1; 109, 8; 110, 10, 12, &c.: *præferrement*, 79, 7: *præiudge*, 73, 7; 163, 2: *præoccupied*, 162, 8: *præoccupation*, 202, 1: *præparatife*, 98, 2: *præparation*, 122, 3: *præposterouse*, 141, 11: *præservatife*, 79, 4, but cf. *preservatife*, 44, 1: *præsume*, 38, 13, but cf. *presumption*, 76, 13: *præsupposid*, 177, 5: *prætendit*, 84, 6: *prætensis*, 55, 10: *præuention*, 159, 9.

13. James normally writes *e* where it would also be used in English, but the following spellings are found in the MS.: (i) it is retained for earlier *e* before *r* followed by itself or another consonant in *querrell*, 68, 8; 76, 1, 3; 97, 4; 99, 10; 119, 2: *querrellouse*, 118, 9: *sterue*, 141, 9; (ii) it is written for *a* in *messe*, 178, 8; (iii) for *ai* in *aquent*, 34, 9, 13: *dentie*, 168, 5; (iv) for *ei* in *uecht*, 7, 5; 8, 2; 144, 5; 201, 3; (v) for *i* in *fechte*, 104, 6: *imprentid*, 160, 1: *preuilie*, 184, 7; (vi) of French origin: *uergine*, 122, 8: *uertu*, *uertuouse*, passim; (vi) in *outleue*, 154, 1, and in *geuin*, 60, 2; 97, 1; 183, 9: *geuing*, 61, 10; 136, 9; 178, 2, we have represented an intermediate stage in the Northern development of O.E. *i* to the long high-front tense vowel of the modern vernaculars. But cf. *line*, 46, 1: *liuing*, 45, 8; (vii) *uemen*, 134, 10, is a common spelling in late Middle Scots.

14. In Middle Scots, as in Middle English, there were two long mid-front sounds, a slack and a tense, which fell together some time in the first half of the sixteenth century. But the spelling of the words in which they appeared had been stereotyped before the sound-shift which brought about the coalescence of the two sounds; hence the same sound was written in a variety of ways. James uses no fewer than eight



ways of representing the sound descended from the earlier long mid-front vowels.

(i) *æ* appears in *græke*, 186, 7. This is probably a Latinism.

(ii) The earlier Scots manner of writing the two vowels under discussion here was by *e*. This method is still used by James in the following words: *beleue*, 48, 2, but cf. *beleaning*, 33, 6: *bene*, 73, 10; 74, 2, 12; 116, 6, &c.: *beraris*, 49, 4: *breke*, 45, 3, but cf. *breake*, 65, 7: *clene*, 122, 9, but cf. *cleane*, 122, 6; 125, 8, and *cleinlie*, 172, 6: *herafter*, 10, 8, but elsewhere it is written *heir*: *leue* (sb.), 71, 5, but cf. *leauē* (vb.), 9, 8; 31, 4; 56, 10; 80, 4, &c.: *meddou*, 139, 7: *nere*, 82, 11, but cf. *neir*, 121, 5; 124, 9; 190, 6: *quene*, 121, 1; 137, 3, 7: *ressone*, 145, 9, but cf. *reason*, 79, 6; 80, 7; 91, 4; 114, 10, &c.: (*pleate*)*sleues*, 177, 4: *thefis*, 78, 11; 138, 10: *uelth*, 92, 6. Of these, *beleue*, *bene*, *her*, *quene*, *sleues*, and *thefis* had originally a tense vowel, the others a slack one.

(iii) Middle English normally used *ea* to represent its high mid-front slack vowel. This combination was gradually introduced into Scots for the same purpose, but some writers were more sparing in its use than others. James employs it a great deal, and on the whole very consistently; though his use of it differs in certain respects from modern usage, it agrees fairly well with the English practice of the sixteenth century.

(a) The following words are spelled as they are to-day: *appeale*, *appearance*, *appearid*, but cf. *appeire*, 152, 3; 155, 9: *beare*, *beame*, *beastis*, *beastlie*, *beat*, *beneath*, *breade*, *breakeris*, *breake*, but cf. *breke*, 45, 3: *ceast*, *cleane*, but cf. *clene*, 122, 9, and *cleinlie*, 172, 6: *creatid*, *dead*, *dearest*, but cf. *deir*, 90, 1; 92, 4: *death*, *displeasure*, *dreamed*, *eare*, *earnest*, *earthe*, *earthlie*, *ease*, *easie*, *easier*, *easiest*, *easilie*, *eate*, *feare*, *feasting*, *great*, *great(t)er*, *great(t)est*, *heade*, *heapes*, *heare*, but cf. *heir*, 148, 10: *heate*, *heauen*, *heauenlie*, *heauie*, *increase*, *leade*, *leane*, *learne*, *least*, *leauē* (vb.), but cf. *leue* (sb.), 71, 5: *meane*, *measure*, *meate*, *perceaued*, *pleasant*, *pleasantlie*, *please*, but cf. *pleise*, 90, 7; 192, 11: *preachouris*, *procreation*, (all)*readdie*, *readelie*, *reading*, but *reid* is much more common, *reason*, but cf. *ressone*, 145, 9, (un)*reasonable*, *searche*, *searcheris*, *seasonis*, (un)*seasonable*, *seate*, *speake*, but cf. *speike*, which is much more common, *speakeris*, *suearing*, *teache*, *teacher*, *treason*, *treasurer*, *treatise*, *ueakenes*, *ueaponis*, *ueare*, *ueareris*, *uearie*, *uearied*; *yeare*, *zeale*. All of these, except *feare*, had originally a slack vowel.

(b) *ea* also appears for an original long slack vowel, now written *ei*, in *conceat* (*is*), 47, 8; 48, 4; 126, 4, &c.: *deceatefull*, 129, 1: *deceauē*, 130, 6; 154, 7; 192, 3, 6: *disceatfull*, 51, 7:

*perceaued*, 82, 7 : *receauid*, 54, 5, but cf. *ressaue*, 9, 3 ; 56, 8 ; 166, 9.

(c) *ea* also appears for an original long slack vowel now written *e*, in *extream(e)(lie)*, 100, 7 ; 141, 3, 4, 6, 7 ; 190, 9, but cf. *extremities*, 141, 1 : *secreacie*, 170, 7, but cf. *secrecie*, 159, 2 : *secreate*, 51, 1 ; 170, 6 : *secreatis*, 170, 8, but cf. *secreitis*, 36, 9, and in *seuear(e)(lie)*, 118, 4 ; 132, 7 ; 146, 11, which originally had a tense vowel.

(d) *ea*, however, represents an original tense vowel, now written *ee*, in *fealing*, 41, 10, but cf. *feelee*, 156, 10 : *feil(l)*, (*ing*), (*is*), 43, 2 ; 156, 11 : *heade*, 78, 2 ; 106, 9 ; 114, 12, 14, &c. : *keape*, 125, 8, but cf. *keipe*, which occurs more than thirty times : *neade*, 30, 5, but the normal spelling is *neid* : *proceeding*, 74, 7, but cf. *proceid*, (*ing*), (*is*), 138, 3 ; 171, 6 : *speache*, 184, 1, but cf. *speiche*, 86, 4 ; 182, 7.

(e) *ea* also represents an original tense vowel, now written *ie*, in *beleauing*, 33, 6, but cf. *beleue*, 48, 2.

(iv) (a) By James *ei* is written for an original long mid-front tense vowel as in *asleipe*, *broid(e)*, *cheir*, *cheirfull*, *creip*, *deis* (*is*), *exeid*, *feill*, but cf. *fealing*, 41, 10 : *indeid*, *keipe*, but cf. *keape*, 125, 8 : (*un*)*meit*, *meit(t)er*, *meit(t)est*, *meitings*, *neide*, but cf. *neade*, 30, 5 : *preined* : *proceiding*, but cf. *proceeding*, 74, 7 : *quheillis*, *reike*, *seid*, *seiking*, *sleipe*, *speid*, *speiche*, but cf. *speache*, 184, 1 : *succeide*, *sueit*.

(b) *ei* is also written for an original long tense vowel, now written *ie*, in *cheif(e)*, (*est*), (*lie*), (*is*), 55, 7 ; 67, 1 ; 70, 8 ; 81, 8 ; 87, 8, &c. : *feildis*, 175, 1 : *freind(is)*, (*les*), (*lie*), (*shippe*), 38, 2 ; 69, 10 ; 119, 2 ; 128, 12, &c. : *greiuouse*, 45, 4 ; 123, 7 ; 124, 1 : *peice*, 199, 7 : *preiste*, 145, 8.

(c) But *ei* is written for an original long slack vowel, now written *ea*, in *appeire*, 152, 3 ; 155, 9, but cf. *appeairid*, 74, 6, and *appearance*, 110, 1 : *cleinlie*, 172, 6, but cf. *cleane*, 122, 6 ; 125, 8, and *clene*, 122, 9 : *cleire*, 180, 1 ; 192, 8, 10 : *compeire*, 42, 10 : *deir(est)*, 90, 1 ; 92, 4, but cf. *dearest*, 6, 5 : *heir* (vb.), 148, 10, but cf. *heare*, 28, 7, 9 ; 96, 4 ; 98, 7, &c. : *meine* (vb.), 73, 5, but cf. *meane*, 43, 5 ; 67, 5 ; 137, 4, &c. : *neir(er)*, (*est*), 121, 5 ; 124, 9 ; 190, 6, but cf. *nere*, 82, 11 : *pleise*, 90, 7 ; 192, 11, but cf. *please*, 28, 11 ; 33, 2 ; 42, 8 ; 114, 11, &c. : *reid*, 28, 2 ; 34, 3, 5 ; 36, 1, 4, &c., but cf. *reading*, 193, 11 : *reueil(l)*, 31, 6 ; 37, 1 ; 47, 1 ; 68, 1 : *speike*, 38, 12 ; 49, 4 ; 65, 8 ; 69, 12 ; &c., but cf. *speake*, 70, 1 ; 72, 6 ; 164, 6 ; 179, 1, 2 ; 182, 2, and *speakaris*, 93, 4 : *ueill* (sb.), 40, 10 ; 41, 7 ; 55, 6 ; 56, 4, &c. : *yeire*, 91, 3, but cf. *yeare*, 93, 4 ; 96, 1, 3 ; 156, 4 ; 175, 5 : *ueill* (adv.) is frequent and normal, but *uell* is also found—e.g., at 59, 9 ; 94, 10 ; 102, 2 ; 103, 8, &c.

(v) *ee* can occur in two positions. (a) In open final syllables, being retained when inflectional endings are added—e.g., *agree*, 80, 1; 83, 10; 103, 3; 191, 9: *cuntree*, 72, 5; 88, 3, 5; 150, 12; 176, 13; 180, 10, but it is also written *cuntrey*, 59, 2; 64, 4; 72, 10; 74, 4; 96, 2; 116, 9, &c.: *cunyee*, 64, 10; 90, 6: *cunzee*, 91, 7: *dee*, 45, 8, but cf. *die*, par. (vii), below: *disagreement*, 129, 7; 130, 1: *free*, 37, 10; 43, 2; 91, 6; 95, 4, &c.: *heelande*, 70, 1; 78, 10, but cf. *hie*, par. (vii), below: *lee*, 46, 10; 78, 10, 12, but cf. *lie*, par. (vii), below: (*for*), (*ouer*) *see*, 40, 9; 41, 6; 66, 11; 100, 4; 103, 4, &c.: *suplee*, 98, 2: *three*, 8, 7; 72, 11; 80, 2, &c. (b) In closed monosyllables—e.g., *feelee*, 156, 10, but cf. *fealing*, 41, 10, and *feiling*, 43, 2; 156, 11: *keepe*, 9, 10; 99, 8; 134, 5; 168, 7, &c., but cf. *keape*, 125, 8, while *keipe* occurs more than thirty times: *peerer*, 87, 1: *sleepe*, 169, 1, but cf. *sleiping*, 43, 7; 164, 5; 168, 11. In both groups the original vowel was a long mid-front tense one.

(vi) The *eo* in *peopill*, passim, represents an earlier long mid-front tense vowel. This is the only word with this spelling.

(vii) *ie* occurs in *die*, 72, 8: *hie(nes)*, 26, 6; 49, 6; 59, 8: *lieing*, 46, 5, 8. This, for the first and last of them, is also the English spelling, but in all three the *ie* represents a pronunciation different from the English one, since these words developed one way in the Northern dialects of Middle English and another way in the Southern ones. About 1600 in Scotland they almost certainly had a long high-front tense sound developed from a long mid-front tense one.

(viii) *æ* appears in certain words, ultimately of Greek origin where *e* is now found—e.g., *comædians*, 188, 4; 197, 7: *comædies*, 197, 8: *æconomike*, 106, 3: *tragædie*, 198, 3.

15. As well as being used as described in the previous paragraph *ea* is also used as follows: (a) For *a* in *treade*, 91, 1, and *pleate*, 177, 4. (b) For *e* in *alleadging*, 180, 5: *bleamishe*, 26, 3, but cf. *blemishe*, 109, 6: *interpretate*, 28, 11, but cf. *interpretate*, 36, 7; 40, 10; 140, 4; 183, 6: *leacherie*, 174, 5: *leaprouse*, 26, 4, but cf. *leprouse*, 43, 5, and *leprosie*, 43, 4; 44, 1: *least*, 120, 2. The origin of *prease*, 27, 2; 36, 5, 7; 40, 7; 54, 10; 88, 10, &c., is, according to *O.E.D.*, obscure. On *feade*, 83, 6; 85, 2, 8, see *O.E.D.* under *FEUD* (sb.)

16. In addition to the uses illustrated in par. 14 above, *ei* is also found (a) for *i* in *heich*, 155, 8: *promaise*, 11, 4; 97, 7; 131, 8, &c., but cf. *promises*, 37, 7: *spreit*, 32, 3; 35, 5; 126, 1; 176, 1; 182, 2: *steir*, 116, 9; 124, 4; (b) for *ai* in verbs derived from Latin *teneo*—e.g., *abstein(e)*, 29, 1, 2; 98, 5, 8; 123, 4, &c.: *atteine*, 46, 2, but *attaine*, 54, 10:



*containe*, 32, 7, 9; 33, 7, 9; 34, 2, 4; 48, 9; 49, 2; 144, 9, but cf. *containe*, 144, 4; *interteine*, 168, 10, but cf. *intertenie*, 79, 4, and *intertening*, 94, 3; *mainteine*, 77, 1; 81, 3; 83, 4; 120, 7, &c., but cf. *maintaine*, 55, 1; 83, 2; *obteine*, 40, 5, but cf. *obtainis*, 56, 11; *reteine*, 105, 5, but cf. *retaine*, 186, 5; *susteinis*, 58, 1. For the significance of this spelling, see *The Works of William Fowler* (Scottish Text Society), vol. iii. (1940), p. lix. (c) For *e* in the ending in *burdein*, 144, 5, and *burthein*, 54, 5, but the *en* ending is commoner: *gairdein*, 37, 10; 130, 8; *kitchein*, 158, 2. (d) For *ui* in *beildit*, 180, 2.

17. In a number of words *eu* is written for *u* and in certain others for final *ue*. (a) For *u*: *deutie*, 8, 8; 27, 9; 54, 3; 83, 11, &c.: *deutifull*, 7, 9; *reule* (sb. and vb.), 24, 1, 2; 25, 8; 28, 12; 32, 4, &c.: *reulaire*, 58, 5; 138, 1. (b) For final *ue*: *bleu*, 92, 5; *deu*, 54, 11; 62, 1; 85, 2; 88, 1, &c.: *treu*, 46, 2; 51, 2; 54, 1; 109, 2, &c.: *treuth*, 68, 1; 120, 4, &c.

18. Short *i* is usually etymological, but it also occurs in the following places: (a) for *e* in *mirri(e)*, (*nes*), 94, 4; 180, 3, &c., but cf. *merrilie*, 181, 6. (b) For *ei* in *counterfitte*, 53, 5; 56, 1; 150, 8; *nichbouris*, 56, 10. (c) For earlier *ū*, now written *oo*: in *fit(ball)*, 188, 2, but cf. *futte*, 61, 6, and *foote-steppis*, 80, 5. (d) For earlier *u* in *rin*, 108, 9; 175, 3; 188, 7; 189, 6; 191, 4; 193, 1; 196, 10; *sindrie*, 52, 5; 112, 5; 186, 3.

19. For the most part *o* is used as it is now, but there are exceptions. It is used (a) for earlier *a* in *monie*, 63, 8; 105, 6; 107, 6; 154, 8; 186, 2, but cf. *many*, 43, 1; 78, 11; 90, 11; 170, 7; 180, 6; 194, 9; *ony*, 67, 3, but cf. *any*, 106, 7; 171, 5; 204, 7. (b) For earlier *ū* in *accomptis*, 123, 3, but cf. *accoumptid*, 130, 11; *bontie*, 128, 11; *compte*, 30, 8; 42, 5; 44, 3, 6; 45, 6, &c., but cf. *counte*, 149, 1. (c) For earlier *u* in *number*, 37, 3; 63, 5; 79, 6; 95, 3, but cf. *number*, 91, 9; *onder*, 61, 6. But *number* is found at all the corresponding places in the print of 1599. (d) Instead of *ou* in *althoch*, 41, 5; 42, 1; 57, 1, 7; 68, 2, &c.: *brocht*, 107, 9; 113, 7; 200, 5; *nocht*, 37, 4; 65, 5; *thoch*, 128, 10; 164, 7; *thocht* (sb. and vb.), 24, 1; 36, 10; 64, 1; 65, 6; 73, 2, &c.: *urocht*, 74, 4.

20. The spelling *oo* is employed as in English, but is also found for earlier *ū* in *floorish(ed)*, (*ing*), 81, 7; 92, 6, and *noorishe*, 81, 1; 82, 9. It is also found in *hoordis* (vb.), 149, 9, but cf. *hurding*, 141, 8.

21. The spelling *ou* is found in a number of places where it would not now be employed. (a) For *o* before *l* followed by a consonant in *behoulde*, 162, 3. This is an English, not a Scots, spelling. (b) For an earlier long mid-back tense rounded sound



in *roume*, 31, 4; 71, 2; 108, 2, &c. (c) For an earlier *ū* in *rouste*, 187, 6: and *souke*, 144, 2, but cf. *sukking*, 66, 8. Both of these words have since been shortened in Modern English, but they are usually still long in the modern Scots vernacular. (c) For an earlier *u* in *aboundance*, 90, 3: *aboundantlie*, 50, 5: *commounne*, 38, 6; 78, 3, &c.: *gouuerne*, 24, 3, 6: *gouuernouris*, 155, 5: *secounde*, 31, 3: *toung*, 30, 9; 120, 5; 179, 1; 182, 1; 202, 9. (d) For *u* in the ending now written *ure*—e.g., *iudicature*, 148, 6, 12: *pastoure*, 139, 7: *pictouris*, 184, 10. (e) For *o* in the ending now written *or*—e.g., *debtouris*, 156, 6: *declarature*, 183, 2: *dilatouris*, 148, 9: *erroure*, 148, 2: *exterioure*, 29, 6: *gouuernouris*, 155, 5: *horroure*, 46, 3: *intercessouris*, 84, 11: *interioure*, 29, 6: *minours*, 109, 1: *mirrour(e)*, 27, 10; 104, 7: *opressouris*, 69, 1, 12: *pastoure*, 80, 9; 81, 2: *præceptoure*, 9, 4: *succes-soure*, 7, 4: *tra(i)toure*, 67, 1; 68, 2. (f) For the agent ending *er* in *cursoure*, 66, 9: *offendoure*, 152, 8, but cf. *offendaires*, 158, 1: *preachouris*, 31, 2: *uaistoure*, 172, 1; and in *bordoure*, 70, 1; 71, 3; 78, 11, and *ordoure*, 77, 5; 81, 4; 82, 3; 88, 11, &c., but cf. *order*, 90, 8; 145, 6.

Note. *Lousenes*, 146, 5, represents the natural spelling of the Norse form from which it is descended.

22. James employs *u* much as it is still used, but he has also the following spellings: (a) For an earlier *ō* in *hurding*, 141, 8, but cf. *hoordis*, 149, 9. (b) For an earlier *ū* since shortened in *cuntree*, 72, 5; 88, 3, 5; 150, 12, &c.: *curage*, 152, 10; 181, 7: *curagieuse*, 188, 11: *cursoure*, 66, 9: *curtesie*, 97, 8: *futte*, 61, 6, but cf. *foote(steppis)*, 80, 5, and *fit(ball)*, 188, 2: *truble* (sb. and vb.), 41, 2; 73, 10; 114, 2; 116, 6; 136, 11; 194, 8, but cf. *trouble*, 41, 5; 71, 7. Of these, *futte* has been shortened only in the vernacular. (c) For earlier *u*, generally written *o*, in *becum(me)*, 43, 6; 57, 7; 75, 4; 106, 12; 108, 10; 187, 6: *culloure*, 49, 8; 60, 3; 62, 6; 140, 9; 156, 1: *cum*, 10, 3; 24, 7; 28, 8; 40, 4; 61, 11, &c., but cf. *come*, 180, 8: *cumlie*, 81, 4; 121, 2; 168, 6; 172, 7: *cumpanie*, 103, 10; 107, 1, 5; 108, 1; 109, 4, 7, &c.: *sum*, 31, 1; 35, 4; 36, 5; 49, 7; 57, 2, 3, &c.

23. In *tuichis*, 124, 9, the *ui* spelling stands for an earlier *ū* which was later shortened.

### C. GRAMMAR.

24. *Nouns*. The genitive singular and the plural forms of nouns end in either *is* or *es*, with the first of them about twice

as common as the second. Endings in *s*, though not rare, are less frequent than those in *es*.

25. *Adjectives*. The following instances of inflected adjectives occur: *ignorantis*, 77, 3, which is used as a noun: *inlandis*, 71, 1: and *strainingeris*, 92, 7. These are still present in Waldegrave's edition of 1603, but the vowel in the ending has in all three been dropped.

There is one inflected comparative form which would not now be used—*i.e.*, *lyker*, 167, 1; it disappeared in the first revision. Another, *greiuouser*, 45, 4, stood in the text till 1603. All of the following inflected superlatives, however, survived both revisions: *faithfullest*, III, 10: *hailsumest*, 166, 5: *honorablest*, 59, 8; 188, 8, but cf. *maist honorabill*, 189, 6: *iniustest*, 59, 10: *inuardest*, 118, 11: *maniest*, 165, 5: *publiquest*, 165, 4.

26. *Pronouns*. In the manuscript James does not use the singular forms of the second personal pronoun; in the plural of this person he distinguishes between *ye* and *you*, using the first as the nominative and the second as the accusative—*e.g.*, *Loue that god quhomto ye haue a double obligation, first for that he maid you a man & next for that he maid you as a littill godd, to sitte in his throne*, p. 25, 5-7. In the pronominal forms of the third person, *sho*, 131, 1; 133, 9; 134, 2, 13; 135, 1, is the only form found for the feminine singular nominative. In the same person, as has been already noted, par. 9 (i), the vowel of the plural forms is written *ai*—*i.e.*, they appear as *thai*, *thair(e)*, *tha(i)m(e)*.

The relative and interrogative pronouns have always *quh*-initially, never *wh*. The nominative form is always *quha*, and the possessive *quhai(s)e*; the accusative, on the other hand, is always *quhom(e)*. Beside the Scots form of the neuter, *quhilke(e)*, the Southern *quhiche* is also found, as at 77, 5; 88, 6, 11, 13; III, 7, 10; 143, 10; 150, 7; 162, 9; 192, 4. The inflected plural, *quhilkes*, is found at 37, 4; 60, 8; 66, 1; 88, 4; 127, 11; 129, 3. While at all these places the antecedent is plural, it is not with James an invariable rule that a plural antecedent must be followed by a plural relative pronoun, and when it is not the verb in the dependent clause may be in the singular if the relative pronoun is its subject—*e.g.*, *subiect to sum speciall uyces quhilke in a maner is thocht rather uertue nor uyce*, 73, 1: *mutinies quhilke in uarres is uonderfullie dangerouse*, 100, 11: *youre actions & cumpanie quhilke onlie is subiect to thair sicht*, 110, 2: *accessories quhilke aucht also to be respectid*, 127, 9, &c. An unusual stylistic feature is the

postponing of prepositions with *quhom*—e.g., *quhom at*, 63, 7 : *quhom of*, 66, 7 : *quhomto*, 6, 1, 4 ; 25, 5 ; 122, 7, &c.

27. *Verbs*. The following are the chief points of interest. *Present Tense*. The inflections of the present tense are *is* or *es*, which are about equally common. Their use follows the rules enunciated by Gregory Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots* (1902), p. xxxv, 6, i. The most striking use of the inflectional ending is with plural verbs whose subject is not a personal pronoun, or whose pronominal subject is separated from them by some intervening words. The following quotations illustrate both the inflected and uninflected use of the plural present : *Hou can thay loue you that hates thame quhom of ye are cum*, 66, 6 : *thaye bye for us the uorst uaires, & sellis thaim at the deirest pryces*, 89, 9-90, 1 : *uaine proude puritanis that thinkis thay reule him upon thaire fingers*, 38, 8. Other inflected present plurals are *beurayes*, 176, 7 : *callis*, 26, 5 : *concernis*, 114, 14 : *considderis*, 193, 6 : *destroyes*, 66, 7 : *differis*, 198, 10 : *disgyes*, 120, 4 : *does*, 28, 10 : *dois*, 174, 2 ; 180, 6 : *enclynes*, 173, 4 : *eskaipis*, 58, 2 : *flouis*, 129, 3 : *hoordis*, 149, 9 : *increassis*, 168, 3 : *makis*, 90, 11 : *prattellis*, 43, 1 : *rinnis*, 141, 2 : *sayes*, 154, 8 ; 179, 5 : *sees*, 109, 10 : *seruis*, 120, 7 ; 188, 4 : *spurris*, 191, 3 : *studdies*, 143, 6 : *succeidis*, 132, 5 : *thinkis*, 89, 5 ; 92, 3 ; 152, 6 : *tuichis*, 124, 9 : *uaistis*, 193, 5 : *uearis*, 86, 5 ; *uinnis*, 198, 5 : *usis*, 86, 5 ; 165, 7 : and the four which occur in the following brief sentence : *suppose the uictuallis fallis or ryces of thaire pryce according to the aboundance or skantnesse thairof, yett the pryces of thaire uayres euer ryces but neuer fallis*, 90, 1-4.

*Preterites and Past Participles* : (a) *Strong Verbs*. The following preterite singulars, now obsolete, are found : *brake*, 86, 8, where it is still found in the 1603 text : *fande*, 61, 6 ; 64, 3 ; III, 10, but cf. *founde*, 67, 2 ; 78, 10 : *raise*, 75, 6 : *sheu*, 52, 4 ; 61, 5 ; 104, 3 ; III, 3 ; 147, 7 ; 151, 2, at all of which places save the second and the second last it was changed to *shewed* in the first revision of the text, these two instances still appearing in the edition of 1603.

Obsolete preterite plurals found are *baid*, 67, 4 : *begouth*, 74, 10 : *fande*, 41, 7 : *gatt*, 74, 9. Of these *begouth* alone survived all the revisions ; the others were changed in 1599, *baid* to *bode* and the remaining two to their present form.

The past participle of strong verbs is normally formed as it is now, but there are the following exceptions : *burstin*, 80, 7 ; 145, 10 : *gottin*, 101, 1 ; 132, 13 ; 192, 8, surviving both revisions : *uashin*, 42, 11. In addition, there are these weak

past participles for strong verbs: *becumd*, 43, 6: *choosed*, 196, 12: *cumd*, 66, 4; 100, 13; 108, 4; 109, 2; 134, 13, but cf. *come*, 180, 8, and *cum*, 66, 7; 197, 10. The past participle of *take* is *tane*, 145, 5.

(b) *Weak Verbs*. The endings for the past tense and past participle of weak verbs are *d*, *ed*, *id*, *it*, and *t*. The first two of them are about equally common, and each exceeds all the others put together in slightly more than the ratio of two to one. There are two uninflected past participles of Latin origin, *accomodate*, 169, 8, and *execute*, 59, 3, and 103, 8. *Cledd*, 46, 6; 52, 1; 172, 3, &c., the past participle of *cleid*, to clothe, shows the same shortening as is seen in *fed*, *feed*, and verbs of that type.

28. *Adverbs*. There are five inflected adverbs. One, *radilier*, 71, 9, was removed in the first revision; another, *frequentlier*, 87, 2, went in the second; the remaining three, *easilier*, 88, 11, *hairtelier*, 166, 9, and *richelier*, 175, 7, were left in the final form of the text.

29. *Metathesis*. The only instances of metathesis are *thridde*, 8, 9; 88, 13; 91, 2, and *thridlie*, 158, 10, and 173, 8.

#### D. VOCABULARY.

Though the quotations from it in the *Oxford English Dictionary* show that *Basilicon Doron* was one of the works read for that great undertaking, there is still a little in the field of its vocabulary left to be picked up by the diligent gleaner. But first for what *O.E.D.* does tell.

From *Basilicon Doron* come *O.E.D.*'s only quotations for the forms, *enregistrate* and *gagoure*; its only quotations for the sense in which *dytement* and *passemaister* are there used; and its only quotations for both the form and meaning of *preined* and *preining*. In addition, *Basilicon Doron* provides *O.E.D.* with its earliest quotations for these words, *balladines*, *deboshed*, *fekles*, *mignarde*, *morgue*, *orping*, and *tuillesome*, and its earliest quotations for the sense in which *gage* and *tigging* are used by James.

With the help of the material which it itself supplies, it is possible to supplement *O.E.D.* in the following ways: (a) It does not record the following words found in *Basilicon Doron*: *archibellises*, *breshes*, *middesses*, and *rash-headie*; it does not record the meaning there given to these words, *caste*, *composition*, *pincell*, *spouse*, and *unhonestie*; nor for the use of these forms *accommodate*, *delicatie*, and *dicton*. (b) Its earliest quotations



for the following words are later than the date when *Basilicon Doron* was composed: *affectatlie* (1635),<sup>1</sup> *arbitrall* (1609), *compte-booke* (1605), *gysaires* (1626), *intertayner* (1635), *rumling* (1815). So also are its earliest quotations for the sense in which these words are used. So also in *Basilicon Doron*: *bang it out* (1600), *concised* (1660), *conuince* (1648), *curiositie* (1605), *entrance* (1612), *euangellis* (1614), *papiste*, adj. (1819), *particulairis* (1610), *peccant* (1604), *præoccupation* (1603), *textaire* (1608), *uall* (1629), *vented* (1678), *wracke*—i.e., to punish (1635), and for the form, *comentaire* (1641). (c) Similarly, *Basilicon Doron* provides an instance of the use of *distingue* (1596)<sup>2</sup> later than the date of *O.E.D.*'s last quotation for it; so also with the sense in which it uses the following: *allie* (1587), *exame* (1588), *famous* (1589), *fault* (1591), *hairtlines* (1452), *redact* (1560), *richteouse* (1596), *sporters* (1596), *visie* (1549), and with the spellings, *apocrife* (1546) and *menstrally* (1567).

<sup>1</sup> The date in brackets is that of the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation.

<sup>2</sup> The date in brackets is that of the last *O.E.D.* quotation.

## VI.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(Items for which little or no information has been obtained are indicated by an asterisk. In title-pages only the style of type used, not the size, is shown.)

## A. MANUSCRIPT.

1. The original autograph manuscript has fortunately survived the chances of time, and is now in the Royal collection of MSS. in the British Museum, where its press-mark is *MS. Royal 18. B. xv.* It is thus described in the Museum's *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (1921), vol. ii., p. 293 :—

“ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. *Autograph.* Paper: ff. ii+34. 12 in. × 7½ in. (inlaid). *Circ.* 1598. In the original binding of purple velvet (rebacked) with the King's initials and arms on each cover, corner pieces and clasps (a crowned thistle) in plates of gold. One of the plates of arms, one of the corner pieces, the whole of one clasp and the moving part of the other were missing, as noted on the flyleaf by Andrew Gifford, Assistant Librarian of the Museum (d. 1784), before the time at which it came into his hands. The surviving plate of arms is also defective, wanting the heads, tails, etc., of the supporters.”

Below the royal arms is the motto, “In my defence God me defend.”

The existence of this MS. seems to have been first noted by Ellis, *Original Letters* (1824), vol. iii., p. 79 note. The folios of which it is composed are numbered

only on the recto in the top right-hand corner, and the text of *Basilicon Doron* ends at the foot of the recto of fol. 31. The number of lines of writing to a page varies from twenty to twenty-nine, but the normal number is from twenty-two to twenty-five. The MS. is written in an easily read hand of the French type used by James's mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, and has been heavily corrected by James himself; it is printed for the first time in the first volume of this edition where all the alterations made by James are given in the footnotes to it. The three books of which the work is composed are each written continuously with an almost complete absence of paragraphing. Full-stops are also very scantily employed. The introductory sonnet is written in a preliminary unnumbered folio in a very neat hand of the type then normally in use in Scotland. The writer of it has not been identified. He, or someone who wrote an almost identical hand, has made a very few corrections in the text of *Basilicon Doron*. These are also given in the footnotes to the first volume.

The note by Gifford referred to in the Catalogue description of the MS. is on the verso of the first blank fly-leaf. It differs in one particular from the entry in the *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, and reads as follows:—

“Memorand<sup>m</sup>. The Two Clasps & Two of the Clasp plates one of the Gold plates of arms broke of and lost and one of the Gold corners before it came into the hands of A. Gifford.”

On the back of the blank leaf following fol. 31 a hand almost contemporary with the rest of the MS. has made the following note, which is now very difficult to read because the letters were originally very carelessly formed and the ink is now so faded as to be in places almost invisible:—

“Sonet befoir the preface  
the preface  
the thre buikis divydet in order

In the first buik mak first a litle diuisioun bot /  
 a little difference betuix ilk ane of . . .<sup>1</sup> /  
 fayth prayer and the rest defyned thair./  
 In the second buik a difference betuix the office of a  
 king in the /  
 executing of his law and his behauour in his awin  
 persone and /  
 the persone of his companie another difference betuix  
 the king /  
 in his awin persone and the persone of his companie  
 and ane /  
 particular . . . at the end of euerie purpois "

## B. PRINTED TEXTS.

### 1. *Separate Issues.*

2. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ/ΔΩΡΟΝ./DEVIDED/INTO THREE  
 BOOKES. / (Ornament) / EDINBVRGH / PRINTED BY  
 RO. / *bert Walde- / graue Prin-* / ter to the Kings Majestie.  
 1599.

Quarto, printed in large italic letters, with paging, catchwords, and signatures. Signatures A-X in fours. First sheet, (A), unsigned, other sheets signed on first leaf; arabic numerals irregularly disposed on following leaves, in some cases on one leaf, in others on three leaves of the sheet.

Collation: A1, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A2, pp. [2], The Dedication; verso blank. A3, pp. [2], The Argument; verso blank. A4-B1<sup>a</sup>, pp. [2] + 1, To Henrie. B1<sup>b</sup>, p. 2, blank. B2-X4<sup>a</sup>, pp. 3-159, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. X4<sup>b</sup>, p. 160, blank.

The title is enclosed within a woodcut border, with a standing female figure in a compartment on either side. Above that on the left is AMOR, and below it *PACIS alumnus*; above that on the right is PAX, and below it

<sup>1</sup> The rest of this line is indecipherable.



*INFESTA malis*. This woodcut border had already been used by Waldegrave for the title-page of James's *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres*, published in 1591.

Scottish arms at foot of X4<sup>a</sup>.

The number in Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640* (1926), is 14348. The copy described is that in the British Museum, press-mark G.4993.

This is an anglicised version of No. 1. above, and according to James's own statement made in the address *To the Reader* which he prefixed to the edition of 1603, only seven copies of it were printed,<sup>1</sup> of which but two alone are certainly known to have survived to the present day. One is now in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, Ry. II. e.11, the other is that in the British Museum; very little can be discovered of their history before they came into the keeping of these institutions.

The copy in the National Library of Scotland came to it from the collection of the first Earl of Rosebery, by whom it had been acquired after the sale at Sotheby's in 1905 of the library of John Scott, Esq., C.B., of Halks-hill, Largs, Ayrshire; on that occasion it fetched £174.<sup>2</sup> Before Scott, it had been owned by Wm. Crabtree, Esq., and had fetched £51 when his library was sold, also at Sotheby's, in July 1890.<sup>3</sup> Further back than that it cannot be traced. As for the British Museum copy all that the authorities there can say of it is that "it was probably acquired by Grenville at some time between 1800 and 1846 and passed into the keeping of the Museum shortly after."<sup>4</sup>

Two nineteenth-century references, however, have been discovered to a copy, or copies, of this edition of *Basilicon Doron*, which may be to one or other of the two just mentioned, but which may equally well be to others which have not so far been traced. The earlier is to be

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 13: "I onely permitted seauen of them to be printed."

<sup>2</sup> *Book Prices Current*, 1905, p. 350, No. 3423.

<sup>3</sup> *Book Prices Current*, 1890, p. 444, No. 6817.

<sup>4</sup> Private communication.

found in M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (1819), vol. ii., p. 489, where he says, "I have before me now a copy of the first edition (of *Basilicon Doron*) belonging to Archibald Constable, Esq., Edinburgh." This statement was repeated in the 1856 edition of M'Crie's work, the one consulted by Dickson and Edmond while compiling their *Annals of Scottish Printing* (1890), on p. 446 of which they note M'Crie's statement, the presence of a copy of the 1599 edition of *Basilicon Doron* in the Heber sale, and the existence of the copy in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. They say that they are unable to determine whether the last of these is either Constable's or Heber's, but conjecture that it may have descended from Heber to Constable and from Constable to Grenville. Part of this conjecture is, however, untenable. M'Crie wrote in 1819, Constable went bankrupt in 1826 and died in the following year, and the Heber sale did not take place till 1834, when his copy of the 1599 edition was Lot 3709.<sup>1</sup> So a probable descent for the British Museum copy is Constable, Heber, and Grenville, from whom it passed to its present home. Then, on p. xxx of his Introduction to the Roxburghe Club reprint in 1887 of the first edition of *Basilicon Doron*, the editor, Charles Edmonds, wrote: "It has been generally believed that only one copy of the *original edition* of the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, Edinburgh, 1599, that in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, has come down to us; but the present writer is in a position to affirm, from his own personal knowledge, that a second copy was in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir David Dundas, of the Temple, London, and which, on his decease in 1877, passed by will, with his other books, to the Hon. Charles Howard. On the latter's death it became, we believe, the property of the present Earl of Carlisle." Inquiries, however, have failed to reveal the present whereabouts of this copy, unless it be that in the National Library of Scotland. To add to the prevailing uncertainty Scott states definitely

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Heberiana* (1834), vol. i., p. 194, No. 3709.

in his *Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 1544-1700* (Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1896), p. 63, that "Unless one of the two copies which have been visible at public auctions within the last ten years is the same as that attributed to the possession of the Earl of Carlisle, four of the original seven copies are still in existence." Unfortunately he omitted to say where these four copies he knew of were to be found, and we are left as much in the dark as before he wrote. In any case he seems to have been in error in saying that two copies of the 1599 edition had appeared in the public salerooms in the ten years preceding 1896, the date of his book, for the volumes of *Book Prices Current* covering the period record only one sale, that of 1890 noted above.<sup>1</sup>

3. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES IN- / STRVCTIONS TO HIS / DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY THE / PRINCE. / (Scottish Arms.) / EDINBVRGH / Printed by Robert Walde-graue / Printer to the Kings Majestie. / c1o.1o. c. iii.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, with paging, catchwords, and signatures. Signatures A<sup>8</sup>B<sup>4</sup>b<sup>4</sup>bb<sup>4</sup>C-I<sup>8</sup>K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup>. Forty pages unnumbered; 136 numbered, but the first three leaves on sig. L are wrongly numbered 149-154, instead of 129-134.

Collation: A, pp. [2], blank. A2, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A3, pp. [2], The Argument; verso blank. A4-8<sup>a</sup>, pp. [9], The Epistle. A8<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. B-bb<sup>4</sup><sup>a</sup>, pp. [23], To the Reader. bb<sup>4</sup><sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. C-L3<sup>b</sup>, pp. 1-154, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. L4, pp. [2], blank.

The copy described is that in the British Museum, press-mark, C.38.b.5. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14349. To their list of copies should be added that in Glasgow University

<sup>1</sup> But in the same period two copies of the Roxburghe Club reprint did pass through the salerooms. See *Book Prices Current*, 1888, p. 320, No. 5311, and *Book Prices Current*, 1894, p. 251, No. 3807. Did Scott mistake one or both of these for copies of the sixteenth-century volume?

Library, press-mark B1.4.k.7.<sup>1</sup> There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, press-mark, 28,183 (1).

Hitherto this has been regarded as the first public edition of *Basilicon Doron*, and was printed as such in the first volume of this edition. But the bibliographical researches of F. S. Ferguson, Esq., into the early editions of this work strongly suggest that it was actually printed in London, and not in Edinburgh, as the title-page says, and, further, that the first issue of the revised and expanded form of *Basilicon Doron* was No. 4 below. Mr Ferguson is preparing for publication an account of his discoveries.

4. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES / IN-  
STRVCTIONS TO / HIS DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY  
THE / PRINCE. / (Scottish Arms.) / AT LONDON /  
Imprinted by *Felix Kyngston*, for *Iohn / Norton*, according  
to the copie printed / at *Edenburgh*. 1603.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, with paging, catchwords, and signatures. Signatures )( <sup>8</sup>A<sup>8</sup>B-I<sup>8</sup>K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup>. Forty pages unnumbered: 134 numbered as in No. 3, above.

Collation.— )( , pp. [2], blank. )(2, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. )(3, pp. [2], The Argvment; verso blank. )(4-8<sup>a</sup>, pp. [9], The Epistle. )(8<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. A-B4<sup>a</sup>, pp. [23], To the Reader. B4<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. C-L3<sup>b</sup>, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. L4, pp. [2], blank.

The copy described is that in the British Museum, press-mark, 808.c.6. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14350. To their list of copies should be added one in Glasgow University Library, press-mark, BD.1.n.9, one in the Edinburgh Central Public Library, press-mark, JC. 393. C3, and also the copy of *Basilicon Doron* in Durham University Library,

<sup>1</sup> This is a composite volume in which *Basilicon Doron* is the last of the five pieces contained in it. The other four are Beza, *De Vera Excommunicatione*, 1590; Tiletan, *Confessionis Ministrorum Antwerpensium Confutatio*, 1561; Johannes de Sacrobosco, *De Anni Ratione*, title-page missing; and Sir Henry Horart, *The Charge of God and the King*, 1616. The volume is still in the original vellum binding.



press-mark, S.R. 5.A.36 [R.L.H. 4], which they list under No. 14353, and one in the editor's possession.

That all the resources which Kingston could command were mobilised for the task of getting the book out in the shortest possible time is strongly suggested by a comparison of such copies as it has been possible to examine. These have been ten in number and the bibliographical evidence divides them into two groups as follows :—

Group A : the Glasgow University copy noted above, three copies in Cambridge University Library, press-marks, F.14.39 ; Bb<sup>x</sup>.14.22 ; Dd<sup>x</sup>.5.15, and the present writer's copy.

Group B : the copies in Edinburgh Central Public Library, Durham University Library, and the British Museum noted above, the Cambridge University Library copy, press-mark, Syn.8.60.139, and the Bodleian copy.

Normally all have the same amount of printed matter to a page, but in twenty-one out of a hundred and thirty-four numbered pages, scattered all over the volume, the amount of matter in the Group A copies varies considerably from that on the corresponding pages in the other group. This can be seen by checking the pages given in the following table of catchwords against the printed pages in Vol. I. of this edition :—<sup>1</sup>

Page.	Group A.	Group B.	Page.	Group A.	Group B.
33	God,	be-	99	it	past
38	and	mult	100	in	nesse
50	set	hand.	107	ed	and
52	the	as	118	again,	uer
62	in	flesh	120	but	to
77	respects	lie	121	ser	game
80	uere	a	122	a free	where-
81	your	she	123	scure	nie
89	the	lie	124	ruled	to
93	<i>sar,</i>	of	125	Now,	can
94	out	fruites,			

Further differentiating Group A copies from those of Group B is the fact that they have no errors in their

<sup>1</sup> Waldegrave's setting-up is not identical with Norton's, but their paging is the same, and the amount of matter to a page varies only slightly between the one edition and the other.

signatures, page-numbers, or running-titles, while the others all have errors in all of these. Yet, as the following table shows, no two of them exhibit the same combination of errors :—

		B.M.	Camb.	Dur.	Edin.
<i>Wrong Signatures</i>	D3 omitted	x	x	x	x
	E4 for F4			x	x
	L3 omitted	x	x	x	x
<i>Wrong Page-numbers</i>	32 for 23				x
	73 for 63	x		x	x
	65 for 68	x	x	x	x
	68 for 86	x	x	x	
	44 for 94	x	x	x	
	59 for 95	x	x	x	
	126 for 116	x			
<i>Wrong Running-titles</i>	p. 25, FIRST for SECOND				x
	p. 45, THIRD for SECOND	x	x	x	x
	p. 105, SECOND for THIRD	x	x	x	
	p. 109, SECOND for THIRD	x	x	x	

A further difference in this group is that the Edinburgh copy is printed in two founts of type, distributed over the signatures as follows: (i) Type-fount *a*—sigg. C-D (pp. 1-32), H-I (pp. 81-112); (ii) Type-fount *b*—sigg. E-G (pp. 33-80), K-L (pp. 113-154—*i.e.*, 134). There are no differences noticeable in the unnumbered pages. Then, even in this group there may be differences in the setting though the amount of printed matter to a page is the same, as a comparison of p. 23 in the British Museum and Edinburgh copies will show :—

## B.M. copy.

BVT as ye are clothed/  
 with two callings,/   
 so must ye be alike/  
 carefull for the dis-/  
 charge of them/  
 both: that as yee/  
 are a good Christian, so ye may bee/  
 a good King, discharging your of-/  
 fice (as I shewed before) in the/  
 points of justice and equitie: which/  
 in two sundrie waies ye must doe: the/  
 one, in establishing and executing,/   
 (which is the life of the law) good/  
 lawes among your people: the other,/   
 by your behauiour in your owne person,/   
 and with your seruants, to/  
 (catchword, teach)

## Edinburgh copy.

BVT as yee are clothed/  
 with two callinges,/   
 so must yee be alike/  
 carefull for the dis-/  
 charge of them both :/  
 that as ye are a good/  
 Christian, so ye may be a good King,/   
 discharging your office (as I shewed/  
 before) in the points of justice and e-/  
 quitie: which in two sundry waies ye/  
 must do: the one, in establishing and/  
 executing (which is the life of the law)/   
 good lawes among your people; the/  
 other, by your behauiour in your owne/  
 person, and with your seruants, to/  
 (catchword, teach)

Yet there is overlapping between the two groups distinguished above since at sigg. )(3<sup>a</sup> and )(4<sup>a</sup>, and at pp. 1, 21, and 23 the Glasgow, Edinburgh, and B.M. copies have the same printer's ornaments and ornamental initials, and the first two agree in this respect at p. 101 also.

It is possible that the examination of other copies would increase the number of facts to be accounted for in any explanation of these differences without in any way simplifying them. Till this further examination can be made the following explanation is tentatively offered to account for the observed differences. (a) It seems certain that at least three compositors were employed in the setting up of *Basilicon Doron* for this edition; and there may even have been more. Some such suggestion as this appears to be the only reasonable explanation of the differences between one copy and another in the amount of printed matter on a page and in the variations of spelling to be seen in the specimen pages given above. It may even be that there were two or more separate issues with the same title-page. (b) The presence of so many errors in the three allied copies suggests some haste in getting the volume out, and the variations between copy and copy may be due to the sheets being corrected while they were being pulled and to corrected and uncorrected sheets being afterwards bound up together in a quite haphazard fashion. If the edition was produced in a hurry it must have been for some particular occasion. Three such occasions suggest themselves: the accession of James at the end of March 1603, his entry into London at the beginning of May; and his coronation early in July of the same year. Of the three I much prefer the first.

It only remains to mention an interesting note on the title-page of the Glasgow copy. It is in Scots and reads, "Bocht at Londo. / the last feb<sup>r</sup> / 1639 / For twa . . ." All of the word which should follow 'twa' has been cut

away except the first two letters, the first of which might be read as 'g' while the second, which is quite illegible, has above it a mark of contraction. On this note Dr W. R. Cunningham, the University Librarian, writes, "I am sorry that the effective word denoting the cost is illegible. I thought of guineas, groats, solidi, and *qa* for quadrantes. The first word is out of court, the second I have never met, the third is palaeographically difficult if not impossible, and the fourth is absurd."<sup>1</sup>

5. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES / IN-  
STRVCTIONS TO / HIS DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY  
THE / PRINCE. / (Printer's device.) / AT LONDON /  
Imprinted by *Felix Kyngston*, for *Iohn Norton*, according  
to the copie printed / at *Edenburgh*. 1603.

In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14351. Their No. 14352 is a 'ghost' edition, since the only copy which they list of it, locating it at Cambridge, turns out on examination to be in fact a copy of their No. 14351.

This edition is identical with No. 4 above, save for the printer's device on the title-page, and the description and collation given above for No. 4 hold good for this edition as well. The printer's device closely resembles Nos. 273 and 274 in M'Kerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 1485-1640 (Bibliographical Society. 1913), p. 105, which are thus there described: "Framed device of clasped hands emerging from clouds, holding a caduceus and two cornucopias. The motto, *By wisdom peace, By peace plenty*." It differs, however, from No. 273 in lacking the letters 'T. C.' below the clasped hands, and from No. 274 in having a rivet-head at the top instead of a cross.

The copies of this edition which have been examined fall into two distinct groups, here distinguished as Class A and Class B. To Class A belong the two copies in

<sup>1</sup> Private communication.



the British Museum, press-marks 720.a.32 and 722.d.5 respectively, the two Cambridge University Library copies, press-marks U.5.56<sup>a</sup> and Acton. d.25.959, and the copy in Sion College Library, press-mark, Arc. A.67.3<sup>a</sup>, Sco. 8. Class B is made up of the copy in the British Museum, press-mark 523.a.3, and the two copies in the Bodleian Library, press-marks *Pamph.* 1(2)—on the title-page of which the printer's device is inverted—and *Douce* I.134. A copy of the Class B type in the Library of Westminster Abbey, press-mark, CB.25, may have belonged to William Camden, the historian. It has his name on the recto of the blank leaf inside the front cover but not in the usual form in which he wrote his signature. The same hand has also written the name of his friend, William Feather. The distinguishing marks are these :—

- (a) The printer's ornaments on sig. )(4<sup>a</sup>, sig. A<sup>a</sup>, and p. 23 are different in the two classes, and so in the ornamented capital letter on p. 23.
- (b) The Class A copies alone have the running-title on the versos of sigg. C, D, K, and L in smaller Greek capitals than on the other signatures. Similarly, the Roman capitals used for the running-title on the rectos of sig. E and sig. F are peculiar to this group.
- (c) The Class B copies alone have the running-title on the versos of sig. D and sig. E in Roman capitals instead of in Greek.
- (d) The setting of the type is different. Thus, in the Class A copies a side-note on p. 26 appears in the form, *The issue|and reuards|of a good|King*, but in the Class B copies it appears as *The issue &|rewardes of|a good King*. The catchwords do not always agree, as the following table shows :—

	Class A	Class B
Sig. A8 <sup>b</sup>	to	at, <i>but it ought to be</i> to
P. 68	you,	you
P. 75	increase,	increase
P. 77	lie	ly

For further comparison the two settings of p. 23 are now given :—

Class A  
BVT as ye are clothed/  
with two callings,/   
so must ye be alike/  
carefull for the dis-/  
charge of them/  
both : that as yee/  
are a good Christian, so ye may bee/  
a good King, discharging your of-/  
fice (as I shewed before) in the/  
points of iustice and equitie : which/  
in two sundrie waies ye must doe : the/  
one, in establishing and executing,/   
(which is the life of the law) good/  
lawes among your people : the other,/   
by your behauiour in your owne/  
person, and with your seruants, to/  
(catchword, teach)

Class B  
BVT as ye are clothed/  
with two callinges,/   
so must yee be alike/  
carefull for the dis-/  
charge of them/  
both : that as ye/  
are a good Christian, so yee may be/  
a good King, discharging your of-/  
fice (as I shewed before) in the/  
points of iustice and equitie : which/  
in two sundry wayes ye must do : the/  
one, in establishing and executing,/   
(which is the life of the law) good/  
lawes among your people : the other,/   
by your behauiour in your owne/  
person, and with your seruantes, to/  
(catchword, teach)

Finally, it should be noted that three printers' errors are common to this edition and to the previous one. They are (1) the omission of the signature on D3, (2) the misprint of FIRST for Second on p. 25, and (3) the misprint of 65 for 68 in the page-numbering. This may point to No. 4 above having been set up from a copy belonging to Class B of this edition.

6. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ / ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES / IN-  
STRVCTIONS TO / HIS DEAREST SONNE, / HENRIE  
THE / PRINCE. / (Printer's device.) / AT LONDON, /  
Imprinted by *Richard Field*, for *Iohn Nor-* / *ton*, according  
to the Copie printed / at *Edenburgh*. 1603.

Copy described : Bodleian Library, press-mark, Wood 673 (i). This copy lacks the first blank leaf. The Bodleian has another copy, press-mark, Jessel f. 663, which lacks this leaf and also sig. )(8. An examination of their types and setting suggests that they are the products of two different printing-houses. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14353.

This edition is identical, save for the printer's device on the title-page, with Nos. 4 and 5, above, and the account given of No. 4 on p. 142 stands for it also. The printer's device is No. 192 in M'Kerrow, *Printers' and*

*Publishers' Devices*, 1485-1640 (Bibliographical Society. 1913), p. 72, where it is described as a "Framed device of an anchor suspended by a hand from the clouds, with *Anchora Spei*."

7. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES / IN-  
STRVCTIONS TO / HIS DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY  
THE / PRINCE. / (Printer's device.) / AT LONDON /  
Imprinted by *E. Allde*, for *E. VV.* and o- / thers of the  
company of the Stationers. / 1603.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, with paging, catch-words, and signatures. Signatures A-H<sup>8</sup>. Twenty-two pages unnumbered; one hundred and five numbered.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A2, pp. [2], The Argument; verso blank. A3-A4<sup>b</sup>, pp. [4], The Epistle. A5-B3<sup>b</sup>, pp. [14], To the Reader. B4-H8<sup>a</sup>, pp. 1-105, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. H8<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank.

Copy described: British Museum, press-mark, 720.a.37. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this is No. 14354. There is another in the British Museum, press-mark, 6.90.b.32, two in the National Library of Scotland, press-marks, H.32.f.18 and Jac. IV. 4/2, and another in New College Library, Edinburgh, press-mark TR/U3. The printer's device on the title-page is No. 284 in M'Kerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 1485-1640 (Bibliographical Society. 1913), p. 110, where it is described as a "Framed device of a griffin segreant."

This is the edition for which the printer and his associates were in trouble with the Stationers' Company.<sup>1</sup> Save for the differences in the make-up, it is identical with No. 3 above.

8. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR, / King James's / IN-  
STRUCTIONS / To His / DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY /  
THE PRINCE / (Rule) / Now reprinted by His Majesties  
Command, / (Rule) / LONDON, / Printed by *M. Flesher*,  
for *Joseph Hindmarsh* at the / *Black-Bull* in *Cornhill*  
over against the *Royal- / Exchange*, MDCLXXXII.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23 above.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, with paging, catchwords, and signatures. Signatures (a) (b) B-G<sup>8</sup>H<sup>2</sup>. Thirty-two pages unnumbered; one hundred and two pages numbered.

Collation: (a)<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], blank. (a)<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Engraved portrait of Prince Henry. (a)2, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. (a)3<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], blank. (a)3<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Engraved portrait of King James. (a)4<sup>a</sup>-6<sup>b</sup>, pp. [6], To Henry My Dearest Sonne, and Naturall Successour. (a)7<sup>a</sup>-(b)8<sup>a</sup>, pp. [17], To the Reader. (a)8<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. B-H2<sup>b</sup>, pp. 1-102, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

Copy described: National Library of Scotland, press-mark, Hall 193.i. There is also a copy in the British Museum, press-mark, 1478.d.27, one in Christ Church Library, Oxford, press-mark, S.D.6.24, one in Worcester College Library, Oxford, press-mark, C.2.8, and one in the Bodleian, press-mark, *Douce* I.133.

The portraits, in oval frames on monumental bases, have the names in Latin. They both bear the legends, 'R. White sculp.' and 'Sam Mearne Excudit.' The text is a reprint of that in the 1616 folio edition of King James's *Workes*.

9. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ: / OR / *His Majestys Instructions to his dearest Sonne*, / HENRY THE PRINCE. / WRITTEN BY KING JAMES I. / REPRINTED / FROM THE EXCESSIVELY RARE PRIVATELY-PRINTED / EDITION OF EDINBURGH, 1599, / *For Presentation to the Members of the* / ROXBURGHE CLUB. / LONDON: / PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER, LEA & Co., / MDCCCLXXXVII. 4°.

pp. xxxii + 8 unnumbered + 162 + lx. Two facsimiles.

This is a page-for-page facsimile reprint of the limited Waldegrave edition of 1599. The preliminary matter includes a *Notice by the Editor*, explaining his editorial method, a brief *Introduction* to the work, and a very brief note on *Editions of the "Basilicon Doron."* After the text of the king's book, which occupies pp. 1-159, come a



reprint of the Preface *To the Reader* prefixed to the edition of 1603, a *Table of Additions and Variations* introduced into that edition, and a Glossary. One of the facsimiles reproduces fol. 23a of *MS. Royal 18. B. xv.*, from "awin crafte & take a shairpe counte" down to "uersid into thaim but not preas-". The other reproduces part of a page of No. 24, below. The editor was Charles Edmonds, Esq., and the volume was presented to the Roxburghe Club by Charles Butler, Esq.

10. THE / BASILICON DORON / OF / KING JAMES VI / EDITED BY / JAMES CRAIGIE, M.A., Ph.D. / SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY. Vol. I. (1944), pp. xii+207. Text. Vol. II. (1950), pp. viii+346. Introduction, Notes, Appendices, Glossary, and Indexes.

This is the present edition.

## 2. *With other works.*

### (a) By King James himself.

11. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES IN- / STRVCTIONS TO HIS / DEAREST SONNE, HENRY / THE PRINCE. Printed at pp. 137-189 of *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, IAMES . . . King of Great Britain*. London. Printed by Robert Barker and Iohn Bill. Anno 1616. folio.

Copy seen: Edinburgh University Library, press-mark, Hq.2.2. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this work is No. 14344.

The Title and The Argument are on p. 137; The Epistle occupies pp. 138-140; the preface *To the Reader*, pp. 141-147; and ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, pp. 148-189.

This is a reprint of the Waldegrave edition of 1603 or of one of the London editions of that year, which cannot be determined because the printer has regarded himself as being at liberty to alter the spelling as he

pleased. The volume was edited by Dr James Montague, Bishop of Winchester.

12. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR / HIS MAIESTIES IN- / STRVCTIONS TO HIS / DEAREST SONNE, HENRY / THE PRINCE. / Printed at pp. 137-189 of *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, IAMES . . . King of Great Britain*. London. Printed by Robert Barker and Iohn Bill. Anno 1616 (1620). Folio.

Copy seen : Edinburgh University Library, press-mark, \*S.17.4. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14345.

This was a re-issue in 1620 of the 1616 volume with two new pieces, *A Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer* and *A Paterne of a Kings Inauguration*, added at the end on pp. 571-621. The title-page of the 1616 volume was retained, and so was its colophon on p. 570, "Imprinted at London by Robert Barker and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1616. *Cum Priuilegio*," but a new colophon was added on p. 622: "London. Printed by Robert Barker and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie. Anno M.DC.XX."

The arrangement and text of *Basilicon Doron* are the same as in No. 11, above.

13. BASILICON DORON. OR HIS MAIESTIES INSTRVCTIONS TO / HIS DEAREST SONNE, HENRY THE PRINCE. / Printed at pp. 3-52 of *The Political Works of James I*. Reprinted from the Edition of 1616. With an Introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain. Harvard University Press: 1918.

As is indicated, the text of *Basilicon Doron* printed in this work is that of the 1616 folio, No. 11, above. The side-notes are omitted, but the marginal references are numbered and printed at the foot of the page with corresponding numbers in the text to indicate as nearly as possible the passage to which each reference probably

belongs. Professor M'Ilwain's Introduction has very little to say about *Basilicon Doron*, but is extremely valuable for the study of James's political ideas and of the background to them.

(b) Not by King James.

14. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OR, / HIS MAIESTIES INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS DEAREST SONNE, / HENRY THE PRINCE. / Printed at pp. 83-161 of *A Miscellany*. With an Introduction by Henry Morley, LL.D., Professor of English Literature at University College, London. London: 1888.

There is a brief introduction to *Basilicon Doron* on pp. 6-7 of the volume, where it is said that the text of this work is reprinted "from one of the London copies of the edition of 1603, still in its old parchment binding with its leather ties." The copy used for the reprint has not been identified; it was not any of the British Museum copies of any of the London editions of that year.

The side-notes and marginal references of the original are omitted.

*Basilicon Doron* is the second piece in the *Miscellany*. The others included in it are Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon*; John Hookham Frere, *Monks and Giants*; De La Motte Fouqué, *The Cypress Crown*; and George Crabbe, *The Library*.

C. TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Latin*.

(a) Manuscript.

15. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / *siue* / *Suae Maiestatis* / *In-*  
*structiones* / *ad Filium suum dilectiss* : / *Henricū Principem*. /  
*Londini*, / *Impressū per Felicem King* = / *stonium pro*  
*Ioanne Nortono* / *iuxta exemplū excutū* / *Edenburghi* / 1603.

Paper: 74 ff., 20.5 cm. by 13.7 cm.

Ff. 1-2 contain the letter from Parsons to Clement VIII., printed above.<sup>1</sup> The translation of *Basilicon Doron* is contained on ff. 3-74, and starts with the Dedication to Prince Henry. The folios with the rendering of the First Book of the original are missing. The phrase in Parson's letter, *l'ultimi folij*, show that these had been sent to the Pope before the translation was completed, and, being separated from the main body of the work in this fashion, have gone astray and seem now to be lost.

This rendering is quite different from the Latin version printed at London by Norton in 1604.

The manuscript, with Parsons' letter, is *Fondo Borghese*, IV., 95, in the Vatican Library, Rome.<sup>2</sup> The collection to which it belongs came to the Vatican Library from the archives of the Borghese family.

(b) Printed versions.

(i) Separate issues.

16. IACOBI PRIMI / ANGLIÆ, SCO- / TIÆ, FRAN-  
CIE, / ET HIBERNIÆ / Regis, Fidei Defen- / soris, &c. /  
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, / Sive / REGIA INSTITVTIO /  
ad HENRICVM Principem / *primogenitum Filium*  
*suum, / & hæredem proximum.* / (Printer's ornament.) /  
(Rule.) / LONDINI, / Excudebat IOHANNES NORTON, /  
Serenissimæ Regiæ Maiestati in / Latinis, Græcis, &  
Hebraicis / Typographus. / *Anno Domini M.DC.III.*

Octavo, printed in roman, with paging, catchwords, and signature. Signatures A<sup>4</sup>B-I<sup>8</sup>K-L<sup>8</sup>M<sup>4</sup>. Thirty-seven pages unnumbered; one hundred and thirty-nine numbered.

Collation: A1<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], Title. A1<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Royal arms of Great Britain. A2<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>b</sup>, pp. [6], Epistola. B-C5<sup>b</sup>, pp. [26], Ad lectorem Præfatio. C6<sup>b</sup>-M3<sup>a</sup>, pp. 1-139, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. M3<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. M4, pp. [2], missing.

<sup>1</sup> p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> On its association with Pope Paul V., see p. 30 above.



Copy described : Edinburgh University Library, press-mark, \*Q. 32.30. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this is No. 14355.

This is a translation of the English edition of 1603, and reproduces everything in it, including side-notes and marginal references, except the introductory sonnet. The translator has not been identified, but for a proposal to undertake a Latin version see p. 35, note 2.

It was by this version that the knowledge of *Basilicon Doron* was most widely diffused. The copies of it which have survived exceed in number the total number of copies which have been preserved of all the contemporary editions of the original English form, and there is hardly a library of any note in Western Europe which is without a copy of it. That in the University Library at Uppsala once belonged to Sigismund III., King of Sweden and of Poland.

17. IACOBI PRIMI / ANGLIÆ, SCOTIÆ, / FRAN-  
CIE, ET HIBERNIÆ / REGIS, FIDEI DEFENSO- /  
RIS &C. / Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, SIVE / Regia Institutio /  
AD HENRICVM PRINCIPEM / *primogenitum Filium*  
*suum, & hære- / dem proximum.* / (Printer's device.) /  
HANOVIÆ, / Typis Wecheliani apud Claudium Mar- /  
nium, & hæredes Ioānnis Aubrii. / (Rule) / M DC IIII.

Octavo, roman and italic, signatures, page-numbers, and catchwords. Signatures A<sup>8</sup>-K<sup>8</sup>L<sup>4</sup>, pp. 1-167.

Collation: A<sup>a</sup>, p. 1, Title. A<sup>b</sup>, p. 2, Royal Arms of King James. A2<sup>a</sup>-A4<sup>b</sup>, pp. 3-8, Epistola. A5<sup>a</sup>-B8<sup>b</sup>, pp. 9-32, Praefatio. C-I4<sup>a</sup>, pp. 33-167, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. I4<sup>b</sup>, p. 168, blank.

The copy described is that in the "statslära" section of the Royal Library, Stockholm. This is a reprint of No. 16 above. In C. H. M'Ilwain, *Political Works of James I.* (1919), p. ciii, there is noted a Latin version which must be either this or No. 18 below, but the place of printing is wrongly given as Hanover. The same mistake is made

over No. 19 below in Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, trans. Hunter Blair, vol. iii. (1889), p. 365, footnote, which is there dated 1608.

18. JACOBI PRIMI/ANGLIÆ,/SCOTIÆ, FRANCIÆ,/ ET HIBERNIÆ REGIS, / FIDEI DEFENSORIS, &c. / ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, / SIVE / REGIA INSTITVTIO. / AD / HENRICVM PRINCIPEM *primo- / genitum Filium suum, & hæ- / redem proximum.* / AD AUTOGRAPHON REGIUM LONDINENSE QUAM DI- / LIGENTISSIME RECUSUM. / (Printer's ornament) / HANOVIÆ / APUD GUILIELMUM ANTONIUM, / MDCIV.

Duodecimo, black-letter, signatures, page-numbers, catchwords on versos. Signatures, A<sup>12</sup>-H<sup>12</sup>I<sup>6</sup>.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso, blank. A<sup>2a</sup>-A<sup>4a</sup>, pp. 3-7, Epistola. A<sup>4b</sup>-B<sup>7b</sup>, pp. 8-38, Praefatio. B<sup>8a</sup>-I<sup>6b</sup>, pp. 39-204, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

The copy described is that in the KGL. Bibliotek, Copenhagen, press-mark 154-173. There is also a copy in Båle University Library, press-mark, N.a.V.34.

This also is a reprint of No. 16 above.

19. JACOBI PRIMI/ANGLIÆ,/SCOTIÆ, FRANCIÆ,/ ET HIBERNIÆ REGIS, / FIDEI DEFENSORIS, &c. / ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, / SIVE / REGIA INSTITVTIO. / AD / HENRICVM PRINCIPEM *primogeni- / tum Filium suum, & hæredem / proximum.* / EDITIO SECVNDA. / (Printer's ornament) / HANOVIÆ / APUD GUILIELMUM ANTONIUM, / MDCVII.

Duodecimo, black-letter, signatures, page-numbers, catchwords on versos. Signatures A<sup>12</sup>-H<sup>12</sup>.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title: verso Royal Arms of James I. A<sup>2a</sup>-A<sup>4a</sup>, pp. 3-7, Epistola. A<sup>4b</sup>-B<sup>7a</sup>, pp. 8-37, Praefatio. B<sup>7b</sup>-H<sup>11b</sup>, pp. 38-190, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. H<sup>12</sup>, pp. 2, blank.

The copy described is that in the KGL. Bibliotek,

Copenhagen, press-mark 154-173. It is a reprint of No. 18.

(ii) With King James's *Jus Liberæ Monarchiæ*.

20. POTENTISSIMI ANGLORUM/REGIS/JACOBI/  
REGUM DOCTISSIMI/DONUM REGIUM,/SIVE/  
DE INSTITUTIONE PRINCIPIS/AD/HENRICUM  
FILIUM,/ET JUS LIBERÆ MONARCHIÆ,/SIVE/  
DE MUTUIS REGIS LIBERI/ET POPULI NASCENDI  
CONDI- /TIONE ILLI SUBDITI/OFFICIIS:/Pro  
Charissimis/FRANCOFURTANIS SUIS/de novo  
edidit/JOH. CHRISTOPH. BECMANUS, D./(Line of  
printer's ornaments)/FRANCOFURTI AD ODERAM,  
EXCUDIT CHRISTOPHERUS ZEITLERUS,/ANNO  
MDCLXXIX.

Quarto, roman and italics, signatures, and page-numbers. Signatures )(4<sup>a</sup>b<sup>4</sup> A-M<sup>4</sup>. Twenty-five unnumbered pages; one hundred and eleven numbered. The page-numbering begins on the recto of sig. A. The recto of sig. D is numbered 25, but the *verso* 46. Consequently all the subsequent page-numbers are twenty too high, and the last page ought to be numbered 96 instead of 116, as it is. The side-notes of the original are all reproduced.

Collation: )( <sup>a</sup>, p. [1], Title. )( <sup>b</sup>-) (4<sup>b</sup>, pp. [7], Dedication to *Svavissimi Commilitiones*, signed J. C. Becmanus, D., and dated 15 Aprilis 1679. a<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], *Regis ad Filium Epigramma*. a<sup>b</sup>-a2<sup>a</sup>, pp. [3], *Filio Meo Charissimi et Hæredi Henrico*. a3<sup>a</sup>-b4<sup>a</sup>, pp. [11], *Proæmium ad Lectorem*. b4<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Table of Contents. A<sup>a</sup>-H3<sup>b</sup>, pp. 1-82, *DONUM REGIUM*.

As the title-page shows, the remainder of the volume is taken up with a Latin version of King James's *Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, which occupies signatures H4-M4. Becmann's *Preface* says that the text printed is that of Bishop Montague's 1619 version.

Copy described, that in the British Museum, press-mark G.3803(1).

21. POTENTISSIMI ANGLORUM/REGIS/JACOBI/  
REGUM DOCTISSIMI / DONUM REGIUM, / SIVE /  
DE INSTITUTIONE PRINCIPIS / AD / HENRICUM  
FILIVM, / ET / JUS LIBERÆ MONARCHIÆ, / SIVE /  
DE MUTUIS REGIS LIBERI / ET POPULI NASCENDI  
CONDI- / TIONE ILLI SUBDITI / OFFICIIS : / pro  
charissimis / FRANCOFURTANIS SUIS / de novo  
edidit / JOH. CHRISTOPH. BECMANUS, D. / *Franco-  
furti ad Oderam*, / SECUNDO EXCUDIT CHRISTOPH.  
ZEITLERUS, ANNO MDCLXXXII.

Quarto, in roman and italic, with paging, catchwords, and signatures. Signatures a<sup>4</sup>b<sup>4</sup>A-I<sup>4</sup>K-M<sup>4</sup> with four preliminary leaves unsigned.

Copy described, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark 2893.

This is a reprint of No. 20 above.

(iii) With King James's other works.

22. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ, / SIVE / DE INSTI- /  
TVTIONE / PRINCIPIS / AD / HENRICVM / FILIVM. /  
Printed at pp. 127-175 of *Serenissimi et Potentissimi Principis IACOBI . . . OPERA*. Edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, & sacelli Regij Decano. Londini, Apud Bonhamum Nortonium, & Ioannem Billium, Typographos Regios. M.DC.XIX. Cum priuilegio.  
Folio.

23. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ, / SIVE / DE INSTI- /  
TVTIONE / PRINCIPIS / AD / HENRICVM / FILIVM. /  
Printed at pp. 127-175 of *Serenissimi et Potentissimi Principis IACOBI . . . OPERA*. Edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, & sacelli Regij Decano. Londini, apud Bonhamum Nortonium, & Ioannem Billium, Typographos Regios. M.DC.XIX. Cum priuilegio.  
Folio.

24. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ, / SIVE / DE INSTI- /  
TVTIONE / PRINCIPIS / AD / HENRICVM / FILIVM. /



Printed at pp. 127-175 of *Serenissimi et Potentissimi Principis IACOBO . . . OPERA*. Edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, & sacelli Regij Decano. Londini, Apud Bonhamum Nortonium, & Ioannem Billium, Typographos Regios. M.DC.XIX. Cum priuilegio. Folio.

Nos. 22, 23, and 24 are really only separate issues of the same work. The sole difference between No. 22 and Nos. 23 and 24 is that it lacks the three additional signatures at the end, pp. 611-638, which contain the *Hypotyposis Inaugurationis Regiæ*, the Latin version of King James's *Paterne of a Kings Inauguration*. No. 24 differs from No. 23 only in wanting on p. 638 the printer's ornament and the colophon, "LONDINI / Apud Robertum Barker, & Ioannem / Billium, Typographos Regios. / Anno M.DC.XX." In the copies of all three issues there is great variation in the unsigned preliminary leaves preceding the Latin dedication to Prince Charles. Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, class all three issues under the one entry, No. 14346.

Copies examined: No. 22, National Library of Scotland, press-mark H.37.b.21; No. 23, National Library of Scotland, press-mark H.27.a.13; No. 24, Bodleian Library, Oxford, press-mark Arch.a.b.3.

The arrangement of *Basilicon Doron* is identical in all three issues. It is: p. 127, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, / SIVE DE INSTI- / TVTIONE / PRINCIPIS / AD / HENRICVM / FILIVM. p. 128, Epigramma. pp. 129-130, Epistola. pp. 131-136, Proœmium ad Lectorem. pp. 137-175, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

This rendering is quite independent of the Latin version of 1604, and is based on the English folio of 1616, No. 11 above, rather than on the quartos of 1603. Thus (i) where they have "behaviours" and the 1616 folio has "attempts," it has *molitiones*.<sup>1</sup> (ii) Both it and the 1616 folio omit the marginal reference, "luke 18," found in the prints of 1603.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i., p. 133, l. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i., p. 41.

25. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, / SIVE / DE INSTITUTIONE / PRINCIPIS, / AD / HENRICUM FILIUM. / Printed at pp. 63-86 of *Serenissimi et Potentissimi Principis JACOBI . . . OPERA*. Francofurti ad Mœnum et Lipsiæ, Sumptibus Christiani Genschii, Anno MDC LXXXIX. Folio.

Copy seen: British Museum, press-mark 633.m.13. This is a reprint of Bishop Montague's Latin version of 1619.

2. *French.*

(a) Manuscript.

26. "Fragment in French of the *Basilicon Doron*, headed 'Present Royal de Jacques Roy d'Angleterre, Escoce, Irelande, &c, au Prince Henry son Fils; contenant les regles et enseignemens de bien regner. Traduit d'Anglois en Francois par commandment de Sa Majeste. MDCIII.'" Preserved in the Public Record Office, London. (See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1603-1610, p. 63, No. 67.)

This manuscript consists of sixteen folios, measuring approximately  $50 \times 21$  cms., and all except the first written on both sides. The title is on the recto of the first folio: there is the following note on the verso: "Mr Cary phisitian A personage in the ould bailife," and the figures, "38-14-6," all written in a different ink from that used for the document itself. The version copied is Hotman's. The MS. breaks off at the foot of a page with the words, *Soyez certain que la plus grande et la meilleure partie de vos sujets aimera tousjours et—i.e.,* at the point corresponding to vol. i., p. 63, l. 14, of this edition.

\*27. A French version by Louis Servin, Avocat-Général to Parliament under Henry III. and IV. and Louis XIII. When Charles Edmonds edited the 1599 Waldegrave print of *Basilicon Doron* for the Roxburghe Club in 1887, the autograph MS. of this French rendering was in the

collection of Sir Charles E. Isham, Bart., Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire. Inquiries have failed to disclose its present whereabouts. A portion of the page containing the opening of Book II. is reproduced in facsimile opposite page 27 of No. 9.

(b) Printed versions.

28. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OV / PRESENT ROYAL / DE IAQUES PREMIER / ROY D'ANGLETERRE, / Escoce & Irlande ; / *Au Prince Henry son fils :* / Contenant / VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois.* / (Printer's device.) / A PARIS. / Chez GVILLAVME AVVRAY, rue S. Iean de / Beauuais, au Bellerophon couronné. / M.DC.III. / AVEC PERMISSION.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, page-numbers to p. 59, thereafter leaves only, f. 60 wrongly numbered 64, folio numbers continuing from there in sequence, signatures, and catchwords on last page of each signature only. Signatures : A<sup>4</sup>-G<sup>4</sup>H<sup>2</sup>I<sup>4</sup>K-T<sup>4</sup>V-X<sup>4</sup>.

Collation : A, pp. 1-2, Title ; verso blank. Aij<sup>a</sup>-iv<sup>b</sup>, pp. 3-8, Preface du Traducteur. B<sup>a</sup>, p. 9, Sonet du Roy. B<sup>b</sup>, p. 10, engraved portrait of King James, enclosed by an oval frame with the inscription, IAQUES I. ROY D'ANGLETERRE, ESCOCE ET IRLANDE. AN DE SON EAGE 37. Bij<sup>a</sup>-iv<sup>a</sup>, pp. 11-15, A mon cher fils & legitime successeur Henry. Biv<sup>b</sup>, p. 16, Suiet et Ordre du Liure. C-E<sup>b</sup>, pp. 17-34, Le Roy au lecteur. Eij<sup>a</sup>-Xij<sup>b</sup>, pp. 35-(160), ROYAL PRESENT. Xij<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], L'Imprimeur. Xij<sup>b</sup>, p. [1] Corrigez. Xiv., pp. [2], blank.

Copy described : British Museum, press-mark, 523.a.5. There is also a copy in Glasgow University Library, press-mark, Cn.3.41, one in the Anglo-French Collection in Leeds University Library, one in the Bodleian, press-mark, Antig.f.F.1603,4, and three in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, press-marks, 8° s.3894, 8° 3695, and 8° s.3896. The printer's device is a woodcut of Bellerophon

mounted upon Pegasus. See Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques* (Paris, 1868), tome i., p. 269. The side-notes and marginal references of the original have been omitted by the translator.

For an account of how this version came to be made and of the translator, *see* pp. 33-35 above.

29. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / OV / PRESENT / ROYAL DE IAQVES / PREMIER ROY / d'Angleterre, Escoce, & / Irlande ; / *Au Prince Henry son fils* : / Contenant / VNE INSTRUCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois*. / (Printer's Device.) / A ROVEN, / Chez CLAUDE LE VILAIN, Libraire / & Relieur du Roy, demeurant à la rue du / Bec, à la bonne Renommée. / (Rule) / 1603. 12<sup>mo</sup>.

Italic and roman, ornamental initials, head-pieces and tail-pieces, signatures and page-numbers, no catch-words.

Signatures : A-G<sup>12</sup>H<sup>4</sup>. Each sheet signed on the first five leaves only.

Collation : Aj, pp. [2], Title ; verso blank. Aij<sup>a</sup>-Av<sup>b</sup>, pp. [8], Preface du Traducteur. Avj, pp. [2], SONET DV ROY ; verso blank. Avij<sup>a</sup>-Aix<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], A Mon Cher Fils. Aix<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Suiet et Ordre du Livre. Ax<sup>a</sup>-Bvij<sup>a</sup>, pp. 1-21, Le Roy au Lecteur. Bvij<sup>b</sup>-Hij<sup>b</sup>, pp. 22-[156], PRESENT ROYAL. Hiiij, pp. [2], blank.

The page-numbering, which begins on sig. Ax<sup>a</sup>, continues only as far as sig. Exij<sup>b</sup>, which is p. 102. Thereafter only the folios are numbered in continuation of the page-numbering, but with 110 repeated for 111 and 112 for 113, and with 114 included twice. The printer's device shows Fame with outspread wings ascending to heaven and borne on a globe ; round the figure is a border with the motto, AD COELVM VOLITO VT IN DEO REQUIESCAM. (See Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques* (Paris, 1868), vol. ii., p. 677, and M. P. Delalain, *Inventaire des Marques* (Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris, 1892), p. 140.)



The copy seen is that in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark N.32.f.16.

This was a pirated edition of No. 28 above.

30. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / *OV* / PRESENT / ROYAL  
DE IAQVES / PREMIER ROY / d'Angleterre, Escosse,  
&c / Irlande ; / *Au Prince Henry son fils* : / Contenant /  
VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit*  
*de l'Anglois.* / (Printer's device.) / A ROUEN, / Chez  
RAPHAEL DV PETIT VAL, / Libraire & Imprimeur du  
Roy, de- / uant la grand'porte du Palais. / (Rule.) / 1603.

Duodecimo, roman and italic, signatures, page and folio numbers, no catchwords, ornamented initials, head and tail pieces. Signatures A-G<sup>12</sup>H / each signed on the first five leaves except sig. H, which is signed on the first two only. Page-numbers to p. 102, thereafter only folio numbers. Signatures B-E have the running-title reversed.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title ; verso blank. Aij<sup>a</sup>-Av<sup>b</sup>, pp. [8], Preface du Traducteur. Avj, pp. [2], Sonet du Roy ; verso blank. Avij<sup>a</sup>-Aix<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], A Mon Cher Fils. Aix<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Suiet et Ordre du Livre. Ax<sup>a</sup>-Bviiij<sup>a</sup>, pp. 1-21, Le Roy au Lecteur. Bviiij<sup>b</sup>-Hiiij<sup>b</sup>, pp. 22-[156], PRESENT ROYAL. Hiv, pp. [2], blank.

The copy described is that in the Anglo-French Collection in the Library of the University of Leeds. The printer's device on the title-page is a woodcut of Tobias and the Angel, but different from that noted by Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques* (Paris, 1868), or Delalain, *Inventaire des Marques* (Paris, Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée, 1929).

This is another unauthorised reprint of Hotman's translation.

31. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. / *OV* / PRESENT / ROYAL  
DE IA- / QVES PREMIER / Roy d'Angleterre, Es- / cocc  
& Irlande. / *Au Prince Henry son Fils* / Contenant / VNE  
INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de*  
*l'Anglois.* / (Printer's ornament.) / A LYON / Suyuant

l'exemplaire imprimé à / Paris, avec permission. / (Line) / M.DCIII.

Duodecimo. Roman and italic. Signatures, page-numbers, and catchwords. Signatures A-IKL<sup>12</sup>. Each signature signed on the first six sheets.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A2<sup>a</sup>-A6<sup>a</sup>, pp. 3-5, Preface du Traducteur. A6<sup>b</sup>-A7<sup>a</sup>, pp. 12-13, Sonet du Roy. A7<sup>b</sup>-A11<sup>a</sup>, pp. 14-21, A mon cher Fils. A11<sup>b</sup>, p. 22, Suiet et Ordre du Livre. A12<sup>a</sup>-C2<sup>a</sup>, pp. 23-51, Le Roy au Lecteur. C2<sup>b</sup>-L9<sup>b</sup>, pp. 52-258, Royal Present. L10-L12, pp. [6], blank.

This is an unauthorised reprint of No. 28 above.

Copy described, that in the British Museum, recently presented by F. F. Madan, Esq. There is another copy in the Vatican Library, Rome, press-mark, Section Barberini, P.VI.127.

32. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / OV / PRESENT ROYAL DE / IAQUES PREMIER ROY / D'ANGLETERRE, ESCO- / ce & Irlande. / *Au Prince Henry son fils* : / Contenant / VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois*. / Seconde edition reueuë. / (Printer's device.) / A PARIS, / Chez GVILLAVME AVVRAY, ruë / S. Iean de Beauuais, au Bellerophon couronné. / M.DC.IIIII. / AVEC PERMISSION.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, folio numbers only, signatures, catchwords on last page of each signature only. Signatures A<sup>s</sup>B<sup>4</sup>C<sup>s</sup>D<sup>4</sup>E<sup>s</sup>F<sup>4</sup>G<sup>s</sup>H<sup>4</sup>I<sup>s</sup>K<sup>4</sup>L<sup>s</sup>M<sup>4</sup>N<sup>4</sup>O<sup>2</sup>.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. Aij<sup>a</sup>-Aiv<sup>a</sup>, fol. 2-4<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], Preface Du Traducteur. Aiv<sup>b</sup>, fol. 4<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], SVIET ET ORDRE DV LIVRE. Av<sup>a</sup>, fol. 5a, p. [1], SONET DV ROY. Av<sup>b</sup>, fol. 5<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Engraved portrait of King James. Avia<sup>a</sup>-vii<sup>b</sup>, fol. 6-7b, pp. [4], A Mon cher fils et legitime successeur Henry. Aviii<sup>a</sup>-Civ<sup>a</sup>, fol. 8-16a, pp. [17], Le Roy au Lecteur. Civ<sup>b</sup>-Niv<sup>b</sup>, fol. 16b-76b, pp. [121], PRESENT ROYAL. Oa, fol. 77a, p. [1], Pour le Roy d'Angleterre, touchant son liure. Ob, fol. 77b, p. [1], L'Imprimeur. Oij<sup>a</sup>, fol. 78a, p. [1],

Lecteur, corrige aussi & excuse ce peu de fautes qui nous ont échappés. Oij<sup>b</sup>, fol. 78b, p. [I], blank.

Copy described : British Museum, press-mark, 521, b.23.

There is also a copy in the Anglo-French Collection of Leeds University Library, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark, Rès.\*E.556, with the arms of the historian De Thou and his wife on the front cover, and one in the "Statslära" section of the Royal Library, Stockholm.

The printer's device on the title-page is the same as that in the first edition, No. 28 above. The piece on fol. 77a is a poem of sixteen lines in praise of *Basilicon Doron*. This edition has not been checked against the first edition for textual changes. On fol. 77b the printer asserts that this is the only genuine authorised translation of the King of England's book.<sup>1</sup> The side-notes and marginal references of the original are again omitted. The piece on fol. 77a is the following poem of sixteen lines in praise of *Basilicon Doron* and its author :—

*Prince, tu ne peux toujours viure,  
Ton esprit doit voller aux Cieux :  
Mais par le pourtrait de ton liure  
Immortel, tu vis à nos yeux.*

*Toy, qui d'une triple couronne  
Honores le jour de ton front !  
Et dont la science rayonne  
Comme le Soleil en son rond.*

*Grand miracle de la Nature !  
Puissant, sage, sçauant, & beau !  
Toy seul de ta viue peinture  
Pouuais étaller le Tableau.*

*Et ton Interprette fidelle  
Qui te fait à nos François  
A part à la gloire immortelle  
Que par sa plume tu reçois.*

33. Another unauthorised edition of Hotman's French version, published at Poitiers.<sup>2</sup> No copy of it has been located.

34. Another unauthorised edition of Hotman's French version, published at Sedan.<sup>2</sup> No copy of it has been located.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 37 above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 169 below.

35. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / *OV* / PRESENT / ROYAL / DE IAQVES PREMIER / ROY D'ANGLETERRE, / Escoce & Irlande? (*sic*) / *Au Prince Henry son fils* : / Contenant / VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois.* / (Printer's ornament.) / A ROVEN, / Chez Thomas Daré, Libraire te- / nant sa boutique au premier / degré du Palais. / 1604.

Duodecimo, roman and italic, signatures, no catch-words, page or folio numbers. Signatures a<sup>1</sup>-b<sup>14</sup>? / A-E<sup>12</sup>F<sup>4</sup> with one unsigned sheet. There is considerable variation in the way the various sheets are signed, and the make-up of the first signature is very uncertain.

Collation: a, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. aii<sup>a</sup>-aiii<sup>b</sup>, pp. [4], Preface du Traducteur. aiv<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], Sonet du Roy. aiv<sup>b</sup>-avi<sup>a</sup>, pp. [4], A Mon Cher Fils. avi<sup>b</sup>-axij<sup>b</sup>, pp. [15], Le Roy au Lecteur. Axiv, pp. [2], recto, woodcut portrait of King James with the following quatrain underneath:—

" Ne cherche en ce tableau l'esprit & la science  
Ny les meurs de ce Roy par le peintre imité  
Luy seul les à (*sic*) grauez dedans l'Eternité  
D'où ses rares vertus ont puisé leurs essence."

Verso, Suiet et Ordre du Livre. A-Fij<sup>b</sup>, pp. [126], PRESENT ROYAL. Fij<sup>b</sup>, pp. [2], blank.

The copy described is that in the Anglo-French Collection in the Library of the University of Leeds.

This is another unauthorised reprint of Hotman's translation.

36. PRESENT / Royal, / *OV* / INSTRVCTIONS DE SA / Maiesté d'Angleterre, Escoce, Ir- / lande, &c. A son tres- / cher Fils / HENRY PRINCE / *Traduit & de nouveau reueu, & fidelement / corrigé sur l'exemplaire imprimé à EDINBURG l'an 1603* / A HANAW. / Par les Heritiers d'Andre WECHEL / MDIV.

Octavo. Signatures A-L<sup>4</sup>. Pp. 1-174.

This is an independent rendering, quite different from Hotman's authorised version and also from the Lamport Hall MS. version by Servin noted above.



P. 1, Title. P. 2, blank. P. 3, Sonet du Roy. P. 4, engraved portrait of King James. Pp. 5-32, Au Lecteur. Pp. 33-169, Present Royal. Pp. 170-172, Au Lecteur—a list of errata. P. 173, blank. P. 174, a colophon reproducing the imprint on the title-page. The marginal references, omitted by Hotman, are kept here, and the Latin quotations in the text are rendered into French in the margin.

The copy here described is that in the Vatican Library, Rome, press-mark, Barberini, P.VI.104. It was first noted by Arnold Oskar Meyer, *Clemens VIII. und Jacob I. von England* (Rome. 1904), p. 25 note, who refers to it as “(ein) Gegenschlag gegen die zugestutzte offizielle Uebersetzung.” This is the only copy so far located.

The copy in the Vatican Library was originally in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, as is shown by the following MS. inscription on the title-page: *Illustrissimo Frederico / Palatino Principi Dñō suo clementissimo / P.B. humillimæ obseruatiæ / T.C.M.* This prince was Frederick IV. of the Palatinate, the father of Frederick V., who married the Princess Elizabeth, elder daughter of James I. of Great Britain, and who, by accepting the crown of Bohemia in 1618, precipitated the Thirty Years' War. In 1622 the Palatinate Library was presented to Pope Urban VIII., the former Maffeo Barberini, by the Elector of Bavaria. On 23rd April 1625 Urban gave a number of books to his brother Charles, and in this way the present volume came into the possession of the Barberini family. It reached its present resting-place in the Vatican Library when the Barberini Library was purchased from the family in 1902 by Pope Leo XIII.

37. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / ΟΥ / PRESENT ROYAL / DE / IAQVES PREMIER ROY / D'ANGLETERRE, ESCO- / ce & Irlande : / au Prince Henry son fils. / Contenant / VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / Traduit de l'Anglois par le S<sup>r</sup> de / Villiers Hotman / Troisieme edition reueuë. / (Printer's device) / A PARIS, /

chez GVILLAVME AVVRAY, ruë / S. Iean de Beauuais, au Bellero- / phon couronné / 1604. AVEC Permission.

Octavo, printed in italic and roman, folio numbers only, signatures, and catchwords. Fol. 5 is wrongly numbered 6, and thereafter the folio numbers are one out. Fol. 77 is not numbered. The catchword on fol. 4<sup>b</sup> is "Pourtrait," and apparently the engraved portrait of King James found in the previous edition should have followed; not only is it missing, however, but there is no place provided for it. Signatures A<sup>8</sup>B<sup>4</sup>C<sup>8</sup>D<sup>4</sup>E<sup>8</sup>F<sup>4</sup>G<sup>8</sup>H<sup>4</sup>I<sup>8</sup>K<sup>4</sup>L<sup>8</sup>M-N<sup>4</sup>.

Collation: A<sup>a</sup>, fol. 1<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], Title. A<sup>b</sup>, fol. 1<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Suiet et Ordre du Liure. A<sup>2a</sup>-A<sup>4a</sup>, foll. 2<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], Preface du Traducteur. A<sup>4b</sup>, fol. 4<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Sonet du Roy. A<sup>5a</sup>-A<sup>6b</sup>, foll. 6<sup>a</sup>-7<sup>b</sup>, pp. [4], A Mon cher fils et legitime successeur Henry. A<sup>7a</sup>-C<sup>2b</sup>, foll. 8<sup>a</sup>-15<sup>b</sup>, pp. [16], Le Roy au Lecteur. C<sup>3a</sup>-N<sup>3a</sup>, foll. 16<sup>a</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>, pp. [121], PRESENT ROYAL. N<sup>3b</sup>, fol. 76<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], Pour le Roy d'Angleterre, touchant son liure. N<sup>4a</sup>, fol. 77<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], L'Imprimeur. N<sup>4b</sup>, fol. 77<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. 8°

Copy described: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark, 8°, Nc.195.A. The printer's device is the same as in the two earlier editions, and the side-notes and marginal references are again omitted.

On fol. 77<sup>a</sup> of this edition D'Auvray complains in the following terms of the numerous unauthorised editions: *Je t'avise, lecteur, que cette impression sous mon nom et ma marque, avec le portrait du Roy d'Angleterre, est seule mienne, et seule vraye, comme faite de l'aveu de ceux qui m'ont mis la copie entre les mains, et de l'autorité de Nosseigneurs du Conseil qui m'ont permis de l'imprimer, après avoir reconnu que le Roy d'Angleterre en avait approuvé la version en nostre langue. Toutes les autres sont contrefaites et supposées pour me frustrer du gain honeste de mon labeur; outre les fautes qu'ils y ont faites sans nombre; ayans mesme en quelque lieux altéré et gasté le sens de l'auteur. Neanmoins, puisque ce livre est si universellement bien receu, qu'il a esté déjà imprimé tant de fois à Rouen, Poitiers,*

*Sedan, Frankfort, et ailleurs, et que cette publication tourne toute a la gloire de son auteur, qui est ce grand Roy, je porte plus patiemment le tort et damage qui m'y est fait.* The existence of a Lyons edition not mentioned here shows that the words, *et ailleurs*, are not merely a rhetorical flourish.

38. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / OU / PRESENT / ROYAL / DE IACQUES PREMIER / ROY D'ANGLETERRE, / Escoce & Irlande. / *Au Prince Henry son Fils :* / Contenant / VNE INSTRUCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois.* / (Printer's mark.) / A ROUEN / Chez Thomas Daré, Libraire re- / nant sa boutique au premier / degré du Palais. n.d.

Duodecimo, italic and roman, woodcut portrait, head-pieces and ornamented capitals. Signatures a<sup>12</sup>A-E<sup>12</sup>F<sup>4</sup>, signed on the first five leaves only.

Collation: Title; verso blank. a<sup>a</sup>, p. [1], woodcut portrait of King James. a<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], *Suiet et ordre du liure.* a<sup>lia</sup>-a<sup>liib</sup>, pp. [4], *Preface du Traducteur.* a<sup>liila</sup>, p. [1], *Sonet du Roy.* a<sup>liiib</sup>-a<sup>via</sup>, pp. [4], *A mon cher fils, et legitime successeur Henry.* a<sup>vib</sup>-a<sup>xxib</sup>, pp. [13], *Le Roy au lecteur.* A<sup>a</sup>-F<sup>liib</sup>, pp. [126], PRESENT ROYAL. F<sup>lv</sup>, pp. [2], blank.

The copy described is that in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, press-mark 8° S.3.894.

This is an unauthorised edition of Hotman's official version.

39. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / OU DON / ROYAL DE / IACQUES ROY / D'ANGLETERRE, ESCOSSE / & Irlande : / *au Prince Henry son fils.* / Contenant / UNE INSTRUCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / *Traduit de l'Anglois par le Sieur de Villiers Hotman.* / Quatriesme edition reueuë / 1604. / Printed at pp. 331-451 of *Opuscules / francoises / des Hotmans.* / (Printer's device.) / A Paris. / Chez la vefue Matthieu Guillemot, / tenant sa boutique

au Palais, à la gallerie / des prisonniers. / MDCXVI / Avec privilège du Roy.

This is a small octavo volume of fourteen short pieces by the famous sixteenth-century French jurist, François Hotman, his brother, Antoine Hotman, and his son, Jean Hotman. The version of *Basilicon Doron* is the sixth piece in the volume.

The arrangement of the text of *Basilicon Doron* is as follows: p. 331, Title. p. 332, Suiet et ordre du liure. pp. 333-337, Preface du Sieur de Villiers Hotman. p. 338, Sonnet du Roy. pp. 339-341, A son cher fils et legitime successeur Henry. pp. 342-354, Le Roy au Lecteur. pp. 355-450, Don Royal. p. 451, Pour le Roy d'Angleterre, touchant son liure.

Copy described: Signet Library, Edinburgh, press-mark, 103.b.3. There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark, 8<sup>b</sup> F.24,331.

40. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / OU DON / ROYAL DE / IACQUES ROY / D'ANGLETERRE, ESCOSSE / & Irlande: / au Prince Henry son fils. / Contenant / VNE INSTRVCTION / DE BIEN REGNER. / Traduit de l'Anglois par le Sieur de / Villiers Hotman. Quatriesme edition reueuë / 1604. / Printed in *Opusculs françoises / contenant plu- / sieurs traictez*. ..... / A Paris, / chez la vefue M. Guillemot, au Palais / en la gallerie des Prisonniers / MDCXVII.

This volume gives a slightly different selection of pieces from that in No. 39, and they are printed in a different order. The *Don Royal* is the ninth of the fifteen pieces of which it is composed.

Copy described: Worcester College Library, Oxford, press-mark, Xa.8.56. There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark, 8<sup>a</sup> F.15,298.

41. Present Royal de Iacques I. / Roy Angleterre, d'Escosse, & d'Irlan- / de, au Prince Henry son fils. /



Printed at pp. 175-267 of *L'Academie / des Princes, / où les Roys / apprennent l'art de regner / de la bouche des Roys. / Ouvrage tiré de l'Histoire tant ancienne que nou / velle ; & traduit par Pierre Ménard. /* (Arms of the King of France.) / A Paris, / chez / Sébastien Cramoisy, Impri- / meur ordinaire du Roy, & de la / Reyne Regente. / et Gabriel Cramoisy, / rue S. Iacques, aux Cicognes / MDCXLVI. / avec privilège de sa Majesté. 4<sup>to</sup>.

Copy described : Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, press-mark, \*E.928. There are two copies in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, press-marks, 4° S.711 and 4° S.712.

This is an entirely new version of *Basilicon Doron*. Only the three books of the original are given, all the preliminary matter being omitted.

### 3. *Italian.*

42. James I., *Basilikon Doron*, translated into *Italian* by John Florio. *Holograph*. The text is from the second edition (1603), but the preface to the reader is omitted.

"Paper : ff. 68. Quarto. 7½ in. × 5¾ in. Circa 1603." (British Museum, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (1921), vol. ii., p. 119.) This is the only version known in Italian of *Basilicon Doron*. Its press-mark in the British Museum is MS. Royal 14. A.v. It was not available for examination when this Bibliography was being compiled. Miss Frances Yates, *John Florio* (1934), p. 248, says that it has an Italian dedication of Florio's own composition addressed to the king, and that from the wording of this it appears that the translation was his own idea and not undertaken by royal command.

### 4. *Spanish.*

43. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / ð / Instruciones Compuestas, /

*Por el Serenissimo y Potentissimo Principe Don / JAYMES, / nuestra Señor, por la gracia / de Dios, Rey de Inglaterra, Fran- / cia y Irlanda, el Primero deste / Nombre. / Y / De Escocia el Sexto / A su / Muy carissimo Hijo el Principe / Don HENRIQUE. / Traduzido De Ingles, en Romance vulgar, y Diri- / gido a la misma Magestad, por su muy Humilde vassalo Juan Pemberton / gentil hombre, natural de la / insigne Ciudad de Londres. /*

This manuscript, containing the only known Spanish version of *Basilicon Doron* is the property of James R. P. Lyell, Esq., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., J.P., The Knoll, Abingdon, Berkshire, to whom I am greatly indebted for the opportunity to examine it.

It consists of fifty unnumbered sheets of paper, each measuring 22.5 mm. × 16.5 mm., written on both sides in a very neat hand with thirty-one lines to a page. The side-notes and marginal references of the 1603 edition are included. The text is complete except for the loss of the last three lines in the quotation from Vergil, *Aeneid*, Book VI., with which the work ends; but these have been supplied in another hand on the inside of the back cover. The manuscript is bound in contemporary English vellum with the covers elaborately decorated with gilt panels in the centre and at the corners. There are remains of green silk ties. The edges are gilt.

Collation: fol. 1, Title; verso blank. fol. 2, A Su Real Magestad. fol. 3a, blank. fol. 3b, El Argumento. fol. 4-5a, A Don HENRIQUE. fol. 5b, blank. fol. 6-13b, Al Lector. fol. 14-50b, BASILICON DORON.

The translator, John Pemberton, may have been the "John Pemberton, Citizen and Grocer," who was a brother of Sir James Pemberton, Lord Mayor of London, 1611-12. In his flowery dedication to the king, he says, *inter alia*, "Your Majesty instructing your Royal son with precepts, as did Solomon to his with wise proverbs, has in the common opinion produced a book of Wisdom," and "just as the instructions of Charles V. to his son Philip were

translated into most languages and quite well into English, so may these instructions of your Majesty in English be turned into Spanish without diminution and I trust without losing their force."

### 5. *Dutch.*

44. **Een Coninglijk / Gheschenck : / Ofte, / Onderwijzingen zijner Maje = / stept van Engellant, Schotlant, Franc = / rijck ende Irlant, aen zijnen zeer beminden Zone / HENRICVM Prince. / Mt de Engelsche Tale ghetrouwe = / lijck overgheset / Door VINCENTIUM MEVSEVOET, / Dienaer des Woorts Gods tot Schagen. / (Printer's device) / De tweede Editie, met groote neersticheyt gecorrigeert. / TOT AMSTERDAM, By Cornelis Claesz, / ende Laurens Jacobsz, Anno 1603.**

Octavo, black-letter and italic. Signatures and folio-numbers. Signatures A-I<sup>s</sup>K<sup>s</sup>. The last folio is wrongly numbered 75 instead of 72.

Collation: A, fol. 1, Title; verso, Clinckghedicht (a poem by Iacobus Viverius). Aij<sup>a</sup>, foll. 2<sup>a</sup>-3<sup>b</sup>, Voorreden aan den Prince. Aiv<sup>a</sup>-Bvij<sup>b</sup>, foll. 4<sup>a</sup>-15<sup>b</sup>, Voorrede tot den Leser. Bvii<sup>a</sup>-Kiii<sup>b</sup>, foll. 16<sup>a</sup>-75<sup>b</sup>, Een Coninglijk Gheschenck.

The remaining folios of the volume are occupied by a piece for which the translator's title is *Eene corte Belijdenisse des Gheloofs Onderschreven by de Conincklyche Majesteyt*: it is a Dutch version of the Negative Confession of 1581, also known as the King's Confession or the First Covenant.

Extensive search in the Dutch libraries has failed to discover a first edition, and it is probable that this is really the first edition despite the statement on its title-page that it is the second. That statement will then refer to

the fact that the translation was made from the English edition of 1603, which was actually the second edition of the original.

The translator retained all the side-notes and marginal references of the original and occasionally added a side-note of his own. Thus, against "Hydra" on fol. 12<sup>a</sup> he wrote, "Hydra is een veelhoofdich water dier."

The copy described is that in the Library of the University of Leiden, press-mark 1198.G.311. There is another in the Library of Leiden University, press-mark, 410.G.24.

45. **Een Coninglijck / Gheschenck : / Ofte, / Onderwijzingen zijner Maje = / stept van Engelandt, Schotland, Franc = / rijck ende Irlant, aen zijnen zeer beminden Zone / HENRICVM Prince. / Mt de Engelsche Tale ghetrouwe = / lijck overgheset / Door VINCENTIUM MEVSEVOET, Dienaer des Woorts Gods tot Schagen. / (Printer's device.) / De derde Editie, met groote neersticheyt gecorrigeert, / T'AMSTERDAM, By Cornelis Claesz, / ende Laurens Jacobsz, Anno 1603.**

There are two copies of this edition in the Library of the University of Amsterdam. It is a reprint of No. 44, above, but with the error in the numbering of the folios corrected.

The copy described here is that with press-mark, 974.G.10. Another copy in the same library, press-mark, 340.B.10, is the first item in a composite volume containing in the following order Dutch versions of the greater part of King James's writings up to 1603: (a) *Basilicon Doron*, (b) *Daemonologia*, (c) *Meditation on Revelation* xx. 7-10, (d) *Meditation on 1 Chronicles* xv. 25-29, (e) *Lepanto*. Of these the third was translated by M. Pannel, the last by Abraham van der Myl, and the remainder by Vincent Meusevoet.



6. *German.*

46. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ / ΔΩΡΟΝ / Oder / Instruction  
und / Unterrichtung / IACOBI dess Erstē dieses  
Namens / in Englandt, Schottlandt, und Irr = /  
landt Ko'nigs, / an / Seiner Ko'n, Mayt, gelieb-  
ten / Sohn / Printz Henrichen / Auss dem Eng-  
lischen verteutsch. / (Printer's device.) / Gedruckt  
in der Keys. Reichsstatt / Speyer, durch Melchoir  
Hartmann. / (Line) / Im Jahr M.DCIII.

Octavo, black-letter, signatures and page-numbers.  
Signatures A-N<sup>viii</sup>, O<sup>ij</sup>; 64 pages unnumbered, 148  
numbered.

Collation: A, [pp. 2], Title; verso blank. A<sup>ii</sup>-A<sup>iv</sup>.  
[pp. 6], Dem Durchleughstigten Hochge = / boren  
Fu<sup>r</sup>sten und Herrn Friederichen, Pfaltz = / graffen bey  
Rhein, / Dess H. Ro<sup>m</sup>ischen Reichs Ertz Truch = /  
sessen und Churfu<sup>r</sup>sten / Hertzogen in Bayern etc. /  
Meinem gnedigsten Churfu<sup>r</sup>sten und Herrn: signed E.  
Churf. G. / understigster / P.D. Av, pp. [2], Sonett:  
verso blank. A<sup>vi</sup>-A<sup>viii</sup>, pp. [6], Vorrede. Mein viel-  
geliebten sohn und natu<sup>r</sup>lichen Erbe Henrichen. B-D,  
pp. [48], Vorrede an den Leser. E-O<sup>ija</sup>, pp. 1-147,  
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. O<sup>ijb</sup>, p. 148, Errata.

There are two copies of this version in the Vatican  
Library at Rome, press-marks, Palatina, V.1164, and  
Palatina, V.1377. There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque  
Mazarine, Paris, press-mark, 28,185(1).

The recipient of the dedication to this version was the  
same Frederick IV. of the Palatinate as had been pre-  
sented with the copy of the French version published at  
Hanau in 1604 and noted above as No. 36.

For a reference to a proposed German version see p. 35,  
note 2, above.

7. *Welsh.*

47.      ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ/  
           ΔΩΡΟΝ :/  
           NEV,/  
           ATHRAWIAETH I/  
           Fawredh yw anwylaf Fab/  
           HENRI'r Tywsog./  
           Wedi i gyfiaethu i'r gwir *Frit*/  
           *tannaidh* aeg trwy dhyfal-/  
           rwydth a thrafael M. *Robert*/  
           *Holland*, Gwenidog/  
           Eglwys Lhan/  
           *Dhyfwrwr*./
- BASILICON/  
 DORON :/  
 OR,/  
 HIS MAIESTIES IN-/  
 structions to his deerest/  
 Sonne HENRIE/  
 the Prince :/  
 Translated into the true *British*/  
 tongue, by the industrie and/  
 labour of M. ROBERT/  
 HOLLAND, Mi-/  
 nister of the Church/  
 of *Lhandhyfwrwr*.

## AC

A chau mawrhydi'r Brenhin a/  
 hanes ferr yr amferoedh berthyna-/  
 dwy i'rheim gwedy i casclu, r-/  
 crynhoy au gosod ar lawr/  
 mewn trefn gan M./  
*Siers Owen Harri*/  
 Gwenidog yr/  
 Eglwys wen Yngskem/  
 meis./

## AND

The Kings Maiesties Pedegree/  
 with a briefe Cronologie con-/  
 cerning the same : collected/  
 and set downe in order by/  
*George Owen Harry*, Mi-/  
 nister of the Church/  
 of *Whitchurch* in Kem-/  
 mes./

Pan dhel hael o hil Lywelyn,/  
 Au faner o goch a melyn,/  
 Efe au waywt . . . w terfyn,/  
 A wna'r gwared o bob gelyn./

*Whē Bouŷty bred of K. Lhew-*  
*elins race,*/  
*With colours red & yellow shal*  
*appere,*/  
*With weapō he al tumults will*  
*deface,*/  
*And force each foe to leaue his*  
*biding here.*/

Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford for Thomas Salisbury. 1604.

Quarto, black-letter, page-numbers, signatures, and catchwords. Signatures A<sup>4</sup> (a)<sup>2</sup>B-E<sup>4</sup>. Twelve pages unnumbered; sixteen pages numbered + sixteen pages numbered.

Collation: A, pp. [2], missing. A2, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A3-(a)2<sup>a</sup>, pp. [7], To the Most Vertvovs, Most High and Mighty Prince, *Iames*. . . . Your Maiesties most loyall / and louyng subiect, / ROBERT HOLLAND. (a)2<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. B, pp. 1-2, AT FANWYLAF FAB, / am gwir etifedh, *HARRI*'r *Tywysog*. B2-C4<sup>a</sup>, pp. 3-15,

Y RHAGYMDRODH AT Y Darlheuwr. C4<sup>b</sup>, p. [1], blank. D-E4<sup>b</sup>, pp. 1-16, Athrawiaeth Frenhinol.

Only two fragmentary copies are known to exist. The longer is in the National Library of Wales, and ends on the verso of sig. E4, at a point in the text not far after the beginning of the Second Booke. The other fragment is even shorter, for it ends on the verso of sig. C4; it is in Cardiff Public Library. The side-notes and marginal references of the original are included. The editor of the facsimile reprint<sup>1</sup> thinks that no more of the volume ever existed than is contained in the longer of the two fragments, for the publisher, Thomas Salisbury, fled from London to avoid the plague of 1603-04, leaving behind him many unfinished books in Welsh.

48. BASILICON DORON / By / KING JAMES I. /  
FRAGMENT OF A WELSH TRANSLATION / By /  
ROBERT HOLLAND / 1604 / *Reproduced in facsimile* /  
(Arms of the National Library of Wales) / CARDIFF /  
UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS BOARD / 1931.

Contents: Title-page; facsimile reprint; bibliographical note, containing an account of the original edition of 1604 and a brief biography of the translator, Robert Holland, by the editor, Sir John Ballinger.

## 8. Swedish.<sup>†</sup>

49. REGIUM DONUM / Eller / KOnungzligh /  
Fo'r a'hringh || then Storma'chtige och Chris-  
telige / Konungs JACOBI, / Then Fo'rste medh  
thet Nam- / pnet || Konungh i Engelandh || Skott- /  
land || Franckriske och Irland || hwilken H.R.  
Mayst sin a'ldste Son och / Arfwinge Hertigh /  
HENRICO / hafwer tilskrifwit. / Nu nyligen

<sup>1</sup> See No. 48 below.

fo'rsvenskadt / aff / ERICO SCHRODERO. / Tryckt  
i Stockholm || aff / Anund Olufsson. / (Rule) /  
ANNO M.DC.VI.

*Note.* || marks in this paragraph indicate single diagonal strokes in the original.

Octavo, printed in black-letter, folio-numbers, signatures, and catchwords on every page. Signatures A-I<sup>s</sup>K-L<sup>s</sup>M<sup>4</sup>. Sixteen folios unnumbered; seventy-six numbered.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. Aij<sup>a</sup>-iv<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], Foretaal (*i.e.*, Translator's Preface). Aiv<sup>b</sup>-v<sup>b</sup>, pp. [3], Til min a<sup>e</sup>lstelighe taere Son och Arfwinge HENRICUM. Avi<sup>a</sup>-Bviii<sup>b</sup>, pp. [22], Til then Christelighe La<sup>e</sup>saren. C-Miv<sup>b</sup>, fol. 1-76, (pp. 152), Konungzligh Fo<sup>e</sup>ra<sup>e</sup>hringh.

Copy described: British Museum, press-mark, 8006.aa.

D. SELECTIONS, ADAPTATIONS, &C., FROM  
'BASILICON DORON.'

(1) *Manuscript.*

50. "The Βασιλικον δωρον (*sic*) or King James booke to his sonne." This is an epitome of the king's book, occupying *Harleian MS.* 2408, foll. 32<sup>b</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>. It ends, "finis July 13. 1603 / God saue our godlie king."

51. "'ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΕΜΒΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ totum versum, et in tres libros (Regia Methodo observata) divisum. Authore Henrico Peachamo. Huic operi in calce adjecta est, ad regem, in quatuor partibus, cantio votiva, seu congratulatoria, ab alumnis quatuor regnorum Anglo sc. Scoto, Gallo, et Hiberno concinendo. Ab ipso Authore composita.'

"The Music is neatly written in four separate Parts. The whole Book has 38 leaves. It is dedicated to King James I., but without a date. It is, however, founded



on his Book entitled *βασιλικον δωρον*, which it quotes in every page, from the English edition." (From the *Harleian Catalogue* (1808), vol. iii., p. 441.)

This is *Harleian MS* 6855, item 13. Like No. 52 below, it is an autograph, but the drawings are in pen and ink and not in water-colour. Unlike No. 52 it is dedicated to King James himself, and not to Prince Henry.

The *D.N.B.* article on Peacham regards this as a first draft of No. 52.

52. "“ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, in Basilica Emblemata totum uersum, singula suis iconibus et tetrastichis in Latinis donata. Authore Henrico Peachamo.” Three books of emblems illustrating the *Basilicon Doron* of James I., containing respectively nineteen, forty-three, and sixteen water-colour drawings, each with an elegiac quatrain and in most cases a quotation from the royal treatise. Preface addressed to Henry (Frederic), Prince of Wales, whose arms are prefixed (f. 12b) to book ii.

“Paper: ff. 42. Folio.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. A.D. 1603-1612.” (From the British Museum, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King’s Collections* (1921), vol. ii., p. 9.). In the author’s autograph.

The British Museum press-mark is *MS. Royal 12. A. lxvi.*

The work was made by Peacham in 1610. See his *Gentleman’s Exercises* (1612), p. 7.

At the end are the words and music of a madrigal by Peacham in four parts entitled *King James his quier*.

53. “ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ In Heroica Emblemata resolutum, ac digestum per Hemricum Peachamum Anglum. Scripta in gratiam serenissimi principis Henrici Frederici Regis Iacobi . . . filij, cui optimo iure debentur.”

Paper:  $11 \times 8\frac{1}{8}$  in.: ii + 46 leaves: in the author’s autograph.

This copy of Peacham’s *Emblems* occupies the first 30 folios of *MS. Rawlinson Poetry 146* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The MS. is a composite one, containing

other two pieces, for which see F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, vol. iii. (1895), p. 313, where it is No. 14639.

54. "Passages extracted out of the Kings booke to his sonne." *Harleian MS.* 2329, foll. 5-13. The extracts in this MS. come from the 1616 folio of King James's *Workes*, the page-numbers of which are given in the margins.

55. "Pages out of K. James his workes." *Harleian MS.* 475, foll. 2<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>. Brief extracts from the 1616 English edition of King James's *Workes*, to which page-references are given in the margins.

56. "Notts taken forth of K. James his Βασιλικον Δωρον to Prince Henrie his sonne or *the* abridgement of *the* whole booke. Febru. 9. anno Domini, 1637." B.M. Add. Ms. 12,515, foll. 48<sup>a</sup>-55<sup>a</sup>. The "Notts" proceed no further than the end of the first book of the original.

(2) *Printed.*

57. A / PRINCES LOOKING / GLASSE, OR A PRINCES DIRECTI- / on, very requisite and necessarie for a Christian Prince, to / *view and behold himself in, containing sundrie wise, learned, god- / ly and Princely precepts and instructions, excerpited and / chosen out of that most Christian and vertuous ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡ- / ON, or his Maiesties instructions to his dearest sonne / HENRIE the Prince, and translated into Latin and English / verse (his Maiesties consent and approbation beeing first) / had and obtained thereunto) for the more delight and / pleasure of the said Prince now in his / young yeares : / By William Willymat. / . . . / PRINTED BY IOHN LEGAT, PRIN- / ter to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. 1603. / And are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Crowne / by Simon Waterson. 4°.*

The copy seen is that in Edinburgh University Library, press-mark, De.2.11; it was presented to the University Library by the poet, Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1626. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, Willymat's book is No. 14357.

58. 'HPΩ-ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, / OR / THE INSTITVTION OF  
A / YOVNG NOBLE MAN, / BY / JAMES CLELAND. /  
(Printer's device.) / AT OXFORD, / Printed by Ioseph  
Barnes. 1607. 4°.

The title-page is from the copy in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, H.32.c.16. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this work is No. 5393.

[See F. Madan, *Early Oxford Press* (1895), p. 66.]

59. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ / SIVE / COMMENTA- /  
RIVS EXEGE- / TICVS / IN / SERENISSIMI MAGNÆ /  
BRITANNIÆ REGIS JACOBI PRÆ- / FATIONEM  
MONITORIAM; EI IN APO- / logiam pro Iura-  
mento fidelitatis; / AVCTORE / JACOBO GRETSERO  
SOCIETA- / TIS IESV, SÆCRÆ THEOLOGIÆ IN /  
Academia Ingolstadiensi Professore. / ANNO (Printer's  
device) M.DC.X. / INGOLSTADII, / Ex Typographeio  
ADAMI SARTORII.

Copies of this work are not uncommon, the one consulted is that in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, l.l.1.18.

Despite its title, this work has little connection with King James's book of the same name, which is mentioned only on pp. 77-81, where Gretser seeks to controvert the king's assertion that the religion of his country is not Puritanism.

60. The Instruction of / a young Noble-man. / BY  
IAMES CLELAND. / (Printer's ornament.) / AT OX-  
FORD, / Printed by Ioseph Barnes, 1612. 4<sup>to</sup>.

The title-page is from the copy in the Bodleian Library, press-mark, 70.d.62. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this is No. 5394.

This is simply a reissue of No. 58 above, with the original title-page cut out and a new one inserted. The torn edge of the original title-page and the stub of the new one are both clearly visible in the Bodleian copy. This new title-page is surrounded by a border composed of printer's fleurons.

[See F. Madan, *Early Oxford Press* (1895), p. 79.]

61. The Father's Blessing : or Second Councill to his Sonne. Appropriated to the generall, from that perticular example of Learning and Pietie his Maiestie composed for the Prince his Sonne, etc. pp. 53. For *Leonard Becket* : London, 1616. 8°.

The copy in the British Museum was not available for examination. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, it is No. 14358. It was entered to Becket on 29th October 1615.<sup>1</sup> (Arber, *Transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company*, vol. iii. (1876), p. 574.)

\*62, \*63, \*64. *The Father's Blessing*, second, third, and fourth editions. No copy of any of these editions has been located.

65. A / TABLE-BOOKE / FOR / PRINCES. / CONTAINING SHORT / Remembrances for the Gouvern- / ment of themselves and their / EMPIRE. / Wherein also respectiuelly the seuerall / Members of State, and all sorts of Sub- / iects, may finde matter worthy / their obseruation. / By Patricke Scot, Esquire. / *Nihil recte inchoatur, nisi post Deum fauerit Im- / perator, nec quenquam oportet vel meliora scire / vel plura quam principem, cuius doctrina omni- / bus potest prodesse subiectis.* Veget. in Prol. / (Rule) / LONDON, / Printed by BERNARD

<sup>1</sup> On 3rd May of the same year a book with the title, *Certayne Preceptes or Directions for the ordering and gouerning of a mans house, left by a father to his sonne and a man of eminent note in this kingdome*, had been entered to Becket on the Stationers' Register. (Arber, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 566.)



ALSOP, dwelling in Distaffe- / Lane at the Signe of the Dolphin, neere Olde / Fish-Street. 1621. 8°.

The title-page is taken from the copy in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, H.34.g.25. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this work is No. 21860. It was entered to Alsop on the Stationers' Register on 31st March, 1621.<sup>1</sup>

66. A / TABLE-BOOKE / FOR / PRINCES. / CONTAINING SHORT / Remembrances for the Gouvern- / ment of themselves and their / EMPIRE. / Wherein also respectiue- / ly the seuerall Members of State and all sorts of / Subiects, may find matter worthy / their obseruation. / By Patricke Scot, Esquire. / *Nihil recte inchoatur, nisi post Deum fauerit / imperator, nec quenquam oportet vel meliora / scire vel plura principem, cuius doctrina omnibus potest prodesse subiectis* veget. in Prol. / (Rule) / LONDON, / Printed by B.A. and are to bee sold by Robert / Swaine, at the signe of the Bible in / Brittaines Bursse. 1622. 8<sup>vo</sup>.

The title-page is given from the copy in Cambridge University Library, press-mark, S.6.20. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, this is No. 21861. The copyright in *A Table-Booke for Princes* was transferred to Robert Swaine by Bernard Alsop on 18th September 1621, on condition that Alsop should have the printing of it from time to time, this to be done by him in a workman-like manner and as reasonably as any other printer.<sup>2</sup>

This is a reissue of the 1621 edition with a new title-page: this title-page in the Cambridge copy, the only one known to the *Short-Title Catalogue*, is not attached to any other leaf in the first gathering, and the last two leaves of the same gathering are gummed together to keep the first of them in place, it having previously been attached to the original title-page.

<sup>1</sup> Arber, *Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company of London*, vol. iv. (1877), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 59.

67. THE / FATHERS / BLESSING : / OR, / COVN-  
SAILE / TO HIS SONNE. / Appropriated to the generall,  
from / that particular Example of Lear- / ning and Pietie,  
his Majesty com- / posed for the PRINCE / his Sonne. /  
Seconded with many excellent Obser- / uations, sentences  
and precepts, directing all / men to a vertuous and honest  
life. / (Rule) / . . . / *The fifth Edition.* / (Rule) / LONDON, /  
Printed by B. Alsop, for Tho : Jones, / and are to be  
sold at his shop in the Strand / at the Blacke Rauen.  
1624. 12°.

The title-page is taken from the British Museum copy,  
press-mark, 4401.f.18. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-  
Title Catalogue*, this work is No. 14359.

*The Father's Blessing* had been assigned to Thomas  
Jones by the original publisher, Leonard Becket, on 27th  
May 1619. (See Arber, *Transcript of the Register of the  
Stationers' Company*, vol. iii. (1876), p. 649.)

68. THE / FATHERS / BLESSING : / OR. / COVN-  
SELL / TO HIS SONNE, / Appropriated to the generall,  
from / that particular Example of Lear- / ning and Pietie,  
his Majesty com- / posed for the PRINCE / his Sonne. /  
Seconded with many excellent Obser- / uations, sentences  
and precepts, directing all / men to a vertuous and honest  
life. / (Rule.) / . . . (Rule.) / *The sixt Edition.* / (Rule.) /  
LONDON. / Printed by B.A. and T.F. for T. Jones, / and  
are to be sold at his shop in S. Dunstons / Churchyard.  
1630. 12°.

The title-page is taken from the British Museum copy,  
press-mark, 4410.a.1. In Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-  
Title Catalogue*, this edition is No. 14360.

69. THE / Dutie of a King / IN HIS / ROYALL  
OFFICE / SHEWING / How it is to be used in the admin-  
istration of Iustice / and Politicke Government in his  
Kingdomes, / LIKEWISE DECLARING, / *The True Glory  
of Kings. / The difference between a King and a Tyrant. /  
The Authoritie and true use of Parliaments. / The*

*diseases of the Church, and the Remedie. / Generall Advices in behalfe of the Church. / Paritie incompatible with a Monarchie. / Of the Nobilitie and their Formes. / The laudable Customes of England. / Admonition for making Warrs. / The Right Extention of King craft, &c. / (Rule) / Written / By the High and Mightie Prince / IAMES / King of Great Brittain, France and Ire- / land, Defender of the true, ancient, Catho- / licke and Apostolicke Faith, &c. / (Rule) / LONDON, / Printed for I.B. and are to be sould at his shop in Saint / Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet street, 1642. 4°.*

The title-page is taken from the British Museum copy, press-mark, 811.1.40. There is also a copy in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, *Pamphlets*, 12.

For an account of the work, see p. 53 above.

70. A / PURITANE / *Set forth / In his Lively Colours : / OR, / K. JAMES his description of a Puritan. / Whereunto is added, / THE / Round-heads Character, / WITH / The Character of an Holy Sister. / All fitted for the times. / (Rule) / Ignis profundī, fraudes Capitisq. Rotundi, / Et Judae suaviū, det Deus ut caveam. / (Rule) / (Ornament) / (Rule) / LONDON, / Printed for N.B. 1642. 4°.*

The obligation to *Basilicon Doron* consists only of the sentences in its Second Book describing the Puritans.

The title-page is taken from the copy in the British Museum, press-mark, E.113.

71. **Vox Regis :** / OR, THE / DIFFERENCE / betwixt A / KING Ruling by LAW, / AND A / TYRANT / BY HIS / Own Will : / With the Excellency of the ENGLISH / Laws, Rights and Priviledges. / In TWO SPEECHES of King JAMES / to the PARLIAMENTS in 1603. and / March 21. 1609. And in his *Basilicon Doron. / (Rule) / Which may be an APPENDIX to Vox Populi. / (Rule.) / London, Printed for Francis Smith at the Elephant and Castle near / the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1681.*

Quarto. Sig. A, pp. 6.

Title-page from the copy in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, Pamphlets, 84(7). There is another copy in the British Museum, press-mark, T.1696(1).

A quotation from *Basilicon Doron* begins at the middle of p. 5 with "To which we may add what he saith to his Son, in his *Basilicon Doron*, / p. 155, 156, of his Works—viz. / 'For the part of making and Executing of Laws,' " etc., and ends at the foot of p. 6 with "It is easie then for you, my Son, to make a choice of one of these two sorts of Rulers, by following the way of Vertue to establish your standing." The passage quoted comes from near the beginning of the Second Book and will be found, above, at vol. i., p. 55, l. 24—p. 56, l. 16, above.

The work to which reference is made in the title-page is a pamphlet entitled *Vox Populi: or the Peoples Claim to their Parliaments sitting to Redress Grievances, and Provide for the Common Safety; by the known Laws and Constitutions of the Nation: Humbly Recommended to the King and Parliament at their Meeting at Oxford, the 21 of March*, London, Francis Smith, 1681. It has no reference to *Basilicon Doron*.

72. A JUST / VINDICATION / OF THE / Honour of King James / Of Blessed Memory. / Against the vile aspersions cast upon it, and Him, by a late / Pamphlet, Printed by B. Took. / And pretended to be Presented by the *Grand Jury* for the Town and Borough of Southwark, &c. pp. 4. Folio.

Colophon: LONDON, Printed for R. Oswell.

This is an answer to an anonymous pamphlet, which seems not to have survived, in which the description used of the Puritans in *Basilicon Doron*, "very pests in the Commonwealth," had been applied to the sectaries of 1680.

There is a copy in the British Museum, press-mark, 8122.i.27, and another in the National Library of Scotland, press-mark, *Tracts*, 573, but having had the date on the title-page cut off by the binder.



73. VOX REGIS. / *As an APPENDIX to what hath been said, we shall presume to annex part of King James the First's Speeches to the Parliaments in 1603, and 1609, who was Grandfather to King James the Second : As also his Advice to his Son in his Basilicon Doron ; which Appendix is intituled, Vox Regis : Or, the difference betwixt a King Ruling by Law, and a Tyrant by his Own Will ; and, at the same Time, declaring his Royal Opinion of the Excellency of the English Laws, Rights, and Privileges.*

Printed in *The Harleian Miscellany* (1744), vol. i., pp. 10-13.

A reprint of No. 71 above.

74. The Dutie of a KING in his ROYAL OFFICE, Shewing how it is to be used in the administration of Iustice and Politick Government in his Kingdomes. Printed in Somers, *Tracts* (1750), vol. ii., pp. 188-213.

A reprint of No. 69 above.

75. *The Dutie of a King in his Royal Office, shewing how it is to be used in the Administration of Justice and Politick Government in his Kingdomes.* Printed in Somers, *Tracts*, ed. Scott (1810), vol. iii., pp. 259-281.

A reprint of No. 69 above.

76. BASILIKON DORON / DIVIDED INTO THREE BOOKS / . . . / OR / HIS MAJESTY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS DEAREST SON, / HENRY THE PRINCE. Printed as an Appendix in Clara and Hardy Steeholm, *James I. of England* (1938), pp. 454-476.

Modernised selections from the Edinburgh edition of 1599. On p. 454 there is the following footnote : " The entire treatise is too long to be incorporated. The following excerpts are used without marks of omission in order not to interrupt its even flow. A few minor changes have been made in punctuation and spelling." The abridgement has not always been very skilfully done ; the paragraph which ends four lines from the top of p. 457 stops short in the middle of a sentence.

## ADDENDA.

Since the Bibliography was put into type three continental editions, hitherto unnoticed, have come to light and are now noted here for the sake of completeness.

(6) *German.*

77. Das Königlich / Geschencke / Defz Groß  
mechtigsten vnd Christ- / lichen Königs /  
IACOBI / defz Nahmens der Erste / Kö- / nig in  
Engeland / Schottland / Franck- / reich vnd Irr-  
land / Welches seine Kön. / Majest. seinem  
Eltesten Sohn vnd / Erbem dem Prinzen /  
HENRICO / zugeschrieben. / Aufz dem Englischen  
Exemplar ge- / treulich verteutschet / Durch /  
Emanuel Thomson / Gedruckt zu Hamburg / durch /  
Philip von Ohr / (rule) / ANNO clb. 1. CIIII.

Octavo, black-letter, signatures and catchwords, no page-numbers. Signatures A<sup>8</sup>-K<sup>8</sup>.

Collation: A<sup>r</sup>, [p. 1], Title. A<sup>v</sup>, [p. 1], blank. A2<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>, [pp. 5], Letter of Emanuel Thomson. A4<sup>v</sup>-A5<sup>v</sup>, [pp. 3], Dedication to Prince Henry. A6<sup>r</sup>-B8<sup>r</sup>, [pp. 22], Preface to the Reader. B8<sup>v</sup>, [p. 1], Sonnet of the King. C-K8<sup>v</sup>, [pp. 144], ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΠΟΝ.

The only copy so far located is that in the Library of Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A., press-mark, Ex3799.1.315.12.

8. *Swedish.*

78. REGIUM DONUM / Eller / Konungzligh /  
Förähring / then Stor- / mächtige och Christelige /  
Konungs / / JACOBI, / Then Förste medh thet

Nam- / pnet / Konungh i Engelandh / Skott- /  
Land / Franckrijke och Irland / hwil- / ken H.  
K. Mayst. sin äldeste Son och / Arfwinge  
Hertigh / HENRICO / hafwer tilskrifwit. / Nu  
nyligen förswenskadt / aff / ERICO SCHRODERO. /  
Tryckt i Stockholm / aff / Anund Oluffson. /  
ANNO M.DC.VI.

Octavo, black-letter, page-numbers, catchwords and signatures. Signatures A-L<sup>8</sup>K-L<sup>8</sup>M<sup>4</sup>. Thirty-two pages unnumbered, seventy-six numbered.

Collation: A, pp. [2], Title; verso blank. A2<sup>a</sup>-A4<sup>a</sup>, pp. [5], Then Stormächtighe Höghborne Furste och Herre Her CARL, Sweriges Gothes och Wendes . . . regerande Konungh och Affurste . . . A4<sup>b</sup>-A5<sup>b</sup>, pp. [3], Til min älskelighe käre Son och Arfwinge HENRICUM. A6<sup>a</sup>-B8<sup>b</sup>, pp. [22], Til then Christelighe Läsaren. C<sup>a</sup>-M4<sup>b</sup>, pp. 1-152, Konungzligh Förähring.

The copy described is in the Royal Library at Stockholm. According to a note made in it by G. E. Klemming (1823-1893), chief librarian of the Royal Library, this edition is a reprint dating from 1660, or at any rate before 1672.

79. REGIUM DONUM / Eller / Konungzligh /  
Föräringh / then Stor- / mächtige och Chris-  
telighe / Konungs / JACOBI, / Then Förste med  
thet Nam- / pnet / Konung i Engeland / Skott- /  
land / Franckrijke och Irland / Hwil- / ken H.  
K. Mayst. sin äldeste Son och Arfwinge /  
Hertigh / HENRICO / hafwer tilskrifwit / / Nu  
nyligen förswänskat / Aff / ERICO SCHRODERO. /  
Tryckt i Stockholm / . / Åhr 1606.

Octavo, black-letter, page-numbers, catchwords and signatures. Signatures A4<sup>b</sup>8A-I<sup>8</sup>K<sup>4</sup>. Twenty-four pages unnumbered, seventy-six numbered.

Collation : A, pp. [2], Title ; verso blank. A<sup>2a</sup>-A<sup>3b</sup>, pp. [4], Til min älskelige kiære Son och Arfwinge HENRICUM. A<sup>4a</sup>-b<sup>8b</sup>, pp. [18], Til then Christelige Läsaren. A<sup>a</sup>-K<sup>4b</sup>, pp. 1-152, Konungzligh Förähringh.

The copy described is in the Royal Library at Stockholm. According to a note made in it by G. E. Klemming, a former chief librarian of the Royal Library, this is a reprint dating from 1678, or at any rate not earlier.

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### Corrigenda to Vol. I.

- P. 73, l. 12, *for* hunours *read* humours.
- P. 99, l. 30, *for* hand *read* land.
- P. 139, l. 3, *for* be *read* he.
- P. 150, l. 9, *for* lukeuayes *read* lykeuayes.
- P. 187, l. 17, *for* langauge *read* language.



## NOTES.

## SONETT.

THIS sonnet is found only in *MS Royal 18. B. xv*, where it is called simply 'Sonnet,' and in the 1599 Waldegrave print. It has been reprinted separately in Ellis, *Original Letters* (1824), vol. iii., p. 79, note; *Notes and Queries*, Series II., vol. i. (1856), p. 165; Irving, *History of Scottish Poetry* (1861), p. 510; Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), p. 64. Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 115, suggests that it was omitted from the 1603 print because of its poetic inferiority to the one added in the print of 1599, and because of its departure in the first quatrain from the rhyme-scheme normally used by James.

**p. 2, l. 1. a mirroure viue and fair :** James uses the comparison of a mirror several times in *Basilicon Doron* itself—e.g., p. 27, l. 10; 34, 9; 104, 7. For the adjective, 'viue,' applied to a mirror, cf. James's own *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584), sig. Aiiiij<sup>a</sup>,

*Heir surely lyes,  
Of seasons fowre, the glasse and picture viue.*

**p. 2, l. 2. the schadow :** this word was common earlier in the sense of 'reflection.' James himself uses it again with this meaning in *Basilicon Doron* itself at p. 104, l. 9, and 201, l. 2, in both of which places it was changed in 1603 to 'image.' For its use in earlier Middle Scots, cf.,

*Than rais scho vp and tuik  
Ane poleist glas, and hir schaddow culd luik.  
Henryson, Testament of Cresseid, 347-348.*

Two quotations from the plays of Shakespeare will show that it was still current in the same sense in Elizabethan English :—

*The shadow of your sorrow hath destroyed  
The shadow of your face.  
King Richard II., IV., 1, 292-293.*

*You have no such mirrors as will turn  
Your hidden worthiness into your eye,  
That you might see your shadow.  
Julius Cæsar, I., 2, 56-58.*

## THE ARGUMENT.

This sonnet is first found in the Waldegrave print of 1599, and has been reproduced in most subsequent reprints. It has also been reprinted separately in Percy, *Reliques of English Poetry* (2nd ed., 1767), vol. ii., p. 304, where it is described as a sonnet which "would not dishonour any writer of that time"<sup>1</sup>; Ritson, *The Caledonian Muse* (1821), p. 95; Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First* (1828), vol. i., p. 148; Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), p. 65; Steeholm, C. and H., *James I. of England* (1938), p. 454; Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (Columbia University Press, 1936), p. vi. There is a Latin version of it by Thomas Seggat in *Delitæ Pætarum Scotorum* (1637), vol. ii., p. 503. A writer in *Notes and Queries*, Series ii., vol. i. (1856), p. 165, doubted whether it was really James's own composition because of its excellence and its absence from *MS Royal 18. B. xv*. He was apparently unaware of its presence in the print of 1599, for he thought that it first appeared in the print of 1603. Miller, *A Literary History of Scotland* (1903), p. 214, note 2, says of it that it is by far James's best performance, and just misses being a fine poem.

**p. 4, ll. 1-2.** With the sentiment expressed in these two lines compare the statements made in the two following quotations from James's prose works: (a) *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies: Workes* (1616), p. 194, "Kings are called Gods by the prophetical King David, because they sit vpon his Throne in the earth." Against this passage there is a reference in the margin to Psalm lxxxii, 6, which in the Authorised Version reads as follows, "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most high." (b) *A Speech in Parliament*, 1605; *Workes* (1616), p. 500, "Kings are in the word of GOD it selfe called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vice-gerents on earth."

**p. 4, l. 10.** Represse the proud: cf. James's motto from Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi., 853, *Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos*.

## THE EPISTLE.

**p. 7, l. 23.** rather borne to onus, then honos: for the antithesis compare Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani: Opera* (Leyden, 1703), vol. iv., col. 570D, *Cum Principatum suscipis, ne cogita quantum accipias honoris, sed quantum oneris ac sollicitudinis*. Cf. also Polydore Virgil, *Anglicæ Historiæ* (Basle, 1556), p. 439, speaking of Henry V.: *Is profecto unus ferme omnium princeps iam inde ab initio cognouit regem oportere obtinere regnum, non tam honorem, quam onus*. (Quoted in E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944), p. 33.) The first use of the antithesis has not been traced.

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xviii. (1814), p. 449, misunderstood this passage, and wrote, "The best specimen of his (i.e., King James's) poetical powers is his 'Basilicon Doron,' which Bishop Percy has reprinted in his 'Reliques.'"

**p. 9, ll. 12-16. Laying so . . . that height :** cf. James's *Trew Law of Free Monarchies : Workes* (1616), p. 209, "The further a king is preferred by God aboue all other ranks & degrees of men, and the higher that his seat is aboue theirs, the greater is his obligation to his maker. And therfore in case he forget himselfe (his vnthankfulness being in the same measure of height) the sadder and sharper will his eorrection be ; and according to the greatnes of the height he is in, the weight of his fall wil recompense the same."

**p. 9, l. 30. my Testament & latter-will :** Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (ed. Arber. 1870), p. 23, calls that work his "Will and Testament" to his family.

**p. 9, l. 33. as Alexander did the Iliads of Homer :** Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 8, 2, tells how Alexander carried about with him in a special casket a copy of Homer's *Iliad*, and how he used to lay it at night under his pillow with his sword. James refers to this story again in his *Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer : Workes* (1620), p. 590. According to Dio Chrysostom, *Fourth Discourse, on Kingship*, ch. 39, Alexander the Great knew by heart the whole of the *Iliad* of Homer and most of his *Odyssey*.

**p. 9, l. 34-p. 11, l. 12. nor importuning, etc. :** this reads like a counterblast to the following sentence in Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos : Opera* (1715), vol. i., sig. \*2, *Hunc igitur ad te, non modo monitorem, sed etiam flagitatore[m] importunum, ac interim impudentem, misi.*

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 10, l. 3. unseasonable at unmeit tymes :** the adverb was omitted in the prints, probably because it was felt to be pleonastic.

**p. 11, ll. 13-14. ye shall say . . . solus :** the Scipio referred to was Publius Scipio Africanus Maior, the conqueror of Hannibal, and the saying attributed to him here will be found in Cicero, *De Officiis*, III., l. 1, and Cicero, *De Republica*, I., 17, 27.

## TO THE READER.

**p. 12, ll. 2-7. there is nothing . . . houses :** for James's reference in his *Premonition to all Christian Monarchs : Workes* (1616), p. 290, to his quotation here of this passage from the New Testament, see the Introduction, p. 41, above.

**p. 12, l. 20. the affaires of Kings :** this is rendered in the 1604 Latin version by *in Regum & Principum vita & moribus*.

**p. 12, ll. 20-23. Kings . . . all the people :** cf. Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 15, 42, *Multas equidem C. Cæsaris virtutes magnas incredibilesque cognovi, sed sunt ceteræ maioribus quasi theatris propositæ et pæne populares.* Cf. also Dio Cassius, *Histories*, LII., 34, 2, καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ τινὶ τῆς δολῆς οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζῆσθαι, and Plutarch, *Precepts of Statecraft : Moralia*,

800B (Loeb ed., vol. x., p. 168), αὐτος δ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναπεπταμένῳ βιωσόμενος. But the comparison had already been made in two sixteenth century works known to James. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq̃ue Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 88<sup>b</sup>, *Cogitet princeps se quasi in theatro sedere, quod omnes contemplantur*. Buchanan, *De Jure Regni: Opera* (1715), vol. i., p. 18, *Cogitet igitur assidue Rex, se in orbis theatro positum, omnibusque ad spectaculum propositum, nullum dictum aut factum suum latere posse*. Cf. Introduction, p. 41, above, for James's repetition of the comparison in his *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609. It is also repeated at the beginning of the Third Book of *Basilicon Doron*, for which see vol. i., p. 162, above. Before the words, "vpon a publicke stage," the Latin version of 1604 inserts, (*qui munus*) *in luce, in meridiano sole versantur*.

**p. 12, l. 32. hauing laide my count :** that we have here a metaphor from book-keeping is shown by the 1604 Latin rendering of the phrase, *rationes subductas habui*. The earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for the metaphorical use of the phrase with "account" as the noun is dated 1746. See Introduction, p. 41, above, for James's two references elsewhere to this passage.

**p. 13, l. 16. before the hande :** the only *O.E.D.* quotation for this form of the phrase is dated c. 1450, and comes from Henryson, *The Tale of the Sheep and the Dog*, 88 (= *The Fables*, 1225), *Ane soume I payit haif befor the hand*.

**p. 13, ll. 19-22. I onely permitted . . . them :** see Introduction, p. 6, above.

**p. 13, l. 35. false copies :** there is no question here of printed texts, but only of manuscript copies circulating from hand to hand.

**p. 14, ll. 13-14. description of the . . . preachers :** see vol. i., pp. 73-79, above.

**p. 14, ll. 16-18. the strait charge . . . progenitors :** see vol. i., p. 65, above.

**p. 14, ll. 19-22. affirming . . . her time :** see vol. i., p. 67, ll. 2-6, above.

**p. 14, ll. 28-29. calling it . . . brought up :** James nowhere in *Basilicon Doron* goes quite so far as this.

**p. 14, l. 30. wishing him . . . the same :** see vol. i., p. 30, ll. 5-6, above.

**p. 14, ll. 30-31. the onely true forme of Gods worship :** this is expanded in the 1604 Latin version to *quæ nihil adumbratile, futile nihil, nihil admixtum, sed quæ solidam, viuam, & expressam Diuini Cultus imaginem in se contineret*.

**p. 14, l. 33. ditted :** cf. *Satirical Poems of the Reformation* (S.T.S. 1891), vol. i., p. 233, l. 196, "Dit the mouths of thame that sa dois speik."



**p. 14, l. 33. Momus :** a personification of Greek  $\mu\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  = ridicule, which had already occurred in Greek times and which became the name of the god of ridicule, who, it was fabled, was banished from heaven for his censures upon the gods. It was later extended to be the name for any captious fault-finder.

**p. 15, l. 15. they contemne the lawe and soueraigne authoritie :** elsewhere James said, *A Speech on Parliament*, 1603 : *Workes* (1616), p. 490, "The Puritanes and Nouelists doe not so farre differ from vs in points of Religion, as in their confused forme of Policie and Paritie, being euer discontented with the present gouernment, & impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sect vnable to be suffred in any wel gouerned Common wealth."

**p. 15, l. 15. authoritie :** after this the 1604 Latin version adds, *gigantum more cum Deo pugnant, & Solem e mundo tollere conantur*.

**p. 15, l. 22. the name of Puritanes :** the term 'Puritan' first came into use during the Elizabethan vestiarian controversy of 1567-68 (for which see Knappen, M. M., *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago. 1939), pp. 187-216), and was probably employed originally by the adherents of the separatist groups to indicate the thoroughness of their reformation, but for the next twenty years or so it was used of them only by their opponents. Martin Marprelate was the first to assume it voluntarily, and then not without a preliminary protest; but he excluded the Brownists from the appellation. For King James's account of what the Puritans were and of what their relation to the Brownists was, see his *Meditation vpon the Lordes Prayer : Workes* (1620), pp. 575-576, a passage unfortunately too long to quote here. ✓

**p. 15, l. 24. Anabaptistes, called the Familie of loue :** the Anabaptists were a German sect who owed their name to their opposition to infant baptism. Their political views, which savoured of communism, and the excesses which attended their brief period of ascendancy at Münster in 1535 under John of Leyden, brought them into general abhorrence. Thus the *Book of Common Order*, generally known as "Knox's Liturgy," which embodied the law of the Kirk as to worship from 1564 to 1645, contained a prayer in which the civil magistrate was charged with the responsibility of rooting out all "idolaters and heretics, as Papists, Anabaptists, with such like limbs of anti-Christ." (*The Book of Common Order*, ed. E. W. Sprott, D.D. (Church Service Society, 1901), p. 11.) On the Anabaptists, see further Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i. (1908), pp. 406-412. ✓ The sixteenth century sect called the Family of Love was strictly an offshoot of the Anabaptists. Its members were followers of the German mystic, Henrick Niclaes, who had his headquarters at Bremen. The sect owed its name to its belief that all men ought to love all other men, and that there should be no disputes over matters of religion. It also taught that all princes and magistrates, no matter what their religion, ought to be obeyed. Knappen, M. M., *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago. 1939), p. 372, says that it combined Anabaptist and what were later called Quaker principles. It was very active in England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

**p. 15, l. 30. Browne :** this was Robert Browne (? 1550-1633), the earliest separatist from the Church of England after the Reformation, to whom, according to the article on him in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, "ordination, whether episcopal or presbyterian, was an abominable institution." This view he acted on at the very beginning of his career when he began to preach without a licence from one of the bishops, having also decided that these, as false teachers, had no right to approve the true ones: this caused him to be in trouble with the Council. Going to Norwich about 1580, he gathered round him there a small company of believers who called themselves 'Brownists': the group was very rigid in its beliefs and separatist in its views of Church government. Because of trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities the little community left Norwich in 1581 and settled at Middelburg in Holland. When quarrels broke out there among the exiles, Browne was excommunicated by the Church which he had created, and he and some of his more ardent supporters left Holland for Scotland, where they landed at Dundee in January 1583. Browne did not make himself at all popular in his new home, for he denounced in strong terms everybody and everything connected with all matters religious and ecclesiastical. On three successive Sundays he had to appear before the Presbytery of Edinburgh on a number of charges, one of which was that he had said that "the whole discipline of Scotland was amiss," and for a time he was actually in prison. On his release he left Scotland some time in 1584 and returned to England. His career as a sectary came to a sudden and surprising end, for in 1586 he made his peace with the ecclesiastical authorities; the remaining half-century of his life he spent as an Anglican clergyman. The sect called by his name died out in the seventeenth century. It is regarded by some as the ancestor of Congregationalism, since one of the tenets of its founder was that every congregation, however small, if constituted by a common faith and by the resolve to live according to the Word of God, was a complete Church in itself; it also held that no secular government had any right to lay down rules for a State Church or to force conformity on its subjects. The name 'Brownist,' however, lived on as a term of abuse for all who for whatever reason left the national Church. It will be remembered that in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, III., 2, 31, Sir Andrew Aguecheek declares that he "had as lief be a Brownist as a politician."

**p. 15, l. 30. Penrie :** this was John Penry (1559-1593), a Welshman from Breckonshire, who at Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1582, adopted Puritanism in its most extreme Calvinistic form. After leaving Cambridge he conducted a revivalist campaign in his native country, but, falling foul of the bishops, he became the chief figure in the Marprelate controversy, if indeed he did not originate it. The printer of the Marprelate tracts was Waldegrave, and in time both Penry and Waldegrave had to flee to Scotland, where Waldegrave became printer to King James VI. Penry arrived in Scotland early in 1590, and was well received and allowed to preach from Church pulpits. In May of that year, however, Bowes, the English Ambassador, acting on the instructions of Queen Elizabeth, complained to King

James about Penry's activities, and on 5th August James issued an edict banishing Penry from the kingdom. Yet in November Bowes had to complain that Penry was still in the country. In December, however, James assured him that he was credibly informed that Penry had really gone. Little is known of his movements from that time till his reappearance in England early in 1592. Then at the beginning of 1593 he was arrested and tried on a charge of having while in Edinburgh devised and written certain words with intent to excite rebellion and insurrection in England. The quotations cited by the prosecution in support of their charge are not to be found in any of Penry's published writings, and are believed to have been found among the papers impounded at the time of his arrest. After trial he was found guilty of treason and hanged on 29th May 1593. On Penry, see Pierce, W., *John Penry* (1923); on the Marprelate controversy, see *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. iii. (1908), pp. 374-398; and Pierce, W., *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (1908), and *Marprelate Tracts* (1911).

**p. 15, l. 31. to sowe their popple :** the allusion is to the Parable of the Tares (Matthew xiii. 24-25). "Popple or cockle, being erroneously confounded by early herbalists with the *zizania* of the Vulgate, was taken metaphorically for the darnel, or 'tares,' sown by the Evil One among the wheat" (*O.E.D.*). Cf. *The Bannatyne Manuscript* (S.T.S.), vol. ii., p. 202, l. 46, "Thus weidit is the poppill fra the corne."

**p. 15, ll. 31-33. from my hart . . . manifested :** rendered in the 1604 Latin version by *quorum doctrinæ iam pestiferi satus, utinam in ipsa herba oppressi fuissent, nec tam magna malorum messis ab eorum colonis expectanda esset qualem iam in spica, suo tempore nimis uberem futuram promittunt.*

**p. 16, ll. 9-10. sit tibi quam ethnicus & publicanus :** from Matthew xviii. 17.

**p. 16, l. 16. prayer must come of Faith :** based on James v. 15, The prayer of faith shall save.

**p. 16, l. 25. famous libels :** *i.e.*, defamatory writings. The phrase is really a direct adoption of the Latin *famosus libellus*, which was the technical term of Roman law in post-Augustan times for 'libel,' and as such occurs frequently in the Digests. The only quotation in *O.E.D.* for the phrase is from Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), but for the adjective alone it quotes Sir James Balfour's *Practicks ; or a system of the more ancient law of Scotland* (written c. 1575), 537. "That na man mak, write, or imprent ony . . . writingis . . . famous or sclanderous to ony persoun . . . under the pane of death."

**p. 16, l. 37. the cornerd cap :** a three or four-cornered cap worn by clergymen and members of universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to Professor Dover Wilson in the New Cambridge ed. of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 200, it is the black cap still assumed by judges when passing sentence of death.

**p. 17, ll. 20-23. that place . . . of the ministry :** see vol. i., p. 79, l. 4-p. 80, l. 3, above.



**p. 17, l. 27. in promooouing them :** for the sense of 'promooouing,' cf. the speech made by James himself in St Giles, Edinburgh, on 3rd April 1603, as reported by Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842), vol. vi., p. 216, "God has promoued me to a greater power nor I had."

**p. 17, ll. 33-37. speaking of my sonnes mariage . . . from him :** see vol. i., p. 129, l. 22-p. 131, l. 18.

**p. 18, ll. 10-15. I plainlie bewray . . . of it :** see vol. i., p. 67, l. 24-p. 69, l. 14.

**p. 18, ll. 17-18. a wise and princelie apothegme :** this has not been traced.

**p. 18, l. 26. reduction :** here a term of Scots law.

**p. 18, l. 29. a Daudicall testament :** see 1 Kings ii. 5-6, where the dying King David lays on his son Solomon the duty of avenging him on Joab after he is dead.

**p. 19, ll. 28-29. tot capita tot sensus :** a variation on Terence, *Phormio*, II., 4, 14, *Quot homines, tot sententiæ*. The Latin version of 1604 corrects the first *tot*, but leaves the rest unaltered.

**p. 19, ll. 35-36. the perfite institutiō of a King :** the Latin version of 1604 transfers the adjective from 'institution' to 'king.'

**p. 20, l. 29. some notes out of it :** this may refer to extracts from *Basilicon Doron* such as those laid before the Synod of Fife in September 1598.

**p. 20, l. 31. the Psalme, non est Deus :** *i.e.*, Psalm xiv. 1.

**p. 20, l. 33. a little pamphlet :** no such pamphlet or publication is known.

**p. 20, l. 36. in a place thereof :** see vol. i., p. 78, l. 9, above.

**p. 21, l. 9. blockers of other mēs bookes :** *i.e.*, men who stamp books with their titles. *O.E.D.*'s first quotation for the word in this sense is dated 1884.

**p. 21, l. 15. ouertures :** here a technical term from the procedure of the Scottish Parliament. An Overture was a motion introduced to be made an Act.

**p. 21, l. 17. the sicknesses of their state :** the 1604 Latin version has for this, *nutantem & vacillantem non dico labefactatum eorum statum*.

**p. 21, l. 21. speaking of the bordours :** see vol. i., p. 71, ll. 2-9, above.

**p. 21, l. 36. that Christian rule :** see Matthew vii. 12, Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.



*The First Booke.*

**Waldegrave, 1599. p. 24, ll. 18-19. if the Lord . . . therunto :** this is a comment by James, not part of the Scriptural citation.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 25, l. 3. cephas :** this is wrong. The 1603 print gives the correct rendering of the New Testament passage quoted.

**p. 25, ll. 9-11. As he cannot be thought . . . appetites :** cf. Sir David Lyndsay, *The Testament of the Papyngo*, 295-296:

*For quhov suld Prencis gouerne gret regionis,  
That can nocht dewlie gyde thare awin personis ?*  
(*Works*, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 65.)

**p. 25, ll. 17-22.** The two New Testament passages quoted here were quoted by King James on two other occasions: in his *Speech in Parliament*, 1603: *Workes* (1616), p. 490; and in his *Speech at Whitehall*, 1607: *Workes* (1616), p. 510.

**p. 25, l. 25. A little God to sitte on his throne :** for the development of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings here hinted at, see Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings* (2nd ed., 1914), and for King James's conception and interpretation of it, see M'Ilwain, *Political Works of James I.* (1918), Intro., pp. xxxv-xliii.

**p. 27, l. 13. A moate . . . beame :** Matthew vii. 3, Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

**p. 27, l. 15. as the papists call it :** this is omitted in the Latin version of 1619.

**p. 27, ll. 22-27. Remember then . . . steppes :** this sentence is built up from these three passages of Scripture: (a) Matthew v. 16, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works; (b) Psalm cxxi. 8, Thy going out and thy coming in; (c) Psalm cxix. 105, A lamp unto my feet.

**p. 27, ll. 28-29. the right knowledge . . . saith :** two passages of Scripture have been run together here: (i) Proverbs i. 7, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge; and (ii) Proverbs ix. 10, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.

**p. 27. Side-note. Prov. 9. 10.** see note to p. 27, ll. 28-29, above.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 29, l. 2. not aneuch :** the 'not' is really unnecessary, as was seen by whoever supervised the making of the 1599 print.

**p. 29, ll. 9-14. Searche the Scriptures . . . workes :** quoted again by King James in his *Premonition to all Christian Monarches*: *Workes* (1616), p. 316.

**p. 29, ll. 23-24. making it like a Bell . . . interpret :** cf. James's *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609: *Workes* (1616), p. 548, "peruert not my words by any corrupt affections, turning them to an ill meaning, like one, who when hee heares the tolling of a Bell, fancies to himselfe, that it speakes those words which are most in his minde."

**p. 31, l. 16. I am no hypocrite :** for this the Latin version of 1604 substitutes, *absit omnis & dicto, & facto simulatio & dissimulatio*.

**p. 31, l. 31. as I haue alreadie saide :** see vol. i., p. 31, ll. 20-22, above.

**p. 33, l. 27. his suffering for vs :** after this the Latin version of 1604 adds, *ut nostra peccata expiaret*.

**p. 35, l. 32. Apocriphe bookes :** he means the books of the Old Testament Apocrypha. They are omitted from the English Bible and are not accepted by most Protestants because they were excluded from the canon of the Jewish Scriptures when that was finally formed, and it is on the Jewish Scriptures that the Protestant Bible is based. The Apocryphal books are included in the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church because they are found in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which the Vulgate follows. James repeats his criticism in *A Premonition to all Christian Monarches*: *Workes* (1616), p. 316, "Is it a small corrupting of Scriptures to make all, or the most part of the *Apocrypha* of equal faith with the *Canonicall* Scriptures, contrary to the Fathers opinions and Decrees of ancient Councils?"

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 37, l. 3. numbers & genealogies :** this is wrong. The text of 1603 gives correctly the passage cited in the margin from the New Testament. Perhaps James was thinking of divination by numbers, as when Nero was identified with the Beast of Revelation because its number, as given in Revelation xiii. 18, was the same as the number obtained by adding together the numerical values assigned in Greek or Latin to the letters of his name. James referred to the same passage in a Speech to Parliament on 19th February 1623, *Journal of the House of Lords* (n.d.), vol. iii., p. 210, "Beware that you take not in Hand the maintaining of idle questions amongst you, which spoils great Businesses. Remember, beware of *Genealogies* and *curious Questions*, as St Paul speaks."

**p. 37, l. 13. capacitle :** this seems to be a misprint, the better reading being that found in the two earlier texts.

**p. 37, l. 16. textuare :** not a textual critic, but one well acquainted with the text and apt and ready with quotations from it, as is shown by the Latin rendering of 1604 for the whole sentence, *ipsum textum ad unguem teneas*. The folio text of 1616 has 'textuarie,' for which the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation is dated 1608.

**p. 37, l. 29. the golden chaine :** this figure goes back to Homer, *Iliad*, viii., 18-27, where the poet describes how Zeus has suspended from heaven a golden chain whereby he can draw up the gods and the earth, the sea, and the whole universe, though they cannot draw him

down. Spenser, *Færie Queene*, Book II., canto vii., stanzas 46-47, makes the golden chain the chain of ambition by which men strive to rise in the world. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book II., line 1051, is nearer to Homer, for when Satan comes in sight of the newly created universe he sees it hanging from heaven by a golden chain. For King Arthur, in Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*, line 255, man is bound to God by the golden chain of prayer. For the way in which the Elizabethans saw the parts of the universal world-order joined together like the links in a chain, see E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943), pp. 23-76.

**p. 37. Side-note. Philip. 1. 29 :** this is wrong, as the text quoted at this point in *Basilicon Doron* comes from Romans v. 15.

**Waldegrave, 1599. p. 40. Side-note. Mat. 15. 22 :** this is correct, because the incident mentioned in the text here is a different one from that referred to in the print of 1603, the marginal reference in which is also correct for its incident.

**p. 41, l. 12. pro re nata :** *i.e.*, according to circumstances; it is a common tag in classical writers.

**p. 41, l. 30. as for conscience :** see vol. i., p. 31, l. 32, above.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 43, l. 10. uocabulum artis, i.e.,** a technical term. Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, I., 42, 117, *Superstitio, in qua inest timor inanis deorum ; religio, quæ deorum cultu pio continetur.*

**p. 43, l. 28. a cauterized conscience :** for this 1 Timothy iv. 2 in the Authorised Version has, "conscience seared with a hot iron," nor does James's form of the text appear in any English version of the Bible likely to be available to him. For this form of the text, *O.E.D.* quotes J. Hooker, *Girald. Irel.* (in Holinshed (1586), II., 117/1), *His conscience was so cauterized.*

**p. 43, ll. 30-32. King Davids . . . similitude :** see 2 Samuel xii. 1-7.

**p. 43, l. 34. the onlie true square :** the square was "an implement or tool for testing the exactness of artificers' work, usually consisting of two pieces or arms set at right angles to each other, but sometimes with the arms or sides hinged or pivoted so as to measure any angle" (*O.E.D.*). The same authority says that the metaphorical use of the word, as here, was very common between 1550 and 1650.

**p. 45, l. 18. φιλαυτία :** this is a not very common Greek word, very nearly equivalent in meaning to the modern *amour-propre*. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (3rd ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 10, speaks of "pride, with his cosin germain, φιλαυτία, which is self-loue." In the spelling 'philauty' it was not uncommon in English of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For James's advice cf. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 26<sup>b</sup>, *Ac prius quidem quo a φιλαυτία deterreatur (qui morbus est pestilentissimus, maxime in principibus) procurandum est.*"

**p. 45, l. 31.** This quotation comes from Horace, *Epistles*, I., iv., 13.

**p. 45, l. 33. suddaine death :** not a quick death but one which comes without warning, and therefore allows no time to prepare for it. For an interesting discussion of the two meanings which the phrase can bear, see the essay with that title by De Quincey in his *English Mail-Coach*.

**p. 47, ll. 15-16. beware to offend . . . with vse of swearing :** cf. the proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk in March 1598, as reported in *The Book of the Universal Kirk* (Bannatyne Club. 1839-1845), vol. iii., p. 873, "His Majestie is blottit for banning and swearing." Cf. also *The Diary of John Manningham* (Camden Society. 1868), p. 168, "10 April 1603. Was with the Lady Barbara (*i.e.*, Lady Barbara Ruthven, sister of the Earl of Gowrie). Shee saith the King will not swear, but he will curse and ban at hunting, and wish the diuel goe with them all." Sir Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James* (1651), p. 172, "He would make a great deale too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one straine higher vergeing on blasphemie : But would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion."

**p. 51, ll. 14-15. precise in effect, but sociall in shew : *i.e.*,** remembering always your dignity but appearing to be on easy terms with everyone.

**p. 51, l. 20. Christes commande :** King James has here run together two verses of Scripture, at the same time reversing their order. They are (a) Matthew vi. 3-4, When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth : that thine alms may be in secret ; and (b) Matthew vi. 6, When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret.

**p. 51, l. 22. the proud Pharisie :** see Luke xviii. 11-12, The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.

**p. 51, l. 24. Inutiles serui sumus :** cf. James's *Speech in Parliament*, 1603 : *Workes* (1616), p. 492, "I doe confesse that when I haue done and performed all that in this Speech I haue promised, *Inutilis seruus sum* : Inutile, because the meaning of the word *Inutilis* in that place of Scripture is vnderstood, that in doing all the seruice which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe."

**p. 51. Side-note. Luke 10. 17 :** this reference is wrong ; the correct one is that given in the margin of the 1599 print.



## BOOK II.

p. 53, l. 7. clothed with two callings : see vol. i., p. 173, above.

p. 53, l. 10. as I shewed before : see vol. i., p. 31, above.

p. 53, ll. 15-17. people . . . maners : cf. Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani: Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 568F, *Vulgus nihil imitatur lubentius quam quod a suo Principe fieri conspexerit.*

p. 53, l. 16. like apes : the sentiment, but with a different comparison, is to be found in one of James's translations from Du Bartas, printed by Westcott in his *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), p. 55 :

*People lightlie agitate with diuers humours strange  
Chameleon like with manners of there rulers doe they change.*

p. 53, l. 17. the notable saying of Plato : nothing like what is here attributed to Plato occurs anywhere in the works of his which have come down to us, but Cicero, *Epistulæ ad Familiares*, I., 9, 12, has, *Erant præterea hæc animadvertenda in civitate quæ sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus : " quales in re publica principes essent tales reliquos solere esse cives."* Both Lagner, *Ciceronis Sententiæ Illustræ* (ed. of 1590), p. 290, and Daneau, *Silva* (1591), p. 465, attribute this saying to Plato and cite the passage from Cicero just quoted as their authority. Beroald, *De Optimo Statu* (Basle, 1513), fol. 132<sup>b</sup>, gives this as Plato's opinion without indicating where he found it. The reference to Plato is omitted from the text of the Latin version of 1604, but is retained in the margin.

p. 53, ll. 19-21. Componitur . . . regentis : Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris*, 299-301. These lines, and the one which succeeds them,

*Mobile mutatur semper cum Principe vulgus,*

were quoted by Buchanan, *De Jure Regni: Opera* (1715), vol. i., p. 18, a copy of which was in James's library. (Warner, *Library of King James VI.*, 1579-1583 (Scottish History Society: Miscellany I., 1893), p. xxxvii.) The passage had already been quoted by Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisque Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 88<sup>b</sup>, to illustrate the same point as James is making here. It had been quoted to the same end in the fourteenth century by Petrarch, *De Republica Optime Administranda*, in *Opera* (Basle. 1581), p. 384, and at the beginning of the sixteenth by Beroald, *De Optimo Statu* (1513), fol. 133<sup>b</sup>.

p. 53. Side-notes. Plato in Polit : neither this nor any of the other marginal references to the *Politicus* of Plato has been identified. Isocr. in Sym : the oration of Isocrates now known as the *Peace* was formerly known as *Symmachicus*, but this particular reference to it has not been identified ; cf., however, Isocrates, *Ad Nicodem*, 31, " Let your own self-control stand as an example to the rest, realising that the manners of the whole estate are copied from its rulers " (Loeb translation).

MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 54, ll. 3-4. *contraria . . . illucescunt* : see p. 55, l. 14, note.

p. 55, l. 14. *contraria . . . elucescunt* : cf. Thomas Wilson, *The arte of Rhetorique* (published 1560, ed. of 1585), p. 127, "There is a saying in *Logique* : *Contraria inter se opposita magis elucescunt*." It is quoted again by James in his *Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer : Workes* (1616), p. 587.

p. 55, ll. 15-17. The one acknowledgeth . . . count-able : the Latin version of 1604 renders this as follows, *Regem eum dicimus, qui non tam populo natus, quam cælitus etiam a Deo datus*.

p. 55, ll. 17-19. the other . . . magnanimitie : with this description of a tyrant, cf. Buchanan, *De Jure Regni : Opera* (1715), vol. i., p. 21, (*Tyranni*) *palam non patriæ sed sibi gerunt imperium, neque publicæ utilitatis, sed suæ voluptatis rationem habent, stabilitatem suæ auctoritatis in civium infirmitate collocant, regnum, non procurationem à Deo creditam, sed potius prædam sibi oblatam, credunt*. The same distinction between a tyrant and a lawful king was again drawn by James in his *Speech in Parliament*, 1603 : *Workes* (1616), p. 494, "The speciall and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an vsurping Tyrant is in this : That whereas the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth thinke his Kingdome and people are onely ordeined for satisfaction of his desires and vnreasonable appetites ; the righteous and iust King doeth by the contrary acknowledge himselfe to bee ordeined for the procuring of the wealth and prosperitie of his people, and that his greatest and principall worldly felicitie must consist in their prosperitie." The distinction made here between the two types of ruler goes back to the *Politics* of Aristotle, whose views are thus summarised by Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani : Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 571A, *Hac nota Principem a Tyranno distinguit in Politicis Aristoteles, quod hic suis studet commodis ille Reipublicæ*.

p. 55, l. 33-p. 57, l. 12. thinketh neuer . . . people : cf. Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani : Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 572B, *Tyrannus gaudet inter cives factiones ac dissidia serere*.

p. 55. Side-notes. Arist. 5. Polit : Aristotle, *Politics*, 1294a. Xen. 8. Cyr : Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII., 6, 1-18. Cic. lib. 5. de Rep : Cicero, *De Republica*, was known only by a few scattered quotations, of which the passage here referred to was one, in ancient authors till a considerable portion of it was recovered in 1820 by Cardinal Mai from a palimpsest in the Vatican. The reference here is to *De Republica*, V., 6, 8, which was preserved by being quoted in Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VIII., 11. Arist. 5. Polit : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1313b. Tacit. 4. hist : Tacitus, *Histories*, Book IV., but not identified.

p. 57, l. 17. an vncouth hireling : the classic example is Dionysius the Elder, who made himself tyrant of Syracuse in B.C. 405, after having started life as a clerk in a public office. make vp his owne hand : i.e., make his fortune.

**p. 57, l. 30. bureaux :** M'Ilwain, *Political Workes of James I.* (1918), Introduction, p. xlv, would connect this word with the 'law-burrow' of Scots law—*i.e.*, the legal security required from a person that he will not injure the person, family, or property of another, saying, "James can hardly have meant the French *bourreau*, executioner." The meaning he rejects is the obvious one, and that it is also the correct one is shown by the fact the Hotman's French version of 1603 renders 'bureaux' by 'bourreaux.' Both the Latin ones, that of 1604 and that of 1619, render it by 'carnifices.'

**p. 57, l. 33-p. 59, l. 11. the infamous memorie . . . hereafter :** cf. Patrizi, *De Regno*, Book I., ch. vii., *Iniusti autem reges sæuissimique tyranni . . . post interitum uero a posteris perpetuæ execrationi habentur, & diuersis pœnis ac cruciatibus apud inferos torquentur, ut aiunt tragici poetæ.* (Ed. of 1582, fol. 23<sup>b</sup>.)

**p. 57. Side-notes. Cic. 6. de Rep :** Cicero, *De Republica*, Book VI., has nearly all been lost except the part known as the *Somnium Scipionis*, which was preserved by being quoted in full by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*. James was probably thinking of the following passage, *Somnium Scipionis*, 3, 5 (= *De Republica*, VI., 13, according to the numbering of modern scholars), *Omnibus qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo, definitum locum, ubi beati æuo sempiterno fruuntur.* **Arist. 5. Polit :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1311a-1311b, gives examples of tyrants who have been attacked and slain by their subjects. **Isocr. in Sym :** Isocrates, *Symmachicus* (*i.e.*, *The Peace*), 77-79, tells the Athenians that their recent conduct has left them without a friend in all Greece.

**p. 59, l. 23. ex malis moribus :** Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, II., 13, *Leges bonæ ex malis moribus procreantur.*

**p. 59, l. 25. moe good lawes then are well execute :** the Acts of the Scottish Parliament of this time and the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland are full of complaints about the non-observance of the laws of the land.

**p. 59, l. 27. Parliamentes haue bene ordained for making of lawes :** this is less sweeping than the corresponding statement in the two earlier forms of *Basilicon Doron*. A year earlier James had written in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies : Workes* (1616), p. 201, "The Kings in Scotland were before any estates or rankes of men, within the same, before any Parliaments were holden," and he laid it down in his *Speech in Parliament*, 1605 : *Workes* (1616), p. 506, that "the end for which the Parliament is ordeined, being only for the aduancement of Gods glory, and the establishment and wealth of the King and his people; It is no place then for particular men to vtter there their priuate conceipts."

**p. 59, l. 30. as being the Kings head Courte :** Hotman's French version of 1603 renders this by *composee du Roy comme chef, & des membres principaux & plus nobles de l'Estat.*



**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 60, l. 10. forfealte :** according to *O.E.D.* the *l* here is due to false association of the second syllable with *fault*, whereas it comes from Fr. *forfait*, which is descended from Lat. *factum*.

**p. 61, l. 17. necessitie of newe lawes . . . seldome :** cf. also *A Speech in Parliament*, 1603 : *Workes* (1616), p. 494, "The execution of good Lawes is farre more profitable in a Common-wealth then to burden mens memories with the making of too many of them." Cf. also *A Speech in Parliament*, 1605 : *Workes* (1616), p. 506, "So doeth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping vp infinite and confused numbers of Lawes, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome Lawes. If this be so then, neither is this a place for euery rash and hare-brained fellow to propone new Lawes of his owne inuention." Cf. Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani : Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 595D, *Dabit igitur operam, non ut multas condant leges, sed ut quam optimas*.

**p. 61, l. 28. I shewe :** see vol. i., p. 57, above.

**p. 61, l. 31. Quinquennium Neronis :** this refers to the first five years of Nero's reign, when he ruled irreproachably, thanks, it is said, to his being still under the influence of the Stoic philosopher, Seneca. The phrase comes from Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, 5, 2, (*Nero*) *quinquennium tantus fuit, augenda Urbe maxime, uti merito Trajanus sæpius testaretur, procul diferre cunctos principes Neronis quinquennium*.

**p. 61, l. 32. Vellem nescirem literas :** this was said by Nero at the beginning of his reign on the first occasion on which he was asked to sign a death warrant. It is found in Seneca, *De Clementia*, II., 1, in the form, *Vellem nescirem literas*, and in Suetonius, *Nero*, 10, 2, in the form, *Quam vellem nescirem literas*. For the Latin quotation Hotman's French version of 1603 substitutes *lors qu'il faloit signer la condamnation de quelcun*.

**p. 61. Side-notes. L. 12. Tab :** The *Leges Duodecim Tabularum*, the earliest code of Roman law, have survived only in the form in which they are preserved in the *De Legibus* of Cicero, and the reference here is to *De Legibus*, III., 4, 11, *Præiulia nisi comitiis centuriatis ne irroganto*, where *præiulia* are exactly equivalent to James's "irreversible decrees against particulare parties." This law is cited by Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* (trans. Richard Knolles. 1603), Book I., chap. x., p. 160, from the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* without any reference to the fact that these are preserved only in the writings of Cicero. **Cic. 3. de leg. pro D. s. & pro Sest :** (a) Cicero, *De Legibus*, III., 4, 11. (b) Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 17, 43. (c) Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 30, 65. All three of these references to the works of Cicero are to passages which deal with the law against *præiulia*; the second and third are merely statements that these are forbidden in the *Leges Duodecim Tabularum*. **Sen. de cl :** see note to p. 61, l. 32, above. **Ar. 7. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., but the exact reference not identified.

**p. 63, ll. 11-12. ye come not to . . . due discent :** in his speech to the congregation in St Giles, Edinburgh, on Sunday, 3rd April 1603,



just before his departure for England, James told his hearers that he was "als lineallie descended heyre to the crowne of England as to the crowne of Scotland." (Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1845), vol. vi., p. 215.) Cf. Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings* (2nd ed. 1914), p. 137, "There were many reasons why James I. should hold the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings in its strictest form. His claim to the throne of England rested upon descent alone; barred by two Acts of Parliament, it could only be successfully maintained by means of the legitimist principle"; and p. 375, "The statute recognising the title of James I. is saturated with the notion of inherent birthright and knows no other title." On Divine Right and the Succession question in 1603 see further Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I.* (1930), pp. 2-4, and the documents quoted in that work. **precario** : *i.e.*, by invitation.

**p. 63. Side-notes. Plato 2. & 10. de Repub** : in Plato, *Republic*, II., 362E-367E, Adeimantus praises the life of the man wholly given over to injustice, and describes the advantages and benefits he derives therefrom; and in Plato, *Republic*, X., 612, Socrates does the same for the just man. **Cic. ad Q. fr** : Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I., 1, 20, *Sit summa in iure dicundo severitas, dummodo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur æquabilis.* **Plato in Pol. & 9. de L** : (a) Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, side-notes, above. (b) Plato, *Laws*, IX., 860D-863D, where Socrates discusses the difference between Justice and Injustice, voluntary and involuntary. **Sal. orat. ad Cæsar** : Sallust, *Ad Cæsarem de Re Publica Oratio*, 3, 3, *Qui benignitate et clementia imperium temperavere, iis læta et candida omnia visa.* **A deare president** : the Latin version of 1619 renders this by *Exemplum domesticum*.

**p. 65, l. 20. Witch-craft** : James knew all about witchcraft, for it was one of the chief topics treated of in his *Dæmonologie* (1597), in which, in Book I., chap 2, he divided the service of the Devil into two parts, of which the second was Sorcery, or Witchcraft. He had a personal interest in the subject because he had himself been the object of attentions on the part of witches. This was in 1591, when a North Berwick coven had sought to drown him and his newly wedded queen by raising a storm at sea while the royal pair were returning to Scotland from Denmark after their marriage there. Of the trial of the persons accused of participation in this act of witchcraft a contemporary account exists in *News out of Scotland* (1591), of which there is a reprint in the Bodley Head Quartos, No. ix. (1924). Recent accounts of it are to be found in M. A. Murray, *The Witch-cult in Western Europe* (1921), pp. 54-57, and Wm. Roughead, *The Riddle of the Ruthvens* (Revised ed. 1936), pp. 144-166. It was the most famous of all the Scottish trials for witchcraft.

**p. 65, l. 20. Incest** : as defined in Leviticus xviii., this was made punishable with death by an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1567 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 26).

**p. 65, l. 22. false coine** : coining, if the number of cases of it included in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* is any guide, was an extremely common

offence in Scotland at this time, surprisingly so in view of the fact that the sums involved were usually very small and that the penalty was death. In an unpublished thesis in the Library of the University of Edinburgh Dr W. Falconer says that, "At this time there was a regular industry in Flanders in making false coin for import into Scotland." On the state of the currency in Scotland, see further in the note to p. 91, l. 31, below.

**p. 65, l. 34—p. 67, l. 7. suffer not . . . dishonoured :** there were two Acts on the statute book under which action could be taken against such as offended in this manner. Under both the penalty was death. The first, of 1585, made it treasonable to slander the king (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 375). The second, of 1596, extended the offence to slanderous remarks about his majesty's parents and progenitors (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 101-102). James was particularly sensitive to the charge of bastardy—i.e., the allegation that he was the son, not of Darnley, but of David Riccio, and it was one which was quite commonly made. Thus, on 5th August 1600, when the citizens of Perth gathered outside Gowrie House, drawn thither by the clash of arms and the ringing of the town bell, they shouted out, "Come down, thou son of Seigneur Davie ; thou has slain an honest man nor thyself." Nobody, however, seems to have been punished on this occasion. It was different with one John Dickson, an English skipper from Lynn, who in August 1596 was charged with having uttered "calumnious speichis and sklanderis aganis our souerane lord and calling him 'ane bastarde,'" for he was executed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Maitland Club. 1833), vol. i., part 2, p. 385). The same punishment was suffered at the same place in October 1599 by Francis Tennant, an Edinburgh merchant, for "fals, malitious, vndewtiefull wryting and dispersing of sklanderous calumnious and reprochefull Lettres to the dishonour of the Kingis Maiestie (and) his maist nobill progenitouris" (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Maitland Club. 1833), vol. ii., pp. 332-335). Robert Birrel (see Dalyell, *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798), p. 52) calls the writings of Tennant, "Plakketis and wreittis sic as Cokkolentis"—i.e., lampoons, from Fr. *coq-à l'âne*. Even apparently harmless, if thoughtless, acts were so punished. One Cornwell was hanged in Edinburgh in April 1601 for having at a public roup nailed a portrait of the king to a gibbet (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Maitland Club. 1833), vol. ii., pp. 349-351). James's animosity against unreverent speakers sought to reach even beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom. When the Second Part of the *Færie Queene* was published in 1596 James took great offence at what was said in Book V., cantos 4-6, about Duessa, who in the allegory stands for Mary, Queen of Scots, and approached Bowes, the English ambassador to Scotland, about having Spenser punished (Thorpe, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 747).

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 66, l. 5. sepeliatur sinagoga cum honore :** not traced.

p. 67, ll. 8-10. **leauing therby . . . behalf** : cf. Matthew vii. 2, With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

p. 67, ll. 14-15. **ye are come . . . liuing** : James's reference in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies : Workes* (1616), p. 201, to Fergus, the king who, according to the early Scottish historians, led the first Scots from Ireland in, they said, 313 B.C., shows that he accepted the origin claimed for itself by the Scottish nation in the Middle Ages, and most concisely put by an anonymous writer of the early sixteenth century, who says, "We ar cummyn of the mast famous and maist worschipfull nacioun that evire was in eird quhilke Is of grece of the mannis syd callit gathele and of the egipcianis of the womans syd callit Scota Quhilkis war before the distruction of troy maire than three hundredth zeris" (*Asloan MS.* (Scottish Text Society. 1925), vol. i., p. 185).

p. 67, l. 20. **Wolues** : three quotations, two from the early part of James's reign, and the third from near its end, will show that wolves were still a present terror in Scotland round about 1600. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland* (1578), trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1885), vol. i., p. 29, "Our nychbour Inglande has nocht ane wolfe, with quhilkes afore thay war mekle molested and invadet, bot we now nocht few, ze contrare, verie monie and maist cruel, chieflie in our North cuntrey, quhair nocht only invade thay sheip, oxne, ze and horse, bot evin men, specialie women with barne, outragiouslie and fercelie thay ouirthrows." Harrison, *Description of England* (1578), Book III., chap. iv. (printed in Holinshed, *Historie of England* (ed. of 1807), vol. i., p. 378), "For wheras we that dwell on this side of the Twed, may safelie boast of our securitie in this behalfe; yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they haue greuous wolfes and cruell foxes." Taylor, *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* (1618), in *Works* (Spenser Society. 1868), part i., p. 135, "(the castle of Kindrochit) was the last house that I saw in those parts; for I was the space of twelue days after before I saw either House, Corne-field, or habitation of any creature, but Deere, wilde Horses, Wolues, and such-like creatures." There were at that time on the statute book two laws dealing with the killing of wolves. The first, passed on 1st March 1427, ordained that every baron must "in gaynande tym of the zere" (i.e., when the bitches were pregnant and whelping) seek out the wolf-whelps and have them killed, and for every wolf's head delivered up to him he was to pay two shillings (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 15). The other was passed thirty years later, and ordered sheriffs in all districts where there were wolves to gather all the country folk three times in the year between St Mark's Day and Lammas—i.e., between 25th April and 1st August—which was the time of whelping, and hunt the wolves down; and every one who killed a wolf, either then or at any other time, was to receive a penny from every householder in the parish (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 51). These laws were included by Sir Hew Stewart in his *Index and Abridgement of the Acts of Parliament*, published at Edinburgh in 1702; the last wolf in Scotland seems to have been killed



about 1700. On wolves in Scotland, see Harting, *Extinct British Animals* (1880), pp. 158-185; Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland* (1891), pp. 34-49; and Ritchie, *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* (1920), pp. 115-121.

**p. 67, l. 21. A Courser of Naples :** Italy was at this time the home of horsemanship, and of all the schools of the art that of Naples was the most famous, and equally the horses of Naples had the highest reputation. By 'courser' here we are to understand a large heavy horse, such as was ridden in battle. The training of such horses and the putting of them through their paces were both called in Elizabethan times the 'manage': acquiring it was a very important part of a young nobleman's training and education.

**p. 67, l. 22. giue a greater price :** cf. *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bannatyne Club. 1833), p. 306, "The meill gaif xij shillingis the peck."

**p. 67, l. 29. my parents :** Hotman, *mes Peres & Ayeux*.

**p. 67. Side-note. Plato 4. de Legib :** Plato, *Laws*, IV., 717E, "When parents die . . . (the son) should always venerate them" (Loeb trans.).

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 69, l. 8. as king dauid sayes :** this is wrong. The correct name is that given in the print of 1603.

**p. 69, l. 20. the hornes of proude oppressours :** "in Hebrew a horn is the symbol of strength and power, the image being drawn from the bull and other animals which push with their horns" (*O.E.D.* quoting Gesenius' *Hebrew Lexicon*).

**p. 69, l. 26. the poore mans King :** cf. Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (ed. Laing. 1846), vol. i., p. 93, "He was called of some, a good poore mannis King"; Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1887), vol. ii., p. 261, "He was namet commounlie be his speciall Nobilitie the pure manis king."

**p. 69, l. 28. Meum, and Tuum :** the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for the use of this tag by an English writer is from Greene and Lodge's *Looking-Glasse*, written in 1594 and printed in 1598.

**p. 69, ll. 28-33. remember . . . enemies :** cf. *A Speech in Parliament*, 1603: *Workes* (1816), p. 494, "I can say none otherwise to you, then as Ezechias the good King of Iuda said to their Iudges, *Remember that the thrones that you sit on are Gods and neither yours nor mine.* . . . That place is no place for you to vtter your affections in, you must not there hate your foe nor loue your friend, feare the offence of the greater partie or pity the miserie of the meaner; yee must be blinde and not see distinctions of persons; but keepe that iust temper and mid-course in all your proceedings, that like a iust ballance ye may neither sway to the right nor left hand." Against this passage there is a marginal reference to 2 Chronicles xix. 6. Consultation of it shows that the name 'Ezechias' is wrong, and should be 'Jehoshaphat.'



**p. 69, l. 30. as Moyses sayeth :** Deuteronomy i. 16-17, And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment ; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great ; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man ; for the judgment is God's.

**p. 69, l. 30. sway neither to the . . . left :** cf. Deuteronomy xvii. 20, Turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left.

**p. 69. Side-notes. Arist. 5. Polit :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1311b, " The idea of a king is to be a protector . . . of the people against oppression " (Oxford trans.). **Isocr. de reg :** Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 15, " You must care for the people and make it your first consideration to rule acceptably to them. . . . You will be a wise leader if you do not allow the multitude to do or suffer outrage " (Loeb trans.). **Cic. in Of. & ad Q. fr :** (a) Cicero, *De Officiis*, and (b) *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but neither reference identified. **Deut. 1 :** see note to p. 69, l. 30, above. **Plato in Polit :** see p. 53, side-notes, above. **Cic. ad Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but reference not identified. **Arist. 1. Ret :** Aristotle, *Rhetoric I.*, 1354b, " The jury will often have allowed themselves to be so much influenced by feelings of friendship or hatred or self-interest that they lose any clear vision of the truth " (Oxford trans.). **Pl. in Is :** Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, chap. 10, " In Thebes . . . the statue of the chief justice had its eyes closed, to indicate that justice is not influenced by gifts or intercession " (*Moralia*, Loeb ed., vol. v., p. 26). Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani : Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 582B, has the following gloss on this statement of Plutarch's, *Apud Thebanos inter sacras imagines visebantur olim, auctore Plutarcho, quæ sederent sine manibus, harum prima oculis etiam carente. Quod sedent, admonet, magistratus ac iudices animo sedato esse oportere nec ullis affectibus perturbato. Quod manibus carent, innuit, eos ab omni munerum corruptela puros & integros esse debere. Porro, quod Princeps oculis quoque caret, significat, Regem adeo non abduci muneribus ab honesto, ut nec ullius personæ tangatur respectu, quo tantum auribus non accipiat.* The 1616 expansion of 'Pl.' to 'Plat' is wrong.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 70, l. 10. uolfes and uylde boaris :** on wolves in Scotland see note to p. 67, ll. 19-20, above. Archæology and the evidence of place-names suggest that the wild boar was once common in Scotland, but very little is known about its range or distribution in time. (See Harting, *Extinct British Animals* (1880), pp. 89-92.) Professor Ritchie, *Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland* (1920), p. 90, thinks that it finally became extinct in Scotland about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that its disappearance was largely due to its domestication. According to Harting, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102, there was a royal boar hunt in 1617 in Lancashire and another at Windsor, and the last wild boar was not killed in England till the time of Charles II.

**p. 71, l. 12. Hie-lands :** for this the Latin of 1604 has *Scotis Hybernensibus Montanos*, and the Latin of 1619, *Montanos nostros, lingua & origine Hibernicos*.

**p. 71, l. 16. alluterlie barbares :** George Buchanan incorporated in the First Book of his *Historia Rerum Scotticarum* the following account of the natives of the Western Isles, which he took from the description of them written by Donald Fraser after his tour of the Highlands and Islands in 1549. There is no reason for believing that they were living very differently fifty years later at the time when *Basilicon Doron* was being written. "In food, dress, and all their domestic arrangements they practise a primitive economy. They live by hunting and fishing. In cooking their fish they use the stomachs or skins of the beasts they kill. During their hunting expeditions, they sometimes squeeze out the blood and eat the flesh raw. Their drink is the broth of boiled flesh. At their feasts they also drink with avidity the whey of milk after it has been preserved for some years. This beverage they call *Bland*. The majority quench their thirst with water. They make bread of oats and barley (the only crops produced in that region). . . . They brave every inclemency of the weather, and sometimes sleep under the snow. At home, also, they lie on the ground, placing under them fern or heath with roots downward in such wise that they have a couch as soft as down, and far more wholesome. . . . As for mattresses and bed-clothes, they not merely disregard them, but profess the most eager desire for hardiness and simplicity. . . . In war they cover their bodies with an iron helmet and a coat of mail constructed of iron rings, which generally reaches almost to the heel. Their weapons are bows and arrows—the latter generally pointed with barbs, with prongs protruding on both sides, so that unless the wound be laid open, they cannot be extracted. Some fight with broadswords and axes. In place of the trumpet they use the bagpipe" (Trans. Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan* (1890), pp. 300-302). But a much more favourable account of them is given in Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1884), vol. i., pp. 89-97.

**p. 71, ll. 18-19. lawes made alreadie . . . Clannes :** there were two laws which James might have had in mind here. The first, known as 'The General Bond,' was passed in 1587, and decreed that chieftains and others should find security for the peaceable behaviour of those for whom they were responsible (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 461). The other was passed ten years later, and required all landlords, chiefs of clans, and other proprietors of lands and fisheries in the Highlands and Islands to prove their titles at Edinburgh before 15th May 1598 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 138).

**p. 71, ll. 20-25. followe foorth the course . . . roomes :** James is here referring to an enterprise which had taken shape under his patronage at the time he was penning the first draft of *Basilicon Doron*, but which was to come to an end just at the very time when he was exchanging Edinburgh for London. The lawlessness in the Hebrides had been the despair of the Scottish government ever since their recovery from the Norsemen, and one punitive expedition after another had failed to

terrorise the inhabitants into good behaviour. Now, at the close of the sixteenth century, James decided to make a trial of a new method of dealing with the problem. This was the method of colonisation, or 'plantation,' the method which he was later to use with far greater success in North-east Ireland when he carried through the Plantation of Ulster. The first step towards the new solution was taken when the Scottish Parliament of 1597 passed an Act decreeing that for the better establishment of 'civilitie and policie' there should be erected in the Highlands and Islands three burghs on Lowland principles: one in Kintyre, one in Lochaber, and one in Lewis. The next step was the confiscation without cause shown of the lands of the Macleods of Lewis, though this could be justified on the grounds of public order, the family feuds of the Macleods having in fact plunged the island of Lewis into a state of almost complete anarchy. Then in the spring of 1598 a group of speculators was formed to exploit the confiscated lands. They were headed by the king's cousin, the Duke of Lennox, and since most of them belonged to Fife, they are generally referred to as 'The Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife.' The agreement between them and the king was signed on 29th June 1598 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 160), and ratified by the Convention of the Scottish Estates on the same day (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1592-1599, p. 462). They received a grant of all the confiscated lands, to be held rent-free for the first seven years, and in return undertook to plant, colonise, and civilise the island—"ruiting out," as the preamble of the agreement has it, "the barbarous inhabitants," who are described as "voyd of ony knowledge of God or his religion and naturallie abhoiring all kynd of ciuilitie quha hes geuin thame selfis ovir to all kynd of barbarietie and Inhumanitie." (With this sweeping condemnation, cf. Sir David Lyndsay, *The Dreme*, ll. 964-966,

" In the oute Ylis and in Argyle,  
Unihrift, sweirnes, falset, pouertie, and stryfe  
Pat polacey in dainger of hir lyfe,"

(*Works*, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 33.)

where 'polacey' means 'a settled and ordered life.' Such opinions were once the normal attitude of the English-speaking Lowlands of Scotland to the Celtic-speaking Highlands, nor was the attitude of the Highlanders to their Lowland neighbours any more complimentary. It is to be feared that neither side yet wholly understands or trusts the other.) The planting of towns was to be one of their methods of civilising Lewis. The relief from the liability to pay a rent to the king during the early years of the colony's existence, reveals another motive for the project. James had been informed that Lewis was "inrychit with ane incredibill fertilitie of cornis and utheris necessaris, surpassing far the plenty of any part of the island," and he hoped that when it had been properly developed he would be sure of a handsome revenue from it. The expedition prepared by the Gentlemen Adventurers to carry out their plans duly set sail in the late autumn of 1598, and reached its destination in November of that year. Its members landed, and a settlement was erected on the site of what is now the town of



Stornoway. But from the first things went badly wrong. The island was so far from being a northern Canaan flowing with milk and honey that the settlers were entirely dependent on the mainland for supplies, and these were generally short. The weather was inclement. Above all, the natives were bitterly hostile, so that the colonists lived most of the time more or less in a state of siege. All these handicaps combined to discourage the promoters of the enterprise, and in 1603 the settlement was abandoned. An attempt to revive the project in 1605-1607 was no less unsuccessful, and thereafter the whole scheme for colonising the islands was completely dropped. See D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles* (1836), pp. 278-280, 290-292, 297-299; W. C. Mackenzie, *Book of the Lews* (1919), pp. 55-68; I. F. Grant, *Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603* (1930), pp. 539-542, though Miss Grant, following Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), vol. ii., p. 181, in error post-dates the departure of the first expedition, that of 1598, by a year.

**p. 71, ll. 23-24. rooting out . . . sorte :** what 'rooting out' could mean can be learnt from the fate of the Macgregors of Lochlomondside about this time. In February 1603 this clan, which dwelt on the east side of the loch, fought the Colquhouns of Luss, who dwelt on the west side opposite the lands of the Macgregors, and defeated them with considerable slaughter in the battle of Glenfruin. The losers were a sept of the great clan Campbell and dependants of the equally great Earl of Argyll, who took up their cause in Edinburgh, where he represented the doings of the Macgregors as wilful fire-raising and slaughter, and received from the government a commission to punish them for their misdeeds. Thereupon the Macgregors were hunted down like vermin, with a price on their heads like the price for slaying a wolf. Their chief and eighteen of the clansmen were captured and reserved to be punished by due process of law; their fate was hanging and quartering. At the same time, by an Act of Parliament the lands of the Macgregors were declared forfeit, the surviving members of the clan were ordered to renounce their own name, forbidden to meet together more than four at a time, and prohibited under pain of death from carrying any weapon except a pointless knife for their food. Argyll received the forfeited lands as a reward for his services. For the battle of Glenfruin, see Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1842), vol. vi., p. 204; for the trials which followed it, see Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Maitland Club. 1833), vol. ii., p. 432 sqq.; and for the legal measures against the Macgregors, see the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1599-1604, p. 588n.; 1610-1613, pp. xxxiii.-xliii.

**p. 71, l. 26. the Bordours :** for the changed state of the Borders four years after the Union of 1603, see James's *Speech at Whitehall*, 1607: *Workes* (1616), p. 517, "Those confining places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much blood was shed and many of your ancestours lost their liues; yea, that lay waste and desolate, and were habitations but for runagates, are now planted and peopled with Ciuilitie and riches: their Churches begin to bee planted,



their doores stand now open, they feare neither robbing nor spoiling : and where there was nothing before heard nor seene in those parts, but bloodshed, oppressions, complaints, and outcries, they now liue euery man peaceably vnder his owne figgetree, and all their former cryes and complaints turned into prayers to God for their King, vnder whom they enioy such ease and happy quietnesse."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 73, l. 4. nulla regula . . . exceptionem :** not traced.

**p. 73, l. 12. peccant humours :** James is here referring to the mediæval doctrine of humours, of which there were four in the body, and to an excess of one or other of which it was believed that the cause of all illnesses was to be attributed. *O.E.D.* quotes Phillips, *The New World of English Words* (1706), as follows, "Among Physicians, the Humours of the Body are said to be Peccant, when they contain some Malignity, or else abound too much." Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I., Section 1, Membr. 2, Subsection 2, defines a 'humour' as "a liquid or fluent part of the body, comprehended in it, for the preservation of it," though he recognised the existence of 'peccant humours' as well and referred his readers to the *De Anima* of Melancthon for an account of them. (Ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. i., p. 169.)

**p. 73. Side-note. Plato in Polit :** Plato, *Politicus*, several times refers to physicians, but nowhere as James does here.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 74, l. 11. democratike :** the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for this adjective, from Warner's *Albion's England*, is dated 1602.

**p. 75, l. 10. Iohn saith :** Revelation ii. 5, Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works ; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. James used the same image in his *Premonition to all Christian Princes : Workes* (1616), p. 316.

**p. 75, l. 15. a populare tumult :** James was probably thinking here of such things as the rioting at Perth in March 1559, when the armed followers of the Reformers sacked the churches in the town and also the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1846), vol. i., p. 322, calls the perpetrators "the rascall multitude."

**p. 75, l. 15. rebellion :** by this is meant most probably the activities of the Lords of the Congregation, those noblemen who in 1557 entered into a 'Band' to maintain and forward with all their might the principles of the Reformed religion. For the next three years they kept Scotland in a state of civil war till in 1560 they were able with English help to overthrow the Catholic government of Mary of Guise and establish Protestantism as the official faith of Scotland.

**p. 75, l. 20. Denmarke :** the Reformation in Denmark was carried out in the reign of Christian III. (1534-1559) by the king himself with the assistance of the Danish nobles who shared in the spoliation of the church. See the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii. (1904), pp. 602-617.

**p. 75, l. 25. ouer-well baited . . . wracke :** *i.e.*, the overthrow of Catholicism in face of the opposition, first of Mary of Guise and later of James's own mother, was such a great triumph for them that it gave them a desire for more of the same kind. This is a figurative use of 'bait' in the sense of 'to feed'; originally it was used of travellers halting to rest and to give their horses food and drink. Hotman partially misunderstood the phrase and translated, *s'y trouuans amorcez par le naufrage, premierement de ma Grandmere, puis par celuy de feuë ma Mere.*

**p. 75, l. 29. Tribuni plebis :** *i.e.*, they hoped that by their power over the people they would be as able to control the ordering of the State as effectually as the tribunes of the plebs did in ancient Rome by the power which their right of veto gave them.

**p. 75, l. 31-p. 77, l. 9. for this cause . . . owne :** James here seems to suggest that the ministers of the kirk were largely the unsuspecting tools of the more unruly among the nobles.

**p. 77, l. 9. spouse :** an aphetic form of 'espouse,' but *O.E.D.* does not notice it in the sense in which it is used here, and its earliest quotation for the longer form in this sense is dated 1622.

**p. 77, l. 15. a moate in my eye :** cf. Matthew vii. 3, and note to vol. i., p. 27, l. 13, above.

**p. 77, l. 30. bairdes :** this is the Celtic word *bard*, a minstrel, but in sixteenth century Scotland, through the low esteem in which everything Celtic was held, it had degenerated into a term of contempt. Its rehabilitation in modern times was begun by Sir Walter Scott.

**p. 77, l. 33-p. 79, l. 11. if by the example . . . the like :** an interesting anticipation of James's saying at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, "No Bishop, no King."

**p. 79, l. 10. Politicke and ciuill :** these words are really synonymous here.

**p. 79, l. 18. the square of their conscience :** a metaphor from the art of the craftsman, the square being an instrument for testing the exactness of an artificer's work. Cf. Castiglione, *The Booke of the Courtyer*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (Tudor Translations. 1899), p. 314. "The Prince ought not only to be good, but also to make others good, like the Carpenters square, that is not only straight and just it self, but also maketh straight and just what soever it is occupied about." Cf. note on p. 43, l. 34, above.

**p. 79, l. 21. Hie-land or Bordour theeuës :** cf. *A Speech at Whitehall*, 1609 : *Workes* (1616), p. 533, "If the Law of hanging for Theft, were turned here to restitution of treble or quadruple, as it was in the Law of *Moyse*, what would become of all the middle Shires, and all the Irishrie and Highlanders?" On the morality of the Borders, cf. Sir David Lyndsay, *The Dreme*, 955-958 :

*"Almoist betuix the Mers and Lowmabane  
I culde nocht knaw ane leill man be ane theif.  
To schaw thare reif, thift, murthour and mischeif,  
And vecious workis, it wald infect the air."*

(*Works*, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 33.)

**p. 79, l. 23. suffer not the principales :** few of the more prominent among the clergy of the time were not at least once in their lives forced to go abroad from Scotland to escape the wrath of James. The greatest of them, Andrew Melville, died at Berwick-on-Tweed in 1611, having been an exile from his native land for the last seven years of his life.

**p. 79, l. 25. as Socrates did an euill wife :** Socrates, when asked by Antisthenes why he put up with Xantippe, "the hardest to get along with of all the women there are," replied that he did so because if he could get along with her he would have no difficulty in his relations with the rest of the human race. James's point is that if his son can endure with patience the insults and opposition of the ministers no other opposition will ever disturb him, for none can be so rancorous and persistent. The story of Socrates' answer about Xantippe is told by Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2, 10; by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 90E (Loeb ed., vol. ii., p. 28); and by Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, ii., 5, 37.

**p. 79, l. 30. that vile act of Annexation :** this was the Act passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1587 for the "Annexatioun of the temporalities of benefices to the crown" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 431). Of this Act, which clearly defined what the ecclesiastical structure of the country was henceforth to be, Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), vol. ii., p. 161, says, "On the ground that the Crown had been impoverished by its gifts to the pre-Reformation Church, and was thus constrained to undue taxation of the people, all ecclesiastical property was declared henceforth to belong to the king, provision being made for the sustenance and housing of the clergy in all their degrees. By this Act, as was fully understood at the time, Episcopacy as it had been established in England was once for all made impossible in Scotland." As, however, it only affected lands, &c., not alienated from the Church at the time of its passing, it left all who had gained anything in the interval since 1559 in full possession of all they had acquired, and in actual fact the Crown reaped practically no benefit from it at all. The contemporary view is given in James Melville, *Diary* (Wodrow Society, 1842), p. 260, "(The Kirk) was spuil yet be a plane law of the ane half of her patrimonie, to wit, of the temporall landes of all her benefices be that Act of Annexation: Her ei in the mean tyme blearit with twa fear promises; ane of abolishing of all Bischopries and Prelacies; ane uther, that the hail teinds should be peaceable put in the Kirkis possession."

**p. 81, l. 15. the olde institution of three Estates : i.e.,** Lords, Clergy, and Commons. The dignity of Bishop survived the Reformation in Scotland and all through James's reign a number of individuals so designated, with other ecclesiastical dignitaries, sat in the Scottish Parliament, though till 1600 they were all laymen to whom the ecclesiastical titles had passed when they came into possession of the Church lands from which their titles were derived. James does not admit that they form an Estate of the Clergy, and so in his eyes there were at the time when he wrote only two Estates in the Scottish Parliament. His clerical opponents wished even these titular ecclesiastics to be



removed from the Parliament altogether ; he wished them to be replaced by a real Estate of the Clergy.

**p. 81, l. 17. I hope . . . entrie :** as a matter of fact James managed to accomplish a good deal in this matter. In November 1597, about the very time when *Basilicon Doron* was being written, the Scottish Parliament had passed an Act agreeing that in future none but ministers should be appointed to the office of Bishop (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 130), though the first of the new appointments was not made till 1600. At Perth, in July 1606, the Parliament passed another Act by which the Act of Annexation of 1592 was rescinded in so far as it affected the temporalities of bishoprics annexed to the Crown (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 281), and a later Act, passed in June 1609, further defined and regularised the position of the Scottish bishops (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 430).

**p. 81, l. 18. alwaies where I leaue . . . steppes :** *i.e.*, continue my policy from the point where I have to leave off. It was the attempt of Charles I. in 1625 by the Act of Renovation to recover as much as he could of the old Church property for ecclesiastical purposes that turned Scotland against him and started the course of events which led to the Great Civil War and his own execution.

**p. 81, l. 22. nourish-father :** 'nourish' is properly a substantive, but for similar adjectival uses, cf. vol. i., p. 83, l. 22, 'nouris-milke'; and Montgomery, *Poems* (Scottish Text Society. 1887), p. 206, l. 47, *Thair tender babys, zit on the nurish knee*.

**p. 83, l. 15-p. 85, l. 12.** For a much more favourable account of the Scottish nobility at this time, see Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1888), vol. i., pp. 111-115.

**p. 83, l. 21. greatnesse & power :** Hotman's French version of 1603 has *extraction, grandeur & pouvoir*.

**p. 83, l. 28. & for any displeasure :** the Latin version of 1619 makes it clear that the third 'point of iniquity' begins here.

**p. 83, l. 29. to take vp a plaine feide :** Hotman's French version of 1603 renders this by *Ils leur font, comme on dit, des querrelles d'Alle-mans*.

**p. 83, l. 31. to bang it out brauelie :** the foreign versions find themselves compelled to resort to circumlocutions to render this pithy phrase—*e.g.*, Hotman's French version of 1603 has *avec brauade & supercherie à l'encontre des plus foibles*, and the Latin of 1604 has *clasicum canunt, militari manu in campum descendunt*.

**p. 83, l. 32. far in their common :** *i.e.*, much indebted to them. Cf. Lindsay of Pitscottie, *History of Scotland* (Scottish Text Society. 1899), vol. i., p. 62, "James Douglas . . . nocht willing to be in ane Inglischemans commone for ane ewill turne, gadderit ane companie of choissin men and brunt the toune of Annick." Samuel Rutherford, *Letters* (ed. of 1881), p. 220, "Ye are in no man's common but Christ's."



p. 83, l. 33. to grant an assurance to a short day : *i.e.*, to promise to observe a short truce.

MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 84, l. 5. taking the pett : *i.e.*, sulking. The only earlier *O.E.D.* quotation for the phrase is from Lodge, *Euphues Golden Legacy* (1590), "Some while they thought he had taken some word vnkindly, and had taken the pet." It was Southern English at this time, not Northern.

p. 85, l. 12. all the daies of their life : an adaptation of Genesis iii. 17, All the days of thy life.

p. 85, l. 24. their monstrous backes : for this phrase, which *O.E.D.* does not seem to notice, cf. Lithgow, *Rare Adventures* (1632. Reprint of 1906), p. 96, "He reporteth that the most part of Scotland regarded neither King nor Law : teaming us also to haue monstrous backes, against the execution of Justice." The Latin version of 1604 adds a gloss, *humeros monstrosos, quibus tanquam Athlante cælum niti omnia videntur, ad mediocritatem reduces.*

p. 85, l. 28. to begin at your elbowe : see Introduction, p. 40, n. 3, above.

p. 85, l. 32-p. 87, l. 14. as their barbarous name . . . circumlocution : Hotman's French version of 1603 condenses all this into *le nom mesme oublié*, while the Latin version of 1604 omits the sentence, "For if this treatise . . . circumlocution."

p. 85. Side-notes. Arist. 5. Pol : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but exact reference not identified. Zen. in Cyr : Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VII., 5, 37. Iso. in Eu : Isocrates, *Euagoras*, has nothing like anything here, but cf. Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 34. Cic. ad Q. frat : Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but exact reference not identified.

p. 87, ll. 15-16. lawes made against . . . Pistolets : these were fairly numerous in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The first and most important of them was that passed by the Parliament of December 1567, which said, "Forsamekle as be the vse of culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, and sic vther ingynes of fyre wark, ar not onlie of the louabill constitutionis of this Realme in slaying of wyld beistis and foulis forbiddin, but als diueris of oure Souerane Lordis liegis ar schamefullie, and cruellie murthourit, slaine, and hurt . . . for eschewing and remeid thair of in tyme cuming, it is statute and ordanit . . . that na maner of person, nor personis of quhatsumeuir estate, degre, or conditioun thay be of, schuit with culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, or ony vther gunnis, or ingynis of fyre wark in ony part of this Realme . . . vnder the paine of cutting of thair rycht hand, And siclyke that na maner of person, nor personis, of quhatsumeuir estate, conditioun, or degre thay be of, beir, weir, or vse ony culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, or ony vther sic ingyne of fyre wark, vpon thair personis, or in thair cumpany with thame, priuatlie, or oppinlie, outwith housis, without licence of our Souerane Lord and my Lord Regent had, and obtenit thairupon, vnder the paine forsaid" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 29). This Act was re-enacted in March 1573-74.

with the death penalty reduced to imprisonment for a year and a day with forfeiture of the weapons used (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 85). It was again re-enacted in October 1579, with a fine of £10 substituted for imprisonment (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 146). It was re-enacted still once more in November 1597, with the new and additional penalty of all the offender's movable goods, half to go to the Crown and half to the "Apprehendar for his trauell and laboris" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 134). The wearing and use of firearms was also frequently before the Privy Council (see the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. iii., pp. 105, 487; iv., pp. 573, 597; v., pp. 247, 437). On 20th January 1597-98 the Privy Council made an Act which forbade any firearms to be made of less than an ell long, and prohibited the repairing of dags and pistols on pain of death.

**p. 87, ll. 20-21. that errour . . . hart :** because it led directly to the *débâcle* of Solway Moss in 1542. This was caused by the refusal of the Scottish nobles to serve under the royal favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who had superseded Lord Maxwell, the Warden of the Marches, in the command of the Scottish army which was massing on the Borders to invade England. The nobles were already disaffected, because James V. had just confirmed the revocation of all grants made at the expense of the Crown during his minority. Cf. Hotman (1603), *ce mepris en fin causa en l'ame du Roy mon ayeul vn si grand desplaisir, qu'il en mourut bien-tost apres.*

**p. 87, l. 25. Fathers of your land :** in imitation of the Latin 'patres,' applied to the patricians of Rome. This transferred use does not seem to have become common in England till the eighteenth century.

**p. 87. Side-notes. Pla. in 1 Al. in pol. & 5. de 1 :** (a) Plato, *Alcibiades*, I., 120E. (b) Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, side-note, above. (c) Plato, *Laws*, V., but exact reference not identified. **Arist. 2. œc :** Aristotle, *Æconomica*, Book II., is in the main "a collection of anecdotes telling of the means, fair or foul, by which various governments and rulers (in ancient Greece) filled their treasuries," and contains nothing like anything here. **Zen. in Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII., 6, 1-6, on the institution of satrapies by Cyrus the Great.

**p. 89, ll. 19-20. & euer as they valke . . . againe :** an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1567 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 39), already forbade the heritable disposition of certain specified offices of State when they became vacant through forfeiture or for any other cause. **they . . . them . . . they :** i.e., the offices . . . the holders . . . the offices.

**p. 89. Side-note. Ar. 2. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, II., 1264b.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 90, ll. 4-5. the persiane lawis :** see Daniel vi. 8, The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 91, l. 10. pose :** cf. the remark of James to the Duke of Lennox on his way to Perth on the morning of that August

day in 1600 which was to see the mystery of the Gowrie Plot, "Ye can nocht guess quhat erand I am rydand for. I am going to gett ane poise in Perth" (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (Maitland Club, 1833), vol. ii., p. 171). He meant the treasure which, he later said, the Master of Ruthven had told him the Earl of Gowrie wished to consult him about.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 91, l. 10. to the fore :** the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for this phrase is from Samuel Rutherford, *Letters* (1637), "My wages are going to the fore up in heaven" (ed. of 1862, vol. i., p. 181).

**p. 91, l. 11. victuals :** Hotman (1603) has *viures denrées, & estoffes*.

**p. 91, l. 21. searchers :** by this term James almost certainly meant the sixteenth-century equivalent of the modern Customs officers, part of whose duty it was to see that foreign and false coins were not introduced into the country contrary to the laws of the land. By an Act of 1593 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 18) they were obliged to give to the Exchequer yearly an assurance that they had faithfully discharged their duty.

**p. 91, l. 21. many handes make slight worke :** cf. James's *Speech in the Star-Chamber*, 1616: *Workes* (1616), p. 564, "Although it be an old Prouerbe, that *Many handes make light worke*; yet too many make slight worke." In the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (1935) the only example given for this form of the saying is from Kelly, *Scottish Proverbs* (1721).

**p. 91, ll. 22-23. Permit . . . to trade heere :** James goes beyond what his authorities, as cited in the margin, would allow, for neither in the *Republic* nor in the *Laws* does Plato say that foreign merchants are to be encouraged to settle in the Ideal State; the farthest he will go is to give a grudging permission for intercourse with them. Aquinas saw the need for them, and the dangers as well, for he wrote in his *De Regimine Principum*, Book II., chap 3, *Civitas quæ ad sui sustentationem mercationum multitudine indiget, necesse est ut continuum extraneorum convictum patiatur. Extraneorum autem conversatio corrumpit plurimum civium mores, secundum Aristotelis doctrinam in sua Politica: quia necesse est evenire ut homines extranei aliis legibus et consuetudinibus enutriti, in multis aliter agant quam sint civium mores, et sic, dum cives exemplo ad agenda similia provocantur, civilis conversatio perturbatur. Rursus: si cives in mercationibus fuerint dediti, pandetur pluribus vitiis aditus. Nam cum negotiatorum studium maxime ad lucrum tendat, per negotiationis usum cupiditas in cordibus civium traducitur, ex quo convenit ut in civitate omnia sunt venalia, et fide subtracta, locus fraudibus aperitur.*

**p. 91, l. 31. make your money . . . Siluer :** the state of the coinage was always a worry to Scottish administrators, due to the circulation of false coins, clipped coins, defaced coins, and foreign coins. In the Index to the *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* the list of Acts dealing with the coinage fills nearly six large folio columns, and this only for the period from 1400 to 1600. They seem to have been all very largely dead letters from the time they reached the statute book.



**p. 91. Side-notes. Pl. 2. de Rep. 8. & 11. de leg :** (a) Plato, *Republic*, II., 371, notices the need for a merchant class but says nothing about the control of it. (b) Plato, *Laws*, VIII., 849-885, discusses the regulation of trade with foreign merchants but does not say that they are to be encouraged either to visit or to settle in the Ideal State. (c) Plato, *Laws*, XI., but exact reference not identified.

**p. 93, ll. 5-6. the making it baser . . . necessitie :** the danger of debasing the coinage was early realised by the mediæval writers on political theory. Cf. Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum*, Book II., chap. 13, *Etsi liceat suum ius exigere in cudendo numisma, moderatus tamen debet esse princeps quicunque vel rex sive in mutando, sive in diminuendo pondus, vel metallum, quod hoc cedit in detrimentum populi*. Similarly, the Renaissance writer, Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* (trans. Richard Knolles) (1600), p. 687, says, "The Coine may not be corrupted, no nor altered, without great prejudice to the Commonweale : for if money (which must rule the price of all things) be mutable and vncertaine, no man can make a true estate of what he hath," and goes on to give numerous examples of the ill effects of doing this.

**p. 93, l. 8. howe bad . . . it be :** price control had been established by an Act of 1496 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 238), and by another of 1551 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 487). The latter required Provosts and Bailies to supervise craftsmen and to fix prices, because by "the exhorbitant prices that euerie craftisman within Burgh raises vpone our Souerane Ladyis liegis in all sic thingis as pertenis to thair craft swa that the prices ar dowblit and triblit be mony of thame to the greit hurt of the saidis liegis."

**p. 93, l. 9. vp goeth the blew-blanket :** Hotman's French version of 1603 renders this by *les voila tost aux chams, en rumeur, en sedition*. The 'Blew-Blanket' was the banner of the Incorporated Trades Guild of Edinburgh, and is now in the keeping of the Edinburgh Town Council.

**p. 93, l. 10. take example by England :** on the treatment of foreign merchants in England during the Middle Ages, see Lipson, *Economic History of England: The Middle Ages* (7th ed. 1937), pp. 516-543. Their relations with the English government and with the English merchants were much more involved and much less harmonious than James seems to suggest.

**p. 93, ll. 12-13. not only permit . . . also :** James tried several times to carry out such a policy, but met with such opposition from the trade guilds and town councils that he had to give up the idea. All attempts, indeed, in his reign to introduce foreign craftsmen and merchants, whether made by himself or somebody else, failed completely.

**p. 93, l. 13. taking as straite ordour :** before this the Latin version of 1619 adds *quod si ex voto successerit*.

**p. 93, ll. 18-19. setting the common-weale . . . proppes :** the Latin version of 1604 renders this by *Rempubicam in lubrico & ancipiti loco collocantes*. The origin of James's phrase has not been traced.



**p. 93, ll. 21-22. lawes . . . against vnreuerent speakers :** the principal one was that of 1584 (*Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, vol. iii., p. 296), which, according to its preamble, was the result of attacks by the ministers on the king and which forbade anyone to "tak vpoun hand privatlie or publictlie in sermonis declamationis or familiar conferencis To vtter ony fals vntrew or slanderous spechis to the disdane reproche and contempt of his maiestie . . . or to the dishonour hurt or preiudice of his hienes his parentis and progenitouris . . . vnder the panis contentit in the actis of Parliament aganis makaris and tellaris of lesingis" —i.e., lese-majesty. These penalties had been fixed by Acts of 1424 and 1457 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 8, 52) as death and confiscation of goods.

**p. 93. Side-notes. Pl. 11. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, XI., 920A. **Pla. 9. de Leg :** Plato nowhere says in the *Laws* that foreign craftsmen are to be attracted to settle in the Ideal State, but that he thought they might could be inferred from Book VIII., 846D. **Sal. in Iug :** Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 19, 1, *Novarum rerum avidi*. *Novæ res* is the normal Latin term for 'revolution.' Cf. also Sallust, *Catalina*, 28, 4, *plebes novarum rerum cupidi*. **Arist. 5. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but exact reference not identified. **Isoc. in Paneg :** Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 43-44, refers to the sacred month of the Olympic games in ancient Greece, when all the States taking part in them were vowed to abstain from war till they were over.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 94, l. 12. bairde :** see note to vol. i., p. 77, l. 30, above.

**p. 95, l. 10. honest games :** in his *Declaration to his Subjects concerning lawfull Sports*, which he issued in 1618, James ordered that "our good people be not disturbed, lettred, or discouraged from any lawfull recreation, such as dauncing, either men or women, archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmelesse recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine servide." (Somers, *Tracts*, ed. Scott (1809), vol. ii., p. 55.) Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part II., Section 2, Membr. 4, agreed with James: "For my part, I will subscribe to the *Kings Declaration* and was ever of that mind, those May-games, Wakes, and Whitson Ales, etc., if they be not at unseasonable hours, may justly be permitted. Let them freely feast, sing, and dance, have their Puppet-plays, Hobby-horses, Tabors, Crowds, Bag-pipes, etc., play at Ball and Barley-breaks, and what sports and recreations they like best." (Ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. ii., p. 97.)

**p. 95, l. 10. exercise of armes :** between 1424 and 1600 the Scottish Parliament passed more than twenty acts dealing with the holding of 'wapinschaws,' which were in theory compulsory inspections of arms with exercise in their use.

**p. 95, ll. 13-14. plaies . . . in Maie :** the May play was by far the most important popular festival in mediæval Scotland. One of the

chief characters in it was called 'Robin Hood.' James's approval of it here may be coloured by the fact that the Kirk bitterly denounced it, this hostility arising because the May play (1) involved Sabbath breaking, the first Sunday in May being specially important; and (2) was a relic of paganism and retained traces of pagan rites. It was prohibited by an Act of Parliament in 1555 (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 500), but this Act was no better observed than any other, and offenders against it were still being prosecuted well into the seventeenth century. See A. J. Mill, *Mediæval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Publications, xxiv. 1927), pp. 19-33.

**p. 95, l. 15. eating fishe . . . vpon frydaies :** for the extreme Catholic position with regard to flesh-eating, see Sir Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndale : Workes*, p. 340b, "What can be a worse belief than to believe that a man may as slightly regard Whitsunday as Hock Monday and as boldly eat flesh on Good Friday as on Shrove Tuesday?" (Quoted by M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (1939), p. 48.)

**p. 95, l. 21. Omne tulit punctum, etc. :** Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 343.

**p. 95. Side-notes. Pla. in poi. & Min :** (a) Plato, *Politicus*, see p. 53, side-notes, above. (b) Plato, *Minos*, 320C, where it is told how Talus thrice a year made a round of the villages, guarding the laws in them. **Tac. 7. an :** the Seventh Book of the *Annales* of Tacitus was one of the portions of this work lost in the Middle Ages. **Mart :** if this refers to the Latin poet Martial, the reference has not been identified.

**p. 97, l. 13. once in the three yeares . . . Kingdomes :** cf. the farewell speech by James to his Scottish subjects delivered in St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, on 3rd April 1603, quoted from Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, on p. 39, above.

**p. 97, l. 23. the sword is giuen you by God :** cf. Romans xiii. 1-4, The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. . . . For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? . . . For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain.

**p. 97, l. 27. the wrong cause :** the Latin version of 1604 has *bellorum causa*.

**p. 97, l. 33. that Christian rule :** Matthew vii. 12.

**p. 97. Side-notes. Xen. 8. Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII., but exact reference not identified. **Ar. 5. po :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1311a. **Polib. 6 :** Polybius, *The Histories*, VI., 13, 4-7, on the authority of the Roman senate. **Dion. Hal de Romu :** Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, but exact reference not identified. **Isoc. in Plat. & Parag :** (a) When the Plataeans in a time of general peace had their city destroyed by the Thebans they appealed to Athens for help. The Fourteenth Oration of Isocrates is such a speech as their spokesmen

might have delivered on that occasion ; in it they are made to remind the Athenians of how the Plataeans had stood by them at Marathon. (b) 'Parag' must be misprint for 'Paneg,' and the reference is then to the *Panegyricus*, but it has not been identified.

p. 99, l. 12. **preparatiue** : *O.E.D.* marks this use of the word as Scots. **supplie not . . . other Princes rebels** : helping each other's rebels was just what the sovereigns of England and Scotland had been in the habit of doing all through the three centuries preceding 1603. The text of both the MS. and of the earlier Waldegrave print is obviously wrong here.

p. 99, ll. 17-18. **if no offer . . . wrong doing** : cf. Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani: Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 607C, *Bonus Princeps nunquam omnino bellum suscipiet, nisi cum tentatis omnibus nulla ratione vitari potuit.*

p. 99, l. 19. **commit . . . to God** : cf. Job v. 8, Unto God would I commit my cause.

p. 99, l. 28. **Consult . . . no Necromancier** : In his *Dæmonologie*, Book I., ch. 2, James divides the service of Satan into two parts, Magic or Necromancy, and Sorcery or Witch-craft. Necromancy, he says, is due to "Curiosity in great ingines."

p. 99, ll. 30-31. **keepe . . . Suth-sayers** : both of the Latin versions paraphrase this considerably. 1604, *Ab omnibus autem istis Aruspibus, Ariolis, Mathematicis, vaticinioribus regionem tuam per-purgatam serues* : 1619, *ab aruspiciâ, & profanâ divinationum vanitate, penitus abstinendum est.*

p. 99, l. 31. **the command in the Lawe** : cf. Deuteronomy xviii. 10-12, There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord. **Jeremie** : Jeremiah xxvii. 9, Hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon.

p. 99, l. 32-p. 101, l. 7. **Neither commit . . . a Duell** : in any case by an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1600 duelling was made punishable by death and confiscation of goods. (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 230.)

p. 99. **Side-notes.** **Ar. ad A** : Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, II., 1425a. **Varr. 11. de V.P.R.** : M. Terentius Varro, *De Vita Populi Romani*, ed. Riposati (Milan. 1939), Book ii., frag. 75, *Itaque bella et magna diligentia suscipiebant, quod bellum nullum nisi pium putabant geri oportere : priusquam indicerent bellum iis, a quibus iniurias factas sciebant, faetiales legatos res repetitum mittebant quattuor.* The reference is faulty through a confusion of Roman II. with Arabic II.



**p. 101, ll. 16-17. the wise Kings part . . . Christ :** Luke xiv. 31-32, What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and desireth conditions of peace.

**p. 101, l. 19. money is Nervus belli :** cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, V., 2, 5, *nervi belli pecunia* ; Tacitus, *Histories*, II., 84, *Pecunia belli civilis nervos*.

**p. 101, ll. 20-21. Be extreamlie straitte . . . Discipline :** cf. the case of Sir Thomas Dutton, noted above on p. 40 of the Introduction.

**p. 101, l. 25. looke to the Spaniard :** the sixteenth century was the period when the military reputation of Spain stood at its highest.

**p. 101, l. 29. walkrife, diligent :** Sir David Lyndsay, *The Dreme*, 897, describes the good herdsman, put metaphorically for the good ruler as being "walkryfe and delygent."

**p. 101. Side-notes. Plut. in Sert. & Ant :** (a) Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 27, relates how when Sertorius was killed the whole anti-Roman movement in Spain collapsed. (b) Plutarch, *Antonius*, 75, 1, tells how just before the last battle in Egypt Octavian contemptuously rejected a challenge from Antony to single combat, saying that he had many other things to do than die in that way. **Thuc. 2 :** Thucydides, Book II., ch. 13, 3-5, tells how Pericles sought to hearten the Athenians near the beginning of the Peloponnesian War by detailing to them their financial resources. **Sal. in Jug :** Sallust, *Jugurtha*, relates how the Romans elected Marius as consul to conclude the Jugurthine War, though he was a self-made man, because he was a good commander. **Cic. pro 1. Man :** Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia*, 27-35, recounts the wide military experience of Pompey and his great and numerous successes as good reasons for his appointment to the command against Mithridates. **Demost. olyn. 2 :** Demosthenes has nothing in his *Second Olynthiac* like anything here, but in both the First and Third Olynthiacs he advised the Athenians to appropriate to the war against Philip of Macedon the whole of the Theoric fund and not merely a part of it. **Liu. lib. 30 :** Livy, *Histories*, XXX., but exact reference not identified. **Veget. 1 :** Vegetius, *Epitome Rei Militaris*, I., 4, lays it down that adolescence is the best age for recruiting soldiers. **Cæs. 1. & 3. de bel. ciuili :** (a) Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, I., 76, details measures taken by Pompey's general in Spain to restore the loyalty of his army which had begun to fraternise with Cæsar's. (b) Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, III., 74, relates how Cæsar punished his troops during the siege of Dyrrachium, following an unsuccessful attack upon Pompey's position. **Proh. in Thras :** Not identified. **Caes 1. de bello ciu :** Cæsar, *De Bello Civili*, I., 41-87, the account of the Ilerda campaign in Spain, in which Cæsar displayed most of the qualities desiderated here in a commander. **Liu. 1. 7 :** Livy, *Histories*, VII., 6-15, describes how, by a stratagem very similar



to that used many centuries later by Bruce at Bannockburn, the Roman consul in 358 B.C. used his muleteers to strike terror into the Gauls. **Xen. 1. & 5. Cyr. & de discip. mi :** (a) Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 6, 9-43, where Cyrus is instructed by his father, Cambyses, in the cares and duties of a commander. (b) Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, V., 3, 11-17, where there is related the stratagem by which Cyrus gained possession of an important post on the borders of Assyria and Media. (c) Not traced. **Xen. in Ages :** Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, contains nothing like anything here. **Pol. 1. 5 :** Polybius, *The Histories*, V., 20, tells how, for want of fortifying their camp properly, the Messenians were defeated by Lycurgus of Sparta in 218 B.C.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 102, l. 8. soldat :** the earliest *O.E.D.* quotation for this word is from Hudson, *Historie of Judith* (Scottish Text Society. 1941), p. 83, l. 452, *Alarm' soldats alarme*. Hudson was a member of James's circle of intimates.

**p. 103, ll. 19-20. make not a . . . perill :** cf. *Secretum Secretorum* in Roger Bacon, *Opera hactenus Inedita*, ed. Steel, vol. v. (1920), p. 152, *Noli frequentare bella et exponere te et animam tuam eis . . . Non temptabis neque frequentabis prelia in propria persona*.

**p. 103. Side-notes. Xē. 1. Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 6, 38. **Thuc. 5 :** Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book V., chs. 8-10, describing how Brasidas the Spartan defeated the Athenians at Amphipolis by a stratagem. **Isoc. ad Phil :** Isocrates, *Philippus*, an appeal to Philip of Macedon to unite all the Greeks in a war against Persia, has nothing like anything said by James here. **Pla. 9. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, Book IX., but not identified. **Liv. 1. 22 & 31 :** (a) Livy, *Histories*, XXII., chs. 4 and 5, describing Hannibal's ambush at Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C., or chs. 16 and 17, the trick he played on Fabius at Callicula later in the same year. **Tac. 2. his :** Tacitus, *Histories*, II., 5, on the activities of Vespasian as a commander. **Plut. de fort :** Plutarch, *De Fortuna Alexandri*, one of the essays in his *Moralia*, contains two lists, I., 2, and II., 9, of the wounds sustained by Alexander the Great. The point James seems to wish to make by this reference is that his son should not expose himself so much as Alexander did. **Isocr. in Arch :** Isocrates, *Archidamus*, is a speech put into the mouth of the Spartan king, Archidamus III., in which he is made to urge the Spartans to die fighting rather than give up Messene, their rightful and hereditary possession, as their allies in the war against Thebes wish them to do in order to end the fighting. **Polib. 3 :** Polybius, *The Histories*, III., but the best reference not identified. **Cic. 1. Of. & 7. Phil :** (a) Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 22, 74, *Multa res exstiterunt urbanæ maiore, clarioresque quam bellicosi*, is the nearest in this book to anything James says here. (b) Cicero, *Seventh Philippic*, delivered in January of 43 B.C., sought to persuade the Roman people that to make peace with Antony would be to deliver themselves into his power. **Tac. 4. his :** Tacitus, *Histories*, IV., 49 (*Pisoni*) in *pace suspecta bellum tutius*, the usual reading in the sixteenth century texts. Modern editors of Tacitus prefer to read *suspecto*, altering the meaning completely.

p. 105, ll. 28-29. **Virtutis . . . consistit** : this comes from Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 6, 19, *Virtutis laus omnis in actione consistit*. In the form, *Virtus in actione consistit*, it is quoted again by James in his *Speech in the Star-Chamber*, 1616 : *Workes* (1616), p. 564.

p. 105, l. 31. **King Daud** : a reference to Psalm ci., a version of which by James himself is printed in Rait, *Lusus Regius* (1901), pp. 54-55, from *MS. Bodley* 165, fol. 58b.

p. 105. **Side-notes. Pl. in pol. & 4. de leg** : (a) Plato, *Politicus*, but not identified. (b) Plato, *Laws*, IV., 711B. **Plato in Theæ. & Euth** : (a) Plato, *Theætetus*, but not identified. (b) Plato, *Euthydemus*, 280C. **Ar. 1. Eth** : Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book I., has as its general theme that virtue can only be realised in action. **Cic. in Of** : see note to p. 105, ll. 28-29, above.

p. 107, l. 12. **Politick & Œconomick** : the first of these adjectives refers to the formulation of the State's policy, the second to the day-to-day administration of affairs.

p. 107, l. 15. **ouer-sene** : for this sense of the verb, cf. Lauder, *Office and Dewtie of Kingis* (1556) :

*Thocht God ane quhyte he dois ouir se zow,  
Thynk weill he dois behauld and Ee zow.*

(*E.E.T.S.*, No. 3 (1864), p. 17.)

p. 107, l. 21. **Auer** : according to Bellenden's version of Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1941), p. 157, when Macbeth found that Macduff had not come to help in the building of Dunsinane Castle as he had been ordered to do, he declared : " This man will nocht obey my charges quhill he be ryddin with ane bridyll. Nochttheless, I sall gar him draw like ane aver in ane cart."

p. 107, ll. 21-22. **It is an olde . . . horse** : the Latin edition of 1619 renders the proverb by a variant of Horace, *Epistles*, I., 10, 24, *Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret*. After 'saying,' Hotman's French version has *quoy que commun en la bouche du vulgaire*, and for the proverb, *d'un butor on ne peut faire un esperuier, ni d'une rosse un bon cheual*.

p. 107, l. 24. **altera natura** : the form in the MS. and in the print of 1599 is nearer the classical form, which is traced back to Cicero, *De Finibus*, V., 25, 74, *Dicunt voluptatem consuetudine quasi alteram naturam effici*. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I., Section 2, Memb. 4, Subsection 3 (ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. i., p. 386), quotes Flavius, *Lib. I.*, c. 3, as saying : " *Educatio altera natura*." There were several Renaissance writers of this name, and the one intended by Burton has not been identified. It is found in St Augustine, *Adversus Iulium*, 5, 59, in the form, *Consuetudo est secunda natura*, in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, VII., 9, 7, as *Consuetudo quam secundam naturam pronuntiavit usus*, and in the *Secretum Secretorum*, in Roger Bacon, *Opera hactenus Inedita*, ed. Steel, vol. v. (1920), p. 75, as *Consuetudo est altera natura*.

Cf. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1884), vol. i., p. 100, "Consuetude is als potent as another nature." Egidio Colonna, *De Regimine Principum*, III., 2, 5, has, *Consuetudo est altera natura*.

**p. 107, ll. 24-26. euill to get . . . sayeth :** the form of the saying suggests Heywood, *Proverbs* (publ. 1546. Ed. of 1867), II., viii., 72, *It will not get out of the flesh that is bred in the bone*. Hotman's French version of 1603 paraphrases it as follows, *si est-il impossible qu'un mauuais arbre produise un bon fruit, et du bien qui n'est pas nay avec nous, il se puisse esperer quelque chose de bon*.

**p. 107, l. 28.** This line comes from Ovid, *Tristia*, V., 6, 13.

**p. 107, ll. 29-30. let an admission . . . deprivation :** the meaning is, the king must never take into his service anyone against whom the slightest fault can be found, even though that fault would not be a cause for dismissing anyone already in his service in whom it should at any time be discovered.

**p. 107. Side-notes. Cic. ad Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified. **Pla. 5. de leg :** Plato's *Laws* has nothing exactly like anything here, but cf. Plato, *Republic*, IV., 424A, "Adherence to a good system of nurture and education creates good natures." (Trans. by Davies and Vaughan.) **Ar. 2. œc :** see notes to p. 87, side-notes.

**p. 109, l. 16. anima non venit ex traduce :** a denial of Traducianism, the doctrine which taught that the soul is transmitted in generation from the parent to the child. It was widely held among the early Fathers of the Church, Pelagius (c. A.D. 400) being apparently the first to teach the opposed doctrine of Creationism, which teaches that each individual soul is directly created by God. First clearly stated by Tertullian, Traducianism was used by him to explain the resemblance in moral character between parents and offspring. It was finally abandoned by the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Hotman rendered James's Latin by *Ores que nostre ame ne soit de generation*. For a list of authorities on both sides, see Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I., Section 1, Memb. 2, Subsection 9. (Ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. i., p. 185.)

**p. 109, l. 20. runne on a blood :** *O.E.D.* has no instance of the saying earlier than 1621.

**p. 109. Margin.** The late house of Gowrie, i.e., the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, who were killed in the alleged Gowrie Plot of 5th August 1600.

**p. 109. Side-notes. Ar. 1. & 5. pol :** (a) Aristotle, *Politics*, I.; and (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but in neither case has the exact reference been identified. **Cic. ad Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified. **Pl. 6. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, VI., 753-756, treats of the election of the Law-Wardens, but says nothing like what James has here. **Ar. 2. eoc. & 1. pol :** (a) See the note to a

similar reference on p. 87. (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, I., but the exact reference not identified. **Pl. 6. de leg** : see the note to a similar reference earlier on this same page. **Is. in Pan** : in neither the *Panegyricus* nor the *Panathenaicus* of Isocrates is there anything like what James says here, but cf. Isocrates, *ad Nicoclem*, 27, "Subject your associates to the most searching tests, knowing that all who are not in close touch with you will think that you are like those with whom you live." (Loeb trans.) **Ar. 5. pol** : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but the exact reference not identified.

**p. 111, l. 17. king Davids counsell** : see Psalm ci. 6, Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me.

**p. 111, ll. 25-27. if the haters . . . loue you** : James's reasoning here does not seem very sound.

**p. 111, l. 26. as I shewed before** : see vol. i., p. 67.

**p. 111. Side-notes. Plat. 7. de Rep. 3. & 12. de L** : (a) Plato, *Republic*, VII., but exact reference not identified. (b) Plato, *Laws*, III., has nothing like what is said here. (c) Plato, *Laws*, XII., 945E. **Arist. 5. & 6. Pol** : (a) Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1309a, on preventing magistracies being a source of gain to the holders. (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, VI., 1321b-1323a, on the distribution of offices in the state and duties attached to them.

**p. 113, l. 14. Bona fortunæ** : the Peripatetic philosophers of the Ancient World, following Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I., 8, 1098b, divided all goods into three kinds, goods of the Body, goods of the Soul, and goods of Fortune. Cf. Beroald, *De Optimo Statu* (1513), p. 112<sup>a</sup>; *Academici uero : id est platonici & peripatetici, tria genera bonorum esse tradiderunt. Prima, animi bona ; ut uirtutes. Secunda, corporis ; ut ualitudinem & pulchritudinem. Tertia, externa quæ fortunæ ascribuntur ; ut diuitias & honores.*

**p. 113, l. 16. better hart then hap** : But James made up after 1603 for his failure to reward his servants adequately before that date. Cf. his *Speech at Whitehall*, 1607 : *Workes* (1616), p. 514, "Such particular persons of the Scottish nation, as might claime any extraordinary merit at my handes, I haue already reasonably rewarded, and I can assure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to straine my selfe further." But he hardly kept the promise made in the closing words of the quotation.

**p. 113, l. 32. the first rebellion** : the Ruthven Raid of 1582.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 114, l. 7. communis aura** : for the phrase cf. Quintilian, *De Institutione Oratoria*, VI., Proœmium, 12, *Haurire auram communem*.

**p. 115, l. 12. communis parens** : for the phrase cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Orations*, V., 13, 37, *Unde igitur ordiri rectius possumus quam a communi parente natura*.

**p. 115, l. 27. in the firste part of this treatise** : see vol. i., p. 45, and note *ad loc*.



p. 115. **Side-notes.** **Ar. 2. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, II., but the exact reference not identified. **Pl. 3. de Rep :** Plato, *Republic*, III., 409E. **Cic. ad Q. frat :** *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the exact reference not identified. **Isoc. in Panath. ad Nic. & de pace :** (a) Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, 143. (b) Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 9. (c) Isocrates, *Peace*, but the exact reference not identified. **Thuc. 6 :** Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book VI., the unfavourable account given of Alcibiades. **Plut. in pol :** Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, Side-notes, above. **Plato in Phedr. & Menex :** (a) Plato, *Phædrus*, 240B. (b) Plato, *Menexenus*, 235A-C, where Socrates speaks ironically of the flattery used by public orators. **Is. in Sym :** Isocrates, *Peace* (formerly called *Symmachicus*), opens by complaining that the Athenians prefer to listen to flatterers rather than to those who speak the truth. **Tac. 3. his :** Tacitus, *Histories*, III., 56, says that Vitellius was never allowed to hear anything but what was pleasing to him. **Curt. 8 :** Quintus Curtius, the Roman historian of Alexander the Great, tells in the eighth chapter of his Eighth Book how Callisthenes, executed for alleged complicity in a plot to murder Alexander, was not fitted for the life of courts because he had not the disposition of a flatterer.

p. 117, l. 11. **choose . . . meane . . . men :** according to Weldon, *Character of James I.* (1651), p. 173, "He ever desired to prefer meane men in great places, that when he turned them out again, they should have no friend to bandy them."

p. 117, l. 27. **start-ups :** though *O.E.D.* divides the credit for the first use of this compound between James and Shakespeare, who used it in *Much Ado about Nothing*, I., 3, 69, that credit should probably go to James alone, since *Basilicon Doron* was written in the autumn of 1598 and *Much Ado about Nothing* probably not till 1599.

p. 117, l. 27. **ye shall oft . . . races :** cf. Henryson, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, 8-10,

*Yt is contrar the lawis of natur  
A gentill man to be degenerat,  
Nocht following of his progenitour  
The worthy reule, and þe lordly estate.*

p. 117, l. 28. **as I haue saide before :** see vol. i., p. 87.

p. 117. **Side-notes.** **Ar. 5. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1314a, says that one of the marks of a tyrant is that he prefers foreigners to citizens. **Cic. ad Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, not traced. **Pla. in 1. Al. in pol. & 5. de 1 :** (a) Plato, *I. Alcibiades*, 120E. (b) Plato, *Politicus*, see p. 53, Side-notes, above. (c) Plato, *Laws*, V., but the exact reference not identified. **Ar. 2. œc :** see the note to the same side-reference on p. 87. **Isoc. in Areop :** Isocrates, *Areopagus*, but the exact reference not identified.

p. 119, l. 24. **Turkes Ianisares :** the Janissaries were an organised military force forming a kind of pretorian guard to the Turkish Sultan. They were not allowed to marry, and were directly attached to the person of their prince. See A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III. (1934), 31-37.

p. 119, l. 26. glue them their leaue : *i.e.*, dismiss them.

p. 119. Side-notes. Id. in Panath : Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, but the exact reference not identified. Ar. 2. pol : Aristotle, *Politics*, II., but the exact reference not identified. Tac. 1. his : Tacitus, *Histories*, I., chs. 13 and 23, tells how the quarrels among Galba's supporters ruined both him and Rome. Val. 1. 2 : Valerius Maximus, *De Factis Dictisque Memorabilibus*, II., 2, 1, gives examples of the ability of Roman senators and of the Senate to keep secrets. Curt. 4 : Quintus Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*, Book IV., but not identified. Demost. 8. phil : this is a mistake, for Demosthenes composed and delivered only four speeches to which the title *Philippic* is given. Sal. in Cat : Sallust, *Catalina*, but not identified. Liu. 22 : Livy, *Histories*, XXII., may refer to the factiousness of the consul Varro in 216 B.C., who had endeared himself to the plebeians by declaiming against the leading men among the optimates. Tac. eod. & 1. An : (a) Tacitus, *Histories*, I., may refer to the dismissal of Cæcina by the Emperor Galba, and his consequent desertion to Vitellius. (b) Tacitus, *Annales*, I., 80, how Tiberius to the end of his life was slow to change his officers of State. Ar. 5. po : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but the exact reference not identified. Ta. in Ag : Tacitus, *Agricola*, 19. Diō. 1. 52 : Dio Cassius, *Roman Histories*, LII., ch. 37.

MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 120, l. 2. use not ane in all things : but twenty years after this was written and Buckingham was establishing his ascendancy James had apparently forgotten the advice he had once given to his son.

p. 121, l. 22. with the Quene of Sheba admire . . . your seruants : cf. 1 Kings x. 8, Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom.

p. 121, ll. 27-28. as Adam saide of Heuah : a correction of the misstatement both in MS Royal 18. B. xv. and in the print of 1599.

p. 121. Side-notes. Xen. in Ages : Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, II, 2. Is. in Sym. & ad Ph : (a) Isocrates, *Peace* (formerly called *Symmachicus*), 10. (b) Isocrates, *Philippus*, has nothing like anything here, but cf. Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 28, "Regard as your most faithful friends, not those who praise everything you say and do, but those who criticise your mistakes." (Loeb trans.) Id. de permutat : Isocrates, *Antidosis* (formerly called *De Permutatione*), contains a complaint that he has been attacked through envy. Another Athenian who had been assessed for a liturgy and who thought that Isocrates was richer than he and therefore better able to bear it, had challenged Isocrates, as the law allowed him, to an exchange of estates. Cic. ad Q. frat : *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the exact reference not identified.

p. 123, l. 21. the most part of the world : this is rendered in Hotman's French version of 1603 by *la pluspart du monde, mesme des Grands*.

p. 123, l. 22. what I saide . . . anent conscience : see vol. i., p. 41.

p. 123. Side-note. 1 Cor. 6. 10 : this reference is wrong. The correct one is that in the 1599 print.

p. 125, l. 21. the suddaine death . . . of two pleasant young Princes : these were James, born 22nd May 1540, who died some time before 25th May 1541, and Arthur, who died 29th April 1541, aged five days. So the article on James V. of Scotland in *D.N.B.*, vol. x., p. 595 ; that on him in Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, ed. Balfour-Paul, vol. i. (1904), pp. 23-24, is less definite as to dates. To heighten the tragedy, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1895), p. 246, says that the two princes died within six hours of each other, one at St Andrews, the other at Stirling.

p. 125, l. 22. A daughter : i.e., Mary Queen of Scots, who was born at Linlithgow on 2nd December 1542. Six days later her father, James V., died at Falkland in Fife, whither he had gone the day before her birth.

p. 125, l. 25. a Woman of sexe & a . . . babe of age : both statements refer to Mary Queen of Scots.

p. 125, l. 28. sib folkes to you : at the time of the composition of *Basilicon Doron* there were in King James's family, besides Prince Henry himself, Princess Elizabeth, born 15th August 1596, who later married the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Princess Margaret, born 24th December 1598. By 1603 his family had been further increased by Prince Charles, born 19th November 1600, but Princess Margaret was no longer alive, having died in infancy. Another son, Robert, born in April or May 1601, had also died in infancy.

p. 125, l. 32. your body, whiche is the Temple of the holie Spirite : these words ought to be in italics, as being a semi-quotation from Scripture.

MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 127, l. 11. allya : this was the normal form in Middle Scots. Cf. the quotations in *O.E.D.*, and to them add *Asloan MS.* (Scottish Text Society. 1923), vol. i., p. 191, "arthure falsly agane his allya and band maid betuix ws and him maid weir on ws."

p. 127, l. 17. the three causes . . . by God : it is interesting to compare James's three causes, given in the next paragraph, and his three accessories, given in the paragraph next but one, with the views of two other sixteenth-century writers on the same theme. Thus to Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (3rd ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 92, marriage is appointed for four causes. "Firste, for the auoydance of whoredome : Secondly, for the mutuall comforte and consolation that the one might haue of the other, in all aduersities and calamities whatsoever : Thirdly, for the propagation of children in the feare of the Lorde, that both the worlde might be increased thereby, and the Lord also be glorified : And, fourthly, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Christ and his church, both militant and triumphant." The Spanish writer, Guevara, in his *Dial of Princes*, Book II.,

chs. 1-2, gives five benefits that flow from marriage, the first being that children keep alive the memory of their parents, the second that it is a protection against irregular sexual habits, the third that between spouses there is a laudable and pleasant union, the fourth that the married state is better than the unmarried, and the last that from matrimony comes the reconciliation of enemies. It will be seen that James has three of Stubbes's points and three of Guevara's, but that only two of these are common to the Englishman and the Spaniard.

**p. 127, ll. 25-27. Neither Marie ye . . . children :** of James V.'s first wife, Madeleine of France, it is said by Lindsay of Pitcottie, *Historie and Chronicles* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1898), p. 62, "fra tyme scho saw the King of Scotland and spak witht him scho became so inamorit witht him and luffit so that scho wald haue no man on lyffe bot him allanerlie, quhair of the consall of France and Scotland baitht lykit nothing thair of ffor they war certiffieit be the doctouris medicaneris that no successioun wald come of hir body be resson of hir lang seiknes and melodie"—i.e., malady.

**p. 127. Side-notes. Ar. 7. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., 1334b-1336a, discusses marriage and the procreation of children, but says that it conduces to temperance if a man does not marry too soon. Plato, *Laws*, VI., 785, says a man should not marry till he is thirty years old. **Id. eod :** Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., 1334b-1334a, says that a man should not marry a woman who will be unable through age to bear children while he himself is still able to beget them. **Aeg. Ro. 2. de reg. pr :** Ægidius Romanus, *De Regimine Principum*, Book II., Part I., ch. 9 (12), (Molinaer, p. 161), *Les femmes des rois et des princes doivent estre de noble lignie et avoir mult des amis et mult de richces* ; ch. 10 (13) (Molinaer, p. 163), *Eles doivent avoir et les biens du cours et les biens de l'ame, c'est a savoir, biauté du cors et grandesce, and Ils (i.e., kings and princes) doivent primierement enquerre que lor femmes soient nobles et gentiz et qu'eles soient puissantes d'amis et aient plenté de richces, et qu'elles soient beles et granz.* For Ægidius Romanus, see Introduction, p. 72, above.

**p. 129, l. 24. & cætera omnia adjicientur vobis :** Matthew vi. 33. The marginal reference in the print of 1603 is wrong.

**p. 129, l. 25. I would rathest haue . . . Religion :** Prince Henry must have remembered this advice, for "when James proposed (in the spring of 1612) to marry him to a French Catholic, he was so 'resolved that two religions should not lie in his bed,' that he was prepared to fly to the Continent and marry a German Protestant," Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (13th ed. 1935), p. 117. This project, and James's later anxiety to marry Prince Charles to a Spanish Catholic, are in strong contrast to his advice here. In both cases hope of political and diplomatic advantages outweighed his religious scruples. On this same point Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisque Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 84a, says, *Dispari religione raro animi solide consociantur, nisi talis sit & eius ætatis atque ingenij coniunx, ut speretur mariti religioni se accommodaturam.*

**p. 129, l. 32. keepe vnitie betwixt you :** for this the Latin version of 1604 has (*vt*) *unionem plusquam Platonicam illam Monadem excolatis.*



p. 131, l. 16. **that deceaued Salomon** : cf. 1 Kings xi. 4, It came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods.

p. 131, l. 17. **the grace . . . in our garden** : for this Hotman's French version of 1603 has *à la vérité le don de perséuerance est de Dieu, non pas de nous*.

p. 131, l. 23. **as I aduised you** : see vol. i., p. 109.

p. 131, l. 24. **of a whole & cleane race** : cf. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 84a, *Videndum qua patria, quibus parentibus, quo pacto educata, quibus moribus sit puella. Sunt enim regiones, quæ peculiaribus vitijs sunt obnoxie, a quarum affinitatibus abstinere præstat*. With this advice compare the Twentieth Article in the instructions given by Henry VII. to the members of the confidential mission which he sent to Spain to ascertain whether Joanna, the younger of the two living ex-queens of Naples, was likely to prove a suitable bride for him : "*Item, to inquire whether she have any sickness of her nativity, deformity, or blemish in her body, and what that should be, or whether she hath been commonly in health or sometimes sick and sometimes whole, and to know the specialities of such diseases and sickness.*" (Quoted in Coulton, *The Medieval Panorama* (1939), p. 645.) That match in the end never came off.

p. 131, ll. 26-28. **if a man will be . . . his owne loines** : cf. Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani: Opera* (Leyden. 1703), vol. iv., col. 562E, *Principum nonnulli magna cura dispiciunt, quibus equum insignem, aut avem aut canem curandum tradant; nihil autem referre putant, cui filium formandum committant*, which is nearer to what James says, though the comparison is differently applied, than anything to be found in the authorities cited in the margin.

p. 131. **Side-notes.** Pl. 5. **de Rep** : Plato, *Republic*, V., 459, says that if men pay attention to the breeding of sporting dogs and game birds they should have the same care for the intercourse of the sexes. Cic. 2. **de Diu** : Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II., 45, 94, *Quis non videt et formas et mores et plerosque status ac motus effingere a parentibus liberos*. Arist. **de gen. An** : Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, is a scientific treatise on the physiology of reproduction, and has nothing whatever to say about selective breeding, which is really James's subject here. Lucr. 4 : Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, IV., 1209-1232, discusses the transmission from parent to offspring of physical and other characteristics.

p. 133, ll. 10-11. **I truste I neede not . . . adultery** : in *The Dreme*, 1091-1094, Sir David Lyndsay gave to James V. similar advice, which, however, he did not heed :—

*I beseik thy Maiestie serene,  
Frome Lychorie thou keip thy bodie clene.  
Taist neuer that Intoxicat poysoun.  
Frome that unhappy sensuall syn abstene.*

(*Works*, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 37.)

p. 133, l. 19. **my grand-fathers example** : after this Hotman's French version of 1603 adds *bien que d'ailleurs orne de grandes vertus*.

p. 133, l. 21. **that bastard** : *i.e.*, Lord James Stuart, better known to history as the Regent Moray, the natural son of James V. by Lady Margaret Erskine, younger daughter of the fifth Earl of Mar of that name. He was therefore a half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots. The Bothwell mentioned by James three lines later was his nephew.

p. 133, l. 24. **Bothuell** : this was Francis Stewart, elder son of Lord John Stewart, himself the natural son of James V. by Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Carmichael. Bothwell's mother was Lady Jane Hepburn, sister of the Bothwell of Mary's reign. Born in 1563, he was in 1576 created fifth Earl of Bothwell, and appointed to many of his uncle's offices upon an erroneous report of the latter's death in his Danish prison. The article on him in *D.N.B.*, vol. ix., p. 592, *sub*. Hepburn, Francis Stewart, says that "he resembled the fourth Earl of Bothwell in his dissolute and lawless conduct, although he lacked his virile strength; and his indecorous acts rendered his relations with the Kirk singularly grotesque," by which he was accepted for a time as its champion. He was prominent enough before 1591, but between that year and 1595 his conduct was exceptionally lawless. In January of 1591 he broke into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, carried off a prisoner who was a witness against one of his clients, lodged him in Crichton Castle, and threatened to hang him on his own authority. In April of the same year he was accused of having dealings with the witches of North Berwick who were on trial for raising storms to destroy James and his bride while they were sailing home to Scotland from Denmark. One of the witches, a Barbara Napier, giving evidence as to the reason for this attempt on the life of the king, said it was that "another might have ruled in his Majesty's place, and that the government might have gone to the Devil." Devil was the title given to the leader of a witches' coven, and on this statement Miss M. A. Murray, *The Witchcult in Western Europe* (1921), p. 55, has built a theory that Bothwell was in fact the leader of the witches then on trial and that he was making use of their arts to clear the way for himself to the throne. Bothwell, being actually James's nearest relative, might claim to be his heir as long as James had no children. But when Prince Henry was born to James in 1593 his power was broken. Colour is lent to the supposition that Bothwell was aiming, if not at the throne itself, then at least at actual control of the government, by his attempts between 1591 and 1595 to gain possession of the person of the king. What James thought of these attempts is shown by his speech to the Parliament of May 1592, in which he denounced Bothwell as an aspirant to the throne, though he was incorrect when he referred to him as a 'bastard,' for Bothwell himself had been born in wedlock, and though his father had not, he had been legitimated by both the Pope and his half-sister, Mary Queen of Scots, in 1551, about the time when he attained his majority. The first of the attempts was made at Holyrood in December 1591. In the fight to protect their master two of James's servants were killed, but eight or nine of Bothwell's men were captured and hanged the next morning

at the palace gate. For this Bothwell was outlawed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh a month later. He made to seize the king at Falkland in June 1592. In July of the same year he forced himself into James's presence at Holyrood and compelled the king to grant him all he demanded. Two years later, in April 1594, he raised a troop of eight hundred horsemen, Scots and English, and raided Leith in another attempt on the king's person. He finally ruined himself as a person of any importance in the politics of the time by allying himself in August of that year with the Catholic earls, Errol and Huntly, who were keeping the North in a state of disorder, and in April 1595 he left Scotland for ever. He died at Naples in 1624 with the reputation of a great sorcerer.

**p. 133. Side-notes. Pl. 11. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, Book XI., has nothing about adultery but plenty about food adulteration. **Is. in Sym :** Isocrates, *Peace* (formerly called *Symmachicus*), has nothing like what James says here, but cf. Isocrates, *Nicocles*, 36-42, where Nicocles, king of Salamis in Crete, is made to praise himself because of his continence with respect to the wives of his subjects. **Cic. 2. de leg :** Cicero, *De Legibus*, II., 9, 22, *Periurii pœna divina exitium*. **Arist. 8. Æth. & 1. Pol :** (a) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VIII., 7, 1, considers friendship between husband and wife as a case of friendship between a superior and inferior. (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, I., 1259b, says that the male is fitter for command than the female.

**p. 135, l. 20. women are the frailest sexe :** cf. James in his *Dæmonologie*, Book II., ch. 5 : *Workes* (1616), p. 116, "As that sexe is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the diuell, as was ouer-well prooued to be trew, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua*." Cf. also his medieval authority, Ægidius Colonna, *De Regimine Principum*, Book II., Part ii., ch. 20 (Molinaer, p. 227), *Les femmes . . . meins ont de sens et de reson en eles que les hommes*. But this is only a repetition of one of the many mediæval slanders on women. As the side-notes show, it goes back to classical times.

**p. 135, l. 30. prouide :** according to *O.E.D.* this word, as used here in the sense of "advance to position of greater importance," is employed almost exclusively of ecclesiastical promotions.

**p. 135, l. 31. Isaac :** to him his father Abraham "gave all that he had," Genesis xxv. 5.

**p. 135, ll. 31-32. leauing him all your kingdomes :** omitted in the Latin version of 1604.

**p. 135. Side-notes. Xen. & Arist. in œco :** (a) Xenophon, *Æconomicus*, 7, 4-10, 13, tells how Isomachus trained his wife. (b) Aristotle, *Economica*, III., 2, explains how a husband should behave towards his wife. **Ar. 1. rhet :** Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I., 1367a, says that a man's nature is nobler than a woman's. **Pl. in Menon :** Plato, *Meno*, 71E, where a woman's ἀρετή is said to be the duty of ordering the house well, looking after the property indoors, and obeying her husband. **Ægid. R. de reg. pr :** Ægidius Romanus, *De Regimine Principum*, Book II., Part i., ch. 4 (Molinaer, p. 152), *les euvres des*



*hommes sont a fere les choses par dehors l'ostel, les euvres de la femme sont a garder les choses et les profiz per dedans*, Book II., Part ii., ch. 20 (Molinaer, p. 227), *Les hommes doivent entendre a fere les choses qui apartiennent au gouvernement du reyaume*, and Book II., Part ii., ch. 20 (Molinaer, p. 228), *Les femmes . . . n'entendent pas a fere les euvres qui apartiennent a toute la communeté, ne n'entendent pas a gouvernier lor pueple ne a adrecier le bien commun*. **Pl. 5. de Rep. & 7. de leg :** (a) Plato, *Republic*, Book V., has nothing about the character of women, but in *Laws*, VI., 781, he says that they are the weaker sex morally. (b) Plato, *Laws*, VII., has nothing like what James says on this page, but cf. note on reference immediately preceding this. **Pl. in The. 4. & 5. de Rep. & 6. & 7. de 1 :** (a) Plato, *Theages*, in which Demodocus consults Socrates on a teacher for his son, whose name gives its title to the dialogue. (b) Plato, *Republic*, IV., 424a, says that adherence to a good system of nurture creates good nature, and that a good nature grows better by a good education. (c) Plato, *Republic*, V., says nothing about education. It is in Books II. and III. of the *Republic* that Plato develops his ideas on that subject. (d) Plato, *Laws*, VI., has nothing about education. In the *Laws* it is in Book VII. that Plato develops his ideas thereon. (e) Plato, *Laws*, VII., is given up to the discussion of the education of the young. In Section 808D he says that of all wild creatures the child is the most intractable. **Ar. 7. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., 1336a to VIII. 1342b discusses the education of the young.

**p. 137, ll. 12-13. as befell to this Ile, by . . . Camber :** as it stands the statement in the text is completely at variance with all the likely sources for the story of the division of the Island of Britain between the three sons of Brutus after their father's death. This is first found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Bk. II., ch. 1, who says that Lochrine, the eldest son, had the central part, which was therefore called Loegria after him. Camber received the part beyond the River Severn, to which was later given the name of Cambria; and Albanact, the youngest, had what came to be called Scotland, but which had before that been called Albany after him. Geoffrey knows of no dissensions among the brothers; instead, he says that they reigned a long time in peace and concord till Humber, king of the Huns, landed in Albany and began the conquest of the country. Then Albanact, having been slain fighting against the invaders, the two remaining brothers united against them. Polydore Vergil, whom James cites in the margin, agrees with this account, and so does Holinshed, *Histories of England*, Book II., ch. 4 (ed. of 1807, vol. i., pp. 444-445). The contemporary play, *Lochrine* (1595), follows the historians, and so does Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book II., canto 10, stanza 14. James may have confused Brutus with Gorboduc, who is dated by Geoffrey of Monmouth fully three hundred years after Brutus. His story, first told by Geoffrey in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book II., ch. 16, was the subject of the early Elizabethan tragedy, *Ferrex and Porrex* (or *Gorboduc*), the Argument prefixed to which runs as follows: "Gorboduc king of Brittain, diuided his realme in his life time to his sonnes, Ferrex and Porrex. The sonnes fell to discention. The yonger killed the elder. The mother that more dearly loued the elder, for reuenge killed the



yonger. The people moued with the crueltie of the fact, rose in rebellion and slew both father and mother. The nobilitie assembled, and most terribly destroyed the rebels. And afterwarde for want of issue of the prince whereby the succession of the crowne became uncertaine, they fell to ciuill warre, in which both they and many of of (*sic*) their issues were slaine, and the land for a long time almost desolate and miserably wasted" (*Ferrex and Porrex*, ed. Farmer (Tudor Facsimile Texts. 1908), sig. A<sup>b</sup>). Polydore Vergil's account of these events will be found in his *Anglicæ Historiæ* (Basle. 1550), p. 20, where it is said that the two brothers quarrelled over the division of the kingdom. The story of Gorboduc and his sons is also told by Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book II., canto 10, stanzas 34-35. Since, however, the allusion in *Basilicon Doron* to the division of the kingdom by Brutus is first found in the "Noates to basilicon doron" bound up among the *Hawthornden MSS.*, but without the side-reference to Polydore Vergil and in a form which shows that the writer had in mind the whole course of early British history after that division, it is probable that his real source was not the writings of the historian, but the following passage from the speech of the aged counsellor Eubulus, addressing King Gorboduc in Act I., Scene 2, of the early Elizabethan play, *Ferrex and Porrex* :—

*The mightie Brute, first prince of all this lande,  
Possessed the same and ruled it well in one,  
He thinking that the compasse did suffice,  
For his three sonnes, three kingdoms eke to make,  
Cut it in three, as you would now in twaine.  
But how much Brittish blood hath since bene spilt  
To ioyne againe the sondred vnitie?  
What princes slaine before their timely houre?  
What wast of townes and people in the lande?  
What treasons heaped on murders and on spoiles?  
Whose iust reuenge euen yet is scarcely ceased,  
Ruthfull remembraunce is yet rawe in minde.  
The Gods forbyd the like to chaunce againe.*

Ed. Farmer (Tudor Facsimile Texts. 1908), sig. Biiij<sup>b</sup>.

**p. 137, ll. 14-18. If God giue you not . . . the righteous heire :** this was prefixed by Sir George Mackenzie to the second part of his *Ius Regium* (1684), which has as its title, *That the Lawful Successor cannot be Debarr'd from Succeeding to the Crown.*

**p. 137, l. 18. righteous :** cf. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1895), p. 152, "Duke Francis to the Kingdome of France rychtuously succeide."

**p. 137, l. 25. the foure Cardinall vertues :** in the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages these were Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude. Cf. Alexander Scot, *Poems* (Scottish Text Society. 1896), p. 2 :—

*Found on the first four vertewus cardinall,  
On wisdome, iustice, force, and temperans.*

The classification goes back to Plato. Cf. *Republic*, IV., 442, *Laws*,

XII., 964. The 'seven' of *MS Royal 18. B. xv.* is wrong. Groups of seven were more numerous than groups of four—*e.g.*, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Sacraments of the Church, and the Seven Liberal Arts, and doubtless James by a slip thought at the time of writing that the Cardinal Virtues were also seven in number.

p. 137, l. 27. **Queene of all the rest** : in Cicero, *De Officiis*, III., 6, 28, the queen among the virtues is said to be Justice.

p. 137, l. 28. **the vulgar interpretation** : it was also Aristotle's, who says in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, III., 10, 1118a, "Temperance and self-indulgence are concerned with the kind of pleasures that the other animals share in ; these are touch and taste." Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Liberis Principum* (1570), foll. 52<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>b</sup>, discusses temperance only with respect to eating and drinking. Cf. *Ratis Raving*, ed. Girvan (Scottish Text Society. 1939), 429-431—

*Temperans  
is ay weill reulyt with obseruans  
of met and drink in gud mesour.*

p. 137, l. 30-p. 139, l. 10. **that wise moderation . . . ruler** : Hotman's French version of 1603 paraphrases this as follows : *Mais bien par cette sage attrempeance de toutes les passions & desirs de vostre ame, pour y regler les actions de vostre vie ; mesmement les plus louables ausquelles il faut aussi bien euiten le trop que le trop peu.*

p. 137. **Side-notes.** **Polld. 1** : Polydore Vergil, *Anglicæ Historiæ* (Basle. 1556), p. 19. **Pl. in Pol** : Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, Side-notes, above. **Cic. ad Q. frat** : Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I., 1, 9. **Ar. 5. pol** : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but the exact reference not identified. **Pol. 6** : Polybius, *The Histories*, VI., 48, 4. **Cic. 1. of. 2. de invē.** & **in Par** : (a) Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 93. (b) Cicero, *De Inventionē*, II., 54, 163, *Virtus habet partes quatuor ; prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.* (c) Cicero, *De Partitione Oratoria*, 22, 75-78, enumerates and briefly describes the four cardinal virtues.

*MS Royal 18. B. xv.* p. 139, ll. 1-3. **that he foryette . . . the kings** : the safeguard here described appears to be quite unknown either to Scots or to English criminal law, and the source whence James obtained it has not been traced. Hume, *Commentaries on the Criminal Law of Scotland* (1797), vol. i., p. 275, wrote thus on Homicide : "It is certain that no distinction is taken in regard to the creature killed, from any circumstance which may be thought to lessen the value of the life that has been taken away. There is the same law for all. . . . With respect, however, to one class of persons, namely, persons who have been proclaimed rebels (or denounced at the horn, as it is called), for criminal causes, this has only become our law in later times. For it appears that, according to the more severe notions of our older jurisprudence, no process could be maintained for the slaughter of a person in that condition : not by the King, who had not lost a subject, or person at his peace and faith, and as little by the relations of the deceased, who by sundry statutes were forbidden to harbour, comfort, or have intercourse with him." He then cites cases heard in the Courts in

1600, 1601, 1605, and 1606, in which persons accused of homicide had pleaded in bar of a trial that no case lay against them because those killed had been at the horn, and in every case the plea had been upheld. From this it would appear that about the time when *Basilicon Doron* was being written it was in debate whether a charge of homicide could be laid against the slayer of one who was at the horn. Hume adds, *op. cit.*, p. 278, that this 'barbarous and extravagant doctrine' was annulled by an Act of 1661.

**p. 139, l. 18. summum ius, summa iniuria :** this comes from Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 10, 33. James had already quoted it in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies : Workes* (1616), p. 203, to justify the king's dispensing power, the exercise of which was to topple his grandson, James II., off the throne.

**p. 139, l. 24. they were not at the horne :** *i.e.*, outlawed. The expression comes from the Scots ceremony of pronouncing sentence of outlawry, in which three blasts were blown on the horn by the king's messenger. The phrase is omitted in the Latin version of 1604.

**p. 139. Side-notes. Pl. 4. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, IV., but the exact reference not identified. **Ar. 1. mag. mor :** Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, I., 33, equates social justice with proportional equality, and discusses when a deed is just and when not. **Cic. 1. of. pro Rab. & ad Q. f :** (a) see note to p. 139, l. 18, above. (b) Cicero, *Proc. Rabirio Postumo*, 5, 11, *Quid deceat vos, non quantum liceat vobis, spectare debetis*. (c) Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I., l. 20. **Sen. de cl :** Seneca, *De Clementia*, had as its whole purpose to persuade the emperor how great a virtue mercy is.

**p. 141, l. 16. ratio est anima legis :** an adaptation of Cicero, *De Legibus*, I., 6, 18, *Lex est ratio summa*. It was quoted again by James in his *Speech in the Star-Chamber*, 1616 : *Workes* (1616), p. 556.

**p. 141, l. 19. in medio stat virtus :** this is the Aristotelean standpoint. Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II., 6, 1107a, where virtue is said to be a mean between the two ills of excess and deficiency. The illustrations lower down the page, however, particularly that introducing Prodigality and Niggardliness, are more in accordance with the mediæval view that a virtue was a mean between two vices. Cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Macaulay (1900), Book V., 7641-7648 :—

*Between the tuo extremities  
Of vice stant the propretes  
Of vertu, and to prove it so  
Tak Avarice and tak also  
The vice of Prodegalitie ;  
Betwen hem Liberalitie,  
Which is the vertu of Largesse,  
Stant.*

**p. 141, l. 25. in infinitis omnia concurrunt :** source not traced.

p. 141, l. 33-p. 143, l. 12. **what is betwixt the pride of . . . wormes** : Hotman's French version of 1603 again paraphrases, *Et quelle difference mettés vous entre l'arrogance de ceux qui superbement s'esleuent sur leurs compagnons, & l'humilitie affectée des autres qui veulent que tous hommes soient égaux, & crient neantmoins que nous ne sommes que terre & fange, & la viande aux vers.*

p. 141, l. 33. **the pride of . . . Nebuchadnezar** : Daniel iv. 30, The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?

p. 141. **Side-notes.** Ar. 5. æth. & 1. rhet : (a) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book V., has justice for its theme. (b) Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I., 1374b, draws a distinction between justice and equity. Cic. pro. Cæc : Cicero, *Pro A. Cæcina*, has for one of its arguments the plea that the laws must not be used to destroy citizens by verbal quibbles in which the intention of the law is defeated through a slavish adherence to the literal meaning of its actual words.

p. 143, ll. 11-12. **We are all . . . wormes** : this comes from Job xxv. 5-6, The stars are not pure in his sight. How much less man, that is a worm? Cf. Lyndsay, *The Dreme*, 26-28, speaking of himself :—

*Louyng be to the blyssit Trynitie,  
That sic ane wracheit worme hes made sa habyll  
Tyll sic ane Prince to be so agreabyll.*

Cf. also Knox to the Queen Regent in 1556, *Works*, ed. Laing (1855), vol. iv., p. 77, "me, a worme most wretched."

p. 143, l. 16. **as was saide of Diogenes** : James must be referring to the meeting of Alexander the Great and Diogenes the Cynic philosopher, but no account of that incident says anything about the pride of Diogenes. See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI., 2, 38; 2, 60; 2, 68.

p. 143, l. 28. **Astrologians** : i.e., astronomers. *O.E.D.* says that when 'astrologer' and 'astronomer' began to be differentiated, the relation between them was at first the converse of the present usage. In his *Dæmonologie*, Book I., ch. iv.: *Workes* (1616, p. 100), James distinguishes between Astronomy and Astrology in the following terms. Astronomy is the law of the stars, is a part of mathematics, and is not only lawful but also necessary and commendable. Astrology is the preaching of the stars and is divided into two parts. The first teaches the power of simples and sicknesses, the course of the seasons and the weather, which are all ruled by their influence. This, though not a part of mathematics, is not unlawful, when used in moderation, but is not so necessary or commendable as Astronomy. The other branch of Astrology aims at foretelling the future from the stars, the rise and fall of commonwealths, who shall be lucky or unlucky, who shall win in battle, or when and how a man shall die. This part is not to be trusted in or practised among Christians, as having no ground in natural reason. Gau, *Richt Vay* (Scottish Text Society. 1888),



p. 12, says that they sin against the Second Commandment who "rewlis thair liff and warkis efter special dais and taiknis of the hewine and traistis efter as the astronomurs and spaymen makis and writis and speikis thair of." Four lines in one of his sonnets to Tycho Brahe, whom he visited in 1593, also reveal James's beliefs :—

*He [i.e., God] also pitch'd eache Planet in his place  
And made them rulers of the ruling Lord  
As heavenlie impes to governe bodie basse  
Be subtle and celestiall sweet accord.*

Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), p. 26.

At the same time these remarks in *Basilicon Doron* read like a stricture on Tycho Brahe himself, for he spent his whole life in making astronomical observations and made few calculations. To most people this would appear merely wasting time, and such it seems to have appeared to James, who was not to know that on these same observations Brahe's pupil Kepler was to lay the foundations of modern astronomy. It should be remembered that in 1600 most people refused on religious grounds to accept the Copernican system of astronomy, and that those who did accept it did so chiefly because they found it made astronomical calculations easier than the older Ptolemaic system, not because they believed that it gave a truer picture of the structure of the universe. It is doubtful if James even accepted Tycho Brahe's intermediate position of trying to reconcile the two systems by leaving the earth at the centre of the universe, but making the known planets revolve round the sun. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Section 2, Memb. 3 (ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. ii., p. 65), shows himself aware of the theories of Copernicus and Galileo, but says that the most received opinion is that the earth is the centre of the universe, that it stands still, and that the heavens move round it, and then gives a summary of the views on both sides of the question. The Copernican system was attacked by both Luther and Melanchthon because it seemed to them to be at variance with certain phrases of Scripture, and was not established till Galileo invented the telescope, which, said Sir Henry Wotton, "hath first overthrown all former astronomy and next all astrology." The poet Donne meant the same thing by the line in his *First Anniversary*, "The new philosophy calls all in doubt." (These quotations come from Marjorie Nicolson, *The 'New Astronomy' and English Literary Imagination*, in *Studies in Philology*, vol. xxxii. (1935), pp. 428-462.) Osorius, *De Regis Institutione: Opera* (Rome. 1592), vol. i., col. 395, approves of astronomy as a subject of study for princes.

**p. 143. Side-notes. Pl. in pol. 5. de Rep. & epist. 7 :** (a) Plato, *Politicus*, see p. 53, Side-notes, above. (b) Plato, *Republic*, V., but the exact reference not identified. (c) Plato, *Letter VII.*, has nothing like anything said by James at this point in his book ; but *Letter XIII.*, addressed to Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Syracuse, to introduce Helicon the astronomer, speaks of the advantage of knowing something of astronomy. **Clc. ad. Q. frat. & de or :** (a) Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but not identified. Cf., however, Cicero, *De Oratore*, I., 34, 185,

which work was dedicated to his brother Quintus. (b) Cicero, *De Oratore*, more than once stresses the need of a wide general education, particularly by whoever wishes to be a successful orator. **Id. 1. de fin :** Cicero, *De Finibus*, I., 1, says of the second of the three classes of people who object to philosophy, *non tam id reprehendunt, si remissius agatur, sed tantum studium tamque multam operam ponendam in eo non arbitrantur*. **Id. 1. of :** Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 6, 19, *Quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt easdemque non necessarias*.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 145, l. 4. mintis :** for the sense of this verb, cf. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1895), p. 193, "The Erle of Surrie minted nocht to cum an inche ner vs," and *The Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston* (Scottish History Society), vol. i. (1911), p. 399, "Our rascals without shame made such clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I could not be content till they were down the stairs."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 145, ll. 6-7. polle . . . his nailis :** this is an adaptation to totally different circumstances of the advice given in Deuteronomy xxi. 12, as to the treatment of the Midianitish captive woman. The occasion of James V.'s *bon mot* has not been traced. **polle his haire :** there may be a reference here to the old Scots sport of 'plucking the crow,' the principal features of which, according to Cranstoun, *Satirical Poems of the Reformation* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1893), p. 108, consisted of tearing the clothes from the body of the person who took the part of 'crow' or butt, and also smearing his face and body with some black substance. **paire his nailis :** i.e., destroy his power of doing harm. The earliest quotation in *O.E.D.* for the phrase is dated 1579.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 145, l. 11. contra uerbosos . . . uerbis :** this comes from Dionysius Cato, *Disticha de Moribus*, I., 10.

**p. 145, l. 22. Custos vtriusque Tabulæ :** in his *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance : Workes* (1616), p. 284, James calls kings 'Custodes vtriusque Tabulæ', and repeats the phrase in the form, *Vindex utriusque tabulæ* in his *Paterne of a Kings Inauguration : Workes* (1620), p. 611. The Two Tables are the two divisions of the Decalogue, relating to religious and moral duties respectively, held to have occupied the two tables of stone which Moses brought down with him from Mount Sinai, as described in Exodus xxxiv.

**p. 145, l. 24. heede, that they vague not :** the General Assembly of the Kirk which met in April 1593 had bound the ministers by an Act of Assembly, made at the king's request, not to utter from the pulpit any unreverent speeches against the King, his council, or their proceedings, "but that all their public admonitiouns proceed vpon just and necessar causes and sufficient warrant," though the causes and warrant were left to their own discretion (Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society. 1842), vol. v., p.

244). Already an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1584 had forbidden ministers and others to express opinion on public matters under pain of treason (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 292).

**p. 145, l. 31. suffer no conventions nor meetings :** by an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1584 these were forbidden without the king's consent (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 293).

**p. 147, ll. 14-16. preasse to drawe all your lawes . . . as ye can :** nearer to what James wrote than anything contained in the authorities cited in the margin is the following passage from Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 17, "Seek laws that are altogether just and expedient and consistent with each other, and, moreover, those which cause the fewest controversies and bring about the speediest settlements for your subjects" (Loeb trans.).

**p. 147, l. 16. the long-somnesse of rights :** James is here criticising the repetitiousness of Acts of Parliament. *O.E.D.*'s last quotation for 'right' in the sense of 'law' is dated 1610; the one before it comes from Caxton. 'Processes' are legal proceedings.

**p. 147, l. 20. Advocates & Clerks :** Hotman's French version of 1603 renders this by *les chicaneurs*.

**p. 147, l. 22. bryberie :** an Act passed by the Scottish Parliament in 1579 laid down as the qualifications of a judge of the Court of Session that he must fear God, be of good literature, have an understanding of the law, be of good repute, and have means of his own. It also forbade him to take bribes on pain of confiscation of his goods, and fixed his annual stipend at one thousand merks (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 153). An Act of 1592 further laid it down that he must be over twenty-five years of age and have a yearly income of his own of not less than a thousand merks Scots, or else twenty chalders of victual (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 569). These two Acts will be found in Habakkuk Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1920), pp. 105-108.

**p. 147, l. 27. that cannot waite on :** *i.e.*, who are unable to spare from the task of earning a living or of attending to their proper business the time to hang about the Courts till their suit is heard.

**p. 147, ll. 28-29. remember the throne . . . ye sit in :** James said much the same thing to his judges and magistrates in his *Speech in Parliament*, 1603: *Workes* (1616), p. 494, "I can say none otherwise to you, then as *Ezechias* the good King of *Iuda* said to their Iudges, *Remember that the Thrones that you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine.*" Incidentally this quotation reveals how careless James was in his citations, for this saying, which comes from 2 Chronicles xix. 6, is in the Old Testament put into the mouth of Jehoshaphat, not Hezekiah.

**p. 147, l. 31. as I shewe before :** *see* vol. i., p. 69.



**p. 147. Side-notes. Pla. 4. de Rep. & 6. de Leg :** (a) Plato, *Republic*, IV., 425, says that detailed legislation is to be avoided. (b) Plato, *Laws*, Book VI., merely discusses, in 767A-768C, the hearing of suits. **Ar. 1. rh :** Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I., 1354a, says laws should leave as little to the judges as possible. **Cic. 1. de Or :** Cicero, *De Oratore*, I., 1, 16, says that an orator ought to be acquainted with civil law. **Sen. in Lud :** this reference has not been traced. **Pla. in pol :** Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, Side-notes, above. **Arist. 1. rhet :** Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I., 1374b, distinguishes between justice and equity. **Cic. ad Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, but the reference not identified. **Plut. in Is :** see note to same reference on vol. i., p. 69.

**p. 149, l. 12. the error of young Cyrus :** cf. Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 3, 16-17, "I once got a flogging for not deciding correctly. The case was like this. A big boy with a little tunic, finding a little boy with a big tunic on, took it off him, and put his own on him, while he himself put on the other's. So when I tried their case, I decided that it was better for them both that each should keep the tunic that fitted him. Thereupon the master flogged me, saying that when I was judge of a good fit I should do as I had done, but when it was my duty to decide whose tunic it was I had this question to consider . . . whose title was the rightful one" (Loeb translation).

**p. 149, l. 16. your secrete Counsell :** i.e., the Privy Council.

**p. 149, l. 20. dilatours :** in the sense in which it is used here this word is a now obsolete technical term of Scots law. A 'dilatour' was an objection, generally called an 'exception,' which, without touching the merits of the case, suspended further proceedings until it was disposed of. The following example is taken from Habakkuk Bisset's *Rolment of Courtis* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1920), p. 180, "I am obleist to pay to Titius, the summe of ane hundreth pundis, at whitsonday nix cummis. Gif Titius callis and persewis me for payment of the said summe, at any tyme befor whitsonday I may allege dilatorie, that I suld be absolved fra that persuit Because the terme of payment that is whitsonday is nocht cum et ante diem, vel terminum solutionis, debitum, peti non potest. Et dies adjicitur obligationi in favorem debitoris: This exception is called dilatorie Because it delayis the payment of the det onlie to whitsonday, quhilk is the terme of payment, and takis nocht away the det itself Because I will be compellit to mak payment of the said summe to Titius eftir whitsonday, Nocht-withstanding the said exceptioun."

**p. 149, l. 22. aut ne Rex sis :** this comes from a story told by Plutarch both of Demetrius Poliorcetes (*Life of Demetrius*, 42, 3) and of Philip of Macedon (*Apophthegmata Regum*, 179C; see *Moralia*, Loeb ed., vol. iii., p. 178). It is to the effect that Demetrius (or Philip) was once halted in the street by a poor widow who wished to lay a grievance before him and who, when he told her he had no time to hear her, retorted, "Then give up being king." As told of Philip it was referred to by James in his *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609: *Workes* (1616), p. 531. It is also told by Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos; Opera* (1711), vol. i., p. 9, again of Philip.



p. 149, l. 28. *Ne sis peregrinus domi* : cf. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* : Dedication to James VI. in *Opera* (1711), vol. i., sig.\*1<sup>b</sup>, *Absurdum enim ac pudendum videbatur te, qui in ista ætatula omnium prope nationum res gestas perlegeris, plurimas memoriter teneas, domi quodam modo peregrinari*. Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, I., 58, 249, *in nostra patria peregrini*.

p. 149, ll. 29-32. *I meane not . . . thereof* : Hotman's French version of 1603 again paraphrases, *Je n'entens pas de ces histoires pleines de fiel & d'inuectives, ces libelles diffamatoires, qui ne se doiuent lire ni garder par vos sujets, sous grosses peines que vous y mettrez*.

p. 149, l. 30. *Buchanans or Knoxes Chronicles* : Buchanan's Chronicle was his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, first published in 1592, which from almost the beginning of James V.'s reign to the death of Lennox (in 1571) is "practically the work of a contemporary and of a partisan who vilifies Mary, panegyrises Moray, hates all the Hamiltons, and dislikes Morton" (*D.N.B.*, vol. iii., p. 192). Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan* (1890), p. 201, says that in his *History* Buchanan has stated with added emphasis every charge he had brought against Mary in the *Detectio*. This was the *Detectio Mariæ Reginae Scotorum*, the statement of their case against her which Buchanan was commissioned by Mary's enemies in Scotland to write for European circulation. The matter of it was taken from the Book of Articles, the document in which after the Queen's flight to England the charges against her were drawn up in a formal indictment for presentation to the English Commissioners by the Scottish Commissioners, when they met in the winter of 1568-69, first at York and then at Westminster. James was not the only one to object to Buchanan's unfavourable account of Mary's reign. Since it was published, Buchanan has been denounced by all her champions for time-serving, ingratitude, desertion, and plain lying, and it has long been known that many of Buchanan's alleged facts are capable of other, and less damaging, interpretations than he gave them. The best case that has been made for Buchanan is that to be found in Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan* (1890), p. 209. Camden, *Annales* (ed. Hearne, 1717), vol. i., p. 130, has a story that as death drew near to him Buchanan expressed regret for the bitterness with which he had written against Mary.

Writing in 1615 and viewing Buchanan's work as a whole, James said in his *Defence of the Right of Kings : Workes* (1616), p. 480, "Buchanan I reckon and ranke among Poets, not among Diuines, classical or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some tearmes of excesse, or speech of bad temper; that must be imputed to the violence of his humour, and heate of his spirit, not in any wise to the rules and conclusions of trew Religion, rightly by him conceiued before."

*Knox's Chronicle* is his *Historie of the Reformation*, which is bitterly hostile both to Mary of Guise and to Mary Queen of Scots. It was not published in Knox's life-time. The first three books of it were printed by Vautrollier at London in 1587, but before publication most copies of the work, as far as it had gone, were seized and destroyed by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. See Hume Brown, *Life of John Knox* (1895), ii., 214.

p. 149, l. 32. vse the lawe vpon the keepers thereof: an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1584 ordered all copies of Buchanan's *History* and of his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* to be handed up to the authorities within forty days to have all offensive matter deleted from them, on pain of a fine of two hundred pounds (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iii., 296).

p. 149. Side-notes. Xē. 1. Cyr: see note to p. 149, l. 12. Cic. ad Q. frat: Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I., 1, 25, *patere aures tuas querellis omnium*. Tac. 1. hist: Tacitus, *Histories*, Book I., has nothing like anything here. Has James confused his 'dilatours'—i.e., legal delays—with the *delatores*—i.e., informers—of the Roman historian? Plut. in Demet: see note to p. 149, l. 22. Plat. in Menon: Plato, *Menon*, 81b, deals with the transmigration of souls.

p. 151, l. 7. punishing them . . . risen againe: this is omitted in the Latin version of 1604.

p. 151, ll. 8-10. By reading of authenticke histories . . . estate: the Renaissance view of the value of history is well summarised by Stanyhurst in Holinshed, *Chronicles* (ed. of 1808), vol. vi., sig. b4<sup>a</sup>, "The learned haue adiudged historie to be the marrow of reason, the creamē of sapience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behaiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiuallrie."

p. 151, l. 11. volubility: the only earlier *O.E.D.* quotation for the sense in which this word is used here comes from Hooker and is dated 1594.

p. 151, l. 13. the heauenly circles: i.e., the crystalline spheres of pre-Copernican astronomy.

p. 151, l. 14. Ezechiels visions: see Ezekiel i. 15-21.

p. 151, l. 15. rota Fortunæ: the wheel of Fortune was a commonplace of classical, and still more of mediæval, literature. Cf. *The Kingis Quhair*, stanza 11:—

Eche estate,  
As Fortune lykith, thame will translate.  
For sothe it is that on hir tolter quhele  
Every wight cleuerith in his stage,  
And failyng foting oft quhen hir lest rele,  
Sum vp, sum downe; is non estate nor age  
Ensured, more the prynce than the page:  
So vncouthly hir werdes sche deuידeth.

In mediæval literature the figure probably derives from Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, Book II., Prosa 2, "I torne the whirlynge wheel with the turnyng sercle. I am glad to chaungen the loweste to the heyeste, and the heyeste to the loweste." (Chaucer's translation.) The reason for the symbolism is pithily explained by Fluellen, the

Welshman, in Shakespeare, *Henry V.*, III., 6, 34, "Fortune is painted . . . with a wheel, to signify unto you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and mutability, and variation."

**p. 151, l. 20. the Commentaries of Cæsar :** these are commended in the following words by Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (1531), Book I., ch. xi., "whiche boke is studiously to be radde of the princes of this realme of Englande and their counsailors ; considering that therof maye be taken necessary instructions concernyng the warres agayne Irisshe men or Scottes, who be of the same rudenes and wilde disposition that the Suises and Britons were in the time of Cæsar."

**p. 151, l. 31. as Archimedes was :** according to Livy, *Histories*, XXV., 21, 9, Archimedes was killed during the sack of Syracuse in 212 B.C. by a soldier, who did not know who he was, because he refused to leave a geometrical diagram which he was drawing on sand. Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, 19, 4, on the other hand, says that he was in his study engaged in some mathematical researches when the city fell, and that he was so engrossed in them that he neither heard the noise of battle outside nor knew that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered and ordered him to come with him to the Roman commander. When Archimedes refused to do so till he had finished his problem, the soldier in a passion drew his sword and killed him on the spot. Osorius, *De Regis Institutione : Opera* (Rome. 1592), vol. i., col. 268, uses his fate to illustrate the dangers of overmuch study on the part of the ruler.

**p. 151, l. 34. Mathematickes :** Osorius, *De Regis Institutione : Opera* (Rome. 1592), vol. i., coll. 392-393, approves of a ruler studying both arithmetic and geometry not only in time of war for military purposes ; arithmetic he needs also in time of peace to calculate and count his taxes. Patrizi, *De Regno et Regis Institutione*, ed. of 1582, Book II., ch. xiiij, fol. 82b, had already approved of a prince possessing so much knowledge of arithmetic as not to need always to count on his fingers but thought he should leave the special skill in it to his fiscal officers. Geometry he associates with siege operations and architecture. For the contemporary association of arithmetic with the art of war, cf. Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act i., Sc. 1, ll. 19-20, where Iago complains that there has been preferred to himself for promotion as Othello's lieutenant "A great arithmetician, One Michael Cassio, a Florentine."

**p. 151. Side-notes. Ar. 1. rh :** Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I., 1360a. **Pol 1 :** Polybius, *Histories*, I., 1, 1, says that nothing is better for a man's instruction than a knowledge of the past. **Plut. in Timo :** Plutarch, *Life of Timoleon*, has nothing like anything here, but in the MSS. and the early editions there is prefixed to the *Life of Aemilius Paulus*, which is the *Life* parallel to that of Timoleon, a kind of preface in which Plutarch speaks of trying to fashion his own life in conformity with that of the noble and virtuous men of the past. **Cic. 2. de or :** Cicero, *De Oratore*, II., 15, discusses the task imposed upon himself by the historian. **Sen. ep. 84 :** Seneca, *Epistulæ Morales*, LXXXIV., 1, *Alii lectio ingenium et studio fatigatus*. **Liu. 1. 24 :** this reference



is almost certainly wrong, since it is in *Histories*, XXV., 31, 9, that Livy tells of the manner in which Archimedes met his end; *Histories*, XXIV., 34, is only concerned with his inventive genius. **Plut. in Marc**: see note to p. 151, l. 31. **Pl. 7. de leg**: Plato, *Laws*, VII., 809C, says that everyone ought to learn so much arithmetic as is necessary for the purposes of war.

**p. 153, ll. 11-12. let not this . . . fruites**: this should be in italics, as being a quotation from Scripture.

**p. 153, l. 15. vindictiue**: the use of this word here is earlier by nearly twenty years than the earliest quotation in *O.E.D.* A 'not' would seem to be wanting before it.

**p. 153, l. 17. Magnanimitie**: Magnanimity is an Aristotelean quality, to the nature of which Aristotle devoted *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV., 3, 1123a sqq. James uses it in Aristotle's sense of lofty pride and high self-esteem. The mediæval and Renaissance writers on the education of a prince as a rule devote considerable space to its discussion. One of them, Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum* (Early English Text Society. Extra Series, No. LXXII.), 3900 sqq., identifies it with physical courage.

**p. 153, l. 30. if it fall out that my Wife shall out-liue me**: as seemed very likely in 1598, for when Anne of Denmark married James VI. in November 1589 she was within a month of her fifteenth birthday while her bridegroom was in his twenty-fourth year. But she died in March 1619, six years before James.

**p. 153. Side-notes. Ar. 2. Metaph**: Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, II., has a good deal to say about 'pure' mathematics, but nothing about 'applied' mathematics. **Arist. 4. eth**: see note to p. 153, l. 17. **Sen. de cl**: Seneca, *De Clementia*, I., 20, 3, *Magni animi esse iniurias in summa potentia pati nec quicquam esse gloriosius principe impune læso*. **Cic. 1. off**: Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 25, 84, *Nihil enim laudabilius magno et præclaro viro dignius placabilitate atque clementia*. **Virg. 6. Æn**: Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI., 853, *parcere subiectis*. **Plat. 4. de leg**: Plato, *Laws*, IV., 717C, says that all through his life a son must use reverent language to his parents. **Xen. 2. de dict. & fact. Soc**: Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II., 2, 3-14, gives the views of Socrates on the duties of children to their parents.

**p. 155, l. 12. Beersheba**: in the Authorised Version of the Bible the name of Solomon's mother is given as Bathsheba, and in using this form it follows the Vulgate and the Hebrew texts. The form used by James is that found in the Septuagint, which has Βηρσάβες. It was also doubtless from the same source that Stubbes took the form 'Bersabe' which he uses in his *Anatomy of Abuses* (3rd ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 96. Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum* (Early English Text Society. Extra Series, No. LXXII.), 1747, has also 'bersabe,' but in his case it cannot come from the Septuagint, as that was not known in Western Europe till the early sixteenth century. He probably took it from St Augustine, who uses it at least twice, in his *Contra Faustum Manichæum*:



*Opera* (1616), vol. vi., p. 161F, and in the heading to his *Enarratio in Psalmum L*: *Opera* (1616), vol. viii., p. 174G. **honour your Mother**: cf. Ronsard, *L'Institution pour l'Adolescence de Charles IX.*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain (Paris. 1866), vol. vii., p. 35:—

*Si vous voulez en terre prosperer,  
Vous devez vostre mere humblement honorer.*

**set Beersheba . . . on your right hand**: cf. 1 Kings ii. 19, Bathsheba went unto King Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah. And the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for the king's mother; and she sat on his right hand.

**p. 155, l. 15. Quæ longa, etc.**: cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV., 61, *matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*. Hotman, in his French version of 1603, turns the quotation into French, and then adds, *comme disoit vn poëte Latin en fait pareil*.

**p. 155, l. 17. lairdes**: in his account of the Scottish nobility, Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society. 1888), vol. i., p. 112, equates lairdes and barons, writing that "the fyfte place occupie thay quhome lairdes and barounis we call." The same collocation of 'lords and lairds' is found in Rolland, *The Seuin Seages* (Scottish Text Society. 1932), p. 1, l. 12.

**p. 155, l. 26. in loco Parentum**: this phrase, which goes back to Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, II, 28, is first quoted by O.E.D. in its English use for 1828.

**p. 155, l. 27. gouvernours**: cf. Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (ed. Arber, 1870), p. 48, "Children were vnder the rule of three persones: *Præceptore, Pædagogo, Parente*: the scholemaster taught him learnyng with all ientlenes: the Gouvernour corrected his maners, with moch sharpenesse: the father held the sterne of his whole obedience." Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (1531), Book I., ch. 9, uses 'tutor' and 'governor' as synonymous, "(It shall than be time that) his tutor or gouvernour do make diligent serche for suche a maister as is excellently lerned both in greke and latine."

**p. 155. Side-notes. Xen. 1. & 3. Cyr**: (a) Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 2, 8, says that in Persia boys are taught to obey and respect the officers set over them to train them. (b) Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, III., but the exact reference not identified. **Cic. ad Q. frat**: Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 156, l. 9. lipsius . . . in his constantia**: Lipsius, *De Constantia*, Book I., ch. iv: *Opera* (Lyons. 1613), vol. ii., p. 2, thus defines constancy: *CONSTANTIAM hîc appello RECTUM ET IMMOTVM ANIMI ROBVR, NON ELATI EXTERNIS AVT FORTVITIS NON DEPRESSI*. Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), a celebrated Flemish classical scholar, changed his religion more than once.

**p. 157, l. 9. Christs parable of the two debtours**: see Matthew xviii. 23-35. After this the Latin version of 1619 adds, *quod alijs fecerunt, ipsi sentiant*.

p. 157, l. 11. *invicti animi* : a common Latinism. See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* : *Invictus*.

p. 157, ll. 20-24. *Vse true Liberalitie . . . necessitie* : Liberality is another Aristotelean quality of the *καλὸς καγαθὸς*. Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum* (Early English Text Society. Extra Series, No. LXXII.), 4124-4128, sums up his teaching as follows :—

*Aristotil, of largesse telleth this ;  
Who vertuously large list to be,  
Concider first of what power he is,  
And eke the tymes of necessite ;  
And as þe men disseruen, so be fre.*

p. 157, ll. 25-26. *In speciall empaire not . . . your crowne* : cf. James's *Speech in Parliament*, 1603 : *Workes* (1616), p. 495, "If I had bestowed Lands and Rewards vpon euery man, the fountaine of my liberalitie would be so exhausted and dried, as I would lacke meanes to bee liberall to any man," when excusing himself for not acceding to every request on his arrival in England for rewards in land or places of profit. Cf. also Osorius, *De Regis Institutione : Opera* (Rome. 1592), vol. i., col. 511, *Duplici enim ratione peccant Reges, cum sine modo de Regio patrimonio largiuntur. Primum enim fontem ipsius benignitatis exhauriunt : ita, ut nequeant ij, qui in Regno succedunt, virtutem debitis præmijs ornare.*

p. 157, ll. 28-29. *sacrosanctum & extra commercium* : the source of this tag has not been traced.

p. 157. Side-notes. *Ar. 5. pol* : Aristotle, *Politics*, but the exact reference not identified. *Mat. 18* : see note to p. 157, l. 9. *Ar. 4. æth* : Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV., 3, 18, says that the great-souled man will not rejoice overmuch at prosperity, or grieve overmuch at adversity. *Thuc. 3. 6* : (a) Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, III., chs. 20-23, and chs. 56-68, the behaviour of the Platæans when their city was besieged in 428 B.C. (b) Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, VI., behaviour of Alcibiades. *Cic. 1. Of. & ad. Q. f* : (a) Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 90, *præclara est æquibitas in omni vita et idem semper, vultus eademque frons*. (b) Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified. *Brut. ad Cic* : not identified. *Cic. 1. & 2. Of* : (a) Cicero, *De Officiis* I., 14, 45, in making rewards respect should be had to the circumstances and character of the beneficiary. (b) Cicero, *De Officiis*, II., 15, 52, *Largitio, quæ fit ex re familiari, fontem benignitatis exhaurit*. *Sal. in Jug* : Sallust, *Jugurtha*, but the exact reference has not been identified. *Sen. 4. de ben* : Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, has been described as "a treatment of the morality of giving and receiving—the casuistry of benefaction and gratitude." Nowhere in it does Seneca discuss the distribution of 'honours' in James's, and the modern, sense. The theme of Book IV. is "whether to bestow a benefit and to return gratitude are in themselves desirable ends." *Isoc. ep. 7* : Isocrates, *Letter VII.*, congratulates Timotheus, son of Conon, on the difference between him and his father because he has chosen "rather

to obtain true glory than riches," adding that great riches can only be got tyrannically. **Xen. 8. Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII., 2, 15-19, where Cyrus proves to Cræsus that he is the wealthier of the two, saying that if he makes his friends rich he will have treasures in them. **Phil. Com :** Philip de Comines, *Mémoires*, Book V. (not X.), ch. 19, remarks on the inadvisability of kings overtaking their subjects for their own purposes.

**p. 159, l. 23. dilated :** *O.E.D.* quotes this passage to illustrate both 'DEULATE'—i.e., to inform upon, and 'DILATE'—i.e., to enlarge upon. It can hardly be both, since the two meanings conflict with each other, and is almost certainly the first, which was common in Scots law in the sense of 'to inform upon some one for some offence or fault committed,' which is the meaning required here.

**p. 159, l. 24. a tratler :** the Latin version of 1604 expands this to *istos delatores vaniloquos, maledicos, sussurones, sycophantas, de quibus eleganter in Trinummo suo Plautus.*

**p. 159, l. 28. suspicion is the Tyrants sickness :** James repeated this in *A Speech in Parliament*, 1605 : *Workes* (1616), p. 502, "I euer did hold Suspicion to be the sicknes of a Tyrant."

**p. 159, l. 29. potius in alteram partem peccato :** not traced.

**p. 159, ll. 31-32. But as for suche . . . by foresight :** omitted in the Latin version of 1604.

**p. 159. Side-notes. Ar. 5. pol :** Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1314b, " (The ruler) should be seen to collect taxes and to require public services only for state purposes, and that he may form a fund in case of war " (Oxford trans.). **Iso. ad Ph. in Panath. & de per :** (a) Isocrates, *Philippus*, has nothing like anything here, but cf. Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 28, " Listen to what men say about each other and try to discern at the same time the character of those who speak and of those about whom they speak." (b) Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, has nothing like anything here. (c) Isocrates, *Antidosis* (formerly called *De Permutatione*) reproached the Athenians with having listened to people who had slandered the speaker through envy. **Plut. de curios :** Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, one of the essays in his *Moralia*, deals with the ways of busybodies and the need to beware of them. About the very time when James was composing *Basilicon Doron* Queen Elizabeth in England was translating this very work into very rude alexandrines. It was printed as the second piece in *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, Early English Text Society, No. CXIII. **Is. de pac :** Isocrates, *De Pace*, has nothing like anything James says here. **Cic. 3. Of :** Cicero, *De Officiis*, III., but the exact reference not identified.

**p. 161, ll. 8-10. preasse then to shine . . . of ranke :** cf. Isocrates *Ad Nicoclem*, 11, " As you are above the others in rank so shall you surpass them in virtue " (Loeb trans.).

**p. 161. Side-note. Cic. 3. Tusc :** Cicero, *Tusculans*, III., 1, 2, *Sunt enim ingeniis nostris semina innata virtutum.*

## THE THIRD BOOKE.

p. 163, l. 9. a true olde saying : see note to p. 12, l. 22, above.

p. 163, ll. 18-19. interim patitur iustus : not traced.

p. 163, l. 21. indifferent : for the sense *O.E.D.* quotes Sir Thomas More, *Works* (1556), p. 367, "Those thynges whiche he taketh for indifferent, that is to wit of their nature neither good nor euyl." It is the equivalent of the ἀδιάφορα of Greek writers on ethics.

p. 163. Side-notes. C. ph. 8. 3. de leg : (a) Cicero, *Eighth Philippic*, 10, 29, *Magnum est, personam in Republica tueri principis, qui non animis solum debet, sed oculis servire civium.* (b) Cicero, *De Legibus*, III., 14, 31-32, notes how the example of the upper class is imitated by the rest of the State. Ouid ad Liu : Ovid, *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 351-352, *Ad te oculos auresque trahis, tua facta, notamus, / Nec vox missa potest principis ore tegi.* This poem is not now accepted as a genuine work of Ovid. Quint. 4. decl : Pseudo-Quintilian, *Declamatio*, IV., 2, *Totus oculis animoque conversus.* These declamations are forensic exercises from the schools of oratory, and though attributed to Quintilian as early as the second century, are not now accepted as genuinely his. Ar. 5. pol : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., 1302b, says contempt of the ruler is one cause of revolutions. Plato in Phil. & 9. de leg : (a) Plato, *Philebus*, but the exact reference not identified. (b) Plato, *Laws*, IX., but the exact reference not identified.

p. 165, l. 23. declynying so to . . . vice : i.e., the Aristotelean idea that virtue is a mean between two extremes.

p. 165. Side-note. Xen. in Cyr : Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, VIII., 4, 1-5, describes a banquet given by Cyrus at which there were many guests present. He also in several other places mentions the same thing as a common practice with the Persian kings.

MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 167, l. 5. appius : this is wrong, the correct name being that given in both the Waldegrave prints.

p. 167, l. 13. as young Cyrus did : Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 3, 4, tells how once when Astyages, his grandfather, set many dainty side-dishes and all sorts of sauces before the young Cyrus, saying, "Don't you think this dinner much finer than your Persian dinners?" the latter replied, "No, grandfather. The road to satiety is much more simple and direct in our country than in yours, for bread and water take us there."

p. 167, l. 19. their cheere : the Latin version of 1619 has for this, *cibis nempe parabilibus et e medio sumptis.*

p. 167, l. 27. Apicius : this was M. Gavius Apicius, a Roman epicure who flourished in the reign of Tiberius.

p. 167, l. 29. Philoxenus . . . a Crane-craig : this was Philoxenus of Eryxis, now regarded as identical with Philoxenus of Leuca, a glutton in ancient Greece, of whom Athenæus, *Deipnosophists*, I.,



6b, says, that seeming to find fault with nature's provision for the enjoyment of food, he prayed that he might have the neck of a crane. (Loeb ed., vol. i., p. 24.)

**p. 167, ll. 31-32. optimū condimētum fames :** this seems to be James's version of Cicero, *De Finibus*, II., 28, 90, *cibi condimentum esse fames*. Dio Chrysostom, *Sixth Discourse*, ch. 12, says that Diogenes the Cynic considered hunger the best appetiser. The side-notes refer to a similar opinion held by Socrates. The Scottish proverb, "Hunger is good kitchen," is first found in Ferguson, *Scottish Proverbs* (Scottish Text Society. 1924), p. 39.

**p. 167. Side-notes. Xen. 1. Cyr :** see note to p. 167, l. 13, above. **Plut. in Apoth :** Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* (*Moralia*, Loeb ed. vol. iii., p. 252), 210A, says that Agesilaus always refrained from overeating and heavy drinking. **Sen. ep. 96 :** Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, XCV. (not XCVI.), 42, tells how Apicius was once outbid by another gourmand at the sale of a monstrous mullet which had been presented to Tiberius, who, however, did not want it. There is nothing about Apicius in Ep. XCVI. **Sen. de consol. ad Alb :** Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam*, 10, 8-10, tells the story of the last debauch of Apicius. 'ad Alb.' is a mistake; none of Seneca's works has in its title anything resembling this. **Iuuen. sat. 2 :** Juvenal, *Satires*, 4 (not 2), 23, *Multa videmus/Quæ miser et frugi non fecit Apicius*. **Arist. 4. eth :** Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, has nowhere any mention of Philoxenus, nor anything relevant to what James has written unless the discussion of Debauchery in Book IV., 1, 35. **Xen. de dict. & fact. Socr :** Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I., 3, 5, says that Socrates was so ready for his food that he found appetite the best sauce. **Laert. in Socr :** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, II., 5, 27, says that Socrates declared that the pleasantest eating was that which had no need of seasoning.

**p. 169, l. 11. namelie :** for this obsolete sense of the word, cf. *Legends of the Saints* (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1896), p. 157, ll. 257-259 :—

(He) be his appostolis commonly,  
& be this Iames maste namely,  
gert preching be to thame mad.

Cf. also Sir David Lyndsay, *The Complaynt*, 61-64 :—

Gredie men that ar delygent  
Rycht oft obtenis thare intent,  
And failzeis nocht to conqueis landis  
And namelye at zoung Prencis handis.

(Works, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 41.)

**p. 169. Side-notes. Cic. 5. Tus :** Cicero, *Tusculans*, V., 34, 97, *Socratem ferunt, cum usque ad vesperum contentius ambularet quæsitumque esset ex eo qua re id faceret, respondisse se quo melius cenaret, opsonare ambulando famem*. **Plat. 6. de Leg :** Plato, *Laws*, VI., 775B, says that drinking is a practice which is nowhere seemly. **Plin. 1. 14 :**

Pliny, *Natural History*, XIV., ch. 7, says that if Alexander the Great had observed moderation in drinking he would never have slain his friends when in his cups. **Cic. 1. off** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 35, 129, *Duo maxime sunt fugienda, ne quid effeminatum aut molle et ne quid durum aut rusticum sit.* **Pla. 7. de leg** : Plato, *Laws*, VII., but the exact reference not identified. **Pla. 6. de leg** : Plato, *Laws*, VI., but the exact reference not identified.

**p. 171, l. 20. proclaimed at the mercate crosse** : Hotman's French version of 1603 renders this by *quand elles seront redites en la basse cour, ou publiées en plein carrefour.*

**p. 171, ll. 23-25. all Prophecies . . . ceased in Christ** : James twice elsewhere refers to this belief, in his *Dæmonologie*, Book III., ch. 2 : *Workes* (1616), p. 127, " All we that are Christians, ought assuredly to know, that since the comming of Christ in the flesh, and establishing of his Church by the Apostles, al miracles, visions, prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good spirits, are ceased " ; and in *A Speech at Whitehall*, 1609 : *Workes* (1616), p. 530, " Euen as God, during the time of the olde Testament, spake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles ; yet how soone it pleased him to setle a Church which was bought, and redeemed by the blood of his onely Sonne Christ, then was there a cessation of both." To English readers the best-known statement of the belief is that in Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 173-196 :—

*The oracles are dumb ;  
No voice or hideous hum  
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.  
Apollo from his shrine  
Can no more divine,  
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.  
No nightly trance or breathed spell  
Inspires the pale-ey'd priest from the prophetic cell.*

*The lonely mountains o'er  
And the resounding shore,  
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament ;  
From haunted spring, and dale  
Edg'd with poplar pale,  
The parting Genius is with sighing sent ;  
With flower-inwoven tresses torn  
The Nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.*

*In consecrated earth,  
And on the holy hearth,  
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint ;  
In urns and altars round,  
A drear and dying sound  
Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint ;  
And the chill marble seems to sweat  
While each particular power forgoes his wonted seat.*

In his Gloss on l. 54 of the Eclogue for May in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, E. K. gives the following explanation for the belief: "Plutarch, in his booke of the ceasing of oracles, sayth, that about the same time, that our Lord suffered his most bitter passion, for the redemption of man, certain passengers sayling from Italy to Cyprus and passing by certain Iles called Paxæ, heard a voyce calling alowde Thamus Thamus, (now Thamus was the name of an Ægyptian, which was Pilote of the ship,) who, giuing eare to the cry, was bidden, when he came to Palodes, to tel, that the great Pan was dead; which he doubting to doe, yet for that when he came to Palodes, there sodeinly was such a calme of winde, that the shippe stooode still in the sea vnmoued, he was forced to cry alowd, that Pan was dead: wherewithall there was heard suche piteous outcrides and dreadfull shrieking, as hath not bene the like. By which Pan, though of some be vnderstoode the great Sathanas, whose kingdome at that time was by Christ conquered, the gates of hell broken vp, and death by death deliuered to eternall death (for at that time, as he sayth, all Oracles surceased, and enchanted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace)." Plutarch puts the incident in the reign of Tiberius. Milton followed a later legend which assigned it to the morning of Christ's birth. James seems to incline to the same form of the legend as Milton used. Kastner and Charlton, *Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander* (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1929), p. 574, state that the belief is first found definitely stated in the *Apotheosis* of Prudentius, the Christian poet who flourished about 400 A.D.

**p. 171, l. 32.** Be also moderate in . . . rayment: cf. Ronsard, *L'Institution pour l'Adolescence de Charles IX.*, in *Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain (Paris. 1866), vol. vii., p. 38:—

*Ne vous monstrez jamais pompeusement vestu.*

**p. 171. Side-notes.** **Val. 2:** Valerius Maximus, *De Factis Dictisque Memorabilibus*, II., 2, 1, *Adeo magna caritate patrias omnes tenebantur, ut arcana consilia Patrum Conscriptorum multis seculis nemo senator enuntiavit.* **Cur. 4:** Quintus Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*, Book IV., but the exact reference not identified. **Pla. 6. de leg:** Plato, *Laws*, VI., but the exact reference not identified. **Rom. 14: Tit. 1:** the first of these two Scriptural references is correct for the form in which the New Testament quotation is given in *MS Royal 18. B. xv* and in the Waldegrave print of 1599; the second is correct for its form in the Waldegrave print of 1603. **Iso. de reg:** Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 32, advises Nicocles to be sumptuous in his dress and in his personal adornment. Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisue Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 58a, refers to this same passage in his remarks about a king's clothes.

**p. 173, l. 14.** ouer lightly, like a Candie-souldier: cf. Lithgow, *Rare Adventures* (1632, reprint of 1906), p. 81, "(The Greeks of Crete) are not costly in apparell, for they weare but linnen cloathes." Hotman, in his French version of 1603, renders his text here by *bigarré comme vn gendarme esuenté*—i.e., clad in motley like a scatterbrain.

p. 173, l. 18. **Paludatos** : *i.e.*, like persons wearing the *paludamentum*, the Roman name for the cloak worn by their generals in the field. *Palliatos*, the form both in *MS Royal 18. B. xv.* and in the earlier print, is wrong ; it means merely people wearing a cloak of Greek style.

p. 173, ll. 23-24. a King is not merè laicus : cf. what James said in *A Paterne of a Kings Inauguration : Workes* (1620), p. 611, "Kings, as GODS Deputie-iudges vpon earth, sit in thrones, clad with long robes, not as laikes and simply *togati*, but as *mixtæ personæ*."

p. 173, l. 24. **Papistes and Anabaptistes** : on the similarity of views on the nature of kingship between the extreme Protestant sects on the one hand and those of the extreme Catholics on the other, see M'Ilwain, *Political Works of James I.* (1918), pp. xvi-xxxiii.

p. 173, ll. 26-30. the purpose of garments . . . colde : cf. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (3rd ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 20, "Our apparell was giuen vs of God to couer our shame, to keepe our bodies from cold, and to be as pricks in our eyes to put vs in mind of our miseries, frailties, imperfections, and sin."

p. 173. Side-notes. **Cic. 1. Of** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 36, 130, enjoins propriety of dress. **Pl. de reg** : the alternative title to the *Politicus* of Plato in the Stephanus edition of his works, the standard one in the sixteenth century, was *De Regno*, but it has nothing like anything here.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 174, l. 2. balopls** : for this word *O.E.D.* has only 'Ballup,' with a quotation dated *c.* 1600, from a popular ballad on Robin Hood, and defines it from Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, as "the front or flap of the small clothes." The editor of the Roxburghe Club reprint of the 1599 Waldegrave print of *Basilicon Doron* connected it with 'Ballock,' a dialectal word for a testicle, and identified with the "cod-piece of Elizabethan times, which was a bagged appendage, often conspicuous and ornamented, to the front of the close-fitting small-clothes, or breeches, worn by men at that time."

p. 175, l. 11. **vn-decent formes in the cloathes** : these are frequently condemned in sixteenth-century writings—*e.g.*, Heresbach, *De Educandis Erudiendisq; Principum Liberis* (1570), fol. 59a, *Adde in Dei & naturæ leges peccari, quæ vsum vestium ad legendum tantum honeste concesserunt, & ad frigus arcendum, eam nos ad fastum & partes corporis parum pudicas ostendendum prostituimus*, and Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (3rd ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 20, "The Lorde pitying their miserie, and loathing their deformitie, gaue them peltes, felles, and skins of beastes to make them garments withal, to the end that their shamefull partes might lesse appeare ; yet some are so brasen faced, and so impudent, that, to make the deuill and his members sport, will not sticke to make open shewe of those partes which God commandeth to be couered."



MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 175, l. 10-p. 176, l. 1. *as cæsar said de compto iuvene* : the reference seems to be to Plutarch, *Life of Cæsar*, 62, 5, which appears in Sir Thomas North's translation as follows : " When Cæsars frendes complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella that they pretended some mischiefe towards him : he aunswered them againe, As for those fatte men and smooth comed heades quoth he, I neuer reckon of them " (Tudor Translations (1896), vol. v., p. 64). Plutarch tells the same story again in his *Apophthegmata Romanorum* (*Moralia*, Loeb ed., vol. iii., p. 206), 206F.

p. 175, l. 19. *patiens alioris & æstus* : not traced. The usual antithesis in classical writers to *æstus* is *frigus*, not *algor*, which is a comparatively rare word. Cf. Virgil, *Catalepton*, 13, 3, *Ferre durum frigus aut æstum pati*. For the form of James's phrase, cf. Horace, *Odes*, I., 8, 4, *Patiens pulveris atque solis*. Cicero, *Catalinarian Orations*, I., 10, 26, refers to Cataline's *patentia frigoris*, and Sallust, *Catalina*, 5, 3, speaks of his *corpus patiens alioris*.

p. 175, l. 23. *metus addit alas* : based on Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII., 224, *Pedibus timor addidit alas*.

p. 175. Side-notes. Cic. 1. Of : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 40, 142, discusses seasonableness of behaviour, but does not mention dress. Ar. ad Alex : Aristotle, *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 1420a, " Just as you are desirous to have more splendid raiment than other men, so ought you to strive to a more glorious skill in speech than other men possess " (Oxford trans.).

p. 177, l. 10. *compti iuvenes* : cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, IV., 75, *Sint procul a nobis iuvenes ut femina compti*.

p. 177, ll. 24-25. *traiterous offensiue weapons, forbidden by the lawes* : the main Act was that passed by the Scottish Parliament in December 1567, which says, " Forsamekle as the vse of culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, and sic vther ingynges of fyre wark, ar not onlie of the louabill constitutiounis of this Realme in slaying of wylde beistis and foulis forbiddin, but als diuers of our Souerane Lordis liegis ar schamefullie, and cruellie murthourit, slaine, and hurt . . . for eschewing and remeid thair of in tyme cuming, it is statute and ordanit be our Souerane Lord, with auise and consent of my Lord Regent, and thre Estatis of this present Parliament, that na maner of person, nor personis of quhatsumeuer estate, degre, or conditioun thay be of, schuit with culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, or ony vther gunnis, or ingyngis of fyre wark in ony pairt of this Realme . . . vnder the paine of cutting of thair rycht hand. And siclyke that na maner of person, nor personis, of quhatsumeuer estate, conditioun, or degre thay be of, beir, weir, or vse ony culueringis, daggis, pistolettis, or ony vther sic ingynges of fyre wark, vpon thair personis, or in thair company with thame priuatlie, or oppinlie, outwith housis, without licence of our Souerane Lord and my Lord Regent had, and obtenit thairvpon, vnder the paine fairsaid "

(*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 29). This Act was re-enacted in 1573, 1579, and 1597. By the last of these years the penalty for non-observance had become a fine of £10 and confiscation of all the offender's goods, half to go to the Crown and half to the "Apprehendar for his trauell and laboris." In June 1598 James VI. promised to enforce more strictly the Acts against the wearing and using of firearms (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 164). The carrying and using of firearms was frequently before the Privy Council. One of its Acts, of date 20th January 1597-98 prohibited the making of firearms less than an ell long, and forbade on pain of death the repairing of dags and pistols (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1592-1599, p. 438).

**p. 177, l. 32. glaunsing in their enemies eies :** this seems a somewhat naïve view to take of the purpose of armour.

**p. 179, l. 16. for answeare :** the only argument, James means, that can be found for the wearing of firearms is that they have always been worn ; but, he points out, if a custom once established were never to be altered or abandoned, the Mass would still be said in Scotland.

**p. 179, l. 19. the olde Masse :** the Latin version of 1619 calls it *nugamentum Missæ*. For Hotman's French rendering, see Introduction, pp. 33-37, above.

**p. 179, l. 27. Rien contre-faict fin :** *i.e.*, nothing counterfeit has any value.

**p. 179, ll. 29-31. eschewing both the extremities . . . inke-horne tearmes :** cf. Castiglione, *The Booke of the Courtier*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (Tudor Translations. 1899), p. 369, advises the courtier, "To speake and write the language that is most in use emonge the commune people, without inventing new woordes, inckhorn tearmes or straunge phrases, and such as be growen out of use by long time."

**p. 179, l. 31. pen and inke-horne tearmes :** this was the common Elizabethan name for the borrowings from Latin which were then being introduced into the English language in very great numbers. They are defined by Puttenham, *Art of English Poesie* (1589), Book III., ch. iv., as "inkhorne termes so ill affected brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoole-masters . . . darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in court" (Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (1904), vol. ii., p. 151). Examples of them given by Gabriel Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation* (1593), are, "Decrepite capacitie, fictionate person, humour vnconuersable, merri-ments vnexilable, the horrissonant pipe of inueterate antiquitie" (Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 275). Gascoigne's advice in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1575) is that "the more monasyllables that you vse the truer Englishman you shall seeme, and the lesse you shall smell of the Inkehorne" (Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 51). The editor of *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. i., p. 360, says that the

term was perhaps established by Wilson by his use of it in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, published in 1553, though it is found earlier.

p. 179, l. 32. **mignarde & effœminate tearmes**: Habakkuk Bisset, *Rolment of Courtis* (Scottish Text Society. 1920), vol. i., p. 77, describes his prose style in the following terms, "Nor have I used Minȝearde nor effeminate, tantting Invective." This work was written about 1622.

p. 179, l. 32-p. 181, l. 13. **let the greatest parte . . . of the time**: with this advice compare that given by Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Book II., ch. 2, "Thre thinges be required to be in the oration of a man hauyng autoritie: that it be compendious, sententious, and delectable, hauyng also respecte to the tyme whan, the place where, and the persones to whom it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or tyme of solace, be nat commendable in tyme of consultation or seruice of god. That langage that in the chamber is tollerable, in place of iugement or great assembly is nothing commendable."

p. 179. **Side-notes. Ar. 3. ad Theod**: Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III., 1403b, says that delivery greatly affects the success of a speech. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was at one time identified with his lost *Theodectea*. **Cic. in or. ad Q. fr. & ad Br**: (a) Cicero, *De Oratore*, III., 59, 221, *Est actio quasi sermo corporis*. (b) Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified. Cf., however, Cicero, *De Oratore*, III., 59, 222, *est actio quasi sermo corporis*. The *De Oratore* was dedicated to the orator's brother, Quintus. (c) Cicero, *Orator*, 17, 56, *Non sine causa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias actioni*, and 17, 55, *Est enim actio quasi quædam eloquentia*. **Cic. 1. Of**: Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 1, 3, speaks of *æquabile et temperatum orationis genus*. **Id. eod**: see note to preceding reference. **Id. ad Q. frat. & ad Brut**: (a) Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified. Cf., however, Cicero, *De Oratore*, I., 32, 144, *præcipitur primum, ut pure et latine loquamur: deinde et plane et dilucide*. The *De Oratore* was dedicated to the orator's brother, Quintus. (b) Cicero, *Orator*, 21, 71, *Semper in omni parte orationis quid deceat est considerandum; quod et in re de qua agitur positum est et in personis eorum qui audiunt*.

p. 181, ll. 13-15. **not taunting . . . as ouer manie doe**: Hotman's French version of 1603 translates this by *vous gardant d'alleguer les mots & textes de l'escriture sainte en sornettes, ou de la profaner en vos propos de table*, and the Latin one of 1604 by *Neque dicteria e Theologicis petenda, uel sacræ literæ in commensationibus & compotionibus, . . . ad scurriles iocos, & facetias prophane detorquendæ sunt*. For 'taunting' is the sense of 'jesting.' Cf. Ninian Winzet, *Certaine Tractates* (Scottish Text Society. 1888), vol. i., p. 57, "The erroneous assault me with tainting and mockrie."

p. 181, l. 18. **a new-com-ouer Cavalier**: Hotman's French version of 1603 has *rodomont*—i.e., a braggadoccio, from Rodemonte, the boastful Saracen leader in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

**p. 181, l. 22. prodigal in jowking . . . step :** Shakespeare, *King Richard II.*, I., 4, 23-36, makes the king criticise Bolingbroke, by whom he was later deposed, on these very grounds :—

" Ourself and Bushy, Bagot here and Green  
Observed his courtship to the common people ;  
How he did seem to dive into their hearts  
With humble and familiar courtesy,  
What reverence he did throw away on slaves,  
Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles  
And patient underbearing of his fortune,  
As 'twere to banish their affects with him.  
Off goes his bonnet to an oyster wench ;  
A brace of draymen bid God speed him well,  
And had the tribute of his supple knee,  
With ' Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends : '  
As were our England in reversion his,  
And he our subjects' next degree in hope."

The First Quarto of this play was published in 1597 and the Second in 1598.

**p. 181, l. 23. aspiring Absalons :** of Absalom it is said in 2 Samuel xv. 5, And it was so, that when any man came nigh to him to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him, and kissed him.

**p. 181. Side-notes. Id. 1. Of :** Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 36, 130, enjoins the need for propriety in dress. **Phil. ad Alex :** not identified. **Cic. 2. Of :** Cicero, *De Officiis*, II., has nothing like anything here, but cf. *De Officiis*, I., 40, 142, where moderation is defined as *scientia earum rerum, quæ agentur et dicuntur, loco suo collocandarum*, but without illustration. **Arist. 4. Æth :** Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV., 6, 9, defines the obsequious man as he who is pleasant to all for an ulterior motive. **Cic. ad At :** Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, but not identified. **Is. de reg. & in Euag :** (a) Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, but the exact reference not identified. (b) Isocrates, *Euagoras*, 10, " Orators are obliged to speak plainly." (Loeb trans.).

**p. 183, l. 16. stooode awe of :** cf. Sir David Lyndsay, *The Testament of the Papyngo*, 537-538 :—

Than rang so mony Inobedientis  
That few or none stude of ane vther aw.

Cf. also Lauder, *The Office and Dewtie of Kingis*, 415-418 :—

This Iuge . . .  
Knewis nocht god, nor zit his law ;  
And so of hym he stands no aw.  
(E.E.T.S., No. 3 (1864), p. 15.)

For the origin of the phrase see *O.E.D.* : AWE, sb, 4, a.



p. 183, l. 27. **fra it be giuen forth** : cf. James's own *Speech in the Star-Chamber*, 1616 : *Workes* (1616), p. 561, " I hold this Paradoxe to bee a good rule in Gouvernment, that it is better for a King to maintain an uniust Decree, then to question euery Decree and Iudgement, after the giuing of a sentence, for then Suites shall neuer haue end."

p. 183. **Side-notes.** **Cic. 3. Of** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, III., but the exact reference not identified. **Id. 1. Of** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 37, 132, enjoins propriety of speech, but distinguishes between forensic oratory and conversation only. **Is. ad Nic** : Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 18, " Let your verdicts on the same issue be always the same " (Loeb trans.). **Cic. ad Q. fr** : Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified.

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 185, l. 5. censure** : this is the French *censeur*, not the Latin *ensor*. It is used of James himself by Hudson, *Historie of Judith* (Scottish Text Society. 1941), p. 4, " So sharp & clear-eied a censure."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 185, l. 6. antequam ultimam adhibeas manum** : not traced. Cf. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 118, *Carmen nondum recepit ultimam manum*. Latin writers also use *extremamanus* and *summa manus* in the same sense, as the ' finishing touch.'

p. 185, l. 12. **engine** : cf. Leslie, *Historie of Scotland*, trans. Dalrymple (Scottish Text Society), vol. ii. (1895), p. 179, " A special takne of his ingine was in translateng the Æneids of Virgil in Scotis."

p. 185, ll. 16-19. **before they be set forth . . . medle with** : cf. Ronsard, *Abbrégé de l'Art Poétique* (1565), in *Œuvres*, ed. Blanchemain (Paris, 1856), vol. vii., p. 319, *Tu converseras doucement et honnestement avec les Poëtes de ton temps, et leur communiqueras tes escrits : car tu ne dois jamais rien mettre en lumière qui n'ait premierement esté veu et reueu de tes amis que tu estimeras les plus experts en ce mestier.*

p. 185, l. 23. **Nonumque premantur in annum** : cf. Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 386-389 :—

*Si quid tamen olim  
Scripseris, in Mæci descendat iudicis aures  
Et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,  
Membranæ intus positæ.*

p. 185, ll. 24-25. **letting first . . . coole at leasure** : this is an interesting foreshadowing of the Wordsworthian definition of Poetry as " Emotion recollected in tranquillity."

p. 185, l. 27. **quia nescit vox missa reuerti** : this is the second half of Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, l. 390, except that ' quia ' is an addition by James.

p. 185. **Side-notes.** **Cic. I. Of** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 41, 147, *Pictores et ii, qui signa fabricantur, et vero etiam poetæ suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult, ut, si quid reprehensum sit, a pluribus, id corrigatur.* **De arte Poetica** : see note to p. 185, l. 27, above. **Id eod** : see note to p. 185, l. 27, above.

**p. 187, ll. 10-16. It is not the principall . . . in prose :** with the view here expressed as to the nature of poetry, cf. Sir William Alexander, *Anacrisis*, "Language is but the Apparell of Poesy, which may give Beauty, but not Strength: and when I censure any Poet, I first dissolve the general Contexture of his Work in several Pieces, to see what Sinews it hath, and to mark what will remain behind, when that external Gorgeousness, consisting in the Choice or Placing of Words, as if it would bribe the Ear to corrupt the Judgment is first removed, or at least only marshalled in its own Degree" (Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (1908), vol. i., p. 182). Both James and Alexander are taking the side of Castelvetro and Minturno in the dispute which raged among Renaissance critics on the nature of poetry. These two were the most influential of those who held, as against Scaliger on the other side, that verse was not to be reckoned as the essence of poetry. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (ed. Churton Collins. 1907), p. 12, was on the same side: "Poets have apparelled their poetickall inuentions in that numbrous kinde of writing which is called verse, indeed but apparelled, verse being but an ornament and no cause to Poetry, sith there haue beene many most excellent Poets that neuer versified."

**p. 187, l. 25. exercises of the bodie :** from Cornwallis, *The Life and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales* (ed. of 1641), p. 7, we learn that Prince Henry had a natural aptitude for all manner of athletic exercises: "In the 7. 8. and 9. yeares of his Age, leauing those Childish and idle toyes, usuall to all of his yeares, he began to delight in more active and manly exercises, learning to Ride, Sing, Dance, Leape, Shoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to tosse his Pike, &c. Wherof all these things in young yeares to the admiration of all he did wonderfully performe."

**p. 187, l. 31. idlenesse (the mother of all vice) :** cf. Dionysius Cato, *Disticha de Moribus*, I., 2, *Diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat*. So Rolland, *Court of Venus* (Scottish Text Society. 1884), Prol., 235-236,

*Idilnes is Mother Radycall  
Of all viciis, and font originall.*

**p. 187. Side-notes. Ar. de art. poet :** Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica*, 1450b, "Diction, by which I mean the expression of our meaning in words; and its essence is the same both in verse and prose" (trans. Bywater). **Xē 1. Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 6, 17, "I work off by exercise what I have eaten, for by doing so health seems far more likely to endure and strength to accrue" (Loeb trans.). **Plat. 6. de leg :** Plato, *Laws*, VII. (not VI.), 828A-834E, deals with games in detail. In *Laws*, VII., 796, Plato approves of wrestling. **Ar. 7. & 8. pol :** (a) Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., has nothing like anything on this page. (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII., 1337b-1338b, praises gymnastic exercises for the way in which they infuse courage and promote health and strength. **Cic. 1. Of :** Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 23, 79, *Exercendum tamen corpus et ita officiendum est, ut obædire consilio rationique possit, in exsequendo negotiis et in labore tolerando.*

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 189, l. 8. greuhunde :** *O.E.D.* says that this form is "app. an etymologising alteration (as if meaning 'Greek hound') of GREUND," which itself is said to be "app. a contracted form of M.E. *grehund*, GREYHOUND."

**p. 189, l. 12. the foot-ball :** the Latin version of 1619 renders this by *pilam Scoticam, quæ pede propellitur*. But Hotman's French version of 1603 adds after it, *jeu fort commun en cette isle*. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Book I., ch. 27, had already said that "Foote balle is nothings but beastly furie and exstreme violence; wherof procedeth hurte, and consequently rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded; wherfore it is to be put in perpetuall silence." Fifty years later Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (third ed., 1585. ed. of 1836), pp. 220-221, had enlarged on the same theme: "Footeball playing, I protest vnto you, maie rather bee called a freendly kynde of fight then a plaie or recreation, a bloudie and murtheryng practise, then a fellowlie sporte or pastime. For, dooeth not euery one lye in waite for his aduersarie, seekyng to ouerthrowe hym, and to picke him on his nose, though it bee vpon hard stones, in ditche or dale, in valley or hill, or what place so euer it bee, he careth not, so he maie haue him downe? And he that can serue the moste of this fashion, he is counted the onely fellowe, and who but he? So that by this meanes, sometymes their neckes are broken, sometymes their backes, sometymes their legges, sometime their armes, sometye one parte thrust out of ioynte, sometye an other, sometye their noses gush out with bloud, sometye their eyes starte out; and sometymes hurt in one place, sometymes in an other. But who so euer scapeth awaie the best goeth not scot-free, but is either sore wounded and bruized, so as he dieth of it, or els scapeth very hardlie; And no meruaile, for they haue sleighes to meete one betwixte twoo, to dashe hym against the harte with their elbowes, to hitte hym vnder the shorte ribbes with their griped fistes, and with their knees, to catche him vpon the hip, and to picke him on his necke; with an hundred suche murdering deuises." To judge by two passages in the *Maitland Folio* there is no reason to believe that the game, as played in Scotland, was any more gentle than the English form of it:—

*Brissit brawnīs and brokin hanīs  
Stryf discorde and waistie wanīs  
Cruikit in eild syn halt with all  
Thir are the bewteis of the fute bale.*

(Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1919), p. 242.

*Young men cwmis fra ye grene  
At ye futball playing had bene  
with brokin spald.*

(Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1919), p. 330.

The *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1599-1604, p. 262, contains the record of a case heard on 18th June 1601 between certain parties who, while playing at football in Lochton in the Merse, "fell in contentioun and contraversie, ilk ane with utheris, and schot and



dilaschit pistolettis and hacquebuttis." The plaintiffs appeared and were assolized, but the defendants failed to show up. Three Acts were passed against it by the Scottish Parliament in the fifteenth century. By the first, passed in 1424, it was "statut and the king forbiddis that na man play at the fut ball vndir the payne of iiijd" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 5). By the second, passed in 1457, it was decreed that wapinschaws should be held four times a year, and that "the fut ball and the golf be vtterly cryit doune and nocht vsyt" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 48). The third of them was passed in 1491 and, after enumerating the weapons of war to be possessed by the various ranks and classes in the country, ordered that "In na place of the Realme be vsit fut bawis gouff or vthir sic vnprofitable sportis" (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 226). For an account of the game in Scotland, see Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland* (Paisley. 1891), pp. 144-149.

**p. 189, l. 14. tumbling trickes :** in July 1598 a tight-rope dancer visited Edinburgh and performed on a rope stretched from the top of St Giles' steeple to a stair below the Mercat Cross. For this he received payments both from the Burgh Treasurer and from the Royal Exchequer, but the Presbytery of Edinburgh ordered the ministers of the capital to rebuke the magistrates of the town "for suffering sic spectacles in thair citie." At Falkland in August 1600 James Melville, *Diary* (Wodrow Society. 1842), p. 487, saw a "funambulus play strang and incredible prattiks upon stented takell in the Palace-clos" before the King, Queen, and Court, which, he says, "was politikkie done to mitigat the Quein and peiple for Gowries slaughter" (see Dr A. J. Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Publications, XXIV. 1927), pp. 297-298). Castiglione, *The Booke of the Courtyer*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (Tudor Translations. 1899), p. 55, also condemns them: "If our Courtyer then be taught these exercises more then indifferently well, I beleve he may set a syde tumblyng, clymyng upon a corde, and suche other matters that taste somewhat of jugglers crafts and doe lytle beseeme a Gentleman."

**p. 189, ll. 15-21.** With the catalogue of sports and exercises given in these lines, cf. Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (ed. Ascham. 1870), p. 64, "To ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: to vault lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunninggly: to Hawke: to hunte: to playe at tennes . . . be not onelie cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie for a Courtlie Ientleman to vse."

**p. 189, l. 17. wrastling :** Castiglione, *The Booke of the Courtyer*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (Tudor Translations. 1899), p. 115, commends wrestling, but says that a Gentleman should never wrestle with those of lower rank than himself unless he is sure of being the victor. Osorius, *De Regis Institutione: Opera* (Rome. 1592), vol. i., col. 279, condemns wrestling as beneath the dignity of a prince because he will be despised by whoever wrestles with him and throws him: *Tu fortasse pulcrum censes, Regem suorum manibus vexari, & corporis etiam totius nixu premi,*



*& contorqueri, atque postremo in terram proijci. Quod quidem non solum indignum est, sed etiam assuefacit quemuis hominem nobilem, Regem contemnere, quem prostravit.*

**p. 189, l. 18. the caitche :** the old Scots name for tennis, which was also called 'cachespelle' or 'cachepule.' There still exists at Falkland Palace in Fife a 'cachepule' court constructed in 1538. See Fittis, *Sports and Pastimes of Scotland* (Paisley. 1891), pp. 207-208.

**p. 189, l. 24. as Philip saide of great Alexander :** Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 6, 5, the remark made by Philip of Macedon after Alexander had subdued the hitherto untamable steed, Bucephalus.

**p. 189, l. 27. the tilt, the ring :** after these words the Latin version of 1619 adds 'vt hastæ,' to balance 'of your sworde,' since it was not that weapon but a spear that was used in them. **the tilt :** this was a sport which consisted in riding with a lance at a mark such as the quintain, which was often a revolving figure or a bar weighted with a sand-bag which swung round and hit the unskilful tilter. **the ring :** in this sport competitors galloped singly, spear in hand, towards a ring suspended from a transverse beam fastened to a pole and hanging at a level slightly above that of their heads. The aim was to carry off the ring on the point of the spear, and each contestant was allowed three courses in succession. It will be remembered that the "bonnie Earl of Murray" whom the Earl of Huntly killed in circumstances of great barbarity at Donibristle near North Queensferry in Fife in 1592, and whom popular report made over-friendly with Queen Anne, was famous for his skill in riding at the ring.

**p. 189, l. 27. for handling of your sworde :** it is at this point that the Latin version of 1604 introduces the mention of the weapon, omitted from James's own text, used in the tilt and at the ring, rendering the last five words of the paragraph by *nec tam eminus hasta, quam cominus etiam gladio depugnare discas.*

**p. 189, l. 29. hunting :** on James's own passion for hunting, cf. *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. M'Clure (1939), vol. i., p. 201, "The Kinge went to Roiston two dayes after Twelfetide, where and thereabout he hath continued ever since, and findes such felicitie in that hunting life that he hath written to the counsaile that yt is the only meanes to maintain his health (which being the health and welfare of us all) he desires them to undertake the charge and burden of affaires, and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much busines." Cf. also Osborne, *Traditional Memoires of James I.* : "He dedicated rainy weather to his Standish, and faire to his houndes" (from *The Secret History of the Court of James I.* (1811), vol. i., p. 168). Not everybody thought so highly of hunting as James did. Thus, in More's *Utopia* the Utopians are said to "counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie," and also to "determine it to have no affinitie with trew and right pleasure" (Everyman ed., p. 77). So Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Section 2, Memb.

4, writes, " Paulus Jovius, *Descr. Brit.* doth in some sort tax our English nobility for it, for living in the country so much, and too frequent use of it, as if they had no other means but Hawking and Hunting to approve themselves Gentlemen with " (ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. ii., p. 83).

**p. 189, l. 29. running houndes :** *O.E.D.* defines these as hunting dogs for running down game ; its last quotation for the name is taken from Gavin Douglas's *Æneid* (1513). At this point the 1604 Latin version of *Basilicon Doron* has a marginal note. *Canes odori & sagaces*, which suggests that James's ' running houndes ' are to be identified with the type of hunting dog called ' Leviner,' or ' Lyemmer,' by Abraham Fleming, *Caius : Of English Dogs* (1576), which is there described as being " in smelling singular, and in swiftnes incomparable," and of " a middle kind betwixt the Harrier and the Greyhound " (Arber, *An English Garland* (1880), vol. iii., p. 239). A passing remark in Fleming's book is not without interest as a comment on James's recommendation of hunting to his son. He writes : " We Englishmen are addicted and given to that exercise, and painful pastime of pleasure ; as well for the plenty of flesh which our parks and forests do foster, as also for the opportunity and convenient leisure which we obtain. Both which the Scots want " (Arber, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 232).

**p. 189, ll. 31-32. it is a theeuishe forme . . . and bowes :** killing game with firearms was forbidden by several Scottish statutes. The principal ones were those passed in 1551, 1567, and 1594. The first of these imposed the death penalty with confiscation of the offender's goods, the second reduced the penalty to forfeiture of goods only, and the third provided for a fine of one hundred pounds (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 483 ; vol. iii., p. 26 ; vol. iv., p. 67). **theeuishe :** the rendering of this word in Hotman's French version of 1603 is, *c'est à faire à ceux qui chassent de nuits & à la derobee*.

**p. 189, ll. 32-33. grey-hound hunting is not . . . a game :** Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Book I., ch. 18, says, " Huntynge of the hare with grehoundes is a righte good solace for men that be studiouse, or them to whom nature hath nat gyuen personage or courage apte for the warres."

**p. 189, l. 34. Xenophon :** the Greek author, Xenophon, wrote a book on hunting which he called *Cynegetica*.

**p. 189. Side-notes. Pl. eod :** Plato, *Laws*, VI., but the exact reference not identified. **Xē. in Cyr :** Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 3, 15, where Cyrus, while still a boy and on a visit to Media with his mother, begged to be left behind in order that he might become proficient in riding and horsemanship. **Is. de iug :** Isocrates, *On the Span of Horses*, 33-34, makes the son of Alcibiades praise his father for the glory he brought to Athens through the enthusiastic way in which he devoted himself to chariot-racing. James's title for this speech, *De Iugo*, is a Latin rendering of its Greek title, *περί ζευγῶν*. **Plut. in Alex :** see note to p. 189, l. 24, above.

p. 191, l. 12. **the education of a yong king** : strictly it is only the First Book of Xenophon's *Cyropædia* that treats of the education of Cyrus. The other seven books which compose the whole work are occupied with an account of his campaigns and conquests, and of his organisation of the Persian Empire. The *Cyropædia* is now regarded, not as genuine history or biography, but as largely an historical romance.

p. 191, l. 14. **hawking** : by 1600 this sport seems to have been almost wholly restricted to Britain, if not to England alone. Fynes Moryson, as cited by E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (1911), p. 153, saw it only twice in six years of continental travel, once in Bohemia and once in Poland.

p. 191, l. 26. **driuing time** : "drinking and driuing our" was how James described his manner of spending the time during his stay in Denmark in the winter of 1589-90 (*Letters to James VI.* (Maitland Club. 1835), p. xix.). This is the more usual form of the phrase. Cf. *The Freiris of Berwick*, 389-390 :—

*With sangis lowde, baith Symone and the Freir  
... the lang nicht thay ourdraif.*

(*Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Mackenzie (1932), p. 191.)

Cf. also Lyndsay, *The Dreme*, 32-34 :—

*More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue,  
I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue  
Off Hector, Arthour, and gentyll Iulyus.*

(*Works*, ed. Hamer (Scottish Text Society), vol. i. (1931), p. 5.)

p. 191, l. 31. **nihil potest esse vacuum** : this may be an adaptation of Cicero, *De Universo*, 4, *nihil igni vacuum videri potest*.

p. 191, l. 31 . . . **I will not aggree** : Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Section 2, Memb. 4, was of James's opinion, saying that, "Many too nicely take exceptions at Cards, Tables and Dice, and such mixt luserious lots," adding in a footnote that they were accounted unlawful by these because they were sortilegious. His own view was the very sensible one that they are honest recreation in themselves, but are often abused and are then the cause of much that is highly censurable (ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. ii., p. 95).

p. 191. **Side-notes. in Cyn. 1. Cyr. & de Rep. Lac** : (a) Xenophon, *Cynegetica*, 1, 16, "I charge the young not to despise hunting." (b) Xenophon, *Cyropædia*, I., 2, 9-11, explains the important part played by hunting in the training of the Persian youth. (c) Xenophon, *De Republica Lacedæmonica*, 4, 7, tells how Lycurgus established the principle that hunting was the noblest recreation for those Spartans of age to hold the highest offices. **Cic. 1. Of** : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 32, 118, has the only mention in that book of Xenophon, but it is not in connection with his *Cyropædia*. The only reference by name to that work to be found in the writings of Cicero is in *Brutus*, 20, 111, where, however, the author's own name is not mentioned. It is



more likely that James had in mind this passage from Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, I., 1, 23, *Cyrus a Xenophonte ille non ad historiarū fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti imperii*. **Cyropædia** : see note to p. 191, l. 12, above. **Ar. 10. Æth** : Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, X., 5, 3-5, points out that pleasurable activities will keep men away from those in which they take less pleasure. **Ar. 8. pol** : Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII., 1339b, "Innocent pleasures are not only in harmony with the perfect end of life, but they also provide relaxation" (Oxford trans.).

**p. 193, l. 15. the playing at suche games** : Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (Third ed., 1585. Reprint of 1836), p. 207, gives a different reason for disapproving of these games : "Cardyng, dicyng, tablyng, bowlyng are no better, nay, worsen then open theft, for open theft euery man can beware of, but this beyng a craftie polliticke theft, and commonly doen vnder pretence of freendship, fewe or none at all can beware of it."

**p. 193, ll. 23-24. aswell as he would . . . a dog** : on betting at this time in Scotland, cf. the following passage from Hume Brown, *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary* (1904), p. 167, "Betting in connection with the various games must have been widely prevalent : at least, we are led to this conclusion by a quaint statute passed by the Scots Parliament in 1621 'anent playing at cards and dice and horse-races.' By this statute the winner of more than a hundred marks in a wager must, within twenty-four hours, deposit the surplus with the nearest Kirk-session to be distributed among the poor." On dicing and card-playing in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see *Shakespeare's England* (1916), vol. ii., pp. 468-475.

**p. 193, ll. 26-27. Not that thereby I take . . . dicers** : Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (1531), Book I., ch. 26, was more outspoken : "There is nat a more playne figure of idlenesse than playenge at dise. For besides that, that therin is no maner of exercise of the body or mynde, they whiche do playe therat must seme to haue no portion of witte or kunnyng, if they will be called faire plaiars, or in some company auoide the stabbe of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conueiance. And by cause alwayes wisdom is therein suspected, there is seldome any playenge at dise, but therat is vehement chidyng and brauling, horrible othes, cruell, and some tyme mortall, menacis."

**p. 193. Side-notes. Dan. de lus. al** : Danæus, *De Ludo Aleæ*, ch. ix. ; *Opuscula* (Geneva. 1583), p. 220, *In Magistratum electionibus, in familia erciscunda, in Pastorum etiam, ecclesiæ vocationibus, sortibus uti nonnunquam fas est, quia in iis sæpe Dei potius, quam vlla hominum vox & suffragium necessarium est. In iocis autem & ludo sortibus uti nobis licere nolunt (Sacra Scriptura). Est autem alea (quod nemo diffiteri potest) vna quædam sortis species, eaque præcipuus. Quamobrem per eam si non aptissimè, saltem obliquè, Dei numen violari in ludo confirmant. Cic. 1. Of* : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 29, 103, *Neque enim ita*



*generati a natura sumus, ut ad ludum et iocum facti esse videamur, ad severitatem potius et ad quædam studia graviora atque maiora. Ludo autem et ioco uti quidem licet, sed sicut somno et quietibus ceteris tum cum gravibus seriisque rebus satis fecerimus.*

**p. 195, l. 12. carts or tables :** Hotman's French version of 1603 adds *aux tarots*.

**p. 195, ll. 14-15. being onellie ruled by . . . cogging :** the Latin version of 1619 takes this to refer to 'deboshed souldiers.' The French translator of 1603 and the Latin translator of 1604 both take it to refer to 'dycing.' **cogging :** according to *O.E.D.*, 'to cog dice' was to manipulate their fall fraudulently.

**p. 195, l. 16. chesse :** opinion in the sixteenth century was divided on chess. Thus Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (1531), Book I., ch. 26, wrote that "The chesse, of all games wherin is no bodily exercise, is mooste to be commended ; for therein is right subtile engine, wherby the wytte is made more sharpe and remembrance quickened." But Montaigne, *Essais*, I., 50, thought it *ce niais et puerile jeu*, and *cet amusement ridicule*. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Section 2, Memb. 4 (ed. Shilleto (1893), vol. ii., p. 97) summed up judiciously : "Chess-play is a good exercise of the mind for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholy [ones], as are idle, and have extravagant impertinent thoughts or are troubled with cares, nothing better to distract their mind and alter their meditations : But it is a game too troublesome for some men's braines, too full of anxiety, all out as bad as study, and besides it is a testy cholerick game, and very offensive to him that looseth the Mate." Cf. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama* (1939), p. 405, "Wykeham specifies chess among the 'noxious, inordinate and dishonest games' forbidden at New College (*i.e.*, New College, Oxford, which he founded in 1379), a prohibition which has excited astonishment among those who do not realise that this game was very commonly forbidden to the clergy throughout the Middle Ages, probably because it was nearly always for money," and his instances, *op. cit.*, p. 590, of quarrels arising from chess.

**p. 195, l. 29. a madde passion for losse :** *i.e.*, anger at being a loser.

**Waldegrave, 1599. p. 196, l. 20. the own :** the editor of the Roxburghe reprint of the edition of 1599 took this as a mistake for 'their own,' the reading of the print of 1603. But the reading of *MS Royal 18. B. xv*, 'the auin,' shows that it is a correct transliteration of what James wrote. 'the awin' occurs again in *MS Royal 18. B. xv* at vol. i., p. 31, l. 4, and is replaced by 'the own' at the corresponding place in both the prints. 'the owne' occurs by itself in the *Preface to the Reader*, vol. I., p. 15, l. 33, above. Cf. Gau, *Richt Vay* (Scottish Text Society. 1888), p. 24, "Lwiff sekis noth the aune bot the thing quihilk pertenis to God."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 197, l. 4. Alliciamenta ueneris :** see note to p. 197, l. 26, below.

p. 197, ll. 20-21. not that a colte should draw . . . the harrowes : the Latin version of 1604 renders this racy expression by Horace, *Epistles*, I., 14, 43, *Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus*, and puts 'Iuuen.'—i.e., Juvenal—in the margin!

p. 197, l. 24. *Corrumpūt bonos mores colloquia praua* : this is the Vulgate rendering of 1 Corinthians xv. 33, *φθείρουσιν ἡδὴ χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίας κακὰ*, which St Paul quoted from the Greek comic poet, Menander. The rendering in King James's version of 1611 is, *Evil communications corrupt good manners*. With a change of *praua* to *mala* James quoted the line again in *A Meditation vpon the Lord's Prayer: Workes* (1620), p. 591.

p. 197, l. 26. *irritamenta libidinis* : this, and the *alliciamenta Veneris* of *MS Royal 18. B. xv.* seem both to be variations on Juvenal, *Satires*, XI., 167, *irritamentum Veneris*.

p. 197, l. 29. *Comœdians or Balladines* : on the visits of travelling companies of actors to Scotland in the sixteenth century, see Dr A. J. Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (St Andrews University Publications, No. xxiv. 1927), pp. 110, 299-306.

p. 197, l. 32. the answer that the poëte Philoxenus . . . gaue : this was Philoxenus of Cythera, the dithyrambic poet of the fourth century B.C., who, according to Diodorus Siculus, *Historiæ*, XV., 6, was cast into the famous *latomiæ*, the stone-quarries which were used as a State prison at Syracuse, by Dionysius the Younger for some fancied fault he had committed. Later he was brought before Dionysius to hear read to him for his opinion a poem which the tyrant had written. Asked his opinion when the reading had ended he merely said, "Lead me back to the quarries." For this ending tradition in time substituted one which said that after he had heard a few lines he turned and walked away, and on being asked where he was going said, "Back to the quarries." James followed the story as told in Diodorus, but the form in which he gives the answer of Philoxenus suggests that he was adapting the allusion in Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, IV., 6, 2, *Philoxenus, qui reduci in latomias maluit*.

p. 197. Side-notes. *Is. de reg* : Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem*, 33, "While it is best to grasp your opportunities at exactly the right time, yet, since they are difficult to discern, choose rather to fall short than to over-reach them" (Loeb trans.). *Cic. 1. Of* : Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., 40, 142, discusses doing the right thing at the right time, but has none of James's illustrations. *Ar. 2. ad Theod* : Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II., 1389a-1390b, discusses the various characteristics of men and women at different stages in their lives. *Men* : see note to p. 197, l. 24, above. *Pl. 3. de rep* : Plato, *Republic*, III., 395-396, lays it down that the guardians must from childhood abstain from all that is vulgar, base, and ridiculous. *Ar. 7. & 8. pol* : (a) Aristotle, *Politics*, VII., but the exact reference not identified. (b) Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII., the point of contact seeming to be that both Aristotle and James

mention the dithyrambic poet, Philoxenus; they are, however, mentioned in very different connections by the two writers. **Sen. 1. ep :** Seneca, *Epistulæ Morales*, 1, has nothing like what James says here, and the references intended has not been identified. **Dyonis :** a gloss on the words in the text, "Tyran of Syracuse."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 198, l. 2. hodie moritur optimus tragœda :** not traced. *tragœda* is neither classical Latin nor good Greek for 'a tragic actor': it ought to be *tragædus* = τραγῳδός.

**p. 199, l. 9. Qualis artifex pereo :** Suetonius, *Nero*, 49, 1, reports this as Nero's last speech.

**p. 199, l. 15.** This line of French verse comes from Du Bartas, *Les Colonies*, l. 579, which forms the Second Day of his Second Week. James's reference in the margin is very far out. James was a great admirer of Du Bartas, two of whose works he translated: (i) *Vranie*, printed in *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584), and (ii) *Les Furies*, printed in *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (1591). Fragments of two other translations by James from Du Bartas were printed by Westcott, *New Poems by James I. of England* (1911), pp. 54-58, from the British Museum MS ADD. 24195. Du Bartas visited Scotland in 1587: an account of his entertainment is given in James Melville's *Diary* (Wodrow Society. 1842), pp. 255-257.

**p. 199. Side-notes. Suid :** neither in the entry on Philoxenus nor in that on Dionysius has the *Lexicon* of Suidas any reference to the story James refers to here. See the note to p. 197, l. 32, above. **Suet. in Ner :** see note to p. 199, l. 9, above. **1. Sep :** see note to p. 199, l. 15, above. **Curt. 8 :** Quintus Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*, Book VIII., but the exact reference not identified. **Liu. 35 :** Livy, *Histories*, XXXV., but the exact reference not identified. **Xen. in Ages :** Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 9, 1, "The Persian king thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen" (Loeb trans.). **Cic. ad. Q. frat :** Cicero, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, but the reference not identified.

**p. 201, ll. 13-14. two nations . . . language :** cf. *A Speech in Parliament*, 1603: *Workes* (1616), p. 488, when James said, speaking of the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in his own person, "Hath not God first vnited these two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and similitude of maners? Yea, hath hee not made vs all in one Island, compassed with one Sea, and of it selfe by nature so indiuisable, as almost those that were borderers themselues on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discerne their owne limits."

**p. 203, l. 15. the microcosme :** cf. James's *Counterblaste to Tobacco: Opera* (1616), p. 216, "The diuers parts of our Microcosme, or little world within our selues."

**p. 203, l. 27. Ira furor brevis est :** Horace, *Epistles*, I., 2, 62.

p. 203, l. 28. **Irascimini, sed ne peccetis** : Ephesians iv. 26, Be ye angry, and sin not. (A.V.).

p. 203, l. 31. **make none ouer-great** : the charm of Buckingham made James later in his life forget the advice he had given here to his eldest son.

p. 203. **Side-notes.** **Thuc. 6** : Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, Book VI., describes how the Athenian fleet sent against Sicily in 415 B.C. at first effected nothing because the commanders, Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus could not agree on a plan of campaign and had no scheme of operations. **Dion. 52** : Dion Cassius, *Roman History*, LII., 10, 3, ἀσχερὸν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ, παρακύφαντα τινα ἔπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ ἀναδύναι. **Hor. lib. 1** : see note to p. 203, l. 27, above. **Eph. 4** : see note to p. 203, l. 28, above. **Ar. 5. pol** : Aristotle, *Politics*, V., but the exact reference not identified. **Dion. 52** : Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, LII., 24, makes Mæcenas advise Augustus to divide the command of his bodyguard between two men, for "it is hazardous to entrust it to one."

**MS Royal 18. B. xv. p. 204, l. 4. omnia delicta sunt personalia** : i.e., all offences attach to an individual.

p. 205, l. 13. **noxæ caput sequitur** : this is a technical formula of Roman law found in the writings of the later jurists—e.g., Pomponius, *Digest*, 9, 4, 43 ; Gaius, *Digest*, 4, 77 ; and Vulpian, *Digest*, 9, 1, 1, 12. *Noxial Liability*, for which see Buckland, *Text-book of Roman Law* (2nd ed. 1932), p. 601, was concerned with how far and in what ways an individual might be responsible for the wrongous acts of another, without having been a party to them.

p. 205, ll. 24 sqq. At the close of his *Paterne of a Kings Inauguration : Workes* (1620), p. 621, James referred Prince Charles, to whom that work was dedicated, to this paragraph of *Basilicon Doron*.

p. 205, l. 28. This line is given in Erasmus, *Adagia* (ed. of 1629), p. 40, without any indication of where it is taken from. It is found much earlier—e.g., Giraldus Cambrensis, *Works* (Rolls Series), vol. viii. (1891), p. 327—but has not been traced beyond the twelfth century, when, according to a writer in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 185 (1943), p. 296, it was already being cited as *vulgare proverbium*.

p. 205, l. 30. **experience . . . the schoole-maister of fooles** : according to the quotations for this adage given in *O.E.D.* 'school-mistress,' and not 'school-master,' was what appeared in the earlier English forms of it, perhaps due to the influence of the feminine gender of **experientia** in the Latin form, *Experientia docet stultos*, which is itself of unknown origin. The form used by James here may go back to Livy, *Histories*, XXII., 39, 9, *eventus stultorum magister est*.

p. 205. **Side-note.** **Pla. 9. de leg** : Plato, *Laws*, IX., is almost wholly given over to the discussion of the crimes which were most serious in Greek eyes, and of their punishment.



p. 207, l. 21. **dicton** : the commoner spelling was 'ditton,' from the Fr. *dicton*, which, according to *O.E.D.*, quoting Palsgrave and Beza, was pronounced *diton*. The 'dicton' intended here is the last line of the quotation from Virgil—i.e., *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. A man might have more than one such 'dicton,' as James himself had. Thus, in his *Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer: Workes* (1620), p. 588, he writes, "What the Lion is, my *dicton* tels you, *Est nobilis ira leonis &c.*"

p. 207, ll. 22-28. This passage comes from Virgil, *Æneid*, VI., 847-853. In *A Paterne of a Kings Inauguration: Workes* (1620), p. 621, James refers in the following words to his quotation here of this passage from the Latin poet: "Hee (i.e., a king) ought to make it his principall studie (next the safetie of his soule) to learne, how to make himselfe able to rid and extricate those many knottie difficulties that will occurre vnto him; according to my admonition to my sonne HENRY in the end of my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, wherein I apply some verses of *Virgil* to that purpose."

p. 207. Side-notes. **Plat. in pol** : Plato, *Politicus*, but see p. 53, side-notes, above. **Cic. 5. de rep** : none of the fragments of Cicero, *De Republica*, Book V., which James can have known, has anything like what he writes here. **Virg. 6. Æn** : see note to p. 207, ll. 22-28, above.



## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A.

STATE PAPERS, Scotland, vol. 66, No. 104. Public Record Office, London. Undated. ? November 1600. Italics denote words especially emphasised in the original by the use of a more formal handwriting.

Sir, I have (at last) perused that long desired booke of yo<sup>r</sup> S. King his last will & testament, & like it so well that I preferre it (I will not say) to *Machiavels Princeps* so worthily odious, but to *Zenophons Cyrus* so highly commended. For it is not a *Platonical idæa* of a King onely in conceipte but a treatise to good purpose & present use manifesting ye King his soundnes in religion, wisdom by experience & excellency of learning. So as for giftes of y<sup>e</sup> minde I thinke verily (judging by this & other rare workes) that there hath not benne y<sup>e</sup> like king since Solomon. But to come to y<sup>e</sup> point, wherein you desire my poore opinion, whereunto I come so unwillingly, that I would not come to it at all, but that I know you hartily well affected to that worthy King by reason of th'interteinment you have had w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most honorable lady the Lady Lennox.

You would gladly know; whither (in mine opinion) there be such matter of offense, as many (not of y<sup>e</sup> worst sort either for judgement or affection) do take; Indeed I finde more shew of matter, why good men conceive no little greife, than I could wishe for in mo places than one; the King inveigheth bitterly against *Puritans*, & in sondry places (one expecially) seemeth to discover a minde to revenge his mothers death As it is understoode. For in that one place he pronounceth his mothers freindes most faitfull<sup>1</sup> to him, and judgeth otherwise of other. In an other place he counsaileth his sonne to begin his government w<sup>th</sup> severity & chargeth him in a third to be avenged on his enemies. All w<sup>ch</sup> put together may (peradventure) seeme to most of our English nobility (who were consenting to his mothers death) to containe this counsell in effect: That, as *David* forbare *Joab* & y<sup>e</sup> sonnes of *Zeruiah* (who were to hard for him) in his dayes, but advised *Solomon* to take due vengeance, So his sonne, peaceably succeeding in y<sup>e</sup> kingdome of *England* (w<sup>ch</sup> he himselfe looketh not to injoy, contrary y<sup>e</sup> liking & forces

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<sup>1</sup> sic.

of our nobility) should then revenge etc. But this collection may be easily scattered by y<sup>e</sup> Kings protestacion (publiquely signified) to y<sup>e</sup> contrary; by expounding his meaning to be onely of Scottishmen & by shewing or procuring favour to some principall instruments in that action, As namely be Mr *Dauison*, who is yet in disgrace for his forwardnes therein.

There be 4 principall things in y<sup>e</sup> Kings invective speaches of *Puritans*. First, this word *Puritan* is used indefinitely. Secondly, two famous men throughout y<sup>e</sup> churches be reproved to to<sup>1</sup> sharply. Thirdly, it is said that the Church government in *Scotland* cannot stand w<sup>th</sup> the authority of a King. & Fourthly, parity of ministers & Papall bishops be equally condemned.

Concerning y<sup>e</sup> first. Some that honour y<sup>e</sup> S. King do wish that he had considered theis things: (1) *Puritanisme* (so called) that is, *Reformation of the Church from Romish government*, is professed in all Protestaunt Churches of his owne kingdome, *Fraunce*, & y<sup>e</sup> *Low Countreyes*. (2) *Bristow* (in his Motives to popery) sayth: *All or most protestaunts in England be puritans in heart*. (3) *Doleman* affirmeth that *London* & good townes (where is ordinary preaching) yea most lordes & gentlemen (of y<sup>e</sup> religion, of spirit & action) incline to puritanisme. (4) The same *Doleman* reporteth that *Puritans* did sometime cleave to th' Earle of *Huntington*<sup>1</sup> but because he forsooke his first love they inclined to y<sup>e</sup> *L. Beauchamp*. (5) English protestantes (w<sup>ch</sup> incline not to puritanisme) be but few, & most of them given to pleasure, profit, or preferment, & therefore lesse to be regarded. & (6) In a late written treatise (containing Cardinall Allen his last resolucion) all papistes ar pronounced *Atheistes* & *Machiavellistes* & no *Catholiques*, who hoping for toleration from y<sup>e</sup> S. King (setled in heresy as they speake) or any other competitour, or for any other respect, do not adhere to th' *Infanta*, a knowne Catholique, & undoubted heire of y<sup>e</sup> Crowne of *England*, whose title the pope, her father, & brother have confirmed, & all seminary preistis most earnestly advaunce.

Concerning y<sup>e</sup> second. It is thought that such taxing of such men not convinced of some notorious crime would prove (if the booke were common) more prejudiciall to y<sup>e</sup> king than (perhaps) he conceived at y<sup>e</sup> first, for protestants will speake hardly of such dealing & papistes will thinke y<sup>e</sup> King a depraver of the cheife masters (to speak like them) of his owne profession. Either of w<sup>ch</sup> to imagine is no delighe I assure you.

The third observacion the King may easily evade. For his word is *Democratia*, whereas Christ his ecclesiasticall government (though *Monarchical* in respect of himself, yet in regard of the visible administration thereof) is *Aristocratical*, howsoever (in some cases) the people have their voices. But if under the word *Democratia* aristocraticall government be understood also (as th'improving of parity of ministers may portend) then (meethinkes) the King doth prejudice his Royall authority to much. For th'aristocraticall government of y<sup>e</sup> Church is an ordinaunce of Christ & therefore *Must be*; whereas in civill governe-

<sup>1</sup> *sic.*



ment *Monarchia*, *Aristocratia*, & *Democratia* being humane ordinaunces any of them *May be*. If then *Monarchia* civill & *Aristocratia* ecclesiasticall cannot stand together, there is reason that *May be* give place to *Must be*. But why may not kinges agree w<sup>th</sup> Christ his *Aristocracy* as well as many do w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> popish *Hierarchy*? No doubt being such as ar described in Deut: 17; 18, 19, 20 & Esa: 49; 23 they may well enough. Indeed if they be not such no mervaille though God (in his judgement) do either intrhall them to that antichristis gevernement, so as it may be said of them: *They suffer even if a man bring them into bondage,*

1 Cor. 11; 20. *if a man devour them, if a man take their goodes, if a*  
That man of *man exalt himself, if a man smite them on y<sup>e</sup> face, or*  
sinne *else God deliver them up to reprobate mindes, to set*  
Psal. 2; 2, 3. *them selves against the Lord and his Christ, & to say;*  
*Let us breake their bandes & cast their cordes from us.*

It may be the S. King is of opinion that ecclesiasticall governement is (as y<sup>e</sup> civill) arbitrary. If so, I pray God put it into his noble heart humbly & earnestly to seek resolution from Gods word, by procuring conference betweene some bishoppistes of *England* & learned defendours of aristocraticall governement in *Scotland*, or otherwise as may seeme most convenient in his good discretion.

The fourth observacion together w<sup>th</sup> the Kings indeavour to advaunce L. bishops for the parliament occasioneth many to thinke that he hath conceived some new forme of governement to be finished by his sonne whom he exhortheth to beginne where he endeth. But I hope his *Grace* will, w<sup>th</sup> some cleare lighte of his sound judgement dispell all cloudes whatsoever. For mine owne part I am persuaded that *Christ* his governement & L. bishops cannot continue together. As may appear by the schedule enclosed <sup>1</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> at the request of certaine) I wrote about two yeares ago.

Thus (S<sup>r</sup>) you see what is & may be conceived of y<sup>e</sup> S. King his speeches concerning *Puritans* & his mothers enemies. Which (all that is said notwithstanding) may be excused *in tanto*. If nature in a childe & the provocation of some indiscreet minister be indifferently considered. For (to say nothing of that yong man, who openly, yet not before y<sup>e</sup> Kings face, pronounced his Ma<sup>tie</sup> guilty of all murthers by *Omission*, *Remission* or *Commission*) the good Lady Bowes telleth me that the King protested to her Patiently to *indure the publique reprove of Gods ministers, if (having freer accesse to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> than ministers in England have to noble men) they would first try by privat admonition, what reformation they might obtaine of apparent faults worthy the taking knowledge of.* What can a wise minister desire more of y<sup>e</sup> meanest man? Referring theis thinges to yo<sup>r</sup> good respecte I bid you farewell.

Yours assured in y<sup>e</sup> Lord J. B.

Addressed: To my very good freind Mr Ho: be theis dd.

Seal: a pelican rending herself.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Scotland, vol. 66, No. 105. Public Record Office, London.

## APPENDIX B.

Table of textual variations between *MS. Royal 18. B. xv.* and *Waldegrave 1599*. Changes in word-forms are not included: for these see Introduction, p. 111.

*MS. Royal 18. B. xv.*

- p. 8, l. 9, youre office  
 p. 9, l. 8, to all fleshe  
 p. 10, l. 3, unseasonable  
 p. 24, l. 3, be uorthie  
 p. 25, l. 3, it is onlie godd  
 p. 25, l. 7, as a littill godd  
 p. 25, l. 7, in his throne  
 p. 28, ll. 5-7, the scriptures sayes  
 paull are able to admonishe,  
 exhorte, rebuke, & instructe the  
 man of god making him perfyte  
 to euerie goode uarke
- p. 29, l. 1, thinke it not aneuch  
 p. 31, l. 2, oure neichboure  
 p. 35, l. 1, the practise  
 p. 39, l. 4, thaise small things  
 p. 40, l. 7, be inportunite  
 p. 41, l. 4, with that experience
- p. 42, l. 2, a grat torturer  
 p. 45, l. 10, god will giue  
 p. 46, l. 7, the maire inexcusable  
 p. 56, l. 3, priuate unreulie affec-  
 tions  
 p. 56, l. 8, thaire reuardis  
 p. 63, l. 1, to be comitted
- p. 63, l. 3, ye kythed  
 p. 68, l. 2, can thinke  
 p. 70, l. 10, follou the course
- p. 73, ll. 1-2, uyces quhilke . . . is  
 thocht  
 p. 76, l. 1, euill  
 p. 78, l. 8, the squire to thaire  
 conscience  
 p. 82, l. 7, that estate

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 8, l. 20, your office as a King  
 p. 8, l. 30, vnto all flesh  
 (omitted)  
 p. 24, l. 11, be thought worthy  
 p. 24, l. 20, it is God only  
 p. 24, l. 23, a little God  
 p. 24, l. 24, on his Throne  
 p. 28, ll. 18-21, the whole Scrip-  
 tures (saith PAVL) are profit-  
 able to teach, to impropoe, to  
 correct, & to instruct in right-  
 eousness, that the man of God  
 may be absolute, being made  
 perfit vnto al good works
- p. 28, l. 29, thinke it ynough  
 p. 30, l. 25, your neighbour  
 p. 34, l. 28, the practizes  
 p. 38, l. 30, these things  
 p. 40, l. 18, with importunitie  
 p. 40, l. 26, with the experience  
 thereof
- p. 42, l. 14, a greate torture  
 p. 44, l. 33, God would giue  
 p. 46, l. 18, inexcusable  
 p. 56, l. 14, vnreulie priuate affec-  
 tiones  
 p. 56, l. 19, their rewarde  
 p. 62, l. 26, to haue bene com-  
 mitted  
 p. 62, l. 28, ye kithe  
 p. 68, l. 11, thinke  
 p. 70, l. 22, followe forth the  
 course  
 p. 72, l. 23, vices which . . . are  
 thought  
 p. 76, l. 15, euil or vice  
 p. 78, l. 19, the square of their  
 Conscience  
 p. 82, l. 19, this estate

*MS. Royal 18. B. xv.**Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 83, l. 3, ansourable to the law
- p. 90, l. 2, thaire pryce
- p. 92, l. 1, in any strait
- p. 92, ll. 3-4, thaire uarke hou badd  
& deir that euer it be
- p. 93, l. 3, execution of lauis
- p. 97, l. 2, the urong
- p. 98, l. 3, truste na other princes  
rebellis
- p. 99, l. 2, nor be speculation
- p. 100, l. 2, na uarrande for that
- p. 100, ll. 11-12, uonderfullie dan-  
gerouse
- p. 103, l. 10, personnis of his courte
- p. 107, l. 2, habitudo being callid
- p. 109, l. 9, ye kneu
- p. 110, l. 11, as treulie haue seruid  
me
- p. 112, l. 1, ye man not discerne
- p. 114, l. 5, the reule
- p. 117, l. 5, as I said before
- p. 117, l. 7, youre gouerning youre  
seruandis
- p. 117, l. 9, youre peopill
- p. 119, l. 9, all other youre sub-  
iectis
- p. 125, l. 2, to succeide unto him
- p. 125, l. 7, praise to godd
- p. 127, l. 4, for procreation
- p. 129, l. 7, tua opposid kirkis
- p. 130, l. 12, & last
- p. 132, l. 5, succedis to you
- p. 133, l. 9, sho is of youre boddie
- p. 137, l. 1, seuin cardinall uertues
- p. 138, l. 10, gif a man be inuaidit  
be brigandis or theues
- p. 138, l. 11, any of thaim
- p. 138, l. 11-p. 139, l. 3, & that he  
foryette to keipe the expresse  
uordis of the lau in not stepping  
three steppis abake, & crying  
goddis peaxe & the kings sall he  
thairfore loose his heade
- p. 82, l. 26, answerable to the  
lawes
- p. 90, l. 14, their prices
- p. 90, l. 34, in any streightes
- p. 92, l. 17, their worke, howe bad  
and deare so euer it bee
- p. 92, l. 30, execution of the lawes
- p. 96, l. 23, the wrongs
- p. 98, l. 13, trust not other Princes  
Rebelles
- p. 98, l. 23, nor speculation
- p. 100, l. 15, no warrant for it
- p. 100, l. 25, wonderfull daungerous
- p. 102, l. 32, persone of his Courte
- p. 106, l. 25, Habitudo being most  
iustly called
- p. 108, l. 31, ye know
- p. 110, l. 23, as haue truelie serued  
mee
- p. 112, l. 10, yee muste discerne
- p. 114, l. 19, the rules
- p. 116, l. 29, as I haue saide before
- p. 116, l. 31, your gouerning of  
your seruants
- p. 118, l. 14, the people
- p. 118, l. 34, al others your sub-  
iectes
- p. 124, l. 25, to succeed to him
- p. 124, l. 30, praise bee to GOD
- p. 126, l. 27, for procreation of  
children
- p. 128, l. 30, two opposite Churches
- p. 130, l. 24, And lastly
- p. 132, l. 18, succede vnto you
- p. 132, l. 34, shee is your bodie
- p. 136, l. 24, foure Cardinall vertues
- p. 138, ll. 22-23, if a man of a  
knowne honest life be inuaded  
by brigandes or theeues for his  
purse
- p. 138, l. 23, one of them
- p. 138, ll. 24-29, and that although  
they were both moe in number,  
and also knowne to be deboshed  
and insolent liuers, where by  
the contrary, he was single  
alone, being a man of sound  
reputation; yet because there

*MS. Royal. 18. B. xv.**Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 140, l. 5, I saye  
 p. 141, l. 2, thay seeme dyuers  
 p. 142, l. 3, giue the lau  
 p. 149, ll. 5-6, thaise infamouse  
 lybellis  
 p. 152, l. 9, youre passion  
 p. 154, l. 4, quæ decem  
 p. 154, l. 9, sa that thaye deserue  
 p. 164, l. 1, to frame sa  
 p. 164, l. 6, speaking, or uritting  
 p. 164, l. 8, cumpanie meit for  
 recreation  
 p. 165, l. 2, forme of using thaim  
 p. 167, l. 2, the using thaim  
 p. 167, l. 5, appius  
 p. 167, l. 8, meate or drinke  
 p. 169, l. 2, oure haill lyfe  
 p. 171, l. 9, rayment quhilke  
  
 p. 173, l. 3, to quhilke erreure  
 p. 173, l. 9, heate or caulde  
 p. 177, l. 3, quhair of alreaddie I  
 spake  
 p. 177, l. 5, the ueareris of thaim  
 p. 183, l. 11, souldc  
 p. 184, l. 4, in uerse or prose  
 p. 186, l. 4, riche of quike inuen-  
 tions  
 p. 190, l. 10, as yc slippe not  
 p. 192, l. 10, thaise playes  
 p. 193, l. 4, heirby  
 p. 193, l. 8, corruption  
 p. 194, l. 11, I uolde euer haue you  
 p. 195, l. 6, ye sall alluterlie  
 abstaine from thaise playes  
 p. 195, l. 10, take in hande  
 p. 196, l. 4, in counsall affaires  
  
 p. 196, l. 10, a colte shall drau the  
 pleuch  
 p. 198, l. 8, to free you  
 p. 200, l. 1, that kingdome  
  
 p. 202, l. 5, taking youre patrone

- was no eye-witnesse present that  
 could verifie their first inuading  
 of him, shal he therefore lose  
 his head ?  
 p. 140, l. 16, I said  
 p. 140, l. 22, they seme contrary  
 p. 142, l. 14, giue law  
 p. 148, l. 30, these infamous libels  
  
 p. 152, l. 20, your own passion  
 p. 154, l. 16, quæ longa decem  
 p. 154, l. 21, so they deserue  
 p. 164, l. 12, so to frame  
 p. 164, l. 17, speaking, writing  
 p. 164, l. 19, companie for re-  
 creation  
 p. 164, l. 24, forme of vsing of them  
 p. 166, l. 25, the vsing of them  
 p. 166, l. 28, APITIVS  
 p. 166, l. 33, meate and drinke  
 p. 168, l. 25, your whole life  
 p. 170, l. 27, rayment, the on-put-  
 ting whereof  
 p. 172, l. 26, to the which erreour  
 p. 172, l. 31, heate and colde  
 p. 176, l. 28, whereof I spake  
 already  
 p. 176, l. 31, the wearers thereof  
 p. 182, l. 30, wouldc  
 p. 184, l. 13, in verse or in prose  
 p. 186, l. 16, rich in quick inuen-  
 tions  
 p. 190, l. 22, that ye slip not  
 p. 192, l. 20, these playes  
 p. 192, l. 25, thereby  
 p. 192, l. 29, corruptions  
 p. 194, l. 21, I would haue you  
 p. 194, l. 27, yee alluterly abstaine  
 from these playes  
 p. 194, l. 31, take on hande  
 p. 196, l. 16, in your counsel  
 affairs  
 p. 196, l. 21, a Colte should drawe  
 the plough  
 p. 198, l. 20, to be free  
 p. 198, l. 31, that kingdome of  
 yours  
 p. 202, l. 15, taking the patterne



## APPENDIX C.

Table of variations between *Waldegrave 1599* and *Waldegrave 1603*. Changes in word-forms are not included; for these see Introduction, p. 113.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 8, l. 18, this whole booke.  
 p. 8, l. 21, teacheth.  
 p. 10, l. 15, quiet.  
 p. 10, l. 29, I end this preface.  
 p. 24, ll. 16-20, (as DAVID saith)  
 In vaine watchest thou the  
 Citie, or buyldest thou the  
 house, if the Lord by his blessing  
 grant not successe therunto;  
 & as PAVL saith, CEPHAS may  
 plant, & APOLLO may water,  
 but it is God only that may giue  
 the increase.
- p. 26, l. 23, draweth.  
 p. 28, ll. 17-19, Search the scriptures  
 (saith Christ) for they wil  
 bear testimony of me: And  
 the whole Scriptures (saith  
 PAVL) are profitable to teach,  
 to improoue, to correct, & to  
 instruct in righteousness, that  
 the man of God may be absolute,  
 being made perfit vnto al good  
 works.

p. 28, l. 23, PAVL.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 9, l. 18, this treatise.  
 p. 9, l. 20, informeth.  
 p. 11, l. 13, at quiet.  
 p. 11, l. 26, I end.  
 p. 25, ll. 17-22, (as that royall  
 prophet saith) *Except the Lorde  
 build the house, they laboure in  
 vaine that builde it: except the  
 Lord keepe the Citie, the keepers  
 watche it in vaine: in respect  
 the blessing of God hath onlie  
 power to giue the successe  
 thereunto: and as Paul saith,  
 he planteth, Apollos watereth;  
 but it is GOD only that giueth  
 the increase.*
- p. 27, l. 21, drawing.  
 p. 29, ll. 9-19, *Searche the Scrip-  
 tures, saith Christ, for they  
 beare testimonie of me: and the  
 whole Scripture, saith Paul, is  
 giuen by inspiration of God, &  
 is profitable to teache, to con-  
 uince, to correcte, & to instructe  
 in righteousness: that the man  
 of God may be absolute, being  
 made perfit vnto all good workes.*  
 And most properlie of any other,  
 belongeth the reading thereof  
 vnto Kings, since in that parte  
 of Scripture, where the godly  
 Kings are first made mention  
 off, that were ordained to rule  
 ouer the people of God, there  
 is an expresse and most notable  
 exhortation and commandement  
 giuen them, to read and medi-  
 tate in the lawe of God.
- p. 29, l. 21, the same Apostle.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 28, l. 24, your appetite.  
 p. 28, l. 27, contayneth but two things.  
 p. 28, l. 28, and abstaine from.  
 p. 28, l. 33, the whole Scripture consisteth.  
 p. 30, ll. 17-18, follow your Fathers foote-steppes, and your owne education.  
 p. 30, ll. 21-24, . . . that al my Religion was grounded vpon the plaine words of the Scripture, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of the vaine pride of some seditious Preachours.  
 p. 32, l. 14, remember onely this methode.  
 p. 32, l. 22, the Lawe, interpreted by the Prophets.  
 p. 32, l. 30, the Lawe of Grace.  
 p. 32, l. 31, resurrection of Christ.  
 p. 32, l. 32, The larger interpretation of this Law.  
 p. 32, l. 33-p. 34, l. 15, the practise in the faithfull or unfaithfull, together with their rewarde or punishment according thereto, is contayned in the Actes of the Apostles.  
 p. 34, ll. 18-20, Reade the Prophets; would ye see, how good-men are rewarded, and wicked punished? look the histories of GENESIS, EXODUS, IOSVA, the IVDGES, IOB, and ESTER.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 29, l. 23, your own appetite.  
 p. 29, l. 27, cheefly contayneth two things.  
 p. 29, l. 28, & to abstaine from.  
 p. 29, l. 33, the whole Scripture principally consisteth.  
 p. 21, ll. 16-17, follow my foote-steppes, and your owne present education.  
 p. 31, ll. 20-25, . . . that all my Religion presently professed by me and my kingdome, was grounded vpon the plaine wordes of the Scripture, without the whiche all points of Religion are superfluous, as any thing contrary to the same is abomination, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of any fleshe.  
 p. 33, l. 11, remember shortly this methode.  
 p. 33, ll. 20-21, the bookes of *Moses*, interpreted and applied by the Prophets.  
 p. 33, l. 30, the word of grace.  
 p. 33, ll. 31-32, resurrection and ascention of Christ.  
 p. 33, l. 32, The larger interpretation and vse thereof.  
 p. 33, l. 33-p. 35, l. 8, the practise in the faithfull or vnfaithfull, with the history of the infancy and first progresse of the church is contayned in their Actes.  
 p. 35, ll. 11-19, Reade the Prophets, and likewise the bookes of the *Proverbs* & *Ecclesiastes*, written by that great paterne of wisdom *Salomon*; whiche will not onlie serue you for instruction, howe to walke in the obedience of the Lawe of God, but is also so full of golden sentences, & morall precepts, in all things that can concerne your conuersation in the worlde, as amonge all the prophane Philosophers and

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 34, l. 23, among the Catalogues.  
 p. 34, l. 25, Would ye know the life and death of Christ? looke the Evangelistes.  
 p. 34, ll. 31-32, some of them are as like the ditement of the spirite of God, as an Egge is to an Oyster.  
 p. 36, l. 12, a . . . chaste eare.  
 p. 36, l. 13, blaming onelie your owne incapacitie.  
 p. 36, l. 18, misnurtured presumption.  
 p. 36, l. 21, partes of Scripture.  
 p. 36, l. 23, numbers & genealogies.  
 p. 36, l. 26, I haue els said.  
 p. 36, l. 30, PAVLL.

(*Nothing equivalent.*)

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- Poets, ye shall not find so riche a storehouse of precepts of naturall wisdom, agreing with the will & diuine wisdom of God. Would ye see how good men are rewarded, and wicked punished? looke the historicall partes of these same bookes of *Moses*, together with the histories of *Iosua*, the *Iudges*, *Ezra*, *Nehe-miah*, *Esther*, and *Iob*.  
 p. 35, l. 26, in the catalogue.  
 p. 35, ll. 27-28, Would ye knowe the doctrine life and death of our Sauour Christ? reade the Euangelistes.  
 p. 35, ll. 34-35, some of them are no' wayes like the dytement of the Spirite of God.  
 p. 37, l. 12, a . . . chaste hart.  
 p. 37, l. 13, blaming only your owne capacitie.  
 p. 37, l. 18, ouer vnmanerly a presumption.  
 p. 37, l. 22, partes of the Scripture.  
 p. 37, l. 24, genealogies and contentions.  
 p. 37, l. 27, I haue already said.  
 p. 39, l. 5, the same Apostle.  
 p. 39, ll. 7-16, As for teaching you the forme of your prayers, the Psalmes of *David* are the meetest schoole-maister that ye can be acquainted with (nixt the prayer of our Sauour, whiche is the only rule of prayer) whereout of as of most riche and pure fountaines, ye may learne all forme of prayer necessary for your comfort at all occasions. And so much the fitter ar they for you, then for the common sorte, in respect the composer thereof was a King: & therefore best behoued to know a Kings wants, & what things were meetest to be required by a king at Gods hand for remedy thereof.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 38, ll. 15-16, Vse oft to pray when ye ar quietest, especially in your bed : for publik praier serueth more for example (for the most part) then for any particuler comfort to the sup-  
plicant.
- p. 38, l. 21, our vain proud puritanes.
- p. 38, l. 28, not onelie thinges spirituall but corporall.
- p. 40, ll. 15-16, prayer without faith is sinne (as PAVL saith).
- p. 40, l. 19, Christ.
- p. 40, l. 25, when ye finde it once so fall out.
- p. 40, l. 28, ye will finde.
- p. 40, ll. 31-32, Conscience . . . is nothing els but the light of knowledge that God hath planted in man; which chop-  
peth him with a feeling . . .
- p. 42, l. 14, yet it is as great a comfort.
- p. 42, l. 18, wee will be accused.
- p. 42, ll. 19-20, (if wee forget) it will choppe, and remember vs to looke vpon.
- p. 42, ll. 33-34, And for superstition, the worde it selfe is plaine ynough, being *vocabulum artis*.
- p. 44, l. 21, PAVLL.
- p. 44, l. 23, wilfully and willingly.
- p. 46, l. 18, inexcusable before God.
- p. 46, l. 19, by bannishing shame.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 39, ll. 17-20, Vse often to pray when ye are quyetest, especially forgette it not in your bed howe oft soeuer ye doe it at other times : for .publick prayer serueth as much for example, as for any particular comfort to the supplicant.
- p. 39, l. 23, the vaine Pharisaeicall puritanes.
- p. 38, l. 30, not onelie things spirituall, but also things temporall.
- p. 41, ll. 14-15, and whatsoeuer is done without faith is sinne, as the Apostle saith.
- p. 41, l. 18, the vnrighteous Iudge.
- p. 41, l. 25, when ye find it once to fall out.
- p. 41, l. 28, shall ye find.
- p. 41, ll. 30-34, conscience . . . is nothing else, but the light of knowledge that God hath planted in man, whiche euer watching ouer all his actions, as it beareth him a joyfull testimonie when he does right, so choppeth it him with a feeling . . .
- p. 43, l. 13, yet is it as great a comforte.
- p. 43, l. 16, we shall be accused.
- p. 43, ll. 18-19, (though we forgette) will choppe, and remember vs to look vpon it.
- p. 43, ll. 32-34, And by superstition, I meane, when one restraines him selfe to any other rule in the seruice of God, then is warranted by the worde, the onlie true square of Gods seruice.
- p. 45, l. 21, the Apostle.
- p. 45, l. 23, wilfully and wittingly.
- p. 47, l. 18, the more inexcusable euen in the sight of men.
- p. 47, l. 20, whiche bannisheth shame.



*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 46, l. 24, things that wil be speered at you.  
 p. 46, l. 25, these misnurtured people.  
 p. 46, l. 28, Superstition, which is called *Morbus animi*.  
 p. 48, l. 33, they would urge.  
 p. 48, l. 33, in place of.  
 p. 50, l. 11, acknowledge them for vaine people.  
 p. 50, l. 15, Keepe God sparinglie in your mouth.  
 p. 50, l. 21, Christes commande, to giue almes secretly.

- p. 52, ll. 15-16, according to that old verse

*Regis ad exemplum &c.*

- p. 54, l. 16, *Contraria contrariis opposita magis illucescunt*.  
 p. 54, l. 20, his appetites.  
 p. 56, l. 16, in ende.  
 p. 56, ll. 25-26, some notable plague misseth neuer to ouertake the committers, who will bee in-famous to all posteryties.  
 p. 58, l. 12, endlesse paines.  
 p. 58, l. 24, *Ex malis moribus bonæ Leges*.  
 p. 58, l. 27, Parliaments are onlie ordeined for making of Laws.  
 p. 60, l. 32, *Vtinam nescirem literas*.  
 p. 62, l. 31, the punishers.  
 p. 62, l. 33, manie, which.  
 p. 64, l. 21, treason against your owne persone or authoritie.  
 p. 64, l. 27, I would not be thoght partial.  
 p. 64, l. 29, the vnreuerent writing or speaking of your Parents and Predecessours.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 47, l. 26, thinges that shall be asked at you.  
 p. 47, l. 27, suche vnmanerlie people.  
 p. 47, l. 29, superstition.  
 p. 49, l. 30, they vrge.  
 p. 49, l. 31, in the place of.  
 p. 49, l. 32-p. 51, l. 9, acknowledge them for no other then vaine men.  
 p. 51, l. 13, Keepe God more sparingly in your mouth.  
 p. 51, l. 20, Christes commande, to pray and giue your almes secretly.  
 p. 53, ll. 17-21, according to the notable saying of *Plato*, expressed by the Poet  
*. . . Componitur orbis  
 Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus  
 Humanos edicta valent, quam vita regentis.*  
 p. 55, l. 14, *contraria iuxta se posita magis elucescunt*.  
 p. 55, l. 18, his passions & inordinate appetites.  
 p. 57, l. 16, in the end.  
 p. 57, ll. 26-28, some notable plague faileth neuer to ouertake the committers in this life, besides their infamie to all posterities heerafter.  
 p. 59, l. 11, endles paine.  
 p. 59, l. 23, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt*.  
 p. 59, l. 27, Parliaments haue bene ordeined for making of lawes.  
 p. 61, l. 32, *Vellem nescirē literas*.  
 p. 63, l. 30, the innocent.  
 p. 63, l. 33, manie, whome.  
 p. 65, l. 22, offences against your owne person and authority.  
 p. 65, l. 28, I should not be thought partiall.  
 p. 65, ll. 30-31, the false and vnreuerent writing or speaking of malicious men against your Parents and Predecessors.

## Waldegrave 1599.

p. 64, l. 32-p. 66, l. 15, suffer not both your Princes and your parents to be dishonored by any.

p. 66, l. 18, others.

p. 66, ll. 18-21, sen ye are come of as honorable Predecessoures as any Prince lyuing, *Sepeliatur synagoga cum honore*: and I praye you, how can they loue you that hate them whome of yee are come?

p. 66, l. 24, loue of the father.

p. 66, ll. 25-26, monstrous, to see a man loue the child and hate the Parents.

p. 68, l. 20, nor spare no paines.

p. 68, l. 22, my Grandfather.

p. 68, l. 25, Remember.

p. 68, l. 26, King DAVID.

p. 68, l. 30, nor crosse your enemies.

p. 70, l. 15, barbarous.

p. 70, ll. 20-25, As for the other sorte, thinke no other of them all, then as of Wolues and Wilde Boares: And therefore followe foorth the course that I haue begunne, in planting Colonies among them of answerable Inlandes subiectes, that within

## Waldegrave 1603.

p. 65, l. 34-p. 67, l. 10, suffer not both your Princes and your Parents to be dishonoured by any; especially, sith the example also toucheth your selfe, in leauing therby to your successors, the measure of that whiche they shall mette out againe to you in your like behalf.

p. 67, l. 13, others what-soeuer.

p. 67, ll. 14-19, And sith ye are come of as honourable Predecessoures as any Prince liuing, represe the insolence of suche, as vnder pretence to taxe a vice in the person, seekes craftily to staine the race, and to steale the affection of the people from their posteritie. For howe can they loue you, that hated them whome-of ye are come?

p. 67, l. 23, loue of the race.

p. 67, ll. 23-26, monstrous, to see a man loue the childe, & hate the Parentes: as on the other parte, the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readiest way to bring the sonne in contempt.

p. 69, l. 23, neither spare ye any paines.

p. 69, l. 25, my grand-father of worthy memory.

p. 69, l. 28, so remember.

p. 69, l. 30, *Moyes*.

p. 69, l. 33, or seek to crosse your enemies.

p. 71, l. 14, barbarous for the most parte.

p. 71, ll. 20-25, As for the other sort, followe foorth the course that I haue intended, in planting Colonies among them of answerable Inlands subjects, that within short time may reforme and civilize the best inclined among them: rooting out or

*Waldegrave 1599.*

shorte time maye roote them out and plant ciuilitie in their roomes.

p. 72, l. 15, your people in this country.

p. 72, l. 16, subiect vnto.

p. 72, ll. 25-26, *Nam nulla regula tam generalis quæ non patiatur exceptionem.*

p. 72, l. 32, sicknesses.

p. 74, ll. 18-22, But the reformation of Religion in Scotland being made by a popular tumult & rebellion (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) & not proceeding from the Princes ordour (as it did in England) some of our fyerie ministers got such a guyding of the people at that time.

p. 74, l. 29, that hope.

p. 76, ll. 14-15, they were euer vpon the wrong end of it; quarrelling me . . .

p. 76, l. 20, their cunning.

p. 76, ll. 25-27, because there was euer some learned & honest men of the Ministrie, that were ashamed of the presumption of these sedicious people, there

VOL. II.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

transporting the barbarous and stubborne sorte, and planting ciuilitie in their roomes.

p. 73, l. 15, the people of this country.

p. 73, l. 15, affected vnto.

p. 73, ll. 26-27, for there is good and euill of all sortes.

p. 73, l. 33, sicknesse.

p. 75, ll. 13-22, But the reformation of Religion in Scotland, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinatly done by a popolare tumult & rebellion, of suche as blindly were doing the work of God, but clogged with their owne passions & particular respects, as well appeared by the destruction of our policie; and not proceeding from the Princes ordour, as it did in our neighbour country of England, as likewise in Denmarke, and sundry parts of Germanie; some fierie spirited men in the ministrie got such a guyding of the people at that time.

p. 75, l. 29, the hope.

p. 77, ll. 7-11, they that were vpon that factious parte, were euer carefull to perswade & allure these vnrulie spirits among the ministerie, tospouse that quarrell as their owne: wher-through I was oftentimes calumniated in their popolare sermons.

p. 77, ll. 16-18, their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguishe the lawfulness of the office, from the vice of the person.

p. 77, ll. 23-29, the learned, graue, and honest men of the ministrie, were euer ashamed and offended with their temeritie and presumption, preassing by all good

T

*Waldegrave 1599.*

could no waie be founde out so meete.

p. 76, l. 31-p. 78, l. 13, by the example whereof in the Ecclesiasticall gouernement, they think (with time) to draw the politick and ciuill gouernment to the like.

p. 78, l. 14, these Puritanes.

p. 78, ll. 15-16, whom (by long experience) I haue found, no desertes can oblish, oathes nor promises binde.

p. 78, l. 21, vpon my Testament.

p. 78, ll. 21-24, I neuer founde with anie Hie-land or Bordour thieues so greate ingratitude, and so many lyes & vile perjuries, as I haue found with some of them.

p. 78, l. 29, a reasonable number.

p. 78, l. 32-p. 80, l. 11, their Paritie (which can not agree with a Monarchie).

p. 80, ll. 14-17, And the first that raieth against you, punishe with the rigour of the lawe; for I haue else in my dayes bursten them with ouer-much reason.

p. 80, l. 22, the doctrine and discipline mayntained in puritie.

p. 80, ll. 29-30, as well as ye repress . . . so not to suffer.

p. 82, l. 19, sicknesses.

p. 84, l. 13, their craigges.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

meanes by their authority and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation; there could be no way found out so meete in their conceit, that were turbulent spirites among them.

p. 77, l. 33-p. 79, l. 12, For if by the example thereof, once established in the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, the Politicke and ciuill estate should be drawne to the like, the greate confusion that there-upon would arise, may easilie be discerned.

p. 79, l. 13, suche Puritanes.

p. 79, ll. 14-15, whome no desertes can oblish, neither oathes or promises binde.

p. 79, l. 19, as vpon my Testament.

p. 79, ll. 20-22, ye shall neuer finde with any Hie-land or Bordour theeues greater ingratitude, and moe lies and vile perjuries, then with these phanatick spirites.

p. 79, l. 28, a sufficient number.

p. 79, l. 31-p. 81, l. 14, their conceited Paritie, whereof I haue spoken, and their other imaginarie groundes; whiche can neither stand with the ordour of the Church, nor the peace of a common-weale and well ruled Monarchie.

(Omitted.)

p. 81, ll. 24-25, the Schooles (the seminary of the church) maintained, the doctrine and discipline preserued in puritie.

p. 81, ll. 32-33, as well as ye repress . . . so suffer not.

p. 83, l. 19, sicknesse.

p. 85, l. 12, their very craigges.



*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 84, ll. 20-23, make them perte to make their owne sutes to you them-selues, without making a bogle of you, in making the greate Lordes their intercessours.
- p. 84, l. 31, may as wel be smoared downe, as . . .
- p. 84, ll. 32-33, if this treatise were written to you, either in French or . . .
- p. 88, l. 16, the execution of our law.
- p. 88, ll. 26-30, our Burghes . . . Thir Burghes (I saie) are composed of two sorts of men; to wit, Merchants and Craftesmen, euery one of thir sortes . . .
- p. 88, l. 35, nothinge.
- p. 90, l. 16, according to the Persian laws that can not be abbrogated.
- p. 90, l. 17, & they are the special cause.
- p. 90, l. 20, put good lawes in execution.
- p. 90, l. 25, wares, not bying it.
- p. 90, ll. 30-31, make your Coinzie fine Golde.
- p. 90, l. 33, keepe a greate pose to the fore.
- p. 92, l. 18, vp must the blewe-blanket goe.
- p. 92, l. 25, this Lande.
- p. 92, ll. 29-31, For remedie whereof (besides the execution of the lawes that would be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) certaine dayes . . .

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 85, ll. 19-23, & be in your giuing accesse so open and affable to euery ranke of honest persons, as may make them pearthe without scarring at you, to make their owne sutes to you themselues, and not to employ the great Lordes their intercessours.
- p. 85, l. 31, may be as well smoared downe, as.
- p. 85, l. 33, if this treatise were written either in Frenche . . .
- p. 89, l. 13, the execution of our lawes.
- p. 89, ll. 24-27, our Burghes . . . they are composed of two sortes of men; Merchants and Craftes-men: either of these sortes . . .
- p. 89, l. 34, nothing at all.
- p. 91, ll. 14-15, being as constant in that their euill custome, as if it were a settled lawe for them.
- p. 91, l. 15, they are also the special cause.
- p. 91, l. 18, put the good laws in execution.
- p. 91, l. 24, wares, not buying them.
- p. 91, l. 31, make your money of fine Golde.
- p. 91, ll. 33-34, haue a great treasure laid vp in store.
- p. 93, l. 9, vp goeth the blew-blanket.
- p. 93, l. 16, this Kingdome.
- p. 93, ll. 20-34, For remedie whereof (besides the execution of lawes that are to be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) I know no better meane, then so to rule, as may justly stop their mouthes, from all suche idle and vnreuerent speeches: and so to prop the weale of your people, with prouident care for their good gouernment; that

*Waldegrave 1599.*

p. 94, ll. 20-22, And this forme of alluring the people, hath bene vsed in all well gouerned Republickes.

p. 94, ll. 24-25, I haue not spared to playe the baird against all the estates.

p. 96, l. 12, the cuntry ye were in.

p. 96, ll. 23-24, the wrongs committed vpon others.

p. 96, l. 29, with your hurt.

p. 98, l. 12, against your selfe.

p. 98, l. 13, Supplie therefore, nor trust not . . .

p. 98, l. 23, that Art is better learned by practise nor speculation.

p. 98, l. 27, Consult therefore with no . . . Prophet.

p. 98, l. 29, sen al Prophecies are ceased in Christ.

p. 98, l. 31, & dilated.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

justly, *Momus* him self may haue no grounde to grudge at : and yet so to temper and mixe your seueritie with myldenesse, that as the vn-just railers may be restrayned with a reuerent awe ; so the good and louing subjectes, may not onely liue in suretie and wealth, but be stirred vp and invited by your benigne courtesies, to open their mouthes in the just praise of your so well moderated regiment. In respect whereof, and there-with also the more to allure them to a common amitie among themselues, certaine dayes . . .

p. 95, ll. 17-21, And as this forme of contenting the peoples mindes, hath bene vsed in all well gouerned Republicks : so will it make you to performe in your gouernment that olde good sentence,

*Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit vile dulci.*

p. 95, ll. 25-26, I haue not spared to be something satyrick, in touching wel quickly the faultes in all the estates.

p. 97, l. 11, the country, ye shal-be in.

p. 97, l. 24, the wrongs committed amongst themselves.

p. 97, l. 31, to your hurte.

p. 99, l. 11, against your owne self.

p. 99, l. 12, Supplie not therefore, nor trust not . . .

p. 99, ll. 23-24, that arte is largelie treated of by many, and is better learned by practise then speculation.

p. 99, l. 28, Consult therfore with no . . . false Prophet.

*(Omitted.)*

p. 99, l. 32, dilated.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

p. 98, l. 32-p. 100, l. 15, a Duell, for it is a committing of it to a Lot, & there is no warrant for it in the Scripture sen the abbotating of the old Law.

p. 100, l. 17, warres.

p. 100, ll. 21-23, seuere in Discipline, as well for keeping of order . . . for punishing of sleuth.

p. 100, ll. 32-33, bee homelie with your souldiers . . . Extreame ly liberal.

p. 102, ll. 30-31, by the thraldome of good lawes well execute to gouerne his people.

p. 102, l. 33, by his good example.

p. 104, l. 30, *Omnis etenim virtus in actione consistit.*

p. 104, ll. 32-33, as to the gouernement of your Court & followers, as ye ought to haue . . .

p. 106, ll. 18-19, that will be an examplar excuse for any other of the people.

p. 106, l. 22, in careful ruling.

p. 106, l. 23, Prouerbe.

p. 106, l. 25, *Habitudo* being most iustly called *altera Natura*.

p. 108, l. 31, ye know.

p. 110, l. 19, setting your eye.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

p. 101, ll. 7-15, for beside that generally all Duell appeareth to be vn-lawfull, committing the quarrel, as it were, to a lot; whereof there is no warrant in the Scripture, since the abrogating of the olde Lawe: it is speciallie moste vn-lawfull in the person of a King: who beeing a publick person hath no power therefore to dispose of himself, in respect, that to his præservation or fall, the safety or wrack of the whole common-weale is necessarily coupled, as the body is to the heade.

p. 101, l. 16, warre.

p. 101, ll. 20-22, seuere in martiall Discipline, as well for keeping of ordour . . . & punishing of slouth.

p. 101, ll. 31-32, Be homelie with your souldiers . . . & extreamlie liberal.

p. 103, ll. 29-31, by the scepter of good lawes well execute to gouerne, & by force of armes to protect his people.

p. 103, l. 33, by good example.

p. 105, ll. 28-29, *Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit.*

p. 105, ll. 30-33, as to the gouernement of your Courte and followers; King *Dauid* sets downe the best preceptes, that any wise and christian King can practise in that point. For as ye ought to haue . . .

p. 107, l. 16, that will not be an exemple excuse for any other.

p. 107, l. 19, in carefully ruling.

p. 107, l. 21, saying.

p. 107, ll. 23-24, education be therefore moste iustly called *altera natura*.

p. 109, l. 31, ye knew.

p. 111, l. 18, setting your eyes.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 110, l. 32, after my death.
- p. 112, l. 10, yee muste discerne.
- p. 112, l. 11, rewardes) as they are  
*bona Fortunæ*, so are they . . .
- p. 114, l. 22, *communis aurā*.
- p. 114, l. 32, free of all factiones  
and partialities: preferring  
them . . .

- p. 116, ll. 13-14, only for their  
worthinesse, and not for pleasing  
of friends.
- p. 116, ll. 18-19, brewing any  
trouble to your estate: for this  
hath bin the greatest wight of  
my misthriuing.
- p. 116, l. 26, that can be had.
- p. 118, ll. 27-28, if any will mell in  
their kinne or friendes quarrelles,  
giue him his leaue.
- p. 120, ll. 14-15, Loue them best  
that . . . disguiseth not the  
trueth.
- p. 120, ll. 19-20, foster humilitie,  
represe pryde.
- p. 120, ll. 28-29, bone of your bone  
(as God himselve saide to  
ADAM).
- p. 122, l. 22, a veniall sinne.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 111, l. 31, when God shall call  
me.
- p. 113, l. 13, ye must not  
discerne.
- p. 113, l. 14, rewards, as they are  
called *Bona fortunæ*, so are  
they . . .
- p. 115, l. 12, *communis parens*.
- p. 115, ll. 24-32, free of all  
factiones and partialities: but  
speciallie free of that filthy  
vice of Flattery, the pest of all  
Princes, and wracke of Repub-  
lickes. For since in the firste  
part of this treatise, I for-  
warned you to be warre with  
your owne inward flatterer  
*φιλαυτία*; howe much more  
should ye be warre with out-  
warde flatterers, who are noth-  
ing so sib to you, as your selfe  
is; by the selling of suche  
counterfait wares, onely preas-  
sing to grounde their great-  
nesse vpon your ruines? And  
therefore be carefull to præferre  
none . . .
- p. 117, l. 10, but onely for their  
worthinesse.
- p. 117, ll. 14-15, breeding any  
trouble to your estate: for  
this ouer-sight hath beene the  
greatest cause of my mis-  
thriuing.
- p. 117, l. 25, that may be had.
- p. 119, ll. 25-26, if any wil medle  
in their kin or friends quarrelles,  
giue them their leaue.
- p. 121, ll. 13-14, Loue them best,  
that . . . disguise not the  
trueth.
- p. 121, l. 19, foster humility, and  
represe pride.
- p. 121, ll. 27-28, *bone of your bone*,  
as *Adam* saide of *Heuah*.
- p. 123, ll. 20-21, a light & a  
veniall sinne.



*Waldegrave 1599.*

p. 124, ll. 29-31, And as for the rewarde of my continencie, your selfe and sibbe-folkes to you are (praise bee to GOD) sufficient witnesses.

p. 126, l. 18, vnderogating.

p. 126, l. 23, the luste in your youth.

p. 126, l. 25, Nor Marie not.

p. 126, l. 29, nor yet Marie not.

p. 128, ll. 28-30, beware to Marie any but one of your owne Religion; for how can ye be of one flesh and keepe vnitie betuixte you, being members of two opposite Churches?

p. 130, l. 32, which all standeth.

p. 132, l. 17, your bairnes succede vnto you.

p. 132, l. 25, his owne Sister.

p. 132, l. 26, that unlawfull generation.

p. 132, l. 27, *BOTHVELS* trickes.

p. 134, l. 31, a reuerente loue and louing feare.

p. 136, ll. 12-13, diuisione and discorde among your posteritie.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

p. 125, ll. 26-31, And as for the blessing God hath bestowed on me, in granting me both a greater continency, and the frutes following ther-upon; your selfe and sib folkes to you, are (praise be to God) sufficient witnesses: whiche, I hope the same God of his infinite mercy, shall continue & increase, without repentance to me and my posteritie.

p. 127, l. 19, not derogating.

p. 127, l. 23, the luste of your youth.

p. 127, l. 25, Neither Marie.

p. 127, l. 29, Neither also Marie.

p. 129, ll. 24-32, I would rathest haue you to Marie one that were fullie of your owne Religion; her ranke and other qualities beeing aggreeable to your estate. For although that to my great regrate, the number of any Princes of power and account, professing our Religion, be but very small; & that therefore this aduice seemes to be the more straitte and difficle: yet ye haue deepe lie to weigh & consider vpon these doubts; howe ye & your wife can be of one fleshe, and keepe vnitie betwixt you, beeing members of two opposite Churches.

p. 131, l. 32, whiche standeth all.

p. 133, l. 14, your children succede to you.

p. 133, l. 22, his owne Souerane & sister.

p. 133, l. 23, some of that vn-lawfull generation.

p. 133, l. 24, *Bothuell* his treacherous behauiours.

p. 135, l. 29, a reuerent loue and feare.

p. 137, ll. 11-13, diuision & discorde among your posteritie; as befell to this Ile, by the

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 136, l. 14, what euer conceite.  
 p. 136, l. 19, your people.  
 p. 136, ll. 27-28, Temperance,  
 which onely standeth in the  
 moderate vsing of meat &  
 drinke.  
 p. 138, ll. 14-15, the true feare  
 and knowledge of God.  
 p. 138, ll. 23-25, in his owne de-  
 fence slaie one of them, because  
 they were not at the Horne, and  
 that although they were both  
 moe in number, and also knowne  
 to be deboshed and insolent  
 liuers.  
 p. 138, l. 27, because there was no  
 eye-witnesse present.  
 p. 138, l. 30, pecuniall pains.  
 p. 140, l. 20, titles thereof.  
 p. 140, l. 23, For what difference  
 is betuixte . . .  
 p. 140, l. 27, hoarding up of all.  
 p. 142, l. 13, our Puritane Ministers.  
 p. 142, ll. 16-18, there is more  
 pride vnder such a ones black-  
 bonnet, nor vnder great *ALEX-  
 ANDERS* Diademe (as was  
 saide of the cloutes of  
*DIOGENES*).  
 p. 144, l. 16, well seene in the  
 Scriptures.  
 p. 144, ll. 21-27, suffer them not  
 to meddle with the policie or  
 estate in the Pulpite: But  
 snibbe sickerlie the firste that  
 minteth to it: and (if hee like  
 to appeale or declyne) when ye  
 haue taken order with his heade,  
 his brethren may (if they please)  
 powle his haire and pare his  
 nayles, as the King my Grande-  
 father said of a Priest.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- diuision & assignement thereof,  
 to the three sonnes of *Brutus*,  
*Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*.  
 p. 137, l. 15, what-so euer conceit.  
 p. 137, l. 20, the people.  
 p. 137, ll. 28-30, Temperance,  
 whiche only consists in *gustu*  
 & *tactu*, by the moderating of  
 these two senses.  
 p. 139, ll. 12-13, a feeling feare  
 & true knowledge of God.  
 p. 139, ll. 20-22, in his owne de-  
 fence slaie one of them, they  
 being both moe in number,  
 and also knowne to be deboshed  
 and insolent liuers.  
 p. 139, ll. 24-25, because they  
 were not at the horne, or there  
 was no eie-witnesse present.  
 p. 139, l. 28, great pecuniall paines.  
 p. 141, l. 21, titles of it.  
 p. 141, l. 25, For *in infinitis omnia*  
*concurrunt*; and what difference  
 is betwixt . . .  
 p. 141, l. 30, hoarding vp all.  
 p. 141, l. 34-p. 143, l. 11, the  
 proude Puritanes.  
 p. 143, ll. 14-16, there is more  
 pride vnder suche a ones black  
 bonnet, then vnder *Alexander*  
 the great his Diademe, as was  
 saide of *Diogenes* in the like  
 cace.  
 p. 145, ll. 19-20, well seene in the  
 Scriptures, as I remembred you  
 in the first book.  
 p. 145, ll. 26-28, suffer them not  
 to medle in that place with the  
 estate or policy: but punishe  
 seuear-lie the first that præ-  
 sumeth to it.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 144, ll. 28-30, for (as I haue tolde you before) I haue else ouer-much bursten them with that, *Contra verbosos, noli contendere verbis.*
- p. 146, l. 20, the long-somnes serueth onely.
- p. 146, l. 22, haunt whiles your Session.
- p. 146, l. 23, taking narrow tente.
- p. 146, ll. 27-28, the poore that can not waite on.
- p. 146, l. 33, for pittie of the poore then.
- p. 148, l. 28, specially in the Chronicles of al nations.
- p. 148, l. 32, the Spirits of these archi-bellowces.
- p. 150, ll. 17-19, *Quia nihil nunc dici aut fieri potest, quod non dictum & factum sit prius.*
- p. 150, ll. 21-22, *EZECHIELS* vision.

(*Nothing equivalent.*)

- p. 150, l. 27, versed into them.
- p. 150, l. 29, as I shewed before.
- p. 152, ll. 12-13, situation of Campes, making Fortifications, breaches or such like.
- p. 152, l. 21, stewarding.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 145, ll. 29-31, for I haue ouer-much surfaited them with that, & it is not their fashion to yeeld.
- p. 147, l. 19, the long-somnesse seruing onely.
- p. 147, l. 21, haunt your Session.
- p. 147, l. 22, taking good heed.
- p. 147, ll. 27-28, the poore that cannot waite on, or are debarred by mightier parties.
- p. 147, l. 34, and for pittie of the poore.
- p. 149, ll. 27-29, in the Chronicles of all nations; but speciallie in our owne histories (*Ne sis peregrinus domi*) the example wherof moste neerely concernes you.
- p. 149, l. 34, the very spirites of these archi-bellouses.
- p. 151, ll. 10-11, *quia nihil novum sub sole.*
- p. 151, l. 14, *Ezechiels* visions.
- p. 151, ll. 18-25, And among all profane histories, I muste not omitte most speciallie to recommend vnto you, the Commentaries of *Cæsar*; both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe. For I haue euer bene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnicke Emperours, or great Captaines that euer was, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his præcepts in martiall affaires.
- p. 151, l. 27, versed in them.
- p. 151, l. 29, as I shewed you before.
- p. 153, ll. 10-11, situation of Campes, ordering of battels, making Fortifications, placing of batteries, or suche like.
- p. 153, l. 20, husbanding.

## Waldegrave 1599.

- p. 152, l. 32, And because it is likely by the course of nature . . .
- p. 154, l. 19, preasse euer earnestlie.
- p. 154, ll. 27-28, youre Gouvernours and vpbringers, and your preceptours.
- p. 156, ll. 18-19, crosse them when their turnes commeth athorte you, oppressing the oppressour.
- p. 156, ll. 22-23, that Stoick insensible stupiditie that proud inconstant *LIPSIUS* perswadeth in his Constantia.
- p. 156, ll. 27-29, Vse true Liberalitie in . . . bestowing franckly for your honour & weal; but prouide how to haue, and caste not awaie without cause; & speciallie, enrich not your self.
- p. 158, ll. 12-13, by the sinnes of the offenders making your kitchin to reik.
- p. 158, l. 16, vsing your self.
- p. 158, l. 21, him whom of.
- p. 158, ll. 30-31, But as for people that haue slipped before, *Argumentum a simili*, may iustlie breede preuention by foresight.

## Waldegrave 1603.

- p. 153, l. 30, And if it fall out . . .
- p. 155, l. 18, preasse earnestlie.
- p. 155, ll. 27-28, your gouernours, vp-bringers, and Præceptours.
- p. 157, ll. 7-8, crosse them, when their erands come in your way, recompencing the oppressour.
- p. 157, ll. 12-15, that Stoick insensible stupiditie, wherewith many in our dayes, preassing to winne honor, in imitating that auncient sect, by their inconstant behauior in their owne liues, belyes their profession.
- p. 157, ll. 20-31, Vse true Liberalitie in . . . bestowing frankly for your honour & weale: but with that proportionall discretion, that euerie man may be serued according to his measure: wherein respect must be had to his ranke, desertes, & necessitie. And prouide howe to haue, but cast not away without cause. In speciall empaire not by your Liberality the ordinarie rents of your crowne; whereby the estate royall of you, and your successours, must be maintained, *ne exhaustias fontem liberalitatis*: for that would euer be kept *sacro-sanctum & extra commercium*: otherwaies, your Liberalitie would declýne to Prodigalitie, in helping others with your and your successors hurte. And aboue all, enrich not your selfe.
- p. 159, ll. 11-12, by the sinnes of offenders, where no prævention can availe, making justlie your commoditie.
- p. 159, l. 16, and vsing your selfe.
- p. 159, l. 21, him, of whome.
- p. 159, ll. 31-32, But as for suche as haue slipped before, former experience may justlie breede prævention by foresight.



*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 160, ll. 12-13, the vse . . . may turne (with time) in a natural habitude vnto you.
- p. 164, l. 14, your vertuous qualities.
- p. 164, l. 24, forme of vsing of them.
- p. 164, l. 26, To beginne first then.
- p. 166, ll. 18-19, reasonable rude and common-meates.
- p. 166, l. 20, durable for trauell.
- p. 166, ll. 22-23, which otherwaies would be imputed to you for pride, and breed disdaine in them.
- p. 166, l. 23, Let all your foode be of simples.
- p. 166, l. 27, satisfying of the appetite.
- p. 166, l. 28, vice of delicacie.
- p. 166, l. 30, the Cranne-craig.
- p. 166, l. 32, their artificiall false appetites.
- p. 168, l. 19, garring then reade.
- p. 168, l. 21, when yee are euil disposed.
- p. 168, ll. 26-27, meate, drinke, and sleepe.
- p. 170, l. 12, the time of your rest.
- p. 170, l. 18, at the Crosse.
- p. 170, ll. 24-26, *quod omnia sunt sancta sanctis*, all daies and meates being alike to Christianes (as *PAVLL* sayth).
- p. 172, l. 19, *Palliatos*.
- p. 172, l. 23, *PALLIATVS*.
- p. 172, l. 26, our puritanes.
- p. 172, l. 30, and consequentlie.
- p. 172, l. 33-p. 174, l. 14, shoulde not then be represented by anie formes in the cloathes, as the greate filthy Baloppes do (bear-

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 161, ll. 10-11, the vse . . . may turne, with time, to a naturall habitude in you.
- p. 165, l. 14, your inward vertuous disposition.
- p. 165, l. 24, forme of vsing them.
- p. 165, l. 26, To beginne then.
- p. 167, ll. 15-16, reasonable-grosse, & common-meates.
- p. 167, ll. 17-18, durable for trauell at all occasions, either in peace or in warre.
- p. 167, ll. 20-21, whiche otherwaies would be imputed to you for pride & daintinesse, and breede coldenesse & disdaine in them.
- p. 167, l. 22, Let all your foode be simple.
- p. 167, l. 26, satisfying of the necessity of nature.
- p. 167, ll. 27-28, vice of delicacie & monstrous gluttony.
- p. 167, l. 30, a Crane-craig.
- p. 167, l. 31, these artificiall appetites.
- p. 169, l. 18, causing to reade.
- p. 169, l. 20, when ye are not disposed.
- p. 169, ll. 25-26, meate, drink, sleepe, and vnecessarie occupations.
- p. 171, l. 14, in the time of your rest.
- p. 171, l. 20, at the mercate crosse.
- p. 171, ll. 28-29, *Omnia esse pura puris*, as *Paule* saieth; all daies and meates being alike to Christians.
- p. 173, l. 18, *Paludatos*.
- p. 173, l. 21, *paludatus*.
- p. 173, l. 25, the Puritanes.
- p. 173, l. 29, next and consequentlie.
- p. 173, l. 32-p. 175, l. 11, should not be represented by any vn-decent formes in the cloathes.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

ing the pensel of *PRIAPVS*)  
which therefore I thinke the  
onellie unlawfull forme of  
cloathes.

- p. 174, l. 20, heate or colde.  
p. 174, l. 24, ye would make you.  
p. 174, l. 25, *metus addet alas*.  
p. 174, l. 31—p. 176, l. 14, as  
*CESAR* said *de compto iuvene*,  
whose spirite therefore he feared  
not.
- p. 176, ll. 18-19, wearing long your  
haire.
- p. 178, l. 14, no outward glance.
- p. 178, ll. 30-31, not vsing a  
rusticall corrupt leid, nor yet  
booke-language.
- p. 180, l. 16, alleadging Scripture  
in drinking purposes.
- p. 180, l. 20, your cuntry.
- p. 182, ll. 13-19, except some vn-  
happie mutinie or suddaine re-  
bellion were blazed vp: then  
indeed it is a lawfull pollicie,  
to beare with that present fire  
confusion by fair generall  
speeches (keeping you as far as  
ye can from direct promises)  
while the fire be quenched, &  
that confused masse separated;  
& to do otherwaies, it were no  
Magnanimity, but rash tempt-  
ing of God.
- p. 184, ll. 21-22, *HORACES* coun-  
sell *de arte poetica*.  
*Nonum premantur in annum*.
- p. 184, ll. 25-26, as an vncouth  
judge and censure, reuising  
them ouer againe, *antequam*  
*ultimam adhibeas manum*.
- p. 186, l. 16, rich in quick inuen-  
tions & poëtick floures.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 175, l. 17, heate and colde.  
p. 175, l. 22, you would make you.  
p. 175, l. 23, *metus addit alas*.  
p. 175, l. 30—p. 177, l. 11, and ye  
shall be accompted in the  
number of one of these *compti*  
*iuvenes*; which will make your  
spirite & judgement to be lesse  
thought of.
- p. 177, l. 15, wearing long haire.
- p. 179, l. 13, no outwarde showe.
- p. 179, ll. 30-31, not vsing any  
rusticall corrupt leide, as booke-  
language.
- p. 181, ll. 13-15, alleadging and  
prophaning the Scripture in  
drinking purposes.
- p. 181, l. 20, the countrie.  
(Omitted.)
- p. 185, ll. 22-23, *Horace* his  
counsell  
*Nonumque premantur in*  
*annum*.
- p. 185, ll. 26-28, as an vncouth  
judge and censor, reuising them  
ouer againe, before they be  
published, *quia nescit vox missa*  
*reuerti*.
- p. 187, ll. 14-15, riche in quick  
inventions, & poëticke floures,  
and in faire and pertinent  
comparisons.

*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 186, l. 29, I graunte it be most requisite.
- p. 186, l. 32, the mother of all vices.
- p. 188, l. 18, the Caitche.
- p. 188, ll. 19-20, the honorablest . . . games . . . are games on Horse-backe.
- p. 188, l. 28, hunting, speciallie with running hounds. .
- p. 188, l. 31, not so martial nor noble a game.
- p. 188, l. 32, I would be thought.
- p. 190, l. 13, either me or you.
- p. 190, l. 23, precisely for to keip.
- p. 190, l. 32-p. 192, l. 12, the curiositie of *DANAEVS* in his booke *De usu aleæ*, and most of the French ministers.
- p. 192, l. 15, Cards or Dice.
- p. 192, l. 29, corruptions.
- p. 192, l. 32, euill disposed in your person.
- p. 194, ll. 28-29, nor falshood vsed to gaine with, can be called any play.
- p. 196, l. 20, to smell of the own quality.
- p. 196, l. 26, But specially absteine.
- p. 196, ll. 27-28, *Alliciamenta Veneris*.
- p. 196, l. 28, & abuse not your self.
- p. 196, l. 29, speciallie delight not.
- p. 196, ll. 30-33, the Tyrauntes delighted moste in them, and delighted to make Comedies and Tragedies themselues; Where vpon the aunswere that a Philosopher gaue one of them there-anents, is now come in a Prouerbe.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 187, ll. 27-28, I graunt it to be most requisite.
- p. 187, l. 31, the mother of all vice.
- p. 189, ll. 18-19, the caitche or tennise, archery, palle maille, & suche like other faire & pleasant field games.
- p. 189, ll. 20-21, the honorablest . . . games . . . are on horse-backe.
- p. 189, l. 29, hunting, namelie with running houndes.
- p. 189, ll. 32-33, not so martiall a game.
- p. 189, l. 33, I would not be thoght.
- p. 191, l. 10, you or me.
- p. 191, l. 22, præciselie to keepe.
- p. 191, l. 32-p. 193, l. 11, the curiosity of some learned men in our age, in forbidding carts, dice, and other suche like games of hazard.
- p. 193, l. 16, suche games.
- p. 193, l. 30, corruption.
- p. 193, l. 33-p. 195, l. 11, euill disposed in your person, and when it is foule and stormie weather.
- p. 195, l. 30, nor falshood vsed for desire of gaine, can be called a play.
- p. 197, l. 18, to smell of their owne qualitie.
- p. 197, ll. 25-26, And chieflie abstaine.
- p. 197, ll. 26-27, *irritamenta libidinis*.
- p. 197, l. 27, Be warre likewaies to abuse your selfe.
- p. 197, l. 28, and delight not.
- p. 197, ll. 30-33, the Tyrans delighted most in them, glorying to be both authors & actors of Comœdies & Tragœdies themselues. Wher-upon the answer that the poëte *Philoxenus* disdainfullie gaue to the Tyrant of *Syracuse* there-anent, is now come in a prouerbe.

## Waldegrave 1599.

- p. 198, l. 14, *Hodie moritur optimus Tragæda.*
- p. 198, l. 19, *DU BARTAS* saith, *Leur esprit s'enfuit au bout des doigts.*
- p. 198, l. 21, ye should be mooued with reason.
- p. 200, ll. 16-17, outwarde and indifferente thinges, are euer the shaddowes and allurers to vertue or vice.
- p. 200, ll. 19-20, mixinge through allie . . . the men of euery kingdome with an other.
- p. 200, ll. 22-24, Which maye easelye bee done in this Ile of Brittain, being all but one Ile, and al-ready ioynded in unitie of Religion and language.

## Waldegrave 1603.

- p. 199, l. 9, *Qualis artifex pereo?*
- p. 199, l. 15, *Leur esprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts*, saith *Du Bartas*; whose works, as they are all moste worthie to be red by any Prince, or other good Christian; so would I especially wish you to be well versed in them.
- p. 199, ll. 19-20, ye should be euer mooued with reason.
- p. 201, ll. 5-7, these outward and indifferent things, will serue greatlie for allurements to the people, to embrace and followe vertue.
- p. 201, ll. 9-11, so mixing through alliance . . . the inhabitants of euery kingdome with other.
- p. 201, ll. 12-26, Whiche may easilie be done betwixt these two nations, beeing both but one Ile of *Britaine*, and alreadie joyned in vnitie of Religion & language. So that euen as in the times of our ancestors, the long warres and many bloodie battels betwixt these two countries, bred a naturall & hæreditarie hatred in euery of them, against the other: the vniting & welding of them heerafter in one, by all sort of friendship, commerce, and alliance: will by the contrary, produce and maintaine a naturall & inseparable vnitie of loue amongst them. As we haue alreadie (praise be to God) a great experience of the good beginning heereof, & of the quenching of the olde hate in the harts of both the people; procured by the meanes of this long & happie amitie, betweene the Queene my dearest sister & me; whiche during the whole time of both our raignes hath euer beene inviolablie obserued.



*Waldegrave 1599.*

- p. 200, l. 27, to procure a blessing to all your actiones in your office: by the outwarde vsing of your office.
- p. 200, l. 30, the true shaddowe.
- p. 202, l. 12, colde in deliberation.
- p. 202, l. 14, some wrong in it.
- p. 202, l. 22, hauing two handes, with manie fingers.
- p. 202, l. 28, not onely to reward but aduaunce.
- p. 204, ll. 15-16, to hate a whole race, *Nam omnia delicta sunt personalia*.
- p. 206, ll. 18-20, that worthie sentence of that sublime and Heroicall Poet *VIRGIL*, wherein also my dictone is included.

*Waldegrave 1603.*

- p. 201, l. 29, to looke for a blessing to all your actions in your office: by the outwarde vsing thereof.
- p. 201, l. 32, the viue image.  
(*Omitted.*)
- p. 203, l. 14, some defect in it.
- p. 203, ll. 22-23, hauing two handes and two feete, with many fingers & toes.
- p. 203, ll. 29-30, not onely to rewarde, but to advance.
- p. 205, ll. 12-13, to hate a whole race for the fault of one; for *noxa caput sequitur*.
- p. 207, ll. 20-21, the worthie counsell & charge of *Anchises* to his posterity, in that sublime & heroicall Poet, wherein also my dicton is included.

## APPENDIX D.

From *MS. Bodley 166*, folio 7.

(*MS. Bodley 166* is one of two MS. volumes in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which contain nineteen pieces by King James VI., written almost entirely in his own handwriting. For a description of them and an account of their contents, see *Lusus Regius*, ed. Sir Robert Rait (1901), pp. ix-x. The following supplement to the Preface of *Basilicon Doron* is here reprinted from pp. 64-65 of that work. There it is argued that the passage printed here was written after the succession of James to the English throne, on the ground that the reference in it to the differences between "all other reformed churches and our church" was not applicable to the Church of Scotland before the year 1610, and it is further suggested that it was prepared for either the English edition of 1603 or for the folio edition of 1616.<sup>1</sup> But (a) if it

<sup>1</sup> Rait assigns the folio to 1618, but wrongly.

was written after the succession it cannot have been intended for any of the London editions of 1603, for they are exact reprints of Waldegrave's Edinburgh edition of the same year. James, of course, may have intended a separate London publication, but, the death of Elizabeth coinciding with publication in Edinburgh, decided to give the volume to English readers as it was. For this, however, there is not a scrap of evidence, and the date when *Basilicon Doron* was entered on the Stationers' Register suggests that it had been sent off from Scotland before the Queen's death was known there. Then (b) there is no evidence that James took the slightest part in preparing the folio edition of his prose works which came out in 1616. The text of *Basilicon Doron* given there is identical with that printed in 1603. Had there been any signs of revision in it, then it might have been that this passage had been intended for incorporation in the new text. As it is, we cannot make any such assumption. Further, (c) even before 1610 the Kirk in Scotland differed considerably from both the Church of England as established by the religious settlement of 1559 and also the various Protestant churches of the Continent. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that the passage was part of the Preface as originally composed, but for some reason was never printed.)

Candido Lectori.

Although I will not distruste in any courteowse & christian reader, but that he will easilie discern by the drifte of that place in this my præface quhaire I speake of puritaines, that I onlie speake thaire of my owin state at hoame, & of the puritainis in my dominions that are disobedient to my lawis, without any intention to medle with the gouuernement or policie of the forraine reformed churchis, especiallie if he will consider the conclusion of my saide præface, yett in cace any enuyouse *momus* shoulde detracte, or willfullie mistake my meaning heirin, I haue thought goode by these few lynes to declaire, that quhat I speake against Puritainis thaire, I meane it onlie by so manie of my owin subiectis within my owin dominions as are that waye inclyned, leauing all other reformed churches to thaire Christian libertie, yea I ame so farre frome iudging thaim in these pointis of difference betwene thaim & oure church, the most quhairof are meerlie adiafore as I do thinke it á speciall point of oure Christian libertie, quhiche Chryste hathe left unto us, that euerie Christian king, free prince, or state, maye sette doune & establishe suche á forme of exterioure ecclesiasticall policie in the church within thaire dominions, as shall best agree with the frame of thaire ciuill gouuernement & policie, allwayes keeping fast the groundis of the faithe & trew Christian religion, farre be it from me to iudge of those quhome God hathe not subiectid to my iudgement, quhiche waire directlie to gainsaye one of these places of skripture sette doune in the frontispiece of this same booke *non ergo amplius inuicem iudicemus*.

## APPENDIX E.

Bound up in vols. xi. and xii. of the *Hawthornden MSS.* in the National Library of Scotland are five sheets of what the endorsement on the last of them calls "Noates for basilicon doron." They are included among the papers belonging to the poet Drummond's uncle, the poet William Fowler, and are in a hand very like his, though the identification of him with the writer of them cannot be conclusively established. Yet, as Secretary to King James's consort, Anne of Denmark, and as a man of letters skilled in Continental languages, Fowler was a very likely person to be consulted when the revision of *Basilicon Doron* for a general release was going on. In the 'Noates' *Basilicon Doron* is referred to by the pages of the 1599 edition, but the quotations from it do not always agree in spelling with the text then printed. Some of these notes are very brief, some are quite lengthy; some appear more than once; some are merely rough drafts, but others look remarkably like fair copies. Only a few of the alterations, however, that they suggest were adopted—*e.g.*, the substitution of 'halter' for 'teddir' and of 'treasure' for 'pose.' The misleading allusion on p. 83 of the 1603 edition to the sons of Brutus seems to be due to the writer of them.<sup>1</sup> The sheets containing them have been very carelessly bound up with the rest of Fowler's papers. One is to be found in vol. xi., where it has been bound back to front; the others are in vol. xii., but are not all in the right order. Fol. 95<sup>b</sup> and 97<sup>b</sup> are blank. It is believed that the selection given fairly represents them.

- 107 snib sikerly/punish seuerlie <sup>2</sup>  
 109 taking narewe tent/good head <sup>2</sup>  
 102 which thogh it be the greatest vertu that properlie belongeth  
 to a kings office yet it most be vsid with such  
 awin defence slea ane of thame thay being both moe in number  
 and also knowen to be deboshed and insolent leeuers he being  
 alone and of sound fame yet because thair was na *present* witness  
 that could verifie thair first inuading of him or because they wer  
 not put to the horne shall he thairfore lose his head  
 103 tedder/halter  
 2 or 3 thusand lib/lyk what justice requyres  
 105 Nabuchadneser/vide in Herod  
 will iudge/thay will iudge <sup>3</sup>  
 more pryd under the bonet of such a diogenes then under the  
 diademe of the most <sup>4</sup> alexander

Vol. xi.,  
 fol. 121<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i., p. 137, and note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> These two notes have been deleted at this point in the MS., but are repeated in their proper place lower down the folio.

<sup>3</sup> Deleted in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> great *deleted* and most *written above it.*

- 107 snib sikerly/punisch seuerly  
 109 taking narewe tent/good hēad  
 112 ar flitted in thame/haue maid transition  
 118 best pose<sup>1</sup>  
     pose treasure                      cheefest<sup>1</sup>  
     be the sins of the offenders<sup>1</sup>  
 108<sup>2</sup> best pose/cheefest treasure  
     Be the sins off offenders making your kitching to reek  
 122 breed contempt/breed hate or<sup>3</sup> contempt  
 129 freats                      candy soldier  
 131 forme of apparrell<sup>4</sup>  
 132 on hate/ower hate  
     and yet for couards/howbeit for  
 134 tuliesome weapons  
     bot also all traterus defensiuē armes as secrets platesleeues and  
     other such as be vsed in courts  
 135 varning to the enemy being only et  
 136 gesture then                      dele then  
     as weill in not vsing any rustical corrupt word as booke langage  
     and pen and inkhorne terms  
 138 and with the ee of . . .<sup>5</sup> and curage when ye ar at the wearis  
     Except sum onhappie mutinie. Dele vsque remember also to  
     putt a difference  
 139 a scoler                      dele  
 140 any workes/any thing  
 141<sup>6</sup> for horaces consell in arte poetica/to the poets consell in the<sup>7</sup>  
     antequam etc befor thay be published quia nescit vox missa  
     reuerti  
 fol. 121<sup>b</sup>                      dinging/beating  
 59 which ye may/in that behalfe wherof I trust ye shall in the  
     awin season haue meane and oportunitie  
 60 And they ar/they ar also  
 61 nor bying it/bying thame  
 64 I haue not sparid to lay opin to yowe the diseases and waiknes  
     of all my estats  
 65 ye wer in/ye shalbe in for the tyme  
     I wold therfor consel yowe/I adwyse yowe therfor  
     when ye cum athort/where ye ar in persone  
 66 to doo as ye wold be done to  
 71 thraldome/order  
 74 ye wold tak good head/ye ar to tak good head to your court  
     <sup>8</sup> To nature And is iustlie called altera natura  
     As the old prouerb sayith    dele/and therfor be wary var

<sup>1</sup> Deleted in the MS.<sup>2</sup> sic.<sup>3</sup> or *written above* and, *which has been deleted*.<sup>4</sup> apparrell *written after* clothes, *which has been deleted*.<sup>5</sup> A word indecipherable here.<sup>6</sup> This ought to be 140.<sup>7</sup> An indecipherable word follows.<sup>8</sup> Educatio *deleted at the beginning of the line*.



- 75 for thogh the mynd be imediatlie creatid of God and infused  
from abowe yit it is certan that vertu or vyce ar oftentymes  
with the heritage transferred &c  
smitteth/infects in the seed
- 78 in a prayer for me/in ane efter desyre of me
- 82 the greatest wyte/cause
- 85 for all their kin and mak it be sensibly knowen to all *your* people  
that in so doing thay shall please yowe best wharbe the honest  
myndit may be incuraget to vse the plane<sup>1</sup> formes and ye may  
hawe the adwantages which being weill vsed to *your* best ends  
may greatlie import yowe in all *your* actions and purchase  
yowe a diuturnitie of regne as befell to Augustus in the lyk  
course
- 92 Allie/Alliance
- 93 him selfe at ane end matche in his mariage then thogh to lait et
- 96 especially sith God is euer a seuer auenger of all sic periuries  
in suffering the issewe of such one lafull act to becum the ruin  
and ouerthrowe of the laful here as both in forren and domestic  
exemplis it is mair then manifeste. keep precisly then *your*  
promise maid at
- 17 Sic. It is no thing elles bot the licht of knoweledge that God Vol. xii.,  
hath planted in man<sup>2</sup> muche lyk to a pedagogue as Origine fol. 94<sup>a</sup>  
sayith, which restraneth him from sinne and choppith him with  
a feeling that he hath done wrong when euer he comittith it<sup>3</sup> Lib 2 in  
epist ad R
- 32 good lawes to execution/ye hawe first to consider that in vaine Sen ep 48  
ye shall auance *your* selfe to the last except in the former proui- Tac 14 An  
sion be maid be all good means to restraine and preuent offenses  
befor thay budde out and to tak away so farr as in yowe lyith  
the occasions therof not suffering in the defect and want of  
*your* order offenses to growe that efter thay may be punissed  
sith *your* end in both suld be no other then the destruction of pl 6 de leg.  
wyces and sawing of men suche as is rapported to hawe been of  
old the gouernment of the persians also the old good lawe of Zen j Cirop  
Amasis king of Egipt thereafter be Solon brocht to the greekes<sup>4</sup> . . .  
wherof I trust to leawe yowe such good præsidents as my tymes  
shall yeeld so most I remit *your* cairful making of such lawes  
and ordinances to *your* owin discretion as ye shall find the  
necessitie of newe rysing corruptions to requyre for ex malis  
moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt as the Roman sayith. Only Salust  
remember that as Parliaments
- 33 abuse ye/ye abuse
- 35 for since/and since
- 37 coft/bocht  
tinsel/loss
- 38 sodomie/on natural lust

<sup>1</sup> theis *deleted* and plane *written above it*.

<sup>2</sup> which rest *deleted after* man.

<sup>3</sup> This note *deleted here*.

<sup>4</sup> also the old . . . greekes *written in the margin with a caret in the text after persians to indicate where they should come*.

- 39 dishonored be any especialle sith the exemple also twitcheth  
your selve in leawing thairby to your successors the measur  
of that which thay shall discharge in your lyk behalfe. I grant  
sepeliatur thairfor et sinagoga cum honore for exemples saik  
for it is a thing impossible And monstrose to see the man that  
hath haited And soght to dishonor the parents loyall to the  
sone whairin I micht also alledge my awin experience
- 41 nor spaire no panes/nather spare ye any panes in your . . .  
person<sup>1</sup>
- 42 . . . nde and freendles nather in it . . . freendes or seek to  
cros<sup>1</sup>
- fol. 94<sup>b</sup> 43 As for the other sort folowè furth the course that I hawe begune  
in planting colonies amang thame of ansuerable inlands subiects  
that within short tyme  
Bot as for the Borders as it has pleased God to ordeane the  
souerane and ondouted richt of this heall Ile for me and my  
issewe efter my excellent and darrest sister and mother the Queen  
of England, and hath ther withall giwen me the mynd, with  
all sinceritie regard and affection to attend his tymes as hir  
lowing sone and there owen flesch. It will also please him  
I trust to accompliss his work and giwe ws the means in  
our lawful season to atcheewe our interest to the glory and  
honor of the Britane Iles. Then shall the borders be no more  
borders bot lying in the mids of the land<sup>2</sup> shalbe as easily ruled  
as any pairt therof
- 44 And as for England, as in the consideration of my auin mortality  
I hawe beene poussed at all aduenture to leawe yowe theis  
memorials befor I hawe any experience of there formes so when  
it shall please god to bring me in place it shalbe my cheefest  
study to knowe there humors and folowing the best courses and  
consels of my predecessor and other noble ancestors, to rule  
thame accordingly to ther best auaille, and to leawe yowe in-  
structed be exemple and method in your heall charge
- 45 and first for the kirk the natural seekness that haue euer trubled
- 47 nor truble sensyne/tollentur
- 54 there craige/thair lywes and  
taking the pet/discontent  
for the prætendit . . . of lait yeers be . . . neuer effect<sup>3</sup>
- 56 for if this treatise . . .<sup>3</sup>
- fol. 95<sup>a</sup> 57 the frequentlier the . . .<sup>3</sup>  
As befell to the posteritie of Brutus the first inhabiter of this  
Ile. be taking the contraire course in diuyding the ile twix his  
thre sones Locrin Camber and Albanach wharby this mignon of  
nature hath beene euer diuidit sithence to the.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parts of these notes lost through damage to the lower edge of the leaf.

<sup>2</sup> ile *deleted before land*.

<sup>3</sup> Part of these three notes lost through damage to the lower edge of the folio.

<sup>4</sup> This note deleted in the MS.

ye shall not reid of any cuntrey more inuadit wysted and spoiled  
And all be diuision and discord thee seeds *whairof* being layid  
in be such partition did so terribly spoile the foundatiouns of  
the comon weill that it rywed asunder thee monarchie and  
diuyding it in partes broght the holl to be sundered in the extent  
of the army to miserable desolatioun at home and capable of  
forren deluge and all be the mean of such diuision among the  
insulars *whairbe* the Ile hath the name to the irremediable  
desolation till it shall please god reduce it to the first estat  
*whairof* he hath *providit* the mean<sup>1</sup>

Brutus first king of the hol iland be reason whom it was called  
Britane diuydit the iland be speciall assignment to his sones.

As befell onhappily to this noble iland be the diuision and  
partiall assignment *thairof* in generall<sup>2</sup> to the 3 sones of Brutus L.  
A and C as the story *proportith* with such euerlasting euils folowing  
*thai*ron as could haue no end till it hath pleased god in regard  
of the increse of nighbure states be ioning newe peeces to there  
old inheritance and of our disproportion in that part to dispose  
the order of nature and rights of the Ile to the old conformity  
Bot if god giue yowe not

100 to dispossesse/to put by or disherite

17 It is no thing elles bot the light of knoweledge that god hath *fol. 96<sup>a</sup>*  
planted in man much lyk to a pedagogue as Origine sayith *Lib. 2 in*  
which restraineth him from sine and when he comitteth any *Epist ad*  
choppeth him with a feeling that he hath done wrong *Rom*

32 to execution/ye hawe first to consider that in vaine ye shall  
auance *your* selfe to the laste except in the former prouision  
be made be al good means to restraine offenses befor thay bud  
out and to tak away so far as in yowe lyith the occasions therof  
not suffering in the defect and want of *your* order offenses to growe  
that efter thay may be punissed : sith *your* end in both shuld  
be no other then the destruction of vyces and sawing of men  
such as is rapported to hawe beene of olde the gouernment of  
the persians as also the old good lawe of Amasis king of Egipt *Zen lib j*  
therefter be solon brocht to the greekes and be Plato also ex- *Cyroped*  
pressed in his comounwealth<sup>3</sup> wherof as I trust to leawe yowe *Her lib 2*  
such good presidents as my tyme shall yeild so most I remit *Diod lib 1*  
*your* cairful making of such lawes and ordinances to *you* awin  
discretione as ye shall find the necessitie of newe rysing corrup-  
tions to requyre for ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt as  
the romane sayith Only remember

39 dishonored be any/especiallie sith the exemple also twitcheth  
*your* selfe in leawing therby to *your* successors the measour of  
that which shalbe lyk wayis met be tham to yowe<sup>4</sup> discharge in  
*your* lyk behalfe

<sup>1</sup> This note deleted in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> in generall *added in the margin with a caret in the text after thairof.*

<sup>3</sup> as also . . . comounwealth *added in the margin with a caret in the text after persians.*

<sup>4</sup> lyk wayis . . . yowe *added in the margin.*

/I grant

sepeliatur therfor et sinagoga cum honore for exemples saik for it is a thing impossible and monstrose to see the man that hath hated and socht to dishonor the parents loyall to the sone wherin I nicht also alledged

- 43 As for the other sort folowe furth the course that I haue begune in planting colonies amang thame of ansuerable inlands subiects that within short tyme

Bot as for the borders as it has pleased God to ordeane the souerane and ondouted right of this heall Ile for me and my issewe efter my excellent and darrest sister and mother the Queene of England and hath therwithall giwen me the mynd with all sinceritie regarde and affectione to attende his tymes as hir lowing sone and there awen flesch: it will also please him I trust to accompliss his work and to giwe ws the means in our lawfull season to atcheewe our interest to the glory and honor of the Britane Iles. then shall the borders be no more borders bot lying in the mids of the land shalbe as easily ruled as any part therof.

- 44 And as for England as in the consideration of my awen mortality I haue beene mowed at all aduenture to leawe yowe theis memorials befor I haue any experience or taste of their formes so when it shall please God to bring me in place it shall be my cheefest study to knowe there formes, and folowing the best/course and consels of my prædecessor and other noble ancestors to rule thame accordingly to there best awaile and to leawe yowe instructed be exemple and methode in your heall charge

fol. 96<sup>b</sup>

- 54 for the prætendit reformation of princes inculcated to thame of lait yeeres be sum viperus subiects of this nation taketh neuer

- 59 which ye may/in that behalfe wherof I trust ye shall in the awin season haue means and opportunity

- 85 for all there kin. And mak it be sensibly knowen to all your people that in so doing they shall best please yowe wherby the honest myndit may be incuraged to vse plane formes and ye may haue the adwantages which being weele vsed to your best ends may greatlie import yowe in all your actions and purchase yowe a diuturnitie of a happie regne as befell to Augustus in the lyk course

- 96 especiallye sith God is euer a seueur auenger of all sic periuries in suffering the issewe of such onlawful act to becum the ruine or exercise of the lawfull aire as both in forren and domestic examples it is more then manifeste keep precisly then your promise

- 99 your posteritie/as befell unhappily to this noble Iland be the diuision and partiall assignment therof to the thre sones of Brutus Locrin Albanact and Camber as the story proporteth with such euerlasting ewiles folowing therupon as could haue no end till it hath pleased God in regard of the incesse of nighbure states be'ioning newe peeces to there old inheritance and



of our disproportion to thame being thus diuydit, to dispose the order of nature and rights of the Ile to the first conformity, such is the good *prouisione* of god in balancing the forces and reaches of staites to the restraint of ambition and there better abyding in thair owen bounds

138 except sum onhappie mutine censeo delendum vsque remember fol. 97<sup>a</sup>  
also to put. quia non est exoterici præcepti

152 whilk ye shall indifferently yeeld with all good grace onpartiall air and patience to all kynd of persones that hawe any reassonable sutes or greeuances a speciall rule of philip of Macedon to his great sone<sup>1</sup> And let it be knowen to all the land that thay shall best speid when without intercession thay shall make there address to your owen selwe whairbe your people or other suters not bying your fauors at the second hand fra such as shall giwe thame selfis out to be all with yowe may sensibly knowe what a good king thay hawe and render yowe the inteir lowe and thanks that suche formes shall procure yowe whilk otherways wer ye neuer so good shuld be intercepted be others as ar wont to dispose of there princes fauor as it were there ferme<sup>2</sup> Nather is thair any thing mair pernitiu then a prince to comit the formes of his lyf and rule to the discretion and pleasure of his seruants wharbe his graces ar not his graces bot thair casualties and thair euil graces<sup>3</sup> fraudes extorsiones and other partialities ar assigned to him

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## APPENDIX F.

*The "Blue-Blanket,"* p. 93.

This reference in *Basilicon Doron* to the "Blue-Blanket" as being the banner of the Edinburgh Craftsmen seems to be the earliest allusion to it in general literature. How old the banner is is a matter of doubt. The explanation for its origin generally accepted is that to be found in Alexander Pennecuik's *Historical Account of the Blue Blanket*, first published in 1722. His account may be summarised as follows: Vast numbers of Scots mechanics having gone on the First Crusade, those who returned after its successful completion, dedicated to St Eloi's altar in St Giles's Church in Edinburgh the banner which they had

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<sup>1</sup> a speciall . . . sone *added in the margin with a caret in the text after greeuances.*

<sup>2</sup> as ar wont . . . ferme *added in the margin.*

<sup>3</sup> ar assigned to him *twice deleted after graces.*

brought home with them, and which from its colour they called the "Blue-Blanket." Apparently in the course of time certain privileges came to be associated with it, for he goes on to say that James III. gave it civil sanction and confirmed to the craftsmen of Edinburgh all the privileges attached to it and claimed by them either by prescription or immemorial possession. He further ordained that in all time coming it should be called The Standard of the Crafts within Edinburgh. The Crafts, thus honoured, renewed their banner, and the queen with her own hands painted upon it a saltire of St Andrew's Cross, a Thistle, an Imperial Crown, and a Hammer with the following inscription :—

*Fear God and honour the King,  
With a long life and prosperous reign  
And we the trades shall ever pray.*

Then in the first half of the sixteenth century his grandson, James V., confirmed the Craftsmen in all their ancient privileges of the "Blue-Blanket," and granted the further right that whenever it was displayed, whether in defence of the crown or the craftsmen, all craftsmen in Scotland and all soldiers in the King's pay who had been educated in a trade should repair to it, and fight under the command of their general.

On this account by Pennecuik the following observations have kindly been furnished me by Dr Marguerite Wood, City Chambers, Edinburgh, whose knowledge of the Town records is unrivalled :—

"The question of the 'Blue-Blanket' is a very perplexing one. The name does not appear in the Council Records, at least as far as 1680, to which date I can speak by detailed personal examination.

"There are two early entries as to the 'Town's standard,' both in 1562. The first, dated 24th June, stated that trouble was feared at the coming weapon-showing if the standard were allowed to remain in the hands of John Rynd, pewterer, and that the Dean of Guild was to try to obtain it. If he were successful, £10 was to be paid to Rynd. The second entry, of the same date, orders that the 'idol' St Giles be cut out of the standard and the thistle put in its place, for which the treasurer was to provide taffetas.

"In 1567 orders were given by the Council for the making of 'ensigns' of white and black taffetas with the King's arms on one side and the Castle on the other. Later, these were the subject of dispute between merchants and craftsmen at weapon-showings. At a later date, in the seventeenth century when the burgesses were divided into sixteen companies, the ensigns apparently were plain coloured ones with no heraldic device, the first of these being the orange colours.

"I give these details, which appear beside the point, because this distribution of different ensigns shows that at weapon-showings the craftsmen did not march separately from the merchants. The companies were selected according to the quarters of the town, not by trade, and were commanded alternately by merchants and craftsmen. The only cases of segregation were of the youths of these classes, an unfortunate one, since rivalry between the companies of the merchant youths and the crafts youths not infrequently resulted in bloodshed.

"Moir Bryce in his articles on the Flodden Wall and on the Burgh Muir (*Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. ii., p. 62; vol. x., p. 81) seems inclined to accept the traditional story of the 'Blue-Blanket.' Since he also accepts the tradition of the muster before Flodden at the Borestone, for which there is no historical foundation—which indeed has been shown to be incorrect—it is to be presumed that he gave the matter no thought. He does, however, say in the article on the Flodden Wall that the Provost and bailies, burghers, and craftsmen marched out behind their famous flag, the 'Blue-Blanket'. There is no evidence for this, and it remains conjecture.

"I incline to believe that the 'Blue-Blanket' and the Town's Standard may be taken as identical. I believe, however, that Pennecuik's story is apocryphal. It is difficult to give my reasons briefly, but they are based on recent research made by me as to the relation of the Gild Merchant to merchants and craftsmen. It is worthy of note that the Incorporations of Crafts date only from the latter end of the fifteenth century, and I take it that until then the differences between merchants and craftsmen and their interests had not become acute. It is therefore improbable that James III., if he presented a standard to the town, would do so to any section of it and not to the community as a whole. There might, however, be rivalry as to the privilege of keeping the standard, as indeed the entry of June 1562 shows. This would help to account for James VI.'s statement. The possession and raising of the standard would be a signal of revolt. There is, to my knowledge, no evidence as to how the flag became identified with the craftsmen. One thing is certain. It was not carried by them in the seventeenth century at musters in the field. Otherwise the records mentioning the 'ensigns' would have mentioned this.

"I do not know whether this is convincing. The lack of documentary evidence makes it all very difficult. Incidentally, I have grave doubts as to the authenticity (that is to say, the age claimed) of the flag. It seems to me that the heraldic treatment is of a later date, not to mention the material. Taffetas is not a lasting silk."

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## APPENDIX G.

Through the kindness of Mr H. N. Paul, Philadelphia, U.S.A., and with the permission of the Library authorities, the following notes on copies of the 1603 London editions of *Basilicon Doron* in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, U.S.A., are given here:—

JR 47-27 (S.-T.C. 14350). "Ornaments, initials, and headlines indicate that all gatherings of the present copy were printed by Kyngston."

JR 47-28 (S.-T.C. 14351). "In the present copy the ornaments indicate that Kyngston printed at least gatherings ) (, A-D, and L; but at least gathering I was printed by the Eliot's Court press: it contains ornaments described in H. R. Plomer's 'Eliot's Court press decorative blocks and initials' in *The Library*, 4th ser. III (1922-23), 194-209."

JR 47-29 (S.-T.C. 14353). In the present copy Field printed at least gatherings ) (, B, D, and L, which all contain ornaments or initials described in A. E. M. Kirwood's 'Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624' in *The Library*, 4th ser. XII (1931-32), 1-39. At least gatherings A and C, however, were printed by Felix Kyngston, the printer of S.-T.C. 14350; and at least gathering I was printed by the Eliot's Court press."

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## APPENDIX H.

### *The Semple Transcript*, p. 10.

Towards the end of December 1949—too late for a notice anywhere but here—it came to the writer's notice that the transcript of *Basilicon Doron* made about 1599 by Sir James Semple was still in existence at Bowhill House, Selkirk, among the family MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch, who kindly allowed it to be inspected.

The MS. is of paper and contains forty-eight numbered and nine unnumbered folios, each  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 7 in. Four of the unnumbered folios are blank, one coming between Books I. and II. of the work, another between Books II. and III., and two at the end of the MS. The other five unnumbered ones are at the beginning and contain the title-page, the two sonnets found in the 1599 print, and the Dedication to Prince Henry.

The MS. is written in a beautifully regular and clear italic hand, with the quotations in roman. The writer of it copied as closely as he could the style of the contemporary printed book, providing it with head-pieces, tail-pieces, and ornamented capitals in the manner of sixteenth-century printers. Clearly it was no fair copy made for the printer, but a present for some person of importance, but for whom is unknown.

In spelling, vocabulary, and text the transcript is intermediate between the autograph MS. and the print of 1599. On the recto of fol. 22 King James has interlined the words, "most iustlie" (see above, Vol. I., p. 106, l. 25, and p. 107, l. 24).



## GLOSSARY.

(This glossary is based on *MS. Royal 18. B. xv.*, the forms of which have been taken as the head-words. References are also given for the obsolete words and meanings found in the other two texts, but their actual forms are only printed when they seem to differ significantly from those either of the MS. or of to-day. The abbreviations used are those commonly employed.)

ability. *See* habilitie.

accomodate, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, suited, 168, 30 ; 169, 8, 30.

æquall to, *adj.*, treating alike, 118, 29 ; 119, 4, 27.

affectate, *adj.*, affected, 178, 28 ; 179, 5, 27.

affectatlie, *adv.*, affectedly, 168, 5, 15 ; 169, 14.

aggreance, *sb.*, agreement, 15, 3.

alluterlie, *adv.*, wholly, 70, 5, 16 ; 71, 16 ; 194, 27 ; 195, 6, 28.

allya, *sb.*, alliance, 127, 11 ; 128, 3 : *so* allyae, 200, 6 : allie, 126, 34 ; 128, 15 ; 200, 19. [*Fr. alliéd.*]

ancientnes, *sb.*, antiquity, 178, 8, 19 ; 179, 18.

anent, *prep.*, with respect to, 14, 19 ; 18, 24 ; 21, 10 ; 58, 9, 20, 26 ; 59, 4, 19, 26 ; 80, 8, 18 ; 81, 19 ; 90, 9, 20 ; 91, 19 ; 106, 9, 20 ; 107, 18 ; 112, 23, 25 ; 113, 4, 6, 25, 27 ; 116, 25, 31 ; 117, 6, 23, 29 ; 122, 12, 23 ; 123, 22 ; 158, 32 ; 159, 10, 33 ; 197, 33.

anents, *prep.*, concerning, 84, 25 ; 85, 3 ; 117, 1 ; 196, 33 ; 197, 10.

aneu, *pron.*, sufficient, 186, 7. (*Cf. ynewe.*)

aneuch, *adj.*, enough, 29, 2 ; 43, 10 ; 61, 1 ; 76, 6 ; 103, 7 ; 105, 5 ; 191, 3.

antecessouris, *sb.*, *pl.*, ancestors, 86, 10, 21 ; 87, 23.

apochrife, *adj.*, apocryphal, 34, 30 ; 35, 2, 32.

aprehension, *sb.*, understanding, 202, 22 ; 203, 2, 22.

arbitrall, *adj.*, discretionary, 148, 4, 16 ; 149, 14.

archibellisis, *sb.*, *pl.*, chief inciters, 148, 33 ; 149, 8, 34.

arlpennie, *sb.*, earnest-money, 40, 1 : *so* arles-pennie, 40, 12 ; 41, 11.

arrogancie, *sb.*, haughtiness, 180, 22 ; 181, 21.

astrologiens, *sb.*, *pl.*, astronomers, 142, 30 ; 143, 6, 28.

athort, *adv.*, across the path in such a way as to do someone an ill-turn, 96, 8, 18 ; *prep.*, 156, 4, 18.

attendance, *sb.*, attention, 28, 8, 22 ; 29, 20.

aucht, *vb.*, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, owe, 95, 2 : 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, ought, 2, 11 ; 26, 1 ; 34, 8 ; 105, 10 ; 106, 1 ; 135, 3 ; 155, 10 ; 190, 11 : 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, ought, 108, 2 ; 109, 4 ; 127, 9 ; 173, 5.

auer, *sb.*, cart-horse, 106, 12, 23 ; 107, 21.

aunserable, *adj.*, responsible, 70, 23 ; 71, 1, 21.

- authoure, *sb.*, begetter, 6, 5, 13; 7, 15; 160, 1, 7; 161, 5.  
 awe of, stodee, *phr.*, feared, 182, 3, 13; 183, 16.  
 awin, the, = its own, 31, 4; 196, 8: so the owne, 15, 33; 30, 27;  
 31, 28; 196, 20.  
 aye, *adv.*, ever, 42, 32; 43, 8; 88, 8, 21; 180, 2, 13.  
  
 baid, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, remained, 67, 4: so bode, 66, 32; 67, 33.  
 bairde, *sb.*, mocker, 94, 12, 25: bairdis, *sb.*, *pl.*, 76, 29; 77, 3, 30.  
 bairnis, *sb.*, *pl.*, children, 132, 5, 9, 17, 21.  
 baitid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, fed, 74, 12, 25; 75, 25.  
 balladines, *sb.*, *pl.*, mountebanks, 189, 14.  
 balopis, *sb.*, *pl.*, cod-pieces, 174, 2, 12.  
 bang (it out), *vb.*, *infin.*, to settle by blows, 82, 30; 83, 7, 31.  
 barbares, *sb.*, *pl.*, barbarians, 70, 5, 16; 71, 16.  
 begouth, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, began, 74, 10, 23; 75, 23.  
 beildit, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, built, 180, 2.  
 beurayes. See bewray.  
 bewray, *vb.*, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, reveal, 18, 10: beurayes, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, betray,  
 176, 7, 20; 177, 16.  
 bode. See baid.  
 bogle, *sb.*, scarecrow, 84, 10, 22.  
 brake, *vb.*, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, broke, 86, 8, 19; 87, 21.  
 breake, *sb.*, breach, 118, 4; 123, 1.  
 breshes, *sb.*, *pl.*, breaches, 152, 1. [Fr. *brèche*.]  
 brooke, *vb.*, *infin.*, to enjoy, 70, 28; 71, 5, 28; 78, 24; 79, 1, 23.  
 burreaux, *sb.*, *pl.*, executioners, 56, 28; 57, 7, 30. [Fr. *bourreau*.]  
 burthein, *sb.*, burden, 54, 5: so burthen, 7, 5; 20, 17; 54, 18; 55, 16;  
 200, 31; 201, 3, 33.  
 butte, *sb.*, a mark aimed at, 206, 5, 13; 207, 14.  
 byde, *vb.*, *infin.*, (i) to undergo successfully, 13, 1: (ii) to abide, 202, 3,  
 13; 203, 13: byding, *vbl. sb.*, abiding, 66, 30; 67, 2, 31.  
 byle, *sb.*, boil, 26, 4, 16; 27, 14.  
 by-past, *adj.*, former, 18, 33; 21, 37; 150, 3, 17; 151, 10; 158, 11, 22;  
 159, 23.  
  
 cache, *sb.*, tennis, 188, 8: so caitche, 188, 18; 189, 18.  
 cairles, *adj.*, unstudied, 174, 27; 175, 6, 25.  
 cairteris, *sb.*, *pl.*, card-players, 193, 5: so carders, 192, 26: carters,  
 193, 27.  
 cairtes, *sb.*, *pl.*, cards, 192, 4; 193, 1; 194, 1: so carts, 193, 12, 23;  
 195, 12.  
 carders. See cairteris.  
 carters, carts. See cairteris, cairtes.  
 casté (vp), *vb.*, *imperat.*, consult, 34, 29; 35, 2, 32.  
 censor. See censure.  
 censure, *sb.*, critic, 185, 5: so censure, 184, 25: censor, 185, 26.  
 [Fr. *censeur*.]  
 censure, *sb.*, (i) criticism, 13, 29: (ii) judgement, 44, 11, 22; 45, 22.  
 See also censure.  
 censure, *vb.*, *imperat.*, judge, 44, 8, 19; 45, 19.

- chalker, *sb.*, chamber, 118, 12, 25; 119, 22; 170, 3, 6, 12, 15, 19; 171, 1, 14, 17, 21.
- choppe, *vb.*, *infin.*, to strike, 42, 8, 20; 43, 18: choppis, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, 41, 10: so choppe, 40, 32; 41, 34.
- ciuillie, *sb.*, civilisation, 70, 4, 6, 15, 17, 25; 71, 2, 15, 17, 25.
- ciuill, *adj.*, pertaining to the organisation of the State, 78, 1, 13; 79, 10.
- clatteris, *sb.*, *pl.*, idle talk, 170, 5, 13.
- cledd, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, clothed, 46, 6; 52, 1; 172, 3; 175, 2, 8.
- cloutes, *sb.*, *pl.*, rags, 142, 6, 17.
- coft, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, bought, 63, 10.
- cogging, *vbl. sb.*, cheating, 194, 4, 14; 195, 15.
- coinzie. See cunzee.
- comandis, *sb.*, *pl.*, commandments, 32, 9, 21.
- comentaire, *sb.*, commentary, 34, 4.
- commoditie, *sb.*, advantage, 92, 1, 14; 93, 5.
- compeire, *vb.*, *infin.*, to appear, 42, 10, 22; 43, 21.
- composition, *sb.*, condiment, 166, 24; 167, 1, 22.
- comptable, *adj.*, accountable, 54, 6. Cf. countable.
- compte, *sb.*, (i) account, 30, 8; 90, 12: so coumpte, 116, 5: (ii) reckoning, 44, 3, 6; 45, 6; 188, 1. Cf. counte.
- compte, *vb.*, *infin.*, consider, 123, 9: *imperat.*, 122, 12; coumptid, *pt. ptc.*, 167, 2.
- compte booke, *sb.*, an account book, a record, 42, 5. Cf. count booke.
- conceatis, *sb.*, *pl.*, opinions, 162, 8, 17; 163, 16.
- concised, *vbl. adj.*, concise, 13, 37.
- coniunct, *adj.*, closely related, 13, 13.
- conqueis, *vb.*, *infin.*, to conquer, 174, 9.
- conquise, *sb.*, conquest, 62, 1.
- contraire, (i) *adj.*, opposite, 10, 9, 19; 11, 17; 54, 9; 61, 8, 30; 104, 4; 163, 2: (ii) *sb.*, an opposite, 26, 8; 28, 11; 29, 1; 55, 8; 57, 5, &c.: (iii) *vb.*, *infin.*, to act in opposition to, 44, 23; 45, 2, 23: (iv) *prep.*, contrary (to), 117, 4.
- conuenient, *adj.*, becoming, 164, 7, 18; 165, 18.
- conuince, *vb.*, *infin.*, to produce a moral conviction of sin, 29, 12.
- cost, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, bought, 62, 34.
- coulloure. See culloure, *sb.*
- coumpte. See compte, *sb.*
- coumptid. See compte, *vb.*
- countable, *adj.*, accountable, 54, 19; 55, 17. Cf. comptable.
- count booke, *sb.*, an account-book, a reckoning, 42, 17; 43, 15. Cf. compte booke.
- counte, *sb.*, (i) account, 90, 23; 91, 22; 148, 25; 149, 1: (ii) reckoning, 188, 12; 189, 11. Cf. compte.
- counterfitte, *vb.*, *infin.*, to counterfeit, 53, 5: counterfitting, *pres. ptc.*, 56, 1: counterfitted, *pt. ptc.*, 150, 8.
- craigs, *sb.*, *pl.*, necks, 84, 2, 14; 85, 12.
- crake, *vb.*, *infin.*, to converse familiarly, 38, 26; 39, 1.
- cran-craige, *sb.*, a crane's neck, 166, 30; 167, 5, 30.
- culloure, *sb.*, pretext, 60, 3; 62, 6; 156, 1: so colour, 60, 14; 61, 14; 62, 19; 63, 17; 156, 15; 157, 4, and coullour, 16, 29.

- culloure, *vb.*, *infin.*, to misrepresent, 49, 8 : *so* colour, 48, 34 ; 49, 31 :  
 cullouris, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, 140, 9 : coloureth, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, 140, 19 ;  
 141, 20.  
 cunzee, *sb.*, coin, 64, 10. *See also* cunzee.  
 cunzee, *sb.*, coinage, 91, 7 : *so* cunzee, 90, 6 : coinzie, 90, 18, 30, 31.  
 [O. Fr. *cuigne*.]  
 curagieuse, *adj.*, high-spirited, 188, 11 : *so* coragious, 188, 22 : couragious,  
 189, 23.  
 curiositie, *sb.*, subtlety, 190, 32 ; 191, 9, 32.  
 dainte, *vb.*, *infin.*, subdue, 134, 12.  
 dantone, *vb.*, *infin.*, to subdue, 24, 2, 10 ; 25, 10 ; 70, 20 ; 71, 19 ;  
 134, 24 ; 135, 22 ; 189, 23 : *so* dantoune, 70, 8 ; 188, 11 : daunton,  
 188, 22.  
 deboshed, *adj.*, debauched, 120, 19 ; 121, 19 ; 138, 25 ; 139, 22 ; 172, 1,  
 12 ; 173, 11 ; 194, 2, 13 ; 195, 13 : *so* deboshid, 120, 8.  
 declaratoure, *sb.*, a judicial decision, 182, 21 ; 183, 2, 20.  
 decreatis, *sb.*, *pl.*, decrees, 60, 2, 13 ; 61, 13.  
 defacing, *vbl. sb.*, discrediting, 13, 35.  
 degree, *sb.*, type, 166, 6, 18 ; 167, 15 : degrees, *sb.*, *pl.*, parts, 28, 33 ;  
 29, 5, 33.  
 delate, *vb.*, *infin.*, to relate, 30, 5, 16 ; 31, 16 : dilaited, *pt. ptc.*, informed  
 against, 158, 11 ; 159, 23 : *so* delated, 158, 23.  
 delated. *See* delate, dilaitid.  
 delatoures. *See* dilatouris.  
 delicacie. *See* delicatie.  
 delicatie, *sb.*, voluptuousness, 166, 6 ; 167, 3 ; 170, 1 : *so* delicacie,  
 166, 17, 26, 28 ; 167, 14, 25, 27 ; 168, 32 ; 169, 32.  
 democratie, *sb.*, democracy, 75, 3.  
 dependairis, *sb.*, *pl.*, dependants, 82, 25 ; 83, 2, 26.  
 descryued, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, described, 100, 4 ; 101, 16.  
 detracted, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, found fault with, 14, 3.  
 dicton, *sb.*, a heraldic device or motto, 206, 20 ; 207, 2, 21.  
 difficill, *adj.*, difficult, 36, 5, 15 ; 37, 15 ; 129, 30.  
 digeste, *vb.*, *infin.*, to get over the effects of, 202, 25 ; 203, 5, 26.  
 dilaitid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, amplified, 32, 10, 22 ; 98, 31 ; 99, 10, 32 : *so*  
 delated, 33, 20. *See also* delate.  
 dilatouris, *sb.*, *pl.*, delays, 148, 9 ; 149, 20 : *so* delatoures, 148, 22.  
 dinging, *vb.*, *pres. ptc.*, to repeat over and over, 86, 31 ; 87, 10.  
 dispone, *vb.*, *imperat.*, dispense of, 88, 9, 22 ; 89, 20.  
 distingue, *vb.*, *infin.*, distinguish, 196, 2.  
 ditted, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, shut up, 14, 33.  
 divulgating, *vbl. sb.*, making known, 19, 15.  
 doasin, *vb.*, *infin.*, to stupefy, 156, 11, 25 ; 157, 17.  
 driftes, *sb.*, *pl.*, intentions, 12, 33.  
 dyet, *sb.*, customary course of living as to food, 168, 30, 31 ; 169, 8, 9,  
 30, 31.  
 dytid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, indited, 32, 3, 15 ; 33, 13.  
 dytement, *sb.*, dictation, 34, 31 ; 35, 5, 34.



- ecclesiastike, *adj.*, ecclesiastical, 77, 6.  
 effectuate, *vb.*, *infin.*, to effect, 202, 4, 14; 203, 14: effectuating, *vbl. sb.*, effecting, 202, 24; 203, 4, 24.  
 eike, *vb.*, *infin.*, to add, 64, 26; 65, 5, 27: eiked, *pt. ptc.*, 20, 35.  
 engyne, *sb.*, native talent, 184, 3, 13; 185, 12; 186, 29; 187, 5, 28: so ingyne, 13, 5.  
 enregistrate, *pt. ptc.*, *adj.*, placed on permanent record, 184, 1, 11; 185, 10.  
 entertainer, *sb.*, nourisher, 37, 5: so intertayner, 36, 25.  
 entrance, *sb.*, initiation, 150, 33; 151, 5, 33.  
 entresse. *See* interesse.  
 estaite, *sb.*, the State as a political organisation, 148, 7, 19; 149, 17.  
 ethnicke, *adj.*, heathen, 151, 23.  
 euangelis, *sb.*, evangelists, 34, 11.  
 euent, *sb.*, *pl.*, consequences, 162, 19; 163, 2.  
 execute, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, (i) put into operation, 58, 25; 59, 3, 25: (ii) administered, 102, 31; 103, 8, 30.  
 exemplaire, *adj.*, serving as a precedent, 26, 10, 22; 27, 21; 106, 7, 18; 107, 16.  
 experimentid, *pt. ptc.*, *adj.*, experienced, 100, 6, 20; 101, 19.  
 extraordinaires, *sb.*, *pl.*, emergencies, 158, 3: so extraordinaries, 158, 14; 159, 14.  
 facill, *adj.*, easy, 198, 12, 24; 199, 23.  
 facon, *sb.*, fashion, 168, 6; 174, 5; 178, 7; 180, 9: facons, *sb.*, *pl.*, ways of living, 72, 9; 175, 6; 200, 1.  
 fact, *sb.*, deed, 58, 2, 14; 59, 12.  
 faillie, *sb.*, failure, 8, 3: so failzie, 8, 14.  
 failzie. *See* faillie.  
 fairding, *vbl. sb.*, painting the face, 174, 6, 16; 175, 14: fairdit, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, having the face painted, 178, 26; 179, 4, 26.  
 falset, *sb.*, falsehood, 109, 3; 195, 8.  
 fame, *sb.*, reputation, 102, 7, 18; 103, 18; 108, 28; 109, 5, 28; 170, 19; 171, 2, 22.  
 famous, *adj.*, defamatory, 16, 25. [Lat. *famosus*.]  
 fantasie, *vb.*, *infin.*, to imagine, 74, 11, 24; 75, 23.  
 farther upon, *phr.*, more intimate with, 36, 9, 18: further upon, 37, 19.  
 fashery, *sb.*, worry, 20, 17.  
 fashouse, *adj.*, vexing, 194, 7, 9: so faschious, 194, 17, 19: fashious, 195, 18, 20.  
 fault, *sb.*, lack, 20, 15.  
 feade, *sb.*, feud, 82, 29; 83, 6, 30: feadis, *sb.*, *pl.*, 84, 25, 30; 85, 2, 8, 25, 31.  
 fectless. *See* fekles.  
 feinzie, *vb.*, *infin.*, to feign, 143, 10.  
 fekles, *adj.*, futile, 82, 8: so fectless, 82, 20; 83, 20.  
 fellowes, *sb.*, *pl.*, equals in rank, 121, 13.  
 flitted, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, passed into, 148, 33; 149, 9.  
 fonde, *adj.*, foolish, 194, 5, 15; 195, 16.  
 forbear, *vb.*, *infin.*, to shun, 2, 8; 3, 8.  
 forbearis, *sb.*, *pl.*, ancestors, 178, 9, 20.

forfalte, *vb.*, 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, impose sentence of forfeiture on, 60, 10 : so fore-faulte, 60, 21 ; 61, 21 : forfealted, *pt. ptc.*, 112, 9, 19 : forefaulted, 113, 21.

forfaltouris, *sb.*, *pl.*, forfeitures, 60, 8, 19 ; 61, 19.

fra, *prep.*, from, 182, 7, 28 ; 183, 9, 27.

freatis, *sb.*, *pl.*, superstitions, 170, 22 ; 171, 5, 25.

fyne, *adj.*, skilled in, 198, 6, 18 ; 199, 14.

gage, *vb.*, *infin.*, to stake, 192, 11, 21 ; 193, 22.

gagoure, *sb.*, wager, 193, 2 : so gaygeour, 192, 24 ; 193, 25 : gagoures, *sb.*, *pl.*, wagers, 193, 3 : so gageours, 192, 24 : gaigeours, 193, 25.

gange, *vb.*, *infin.*, to go, 147, 1 : gangis, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, 169, 1 ; 192, 9.

garre, *vb.*, *imperat.*, cause, 90, 31 ; 91, 8 : garring, *vbl. sb.*, 168, 8, 19.

generation, *sb.*, act of procreation, 132, 26 ; 133, 1, 24.

gif, *conj.*, if, 10, 9 ; 24, 8 ; 25, 1 ; 29, 3 ; 30, 9 ; 38, 12 ; 40, 6, 8 ; 42, 3 ; 44, 9, 10, *et passim*.

glaiquerie, *sb.*, foolish behaviour, 48, 1, 14.

glisten, *vb.*, *infin.*, to sparkle, 26, 25 ; 27, 2, 24 : glistening, *pres. ptc.*, 26, 12, 24 ; 27, 23.

greuhunde, *sb.*, greyhound, 189, 8.

grosselie, *adv.*, openly, 76, 7, 20 ; 77, 19.

guste, *sb.*, foretaste, 74, 10, 23 ; 75, 22.

gysairis, *sb.*, *pl.*, mummers, 188, 4, 15.

habilitie, *sb.*, bodily strength, 186, 28 ; 187, 4 : so ability, 187, 27.

hairtelie, *adj.*, cordial, 120, 6, 17 : so hartly, 121, 16.

hairtlines, *sb.*, heartiness, 94, 3, 15 ; 95, 11.

hardie, *adj.*, bold, 190, 6, 18 ; 191, 16.

hardiment, *sb.*, boldness, 100, 9.

hardinesse, *sb.*, boldness, 100, 22 ; 101, 22.

hartlie, *adv.*, heartily, 18, 37 ; 22, 30.

headie, *adj.*, domineering, 15, 34.

heich, *adj.*, high, 155, 8.

heicht, *sb.*, height, 8, 1, 5 ; 26, 8 ; 141, 2.

hienes, *sb.*, height, 26, 6 : so highnes, 26, 18 ; 27, 16.

highnes. *See* hienes.

hinder, *sb.*, hindrance, 88, 3, 16.

housomeuer, *adv.*, howsoever, 30, 8.

humoure, *sb.*, temperament, 108, 30 ; 109, 8, 30 : humours, *sb.*, *pl.*,

(i) fluids, 19, 13 : (ii) fancies, 15, 36 : (iii) character, 94, 31 ; 95, 7, 32.

ianissaires, *sb.*, *pl.*, Janissaries, 118, 13, 26 ; 119, 24.

idees, *sb.*, *pl.*, images, 19, 7.

ignorantis, *adj.*, as *sb.*, ignorant people, 76, 28 ; 77, 3, 30.

immediatlie, *adv.*, without any intermediary, 108, 6, 17 ; 109, 17.

impatencie, *sb.*, impatience, 183, 6.

importunitie, *sb.*, unremitting solicitation, 40, 18 ; 41, 18 ; 198, 8, 10, 20, 22 ; 199, 19, 21 : so inportunitie, 40, 7.

in, *prep.*, into, 122, 31 ; 123, 8, 30 ; 128, 7, 19 ; 129, 15.

inconuenientis, *sb.*, *pl.*, 17, 36 ; 112, 25 ; 113, 5, 27.

- indeuid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, endowed, 110, 3, 15; 111, 13.  
 indifferent, *adj.*, neither good nor bad, 8, 10, 21; 9, 21; 15, 2; 162, 22; 163, 5, 21; 164, 4, 9, 15, 20, 27; 165, 4, 15, 20, 27.  
 infaming, *vbl. sb.*, defaming, 67, 25.  
 infectiue, *adj.*, causing disease, 19, 13.  
 ingyne. *See* engyne.  
 inportunitie. *See* importunitie.  
 institution, *sb.*, training, 6, 1, 9; 20, 5.  
 interesse, *sb.*, benefit, 54, 31; 55, 7, 30: *so* intrese, 158, 9: *and* entresse, 158, 20; 159, 20.  
 into, *prep.*, in, 10, 30; 11, 9, 27; 26, 3, 4, 5, 15, 16, 17; 27, 13, 14, 15; 150, 13, 27.  
 intrese. *See* interesse.  
 intromission, *sb.*, dealing, 116, 5, 17; 117, 14.  
 inuardest, *adj.*, most personal, 118, 11, 24; 119, 21.  
 inuectiue, *adj.*, abusive, 16, 27.  
 inuentaie, *sb.*, inventory, 42, 5.  
 iouking, *vbl. sb.*, bowing in salutation, 180, 12, 23; 181, 22.
- kenn, *vb.*, *infin.*, to know, 62, 10.  
 kirke, *sb.*, church, 32, 4; 35, 2; 49, 4; 73, 8; 74, 4; 78, 3; 80, 8; 81, 1, 7: kirkes, *sb.*, *pl.*, 74, 1; 81, 1.  
 kirkemen, *sb.*, *pl.*, churchmen, 145, 12.  
 kyndlie, *adj.*, (i) natural, 44, 8, 19; 45, 18; 108, 11, 21; 109, 21: (ii) naturally disposed, 106, 12, 23; 107, 21.  
 kyndliest, *adv.*, *superl.*, most naturally, 196, 8, 19; 197, 18.  
 kythe, *vb.*, *infin.*, to make known, 110, 28; 111, 4, 27; 112, 5, 7, 15, 16; 113, 1, 18, 22: kithe, 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, 62, 28; 63, 27: kythe, *imperat.*, 50, 6, 17; 51, 15: kythed, 2 *pl.*, *pret.*, 63, 3: kythed, *pt. ptc.*, 112, 29; 113, 10, 32.
- laiche, *adj.*, low, 189, 4.  
 lairdis, *sb.*, *pl.*, small landed proprietors, 154, 6, 18; 155, 17.  
 langsum, *adj.*, lengthy, 184, 5: *so* longsome, 184, 15; 185, 14.  
 langsumnes, *sb.*, protractedness, 146, 4, 7: *so* long-somnesse, 146, 17, 20; 147, 16, 19.  
 lauborrouis, *sb.*, *pl.*, security given by anyone that he will not injure another in his person or property, 139, 4: *so* law-burrowes, 138, 29; 139, 27.  
 leare, *vb.*, *infin.*, to learn, 2, 9; 3, 9.  
 learne, *vb.*, *imperat.*, teach, 84, 3, 15.  
 leaue, *sb.*, remainder, 135, 8.  
 leid, *sb.*, manner of speech, 178, 30; 179, 8, 30.  
 letrone, *sb.*, Lent, 94, 6, 18.  
 lett, *vb.*, *infin.*, to debar from, 106, 30; 107, 6, 30.  
 libels, *sb.*, *pl.*, pamphlets, 16, 25.  
 lichley, *vb.*, *imperat.*, underrate, 102, 3: *so* lightly, 102, 14; 103, 14: lichleing, *vbl. sb.*, despising, 86, 7; 174, 8: *so* lighlyng, 86, 17: lightlyng, 87, 19; 174, 19; 175, 16.

lighlying, lightly, lightlyling. *See* lichley.

likliheade, *sb.*, probability, 158, 10.

lipening, *vb.*, *pres. ptc.*, trusting, 96, 4, 14; 97, 14.

louable, *adj.*, praiseworthy, 88, 11, 23.

lugge, *sb.*, ear, 118, 3, 17.

lyuelie, *adj.*, living, 32, 4, 16; 33, 14.

ma, *adj.*, more, 59, 3; 96, 3; 116, 11; 199, 4: *so* mo(e), 58, 25; 59, 25; 79, 21; 96, 13; 97, 13; 116, 23; 117, 20; 198, 27; 199, 28.

magnanimitie, *sb.*, greatness of soul, 102, 8, 19; 103, 18.

man, *vb.*, 1 *sing.*, 6, 6; 7, 2; 110, 9; 190, 5: 3 *sing.*, 38, 1; 54, 6; 72, 2; 121, 4; 127, 1; 140, 4: 2 *pl.*, 47, 7, 10; 52, 1, 5; 96, 8, 10; 101, 3; 102, 11, *et passim*: 3 *pl.*, 87, 5; 107, 8; 111, 4.

marrou, *sb.*, (i) partner, 128, 10, 22; 129, 17: (ii) an equal, 140, 25; 141, 6: marrouis, *sb.*, *pl.*, equals in rank, 120, 3, 14.

meane, *adj.*, (i) not of high rank, 116, 2, 4, 15, 16; 117, 11, 12: (ii) humble, 166, 9, 21; 167, 19.

meanid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, lamented, 56, 30; 57, 9, 32.

meikle, (1) *adv.*, much, 131, 4; 145, 9; 169, 1: *so* mekill, 46, 8: mekle, 26, 7; 38, 13; 145, 10; 154, 3; 182, 3; 204, 3: (2) mekill, *pron.*, much, 135, 4; 192, 11.

mekill, mekle. *See* meikle.

mell, *vb.*, *infin.*, to meddle, 118, 12, 25, 27; 119, 2: 2 *pl.*, 184, 9, 18.

menstrally, *sb.*, minstrelsy, 199, 10.

mette, *vb.*, *infin.*, to measure, 67, 9.

middis, *sb.*, (i) the middle part, the midst, 40, 11; 71, 8: *so* middest, 40, 22; 41, 22; 70, 30; 71, 31: (ii) a mean, 163, 7: *so* middes, 162, 24; 163, 24: middesses, *sb.*, *pl.*, the means of achieving or attaining anything, 12, 11, 13; 207, 17: *so* middeses, 54, 22: middisis, 54, 10: middises, 206, 15: midisis, 206, 7.

mignarde, *adj.*, dainty, 168, 5, 16; 169, 14; 178, 32; 179, 9, 32.

militaire, *adj.*, military, 151, 6.

mintis, *vb.*, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, attempts, 145, 4: *so* minteth, 144, 23.

missis, *vb.*, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, fails, 57, 4: *so* misseth, 56, 25.

mo. *See* ma.

moderated, *pt. ptc.*, *adj.*, regulated, 93, 32.

monstrouse, *adj.*, monstrous, 66, 11; 85, 1.

morgue, *sb.*, haughty demeanour, 180, 8, 19; 181, 18. [Fr. *morgue*.]

mowis, *sb.*, *pl.*, jest, 46, 6, 16; 132, 8, 21; 194, 26; 195, 5.

moyen, *sb.*, means of subsistence, 192, 27; 193, 5, 28.

murther, *sb.*, murder, 42, 31; 43, 8, 30; 62, 7, 20; 63, 18; 64, 8, 19; 65, 20.

mutining, *vbl. sb.*, mutiny, 92, 9, 23; 93, 14.

namelie, *adv.*, specially, 168, 2, 12; 169, 11.

naturall, *sb.*, natural disposition, 118, 9; 176, 8.

neighbour, *adj.*, neighbouring, 75, 19.

niggartenes, *sb.*, niggardliness, 141, 7: *so* niggardnesse, 140, 27; 141, 30.



nor, *conj.*, (i) than, 10, 24 ; 11, 3 ; 36, 8, 9, 17, 19 ; 48, 3, 16 ; 50, 6, 8, 10, 17, 19, 20 ; 72, 24 ; 73, 2 ; 98, 23 ; 99, 2 ; 102, 11, 23 ; 142, 5, 16 ; 162, 25 ; 163, 8 ; 170, 1, 10 ; 174, 23 ; 175, 2 ; 178, 8, 19 ; 188, 3, 13 ; 194, 24 ; 195, 3 ; 198, 28 ; 199, 4 ; (ii) or, 14, 16 ; 32, 25 ; 33, 2, 25 ; 46, 7, 17 ; 47, 18 ; 68, 30 ; 69, 11 ; 74, 32 ; 75, 7, 32 ; 78, 5, 16 ; 98, 8, 18, 27 ; 99, 6, 18, 28 ; 136, 6, 17 ; 137, 17 ; 145, 12, 31 ; 146, 12, 29 ; 147, 6, 29 ; 188, 31 ; 189, 9 ; 204, 2, 3, 14 ; 205, 10, 11.

nouelties, *sb.*, *pl.*, innovations, 92, 29 ; 93, 2, 20.

obleishe, *vb.*, *infin.*, to put under a moral obligation, 78, 4 : so oblish, 78, 16 ; 79, 14 : obleist, *pt. ptc.*, 84, 1 ; 85, 4 : so oblised, 84, 12, 27 ; 85, 11, 27.

oeconomike, *adj.*, pertaining to the management of a household, 106, 3, 15 ; 107, 12.

oppone, *vb.*, *infin.*, to oppose, 19, 18.

or, *conj.*, before, 194, 22 ; 195, 1, 23.

orping, *vbl. sb.*, murmuring discontentedly, 84, 5, 17 ; 85, 15.

ouerseein, 106, 6 : ouerseene, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, passed over, 106, 18 ; 107, 15 ; 128, 5, 17 ; 129, 12.

ouersicht, *sb.*, in ignoring of, 204, 9 : so ouer-sight, 204, 21 ; 205, 18.

ought, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pret.*, owed, 18, 17.

ouertures, *sb.*, *pl.*, proposals, 21, 15.

painfull, *adj.*, painstaking, 100, 30 ; 101, 2, 29.

pansue, *adj.*, thoughtful, 168, 7.

panss, *vb.*, *imperat.*, think, 2, 12 : so panse, 3, 12.

papall, *adj.*, Roman Catholic, 80, 30 ; 81, 10, 33.

papiste, *adj.*, popish, 74, 4.

parted, *vb.*, 3 *sing.*, *pret.*, distributed, 19, 26.

particulaire, *sb.*, a private affair, 54, 31 ; 55, 7, 30 ; 56, 4, 15 ; 57, 15 ; 68, 9, 18 ; 69, 21 : particulaires, *sb.*, *pl.*, 48, 34 ; 49, 9, 31 ; 58, 29 ; 59, 7, 29 ; 60, 1, 13 ; 61, 13 ; 118, 13, 25 ; 119, 23.

passemaster, *sb.*, past-master, expert, 150, 14, 27 ; 151, 28.

patent, *adj.*, open, 190, 30 ; 191, 7, 30.

patrone, *sb.*, pattern, 117, 8 ; 136, 7 ; 190, 3 ; 202, 5.

peax(e), *sb.*, peace, 55, 2 ; 56, 9 ; 81, 7 ; 83, 11 ; 84, 1 ; 103, 4 ; 120, 7 ; 139, 2.

peccant, *adj.*, inducing disease, 72, 2, 13 ; 73, 12.

pecuniall, *adj.*, consisting of money, 138, 30 ; 139, 5, 28.

pedder, *sb.*, pedlar, 172, 2, 12.

peice & peice, *phr.*, gradually, 198, 30 ; 199, 7, 30.

penetrant, *adj.*, penetrating, 12, 17.

pert, *adj.*, ready, 84, 9, 21 : so pearte, 85, 20.

pett, *sb.*, sulks, taking the pet, 84, 5, 17.

phanatick, *adj.*, fanatical, 79, 22.

philosophe, *sb.*, philosopher, 197, 9.

pinsell, *sb.*, penis, 174, 2 : so pensel, 174, 12.

pistolettis, *sb.*, *pl.*, pistols, 86, 3, 14 ; 87, 16.

pleuch, *sb.*, plough, 196, 10.

policie, *sb.*, (i) conduct of public affairs, 15, 14; 92, 7, 20; 93, 11:

(ii) system of government, 16, 5, 34; 72, 10, 21; 73, 21; 74, 7, 20;

75, 18: (iii) form of political organisation, 80, 25; 81, 5, 27.

politike, *adj.*, (i) in one's relation to the State as a citizen, 78, 1, 13;

79, 10: (ii) pertaining to the administration of the State, 106, 3, 14; 107, 12.

polle, *vb.*, *infin.*, cut the hair, 145, 6: so powle, 144, 25.

popple, *sb.*, tares, 15, 31.

pose, *sb.*, treasure, 90, 33; 91, 10; 158, 1, 12.

powle. See polle.

practick, *sb.*, practice, 20, 10.

præiudge, *vb.*, 1 *sing.*, *pres.*, deprive, 72, 29; 73, 7, 30.

præoccupation, *sb.*, prejudice, 202, 1, 11; 203, 11.

præoccupied, *pt. ptc.*, *adj.*, biassed, 162, 8, 16; 163, 16.

præparatife, *sb.*, precedent, 98, 2, 12; 99, 12.

præscriued, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, prescribed, 22, 20.

prætensis, *sb.*, *pl.*, designs, 54, 34; 55, 10, 33.

prease, preasse, *vb.*, *infin.*, (i) to strive, 2, 4; 3, 4; 17, 14; 26, 25;

27, 2, 24; 136, 11, 22; 137, 23: (ii) to weigh down, 144, 6, 15:

145, 18: 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, strive, 54, 10, 22; 55, 21: *imperat.*, strive, 36,

5, 7, 15, 17; 146, 3, 15; 147, 14; 154, 7, 19; 155, 18; 160, 4, 10;

161, 8; 198, 28; 199, 5, 28: preassing, *pres. ptc.*, striving, 40, 7, 18;

41, 17; 77, 25; 88, 10, 23; 89, 20; 115, 31; 150, 14, 27; 151, 27;

157, 13: preassed, *pt. ptc.*, striven, 22, 21.

preined, *pt. ptc.*, *adj.*, trimmed and adorned, 174, 5, 15; 175, 12:

preining, *vbl. sb.*, trimming and adorning, 176, 3, 16; 177, 12.

processis, *sb.*, *pl.*, law-suits, 146, 5, 18; 147, 17; 182, 29; 183, 11, 29.

promouing, *vbl. sb.*, advancing in rank, 17, 27.

prouyde, *vb.*, *infin.*, to appoint, 134, 32; 135, 6, 30.

prouyding, *conj.*, provided, 62, 4, 17; 63, 15.

prouision, *sb.*, (i) promotion, 79, 29: (ii) proviso, 17, 10.

purpose, *sb.*, subject-matter, topic, 18, 11, 23; 19, 32; 20, 30; 50, 3.

14; 51, 12; 58, 9, 20; 59, 19; 68, 31; 69, 12, 34.

qualitie, *sb.*, rank, 64, 24; 65, 4, 26.

quarrel, quarrelling, quarrellous. See querrell, querrelling, querrellouse.

querrell, *sb.*, cause of fault-finding, 76, 3: so quarrel, 76, 17; 77, 13.

querrelling, *vb.*, *pres. ptc.*, finding fault with, 76, 1: so quarrelling, 76, 14.

querrellouse, *adj.*, quarrelsome, 118, 9: so quarrellous, 118, 22; 119, 19.

quhill, (1) *conj.*, until, 43, 8; 56, 2; 61, 6; 85, 7; 122, 6; 124, 5; 182, 8:

so while, 42, 32; 56, 12; 57, 13; 60, 29; 61, 28; 84, 30; 122, 17;

124, 16; 182, 17: (2) *prep.*, till, 126, 11; 149, 6: so while, 126, 22;

148, 31.

quhyles, *adv.*, on occasion, 47, 3; 76, 7; 89, 8, 9; 146, 9; 169, 6;

191, 6; 198, 7: so whiles, 46, 24; 76, 20; 88, 34, 35; 146, 22;

168, 28; 190, 29; 198, 20: quhyles . . . quhyles, *adv.*, *corr.*, at one

time . . . at another time, 39, 2, 3; 175, 7: so whiles . . . whiles,

38, 29; 174, 28, 29.

quike, *adj.*, lively, 168, 10, 21; 169, 20.

rapper, *sb.*, rapier, 176, 12.  
 rashe-headie, *adj.*, reckless, 14, 13.  
 ratherst, *adv.*, soonest, 84, 26 ; 85, 3, 26 ; 129, 25.  
 reasoning, *vbl. sb.*, conversation, 182, 20 ; 183, 1, 19.  
 redact, *vb.*, *imperat.*, reduce, 50, 2, 13 ; 51, 10.  
 reduction, *sb.*, annulment, 18, 26.  
 regiment, *sb.*, rule, 93, 32.  
 reike, *vb.*, *infin.*, to smoke, 158, 2, 13.  
 remead(e), remeid, *sb.*, remedy, 84, 2, 15 ; 85, 13 ; 88, 6 ; 93, 2 ; 156, 13.  
 remember, *vb.*, *infin.*, to remind, 42, 8, 20 ; 43, 19.  
 renoume, *sb.*, renown, 56, 10, 21.  
 resolved, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, assured, 30, 10, 21 ; 31, 20.  
 responsall, *adj.*, responsible, 116, 3, 15 ; 117, 11.  
 richteous, *adj.*, rightful, 136, 6 : so righteous, 136, 17 ; 137, 18.  
 richtis, *sb.*, *pl.*, laws, 146, 5.  
 rin, *vb.*, *infin.*, run, 108, 9 ; 196, 10 : rinning, *pres. ptc.*, 189, 6 ; 191, 4 :  
     rinning, *vbl. sb.*, running, 175, 3 ; 188, 7 ; 193, 1.  
 roume, *sb.*, office, place, 30, 27 ; 31, 4, 28 : roumes, *sb.*, *pl.*, offices,  
     places, 70, 25 ; 71, 2, 25 ; 108, 2, 13 ; 109, 12.  
 rude, *adj.*, plain, 166, 7, 19.  
 rumling, *adj.*, rough, 188, 2, 12.  
 ruse, *sb.*, boast, 198, 1, 13 ; 199, 8.  
 rusticall, *adj.*, countrified, 178, 30 ; 179, 8, 30.  
 type (vp), *vb.*, *infin.*, to examine thoroughly, 15, 20.

sadnesse, *sb.*, seriousness, 8, 4, 15 ; 9, 15.  
 schoole-man, *sb.*, learned scholar, 20, 11.  
 searcheris, *sb.*, *pl.*, customs-house officers, 90, 10, 22 ; 91, 21.  
 secrettis, *sb.*, *pl.*, a coat of mail concealed under one's ordinary apparel,  
     176, 29 ; 177, 4, 27.  
 securitie, *sb.*, confidence, 42, 31 ; 43, 7, 30.  
 sen, *conj.*, since, 7, 3 ; 48, 9 ; 61, 11 ; 62, 2, 13, 15 ; 64, 22, 31 ;  
     65, 1, 10, 33 ; 66, 4, 18, *et passim*.  
 sendill, *adv.*, seldom, 60, 6.  
 sensyne, *adv.*, since, 74, 32 ; 75, 7 ; 77, 7 ; 132, 13, 26 ; 133, 23.  
 sententious, *adj.*, full of meaning, 178, 29 ; 179, 7, 29.  
 shaddou, *sb.*, (i) reflection, 104, 9, 20 : (ii) image, 200, 30 ; 201, 2 :  
     shaddouis, *sb.*, *pl.*, symbols, 200, 3, 17.  
 sheu, shew(e), *vb.*, 1 *sing.*, *pret.*, showed, 52, 4 ; 60, 28 ; 61, 5, 28 ;  
     104, 3 ; 111, 3 ; 146, 30 ; 147, 31 ; 151, 2 : cf. shewed, 52, 9 ; 53,  
     10 ; 104, 14 ; 105, 13 ; 110, 27 ; 111, 26 ; 150, 29 ; 151, 29.  
 sho, *pron.*, 3 *pers.*, she, 131, 1 ; 133, 9 ; 134, 2, 13 ; 135, 1.  
 sib, sibbe, *adj.*, related by blood, 115, 30 ; 124, 30 ; 125, 7, 28 : sibbest,  
     *adj.*, *superl.*, most closely related by blood, 124, 8, 20 ; 125, 17.  
 sikkerlie, *adv.*, severely, 144, 23 ; 145, 4.  
 sith, *conj.*, since, 67, 7, 14 ; 105, 11.  
 skaffolde, *sb.*, a raised platform or stage, a dais, 162, 2, 11.  
 skantnesse, *sb.*, scarcity, 90, 3, 15 ; 91, 12.  
 sleuth, *sb.*, sloth, 100, 9, 23 : so slouth, 101, 22.  
 sleuthfull, *adj.*, slothful, 88, 8, 21 : so slouthfull, 89, 18.

- smittis, *vb.*, 3 *sing.*, *pres.*, infects, 109, 1 : so smitteth, 108, 22.  
smoarid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, hidden, 84, 31 ; 85, 8, 31.  
snibbe, *vb.*, *imperat.*, rebuke, 144, 22 ; 145, 4.  
soldat, *sb.*, soldier, 102, 8 ; 172, 4 : soldatis, *sb.*, *pl.*, 100, 7 ; 101, 4 ; 194, 2.  
solistairis, *sb.*, *pl.*, people who beg favours, 114, 2 : so solicers, 114, 16 ; 115, 6.  
Spangnoll, *sb.*, Spaniard, 100, 12.  
speire, *vb.*, *infin.*, to ask, 46, 23 ; 47, 2 : speired, *pt. ptc.*, 46, 11, 21, 25 ; 47, 4.  
sporters, *sb.*, *pl.*, buffoons, 196, 28 ; 197, 5, 28.  
spouse, *vb.*, *infin.*, to take up in support of, 77, 9.  
stablishe, *vb.*, *infin.*, to establish, 58, 6.  
steir, *vb.*, *infin.*, to stir, 116, 9 ; 124, 4.  
sterue, *vb.*, *infin.*, to die, 140, 29 ; 141, 9, 32.  
stomached, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, angered, 15, 21.  
successe, *sb.*, outcome, 124, 9, 21 ; 125, 18.  
suppose, *conj.*, although, 14, 25 ; 46, 5, 16 ; 47, 16 ; 90, 1, 13 ; 108, 6, 16 ; 122, 9, 21 ; 170, 9, 17 ; 171, 20.  
sustentation, *sb.*, support, maintenance, 80, 24 ; 81, 4, 26.  
sute, *vb.*, *imperat.*, ask for, 40, 3, 14 ; 41, 12.  
syne, *adv.*, thereafter, 44, 11, 21 ; 74, 13, 26.
- tables, *sb.*, *pl.*, backgammon, 194, 1, 12 ; 195, 12.  
teddir, *sb.*, tether, 138, 32 ; 139, 7 ; 140, 1, 11.  
tent, *sb.*, heed, 146, 10, 23.  
textuaire, *sb.*, one who is well acquainted with the text of the Bible and ready and apt in quoting it, 36, 6, 15 ; 37, 16.  
than, *adv.*, then, 2, 11.  
that, *adv.*, so, 18, 28 ; 146, 25 ; 147, 1, 24.  
then, *conj.*, than, 6, 21 ; 7, 7, 23 ; 11, 22 ; 16, 31, 34 ; 18, 7, 27, 30 ; 19, 27 ; 20, 11, 17, 26 ; 37, 17, 19 ; 38, 4, 17 ; 43, 33 ; 44, 26 ; 45, 4, 26, *et passim*.  
theorike, *sb.*, theory, 20, 10 ; 150, 3, 17 ; 151, 9.  
thesaurer, *sb.*, treasurer, 90, 23 ; 91, 22.  
thifteouse, *adj.*, thievish, 189, 7.  
thir, *adj.*, *demon.*, these, 2, 12 ; 28, 32 ; 29, 4 ; 73, 6, 7 ; 76, 13 ; 78, 2 ; 88, 4, 28, 30 ; 89, 2, *et passim*.  
thrang, *adj.*, crowded with people, 170, 3 : so throng, 170, 12 ; 171, 14.  
thrau, *vb.*, 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, distort, 28, 9, 23 : thrauing, *vbl. sb.*, distorting, 200, 4, 18 ; 201, 8.  
thristillis, *sb.*, *pl.*, thistles, 141, 10 : so thrissels, 141, 32.  
tigging, *vbl. sb.*, having to do with, 60, 9, 20 ; 61, 20.  
tinsell, *sb.*, loss, 64, 4, 14.  
toome, *adj.*, empty, 190, 30 ; 191, 7.  
tratler, *sb.*, idle talker, 158, 23 ; 159, 1, 24.  
trauell, *sb.*, severe bodily exertion, 166, 8, 20 ; 167, 17 ; 186, 33 ; 187, 9, 32.  
tred, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, trodden, 16, 13.  
trunche-men, *sb.*, *pl.*, interpreters, 15, 5.



tuillesome, *adj.*, given to brawling, 176, 12 : so tuilyesome, 177, 22 :  
toilsome, 176, 25.

tymouslie, *adv.*, in good time, 6, 16 ; 7, 2, 19 ; 126, 24 ; 127, 2, 24.

uague, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, wander, 145, 1 : so vague, 144, 20 ; 145, 24.

uaike, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, fall vacant, 88, 8 : so vaik, 88, 21 ; 89, 19.

uaile, *vb.*, *infin.*, to choose, 130, 12.

uaistoure, *sb.*, ne'er-do-well, 172, 1 : so waister, 172, 12 ; 173, 11.

ualkenid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, awakened, 43, 8.

ualkeryfe, *adj.*, vigilant, 101, 2 : so walkerife, 100, 30 ; 101, 29.

uall, *vb.*, *infin.*, to coalesce, unite, 200, 8.

uantid, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, done without, 164, 10 : so wanted, 164, 21 ; 165, 21.

uardlie. See uardlie.

uarke, *sb.*, work, 28, 7 ; 90, 11 ; 92, 3 ; 105, 7.

uarlde, *sb.*, world, 30, 2 ; 32, 5 ; 51, 6 ; 57, 8 ; 74, 1 ; 122, 11 ; 150, 6.

uardlie, *adj.*, worldly, 27, 1 : so uardlie, 127, 3 : uordlie, 128, 8.

uashin, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, washed, 42, 11, 23.

uisie, *vb.*, *infin.*, to visit, 96, 1, 3, 12, 14 : so uissie, 120, 11, 22.

uittaile, *sb.*, victual, 141, 9 : so victuall, 140, 28 ; 141, 31.

unciuill, *adj.*, lacking in table manners, 168, 4, 15 ; 169, 14.

uncomelines, *sb.*, what is not agreeable to the moral sense, 184, 20 ;  
185, 1, 21.

unhonestie, *sb.*, (i) fault, 158, 29 ; 159, 7, 30 : (ii) unseemliness, 184, 21 ;  
185, 1, 21.

unkouth, *adj.*, (i) unseemly, 38, 10, 22 ; 39, 25 : (ii) objectionable, 56, 6.  
16 ; 57, 17 : (iii) foreign, 180, 8, 19 ; 181, 18 : (iv) impartial, 184, 25 ;  
185, 5, 26.

unreuerende, *adj.*, irreverent, 93, 4 : so vnreuerent, 92, 30 ; 93, 28.

unspearid (at), *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, unquestioned, 10, 4, 14 ; 11, 12.

uolubilitie, *sb.*, turning on an axis, 150, 6, 20 ; 151, 11.

uordlie. See uardlie.

uraike, *sb.*, ruin, 74, 13 ; 132, 11 : so wrak, 74, 26 : wracke, 75, 25 ;  
115, 26.

uraike, *vb.*, *infin.*, to punish, 63, 8 : so wrak, 62, 33 : wracke, 63, 32 :  
wracke, *vb.*, *infin.*, to ruin, 89, 15 : urakkis, *vb.*, 3 *pl.*, *pres.*, ruin,  
88, 5 : so wracketh, 88, 18.

urittis. See write.

uyte, *sb.*, cause, 90, 5 ; 116, 7 : so wight, 116, 19.

vague. See uague.

vaik. See uaike.

vented, *vb.*, *pt. ptc.*, spread abroad, 13, 27.

visie, vissie. See uisie.

viue, *adj.*, (i) life-like, 19, 7 ; 201, 32 : (ii) giving a life-like reflection,  
2, 1 ; 3, 1.

vnreuerent. See unreuerende.

vntymous, *adj.*, untimely, 19, 15.

waister. See uaistoure.

walkrife. See ualkeryfe.

wanted. *See* uantid.

while. *See* quhill.

whiles. *See* quhyles.

wight. *See* uyte.

wracke, wrak. *See* uraike.

wreast, *vb.*, 2 *pl.*, *pres.*, distort, 29, 22.

write, *sb.*, writing, 21, 1 : writes, *sb.*, *pl.*, writings, 185, 19 : *so* writs.  
184, 19 : urittis, 184, 9.

ydilteth, *sb.*, idleness, 191, 8 : *so* idleteth, 190, 31.

ynewe, *pron.*, sufficient, 187, 19 ; *also* ynow, 186, 20.

ynow. *See* ynewe.

yone, *adj.*, that, 60, 31 ; 61, 8 ; 128, 26 ; 129, 2.

ze, *pron.*, 2 *pers.*, ye, 2, 4 ; 39, 3 ; 40, 2, 3, 8, 9.

zour, *adj.*, *demon.*, your, 2, 7 ; 30, 4 ; 40, 2, 9, 10.

zow, *pron.*, 2 *pers.*, *acc.*, you, 2, 3 ; 40, 1, 2.

# INDICES

## INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL CITATIONS.

(An asterisk denotes a side-reference.)

	PAGE
Genesis ii. 23 . . . . .	120,* 121*
„ iii. 17 . . . . .	85
„ xxv. 5 . . . . .	135
Exodus xx. 12 . . . . .	64* 65,* 155*
Deuteronomy i. 9-18 . . . . .	69*
„ xvii. 14-20 . . . . .	29,* 145*
„ xviii. 10 . . . . .	98,* 99*
1 Samuel xxxi. 4 . . . . .	98,* 99*
2 „ xii. 1-7 . . . . .	42*
2 „ xv. 5 . . . . .	181
1 Kings ii. 5-6 . . . . .	18
1 „ ii. 19 . . . . .	155
1 „ x. 20 . . . . .	120,* 121*
1 „ xi. 14 . . . . .	131
Job v. 8 . . . . .	99
„ xxv. 5-6 . . . . .	143
Psalms xiv. 1 . . . . .	20
„ ci. 4-8 . . . . .	105,* 111*
„ cxxvii. 1 . . . . .	24,* 25*
Proverbs i. 7 . . . . .	27*
„ ix. 10 . . . . .	26,* 27* <sup>1</sup>
„ xx. 12 . . . . .	153*
Ecclesiastes i. 9 . . . . .	151*
„ i. 10 . . . . .	150
Jeremiah xxvii. 9 . . . . .	99
Ezekiel i. 15 . . . . .	150,* 151*
Daniel iv. 30 . . . . .	141
„ vi. 8 . . . . .	90
Matthew vi. 1-7 . . . . .	21
„ vi. 33 . . . . .	128*

<sup>1</sup> See note *ad loc.*

	PAGE
Matthew vii. 1 . . . . .	67
„ vii. 3 . . . . .	27
„ vii. 12 . . . . .	21, 97
„ xiii. . . . .	129* <sup>1</sup>
„ xiiii. 24-25 . . . . .	15
„ xv. 22 . . . . .	40*
„ xviii. 17 . . . . .	16
„ xviii. 23-35 . . . . .	156,* 157*
Luke x. 17 . . . . .	51* <sup>1</sup>
„ xii. 2-3 . . . . .	12*
„ xiv. 31-32 . . . . .	101*
„ xvii. 10 . . . . .	50*
„ xviii. 1-8 . . . . .	41*
„ xviii. 9-14 . . . . .	51
John v. 39 . . . . .	28,* 29*
Romans x. 17 . . . . .	28,* 29*
„ xiii. 1-4 . . . . .	97
„ xiv. 14 . . . . .	170,* 171*
„ xiv. 23 . . . . .	40,* 41*
I Corinthians iii. 6 . . . . .	24,* 25*
I „ vi. 9 . . . . .	122* <sup>1</sup>
I „ vi. 10 . . . . .	123* <sup>1</sup>
I „ vi. 19 . . . . .	124,* 125*
I „ xi. 31 . . . . .	44,* 45*
I „ xv. 33 . . . . .	197
Ephesians iv. 26 . . . . .	202,* 203*
Philippians i. 29 . . . . .	36,* 37* <sup>1</sup>
I Timothy iv. 2 . . . . .	42,* 43*
2 „ iii. 16-17 . . . . .	28,* 29*
Titus i. 15 . . . . .	171*
„ iii. 9 . . . . .	36,* 37*
James ii. 17 . . . . .	152,* 153*
„ v. 15 . . . . .	16
Revelation ii. 5 . . . . .	74*
„ vii. 14 . . . . .	42,* 43*
„ xxii. 15 . . . . .	122,* 123*

---

<sup>1</sup> See note *ad hoc*.



# INDEX OF NON-SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS.

(An asterisk denotes a marginal reference.)

	PAGE
Aurelius Victor, <i>De Caesaribus</i> , 5, 2 . . . . .	61
Buchanan, George, <i>Rerum Scotticarum Historia</i> ; <i>Dedicatio</i> . . . . .	149
Cato. <i>See</i> Dionysius Cato.	
Cicero, <i>Ad Atticum</i> , IV., 6, 2 . . . . .	199
,, <i>De Finibus</i> , II., 28, 90 . . . . .	167
,,       "       V., 25, 74 . . . . .	107
,, <i>De Legibus</i> , I., 6, 18 . . . . .	141
,, <i>De Officiis</i> , I., 6, 19 . . . . .	105*
,,       "       II., 15, 52 . . . . .	157
,,       "       III., 1, 1 . . . . .	11
,, <i>De Republica</i> , I., 17, 27 . . . . .	11
,, <i>De Universo</i> , 4 . . . . .	191
Claudian, <i>De Quarto Consulatu Honorii</i> , 299-301 . . . . .	53*
Dionysius Cato, <i>Disticha de Moribus</i> , I., 10 . . . . .	144
Du Bartas, Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur, <i>La Seconde</i> <i>Sepmaine : Les Colonies</i> , 579 . . . . .	199*
Erasmus, <i>Adagia</i> . . . . .	203
Horace, <i>De Arte Poetica</i> , 343 . . . . .	95*
,,       "       388 . . . . .	185*
,,       "       390 . . . . .	185*
,, <i>Epistles</i> , I., 2, 62 . . . . .	203*
,,       "       I., 4, 13 . . . . .	45*
Juvenal, <i>Satires</i> , XI., 167 . . . . .	196, 197
Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> , II., 13 . . . . .	59
,,       "       VII., 9 . . . . .	106
Menander, <i>Fragmentum Incertum</i> . . . . .	197*
Ovid, <i>Heroides</i> , 4, 75 . . . . .	177
,, <i>Tristia</i> , V., 6, 13 . . . . .	107*
Plutarch, <i>Life of Alexander</i> , 6 . . . . .	189*
,, <i>Life of Demetrius</i> , 42 . . . . .	149*
Seneca, <i>De Clementia</i> , II., 1 . . . . .	61
Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> , 1 . . . . .	61
,,       "       49 . . . . .	199*
Terence, <i>Phormio</i> , II., 4, 14 . . . . .	19
Unidentified . . . . .	66, 72, 141, 159, 163, 175, 185, 198, 204
Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i> , 4, 61 . . . . .	155
,, <i>Aeneid</i> , VI., 847-853 . . . . .	207*
,,       "       VIII., 224 . . . . .	175
Vulpian, <i>Digest</i> , IX., 1, 1, 12 . . . . .	205
Wilson, Thomas, <i>The arte of Rhetorique</i> , Book II. . . . .	55
Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i> , I., 3, 5 . . . . .	167*

# INDEX OF MARGINAL REFERENCES OTHER THAN SCRIPTURAL.

## (a) *Classical.*

	PAGE
Aristotle, <i>De Generatione Animalium</i> . . . . .	131
„ <i>Magna Moralia</i> . . . . .	139
„ <i>Metaphysics</i> , II. . . . .	153
„ <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> , I. . . . .	105
„ „ „ IV. . . . .	153, 157, 167, 181
„ „ „ V. . . . .	141
„ „ „ VIII. . . . .	133
„ „ „ X. . . . .	191
„ <i>Oeconomics</i> , II. . . . .	87, 107, 109, 117
„ „ „ III. . . . .	135
„ <i>Poetics</i> . . . . .	187
„ <i>Politics</i> , I. . . . .	109 ( <i>bis</i> ), 133
„ „ II. . . . .	89, 115, 119
„ „ V. . . . .	55 ( <i>bis</i> ), 57, 69, 85, 93, 97, 109 ( <i>bis</i> ), 111, 115, 117, 119, 137, 157, 159, 163, 203
„ „ VI. . . . .	111
„ „ VII. . . . .	61, 127 ( <i>bis</i> ), 135, 187, 197
„ „ VIII. . . . .	187, 191, 197
„ <i>Rhetoric</i> , I. . . . .	69, 135, 141, 147 ( <i>bis</i> ), 151
„ „ II. . . . .	197
„ „ III. . . . .	179
„ <i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i> . . . . .	99, 175
Brutus, <i>Ad Ciceronem</i> . . . . .	157
Cæsar, <i>Bellum Civile</i> , I. . . . .	101 ( <i>bis</i> )
„ „ „ III. . . . .	101
Cicero, <i>Ad Atticum</i> . . . . .	181
„ <i>Ad Quintum Fratrem</i> . . . . .	63, 69 ( <i>bis</i> ), 85, 107, 109, 115, 117, 121, 137, 139, 143, 147, 149, 155, 157, 159, 179 ( <i>bis</i> ), 183, 199
„ <i>De Divinatione</i> , II. . . . .	131

	PAGE
Cicero, <i>De Domo Sua</i> . . . . .	61
„ <i>De Finibus</i> , I. . . . .	143
„ <i>De Inventione</i> , II. . . . .	137
„ <i>De Legibus</i> , II. . . . .	133
„ „ III. . . . .	61, 163
„ <i>De Officiis</i> , I. . . . .	69, 103, 105, 137, 139, 143, 153, 157 ( <i>bis</i> ), 169, 173, 175, 179 ( <i>bis</i> ), 181, 183, 185, 187, 191, 193, 197
„ „ II. . . . .	99 ( <i>bis</i> ), 157, 181
„ „ III. . . . .	159, 183
„ <i>De Oratore</i> . . . . .	143
„ „ I. . . . .	147
„ „ II. . . . .	151
„ „ III. . . . .	179
„ <i>De Partitione Oratoria</i> . . . . .	137
„ <i>De Republica</i> , V. . . . .	55, 207
„ „ VI. . . . .	57
„ <i>Orator</i> . . . . .	179 ( <i>bis</i> )
„ <i>Philippics</i> , VII. . . . .	103
„ „ VIII. . . . .	163
„ <i>Pro Cæcina</i> . . . . .	141
„ <i>Pro Lege Manilia</i> . . . . .	101
„ <i>Pro C. Rabirio Postumo</i> . . . . .	139
„ <i>Pro Sestio</i> . . . . .	61
„ <i>Tusculan Orations</i> , III. . . . .	161
„ „ „ V. . . . .	169
Claudian, <i>De Quarto Consulatu Honorii</i> . . . . .	53
Curtius Rufus, Quintus.	
„ <i>De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni</i> , Book IV. . . . .	119, 171
„ <i>De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni</i> , Book VIII. . . . .	115, 199
Demosthenes, <i>Olynthiacs</i> , II. . . . .	101
„ <i>Philippics</i> II. . . . .	111
„ „ VIII. . . . .	119
Dio Cassius, <i>Roman Histories</i> , LII. . . . .	119, 203 ( <i>bis</i> )
Diogenes Laertius, <i>Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i> , II. . . . .	167
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Roman Antiquities</i> . . . . .	97
Horace, <i>Epistles</i> , I. . . . .	45, 203
„ <i>De Arte Poetica</i> . . . . .	95, 185 ( <i>bis</i> )
Isocrates, <i>Ad Nicoclem</i> . . . . .	69, 115, 171, 181, 183, 197
„ <i>Ad Philipppum</i> . . . . .	103, 121, 159
„ <i>Antidosis</i> . . . . .	121, 159
„ <i>Archidamius</i> . . . . .	103
„ <i>Areopagiticus</i> . . . . .	117
„ <i>De Iugo</i> . . . . .	189
„ <i>Epistles</i> . . . . .	157

	PAGE
Isocrates, <i>Euagoras</i> . . . . .	85, 181
„ <i>Panathenaicus</i> . . . . .	109, 115, 119, 159
„ <i>Panegyricus</i> . . . . .	93, 97
„ <i>Peace</i> . . . . .	53, 57, 115 ( <i>bis</i> ), 121, 133, 159
„ <i>Plataeans</i> . . . . .	97
Juvenal, <i>Satires</i> , II. . . . .	167
<i>Leges XII. Tabularum</i> . . . . .	61
Livy, <i>Histories</i> , I. . . . .	99
„ „ IV. . . . .	99
„ „ VII. . . . .	101
„ „ XXII. . . . .	103, 119
„ „ XXIV. . . . .	151
„ „ XXX. . . . .	101
„ „ XXXI. . . . .	103
„ „ XXXV. . . . .	199
Lucan, <i>Pharsalia</i> , VII. . . . .	99
Lucretius, <i>De Rerum Natura</i> , IV. . . . .	131
Martial, <i>Epigrams</i> . . . . .	95
Menander, <i>Fragmentum Incertum</i> . . . . .	197
Ovid, <i>Ad Liviam</i> . . . . .	163
„ <i>Tristia</i> , V. . . . .	107
Phil. ad Alex. . . . .	181
Plato, <i>Epistles</i> . . . . .	143
„ <i>Euthydemus</i> . . . . .	105
„ <i>I. Alcibiades</i> . . . . .	87, 117
„ <i>Laws</i> , III. . . . .	111
„ „ IV. . . . .	67, 105, 139, 153
„ „ V. . . . .	87, 107, 117
„ „ VI. . . . .	109 ( <i>bis</i> ), 135, 147, 169 ( <i>bis</i> ), 171, 187, 189
„ „ VII. . . . .	135 ( <i>bis</i> ), 151, 169
„ „ VIII. . . . .	91
„ „ IX. . . . .	63, 93, 103, 163, 205
„ „ XI. . . . .	91, 93, 133
„ „ XII. . . . .	111
„ <i>Menexenus</i> . . . . .	115
„ <i>Menon</i> . . . . .	135, 149
„ <i>Minos</i> . . . . .	95
„ <i>Phaedrus</i> . . . . .	115
„ <i>Philebus</i> . . . . .	163
„ <i>Politicus</i> . . . . .	53 ( <i>bis</i> ), 55, 63, 69, 73, 87, 95, 105, 115, 117, 137, 143, 147, 207



	PAGE
Plato, <i>Republic</i> , II. . . . .	63, 91
„ „ III. . . . .	115, 197
„ „ IV. . . . .	135, 147
„ „ V. . . . .	131, 135 (bis), 143
„ „ VII. . . . .	111
„ „ X. . . . .	63
„ <i>Theætetus</i> . . . . .	105
„ <i>Theages</i> . . . . .	135
„ <i>De Rege</i> . . . . .	173
Pliny, <i>Natural History</i> , XIV. . . . .	169
Plutarch, <i>Apophthegmata Laconica</i> . . . . .	167
„ <i>De Curiositate</i> . . . . .	159
„ <i>De Fortuna Alexandri</i> . . . . .	103
„ <i>De Iside</i> . . . . .	69, 147
„ <i>Life of Alexander</i> . . . . .	189
„ <i>Life of Antony</i> . . . . .	101
„ <i>Life of Demetrius</i> . . . . .	149
„ <i>Life of Marcellus</i> . . . . .	151
„ <i>Life of Sertorius</i> . . . . .	101
„ <i>Life of Timoleon</i> . . . . .	151
Polybius, <i>Histories</i> , I. . . . .	151
„ „ III. . . . .	103
„ „ V. . . . .	101
„ „ VI. . . . .	97, 137
Propertius, <i>Elegies</i> , IV. . . . .	99
Proh. in Thras . . . . .	101
(Pseudo-) Quintilian, <i>Declamatio</i> IV. . . . .	163
Sallust, <i>Catalina</i> . . . . .	119
„ <i>Jugurtha</i> . . . . .	93, 101, 157
„ <i>Oratio ad Cæsarem</i> . . . . .	63
Seneca, <i>De Beneficiis</i> , IV. . . . .	157
„ <i>De Clementia</i> . . . . .	61, 139, 153
„ <i>De Consolatione</i> . . . . .	167
„ <i>Epistolæ Morales</i> . . . . .	151, 167, 197
„ <i>Ludus</i> . . . . .	147
Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> . . . . .	199
Suidas, <i>Lexicon</i> . . . . .	199
Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> . . . . .	119
„ <i>Annals</i> , I. . . . .	119
„ „ VII. . . . .	95
„ <i>Histories</i> , I. . . . .	119 (bis), 149
„ „ II. . . . .	103
„ „ III. . . . .	115
„ „ IV. . . . .	55, 103
Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i> , II. . . . .	101
„ „ „ III. . . . .	157
„ „ „ V. . . . .	103
„ „ „ VI. . . . .	115, 157, 203
Valerius Maximus, <i>De Factis Dictisque Mirabilibus</i> , II. . . . .	119, 171

	PAGE
Varro, <i>V.P.R.</i> , XI. . . . .	99 ( <i>bis</i> )
Vegetius, <i>Epitome Rei Militaris</i> , I. . . . .	101
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> , VI. . . . .	153, 207
Xenophon, <i>Agesilaus</i> . . . . .	101, 121, 199
„ <i>Cynegetica</i> . . . . .	191
„ <i>Cyropædia</i> , I. . . . .	101, 103, 149, 155, 167, 187, 189, 191
„ „ III. . . . .	155
„ „ V. . . . .	101
„ „ VII. . . . .	85
„ „ VIII. . . . .	55, 87, 97, 157, 165
„ <i>De Disciplina Minore</i> . . . . .	101
„ <i>De Republica Lacedæmonica</i> . . . . .	191
„ <i>Memorabilia</i> , I. . . . .	167
„ „ II. . . . .	153
„ <i>Oeconomicus</i> . . . . .	135

(b) *Non-classical.*

Aegidius Romanus— <i>i.e.</i> , Egidio Colonna, <i>De Regimine Principum</i> . . . . .	127, 135
Danaeus— <i>i.e.</i> , Lambert Daneau, <i>De Ludo Aleæ</i> . . . . .	193
Du Bartas, <i>La Premiere Sepmaine</i> . . . . .	199
De Comines, Philip, <i>Memoires</i> , X. . . . .	157
Polydore Virgil, <i>Anglicæ Historiæ</i> , I. . . . .	137

# INDEX TO VOL. I.

*(The page references are to the print of 1603.)*

Acts of the Apostles, 35.  
 Adultery, 133.  
 Albanact, 137.  
 Alexander the Great, 9, 143, 189.  
 Anabaptists, 15, 16, 49, 173.  
 Anchises, 207.  
 Apicius, 167.  
 Apocrypha, 35.  
 Apparell, 171.  
 Archimedes, 151.  
 Armour at Court, 177.  
 Augustus, 21.  
 Beersheba—*i.e.*, Bathsheba, 155.  
 Blue Blanket, 93.  
 Borders, Scottish, 71, 79.  
 Bothwell, Francis Stewart, 5th  
     Earl of, 133.  
 Browne, Robert, 15.  
 Brutus, 137.  
 Buchanan, George, 149.

Camber, 137.  
 Card-playing, 193.  
 Chess, 195.  
 Christ, 12, 29, 35, 51, 157.  
 Christmas, 95.  
 Chronicles, Book of, 35.  
 Church of Scotland, ministers of,  
     75, 77.  
     —, organisation of, 81.  
 Clemency, 141.  
 Coinage, 91.  
 Conscience, 41 sqq.  
 Constancy, 157.  
 Craftsmen, 93.  
 Crimes, unpardonable, 65.  
 Cyrus the Younger, 167, 191.

David, King, 43, 105, 111.  
 —, Psalms of, 39.  
 Dicing, 195.  
 Diet, 169.  
 Diogenes, 143.  
 Dreams, 171.  
 Drunkenness, 169.  
 Du Bartas, 199.  
 Duelling, 101.

VOL. II.

Ecclesiastes, 35.  
 Ezechiel, vision of, 151.  
 Ezra, Book of, 35.  
 Esther, Book of, 35.

Faith, 37.  
 Family of Love, 15.  
 Football, 189.

Gambling, 193.  
 Games of Chance, 193 sqq.  
 Gesture, 179, 181.  
 Gowrie Plot, 109.

Hawking, 191.  
 Highlands, Scottish, 71, 79.  
 History, reading of, 149.  
 Holiness, 139.  
 Homer, 9.  
 Humility, 153.  
 Hunting, 189.

Intercession of Saints, 85.

James V. of Scotland, 69, 125, 133.  
 Janissaries, 119.  
 Jeremiah, 99.  
 Job, Book of, 35.  
 Joshua, Book of, 35.  
 Judges, Book of, 35.  
 Julius Cæsar, 151.  
 Justice, to be used with mercy, 63.  
 —, a cardinal virtue, 139.

King, a, his office, 53 sqq., 95 sqq.  
 —, his example, 105.  
 —, his court, 105 sqq., 117 sqq.  
 —, his choice of servants, 109  
     sqq.  
 —, his treatment of them, 111.  
 —, his choice of a wife, 127 sqq.  
 —, his treatment of her, 133 sqq.  
 —, his treatment of his children,  
     135.  
 —, his knowledge of Scripture,  
     145 ; of Laws, 147 ; of History,  
     149 ; of Mathematics, 151.

Y

- King, his attendance at Courts of Justice, 147; at the Privy Council, 149.  
 —, his behaviour at Table, 165.  
 —, his language, 179, 181.  
 —, his manner of speaking, 183.  
 —, as an author, 183 sqq.  
 —, his choice of company, 197.  
 Kings, Book of, 35.  
 Knox, John, 149.
- Laws, making of, 59.  
 —, execution of, 61.  
 Liberality, 157.  
 Locrine, 137.  
 Lots, casting of, 193.
- Magnanimity, 153.  
 Marriage, 121 sqq.  
 Mathematics, 151.  
 May Day Plays, 95.  
 Merchants, 89.  
 Moses, 33, 35, 69.
- Naples, Courser of, 67.  
 Nathan, 43.  
 Nebuchednezar, 141.  
 Nehemiah, Book of, 35.  
 Nero, 61, 199.  
 Nobility, Scottish, their lawlessness, 83.  
 —, treatment of them, 85, 87.
- Oaths, foolish use of, 47.  
 Officers of the Crown, 115 sqq.  
 Oppression, 69.
- Papists, 16, 17, 45, 49, 95, 173.  
 Parity in State and Church, 77, 79.  
 Parliament, 59 sqq.
- Peace, making of, 103 sqq.  
 Penry, John, 15.  
 Persia, Kings of, 199.  
 Philip of Macedon, 189.  
 Philoxenus of Cythera, 197.  
 Philoxenus of Eryxis, 167.  
 Physical exercise, 187.  
 Plato, 53.  
 Prayer, 39 sqq.  
 Proverbs, Book of, 35.  
 Puritans, 14, 15, 39, 79, 81, 143, 173.
- Reformation in Scotland, 75; in England, 75; in Denmark, 75; in Germany, 75.  
 Riding, 189.
- St James, 153.  
 St John, 43, 123.  
 St Paul, 25, 29, 37, 43, 123, 171.  
 Saul, 99.  
 Scipio Africanus Maior, 11.  
 Scripture, nature of, 29, 33, 49.  
 Sheba, Queen of, 121.  
 Sherifdoms, hereditary, 89.  
 Sleep, 169.  
 Socrates, 79.  
 Solomon, 27, 35, 131.  
 Spanish successes in war, 101.  
 Superstition, 47.
- Temperance, 137 sqq.  
 Treason, how to be punished, 65.  
 Tyrant, nature of a, 57, 61.  
 —, his end, 57.
- War, 99 sqq.
- Xenophon, 189.



INDEX TO VOL. II.: INTRODUCTION.

- Adam, 94, 107.  
*Add. Ms.* 12515, 180.  
*Advice to a Young Lord*, 50, 51.  
Aikin, Lucy, *Memorials of the Court of King James I.*, 9 n. 1.  
*A Just Vindication of the Honour of King James*, 53.  
Alde, Edward, 23, 24, 25, 26.  
Aldobrandini, Cardinal Pietro, 35 n. 2.  
Alexander, Sir William, III, 117.  
Alexander the Great, 72.  
Allegiance, Oath of, 30, 32.  
Alsop, Bernard, 183.  
Amsterdam, 38, 174.  
Anabaptists, 16, 22.  
Angus, William, 10th Earl of, 7.  
Apicius, 88, 104.  
Apocrypha, O.T., 84, 108.  
Apollo, 107.  
Apollon, 107.  
*A Puritane set forth*, 53.  
Aquinas, Thomas, 77; *De Regimine Principum*, 72, 76.  
Arber, *Register of the Stationers' Company*, 20 n. 2, 23 n. 2, 24 n. 1, 182 and n. 1, 183 n. 1, 184.  
Arbuthnot, Mrs P. S.-M., *Queen Mary's Book*, 67 n. 7.  
Argyll, 1st Marquis of, *Instructions to his Son*, 51 and nn. 2 and 3.  
Aristotle, 72, 95, 96, 102; *Ethics*, 78; *De Generatione Animalium*, 103; *Metaphysics*, 103; *Politics*, 78, 96, 102.  
Armstrong, Edward, *The Emperor Charles V.*, 65 n. 1, 66 n. 1.  
Arthur, King, 73, 81.  
Ascham, Roger, *The Scholemaster*, 83; *Toxophilus*, 83.  
*Asloan MS.*, 72 n. 1.  
Assembly, General. *See* Scotland.  
Augsburg, 33.  
Authorised Version, 92, 93 n. 1, 94.  
Auvray, Guillaume, 36.  
Bacon, Sir Francis, 54; *Advancement of Learning*, 54 n. 1; *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, 54 n. 1; *History of Great Britain*, 17 n. 2.  
Bacon, Roger, *Opera*, 72 n. 1, 85 n. 3.  
Baily, John, 23.  
Balcanquhal, Dr Walter, 3 n. 1.  
Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 98 n. 1.  
Ballinger, Sir John, 177.  
Banduri, A., *Imperium Orientale*, 63 n. 3.  
Bankworth, R., 23.  
Barberini, Charles, 167; Maffeo. *See* Urban VIII.  
Barker, Robert, 152.  
Basil I., *Adhortationes*, 63.  
Bassendyne, Thomas, 93.  
Bathsheba, 94.  
Becket, Leonard, 182 and n. 1, 184.  
Becmann, J. C., 157.  
Beersheba (= Bathsheba), 94.  
Bellesheim, A., *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, 28 n. 1, 155.  
Beroald, P., 80.  
Beza, T., *De Vera Excommunicatione*, 142 n. 1.  
Biblioteca Casanatense, 30.  
*Bibliotheca Heberiana*, 140 n. 1.  
Bill, John, 152.  
Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 20 n. 1; *Court and Times of James I.*, 20 n. 3.  
Bishop, George, 20 n. 2, 26.  
Blunt, Edward, 23.  
Bolingbroke, Earl of, *Idea of a Patriot King*, 57, 69 n. 2, 74, 80.  
*Book Prices Current*, 139 nn. 2 and 3, 141.  
Borders, The, 87.  
Borghese, Cardinal Camillo, 19, 29. *See also* Paul V.  
Born, Lester K., *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 69 n. 3; *Erasmus on Political Ethics*, 69 n. 3, 74.  
Boswell, James, *Life of Dr Johnson*, 58.  
Bothwell, Francis, 13.  
Bottkol, J. M'G., *Dryden's Latin Scholarship*, 97 n. 1.

- Bowes, Sir Robert, 6, 8, 14 n. 1.  
 Brandi, Karl, *The Emperor Charles V.*, 65 n. 1.  
 Brissize, M. de, 18, 21.  
*B.M. Catalogue of Western MSS.*, 137, 179.  
*B.M. Catalogue of Printed Books*, 64 n. 2.  
 Brodie, G., *The British Empire*, 17 n. 2.  
 Brown, P. Hume, *History of Scotland*, 9 n. 1.  
 Brown, Robert, 22.  
 Browne, John, 23.  
 Browne, Sir Thomas, 60.  
 Brownists, 16.  
 Brutus, 104, 109.  
 Buchanan, George, 15 n. 4, 84, 98.  
 Budé, Guillaume, *L'Institution du Prince*, 82.  
 Burbie, Cuthbert, 20 n. 2.  
 Burgh, Benedict. See Lydgate.  
 Burnet, Gilbert, *History of his own Times*, 57.  
 Burton, Robert, 60; *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 58, 99 n. 1, 102.  
 Calderwood, David, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 9 n. 1, 14 n. 1, 39 n. 1.  
 Cæsar, Julius, 95; *Commentaries*, 109.  
*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1601-1603, 19 n. 4; 1603-1610, 27 n. 1, 40 n. 2, 160; *Spanish*, 1587-1595, 94 n. 1; *Venetian*, 1603-1607, 20 n. 2, 32 n. 1, 33 n. 2, 98 n. 3; 1607-1609, 32 nn. 2 and 3.  
*Cambridge History of English Literature*, 23 n. 1, 54.  
 Camden, William, 147; *Annales*, 17 n. 2.  
 Card-playing, 84.  
 Carleton, Sir Dudley, 3 n. 1, 19.  
 Carleton, Sir John, 34 n. 3.  
 Carlisle, Earl of, 140.  
 Castelvetro, Giacomo, 66.  
 Casaubon, Isaac, 99 n. 1.  
 Castiglione, Baldassare, *Il Cortegiano*, 75, 76, 83.  
*Catholic Encyclopædia*, 30 n. 2.  
 Caxton, William, *The Game and Playe of Chesse*, 72 n. 1.  
 Cecil, Sir William, 4, 6, 14 n. 1, 18, 19, 33, 34.  
 Cephas, 94, 107.  
*Certayne Preceptes*, 182 n. 1.  
 Cessoles, Jacques de, *De moribus hominum et officiis nobilium*, 72 n. 1.  
 Chamberlain, John, 19, 20.  
 Chambers, Robert, 61; *Life of King James the First*, 9 n. 1.  
 Chard, Thomas, 23.  
 Prince Charles, 42, 46, 47, 64, 86, 159. See also Charles I.  
 Charles I., 43.  
 Charles II., 26, 49, 53.  
 Charles V., 63 n. 1, 64, 66, 172.  
 Chelidonius, *Institutio Principis*, 82.  
 Chepman, Walter, 73.  
 Chew, Miss H. M., 99, 100 n. 1.  
 Cicero, 79, 95, 96; *Letters*, 96; *De Finibus*, 78; *De Legibus*, 78; *De Officiis*, 49, 78, 96; *De Oratore*, 96 n. 1; *Orator*, 44.  
 Clarendon, Earl of, *History of the Rebellion*, 58.  
 Claudian, 79, 96.  
 Cleland, James, 38 n. 1; \*ΗΡΩ-ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, 44; *The Introduction of a Young Nobleman*, 44.  
 Clement VIII., 27, 28, 29, 30, 154.  
 Clichtoveus, J., 80.  
 Codex Corsin 680, 28 n. 2.  
 Coke, Roger, *Detection of the Court and State of King James*, 56.  
 Collier, J., *Great Dictionary*, 54.  
 Colonna, Egidio, 72, 73, 80; *De Regimine Principum*, 82 n. 4, 83; *Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rois*, 100 n. 3.  
*Consolatio ad Albinum*, 101.  
 Constable, Archibald, 140.  
 Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 63, 64.  
 Copernicus, 84.  
 Crabbe, George, *The Library*, 153.  
 Crabtree, William, 139.  
 Craik, George, *History of English Literature*, 58.  
 Cunningham, J., *Church History of Scotland*, 9 n. 1.  
 Cunningham, W. R., 146.  
 Daneau, Lambert, 110; *De Ludo Aleæ*, 103; *Silva*, 101.  
 Daniel, Samuel, 22.  
 David, 15, 107.

- Delalain, M. P., *Inventaire des Marques*, 162, 163.  
 Demosthenes, 95; *Eighth Phillipic*, 102.  
*De Reginine Principum*, 73.  
 De Thou, J.-A., 165.  
 Dickinson, John, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, 79 n. 1.  
 Dickson, R., and Edmond, J. P., *Annals of Scottish Printing*, 140.  
*Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 n. 1, 7 n. 3, 10 n. 1, 44 n. 1, 179.  
 Dio Cassius, 95.  
 Diogenes Laertius, 95.  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 95.  
 D'Israeli, Isaac, 60.  
 Dort, Synod of, 3 n. 1.  
 Douglas, Mr Thomas, 13 n. 2.  
 Drummond, William, of Hawthornden, 67 n. 7, 181.  
 Du Bartas, 1 n. 1, 103.  
 Du Bellay, *Discours au Roi*, 74.  
 Dundas, Sir David, 140.  
 Durie, Mr John, 13 n. 1.  
 Dutton, Sir Thomas, 40.  
 Dykes, Mr John, 9 n. 1, 13.  
  
 Ecclesiastes, 108.  
 Echard, L., *History of England*, 57.  
 Edinburgh, 39.  
 Edmond, J. P., 140.  
 Edmonds, Charles, 140, 151, 160.  
 Edward VI., 72 n. 3.  
*Eikon Basilike*, 49.  
 Elizabeth, Queen, 2, 4 n. 1, 5, 18, 19.  
 Elizabeth of Bohemia, 167.  
 Ellis, Sir H., *Original Letters*, 20 n. 1, 136.  
 Elyot, Sir Thomas, *The Boke Named the Governour*, 75, 76, 83.  
*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 55; 11th ed., 35 n. 2; 14th ed., 35 n. 2.  
 Erasmus, 80; *Institutio Principis Christiani*, 76, 83.  
 Errol, Francis, 9th Earl of, 7.  
 Exclusion Bill, 26.  
  
 Family of Love, 22.  
 Feather, William, 147.  
 Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 80.  
 Ferguson, F. S., 24 n. 2, 142.  
*Ferrex and Porrex*, 104 n. 1.  
 Fife, Synod of, 8, 9, 11, 13 and n. 2, 14 and n. 1, 107.  
 Florio, John, 38.  
  
 Forrest, William, *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelye Practise*, 72 n. 3.  
 Fouqué, de la Motte, *The Cypress Crown*, 153.  
 Fowler, William, *Works*, 37 n. 3, 66 n. 3.  
 Francis II., 74.  
 Frederick, Prince of Wales, 80.  
 Frederick IV., Elector Palatine, 167, 175.  
 Frederick V., Elector Palatine, 167.  
 Frere, J. H., *Monks and Giants*, 153.  
 Fuller, Thomas, *Holy and Profane States*, 52.  
  
 Gataker, Thomas, *Vindication*, 16 n. 1.  
 Gauden, Bishop, 49.  
 Geneva, 33.  
 Genevan Bible, 93 and n. 1.  
 Gentlemen Adventurers of Fife, 87.  
 Gerald the Welshman, *De Principis Instructione*, 71, 76, 81.  
 Germany, 26.  
 Gifford, Andrew, 136, 137.  
 Gilbert, Allan H., *Machiavelli's "Prince" and its Forerunners*, 69 n. 3, 70 n. 1, 74 n. 4, 80 n. 2, 82 n. 4.  
*Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS.*, 72 n. 1, 82 n. 1.  
 Gorboduc, 104.  
 Gordon, Father, 94 n. 1.  
 Gordon, Sir Robert, *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, 17 n. 2.  
 Gower, John, *Confessio Amantis*, 73.  
 Gowrie Plot, 14.  
 Gray, Patrick, Master of, 19, 21.  
 Grenville, Thomas, 139, 140.  
 Gretser, Jacob, 181.  
 Grub, G., *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, 9 n. 1.  
 Guarino da Verona, 75.  
 Guevara, L. V. de, *The Diall of Princes*, 82, 101.  
 Gunpowder Plot, 30.  
  
 Hales, John, *Golden Remains*, 3 n. 1.  
 Halliwell, J. O., *Letters of the Kings of England*, 20 n. 1.

- Hamilton, Marquis of, 7.  
 Hanau, 37, 38, 175.  
 Hanover, 33.  
 Harleian MS. 475, 180; 2329, 180; 6855, 179.  
 Harleian Miscellany, 49 n. 1, 187.  
 Harris, *Life and Writings of James I.*, 3 n. 1, 16 n. 1.  
 Hatfield MSS., 19 n. 2.  
 Hawthornden MSS., 104.  
 Heber, Richard, 140.  
 Henderson, T. F., 10 n. 1; *James VI. and I.*, 54.  
 Henri IV., 18, 82.  
 Henry II., 71 n. 2.  
 Henry, Prince of Wales, 4, 7 n. 3, 8, 15, 19, 21, 39, 40, 60, 67, 69 n. 1, 83, 98, 108, 109, 154, 179.  
 Heresbach, Conrad, 78, 83; *De Educandis Erudiendisue Principum Liberum*, 76, 82 and n. 2.  
 Heriot, George, 3 n. 1.  
 Herrtage, S. J., *England in the Reign of King Henry VIII.*, 72 n. 3.  
 Hertford, 51.  
 Higford, W., *Institution of a Gentleman*, 49 n. 1.  
 Highlands and Islands (of Scotland), 87.  
 Hilgers, Joseph, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, 31 n. 1.  
 Hoby, Sir Thomas, 75.  
 Hoccleve, Thomas, *The Regement of Princes*, 72 n. 1.  
 Holinshed, Raphael, 49.  
 Holland, Robert, 177.  
 Horace, 96, 102; *De Arte Poetica*, 44.  
 Horart, Sir Henry, *The Charge of God and the King*, 142 n. 1.  
 Hotman, Antoine, 170.  
 Hotman, François, 170.  
 Hotman, Jean, Seigneur de Villiers, 37, 63, 160, 170.  
 Hotomanni Epistolæ, 37 n. 3.  
 Houghton, W. E., Jun., *The Formation of Thomas Fuller's 'Holy and Profane States'*, 53 n. 1.  
 Howard, Hon. Charles, 140.  
 Huguenots, 33.  
 Hume, David, *History of England*, 9 n. 1, 59.  
 Huntly, Earl of, 7.  
 Hutchinson, Mrs Lucy, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 55.  
*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, 29, 30, 31 and n. 1, 32, 33.  
*Indice dei Libri Proibiti*, 31 n. 1.  
*Inventaires de la Roynne Descosse*, 67 n. 7.  
 Irving, David, *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, 9 n. 1.  
 Isham, Sir Charles E., 161.  
 Isles, The Outer, 110.  
 Islesmen, 87.  
 Isocrates, 71 n. 1, 78, 95, 96, 103.  
 James IV. of Scotland, 69 n. 3.  
 James V. of Scotland, 69 n. 2, 87.  
 James VI. of Scotland, 1, 4, 6, 8, et passim; *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, 31 and n. 1, 32, 41; *Basilicon Doron*, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and n. 1, et passim; (Roxburghe Club ed.), 9 n. 1, 20, 26, 140, 160; *Dæmonologia*, 174; *Essayes of a Prentise*, 95; *Hypotyposis Inaugurationis Regiæ*, 159; *Lepanto*, 1 nn. 1 and 2, 174; MS. Royal 18. B. xv, 6, 88, 89, 92, 105, 106, 151; *Meditation on 1 Chronicles xv.* 25-29, 174; *Meditation on the Lords Prayer*, 31 n. 1, 152; *Meditation on Rev. xx. 7-10*, 174; *The Paterne of a Kings Inauguration*, 31 n. 1, 42, 152, 159; *Poeticall Exercises*, 5 n. 10; *Premonition to All Christian Monarchs*, 41; *Speech at Whitehall*, 1609, 41, 53; *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, 26, 76, 157; *Workes*, 17 n. 2, 26, 42 nn. 1 and 2, 64, 67 n. 7, 150, 180.  
 James II. of Great Britain, 56.  
 Justinian, 79.  
 Juvenal, 95, 102.  
 Kelso, Ruth, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman*, 75 n. 1.  
 Kingston, Felix, 20 n. 2.  
 Klemming, G. E., 189, 190.  
 Knight, Clement, 23.  
 Knox, John, 15 n. 4, 60.  
 Lämmer, H., *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, 28 n. 1.  
 Lampert Hall, Northants., 161, 167.  
*Lancelot of the Laik*, 73, 81.



- Lang, Andrew, *History of Scotland*, 9 n. 1.
- La Rochelle, 1 n. 1.
- Laud, Archbishop, 49.
- Law, Matthew, 23.
- Lee, Sir Sidney, 1 n. 1.
- Leigh, Mrs Dorothy, *The Mother's Blessing*, 48 n. 7.
- Leo VI. the Wise, 63.
- Lepanto, 1 n. 1.
- Letters to King James the Sixth*, 20 n. 1, 40 n. 1.
- Lewis, Island of, 13 n. 1, 87.
- Liber Pluscardensis*, 73 and n. 3.
- Library, Amsterdam University, 174; Bâle University, 156; Bodleian, 143, 147, 148, 159, 161, 181; British Museum, 72 n. 3, 136, 139, 141, 142, 144, 147, 149, 150, 153, 157, 160, 161, 164, 165, 171, 178, 179, 182, 184, 185, 186; Cambridge University, 143, 147, 183; Cardiff Public, 177; Copenhagen, KLG., 156, 157; Durham University, 142, 143; Edinburgh Central Public, 142, 143; Edinburgh, New College, 149; Edinburgh Signet, 170; Edinburgh University, 67 n. 7, 151, 152, 155, 181; Glasgow University, 141, 142, 143, 161; Heidelberg, Palatine Library, 167; Leiden University, 174; Leeds University, 161, 163, 165, 166; National Library of Scotland, 66 n. 3, 139, 140, 149, 150, 159, 163, 181, 183, 185, 186; National Library of Wales, 177; Oxford, Christ Church College, 150; Oxford, Worcester College, 150, 170; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 161, 169, 171; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 142; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 158, 165, 168, 170, 171; Princeton University, U.S.A., 188; Sion College, 147; Stockholm, Royal Library, 155, 165, 189, 190; Uppsala University, 155; Westminster Abbey, 147; Vatican, 29 n. 1, 154, 164, 167, 175.
- Ling, Nicolas, 23.
- Lingard, J., *History of England*, 57.
- Lipsius, Justus, 110; *Civilis Doctrina*, 101.
- Livy, 78, 95, 96.
- London, Recorder of, 22; Tower of, 51.
- Lorich, R., *De Institutione Principis Communes Locis*, 82.
- Lothian, Synod of, 14 n. 1.
- Louis, St, of France, *Enseignements à son fils*, 63 n. 1, 80.
- Louis XI., 80; *Rosier des Guerres*, 63 n. 1.
- Lownes, Henry, 23.
- Lucan, 95.
- Lucretius, 95.
- Lydgate, John and Burgh, Benedict, *Secree of Philosophres*, 72 n. 1.
- Lyell, J. R. P., 172.
- Lyndsay, Sir David, *Testament of the Papyngo*, 69 n. 2.
- Lyons, 37.
- Macaulay, Lord, *Essay on John Hampden*, 58.
- M'Crie, T., *Life of Andrew Melville*, 9 n. 1, 60, 140.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo, *Il Principe*, 76, 82 n. 4.
- M'Ilwain, C. H., 97, 153; *Political Works of James I.*, 155.
- Mackenzie, Agnes M., 61; *Scottish Literature to 1714*, 61 n. 4; *The Scotland of Queen Mary*, 61 n. 4.
- M'Kerrow, R. B., *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 146, 148, 149.
- Macky, *A Journey through Scotland*, 3 n. 1.
- Madan, F., *Early Oxford Press*, 181, 182; *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, 180.
- MS. Rawlinson Poetry* 146, 179.
- Madrid, 33.
- Maitland Folio*, 73.
- Makeculloch and Gray MSS.*, 73 n. 3.
- Man, Thomas, 20 n. 2, 26.
- Manningham, John, 20; *Diary*, 20 n. 3.
- Manuel II., *Præcepta*, 63.
- Mariana, Juan de, *De Rege*, 84.
- Marlowe, C., *Poems*, ed. L. C.
- Martin, 97 n. 1.
- Martial, 95.
- Mary Queen of Scots, 8, 67 n. 7, 74, 107, 137.

- Mason, John E., *Gentlefolk in the Making*, 75 n. 1.  
 Mathieson, W. L., *Politics and Religion*, 9 n. 1.  
 Mathew, David, *The Jacobean Age*, 3 n. 1.  
 Mathis, J., *Divi Thomæ Aquinatis De Regimine Principum*, 72 n. 2.  
 Maugin, J., *Le Paraugon de Vertu*, 82.  
 Mearne, Sam., 150.  
 Melville, Andrew, 8, 9 and n. 1, 10, 60.  
 Melville, James, 13 and n. 1; *Diary*, 9 n. 1, 13 and n. 2, 14 n. 1.  
 Menander, 94, 96.  
 Menard, Pierre, *Academie des Princes*, 38.  
 Mendo, A., *Principe Perfecto*, 74.  
 Merchants, 86.  
 Merriman, R. B., *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, 66 n. 2.  
 Meusevoet, Vincent, 174.  
 Meyer, A. O., *Clemens VIII. und Jacob I. von England*, 29 n. 2, 30 n. 1, 35 n. 2, 167.  
 Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, 63 n. 3.  
 Millar, J. H., *Literary History of Scotland*, 54.  
 Ministers of the Kirk, 85, 107.  
 Montaigne, 98.  
 Montague, James, Bishop of Winchester, 17 n. 2, 26, 64, 67 n. 7, 152, 157, 160.  
 More, Sir Thomas, *Utopia*, 44.  
 Moses, 107, 109.  
 Murdoch, W. G. Blaikie, *The Royal Stewarts*, 49 n. 1.  
 Murray, Sir Patrick, 13 n. 2.  
 Myl, A. van der, 174.  
 Myllar, Andro, 73.  
 Napier of Merchiston, John, 59.  
 Napoleon, 30.  
 Negative Confession of 1581, 173.  
 New Testament, 105.  
 Newton, Adam, 7.  
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 59.  
 Nichols, J., *Progresses of King James the First*, 20 n. 1, 22 n. 1, 40 n. 1.  
 Nicolson, George, 4, 6, 19.  
 Nicolson, James, 13 n. 2.  
 Nobility of Scotland, 86.  
 Norton, John, 20 n. 2, 24, 25, 29, 154.  
 Oates, Titus, 26.  
 Oldmixon, J., *History of England*, 57.  
*Original Letters relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs*, 40 n. 3.  
 Osborne, Francis, *Advice to a Son*, 55; *Traditional Memoirs*, 55.  
 Osorio, Bishop, *De Regis Institutione et Disciplina*, 78, 83.  
 Ovid, 95, 96; *Amores*, 97 n. 1.  
 Pannel, M., 174.  
 Paris, 36.  
 Park, Thomas, 54, 67 n. 7.  
 Parsons, Robert, 26, 28, 29, 154.  
 Parry, Sir Thomas, 33, 34, 35 n. 2.  
 Patrizi, F., 77, 80; *De Regno et Regis Institutione*, 76.  
 Paul, 94, 96.  
 Paul, V., Pope, 29, 30, 32.  
 Peacham, Henry, 44, 179; *Emblems*, 179; *Gentleman's Exercise*, 179; *MS. Royal 12. A. lxvi*, 179.  
 Pemberton, Sir James, 172.  
 Pemberton, John, 38, 64, 172.  
 Pemberton, Rev. William, 51.  
 Penry, John, 22.  
 Petrarch, Francesco, 49; *De Republica Optime Administranda*, 73.  
 Philip the Fair, 72.  
 Philip II., 64, 172.  
 Philoxenus of Cythera, 102.  
 Plato, 79, 95, 96; *Laws*, 78, 96, 103; *Politics*, 96, 101, 102; *Republic*, 44, 78.  
 Pliny, 95.  
 Plutarch, 95, 96; *Parallel Lives*, 78.  
 Poitiers, 37, 165.  
 Pollard, A. F., and Redgrave, G. R., *Short-Title Catalogue*, 44 n. 1, 64 n. 2, 139, 141, 142, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152, 159, 181, 182, 183, 184.  
 Polybius, 95.  
 Polydore Virgil, 104 and n. 1.  
 Pope, Alexander, *The Dunciad*, 57.  
 Priapus, 108.  
 Primaudaye, P. de la, *French Academie*, 63 n. 1, 80.  
 Privy Council of Scotland, 13, 40.  
 Propertius, 95.  
 Proverbs, Book of, 108.

- Ptolemy of Luca, 72 n. 2.  
 Public Record Office, 24 n. 2, 160;  
*Roman Transcripts*, 29 n. 1;  
 State Papers, France, 1603, 33  
 n. 1, 34 nn. 1, 2 and 3, 35 n. 1.  
 Puritans, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 41, 53,  
 107, 110.  
 (pseudo-) Quintilian, 95.  
 Quintus Curtius, 95.  
 Ranke, L. von, *History of England*,  
 60.  
 Reformation in Scotland, 110.  
*Regiment of Kingis*, 72 n. 1.  
*Register of the Privy Council of*  
*Scotland*, 1599-1604, 13 n. 2.  
 Reid, Thomas, 3 n. 1.  
 Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon*, 153.  
 Robert Earl of Essex his Ghost,  
 43.  
 Robertson, Principal, *History of*  
*Scotland*, 17 n. 2, 59.  
 Ronsard, Pierre, *L'Institution pour*  
*L'Adolescence de Charles IX.*,  
 74.  
 Rosebery, Earl of, 139.  
 Rouen, 37.  
 Row, J., *History of the Kirk of*  
*Scotland*, 43 n. 2.  
 Rye House Plot, 53.  
 Sacrobosco, Johannes de, *De Anni*  
*Ratione*, 142 n. 1.  
 Saintsbury, G., 60.  
 Salisbury, John of, 80, 84; *Poli-*  
*craticus*, 71, 79.  
 Salisbury, Thomas, 177.  
 Sallust, 95.  
 Sanderson, Wm., *History of Mary*  
*Queen of Scots*, 9 n. 1; *Com-*  
*pleat History*, 67 n. 7.  
 Savile, Sir Henry, 54 and n. 1.  
 Scot, Patrick, *Omnibus & Singulis*,  
 47; *A Fathers Advice*, 47;  
*A Table-Booke for Princes*, 46.  
 Scotland, 65, 85; Union with  
 England, 109.  
 Scotland, Church of. General  
 Assembly, Aberdeen (1616), 93  
 n. 1; Dundee (1598), 8, 9;  
 Edinburgh (1579), 93; Perth  
 (1597), 8; (1618), 40, 42.  
*Acts and Proceedings of the General*  
*Assemblies of the Church of*  
*Scotland*, 42 n. 3.  
 Scott, John, 139; *Bibliography of*  
*Works relating to Mary Queen*  
*of Scots*, 141.  
 Scott, Sir Walter, 187; *Fortunes*  
*of Nigel*, 58.  
*Scottish Book of Common Prayer*,  
 93 n. 1.  
*Secretum Secretorum*, 72, 82, 85 n. 3.  
 Sedan, 165.  
 Semple, Sir James, 9, 10 n. 1.  
 Seneca, 95, 96; *Moral Essays*, 78.  
*Sententiæ Ciceronis Illustriores*,  
 101.  
 Septuagint, 94.  
 Servin, Louis, 38, 160, 167.  
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, 53.  
 Sharman, Julius, *Library of Mary,*  
*Queen of Scots*, 67 n. 7.  
 Shaw, James, 23.  
 Sigismund III. of Sweden, 155.  
 Silvestre, L. C., *Marques Typo-*  
*graphiques*, 162, 163.  
 Sisson, C. J., 60.  
 Skelton, John, *Speculum Principis*,  
 73 n. 4.  
 Smith, D. Baird, 37 n. 3.  
 Solomon, 15.  
 Somers, *Tracts* (1750), 187; ed.  
 Sir Walter Scott (1810), 43 n. 1,  
 187.  
 Somerset, Duke of, 72 n. 3.  
 Spenser, Edmund, *Færie Queene*,  
 38 n. 1.  
 Spires, 38.  
 Spottiswoode, Archbishop, *His-*  
*tory of the Church of Scotland*,  
 9 n. 1, 10 n. 1, 17, 18, 67 n. 7.  
 Sprott, Rev. G., *Scottish Liturgies*  
*of the Reign of James VI.*, 93  
 n. 1.  
 Star Chamber, 24 n. 2, 25.  
 State Papers, Scotland, 4 n. 1,  
 6 n. 2, 7 nn. 1 and 2, 14 n. 2,  
 19 n. 3; Venetian, 31.  
 Stark, J., *Biographica Scotica*, 54.  
 Stationers' Company of London,  
*Court Book C*, 24, 25.  
 Stationers' Company of London,  
 Register of, 20, 23, 24, 183.  
 Stevens, W., *History of George*  
*Heriot's Hospital*, 3 n. 1.  
 Stewart, Francis, Earl of Bothwell,  
 87.  
 Stewart, Lord James, 87.  
 Stirling, Earl of. See Alexander,  
 Sir William.

- Stockholm, 38.  
 Story, R. H., *The Church of Scotland*, 9 n. 1.  
 Sturm, J., *De Educatione Principis*, 76.  
 Suetonius, 95, 96.  
 Suidas, 95, 101.  
 Swaine, Robert, 183.  
 Synesius of Cyrene, *De Regno*, 71 n. 1, 83.  
 Tacitus, 78, 95, 96, 105 n. 1; *Annales*, 102.  
 Tanner, T., *Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica*, 67 n. 7.  
 Teulet, A., *Papiers d'etat relatifs à l'histoire d'Ecosse*, 19 n. 1.  
*The Dutie of a King in his Royal Office*, 53.  
*The Fathers Blessing*, 48.  
 Thorpe, M. J., *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, 4 n. 1, 6 n. 2, 7 nn. 1 and 2, 14 nn. 1 and 2, 19 n. 3.  
 Thucydides, 95.  
 Tiletan, *Confutatio*, 142 n. 1.  
 Trade Gilds, 86.  
 Tremellius, Emmanuel, 95.  
 Trevelyan, G. M., 58.  
 Tyrannicide, 84.  
 Tytler, Patrick F., *History of Scotland*, 9 n. 1, 14 n. 1.  
 • Ulster, 87.  
 Union of the Crowns, 117.  
 Urban VIII., 167.  
 Ustick, W. Lee, *Advice to a Son*, 75 n. 2.  
 Valerius Maximus, 95.  
 Varro, 95.  
 Vegetius, 95.  
 Venice, 31, 32.  
 Virgil, 95, 96.  
 Vittorino da Feltre, 75.  
*Vox Populi*, 186.  
 Vulgate, 94.  
 Waldegrave, Robert, 6.  
 Walpole, Horace, *Royal and Noble Authors* (1759), 54; (1798), 67 n. 7; (1806), 67 n. 7.  
 Warner, Sir George, *The Library of King James VI.*, 1573-1583, 83 n. 1, 98 n. 1, 99 n. 1, 101 n. 2.  
 Waterhouse, Edward, *The Gentlemen's Monitor*, 49.  
 Waterson, Simon, 20 n. 2, 26.  
 Weaver, Edward, 23.  
 Weiss, C., *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle*, 65 n. 1.  
 Weldon, Anthony, *Court and Character of James I.*, 55.  
 Westcott, Allan F., *New Poems by James I. of England*, 85 n. 4.  
 White, Edward, 23, 25, 26.  
 White, R., 150.  
 Williams, Charles, *James I.*, 9 n. 1, 14 n. 1, 61.  
 Williamson, H. R., 9 n. 1, 14 n. 1, 35 n. 2.  
 Willson, D. H., 10 n. 1.  
 Willymat, William, *A Princes Looking Glasse*, 43.  
 Winchester, Bishop of. See Montague, James.  
 Wotton, Sir Henry, 49.  
 Wyclif, John, *De Officio Regis*, 77 and n. 3.  
 Xenophon, 38 and n. 1, 95, 96; *Cyropædia*, 44, 46, 49.  
 Yates, Frances A., 32 n. 3, 171.  
 Young, Patrick, 3 n. 1.  
 Young, Peter, 82, 98, 99.



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