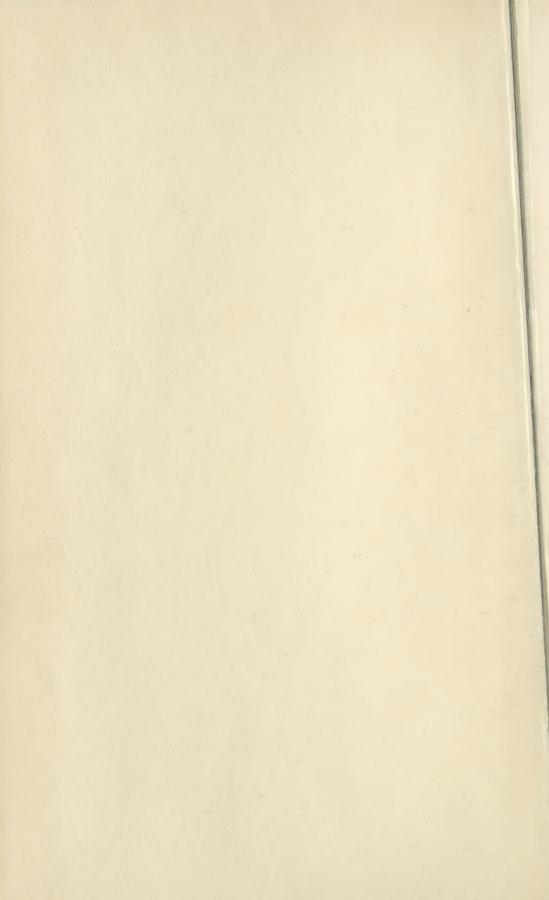


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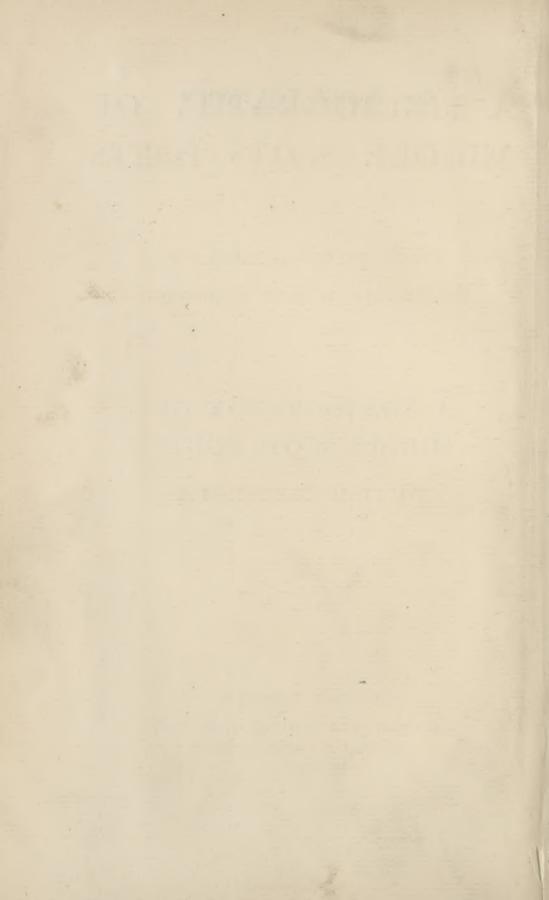






The Scottish Text Society

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MIDDLE SCOTS POETS



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With an Introduction on the History of their Reputations

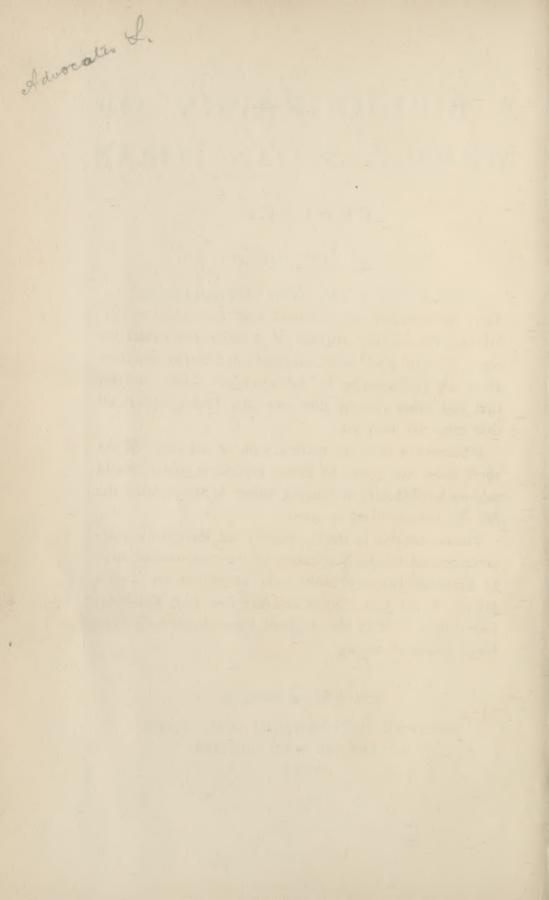
BY

WILLIAM GEDDIE, M.A.



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PREFACE.

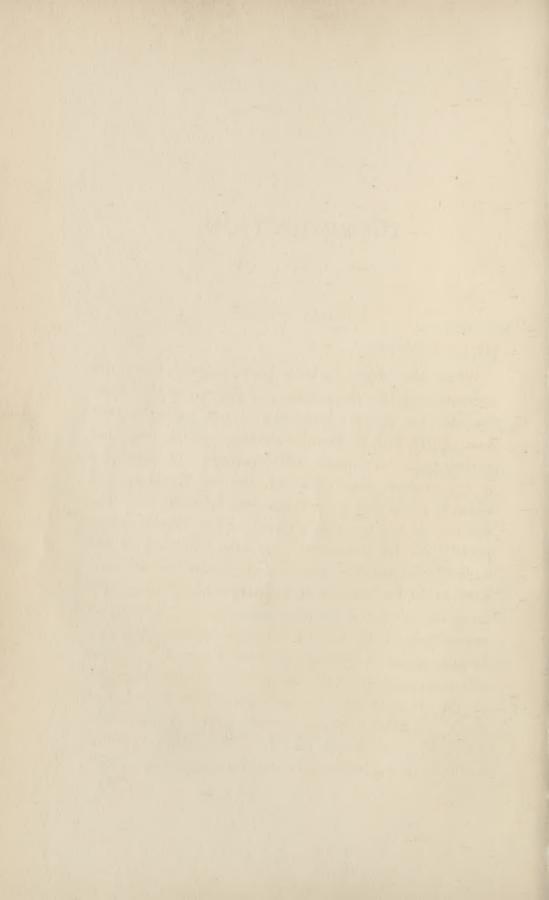
THIS bibliography was planned with the object of exhibiting the varying attitude of scholars and others towards Scottish poets of the sixteenth and earlier centuries. It is not bibliography for bibliography's sake; and for that and other reasons does not offer bibliographers all that they will look for.

Editions not seen are marked with an asterisk. When short titles are given, to avoid repetition, there should seldom be difficulty in judging where in the volume the full title is most likely to occur.

Thanks are due to the Carnegie Trust, though its guarantee against loss by publication has become unnecessary; to Professor Gregory Smith, who suggested the undertaking; to Mr J. A. Fairley and the Rev. J. F. Miller for information; and to Mr Oliphant Smeaton for help of all kinds and at all stages. *

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I. EARLY NOTICES.

(a) The Conditions.

When the older Scottish poets began, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, to emerge from the oblivion of the seventeenth, it was inevitable that men should wish to know something of their lives, and of their reputation among contemporaries. Of biography in the modern sense, however, the old literature had virtually none, and its criticism was rudimentary. The scholars of the Scottish Revival had to construct the poets' lives for themselves. Henrie Charteris, in the address "Unto the Godlie and Christiane Reidar," prefixed to his editions of Lyndsay's Works from 1568 onwards, says, "It is the commoun and accustomit maner (gentill Reidar) of all them quhilk dois prohemiate upon ony uther menis wark, cheiflie to travel about two pointis. The ane is, to declair the properteis of the Authour, nocht onlie externall, as his originall, birth, vocatioun, estait, strenth, giftis of the bodie, substance, and maner of leving: bot alswa internall: as the qualiteis, habites, and dispositiones of the mynde, his ingyne, knawledge, wisdome, giftis of the Spirit, and all uther vertewis quhilk culd justlie be knawin to have bene in him." Unfortunately the Scottish poets were not accustomed to have anybody prohemiate upon them until long after their own day. Barbour and Blind Harry, indeed, had prefaces, but they dealt with the heroes, Bruce and Wallace, not with the writers. And even Lyndsay owes little to his prohemiator. There is something on the second of the "two pointis"-"his maner of wryting, the utilitie of his warkis, and quhat frute, profite, and commoditie may ensue and follow to the diligent reidar and revolvar of the samin "-but it is not properly literary criticism. A single anecdote illustrates his character. "Bot seing it is nocht monie yeiris past, sen it hes pleisit the Eternall God, to call our Authour, out of the miserabill and trubilsum calamiteis of this transitorie lyfe, untill his celestiall joy, and hevinlie habitatioun, swa the memorie of him is bot as yit recent, and not out of the hartis of mony yit levand, to quhome his haill maner of lyfe was better knawin than unto me, I think it not greitlie neidfull to tary thee thairon, bot will remit thee to lerne it at thir mouthis." Strangely perverted as it must appear to us who can no longer learn from the mouths of contemporaries, such reasoning may often have stayed those who might have left valuable records. Oftener the reasoning was unnecessary: nobody thought an author's life matter for curiosity at all. Such notices as do occur are nearly always due to accident. Perhaps the only exceptions are the entries in public records that relate to royal patronage of poets. But for such entries the very period at which Blind Harry lived would have been

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known to us only from the vague statement of Major. There is no other documentary evidence by which Dempster's error of a century could have been detected. That error, by the way, is no misprint, for it occurs in three of his works. Other entries in the records may be classed along with the testimony of historians as accidental. They found a place because those they celebrated were men who had important parts to play in the State, not because they were poets. The deeds of James I., Gawin Douglas, and David Lyndsay fell to be recorded in political history, and if they wrote poems that was one more accomplishment to note in their eulogies. The mediæval mind could pass readily from the man to the poem as an interesting fact concerning him. It did not pass readily from the poem to the man: literature was communal. A man's writings could hardly be considered his own when there was so much recasting of old work, so much imitation of old forms, as among the poets of the Middle Ages: when a translation was as little like its original as the devil and St Austin, and curses were necessary to restrain the copyist from altering at will. Recent criticism has sought to show that some chief works of our early literature owe their present shape as much to the later scribe as to him that told the tale in older times. However this may be, it is clear that to the reader of poetry the poet, if thought of at all, was but a name, vaguely associated with excellence in versifying. If it should happen that his life for some reason was of interest, the historian when he came to mention his poetic skill might cite some of his works by name. Sometimes the historian's eye is partly upon the poem, and he is

interested in the fact of authorship as a fact concerning the poem. Oftener he is thinking of the man: the poem touches only the outside of his consciousness; and it is named only as a testimony to the truth of his commendation. Even as late as Drummond of Hawthornden this part of a historian's task is performed with a perfunctoriness which, in one himself a poet, sets the reader inquiring after an explanation. Of James I. Hawthornden says: "He wrote Verses both *Latine* and *English*, of which many yet are extant." James V. "was studious of all good arts, naturally given to Poesie, as many of his verses yet extant testifie." Douglas was "a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his works yet extant testifie."

(b) The Historians.

Earlier historians are commonly as vague as Hawthornden; but not always. The earliest who had any poetical predecessors to celebrate is one of the most satisfactory of all. Andrew of Wyntoun mentions two poets, without requiring the usual excuse for their introduction. He has another, however. The office of historian had not yet been disjoined from that of poet, and of their authority as historians he has something to say. Wyntoun repeatedly cites Barbour's work, the lost Stewarts' Original and Brut as well as the Bruce.¹ In these references there is little that can be called criticism. Wyntoun inerely expresses his reverence for his predecessor who could

¹ II. 131-8, 769 ff.; III. 631-6 (Cotton, 621-6); VIII. 177 ff. (Cotton), 934-46 (Cotton, 972-84), ed. Amours (Wennyss text).

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tell the tale better than he, and proves both the sincerity and the truth of his opinion by his long extracts. The famous passage on Huchown of the Awle Ryale is an insertion due to the carefulness of the historian, so far as its occasion is concerned; but the author's delight in Huchown's poetry soon takes advantage of the opportunity, if indeed it was not the true impelling motive. Having excused his own recklessness in differing from Huchown, and calling Lucius Iberius Procurator instead of Emperor, he proceeds to excuse Huchown and to praise him.

> "Fra blame þan is þe auctour quyte, As he befor him fand to write ; And men of gud discretioun Suld excuß and loif Huchoun, That cunnand wes in litterature. He maid þe gret Gest of Arthure, And þe Anteris of Gawane, The Epistill als of Suete Susane. He wes curyouß in his stile, Faire and facund and subtile, And ay to plesance and delite, Maid in meit metyre his dite, Litill or ellis nocht be geß Wauerand fra þe suthfastnes. "Had he callit Lucyus procuratour,

Quhare he callit him emperour, It had mare grevit the cadens Than had relevit the sentens."¹

This passage has a double importance. It is the starting-point of the controversy about Huchown and his works; and it is the first specimen in Scots of a critical and bibliographical notice of a Scottish poet if we may assume that the shadowy Huchown was a

¹ Book v. lines 4327-4344 (Wemyss), 4305-4322 (Cotton), ed. Amours, 1906, iv. 22-3.

Scotsman. As criticism it is superior to most of what was to follow for some centuries. Its propriety cannot of course be tested but on the assumption that the works to which Huchown's name has been affixed are indeed his. If this not very difficult concession be made, Huchown was certainly "curyouss in his stile," and "faire and facund": possibly "subtile." But apart from its justice it is good criticism, because it is honest criticism, with the glow of reality on it. In the later criticism of Scots poetry there was to be much of encomiastic formula. Every poem was to be written "venusto carmine," and every poet was to "bear the bell." General phrases were to be repeated from pen to pen, often without any evidence that the critic had read his poet. There is no doubt in Wyntoun's case.

Wyntoun had an advantage in his early date. With the differentiation of literary kinds the historian was to lose the zeal for poetry that is natural to a poet, however truly a minor; and even the poets of the aureate age were to have their critical attention distracted by the suggestions of the fashionable phrase. The passage on Huchown shows what a Scotsman of literary tastes, undeadened by rhetoric, looked for in poetry, when history and romance were beginning to diverge. Stories to read were delectable in Wyntoun's day, as in other times, "Supposs that thai be nocht bot fabill." Though Wyntoun himself had chosen to tell conscientiously a soothfast story, without sacrificing to pleasance in "carping," he recognises that Huchown's poem would suffer more in "cadence" by the correction of the error than it would gain in "sentence." Clearly he finds merit in wavering little or nothing from soothfastness, but he seems to think more of pleasance and delight, in metre meet, as the object of poetry. It is easy to make too much of these points. Wyntoun was defending Huchown, and therefore he gives his statement a bias. Yet the fact that he felt constrained to defend him at such length upon a matter that might have been passed over altogether, shows how great was the value he set upon Huchown, and at the same time indicates the direction in which the mind of the time was willing to travel.

The occasion of Bower's notice of Barbour is very similar to that of Wyntoun's. He passes lightly over the deeds of Robert Bruce, "quia magister Johannes Barbarii archidiaconus Abirdonensis, in lingua nostra materna diserte et luculenter satis ipsa ejus particularia gesta, necnon multum eleganter peroravit."¹ In the same author's eulogy of James I. literature occupies so vague and subordinate a place that the passage would hardly be worth citing except as a germ which was to develop in later historians, both in particular and in general. The eulogy is long, for there is scarcely an accomplishment of mind or body that the writer did not attribute to James. The "art of literature"² is mentioned apparently merely to complete the circle. If Bower knew anything of James's poems he did not think fit to lay much stress upon them.

Later historians continue this practice of pronouncing a panegyric upon James I. Major at least gives some

¹ Lib. XII. c. 9, Edit. 1759, ii. 231. ² Lib. XVI. c. 30.

information, though what some of it means is not easy to discover.

"In vernacula lingua artificiosissimus compositor: cuius codices plurimi & cantilenæ memoriter adhuc apud Scotos inter primos habentur. Artificiosum libellum de Regina dum captiuus erat composuit, anteq eam in coniugem duceret: & aliam artificiosam cantilenam eiusdem. Yas sen &c. & iucundum artificiosumq3 illum cantum: at beltayn &c. quem alii de Dalketh et Gargeil, mutare studuerunt: quia in arce aut camera clausus seruabatur in qua mulier cum matre habitabat."¹

Here again is the starting-point of controversies and conjectures. In the meantime it is worth while to note Major's high opinion of James's poems, expressed though it is in somewhat general terms. More important perhaps is his testimony to the estimation in which James was held as a poet in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Much has been founded upon the absence of such testimony from others. It is to be conceded that though the poems were generally "remembered amongst the Scots and reckoned to be the best they have," they may not have been generally known or believed to be James's.

Major is the only early historian who thinks it worth while to mention Blind Harry. More markedly than in Wyntoun's case it is the beginning of the critical spirit in history that gives us this notice. Harry appears only because he happens to be one of those who send Wallace to France. "Integrū librum Guillelmi Vallacei Henricus a natiuitate luminibus captus meę infantię tēpore cudit, & quę vulgo dicebātur carmine vulgari in quo peritus erat cōscripsit (Ego autē talibus scriptis solū in parte fidē

¹ Lib. VI. c. 14.

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impertior) qui historiarū recitatione corā principibus victū & vestitū quo digil erat nactus est."¹

The passage is valuable as limiting roughly the date of The Wallace. The air of reminiscence recommends it as a first-hand authority.

Early notices of the works of Gawin Douglas have not the fulness one might expect. As a member of the Douglas family, uncle of the queen's husband, a bishop who just missed the primacy, an active politician who lived an adventurous life, he is prominent in the historians, and his poetry is not forgotten when the time comes to mention it. Yet three of his personal friends lost excellent opportunities of noticing it. Of these Alexander Myln inscribed his Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, among others, "Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino Gawino divina favente clementia Dunkeldensis ecclesiae episcopo, divinas et humanas literas docto, illustris Archibaldi Angusiarum comitis filio." The Life of Douglas² with which Myln ends the series deals chiefly with the events of his tenure of the bishopric. There is nothing about his writings. Johannes Major dedicates one of his Commentaries on the Sentences to his friends Bishops Douglas and Cockburn, both East Lothian men like himself. To another he prefixes a dialogue between Douglas and David Crenston, in which Douglas observes that Major's birthplace, Gleghornie, is scarce a Sabbath day's journey from Tantallon. But in neither does he mention Douglas's poems. His History of Greater Britain, published near the date of Douglas's death, comes to an end too early to include him. Major's critical treatment of the fabulous part of Scottish history

¹ Lib. IV. c. 15. ² Pp. 72-5, Bannatyne Club.

did not satisfy Douglas, who in fulfilment of a promise sent Polydore Vergil a "commentariolum" for use in writing his own History of England. Polydore's account of Douglas¹ is as follows: "Nuper enim Gauinus Douglas Doucheldesis episcopus, homo Scotus, virg3 summa nobilitate & virtute, nescio ob quam causam, in Angliam profectus, vbi audiuit dedisse me iampridem ad historiā scribendā, nos covenit: amicitiā fecimus: postea summè rogauit, vt ne historia paulo antè à quodam suo Scoto divulgatā sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicādis, pollicitúsq3 est, se intra paucos dies missurū comentariolū de his neutiquā negligēdū, id quod & fecit. Primum in eo erat origo gentis pervetusta eiusmodi: . . . Ab hac sententia Gauinus vir sanè honestus tam minimè abhorruit, quàm ratio ipsa ei visa est cum veritate maximè consentire, adeò facilè vera à fictis semper internoscuntur. Verùm nō licuit diu vti, frui amico, qui eo ipso anno, qui fuit salutis humanæ MDXXI, Londini pestilētia absumptus est." The portion omitted gives an account of the mythical history of Scotland, and a discussion between Douglas and Polydore. If his two Scottish friends, a colleague and a neighbour, say nothing about Douglas's poems, it is not to be expected that an Italian should, who knew him only for a short time, and that long after he had resolved, if he did resolve, to direct his

> "labouris euermoir Vnto the commoun welth and Goddis gloir."

(c) The Poets.

The poets of the Middle Ages have been justly charged with catalogue-making. In Scotland the cataloguing ¹ Lib. III., Edit. 1570, pp. 52-3.

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instinct expanded the old customary extolling of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate into a tale of poets, when Scotland had produced enough to make out a respectable list. In Dunbar's Lament for the Makars the list is little more than an enumeration. It informs us that Clerk of Tranent "maid the anteris of Gawane," and that John Clerk and James Afflek practised ballad-making and tragedy; that these, with Sir Hew of Eglintoun, Heryot, Wyntoun, Holland, Barbour, Sir Mungo Lokert of the Le, Sir Gilbert Hay, Blind Harry, Sandy Traill, Patrick Johnstoun, Merseir, the two Roulls, Henryson, Sir John the Ros, and "last of aw" Stobo and Quintin Schaw were dead; that

> "Gud Maister Walter Kennedy In poynt of dede lyis veraly"

---whatever biographical import the statement may have. But the only judgment that the poem contains upon the literary character of any poet--apart from the general approbation implied in admission to the list---is that Merseir

" did in luf so lifly write So schort, so quyk, of sentence hie."

Of similar character to Dunbar's list are those in the poetical prose of The Complaint of Scotland.¹ The inclusion of a poem tells the literary historian no more than that it existed and was not forgotten when the Complaynt was written.

The same applies to a passage² in the Palice of Honour. In an earlier passage Douglas sees so many poets in attendance upon Venus that "The hundreth

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¹ Ed. Leyden, 98-101.

part thair names ar not heir"; and yet the reader is more sensible of the author's length of wind than of his forbearance. The only Scotsmen included are—

> "Greit Kennedie and Dunbar 3it vndeid, And Quintine with ane huttok on his heid."¹

The critical faculty which Douglas sometimes shows is never applied to his countrymen. Like other poets of his own and the succeeding time, he commonly praises in general terms, which are usually aureate and metaphorical. Virgil is a "chosin cherbukle, cheif flour, and cedir tree," whose "ornate goldin versis mare than gylt" contrast with his own "rude ingyne," "bad harsk speche," "corruptit cadens imperfyte," "rurale wlgar gros," and "burell busteous thocht." The phrases that the poets use in commendation of each other and affected dispraise of themselves, serve to show what were the qualities upon which tradition had placed a value high or low. They tell little about the poetic character of the man to whom they are applied. How little, may be judged from the passages in which Lyndsay, Rolland, and Henrie Charteris (or whoever else wrote the Adhortatioun) profess to characterise their contemporaries and predecessors.

> "Suppose I had ingyne Angelicall, With sapience more than Salamonicall, I not quhat mater put in memorie; The Poeitis auld, in style heroycall In breve subtell termes rethorycall, Of everlike mater, tragedie, and storie, So ornatlie, to that heych laude and glorie, Haith done indyte, quhose supreme sapience Transcendith far the dull intellygence

> > ¹ Ed. Small, i. 36.

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"Of Poeitis now, in tyll our vulgare toung : For guhy? the bell of rethorik bene roung Be Chawceir, Goweir, and Lidgate laureate : Ouho dar presume thir Poeitis tyll impung, Quhose sweit sentence throuch Albione bene sung? Or guho can now the workis countrafait Of Kennedie, with termes aureait? Or of Dunbar, guhilk language had at large, As may be sene in tyll his Goldin Targe? "Quintyn, Merser, Rowle, Henderson, Hay, and Holland, Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene levand, Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to rejose. Allace ! for one, guhilk lampe wes of this land, Of Eloquence the flowand balmy strand, And in our Inglis rethorick, the rose, As of rubeis the charbunckle bene chose ! And, as Phebus dois Cynthia precell, So Gawane Dowglas, Byschope of Dunkell,

"Had, quhen he wes in to this land on lyve, Abufe vulgare Poeitis prerogatyve,

Boith in pratick and speculatioun. I say no more, gude Redaris may descryve His worthy workis, in nowmer mo than fyve; And speciallye, the trew Translatioun Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun To cunnyng men, to knaw his gret ingyne, Als weill in naturall science as devyne.

"And, in the Courte, bene present, in thir dayis, That ballattis brevis lustellie, and layis,

Quhilkis tyll our Prince daylie thay do present. Quho can say more than Schir James Inglis sayis, In ballattis, farses, and in plesand playis?

Bot Culrose hes his pen maid impotent. Kyd, in cunnyng and pratick, rycht prudent; And Stewarte, quhilk desyrith ane staitly style Full ornate werkis daylie dois compyle.

"Stewart of Lorne wyll carpe rycht curiouslie; Galbraith, Kynlouch, quhen thay lyst tham applie In to that art, ar craftie of ingyne. Bot, now of lait, is starte up haistelie, Ane cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie,

Ane plant of Poeitis, callit Ballendyne, Quhose ornat workis my wytt can nocht defyne : Gett he in to the courte auctoritie, He wyll precell Quintyn and Kennedie."¹

"In Court that time was gude Dauid Lyndsay, In vulgar toung he bure the bell that day

To mak meter, richt cunning and expart And Maister Iohne Ballentyne suith to say Mak him marrow to Dauid weill we may.

And for the thrid, Maister Williame Stewart, To mak in Scottis, richt weill he knew that Art. Bischop Durie, sum tyme of Galloway, For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thair part."²

"Thairfoir (gude Reidar) haif I travell tane, In til ane volume now brieflie for to bring
Of David Lyndesay, the haill warkis ilk ane, Knicht of the Mount, Lyoun of Armis King, Quha in our dayis now did laitlie ring,
Quhais pregnant practick, and quhais ornate style To be commendit be me, neidis na thing : Lat Warkis beir witnes, quhilkis he hes done compyle.

"Thocht Gawine Dowglas Bischop of Dunkell In ornate meter surmount did euerilk man: Thocht Kennedie and Dunbar bure the bell For the large race of Rethorik they ran. Yit never Poeit of Scottische clan,
Sa cleirlie schaw that Monstour with his markis, The Roman God, in quhome all gyle began, As dois gude David Lyndesay in his Warkis."³

It was rhetoric that was looked for, with "polist termes redymyte," and "precius wordis deir." The phrases "ornate style," "flood of eloquence," and the like, are applied quite indiscriminately. Lyndsay "bure the

² Rolland, Seven Sages, Prologue, stanza 3.

³ Henry Charteris, Ane Adhortation of All Estatis to the reiding of thir present warkis, stanzas 2-3, Lyndsay's Works, 1568^{*}. Lyndsay's Works, ed. Laing, 1879, iii. 242.

¹ Lyndsay, Papyngo, lines 1-54, ed. Laing, 1879, i. 61-3.

bell " according to Rolland, and Charteris tells us that "Kennedie and Dunbar bure the bell." Variety of praise depends more upon the metre than upon the discernment of different qualities in different poets. It may be that such discernment is sometimes present, but one cannot be certain of it. The only safe inference from the roll of poets in any of these writers is that certain of them were esteemed the best. Barbour and Blind Harry are already, in the second half of the sixteenth century, abandoned to the vulgar. James I. is forgotten. Henryson is still read and transcribed, and his memory is passed on through unknown channels to reappear in Kinaston's Commentary on Chaucer¹; but he has receded too far into the past to be named by poets. Therefore, as he had done nothing to gain the notice of the political historian, Dunbar's mention of him was to be supplemented only by title-page, colophon, and the Kinaston tradition. Dunbar and Kennedie have passed the meridian, but though they are soon to set they are still well above the horizon. Bellenden is in estimation as one of whom much may be expected. Above all, there is Lyndsay, the popular favourite for his matter's sake, and among his fellows held to be "richt cunning and expart" in making metre; and Gawin Douglas is beside him, if not above him, for already the learned opinion of the seventeenth century seems to prevail, that "there is none that hath written before or since, but cometh short of him."

¹ See p. xxxix.

II. THE DARK AGE.

(a) The Renaissance.

The existence of a separate literature and literary dialect in Scotland depended upon an unstable combination of conditions. Almost any change endangered it: the great changes of the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth were fatal. Whether at first hostile or favourable to literature, they worked together ultimately to extinguish Scottish poetry and mediæval reputations. The marks of Chaucer in his Scottish successors indicate what might have happened had England in the next age possessed a literature capable of exercising an influence. The barrier that could have withstood such influence was breached when the Reformation grouped anew the sympathies of nations. The migration of the Court only removed its remains. Nothing but the strength of the past was left to resist. The change of faith and taste cut the new Scottish poetry away from its own roots just as an English stock became ready to graft it upon. Two waves at least of English influence passed over Scotland; the Reformers had begun to "foryet our auld plane Scottis"; and however the inspiration of Scott and Montgomerie is to be apportioned to England, France, and Italy,¹ it is certain that the Scottish Petrarchists did the same. The English crown deprived Scots of its literary standard, but that standard had been so modified by Reformation and Renaissance that the transition from the Court poetry of the sixteenth century to that of the seventeenth, proves on examination gentler than it seems.

¹ See Hoffmann on Montgomerie.

At first the influence of the older poetry was paled rather than extinguished. It was still strong, but it was residual, not consciously sought, and therefore likely to be forgotten with the lapse of time. In the beginning of the change there was thus a twilight, in which, fortunately, the two great collections of Scottish poetry were made. Much earlier, an unknown scribe had interpolated some Scottish poems in Magnus Makculloch's manuscript¹ of Louvain lecture notes; a few more had been written in the Gray MS., among notarial styles and other matter; and John Asloan, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, had made a considerable collection of the poems of Henryson, Dunbar, and others. George Bannatyne and Sir Richard Maitland-the latter helped by his daughter-had zeal and leisure to perform their great labours at a time when it was possible to look both ways. Bannatyne was in retirement to escape the pest, Sir Richard to escape idleness and the entanglements of public life. Each was more likely than one himself performing the themes of Reformation or Petrarchism, to have an ear for the ground-bass. Thus Holland, Henryson, and Dunbar have their place beside Lyndsay, Scott, and Montgomerie. But for their inclusion in these collections and in the Chepman and Myllar tracts of 1508, Dunbar and Henryson would have been all but utterly lost. The fact is of some importance if a just estimate of the time is to be obtained. Scottish literary taste was in the act of turning its back upon the mediæval makars. No doubt Scott and Montgomerie, viewed in certain lights, themselves seem mediæval. The impres-

¹ For the various MS. collections see Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots, lxvi-lxxiii.

sion varies with the dilatation of the mental pupil. To emerge upon them after a long sojourn among their Scottish predecessors lessens the difference between them and their English contemporaries. The reader feels that he is in a new world. Such a feeling must be nearer to that of the time itself than the other. Dr Cranstoun proved ¹ how great is the debt of Montgomerie to the older poets, but that is only because the change was not violent. Many of the mediæval elements are only survivals, ready to be dropped silently, as Dunbar and Henryson themselves were dropped.

The change was not always silent. To this short-lived transition school we owe the first deliberate study of the principles of Scottish poetry. It is prefaced and excused by an affirmation of the distinctness of Scots and English. In his Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie, James VI. states as a reason for undertaking such a study—

"That as for thame that hes written in it of late, there hes neuer ane of thame written in our language. For albeit sindrie hes written of it in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, yit we differ from thame in sindrie reulis of Poesie, as ye will find be experience."²

The Rules and Cautels give warning against some of the faults of the older school; for example :---

"First, that in quhatsumeuer ye put in verse, ye put in na wordis ather *metri causa* or yit for filling furth the nomber of the fete, bot that they be all sa necessare as ye sould be con-

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¹ S.T.S. Introduction.

² Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, i. 209; Rait, A Royal Rhetorician, 4.

strainit to vse thame, in cace ye were speiking the same purpose in prose. And thairfore that your word is appeare to haue cum out willingly, and by nature, and not to haue bene thrawin out constrainedly, be compulsioun.

"That ye eschew to insert in your verse a lang rable of mennis names, or names of tounis, or sik vther names, because it is hard to mak many lang names all placit together to flow weill."¹

It was the new poetry of the Montgomerie school that James had chiefly before his mind. His object was to show how one who had in himself "a beginning of Nature," could achieve success in its composition. The change of poetry to a more self-conscious manner is one of his excuses for writing.

"As for them that wrait of auld, lyke as the tyme is changeit sensyne, sa is the ordour of Poesie changeit. For then they obseruit not *Flowing*, nor eschewit not *Ryming in termes*, besydes sindrie vther thingis, quhilk now we obserue and eschew, and dois weil in sa doing: because that now, quhen the warld is waxit auld, we haue all their opinionis in writ, quhilk were learned before our tyme, besydes our awin ingynis, quhair as they then did it onelie be thair awin ingynis, but help of any vther. Thairfore, quhat I speik of Poesie now, I speik of it as being come to mannis age and perfectioun, quhair as then it was bot in the infancie and chyldheid."²

Such of James's illustrations as have been identified are from Montgomerie. Montgomerie's aim and achievement render his poems so suitable for James's purpose that it is not necessary to believe that the Treatise was written with his help or under his supervision. The suggestion,³ however, is probable.

¹ Gregory Smith, i. 217; Rait, 16. ² Gregory Smith, i. 209.

⁸ Hoffmann, Anglia Bbl., 1894. See also Westcott, New Poems by King James I.

(b) The People.

The eighteenth century's knowledge of the Scottish poets connects itself with that of the sixteenth by three almost insulated strands. After the defection of those readers who cared for form, there survived among the people certain books read for their matter, modernised out of metre and often beyond intelligibility. Men of curious learning still read Douglas, and sometimes other poets. And lastly, there were some who read about poets and wrote about them, without discovering much evidence of acquaintance with their works.

Deprived of a line of poets, Scottish literature yet lived on in an acephalous and voiceless state. To the end of the eighteenth century, and perhaps a little later, Barbour, Blind Harry, and Lyndsay remained "a sort of popular classics."¹ To these may be added Christis Kirk on the Green, and one work of the last of the makars, The Cherry and the Slae. Anonymous traditional literature does not fall within the scope of this survey. Concerning these popular classics, their readers have, of course, left no articulate judgments, but this phase of history has recorded itself in the character of the works that survived and of their successive editions. It was the two extremes of the mediæval period that best pleased the peasant's palate: the heroic poets, especially the more fervent or less temperate Harry, commended themselves to his patriotism, while the Reformation furnished him with a grateful blend of morality and indecency in Lyndsay, and with milder edification in Montgomerie's allegory.

In the sixteenth century there are evidences of interest in Scottish literature in England, and in one ¹ Leyden, Complaynt of Scotland, 1801, 225.

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case even beyond. Barnabe Gorge mentions Douglas's Vergil. Thomas Churchyard at least knew that James I. had written poetry. Constable and Montgomerie were friends. Barbour and Harry were, of course, not likely to please in London. But Lyndsay, whose Papyngo was known to the Yorkshireman "William F." early in the seventeenth century, had been printed in England many years before the date of any known Scottish edition. It will be seen from the specimen given that the dialect is fairly well preserved in Byddell's edition of the Testament of the Papyngo, 1538. Day and Seres's edition of the Tragedy of the Cardinal, 1546, is sufficiently explained by the coupling with it, in one volume, of the prose narrative of Wishart's martyrdom, "Wherein thou maist learne what a burnynge charitie they shewed not only towardes him: but vnto al such as come to their handes for the blessed Gospels sake."1 Twenty years later Purfoote and Pickering printed the first of three editions of Lyndsay's Works-" nowe newly corrected and made perfit Englishe, pleasaunt and profitable for al estates but chiefly for Gentlemen and such as are in authoritie," as the title-page puts it. The ornate Epistle to the Reader and the verses that follow show that the word pleasant is used in the modified sense in which it is applied to drugs :---

"Plato the prince of Philosophers perfectly perceiuing, by proofe of experience, that we are not borne to benefite our

¹ Specimen— "Not lög sence, after the houre of prime Secretely sittyng in myne Oratorie I toke a boke, to occupie the tyme where I foūd, many Tragedy & storie." —Prologue, lines 1-4.

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selues alone, but likewyse, our frendes together with the common wealth and countrey wherein we have received life and liuing: did not onely commende this sacred saiving vnto letters for profit of posteritie, but also laboured to accoplishe it with toyling trauaile & great anxietie. For howe much he hath deserued, as well of straungers studious in vertue, as of his owne natiue nation : his woorthy woorkes, and deuine volumes, most abundantly declare and testifie. Whose counsell, and example, diuers men diuersly haue followed, studiyng rather the wealth of many then the ease and pleasure of one. But in my iudgement, they are first to be registred in the booke of fame: who by their watche & labour, leaue in letters, ornatly and pleasantly penned, the state and condition of former time, wherin (as it were a glasse) what end, doings good or euill haue had, we may clearely see and beholde. Therefore the Author of this booke meriteth no small praise: who being a Gentleman, borne of a woorshipfull house, had his childhod furnished with good letters, as he that was playfelowe with the prince: and after that, spent al his youth, and most of his age in the Court, where for his wisedome, grauitie, and learning, he was alwayes occupied in the most waightie affaires of the kingedome. And nowe, after he came vnto crooked olde age, applied him selfe to write suche thinges as the Court had taught him by experience, for the behoofe and instruction of others. But what inditeth he? the seemely sightes? the pleasure or delightes? the blisse and brauery of the Court? nothinge lesse, but the misery, the chaunge, and instabilitie of the world. Why (I pray you) is that to be learned in the Court? In no place soner, for the higher a tree groweth, the more is it subject to the blast and tempest: so that if the roote be losened and shake, most great and fearful is the fal therof, as in this woorke by many reasons and examples, is made most plaine and manifest. Therefore I will no longer deteine thee (getle Reader) from reading so fruitful a booke, but now keepe silence, that thou maist heare himselfe speake thereof:

"Farewell.

"To the bier of this booke. "Reade and regarde, then gratefull gaine thou shalt receiue hereby, Both to requite thy cost and paine, though deare thou doe it bie. Thy Pecock pride it pulleth downe, thy hart to honour bent : It telles the how fortune can frowne, and take that she had lent. It telles thee how the lowest tree. the wynde doth seldome blowe : But those that are growen vpon hie, doth often ouerthrowe. Therfore to heauen lift vp thy hart, this world is short and vayne : Then from it willingly depart, with God in voies to reigne."

Purfoote, or his translator, took much greater liberties in the second edition than in the first. The example given is the second stanza of the Prologue to the Dialog—

Scot, 1554.

Bot tumlyng In my bed, I mycht nocht lye. Quhairfore I fuir furth, in ane Maye mornyng Conforte to gett, of my malancolye Sumquhat affore, fresche Phebus vperysing Quhare I mycht heir, the birdis sweitlie syng Intyll ane park, I past for my plesure Decorit weill, be craft of dame Nature.

JASCUY 4to, 1558.

Bot tumlyng In my bed, I mycht nocht lye. Quhairfore I fuir fueth (*sic*), in ane Maye mornyng Conforte to gett, of wy (*sic*) malancolye Sumquhat affore, fresche Phebus vperysing Quhare I my, he (*sic*) heir, the birdis sweitlie syng Intyll ane park, I past for my plesure Decorit weill, be craft of dame Nature. PURFOOTE AND PICKERING, 1566.

But tombling in my bed I might not lye, Wherfore I went forth in a May morning : Comfort to get of my melancolye, Somewhat before freshe Phebus vprising, Where I might here, the birdes swetely sing : Into a park I past for my pleasure, Decked right well by craft of dame nature.

PURFOOTE, 1575.

When tumbling in my bed I could not rest, I went forth earely in a morne of May, To seeke some comfort for my combred brest : And ere freshe Phebus gan to cheere the day, Into a pleasant parke I toke my way, Which natures art had deckt in euery thing, Where I might heare the birds full sweetly sing.

Purfoote's third edition, 1581, follows that of 1575.

About the years 1554 and 1559 editions of Lyndsay were "Imprentit at the Command and Expensis off Doctor Machabevs, In Copmāhouin." Bibliographical authorities forbid us to believe that they were printed at Copenhagen; but though they may be the work of John Scot of St Andrews or Edinburgh, there seems to be no reason for disbelieving the statement of the title-page, if the words "In Copmanhouin" be taken as referring to Dr Machabæus, who lived there, and is conjectured to have met the Lyon King when he visited Denmark. At all events Lyndsay's Works were published in Copenhagen before the century was out, in a form much more suitable for the use of Danish readers. Andrew Robertson had turned them into Latin, with Charteris's preface and Admonition; and had added a dedication, telling how "A wellborn lord, David

Lyndsay, a Knight in the Kingdom of Scotland, and chamberlain of King James the Fifth, has in the olden times written some books, with delightful rhymes in the Scottish language, which contain earnest acts, taken from old writers and histories, which are just fitting to our time and habits."¹ Robertson's Latin was translated into Danish by Jacob Mattss ϕ n, and published in 1591.

Though destined to fall out of the race, Henryson started with the rest. He, too, was Englished in the sixteenth century. The translator was the printer himself, Richard Smith, if the testimony of the dedication is to be accepted,—

"There came unto my hande a Scottishe pamphlet of the Fabulous Tales of Esope, a worke, Sir, as I thinke, in that language wherein it was written, verie eloquent and full of great invention. And no doubt you shall finde some smatch thereof, although very rudely I have obscured the authour, and having two yeres since turned it into Englishe, I have kept it unpublished, hoping some one els of greater skill would not have let it lyen dead. But whether most men have that Nation in derision for their hollowe hearts and ungratefull mindes to this Countrey alwayes had (a people very subject to that infection), or thinking scorne of the authour or first inventer, let it passe, as frivolous and vaine matter: yet in my conceite there is learning for all sorts of people worthie of the memorie. Therefore, knowing not howe by any meanes to let you understand my good will towarde you, but by this meanes, at last putting all feare aside, I boldly presente this unto your worship," &c.2

¹ Translated from the Danish by Børge Pontopiddan, Laing's Lyndsay, iii. 251.

² This and the following extracts are from Laing's Henryson. The 1577 English edition was lost from Sion College Library after Laing made his notes. No other copy is known.

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The Argument between Esope and the Translatour begins-

"Late passing thorowe Paules Churchyarde Aside I cast mine eye.
And ere I wist, to me appearde Sir Esope by and by,
Apparelled both braue and fine After the Scottish guise.
I stoode then still, with ardent eyne I viewde him twise or thrise."

Æsop begs the translator to teach him English-

Yet if they did they might find something

"To teach them treade thair way aright To blisse, from paines of hel."

The translator consents reluctantly. He concludes with His Verdict on his Labour—

"Orpheus once did walke abrode 'Mong fragrant flowers t'encrease his glee To set his harpe in one accorde In tune to make his strings agree, Whereby was heard such pleasant sounde That all the woodes thereof rebound.

"And playing thus in pleasant shade, Wild beastes and men to him did come : With musicke strayte them stones he made, His gift was such, them to transforme. He fell a sleepe, and or he wooke, In hand a while his harpe I tooke.

"This Scottish Orpheus I meane, That Esops tales hath made to gree In Rethoricke both trim and cleane, That all my wittes bereft hath hee. His harpe, alas ! I make to jarre, And both his name and mine do marre; But since I made them disagree, Leave me the blame, the Laurel he."

Probably the "Scottishe pamphlet" was the edition printed by Lekpreuick for Henrie Charteris in 1570. From the language of the three stanzas last quoted it seems possible that Smith may have known Henryson as the author of Orpheus and Eurydice, which had been printed about seventy years earlier by Chepman and Myllar. The Testament of Cresseid had been included by Thynne in the first folio edition of Chaucer,¹ and it continued to be printed and presumably read along with the works of the master until modern times.² It is only thus parasitically that Henryson can be satisfactorily shown to have lived through the seventeenth century at all. Yet it would be very dangerous to draw any sweeping inference from the want of editions. Such as are known to have existed, the Chaucer folios excepted, are either lost or preserved in unique copies, and of the latter several, when discovered in modern times, were in urgent need of care. Of one edition, now unknown, the printer had 743 copies at the time of his death, of another he had 1638. These facts alone would be sufficient to prove how little may be left to show what poets were known or unknown to a public that produced no criticism. Together with some other pieces of evidence pointing in the same direction, they make it extremely probable that there were editions of which nothing has been heard.³

Such being the precariousness of an old edition's life,

¹ 1532*.

² It was printed as Chaucer's as late as 1810, in Chalmers's English Poets.

³ Dickson and Edmond, 483, &c.; Laing, Henryson, Notes.

the evidence of Harry's and Lyndsay's popularity becomes the more impressive. In this phase history was so slow-moving that the writers of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century may almost be considered contemporary witnesses for any part of the time. The last years of the sixteenth century, however, are marked off from the whole period that followed by the better quality of their editions, probably because readers of taste and education had not yet altogether turned aside from the older poetry. Among Scottish printers, Henrie Charteris deserves to be honoured with Chepman and Myllar a hundred years earlier and the Morisons two hundred years later, for his zeal in publishing the works of the poets. The first known Scottish editions of Lyndsay are those of John Scot (c. 1554, 1559), who thus warns readers against the French editions :----

Gentyll redaris I wyll aduerteis 30w that | thare is of thir Bukis, Imprentit in France, | The quhilkis ar verray fals. And | wantis the tane half, and all | wrang spelit, and left out | heir ane lyne, and thar twa wordis. |

● To Conclude thay ar all fals, and wan- | tis mekle that this buke hes as may be | sene, quha lyste tyll luke thame baith | ouer, thay sall fynd my sayingis | verray trew and wors nor I | do say preue and se, than | 3e wyll geue me credence. | thay ar nocht worthe | ane plake. |

Scot afterwards (1568, 1571) printed Lyndsay for H. Charteris. In 1570 and 1571 Lekpreuik printed Henryson's Fables, The Wallace, and The Bruce; and John Ross printed The Palice of Honour in 1579, and probably Lyndsay in the next year. All these editions

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were executed for H. Charteris, who afterwards became a printer himself and issued The Testament of Cresseid, The Wallace, and at least three editions of Lyndsay.

Henrie Charteris died in 1599. To his son Robert succeeded Andro Hart in 1610. With his advent there is a very marked change. Only Harry and Lyndsay, and in less degree Barbour, seem to have pleased the public for which Hart, Sanders, Anderson, and others printed. Into the latter half of the eighteenth century there extends a long succession of wretched editions of these poets, printed upon wretched paper in a dialect that rapidly sheds its Scottish characteristics. The specimens given from the beginning of The Wallace and from Lyndsay's Papyngo show the modernisation and assimilation to Midland English in progress. The same process shows itself in the prefaces and the Admonition (in The Wallace) which Hart substituted for those of Charteris. The preface to Lyndsay, however, suffered other changes. In other respects-headings, colophons, mottos, order of poems, and the like-each is a slavish copy of its predecessors. From the time of Charteris to 1754, every edition of Lyndsay has the same title, "The Works of the famous and worthy Knight, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, alias, Lion King of Arms." They are all "Newly corrected and vindicate from the former Errors wherewith they were corrupted: And augmented with sundry Works." For the words "quhilk was not befoir Imprentit," or "neuer before imprinted," an "&c." is substituted in 1630, and persists. Then follow two mottos, which only change places. In truth, many new errors had crept in; and none but Charteris himself could claim to have added any new works. Last, and most impudent of xxxvi

the series, is the edition of Peter Williamson (1776-7). Williamson's title-page agrees on the whole with those that had gone before, but it reads: "Carefully corrected and amended, with several new additions by the same Author hereto prefixed, never before published." The poems of the second volume put forward a groundless claim to be "Taken from his own original Manuscripts, found in the Cabinets of the curious, consisting of many different entertaining subjects." The amendments are corruptions, and by additions never before published Williamson means the omission of four poems¹ which had been included in every edition of Lyndsay's Works for two hundred years.

In spite of Patrick Gordon's and John Harvey's poems on the Bruce, and the more formidable rivalry of William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's paraphrase of The Wallace, Barbour and Harry continued with Lyndsay to be the favourite reading of the people. Pinkerton (1786) was the enemy of the chap-book editions because of their one virtue—their intelligibility to the unlearned. He wished "a total extinction of the Scotish *colloquial* dialect"; he would have Scots "regarded in both kingdoms equally as only an ancient and poetical language, and nothing can take it so much out of the hands of the vulgar as a rigid preservation of the old spelling."² Alexander Campbell illustrates the popularity of these poems in the middle of the eighteenth century by an anecdote, worth repeating if only for the sake of its style and punctuation.

"I have heard an anecdote of a Highland rebel, who, after the last fruitless attempt to re-establish the Stuart family on the

¹ Nos. 4, 6, 7, 10, in list. ² Maitland Poems, 1786, i. xvii.

british (sic) throne, had preserved himself from the fate of many of his unfortunate associates by sculking among the mountains of Perthshire. At times he would venture down to a neighbouring glen, where a low country shepherd was occupied in the charge of a sheep-farm, (in those days very uncommon in the Highlands) and having entered into the bonds of friendship with him, it was a matter of great consolation, to hear the shepherd read the valiant achievements of Wallace. The Highlander, would pace backwards and forwards while the shepherd read aloud. When Wallace, as represented in the poem, was hard pressed, the Highlander would draw his sword—the rage of battle kindled in his aspect—he cut the air with his steel—he became breathless in the combat—and exclaimed—' courage my friends !'"¹

In 1801 Leyden² could still say that "at a late period" many shepherds were able to repeat the greater portion of Barbour, Harry, and Lyndsay. Professor Minto³ remembered a beggar who recited parts of The Wallace. It would have been more satisfactory had he made it clear that it was not Gilbertfield's version.

Montgomerie's Cherry and the Slae passed through a great number of chap-book editions, and some of his other poems shared its popularity. Scott, on the other hand, was apparently forgotten. One of his poems appears, with one which some have attributed to him, in the Aberdeen Cantus.⁴

(c) The Learned.

The second strand that connects mediæval Scotland with the age of Allan Ramsay does not become distinct

- ¹ Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, 1798, p. 55.
- ² Complaynt of Scotland.
- * Characteristics of English Poets, 1874, second edition, p. 69.
- ⁴ For Christ's Kirk see p. lxxvii.

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from the first before the end of the sixteenth century. Until that time Henryson and Douglas were not an exclusive possession of the few.

Barbour was not so high in favour with men of letters as with the people. Patrick Gordon bestowed some notice upon him, but found that "the old printed book besyds the owt-worne barborous speiches was so euill composd that I culd bring it to no good method."¹ Godscroft more than once uses The Bruce. After relating how Randolph was captured by Sir James Douglas, and won over to the Scottish side, he proceeds:

"This is related in the *Bruces* book, and hath nothing fabulous or improbable in it: and therefore it ought not to be slighted: Especially seeing, as I am informed, the Book was penned by a man of good knowledge and learning, named master *John Barbour*, Archdeacon of Aberdene; for which work he had a yearely pension out of the Exchequer during his life, which he gave to the Hospitall of that Towne, to which it is allowed and paid still in our dayes. He lived in the reigne of *David* the second sonne, and successour to King *Robert Bruce*."²

Selden gives two extracts from Wyntoun in his Judicium de Decem Scriptoribus Anglicanis. The first of these is thus introduced :—

"Habetur etiam chronicon rhythmicum MS. a Scoto mihi anonymo lingua vernacula congestum, idque a seculis vetustissimis usque ad Robertum tertium regem seu annum MCCCCV. sed tam in capite quam calce mutilum, ubi, de Constantino hoc habitum apud S. Andream Keledeorum sumente, legitur."³

When the elder Thynne set the example of inserting Henryson's Testament and Complaint of Cresseid among

¹ Preface, 1615. ² House of Douglas, ed. 1644, 30-1.

³ De decem Scriptoribus, 1653*, Works, 1726, vol. ii. tom. 11. column 1140.

Chaucer's works, he may not have intended that the poem should be believed to be Chaucer's. Leland and Bale were deceived, as indeed were some antiquaries of much more recent times. But it was early recognised from internal evidence that Chaucer was not the author. The younger Thynne, in his Animadversions on Speght's edition of Chaucer (1599*), says :—

"One other thinge ys, that yt would be good that Chaucers proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde, the Letter of Cupide, and the ballade begynnynge 'I have a ladye whereso she bee,' &c. whiche Chaucer never composed, as may sufficientlye be proved by the things themselves."¹

A document of the highest importance is Sir Francis Kinaston's Latin translation of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, with a commentary, the unpublished portion of which includes Henryson's Cresseid.² Urry made misleading use of it in his Chaucer, where there is nothing to show that it is not Urry himself that speaks in the first person. Kinaston's account of Henryson is thus given by Waldron in the specimens printed in 1796 :---

"Ffor the Author of this Supplement called the Testament of Creseid, w^{ch.} may passe for the sixt and last booke of this Story I [Sir F. Kinaston] have very sufficiently bin informed by S^{r.} James [*James* is stricken out by a pen, and over it is written *Tho* :] Eriskin late earle of Kelly & divers aged Schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made & written by one Mr. Robert Henderson sometimes cheife Schoole master in Dumfermling much about the time that Chaucer was first printed & dedicated to king Henry the 8th by Mr. Thinne w^{ch} was neere the

¹ Ed. Kingsley, 1865 (E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., 9), 56.

² So says Waldron. The manuscript seems to be lost.

end of his raigne: This Mr. Henderson wittily observing, that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related y^e death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseid, he learnedly takes upon him in a fine poeticall way to expres the punishment & end due to a false unconstant whore, w^{ch} commonly terminates in extreme misery. About, or a little after his time the most famous of the Scottish poets Gawen Douglas made his learned & excellent translation of Virgils Æneids, who was bishop of Dunkeld, & made excellent prefaces to every one of the twelve bookes.

"Ffor this Mr. Robert Henderson he was questionless a learned & a witty man, & it is pitty we have no more of his works, being very old he dyed of a Diarrhea or fluxe, of whom there goes this merry, though somewhat unsavoury tale, that all phisitians having given him over & he lying drawing his last breath there came an old woman unto him, who was held a witch, & asked him whether he would be cured, to whom he sayed very willingly, then qd she there is a whikey tree in the lower end of yo^r orchard, & if you will goe & walke but thrice about it, & thrice repeate theis wordes whikey tree whikey tree take away this fluxe from me you shall be presently cured, he told her that beside he was extreme faint & weake it was extreme frost & snow & that it was impossible for him to go. She told him that unles he did so it was impossible he should recover. Mr. Henderson then lifting upp himselfe, & pointing to an oken table that was in the roome, asked her & seied gude dame I pray ye tell me, if it would not do as well if I repeated thrice theis words oken burd oken burd garre me s- a hard t- the woman seing herselfe derided & scorned ran out of the house in a great passion & Mr. Henderson within halfe a quarter of an houre departed this life: there is a like tale told of Mr. George Buchanan who lying at the point of death [was] proposed such a question & made such an answer to some ladies & women, that came unto him persuading him to dy a Romane Catholicke, but it is so uncivell & unmannerly, that it is better to suppres it in silence then relate it." 1

¹ Waldron, 1796, pp. xxix.-xxxi., from Kinaston's MS., c. 1640.

The confused chronology of this notice and the regret "that we have no more of his works," show that information concerning Henryson had suffered much in transmission. But whether the ignorance was Kinaston's or his informants', it is interesting to find that in 1640, or a little earlier, a tradition still lingered among "aged Schollers." There are a few other vanishing outliers of evidence to show that Henryson, and perhaps Dunbar, were not absolutely forgotten in the seventeenth century. Laing notes the presence of The Abbey Walk in a MS. of 1636* and in a collection printed by John Forbes of Aberdeen in 1686*.¹ The Cogitations upon Death, of which there is a fourth edition (the first known) by Forbes in 1681*, is said to be an imitation of Dunbar's Lament for the Makars.

Douglas was neither popular like Lyndsay nor forgotten like Dunbar. Like James I. he lived in the historians, and in those who borrowed from them. But in addition he was still read by the learned. The Palice of Honour had been early printed, perhaps by Davidson. London editions of the same work and of the Æneid appeared in or about 1553; and in 1579 the smaller poem was printed for H. Charteris. No other edition is known before 1710. During the whole interval, however, his Æneid was highly esteemed among scholars. No doubt his matter was in his favour.

Leslie's admiration seems to be real, though he goes conventionally astray on a point which could easily

¹ For these see Laing's Henryson, 240-1. In the Edin. Bibl. Soc. Handlist the only entries under Forbes for the year 1686 are prognostications, theses, and an Advertisement anent the reparation of high-ways.

have been tested, when he asserts that Douglas's translation follows Vergil line for line:---

"Gauinus Douglasius Episcopus DunKeldensis cū audiuisset gubernatore re in ipso principio asperius agere, animo costernatus, clam se ex Scotia Londinum subduxit, quo in loco posteà diem suū obierat. Hic vir si se his tumultibus non immiscuisset, dignus profectò fuisset propter ingenii acumen acerrimum, ac eruditionem singularem, qui omniū literis, ac memoria cosecraretur. nostram lingua multis eruditionis sue monumētis illustrauit; in quibus illud fuerat ingenii sui signum longè praeclarissimum, quod Virgilii Aeneidos nostro idiomate donauit, ea dexteritate, vt singulis latinis versibus singuli Scotici respodeant : eo sententiaru podere, vt nostrę linguae si intelligas vim occultā mireris: ea deniq; felicitate, vt nullam ego antiquorū poetarū lauream cū eius in hoc genere laude facilè comparē. quippe quò videtur nostra lingua asperior, ac ab ea copia, que latinā comendat, alienior : eò fuit Douglasii laus reliquis Latinis poetis illustrior, quòd in Virgilio vertendo versuum suauitatem, sententiarum pondera, verborum significationes, ac singulorum penè apicum vim nostra lingua plenè enucleateq; expresserit. atque id octodecim mensium tantùm spatio."

Buchanan's praise is more measured :---

"Is proximo anno dum Romam proficiscitur, Londini peste correptus obijt, magno suae virtutis apud bonos desiderio relicto. Praeter enim natalium splendorem, & corporis dignitatem, erant in eo multae, vt illis temporibus literae, summa temperantia & singularis animi moderatio, atque in rebus turbulentis, inter adversas factiones perpetua fides & auctoritas. Reliquit & ingenij & doctrinae non vulgaria monumenta sermone patrio conscripta." 1

Godscroft's account of Douglas's character is translated from Buchanan. After calling him "well lettered

¹ Lib. xIV. c. 13.

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according to the times," he goes on to adapt Leslie's criticism, with an addition :---

"He wrote in his native tongue diverse things. But his chiefest work is the translation of *Virgil*, yet extant in verse, in which he ties himself so strictly as is possible, and yet it is so well expressed, that whosoever shall assay to do the like, will finde it a hard piece of work to go through with. In his Prologues before every Book, where he hath his libertie, he sheweth a naturall, and ample vein of poesie, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I beleeve there is none that hath written before, or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the 8. Book, beginning (of Dreams and of Drivelings &c.) at least in our language."¹

Drummond, Spottiswoode, and Calderwood agree in praising Douglas as a poet. Among students of literature is Speght, who quotes "The excellent and learned Scottish Poet Gawyne Dowglas" in commendation of Chaucer. Kinaston, in a passage already given, calls him "the most famous of the Scottish poets."²

(d) The Cataloguers.

Of the cataloguers the common ancestor is John Bale. With his sources Major, Boece, and Polydore Vergil, he formed the reservoir from which the stream was to flow for more than two centuries, with scarce any affluents but Leslie and George Buchanan. Bale was directly inspired by the first of his kind, his friend Konrad Gesner, the author of the Bibliotheca

¹ Houses of Douglas and Angus, 1644, 220.

² For Dempster see next section.

Universalis. In his zeal to make his Catalogue of British Writers as full as possible, he included Adam and Seth. Such a man, with ordinary opportunities, might have left a great heritage to the cataloguewriters of the next two hundred years. Unfortunately Bale himself and most of his successors were under disadvantages which threw them out of touch with their subject. Bale, as a Protestant, was obliged to spend much of his time in Germany, not then a good field for Scottish studies; and he was not a Scotsman. In the interesting Epistola Dedicatoria to Alexander Alesius and John Knox, prefixed to the section of his Catalogue that deals with Scottish writers, he informs his friends that he has never been in Scotland:—

"Paucos quidem esse scriptores à me citatos fateor, septuaginta et sex scilicet: nō quòd non fuerint plures, sed quod mihi extero homini non perinde sint noti. Nec enim unquam in Scotia fui, nec eorum uidi bibliothecas: sed ab externis accepi, quicquid hic adductum est. Cogitabam sanè in Scotiam proficisci, sed in ipso itinere aliò me uertit Dominus: dum à piratis spoliatus, immaniterq3 tractatus, ac in Germaniam post multa pericula ac magnam uim devectus sum, tandemq3, precio soluto dimissus. Itaq3, si quid erratum est, ueniam peto, non negligentiae, sed infortunij: non uoluntatis, sed casus."¹

In his life of himself he says:

"Pijssimus Deus me denuò captum, irrisum, ac demum à piratis uenditum, misericorditer liberauit : & in Germaniam, tutissimum Christianę pietatis portum, unà cum uxore, sua solius manu perduxit."²

Of the seventy-six Scottish writers to whom the pirates restricted Bale's knowledge, Thomas of Ercil-

¹ Bale, Catalogus, ii. 176. ² Catalogus, i. 703.

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doune and Alexander Barclay may be ignored. Of the rest only four can be recognised as vernacular poets. In 1548, when his Summary was published, he knew of James I., Douglas, and Bellenden. Next year he was aware of Lyndsay's existence, and included him in the list 1 of writers to be dealt with in his later work. Like Leland, who, though he was said to be learned in "Scottyshe," commemorates no Scottish writers, Bale attributes Henryson's Testament and Complaint of Cresseid to Chaucer, as was usual from the date of Thynne's Chaucer onwards. Between the dates of the Summary and of the Catalogue Bale was busy upon the notes which Mr R. L. Poole has published under the title of Index. From booksellers and from Nicholas Brigham,² author of several lost works, he was able to collect much new material. One entry gives a list of Scottish writers :---

"SCOTICI SCRIPTORES — Dunbar, Rennedus, Dauid Lyndesey, Rolandus Harryson, Balantinus, Quintinus, Stephanus Hawis, atque alij.

"Ex Nicolao Brigan in collectionibus." ³

For want of fuller information, no doubt, Dunbar, Quintin, and, if we may so read the list, Kennedy, were not included in the Catalogue of 1559. Succeeding cataloguers therefore restrict themselves as a rule to James I., Douglas, Lyndsay, and Bellenden. They overlook Blind Harry, of whom Bale gives some notice in his article on William Elphinstone.

¹ In Leland's New Year's Gift, where Douglas also is named.

² For Brigham see Bale Index, 288, footnote, 300; Catalogus Cent. XIV. (art. Ioannes Altus); Dict. Nat. Biog. (art. Brigham).

³ Index, 496.

A portion of Bale's work is dedicated to Gesner, Lycosthenes (Wolffhart), and Simler, who had lent him books and otherwise befriended him in his exile. When Lycosthenes reduced Gesner's work to an epitome, and, with Simler, added new material, Bale sent notices of British writers. There is nothing new relating to the four Scottish writers in the Epitome, except an error due to a misreading of Bale. This error troubled Francis Thynne, alias Botevile, son of Chaucer's editor, when he made use of the Epitome in A Generall Catalog of the Writers of Scotland, printed among the additions to Holinshed. Thynne brings the list to date by adding "Charles Iames the sixt of that name king of Scots now living." Elsewhere in the same volume ¹ Thynne is cited as authority for a notice of Harry, from Major, but Harry is not included in the Catalog. The same four poets, James I., Douglas, Lyndsay, and Bellenden, with James VI., appear in the usual company, Latin and imaginary, in an Oratio de Illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus, delivered in 1611² by Gilbert Gray, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Thynne had pointed out that Scottish historiographers, "ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due," ³ claimed many Irish writers for Scotland. Who these many historiographers were he does not say, but the criticism applies much more widely. The Scottish lists long after Thynne's time were swelled not always at Ireland's expense. Among the Cataloguers, as among the early historians and such genealogists as Sir Thomas Urquhart, the desire

¹ Edit. 1586-7, ii. 214.

² According to Nicolson and Mackenzie. ³ Op. cit., p. 457.

for completeness came to the aid of vanity. Their subjection to authority, while it restricted them in some directions, enabled them to throw the responsibility upon others and augment their lists or their information without too great a strain upon their consciences. They show a childish disingenuousness. They have a fantastic appetite for belief, are selfblinded to criticism, and even when they have a direct acquaintance with literature they keep it apart, so that it does not ballast them against an ascent into the clouds. Of the most notable of their number, Thomas Dempster, it has been said that he "was as well inclin'd to believe a Lye as any Man in his time; and was as well qualify'd to put it into a pretty Dress of Poetry." 1 This "Scotici nominis vindex acerrimus" makes the most of his materials. By expanding the slightest hint in his authorities he makes great additions to the roll of authors and of works. Some of his statements are so astounding that it is difficult to think him a mere believer and dresser of lies. His Historia Ecclesiastica is probably the most untrustworthy book upon Scottish literature ever written. His life of adventure and exile, by throwing him upon memory and imagination, favoured the worst tendencies of his class. On the other hand his memory, like his imagination, was good. His works prove that he possessed knowledge which his contemporaries either lacked or failed to record. The list of Scottish writers in his Nomen-1561," "Gauin. Duglas. E[piscopus]. 1521," "Henricus.

¹ Nicolson, Scottish Historical Library. The words italicised are quoted from Lloyd, Account of Church Government, 1684, 153.

Caecus. 1310," "Alex. Humaeus," "Patric. Humaeus. Pulvvartius dictus Scoticus Pindarus. 1612," "Patric. Ihonstonus," "Tho Leirmonth. 1282," "Da. Lindsay. H. 1540," "Alex. Montgomeri Homerus Scoticus. 1591," "Semple. aut Simplicius Scoticus Flaccus. 1594."¹ In the Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam (1622) occur, in a list of historians, "Henricus Caecus MCCCLXI." "Dauid Lindsay MDXL," and "Iacob Ballantyn MDL."² The Historia Ecclesiastica contains lives of Leirmonth, James I., Harry, Quintinus, Douglas, James V., Bellenden, Patrick Hume, Montgomerie, Semple, and James VI.

1627, the year of the posthumous publication of Dempster's Historia Ecclesiastica, is the date of a manuscript catalogue of Scottish writers in Edinburgh University Library. It was printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1837, along with a similar work from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library. Both are attributed to David Buchanan. Of writers of poetry in Scots the usual four are given, from Polydore Vergil, Bale, Leslie, and George Buchanan. As a specimen of the information to be got in the catalogues, it may be mentioned that according to D. Buchanan "Robert" Langland wrote, in addition to his Vision of Piers the Plowman (Visionem Petri Aratoris), a book "Pro Conjugio Sacerdotum," that he was a Scotsman, and that he was educated in a Benedictine house in Aberdeen.³

It is much to be regretted that Sir Thomas Urquhart, in his $E\kappa\sigma\kappa\nu\beta a\lambda a\nu\rho\sigma\nu$, did not mention "any Scotish man to praise him for eminent actions done by him,

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¹ Pp. 7-20.

² P. 9.

³ D. Buchanan, De Scriptoribus Scotis (Bannatyne Club), 9.

either in the field or schoole, preceding the year 1600."¹

In 1833 Maidment printed a catalogue, probably by Sir Robert Sibbald. It will be noticed later in connection with Sibbald's Historia Literaria.

The cataloguers from Bale onwards are intimately connected, as is suggested by the fact that they include the same names. Gray, a Scotsman, ought to have added some; as an Aberdeen man he should not have forgotten Barbour, of whom editions were frequent and popular. In their facts, or what they give for facts, the cataloguers are again dependent upon Bale, but there is a certain leakage of new matter. Bale includes James I. and Douglas because he finds them in Major, Boece, and Polydore Vergil. His criticism of James I. as a Latin and vernacular poet is very slightly altered from Boece. His list of poems is made by simply paraphrasing Major's statements into titles. Leslie is panegyrical. George Buchanan seems, like Bale, to paraphrase Boece, but more freely. Gray gives Bale's list, in its earlier form, substituting "Legum Patriae Liber" for "Cantilenas Scoticas." Dempster also gives "Leges aequissimas" on Leslie's authority, with "De Musica" on Boece's, and the rest from Bale. David Buchanan adds nothing. The catalogue printed by Maidment omits James.

In 1548 Bale's knowledge of Douglas does not seem to extend beyond what appears in Polydore Vergil. Later he gets information from Brigham and "Ex bibliopole officina." He learns of the Palice of Honour and the Æneid. The first lines of these, in Latin, and

¹ 'Εκσκυβαλαυρον, 218-9.

the knowledge that the Æneid is in thirteen books, perhaps indicate that his informants had seen these works. That no first line is given for "Aureas narrationes" is suspicious, in spite of the fact that the information comes from a bookseller's shop. Bale might well have seen both the Æneid and the Palice of Honour, which were printed in London while he was at work. His change of thirteen to twelve in 1559 suggests that his acquaintance with the former was not close, and probably not direct. He adds "Comoedias aliquot." Holinshed also gives the number of books as twelve. Thynne follows Bale, through Simlerus, for the list of works, but knows of Douglas's life from another source. In Gray, Bale's list of works reappears, including "venusto Carmine Patrio Sermone fideliter redditis Duodecim Libris Æneidôn Virgilii." Dempster cites Polydore Vergil and Leslie, from whom he adopts, without acknowledgment, the opinion that the Æneid answers to the original line for line. He gives Bale's list with the additional information that the Comedies were sacred. He confuses Douglas with Gavin Dunbar. David Buchanan gives a considerable notice, much of which, including the literal translation fable, is paraphrased or lifted from Bale and Leslie. George Buchanan is also made use of. The usual list of works is given. There is nothing to show that D. Buchanan had any first-hand knowledge of them, or any new materials for Douglas's life. Vossius uses Polydore Vergil and Bale. The catalogue printed by Maidment gives the usual list, but mentions the Edinburgh edition of the Palice of Honour, 1579.

Over his predecessors Lyndsay had this advantage, that he was still alive when the early cataloguers wrote, and that his works were popular enough to be known to these and in high enough repute to be thought worthy of mention. Bale in his Index names Brigham as general authority. From John Day's bookshop he learns of two works, the Papyngo and "Acta sui temporis," "Et alia quedam." The Tragedy, though published by Day and Seres, is not mentioned; but it appears as "De testamento Cardinalis Scotie" in another list "Ex museo Ioannis Aleu," along with "De mundi miserijs" (the Dialog), the Papyngo, "Atque alia plura." The two lists are amalgamated in 1559. The titles of Lyndsay's other works "non occurrunt." Bale does not know whether he is still alive, and fills up his article with a digression on heraldry and a few words on Lyndsay's education. Simlerus merely repeats Bale, but Thynne does more than repeat Simlerus. He mentions the Dialogue and the Tragedy by their more usual titles, conjecturing that the latter is the same as the "Testamentum cardinalis Beton" of the others, but not identifying the Dialog with De Miseriis. He adds the Dream and the Deploration. Gilbert Gray adds the information that David Carnegie had been at work on a translation of the Monarchy when he died. David Buchanan silently follows Bale. He includes the digression on heraldry, and expands Bale's hint as to studies in a manner that reminds one of nineteenthcentury popularisers. He adds the Justing to the list of poems, and separates the Exhortation and the Description of Paradise from the Dream, in the manner of the lists of contents in the old editions.

It is evident that all these writers, except Simlerus, either knew Lyndsay's works at first hand, or drew information from some person who did. Yet each prefers on the whole to repeat what the others have said rather than give a list of Lyndsay's poems directly from his own book. They all give 1540 as the date of his flourishing, and all name "Acta sui temporis" as one of his works. Dempster, who omits Lyndsay from his Historia Ecclesiastica. names him elsewhere with the same date, and calls him a historian. In Mackenzie and Tanner the domination of Bale and his successors is not quite extinct. The former probably supplies the explanation of the ascription of a history to Lyndsay when he says, "And Lindsay of Pitscottie tells us, That he wrote the History of Scotland, which I suppose is now lost." Chalmers, who is always ready to strike at "this wretched author," as he calls Mackenzie, very unjustly says, "Mackenzie with his usual indiscretion attributes to sir David a history of Scotland. But that uncritical biographer confounded with our poet Lyndsay of Pitscottie, to whom Sir David gave some historical informations."

Bellenden's name occurs in Bale's list of authorities, and the article in the Summary (1548) shows a direct acquaintance with the translation of Boece and its accompanying matter. Bale names, with the opening words in Latin, the Proheme of the Cosmography (Cosmographiam historiae), the Description of Albion (not observing that it is but a translation from Boece), and the Epistle to the King. The Proheme of the History is omitted. In the Proheme of the Cosmography he seems to have misread "sylvan" for "siluir." In 1559 the changes in the life, already fairly full, are mainly verbal. Four additions are made to the bibliography, but they have no value. One at least is a mere reduplication of the Proheme of the Cosmography. Thynne and Gray are brief, and the latter, at least, follows Bale. Dempster mistakes Bellenden's first name, multiplies the Epistle into a book of Epistles, accepts Bale's doubtful suggestion of Rome as the place of his death, and gives 1550, with hesitation, as the date. David Buchanan is fuller in biography. In other respects both follow Bale.

With the poems of Montgomerie and Sir Patrick Hume, Dempster was directly acquainted. His admiration for them is great. Montgomerie's Cherry and the Slae he translated into Latin verse.

III. THE REVIVAL.

(a) The Anglo-Saxon Revival.

The revival of Scots at the end of the seventeenth century is the resultant of many forces. In one aspect it is but a part of a much wider movement, a renaissance of Old English and the older Teutonic languages generally. The first traces of a serious study of Scots are of this phase. By so early a pioneer of Anglo-Saxon learning as William L'Isle,¹ the Scottish dialect of the preceding age was recognised as a help to the student of Old English in dearth of grammars and dictionaries. Like other early workers L'Isle was attracted to Anglo-Saxon literature by the hope that its contents should settle disputed questions of church history. In 1623 he printed A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and

¹ 1579(?)-1637.

New Testament, by Ælfric. The preface tells how he was led to Gawin Douglas:--

"The due consideration hereof first stirred vp in me an earnest desire to know what learning lay hid in this old English tongue: for which I found out this vneasie way, first to acquaint my selfe a little with the Dutch both high and low; the one by originall, the other by commerce allied: then to reade a while for recreation all the old English I could finde, poetry or prose, of what matter soeuer. And diuers good bookes of this kinde I got, that were neuer yet published in print; which euer the more ancient they were, I perceiued came neerer the Saxon: But the Saxon, (as a bird, flying in the aire farther and farther, seemes lesse and lesse;) the older it was, became harder to bee vnderstood.

"At length I lighted on *Virgil* Scotished by the Reuerend *Gawin Dowglas* Bishop of *Dunkell*, and vncle to the Earle of *Angus*; the best translation of that Poet that euer I read: and though I found that dialect more hard than any of the former (as neerer the Saxon, because farther from the Norman) yet with helpe of the Latine I made shift to vnderstand it, and read the booke more than once from the beginning to the end. Wherby I must confesse I got more knowledge of that I sought than by any of the other. For as at the Saxon Inuasion many of the Britans, so at the Norman many of the Saxons fled into Scotland, preserving in that Realme vnconquered, as the line Royall, so also the language, better than the Inhabitants here, vnder conquerors law and custome, were able."¹

Franciscus Junius, the younger,² also used Douglas for the elucidation of earlier literature :—

"But for a chaunge, I took your archpoet Chaucer in hand: and though I thinke that in manie places he is not to bee understood without the help of old MS. copies, which England can afforde manie; yet doe I perswade my selfe to have met

¹ To the Reader, section 9. ² 1589-1677.

with innumerable places, hitherto misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illustrate. To which work I hold the bishop of Dunkel his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing, and in my perusing of this prelate his book (to say so much by the way) I stumbled upon manie passages wherein this wittie Gawin doth grosly mistake Virgil, and is much ledd out of the way by the infection of a monkish ignorance then prevailing in Church and common wealth: yet is there verie good use to be made of him."¹

Bishop William Nicolson drew attention, in 1702, to some of the fruits of Junius's studies, "his most excellent Marginal Notes" on a printed copy of the Æneid in the Bodleian, and a manuscript Index Alphabeticus Verborum Obsoletorum, quae occurrunt in Versione Virgilii Æneadum per Gawenum Dowglas cum relatione ad Paginas, in the same library.² In Ruddiman's edition of the Æneid there is an expression of disappointment in these manuscripts.³

Of the task of working out the relation of Old English to Greek, Méric Casaubon said:--

"Ad hoc autem multum proderit tum Scoticae linguae, quae Anglicâ hodiernâ purior, exacta cognitio; tum variorum verborum veterum, quae pro locorum ac regionum in Angliâ varietate cuiq; ferè regioni ac loco propria multa reperiuntur, diligens observatio."⁴

¹ Letter, Francis Junius to Dugdale, 3 February 1667-8, Hamper's Life and Correspondence of Dugdale, 383.

² Nicolson, Scottish Historical Library 1702, 99-100. See also Variorum Warton.

³ There is an anonymous MS. in the British Museum, bound with Sir Henry Spelman's Glossarium Archaiologicum, f^{o.}, 1644. Its title is: A Glossary | To Gawin Douglas the famous Scotch Poet who wrote ab^{t.} | the Year 1490. | It consists of one leaf, four columns on recto, two on verso. Press-mark 12935. k. 5.

⁴ De Quatuor Linguis Commentationis Pars Prior, quae de Lingua Hebraica et de Lingua Saxonica, 1650, 380.

In 1691 another Old English student, Edmund Gibson,¹ afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, published at the age of twenty-two an edition of Polemo-Middinia and Christ's Kirk on the Green, as "a sort of exercise, towards a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon."² These pieces, which had already been coupled together in 1684*, and were to be associated again in 1801, he elucidated in copious notes, pointing out cognate words in Gothic, Cimbrian, Icelandic, Old English, and the English dialects, and quoting abundantly from Chaucer and Gawin Douglas but from no other English writer. Gibson may claim to be the first to treat a Scottish poem as a classic. His text of Christ's Kirk, however, is modernised. He does not so much illustrate the poem by means of notes as make it an excuse for bringing his notes together. He makes use of Christ's Kirk as Callander of Craigforth does a century later. It must have been well known at the time, as there had been many editions before Gibson's, including at least one with glosses. Gibson seems to have known nothing of James I. as a poet. He does not name him in his list of poetical kings, and he heads the poem, "Composed (as is supposed) by King James the Fifth."

William Nicolson,⁸Bishop of Carlisle, a friend of Gibson, and like Gibson a disciple of Hickes, examined the materials for Scottish history in his Scottish Historical Library, a companion work to his English and Irish Historical Libraries. Barbour and Harry, hitherto ignored by the learned, have their claims as historians noticed. Wyntoun is rescued from oblivion. Douglas's

¹ 1669-1748. ² Chalmers, Lyndsay, iii., Introduction to Glossary. ³ 1655-1727.

Æneid is strangely accepted as evidence that he was "well qualify'd" to write De Rebus Scoticis.

Another friend of Gibson's, Bishop Tanner,¹ was at work about this time. He may be considered the last of the cataloguers. But he is more than a follower of Bale and Leland. His vast industry might be proved by the mere bulk of his Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, apart from the evidence that it shows of direct acquaintance with manuscripts. In one case this acquaintance led to a result of the highest importance to Scottish literature, the recovery of The Kingis Quair. Of Dunbar's work he knew The Table of Confession, but nothing else. The Bibliotheca was not printed until 1748.

(b) Sibbald and Mackenzie.

Among those who took part in the general turning over of old materials at this period was Sir Robert Sibbald,² the physician and naturalist. According to Nicolson, Sibbald possessed "some Manuscript Collections of other Men, looking this way; as I. An Anonymous History of the Lives of the most Eminent writers of the *Scottish* Nation, in *Latin*; beginning with *S. Alban*, and ending with *Robert Balfour*, who dy'd in the Year 1610. 2. Mr. *Thomas Crawford's* Original Account of the like Writers; beginning with *Caelius Sedulius*, in *Fergus* the Second's time, and ending at 1532. 3. *Oratio habita* [à Magistro Gilb. Gray] in Academiâ Abredoniensi pro Laureâ, A.D. 1611."³ When Nicolson's book was published Sibbald was at work on a history

¹ 1674-1735. ² 1641-1722. ³ Scottish Historical Library, 251⁺.

of Scottish literature. In a letter to Wodrow, written in Edinburgh on the 14th of April 1702, he says :---

"Ther is now writting the Historia Literaria of the Nation in Latin, and is in that forwardness allready, it may be finish'd against the tyme our Parliament meeteth, if incouradgement be given, it may then be given in to print. It is done most from Manuscripts, and the vouchers and assertors joined to each Ther is not only ane account of the writtings paragraph. of our Learned men printed, bot their MS. also, where they are to be found, most of them, and this in all sort of learning with characters of the writters, and oft times with the judgement of the learned upon them."¹

Ten days later he writes :---

"The Historia Literaria is done by me alone. I hope I may have your and some gentlemens here, their assistance in the revising and correcting of it. I have finished the part till the Seculum decimum sextum, (some 60 sheets in my writt) except the Historians, which I delayed till I gotte the Archdeacons booke,² and I ame now considering it, and writting the Historie of them. I give some account of their lives and ther characters, so well as I may from records : it is most done from Manuscripts. The sixteen and 17 secula, I did last winter: a good part of them, the account of the writters of Divinity was done in our language for me, by the Rev^{d.} Mr. Lawrence Charters, to the yeer 1700. He giveth the characters of severall of them. I had some accounts from Dr. Jameson, and Mr. Walter Paterson's Manuscripts. Thes last I am to turn to Latin, and add to the worke. The greatest assistance I had is from some manuscripts of Mr. David Buchanan, who heth written upon our learned men in ane excellent stil of Latin. I will need the assistance of all learned men, and I shall intreat earnestly yours and your friends. If the publick allow incouradgement for it, I shall indeavour to have it soon readie for the presse." 3

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¹ Maidment, Analecta Scotica, ii. 138.

² I.e., Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library. ³ Maidment, 139-40.

Sibbald's Historia Literaria Gentis Scotorum remains in manuscript,¹ in the Advocates' Library. It is a confused and disappointing work, and follows David Buchanan and Dempster all too closely. An Appendix de Historicis Scotis gives an account of the Wyntoun manuscripts and their contents. In 1833 James Maidment published, from a manuscript in Wodrow's hand, three catalogues, which seem to be connected with Sibbald's project. One, A Short Account of Scots Divines, seems to be the Catalogue by Laurence Charteris² referred to in the second letter to Wodrow quoted above. The other two catalogues-an Account of the Learned Men and Writers in Aberdeen, and a Catalogue of Scottish Writers-are from the same manuscript volume, "and it is not unlikely were procured from Sir Robert Sibbald."3 The Aberdeen Catalogue omits Barbour, but he is included in the general catalogue, which gives short bibliographical notices of Lermont, Alexander Barclay, Douglas, Lyndsay, Bellenden, William Fowler, Montgomerie, and James VI., of their contemporaries who wrote in Latin, and of some writers of later date.

In 1708, 1711, and 1722, Watson printed three great volumes in folio by George Mackenzie, M.D.,⁴ a kinsman of Sir George. Formally the book is a collection of the Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation. Really it is an encyclopædia constructed on a plan that recalls Hill Burton's directions for grangerising. The lives of Scottish historians have worked into them not a mere summary of their own

¹ Press-mark 33. 3, 21. ² 1625-1700.

³ Maidment, Catalogues of Scotish Writers, 1833, xxiii.

^{4 1669-1725.}

books, but a history of Scotland, including materials derived from other sources than the writings of the authors under whose names they appear. The article on Leslie concludes with an account of the learned men of his time. Among these is Bellenden, who wrote, according to Dempster, a life of Pythagoras. Bellenden's life is therefore suspended in order that Mackenzie may tell what he knows about Pythagoras. The same article makes mention of John Wadlock; and the fact that Wadlock wrote on astrology and mathematics is the excuse for introducing a dissertation on talismans and a history of the measurement of the earth. This method, which is acknowledged and defended in the prefaces, promises compilation from the readiest sources rather than original research. Occasionally Mackenzie adds something which may be his own — a description of a manuscript or an account of the contents of a long poem. The rest, when not taken from Dempster or some other writer of the older schools, is generally borrowed from Nicolson. Mackenzie's additions are, as a rule, either impertinent or fanciful. His article on David Steel is a paraphrase from The Scottish Historical Library. The life of Barbour is the same, with a history of Scotland interpolated. James I. is founded on the old historians. Wyntoun and Harry are from Nicolson, with additions. Douglas is an impudent theft from Bishop Sage.¹ Short passages are marked as Sage's by inverted commas, but practically the whole, except the life of Vergil, is taken directly from the same source, with only an occasional phrase altered, and with some rearrangement. Where he changes, Mackenzie commonly

¹ See p. lxiv.

exaggerates the rounded-generalising manner of his time. It may be counted in his favour that he should thus translate the facts into a form more assimilable by the eighteenth-century mind; but there is so little material that the practice becomes mere bubble-blowing. It is scarcely yet extinct among popularisers. Mackenzie is the first to write anything that can be called a biography of Lyndsay. He is faulty enough, and as fanciful as David Buchanan in his elaborate account of Lyndsay's education, which he follows up with an attempt to trace his fortunes at Court. He gives a short bibliography, extracts, and a catalogue of the works from "the printed Edition." He is aware of the existence, in the Bannatyne MS., of "Some Fragments of Plays," which he seems to distinguish from the printed Satire of the Three Estates. Though he knows of the Bannatyne, and, through Nicolson, of the Maitland MS., he shows no suspicion that these preserve the works of two great forgotten makars. Mackenzie's ambition was too great for his abilities and the age he lived in. He died of overwork, and left a book that almost rivals Dempster's for inaccuracy.

(c) The Jacobites.

Unlike Gothic and Old English, Scots had still in the beginning of the eighteenth century a living and national as well as a scholarly and historical meaning. Its literary tradition, though attenuated, was not broken; and it was still the language of speech and thought in a nation keenly conscious of its separate existence. As the cramped mind became more genial, a vernacular

literature was ready to develop. As those who wished at the time of the Reformation to hold aloof from England had posed as patriots in their adherence to "our auld plane Scottis," so it was among those who looked askance upon the Union of 1707 that the revival and renewed practice of Scottish poetry began. It was among the Episcopalian Jacobites that the polar pack first broke up. But their interest in Scottish literature, which began in the reviving of taste and the relaxing of theological tyranny, must have been stimulated by a perception of the political use to which it could be put. It enabled them to pose as the only patriots. The events of the War of Independence could be given an allegorical meaning, and the poems relating to it could be used to rouse opposition to the Union with England. Even a friend of the English alliance like Douglas, and a man whose principles had so little in common with Jacobitism as George Buchanan's, could be represented as Scotsmen whose "Poetry is the product of their own Country, not pilfered and spoiled in the Transportation from abroad."1 The members of the Easy Club called themselves by such names as Blind Harry and Gawin Douglas. It was the Jacobite party that supplied the chief poets of the time in Allan Ramsay and William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the chief editors of the older literature in Ruddiman, Sage, and Ramsay, and its chief printers in Watson, Freebairn, and Ruddiman.

Before printing Mackenzie's Lives and Characters Watson had begun to imitate "our Neighbouring Kingdoms and States" by issuing A Choice Collection of

¹ This expression of Ramsay's refers not to Douglas and Buchanan, but to poets to whom it is equally inapplicable.

Comic and Serious Scots Poems. It was "the first of its Nature which has been publish'd in our own Native Scots Dialect," for the Cantus Songs and Fancies of 1662* is rather a music book, and though an interest in Scottish music had a powerful influence on the literary movement as it developed, the music of the Aberdeen Cantus is a different matter. The three parts of the Choice Collection appeared in 1706, 1709, and 1711. These form the first volume, but no other parts are known. The choice of pieces is curious. The first is Christ's Kirk on the Green, "Composed (as was supposed) by King James the Fifth." The past tense may refer to Gibson's opinion, which was perhaps founded on Dempster's ascription of "De Choreis rusticis Falkirkensibus" to James V.,1 and is adopted without question in the anonymous Preface to Ruddiman's Douglas (1710) and in Mackenzie's second volume (1711).² In 1713 the second edition of Watson's first Part gives the poem to James I. Possibly Watson or his editor may have learned that it was attributed to him in the Bannatyne MS., which began to attract attention about this time. Another old favourite included in the Collection is The Cherry and the Slae. With it had survived The Flyting of Montgomerie and Polwart, and other five poems attributed to Montgomerie. Of the remaining poems many are contemporary or of the seventeenth century. John Burel's Queen's Entry into Edinburgh and The Passage of the Pilgrimer, and Thomas Maitland's Satyr upon Sir Niel Laing, represent the end of the sixteenth. Rob's Jok came to Wooe our Jennie, subsequently popular, is old enough to appear in Bannatyne. David Steil's

¹ See p. lxxvii. ² Lives and Characters, 11., 594, 614 (Art. Lesley).

Ring of the Roy Robert was perhaps inserted for political reasons. All these poems are utterly modernised.

Of Gawin Douglas nothing had been printed since 1579; of his Æneid no edition since 1553. Manuscripts had begun to come to notice, and by Nicolson's time the translation was ripe for a new edition. The task fell to a man of great erudition and enthusiasm, Thomas Ruddiman.¹ His folio edition of Douglas's Æneid (1710) is the earliest monument of a scholarly study of Scots. Its famous glossary is acknowledged to have laid the foundation of Scottish lexicography. The text is based upon the old printed version, which Ruddiman sought to purge of its "innumerable and gross Errors" by comparing it with the Latin original and with the Ruthven MS. in Edinburgh University Library, and by "narrowly observing" the language of Douglas and his contemporaries. Where printed and manuscript readings agreed equally with the sense of Vergil, "we thought our selves at Liberty to choose which of the two pleas'd us best." According to Small the Bath MS. "seems to have been partially collated" by Urry for this edition.² Some "General Rules for Understanding the Language of Bishop Douglas's Translation of Virgil's Æneis" are added. Ruddiman is named as one to whose "Care and Pains" the printers are "obliged by all the Ties of Justice and Gratitude to acknowledge that this Work is very much indebted." The book bears no other indication of his editorship. The Life of Gawin Douglas that accompanies Ruddiman's text and glossary is believed to be by Bishop Sage.³ For the first time Douglas's biography is modern in character, and full. It is founded ¹ 1674-1757. ² Small, Douglas, 1874, i. clxxvii. ⁸ 1652-1711.

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not only on Polydore Vergil, Leslie, Buchanan, and Godscroft, but on Miln's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, and the Letters of the Kings of Scots, both then in manuscript. Dempster and Vossius are treated critically, and Bale's Summary (1548) quoted. Apparently Sage had not consulted Bale's Catalogue (1559). Mackenzie followed too slavishly to do so for himself.

About 1714 or 1715 Freebairn, one of the printers of Douglas, is believed to have printed The Bruce and The Wallace. Jamieson¹ was "assured, on good authority," that this was so, "but that, as he engaged in the rebellion in the year last mentioned, before the work was ready for publication, they were suffered to lie in a bookseller's ware-house till A. 1758, when they were published, either without titles, or with titles bearing the false date of this year." They are thoroughly modernised in spelling, but "in a great variety of instances, give the sense of the original writers more accurately" than the older editions, "having evidently been collated with the MSS. of *The Bruce* and *Wallace* in the Advocates' Library."²

As the vernacular decay had affected both the reading and the writing of verse, so did the vernacular revival. The influence of the antiquarian movement upon literature, culminating in Burns in one direction and in the triumph of Romanticism in another, needs only to be pointed out. The reciprocal influence of the literary movement upon the study of Middle Scots will demand more attention in the history of the second stage of the revival, but even at the

¹ Jamieson, The Wallace, Preliminary Remarks, Ed. 1869, x. ² Ibid.

end of the first it is impossible to separate poet and editor. In the darker parts of the seventeenth century's consciousness much of the old literature remained. Sometimes it came to the surface. It was the inspiration of Robert Sempill and others. Later it emerged in the form of imitations. That Lady Wardlaw, or whoever else was the author, should pass off Hardiknute as a mediæval composition, backed by Sir John Bruce's tale of a vault and an ancient manuscript, proves that already the romance of antiquarianism was beginning to be felt. Appropriately, Hardiknute appears in the Choice Collection. Appropriately, too, it appears in the next and most portentous gathering of old materials, The Evergreen. For some years manuscripts had been coming to light, or at least to notice in print, but until 1724 the bounds of Scottish vernacular reading had not been much enlarged thereby. Watson failed in his promise "that the next Collection shall consist wholly of Poems never before Printed." He did not exhume anything very deeply buried. Allan Ramsay¹ was the first to explore the recesses. William Carmichael, brother of the Earl of Hyndford, lent him the Bannatyne MS. His first use of it, so far as choice of material is concerned, adds nothing new. The pioneers had almost confined themselves to printing Christ's Kirk and quoting Gawin Douglas. In 1716 Ramsay printed Christ's Kirk, with a quotation from Gawin Douglas, ill-spelt in Greek letters, at the head of it, and an additional "Canto" by himself at the end. In 1718 he added a third canto. Many editions followed, in which Douglas stirred uneasily in 1 1686-1758.

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his Greek disguise. The original poem professes to be "copied from an old Manuscript Collection of Scots Poems wrot an hundred and fifty years ago; where it is found to be done by King James I."¹ Ramsay's text, however, differs greatly from Bannatyne's. It agrees rather with the old editions in number and arrangement of stanzas, but, as in Bannatyne and in Watson's second edition, it is assigned to James I. Alexander Nicol's fourth canto (1766) draws what inspiration it has from Ramsay.

Much more important was the publication, in 1724, of The Ever Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. In it Christ's Kirk appeared again, this time from the MS. The Cherry and the Slae was printed from Waldegrave (1597) and Hart's otherwise unknown edition of 1615. Nearly all the other poems are from the Bannatyne MS. The fact of overmastering importance is that for the first time after long oblivion² the names of Henryson, Dunbar, and Scott were revived, and many of their poems made known. Many minor poets, also forgotten, were represented. Of Lyndsay there is only one piece, Pedder Coiffeis, but it had till then been unknown. It was not included in any edition of Lyndsay's works before 1871.³ A note at the end of the glossary promised a third volume, "which Volume is to be published in a short Time, consisting chiefly of Satyres and Interludes, wrote by Sir David Lindsay of the

- ¹ Edit. 1718, Advertisement.
- ² See Smeaton, Allan Ramsay, 22.

³ Laing is mistaken when he says that it was not printed with Lyndsay's name before 1822. Though Hailes gave it anonymously, Ramsay names Lyndsay as the author.

Mount, Lyon King at Arms, and acted on the Play Green between Leith and Edinburgh, with several other Pieces never before printed."¹ Chalmers² states, on the authority of certain notes on the early drama of Scotland, by the Duke of Roxburghe, that the Interludes were actually transcribed, and that the transcript had been in the possession of Allan Ramsay the younger. Until this third volume, or a fourth, should appear, Ramsay deferred his purpose of giving an account of the lives, characters, and times of the poets represented, "not being furnished with such distinct Information as could be wished for that End at present."³

Hardiknute is not the only sham antiquity in The Evergreen. Two manifestly modern poems — The Vision, and The Eagle and the Robin Red breist have the colophon "Quod AR. SCOT." Ar. was doubtless meant to be read as a contraction for Alexander. The flavour is a strong, but superfluous, confirmation of the interpretation "Allan Ramsay, Scot." Ramsay's contemporaries, however, accepted The Vision as Alexander Scott's, and regarded it as his masterpiece. There was more than literary dilettantism in the deception. In The Vision, Ramsay, taking a hint perhaps from Watson's use of The Ring of the Roy Robert, writes of the War of Independence in language from which Jacobites could extract another

¹ Evergreen, ii. 286.

² Lyndsay, 1806, i. 95. Laing also mentions the transcript as existing, Lyndsay, 1879, iii. 301. A. de Cardonnel, writing to Pinkerton, March 5, 1787, stated that it was then in the younger Ramsay's possession, and that it was executed "not with the most scrupulous fidelity."—Pinkerton's Correspondence, i. 148-9. It had been lent to Percy. See Letters to Paton, 1830, p. 45, letter dated Aug. 18, 1774.

³ Evergreen, i. xi-xii.

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meaning.¹ Ramsay assumed the utmost licence in interpolating, modernising, vulgarising, and rewriting. He seems to have been unconscious of doing any wrong. He makes no attempt at concealment: to Dunbar's Lament for the Makars he adds stanzas foretelling his own advent. His attitude towards his originals was very different from the modern editor's. He was a producer of literature, not a scientific student, and the older literature was to him so much material to be turned to use for the purposes of literature, moral and æsthetic, as understood by him. It was partly his own fault, partly the fault of his age, that in politics, in morals, and in literature his labours should be selfcontradictory. He was a patriot who wished to restore liberty by bringing back tyrants. He gloats over the indecent with a gusto that makes his vaunt² as a moral reformer read as offensive cynicism. Where he finds anything in Bannatyne that might offend the timidest as jesting with religion,3 he cuts it out; where he

¹ Such phrases as these must have been pleasing in a Jacobitical ear: "Musand our main Mis-chaunce," "Our Trechour Peirs," "Sen this disgraceful Paction," "Quhen Scottish Peirs slicht Saxon Gold," "He rather sould mair lyke a Man Some braif Design attempt."

² Christ's Kirk.

Ramsay omits.

³ The following examples are from Dunbar's poems :--

The Dregy. Small—	Ramsay-
" The Fader, the Sone and Haly Gaist	"The * * *
The mirthfull Mary virgene chaist."	The mirthfull Mary, Virgin chast."

Amends to the Tailors and Souters, Stanza II.

Small-" In Hevin hie ordand is your place, Aboif all sanctis in grit solace, Nixt God, grittest in dignitie."

Stanza VII. Small-

"Thocht God mak ane misfassonit man," &c.,

Stanza IX. (Ramsay VIII.) Small-Ramsay-"Of God grit kyndness may 3e clame "Of all great Kindness may ze claim, That helpis his peple fra cruke and lame,"&c. The cruke Backs, and the Criple, Lame," &c.

Ramsay---"High up for zou is ordaind a Place,

Abune all Saints in great Solace, In Happyness and Dignity."

finds anything obscene or morally unwholesome, he sometimes prints it unchanged or amplified, sometimes tricks it out into greater prominence in a dress of dashes, stars, and initials. Yet he was the forerunner of Burns in the purification of songs. So in literature he gave the old makars with all the accuracy that his age demanded. By bringing them more into conformity with that age he heightened their power to work changes. And by introducing a new influence he prepared the way for those who, before the century was out, were to revile him as they continued his work.

As the scholarly side of the early revival culminated in Thomas Ruddiman, a member of the Easy Club, so its literary side culminated in another member, Allan Ramsay, or Gawin Douglas as he was called in the Club. From Ramsay's Christ's Kirk and The Evergreen there was some leakage into chap-book literature; but the connection between the popular survival and the literary movement is better exemplified in William Hamilton¹ of Gilbertfield, also a member-according to tradition-of the Easy Club. His paraphrase of The Wallace appeared first in 1722. What has been said of the political and literary bearing of The Evergreen applies in some degree to this work. Its influence, like Ramsay's, was double. It rejuvenated Harry, and it superseded him. Edition after edition of Gilbertfield appeared, until far into the nineteenth century. The old series did not come to an end, but it at once thinned off. This need not be attributed wholly to Hamilton's paraphrase. Ramsay had been so suc-1 1665 (?)-1751.

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cessful in extracting from the old poetry what inspiration his age could draw from it, and in turning it to use for the production of a body of verse suited to that age, that instead of sending readers to the early poets he supplied their wants himself, and showed others how to do the same.¹ Thus the first revival was followed by half-a-century's pause in the work of exploring and editing, to which succeeded a second revival, partly hostile to Ramsay. In the larger sense the movement was continuous, but it flowed for a time in the channel marked, not by The Evergreen, but by The Tea-Table Miscellany. Scottish songs were sung, and printed, and altered, and the writing of Scots verse went on, but readers were not yet fully ready for Dunbar and Henryson in spite of what had been done to naturalise them. Even Lyndsay sank. From 1709 to 1720 there are at least six editions of his works, including one printed in Belfast (1714). After 1720 we pass at once to 1754, and thence to the last of the series, Peter Williamson's abortion of 1776-7,² in which a dishonest attempt to trap the new class of readers is seen.

During the lull between 1724 and 1770 the few events that fall to be noted point backwards. Tanner died in 1735. His Bibliotheca appeared in 1748. Poems in the Scottish Dialect,³ printed in the same year, Dunbar's Thistle and the Rose and Bellenden's Virtue and Vice in 1750, and Robene and Makyne in Percy's Reliques (1765), are taken from The Evergreen, which was reprinted in 1761. Walter Ruddiman's Collection of 1766 adds nothing new. The 1768 edition of Christ's Kirk

¹ Cf. Currie's Burns, 1800, i. 287-8. ² See p. xxxvi. ³ Christ's Kirk agrees better with Watson.

is from Ramsay's earlier text. Freebairn's editions of Barbour and Harry, printed, it is supposed, about 1715, appeared in 1758. Portions of Douglas were paraphrased by Francis Fawkes in 1752 and 1754, and by Jerome Stone in 1756.

IV. THE SECOND REVIVAL.

(a) Hailes and Warton.

The work of the second period of revival was twofold. The developing editorial conscience demanded that those authors should be restored who had already been rescued, and that greater accuracy should be observed in whatever might be printed for the first time. On the other hand, the renewed advance in Middle Scots studies was intimately connected with the literary upheaval generally and conveniently dated from the appearance of Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in 1765. Like the first period, but on a greater scale, the second had to furnish food for a new poetry. And though the progress of Romanticism diminished the need for tampering with texts, it did not at once remove it, and it increased the impulse.

In the precise judge and historian Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes,¹ the temptation to alter was near its minimum. It became irresistible only when the ancient poet offended against the "severe delicacy" of a mind that approached the Johnsonian ideal of a good man. Moreover, Hailes's principal work in this field, Ancient Scottish Poems published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, was undertaken in protest against "The many and ob-

¹ 1726-92.

vious inaccuracies of the Evergreen." While recognising Ramsay's "singular native genius," Hailes points out "that he was not skilled in the ancient Scottish dialect. His skill indeed scarcely extended beyond the vulgar language spoken in the Lothians at this day." Some of Hailes's strictures, however, come near to pedantry. There is justice as well as priggery in the formally worded charge that "The Evergreen contains many indecent pieces, which ought not to be explained, and many obscure, which cannot." The latter are "omitted," the former "excluded" from his own collection; but he innocently points out a few examples. Hailes improves upon Ramsay by his inclusions as well as his omissions. He adds about forty poems never before printed, "and, in general, he has studied to make such a selection as might illustrate the manners and history, as well as the state of the language and poetry of Scotland during the sixteenth century." His selection is much richer than Ramsay's in poems by Dunbar and Henryson. Yet his notes do not rate Henryson very high. Characteristically, he prints "some of the morals without the corresponding fables. They are not so tedious, and they contain several curious particulars as to the state of Scotland."

Hailes claims that "the MS. has been fairly copied; no liberties in amending or interpolating have been taken: The reader will find the language, versification, and spelling, in the same state as they were in 1568." He has certainly corrected a great deal that was wrong in Ramsay, but his own text is not by any means so accurate as it professes to be. His statement is misleading. It is clear that sometimes he merely collated

the Evergreen with the manuscript; and the collation in some places is exceedingly careless.¹

¹ The following table shows the readings of Ramsay, Hailes, and the Hunterian Club edition of the Bannatyne MS., in the first forty lines of Dunbar's Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy. Readings that agree with Hailes's are omitted. The distinction between y and z, u, v, and w, is not observed.

Line.	Ramsay.	HAILES.	HUNTERIAN CLUB.
I		Master	Maister
2	A curio	A [matre]	Curro
3		Begotten	Gottin
5	I cannot, Faith	In faith I can nocht	
5		redely	redly
7	But this in Truth	Bot in truth	Bot in trewth
9		nihil	nichill
10	maun	man	mone
10	die	de	mono
II	forte	sorte	forte
12	blind	blynd	10110
	Dittic	Throw nicht	This nyght
14	could not	mycht nocht	micht nocht
	could not		
15 16	Zit	aeger Yet	eger Yit
10		mouth	mowth
			testimentum
17 18	loave my Saul	testamentum	testimentum
	leave my Saul	leif my saule	
20	gude Wyne Cellar	wyne-cellar	wyne sellair
22	Till Dumesday cum	Till domesday cum	Quhill domisday with out dissiuer
	without Dissever	without dissiver	
24	luved	lufit	••••
26	wald	wuld	wald
	aft	oft	• • •
	Braith	bretli	
27	····	mihi	michi
28	forgave	forgaif	
	wraith	wreth	e ellorio
29	•••	cellar	cellario
	1	cervisia	ceruicio
30	leur	lever	***
	late	lait	
32	Trade Las Dada d	Than	Nor
	Lords braw Bed of	lordis bed of stait	•••
	State	Angland being an	Ano hamali huma an
33	A Barrell being ay at	Ane barrel being ay	Ane barrell bung ay
	my Bosom	at my bosum	at my bosum
34	***	Of warldly gude	Off warldis gud
- 1	nae Taur	na wate the term	in to the town
36	unto the Toun	unto the town	in to the toun
37	a	ane	
		midding	mydding
-	eir .	evir	•••
38	sepelire	sepeliri	
40	custen	castin	cassin

These forty lines are a fair specimen of the differences of the three texts throughout the poem, but the poem is not quite a fair specimen of Hailes's work.

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The progress of historical research affected the study of the mediæval poets in several ways. The help that they afforded towards a reconstruction of the past attracted many, and served as an excuse for a pursuit which a self-complacent age thought puerile. "The representation of antient manners" is, according to Warton, the "chief source of entertainment which we seek in antient poetry." The conception of literary history, as a part of the history of the nation, took shape. Robert Henry ¹ and Robert Heron ² recognised it in their histories of Great Britain and of Scotland. At the same time the handling of original historical materials was now for the first time rendering data for such work available. Thomas Warton ³ gave forth

"a hint, that a well executed history of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie."⁴

This hint was long fruitful in aspirations but not in accomplishment. Warton recommended the task to Lord Hailes, who seems to have had some inclination towards the attempt, but did not carry it out. Much preparatory work was to be done before it could be performed efficiently.

Warton himself did not make it part of his plan to

1	1718-90.	2	1764-1807.
3	1728-90.	4	History of English Poetry, ii. 334-5.

include Scottish poets in The History of English Poetry (1774-78-81), but because of "the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature," he admitted such as he deemed most valuable.

His biographical matter is necessarily meagre. His method is to select a few poems and give what is commonly called an "account" of each-a compound of extract, summary, and paraphrase, with comment, partly critical, but oftener wandering off into notes on manners or whatever else the matter of the poem incidentally suggests. Barbour and Harry are generously treated. Almost every critic for a hundred years repeats Warton's words-that they "have adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to their age." Henryson, who had not yet come to his own, has to be content, like the once highly honoured Bellenden, with a place among the minor poets in footnotes on the Complaint of the Papyngo. Accounts of The Thistle and the Rose, The Golden Targe, and The Seven Deadly Sins, fill up twenty quarto pages. Warton expresses the "opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory: and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Pierce Plowman. His Thistle and Rose, and Golden Terge, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast."¹ A further widening of view occurs in Malcolm Laing's ² addition to the posthumous portion of Henry's

¹ History of English Poetry, ii. 278-9. ² 1762-1818.

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History of Great Britain (1793), where the poems "lately retrieved from oblivion" by Pinkerton, enable the critic to exhibit Dunbar not only as an allegorical poet but "in the new light of a skilful satirist and an attentive observer of human nature." For his notes on Dunbar, Warton is greatly indebted to Hailes. For Douglas he uses the Edinburgh edition of 1710. It has been truly observed by Chalmers and many others that Warton "revived the recollection of Lyndsay's poetry in the public mind." A minute account of The Dream and shorter accounts of other poems swell his article on Lyndsay to great length; but, like that on "Duncane Laider" which follows, it is more concerned with manners than with literature. Before Warton, the poet Gray had included Lyndsay's works, as well as the Æneid and Palice of Honour of Douglas, and the romance of Graysteel, in his classification of stanzas in Observations on English Metre.¹

(b) The Emergence of James I.

Of the three principal extant poems that are or have been attributed to King James I., Christ's Kirk was long the only one known to be preserved. Dempster, who gives the usual list of James I.'s works, mentions as the only poem that he has seen by James V., "De Choreis rusticis Falkirkensibus, epos vernacule, lib. I. quo nihil ingeniosius aut Graeci aut Latini ostentare possunt."² This has been taken to refer to Christ's Kirk, which Gibson gives to James V. Watson in his first edition, the writer of the preface to the 1710 edition

> ¹ Works, ed. T. J. Mathias, 1814, ii. 17-25. ² Bannatyne Club edition, ii. 382.

of Douglas,1 and Tanner, follow the Dempster-Gibson tradition. Watson's second edition, without stating a reason, and Ramsay on the authority of the Bannatyne MS., give the poem to James I. So at first ² did Percy. Later³ he changed his opinion. The reasons given by Lord Hailes in his Notes on the Statutes of James I. (1768) seem to have had much weight with those who preferred James V. Among these was John Callander of Craigforth,⁴ who in 1782 published an extraordinary edition of the poem, along with The Gaberlunzie Man, which a late and worthless tradition assigns to the same author. It was Callander's object to make his readers "acquainted with the true system of rational Etymology, which consists in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first, or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel." Four lines of text with their notes seldom occupy less than two pages, and may require five.

The year following that of Callander's edition was an important one in the history of these poems. In it Christ's Kirk was twice printed (by Tytler and by Pinkerton), and the other two were published for the first time. The unique manuscript of The King's Quair had evidently been seen by Tanner and by Warton, for the former ⁵ quoted the first line, not given in earlier notices, and mentioned the library and press-mark; and

⁵ Bibliotheca.

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¹ It is scarcely fair to turn to controversial use a reference to "the Notes published at Oxford some Years ago by a Celebrated Author, of the Famous Poem of K. James V. intitled Christ's Kirk on the Greene, and Drummond of Hawthornden's Polemo-middinia."

² Reliques, 2nd edition.

³ Reliques, 4th edition, and Pinkerton's Select Scotish Ballads.

⁴ Died 1789.

the latter 1 quoted two stanzas, though he did not recognise that "singular merit" which would have justified an examination of the poem. William Tytler² set "an ingenious young gentleman, a student of Oxford," to find and copy the manuscript. The "very accurate copy made by him" was an easy mark for the savage criticism of the time. In a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of James I., prefixed to his edition of the Poetical Remains, Tytler answers Hailes. He urges that the "play" at Peebles (golf, football, archery) was more ancient than Hailes thought, and shows reasons for believing that James I. could quite well possess a knowledge of Scottish ways and speech. The testimony of "Banantyne's book" is preferred to the much later authority of Gibson and Tanner, and Major's general words "Et plurimi codices, adhuc apud Scotos "3 are held to cover Christ's Kirk and other works not named by him. Lord Hailes's suggestion that Christ's Kirk, if by James I., satirises Scottish archery, is elaborated as an argument for his authorship.

The Maitland MS., bought by Pepys from the Duke of Lauderdale, and bequeathed to Magdalen College Library, had attracted notice as early as Nicolson's time. Percy made use of it; and among his collections was a transcript from it of Peebles to the Play.

In a letter dated Jan. 9th, 1773, he thanks George Paton for his trouble in illustrating the poem, and differs from him with regard to date and authorship. "I do not see the least resemblance," he says, "between the style of this old song and the compositions of Sir David

¹ English Poetry, ii. 125-6, n. ² 1711-92.

³ Tytler, 33. Tytler does not quote Major quite correctly.

Lindsay; and it surely bears all the marks of an earlier period. The language and idiom more ancient, more rustic, more native Scotch."¹ A few months later he announces to the same correspondent, "I have made a great discovery: I have found out that the old Poem of *Peebles to the Play*, was the composition of King James I. of Scotland."² The authority is Major.

Warton³ (1778) and Callander⁴ (1782) had heard of Percy's transcript. Percy had some correspondence with John Pinkerton⁵ about it. In a letter of January 3, 1783,6 he enclosed it, with notes by himself and his friends. Text and notes Pinkerton inserted in the second volume of his Select Scotish Ballads (1783). Percy attempted to explain Major's statement concerning At Beltayn. He takes James I.'s authorship of Peebles as a proof that Christ's Kirk was written by James V., "being evidently a more modern composition." Pinkerton followed with hesitation, but later gave Christ's Kirk to James I., "from its style, so unlike that of James the Fifth's time."7 The Select Scotish Ballads appeared in time for W. Tytler in a postscript to his Poetical Remains of James the First to dispute Percy's argument as to Christ's Kirk: he had indeed already pronounced it, because of its greater difficulty in interpretation, older than The Thistle and the Rose or Bellenden's Virtue and Vice. In a letter⁸ to Pinkerton, dated December 27, 1783, he questioned the identity of Peebles to the Play with At Beltayn, and conjectured

- ¹ Letters to Paton, ed. Maidment, 1830, p. 19.
- ² Ibid. p. 21. ⁵ 1758-1826.

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³ English Poetry, ii. 126 n.
⁴ P. 105 n.
⁶ Pinkerton's Correspondence, 1830, i. 30.

⁷ Ancient Scotish Poems, 1786, i. lxxxviii n.

⁸ Pinkerton's Correspondence, i. 40.

that it might be one of the parodies which "Alii de Dalkeith et Gargeil" composed. He believed it coeval with Christ's Kirk. Pinkerton, who had given the text of Christ's Kirk from Callander in 1783, gave it in 1786 from Maitland.

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the names of Ritson, Sibbald, and Walpole show that critics were not unanimous, as Ellis and afterwards P. F. Tytler maintained, in believing the companion poems to be by James I. Chalmers in 1800 gave him Christ's Kirk: by 1824 he had, like Watson, Percy, and Pinkerton, changed sides. Perhaps the most extraordinary utterance in the whole discussion is that of Sibbald in the cancelled sheet Q of his Chronicle. After citing the opinions of others and quoting Hailes at length, Sibbald sets aside Major's authority as too late, as Hailes had set aside Bannatyne's. He thinks that the second and third stanzas of Peebles, if they have any meaning at all, must refer to the 70th Act of James II., 1457. Christ's Kirk, "which, by the bye, was a name of the monastery of Red Fryars at Peblis," he places a few years later. As Peebles ridicules Act 70, so Christ's Kirk, he thinks, ridicules Act 64 of the same Parliament. Holland, Clerk of Tranent, or Blind Harry could not have written such poems; therefore the only other known poet of the age, Henryson, probably did.

Throughout the nineteenth century the same arguments on both sides were often repeated, and the question made little progress until Professor Skeat declared against James I. on linguistic and metrical grounds. His conclusions have been disputed by Mr T. F. Henderson and others.

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(c) John Pinkerton.

Before Warton's suggestion could be carried out there was need, not only of biographical research, but also of a thorough survey of the accessible remains of Scottish poetry. Percy in 1774 promised William Herd, for the second volume of his Collection,1 "a good number of old Scots songs and poems, all perfect and compleat, which have never yet been printed, and which I myself transcribed from an old manuscript at Cambridge, which was compiled by old Sir Richard Maitland, ancestor of the Earls of Lauderdale."² Next year, when called upon to fulfil his promise, he wrote to George Paton: "I hope now, in the course of next winter, to prepare a 4th volume of Reliques for the press; and when I have selected some of Maitland's poems for my own work, I shall see what I can spare for your friend's publication."³ All this came to nothing. What Ramsay and Hailes had done for Bannatyne was done more fully for the quarto and folio MSS. of Maitland by John Pinkerton, a man of twenty-seven years, who could already claim that he had "read almost the whole of ancient Scotish poetry." By sending him Peebles to the Play, from this collection, Percy had excited his curiosity. "He went to Cambridge, and in less than a month returned with a complete copy of every line of either MS. which was worth copying even in writing."4 Pinkerton preferred to be thought "a man of taste" rather than "an hoarder of ancient dirt." He

¹ Second edition. The first was published in 1769.

² Letter to George Paton, Aug. 22, 1774, Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts, ed. Hans Hecht, 1904, p. 21.

³ Letter to Paton, July 28, 1775, ibid., pp. 27-8.

⁴ Maitland Poems, 1786, i. viii.

therefore sifted his materials anew, and in 1786 published what he considered the hundred best poems. In an appendix he goes summarily over the whole contents of Maitland and Bannatyne. Among the principal novelties in Pinkerton's Maitland Poems are Douglas's King Hart and a number of pieces by Sir Richard himself; but it is more important that Dunbar is represented by more than twenty poems. His genius is now fully recognised, even overestimated. He is declared "at least equal to Chaucer, and perhaps more original."

To the Maitland Poems were prefixed An Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry-really a preliminary study of the races and languages of Scotland-and A List of all the Scotish Poets with Brief Remarks. Pinkerton's criticism is much inferior to his zeal and industry. An inherited "portion of hypochondriacism" prevented him from judging with calmness and candour. To those who knew him in later life he was "a very little and very thin old man, with a very small sharp yellow face, thickly pitted by the small pox, and decked with a pair of green spectacles." The description agrees completely with the impression one gets from his intemperate criticisms. Their absurdity is not due to dulness of perception or, chiefly at all events, to want of "taste." Again and again when he is on the way to a truth his temper runs away with him. He did good service to truth by helping to clear Scottish history of the whole "tribe of Macfungus-mushroom monarchs every one of them," as Jonathan Oldbuck calls them. But having absolved patriotic Scotsmen from the necessity of defending everything Keltic, he was impelled to declare

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everything Keltic bad, and utterly bad. "Being mere savages, but one degree above brutes, they remain still in much the same state of society as in the days of Julius Caesar." The same rash humour appears throughout his work. A taste for our older poetry was still a heresy. Its editors were chiefly men of genius, or of eccentricity, in either case rebels, half ashamed, and therefore apologetic or defiant.

Among Scottish men of letters "nationality" was not yet reconciled to candour. The dialect that tinged their speech had become a patois: they wished to be citizens of the world. They were half conscious of something that kept them from assuming their due place with an Englishman's assurance. For a man of Pinkerton's temperament a situation in which not Boswell merely but sometimes even Scott is driven into an apologetic attitude, must have been extremely uncomfortable; and he betrays much that a better controlled mind would have suppressed. He must parade his heresies on every possible occasion, and with all possible bitterness. In the timid age in which he lived some immunity from ridicule, or at least some alleviation of the rigours of the classical conscience, might be purchased by alacrity in conforming to the orthodox teaching as to the heinousness of Scotticisms. A man might excuse himself, and expect others to excuse him, for Gothic studies, if he could exhibit a learned hatred of the vulgar speech. To the anticipated objection that by printing the Maitland Poems he preserved a dialect which the Scots themselves wished to abolish, Pinkerton replies :--

"that none can more sincerely wish a total extinction of the Scotish *colloquial* dialect than I do, for there are few *modern*

Scoticisms which are not barbarisms, tho a native of Edinburgh wonders that the English are not sensible of the elegance of such phrases as giving a man a hat, for pulling off your hat to him; sitting into the fire, for drawing toward the fire; sitting at the foot of a table, for sitting at the bottom; &c., &c., &c.

While the common people have their Barbour, Harry, and Davy Lyndsay in modern spelling, they will not forget their dialect. "But it were to be wished that it should be regarded in both kingdoms equally as only an ancient and a poetical language, and nothing can take it so much out of the hands of the vulgar as a rigid preservation of the old spelling."

When Ramsay is reached in the List, the Brief Remarks swell to four pages, of which the following, on The Gentle Shepherd, is a specimen :—

"It is an Opera on the plan of the Beggar's Opera; but yet more barbarous, and stupid: for the dialogue is in *couplets* / Some have compared it to the *Aminta*. Tasso, thou divine genius! pardon me for repeating this. The *Pastor Fido* compared to the *Aminta* is nothing: but the *Gentle Shepherd*, compared even to the *Pastor Fido*, stands exactly in the ratio of a dunghill to a flower-garden. The English opera every critic allows to be a monster. In the name of good sense, what must then the Gentle Shepherd be? an *hyper-monster*, whose monstrosity monstrously outmonsters that monster?"

The explanation of this violence, quite clear from the passage itself, is made clearer in a letter to Malcolm Laing :---

"I scarcely remember what I said of Ramsay, but have not forgotten my vexation at seeing him so extravagantly praised to the total exclusion and eclipse of all our ancient classics. . .

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INTRODUCTION.

Let him only occupy his proper place in our poetical firmament, and I am satisfied; but he must not usurp the whole zodiac, and represent all the twelve signs."¹

The publication of a selection from the Maitland MS. was no ordinary service to literature, but Pinkerton proposed to himself one much greater, the printing of the seven poets that he deemed to be classics. These, in Pinkerton's order of merit, are: Dunbar, Drummond, Douglas, James I., Barbour, Lyndsay, and Harry. Like better critics before him he failed to recognise Henryson. Of the Fables he thought only one worth preserving; but probably some of Henryson's poems would have appeared in the proposed additional volume of minor poets. To this programme he added a plan for an edition of Wyntoun, pruned of whatever did not refer to Scotland. He proposed further to omit "trash" from Dunbar, the Æneid from Douglas (Prologues excepted), and (Prologues again excepted) the Dialog, "a dull narration of events known to all," from Lyndsay. Henry was to be printed from the edition of 1570, but the passages in stanzas were to be "restored to uniformity": he showed how in an Appendix to the Maitland Poems. "King James's works hardly need to be republished, Mr. Tytler having done so well, save for uniformity, and to give a standard edition of Christ Kirk from the two MSS." Barbour of course must, like the rest, be printed in old spelling, the more so as he was to be taken out of the hands of the vulgar. The Ramsay MS. in the Advocates' Library, though evidently collated for the edition printed in the year of Pinkerton's

¹ Correspondence, ii. 176.

birth, was unknown to him when he first conceived this plan for the enclosure of literary commons. As he knew of no edition earlier than 1648, he proposed to construct a text "restored to its ancient orthography; which by the assistance of Winton's Chronicle, written about thirty years after, may be easily done." Outrageous as it seems now, the plan is hardly so bad as that of Craigforth, who had just published Christ's Kirk without consulting manuscript at all, giving such readings as he thought "most consonant to the phraseology of the sixteenth century." It is of a piece with the dilettantism that gave us many imitations of old poetry, and those archaistic prose arguments with which Pinkerton was in the habit of furnishing the longer poems that he published. Fortunately the Ramsay MS. came to his notice immediately after. From a transcript by another - hand, attested correct by the flighty Earl of Buchan, "The First Genuine Edition" of The Bruce was printed in 1790.

In 1785 the Chepman and Myllar collection came to light "somewhere in Ayrshire." Its owner presented it to the Faculty of Advocates in 1788, and four years later Pinkerton made use of it in his Scotish Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions. Other poems included in this work are the Three Priests of Peebles, The Palice of Honour, Squire Meldrum, The Satire of the Three Estates, and Philotus. An appendix contains "three pieces before unpublished": the Houlat, the Bludy Serk, and "Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway." The Satire was from Bannatyne, supplemented from the 1602 edition.

When Pinkerton solicited Lord Buchan's interest with

the Faculty of Advocates to have the Ramsay MS. transcribed, he added, "I should also be happy to learn from your lordship, if any person or persons in the Society of Antiquaries be sufficiently versed in the oldest Scotish to compare the copy with the original before it is sent to me for publication. Your lordship knows how very little our old language is studied, so will not think this an improper question."¹ Not many were interested, and Pinkerton's means did not enable him to carry out any part of his programme beyond the printing of The Bruce and the two long poems by Lyndsay. He succeeded, however, in inspiring others to take a share in the work. He even proposed the founding of a society in Scotland for the publication of "old pieces of history, poetry, &c." The Morisons of Perth, who but for a quarrel would have been the printers of Pinkerton's Barbour, issued a series of editions of Scottish poets. Their James I. (1786) was founded on Tytler, with the addition of Peebles to the Play, and the poems attributed without evidence to James V. Of Douglas (1787), the proposed selection was further reduced. The editor was James Scott. Pinkerton had suggested that the Dunbar should be a reprint of Hailes, with additions from the Asloan MS. The Hailes poems appeared as a first part in 1788, but no second followed. When Pinkerton abandoned all thoughts of The Wallace, Lord Buchan,² his constant correspondent in these matters, took it up. His edition, for which Robert Burns was a subscriber, was printed

¹ Correspondence, i. 97-8. Letter dated Nov. 24th 1758. The Society of Antiquaries had lately been founded by Lord Buchan.

² David Stewart Erskine, 11th Earl, 1742-1829.

by the Morisons in 1790.¹ In like manner Wyntoun's Chronicle fell to David Macpherson,² who had it printed (by another firm) in London in 1795 with the omissions proposed.

In 1802 the bookseller James Sibbald³ compounded, chiefly out of Hailes and Pinkerton, a four - volume Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. The fourth volume contained a glossary and the customary "Observations on the Origin of the Terms Picti, Caledonii, and Scotti." The other three offer in capriciously constructed texts, "not only all that was valuable in our miscellaneous poetry, but specimens of the larger works" from the earliest times to 1603. In most respects the work is exceedingly bad. Its purpose, however, was "to present a more compleat collection of the antient miscellaneous Poetry of Scotland than has hitherto appeared; and by arranging it chronologically, or according to the order of time, to exhibit the progress of the Scottish language;" and in this purpose, important for the time, it partially succeeded. The age was not one for successful study of the progress of the language, but to work out the progress of Scottish literature was one of its tasks. Something in this direction was accomplished by the Specimens of George Ellis⁴ (1801) and of Thomas Campbell (1819), in which Scottish literature was displayed by extract and comment, as a part of English literature.

¹ "Rev. James Scott seems to have worked over this production."—A. R. Urquhart, Auld Perth, being the Book of the Faire in aid of the City and County Conservative Club, 1906, p. 129. Morison's volumes were issued at one shilling and sixpence. From the inclusion in one of them of an illustration professing to belong to Bellenden's poetical works, it appears that they must have contemplated an edition of that author.

² 1746-1816.

³ 1745-1803.

4 1753-1815.

Revived interest in Lyndsay, excited by Warton, culminated in 1806 in an edition by George Chalmers.¹ Hugo Arnot had printed a specimen of The Old Man and his Wife (1779) from a MS. belonging to David Garrick. The first volume of Pinkerton's collection of 1792 gave Squire Meldrum (of which Campbell afterwards printed a great portion), and the whole of the second volume is devoted to the Satire. Sibbald proposed to include all Lyndsay's works in the Chronicle, "omitting only the tiresome historical part of the Four Ancient Monarchies," and the Satire. The latter he gave in part, and printed afterwards in a separate volume.² The notices and extracts of Heron, Ellis, and Scott exhibit the progress of the revival. Levden excited interest in Lyndsay by his edition of The Complaynt of Scotland, which he attributed to him, and by The Scots Magazine during his editorship in 1802. Irving's Life marks an advance, and Chalmers's edition, with its mass of editorial matter, a further advance. Unfortunately Chalmers's want of good sense led him into ill-natured and offensive onslaughts on Mackenzie, Irving, and Walter Scott. Irving is again a step ahead in 1861, but he, too, is unfortunate, though scarcely so foolish, in his retorts.

(d) The Romantic Poets.

Chalmers expected a succession of philological essays as the result of his attempt to fix the text of Lyndsay. Such a result followed the editions of Laing and the Early English Text Society three-quarters of a century later, but in 1806 interest in Lyndsay was of another

¹ 1742-1825.

² For a criticism of Sibbald's texts see Laing, Lyndsay, ii. 287-8.

sort. It flowered two years afterwards in Marmion. Indeed the whole movement may be said to flower in Scott, Leyden, Tennant, and Campbell. That it produced these poets is the justification of much that, from the scientific point of view, was amiss. The older poetry of Scotland was then rather an influence than an object of study.

Like Ramsay and Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the pioneers of the second revival were poets. Pinkerton himself was a small poet. In spite of his inferiority as a poet and hostility as a critic he has much in common with Ramsay. The wave had advanced, but in Pinkerton it had reached the same phase that it had reached in Ramsay. The symmetry extends even to external points. As the editor of Bannatyne included Hardyknute and some forgeries of his own, so the editor of Maitland printed Hardyknute and some forgeries of his own before he set to work upon the Pepysian manuscript. Upon Hardyknute, which he did not know to be spurious, he grafted a second part, alleged to be taken down from the recitation of Lanarkshire peasants. Neither it nor the sham antiquities included in the Select Scotish Ballads long escaped detection. In The Gentleman's Magazine for November 1784 he was attacked by one as savage as himself, the scrupulous Joseph Ritson. "So singular a literary curiosity, and complete specimen of modern criticism" as the letter in which Ritson, over the signature Anti-Scot, made his exposure, the editor of the Magazine did not insert without some expression of disapproval of its manner. Ritson admits that there was no

"great degree of criminality in reprinting a fine and popular ballad; even though, from a defect in judgment or a sturdy

adherence to what Dr. Johnson might call Scotch morality, you did not believe, or thought proper to deny, its true origin. But what excuse can you have for the publication of a *second* part, or continuation of this poetical fraud? Not ignorance surely? No; the composition must be altogether your own. Neither the lady, nor the common people of Lanerkshire, from whom you pretend to have recovered most of the stanzas, will deprive you of the honour of its procreation. The poetry is too artificial, too contemptible; the forgery too evident."

It is not surprising that the Maitland Collection itself was by many believed to be a forgery. The belief lingers as late as 1835.¹ In the List of Scotish Poets, Pinkerton notes Sir John Bruce as the probable author of Hardyknute, excusing himself, on the plea of youth, for his former mistake in thinking it old. The second part and the ballads detected by Ritson he confesses to be his own. "Perhaps," he says, "like a very young man as he was, he had pushed one or two points of the deception a little too far; but he always thought that novel and poetry had NO BOUNDS of fiction." He had never, he adds, mentioned any manuscript not actually before him; "his whole fictions rested on *suppositious tradition*." In the Essay the subject of Ossian presents itself. Macpherson is thus censured :

"God knows our antiquities were too obscure before, without having an additional night of nonsense thrown around them! To ascribe poetry or romance to any age, tho written by ourselves, is an innocent deceit; but to connect such writings with ancient history, nay to pretend to alter and correct ancient history by them, is so strange a breach of modesty that I know not what to call it, no similar instance occurring in the annals of literature."

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, 1826; Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen, 1835.

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These two passages, occurring within one volume, serve to show Pinkerton's attitude towards a practice then more than usually rife. Mr E. K. Chambers has pointed out that no age is without literary forgeries, but that they abound most in the beginnings of movements, and amongst those who are in sympathy with the movements of their age. A movement specially concerned with ancient poetry had naturally more than its share of sham antiquities. Men like Percy, Chatterton, Surtees, and Ireland are very numerous in the eighteenth century. Why there should be so many Scotsmen among the number was a question which Ritson suggested as "a curious subject of investigation for their new Royal Society. Dr. Johnson, indeed, is of opinion," he continues, "that 'a Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love Scotland better than truth; he will always love it,' he says, ' better than inquiry; and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it.'" Johnson had Macpherson in mind. Ritson extends the application to a long line of Scotsmen, from Hector Boece to Lady Wardlaw and Pinkerton. A partial explanation is perhaps to be found in excess of patriotism over candour, natural in a small nation ever on the defensive; and, for the period we are dealing with, in the prominence of the Scottish vernacular revival in the general movement, and the strength of the poetic impulse, backed by the feeling of nationality, among the Scotsmen then alive. Scott rightly protested against cant in condemning literary impostors.¹ The public, he points out, is more enriched by Hardyknute than injured

¹ Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad, added to the later editions of the Minstrelsy.

by the deception. Scott recognises that deception is dishonourable, and apparently claims for his own improvements in the ballads the same avowed licence that he allows to Percy. He admits that deception is extremely difficult to sustain successfully under scholarly scrutiny. But the plaster of Paris at Abbotsford was too new to be yet easily distinguished from the carved oak. It is difficult to draw a line anywhere between the complete furnishing of an imaginary poet with a series of works, such as Chatterton gave to Rowley, and mere carelessness in the spelling of texts. The villany of Lauder's attempt to blacken Milton's character shades off into the laudable work done by Burns in purifying what was no man's property.

From imitating and continuing the old poems, as was done with various skill by Scott, Leyden, and Hogg, it is a short step to pass off one's own work as ancient. In part the restraint of the modern editor is a development of the work of Allan Ramsay and Pinkerton, and the rest of that unscrupulous school, as we now deem it. The element they introduced has become self-conscious. The old makars' claims, advocated by them, are now recognised against their discoverers, who not unnaturally were somewhat patronising. "He seems," says Pinkerton of Ramsay and the old poetry, "to have considered it as very much his property; and to have exercised his own profession upon it by shaving, curling, and powdering it at his will and pleasure." Ritson came near to the modern position. Later editors who have worked in his tracks are not satisfied with the accuracy of his texts, but among his contemporaries his scrupulousness was marvelled at. It is but fair, after quoting Ritson on

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Pinkerton, to hear Pinkerton on Ritson. "Our editor," says a review of Ritson's Scotish Songs, attributed to Pinkerton and printed in the Critical Review, of which he was editor, "has spared no pains to reject any improvement, and to restore them to error and imperfection: a zeal eminently laudable, in an age when reformation is thought as dangerous as it is to get rid of the gout." "Give us all the contractions," he cries ironically, "all the sweet contractions, not a pot-hook can be spared." This may be contrasted with Ritson's opinion of Burns's method. After some remarks on honest Allan, Ritson goes on—

"Mr. Burns, as good a poet as Ramsay, is, it must be regretted, an equally licentious and unfaithful publisher of the performances of others. Many of the original, old, ancient, genuine songs inserted in Johnson's 'Scots Musical Museum' derive not a little of their merit from passing through the hands of this very ingenious critic."

The influence of the old makars was twofold. The romantic poets were filled with enthusiasm for them, partly for the sake of what they had written, or the mediæval manner in which they had written it, but much more because they were the ancient poets of their own country. In Campbell, whose Specimens was the outcome of an abandoned scheme for the publication of a series of British poets in conjunction with Scott, there is more of British nationality. In Scott and Leyden it is concentrated as Scottish, or almost as Bernician. As in Pope's time, a Scot would fight for Christ's Kirk on the Green. Few may have gone so far as to prefer Barbour to Dante, as Pinkerton had done; but it was not at all unusual to set Dunbar before Chaucer, and the genius of

the earlier Scottish poets was very generally exaggerated. In Marmion Scott celebrates Douglas and Lyndsay, his country's poets, with the same feelings with which he celebrates its scenery, its capital, and its architecture, because they are Scottish, and because one is a bishop "With mitre sheen and rocquet white," and the other a Lyon King. Lyndsay pleases him, not by the "charms" of his verse, but by the ghost story that he told to Marmion, as he had already told it to Buchanan and to Pitscottie. He pleases him also as the organiser of pageantry. Almost the whole description of Lyndsay, says Lockhart, might have been applied to Scott himself when he helped to arrange the ceremonial of the King's visit.¹ Barbour he uses twice for his story, and in this case the elder poet's influence upon Scott, and his affinity with him in temperament and literary character, are closer. They have often been pointed out.²

Among the many influences that inspired Tennant's Anster Fair, Walter Scott and the author of Christ's Kirk are not the least easily traceable. When all Scotland flocks to Anstruther—

> "th' upland hamlet, where, as told in song, Tam Lutar play'd of yore his lively rants, Is left dispeopled of her brose-fed throng."³

"The best of Davie Lindsay's plays" are performed "upon the green in open air."⁴ And Tennant is encouraged by a vision of the poet of the Quair.⁵

"A Geologist," writing on Edinburgh booksellers in

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¹ Life of Scott, Edinburgh edition, vii. 47.

² Jusserand, Hist. Lit.; Skeat, The Bruce, Introd.; Henderson, 51-2.

⁸ Canto II. stanza 29. ⁴ Canto II. stanza 65. ⁵ Canto I. stanza I.

1802, complains humorously of the difficulty of obtaining Kirwan's Geology in Edinburgh. He finds booksellers absorbed in discussions on the relative merits of two Scots ballads. "We are all becoming Scotish again, Sir;" says one, "Scotish poems, Scotish history, Scotish antiquities-everything is Scotish, Sir."¹ This geologist was also a very learned linguist, but before all things he was himself a Scottish Borderer and a poet, and he once vehemently refused to study English because trying to learn English had spoiled his Scots. He was Scott's collaborator in the Border Minstrelsy, John Leyden. As Scott's earliest reading included the Reliques and the Evergreen, so in Teviotdale the child Leyden " read with enthusiasm the history of the heroic deeds of Wallace and Bruce"² and the poems of David Lyndsay. What Pinkerton desired he deplored-

In 1801 he edited the Complaynt of Scotland for Constable, with a remarkable introduction, which, full as it is, would have been fuller had the bounds of the enterprise allowed. In it is recognised, apparently for the first time, the greatness of Henryson. Hailes, Warton, and Pinkerton had overlooked it. Percy had praised him. Ellis went so far as to call him "the most conspicuous perhaps" of the Scottish minor poets of the time. There

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¹ Scots Magazine, November 1803.

² James Morton, Memoirs of John Leyden, in Poetical Remains of the late Dr John Leyden, 1819, p. iii.

³ Scenes of Infancy, Part IV.

is a partial recognition in Ritson (Scotish Songs) and Sibbald. Leyden may be considered also the discoverer of Alexander Hume.

With Scott and Leyden is associated a Borderer of an earlier time, Thomas of Ercildoune. Scottish and English writers from Barbour to the Cataloguers knew him as an author of prophetic verses. Robert of Brunne, apologising for his own "symple speche," points out that "in song, in sedgeyng tale," such writers of "strange Inglis" as Ercildoune and Kendale are often difficult to follow; for

> "Non þam says as þai þam wroght And in þer sayng it semes noght."

He goes on to cite the example of Sir Tristrem-

"Ouer gestes it has þe steem, Ouer alle þat is or was, If men it sayd, as made Thomas."¹

This evidently means that Thomas wrote a romance of Sir Tristrem, but whether Thomas of Ercildoune, or Thomas of Kendale, or Thomas the Anglo-Norman poet who is the authority for some of the older versions of the Tristrem story, is very doubtful. It was taken, however, to mean the Rhymer; and when the Auchinleck MS., in the Advocates' Library, was found to contain a romance of Sir Tristrem, claiming to tell the story as received from Thomas himself at Ercildoune, Scott and Leyden decided that this was either Ercildoune's romance or one founded on it. It was to be included in the Minstrelsy, but Ellis's doubts proved so strong a stimulus to introduction - writing that separate publication (1804) was necessary. The Borderer and the poet in each man

¹ Chronicle, 95-6, 98-100.

overcame the impartial investigator. "Without metaphor or parable," Scott wrote to Ellis, "I am determined not only that my Tomas shall be the author of Sir Tristrem, but that he shall be the author of Hornchild also. I must, however, read the romance before I can make my arrangements." If need be, the Rhymer must "dress backwards" in date to fit the facts. "All this playful language is exquisitely characteristic of Scott's indomitable adherence to his own views. But his making Thomas dress backwards-and resolving that if necessary he shall be the author of Hornchild, as well as Sir Tristrem," reminds Lockhart of Don Quixote's care not to test his pasteboard helmet too severely. One could go on for a long time making a new and plausible theory every day out of Robert's words and the opening lines of the romance. Therefore there has been some controversy. If the scholars of the future decide, as a fantastic writer suggests, that Walter Scott was an avatar of True Thomas, it will then be acknowledged that the words of Thomas's spirit to Hugo Hugonet the violer in the Adventurous Castle of Douglas meant that he reserved the recovery of the poem for his reincarnated self: "The fatal hour of removing this book is not yet come, nor are thine the destined hands. But it will be safe where I have placed it, and the time of its removal shall come."¹ On this theory the mystifying first lines of Sir Tristrem may be an anticipation of the Author of Waverley's quotation of the poetry of Walter Scott. On any other it would be difficult to prove that the apparition's words might not have been spoken as appropriately in 1804.

¹ Castle Dangerous, chap. v.

(e) Literary Historians.

The first essay towards a history of Scottish poetry was that of Alexander Campbell,¹ the musician whose efforts to teach the youthful Walter Scott and his brothers to sing resulted in Lady Cumming's request that the boys' should not all be flogged at the same hour. His Introduction to the History of Scottish Poetry (1798) begins with a long dialogue, in vulgarly pompous style, between Lycidas and Alexis: A Conversation on Scotish Song. The History proper opens with the observation that "It is by no means easy, to ascertain, with any degree of precision, the aera, when metrical compositions were first introduced in the Lowlands of Scotland." After some ideal generalisings, in the manner of the time, on "the rude ages of society," he contrives to write a few sentences upon each of the early poets, without succeeding in saying anything about them. He devotes to them only thirty pages, and leaves them with "liveliest regret; the more especially as what appears in prospect, but presents a sterile waste, a cheerless void," &c. Misspellings occur five or six in a page; but Campbell's knowledge of eighteenth-century orthography was not inferior to his knowledge of mediæval poetry. The book has two merits: only ninety copies were printed; and it is, as was said of Frederick the Great's contemporary "De la littérature allemande," "ein komisches Meisterstück." To the anecdote of The Wallace already quoted may be added Campbell's article on James VI. :--

"His sacred Majesty gave to the admiring world 'The psalms of king David translated by king James.' Whatever the merits,

¹ 1764-1824.

or demerits of this royal super royal production may be, criticism heeds not; knowing, the difference, if any happened on this score, is made up long ago between the royal poets, in Abraham's bosom; to which abode, may all pious princes happily be called to join in tuneful hallelujahs for their deliverance and triumphant reward, a crown of glory."¹

A little earlier Alexander Thomson,² influenced, as Campbell had been, by Warton, had drawn up a plan for a History of Scottish Poetry. In 1802 he sent a summary to the editor of the Scots Magazine.³ He proposed to consider (I) Critical History, that is, the "progress of poetry and taste," including the state of learning; (2) National History; (3) History of Manners; (4) Biographical Anecdote; (5) Analytical Criticism, that is, accounts of poems; (6) General Criticism (of each writer); - (7) Particular Criticism ("beauties and blemishes"); (8) Comparative Criticism, that is, a comparison of Scottish and foreign works, in plan or in detached passages; (9) Verbal Interpretation. These elements were not to be separate and parallel, like the literary, political, and other divisions of history in the works of Henry and of Heron, but "intimately blended together in their proper proportions." The first Volume was to bring the history down to James IV., "with some preliminary dissertations on the language"; the second to cover James IV.'s reign; the next volume, divided by reigns into three Books, was to end with James VI.'s removal to England; and the last was to consist of a Book on the seventeenth and one on the eighteenth century. Of this scheme he had executed "the critical part of the first volume," including Barbour, Wyntoun, James I., Harry, Holland, the romances of

¹ Campbell, p. 68. ² 1763-1803. ³ Scots Mag., April 1802, 342-3.

"Gawan and Gologras," and "Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway," and the Three Priests of Peebles. Thomson complains of the discouraging want of biographical materials, although full detail was inadmissible in a general work. Douglas was the only poet whose life had been "written in a satisfactory manner." "Of his great cotemporary, Dunbar, whom I have always considered as the first of them all, on account of his union of fancy and humour, so little is certainly known" that even his birthplace turns out not to be known after all. Thomson died in the following year. Some extracts from the fragment that had been done were printed in Laing's Select Remains (1822).

Sibbald and Thomson were not the only writers who left unfinished histories of Scottish literature. When Joseph Ritson's manuscripts were sold after his death there was among them "Bibliographia Scotica, anecdotes, biographical and literary, of Scotish Writers, Historians, and Poets, from the earliest account to the nineteenth century, in two Parts, intended for publication."¹ This work came into the hands of George Chalmers, as did Ritson's materials for an edition of Dunbar. Chalmers meant to complete both, but at his death his History of Scottish Poetry² and his Dunbar remained in manuscript.

An Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland was projected by Principal John Lee, who worked long at the study; but his materials appeared only in the form of contributions to other men's works.

¹ British Bibliographer, iv. (1814) 301, note by J. H. on D. L. E.'s Catalogue.

² Æneas Mackay, D.N.B.

In 1803 Ellis wrote to Scott: "I am afraid the most difficult and important part of your original plan, viz. your History of Scottish Poetry, will again be postponed, and must be kept for some future publication."¹ Lockhart adds :—

"In the last quoted of his letters, he expresses the fear that Scott's military avocations might cause him to publish the Tristrem unaccompanied by his 'Essay on the History of Scottish Poetry.' It is needless to add that no such Essay was ever completed; but I have heard Scott say that his plan had been to begin with the age of Thomas of Ercildoune, and bring the subject down to his own, illustrating each stage of his progress by a specimen of verse-imitating each great master's style, as he had done that of the original Sir Tristrem in his ' Conclusion.' Such a series of pieces from his hand would have been invaluable, merely as bringing out in a clear manner the gradual divarication of the two great dialects of the English tongue; but seeing by his 'Verses on a Poacher,' written many years after this in professed imitation of Crabbe, with what happy art he could pour the poetry of his own mind into the mould of another artist, it is impossible to doubt that we have lost better things than antiquarian illumination by the non-completion of a design in which he should have embraced successively the tone and measure of Douglas, Dunbar, Lindesay, Montgomerie, Hamilton, Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns."²

The first years of the century saw many important contributions to special portions of Scottish literary history, in the introductions to such works as Sir John Graham Dalyell's³ Scotish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century (in which he succeeds Hailes as editor of the Gude and Godlie Ballads), Leyden's Complaynt, and Scott's Minstrelsy and Sir Tristrem.

¹ Lockhart, Edin. edit. ii. 137. ² Op. cit. ii. 149-50. ³ 1775-1851.

INTRODUCTION.

In its fully developed form the literary history, so far as Scotland is concerned, grew out of the catalogue and the collection of lives. In these the lives were arranged alphabetically, as in Tanner, or haphazard, as in Mackenzie. The first step was to place them in order of time, as in Pinkerton's List or the introduction to Chalmers's Lyndsay (1806) or Laing's Dunbar (1834).

"The Literary and convivial Association known by the name of the 'Ancient Scots,'" which was "composed of a select number of Natives of Scotland resident in the Metropolis, who are fond of cherishing the remembrance of their native country, and cultivating a knowledge of its history and literature," required every candidate for admission to write a memoir of some eminent Scotsman. In 1820 the Society resolved to publish in monthly parts the memoirs submitted since its "re-establishment" in 1770. It proceeded at once with the poets: apparently no other classes of lives appeared.¹ As might be expected the Lives of Scottish Poets is worthless. There is a faint attempt at arrangement.

Lives of Scotish Poets (1804), by David Irving,² reaches a second stage in the development. By inserting "Intermediate Sketches" between the principal articles, Irving came near to cementing the whole into a connected history. He was a man widely and learnedly read in the classics as well as in Scots. With the virtues of the classical tutor, he combines the failings. His work is marred by ceremonious verbiage. The style answers to a mental stiffness that made it impossible for

¹ George St J. Brebner, Scottish Notes and Queries, ii., November 1888, 92-3. Mr Brebner's information is from an announcement by the Secretary, Arthur Sempil, on the paper covers of his copy.

² 1778-1860.

him to treat a subject afresh when he took it up a second time. During the last fifty-six years of his life he made various uses of these biographies; some appeared as articles in the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, some as prefaces to texts. Finally they were formed into a History of Scotish Poetry, which was published posthumously under the editorship of Dr John Aitken Carlyle. It is virtually the original work revised, renamed, and divided into chapters instead of lives. From their first form to their last the lives, but for a few trifling changes in diction, scarcely vary except in the access of new knowledge.¹ Irving's criticism is respectable, though too much in harmony with the formal dignity of his style to earn warm admiration to-day. Like others he likes to quote the opinions of his predecessors. He gives extracts and "accounts" as Warton does, but his digressions, though sometimes of doubtful relevancy, keep closer to literature than Warton's. Biographical facts are collected from his wide reading among old and later writers; herein perhaps is Irving's chief merit. His History has never been altogether superseded.

(f) David Laing.

Of Pinkerton, Professor Skeat says :---

"It is worth observing that, whilst much of his work is quite correct, he is, as an editor, seldom to be relied upon, as he frequently misreads or misprints a word which is clearly written in the MS. The reason is obvious—viz., that he was not acquainted with the language of the Middle-English period.

¹ The life of Montgomerie was by some accident omitted from the History, though referred to there as if included.

It seems to have been the belief, in the last century, that any one who was fairly acquainted with Greek and Latin was a 'scholar,' and by virtue of that 'scholarship' could edit works written in a language of which he knew neither the grammar nor the vocabulary." ¹

The texts of Pinkerton's time are therefore unsatisfactory. The work of transcription was often left by the editor to some unknown person. What critics wanted in scholarship was supplied by acrimony. Pinkerton was made aware of his inaccuracies. "With laudable candour" he urged Jamieson to undertake a new edition of The Bruce. This was printed in 1820, along with The Wallace by the same editor. John Jamieson² was the author of the celebrated Dictionary of the Scottish Language. Mr Moir thus praises Jamieson's Wallace in his own edition: "So good, in many respects, is it, that the present edition would not have been undertaken by me had I not wished to give a glossary of the Minstrel which might enable any one unacquainted with the ancient Scottish language to read and understand the poem." ³ Dr Skeat "found a few errors" in The Bruce, and adds: "It is with something like a shock that one realises the fact that he had no particular acquaintance with Middle-English grammar, and sometimes misread some very easy words."⁴ For correct texts knowledge of the language was required: but for that knowledge to arise there must first be correct texts. Therefore, improvement could come only by successive approximations. In 1820 the time had come to supersede the texts of Pinkerton and his con-

³ The Wallace, S.T.S., xviii.

⁴ The Bruce, S.T.S., lxxxiv.-lxxxv.

¹ Barbour, S.T.S., i. lxxxiii.

² 1759-1838.

temporaries. There is great activity in printing from that date onwards. In 1821-2 Thomas Maitland, Lord Dundrennan,¹ published Bellenden. In the same years there came forward the chief worker of the movement, the man who best represents one of its principal aspects as Scott best represents the other. In so far as it was not romantic it was mainly bibliophilous, and what Walter Scott is to the historical-romantic patriot, David Laing² is to the book-hunter. Until he became Librarian of the Signet Library he was a bookseller; and he was the son of a bookseller. His father, William Laing, who had been one of the publishers of Macpherson's Wyntoun in 1795, announced in 1814 a reprint of Chepman and Myllar, and in 1826 The Poems of Alexander Montgomery and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart.³ Of the former, after a strange history, a few copies were issued by David Laing in 1827. The latter did not appear, but an edition of Montgomerie and one of Scott were issued in 1821 by the same editor. Next year came the Select Remains of Ancient Popular and Romance Poetry. The Howlat was edited by Laing as one of the first year's volumes of the Bannatyne Club, founded on the 15th of February 1823 by Walter Scott and Thomas Thomson. Laing was secretary throughout the life of the Club. The Bannatyne was modelled partly on the Roxburghe Club, but it performed more serious work than the Roxburghe had yet attempted. The number of members, at first limited to thirty-one, was afterwards extended to a hundred. The expansion corresponds to an expansion of the public interested in Scottish literature, and the

¹ 1792-1851. ² 1793-1878. ³ Stevenson, Notices of David Laing, 1878, 2.

restriction, though it savours of dilettantism, seems to have helped that expansion. Among the works printed by the Club were Henryson's Robene and Makyne and Testament of Cresseid (1824) by Chalmers (who published independently in the same year the Poetical Remains of Scottish Kings, on which Irving has some bitter but not undeserved remarks), The Palice of Honour (1827), Alexander (1831, issued 1834), Hume's Hymns and Sacred Songs (1832), Philotus (1835), The Seven Sages (1837), Sir F. Madden's collection of Gawain poems (1839), The Æneid (1839), and various books of interest to students of Scottish poetry, such as Myln's Bishops of Dunkeld, Dempster's Historia Ecclesiastica, and David Buchanan's Catalogue. A similar club was founded in Glasgow on the 31st of March 1828, with Sir Richard Maitland for patron. Its publications included Clariodus by Irving (1830), Maitland's Poems by Joseph Bain (1830), and Henryson's Fables (1832) by Laing. Innes edited Barbour for the Spalding Club in 1856. During the second third of the century there is a lull in the issue of poetical texts by the Clubs. This is partly explained by the fact that Laing, who long survived most of his fellows of the earlier time, and formed a bridge between it and the period of scientific study, was busy furnishing students with a set of Scottish classics which satisfied immediate wants. Besides the works already mentioned he issued the poems of George Bannatyne (1824), Early Metrical Tales (1826), Dunbar (1834, with supplement 1865), Henryson's works (1865), Lyndsay (1871 and 1879), Wyntoun (1872-9). The Wyntoun was a new edition of Macpherson, completed. The Dunbar made use of the collections of Ritson and

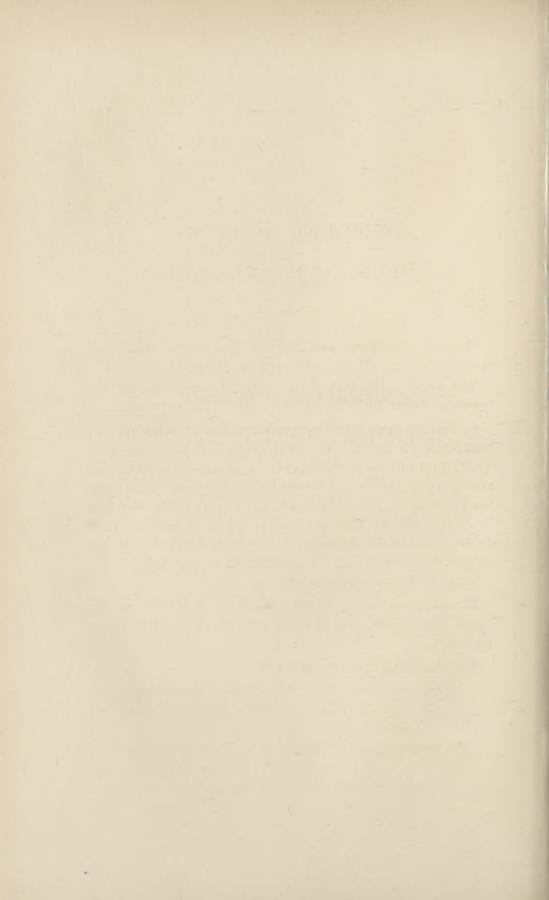
Chalmers. It was intended to include a selection from Dunbar's minor contemporaries, but the sheets containing it were cancelled. The Works of the Minor Scotish Poets during the xivth, xvth, and xvith centuries, early announced, was abandoned.

But even without these a tolerably full set of the principal poems in the dialect was now available: the number of copies was small, but so was the number of readers, though Ellis, Campbell, and P. F. Tytler (1831-3) helped to popularise the study. These men were followed by Paterson, Bonar, Ross, and Grant Wilson at the end of the period. The Bannatyne Club considered its work done in 1861, and dissolved. Laing continued. He projected "a series of the early Scottish poets, in the style of the English Aldine series, in a convenient form, and at a moderate price." He began it with his earlier Lyndsay, which contained the text¹ and memoir to be used in the much delayed three-volume edition, but abridged the notes and omitted the sumptuous bibliography and the various readings. Laing's death in 1878, or the publication of his completed Lyndsay next year, marks the end of a period. As Laing and his contemporaries had superseded the editions of Pinkerton's time, so the new students had to do Laing's work afresh, and get rid of his inaccuracies while they benefited by his labours.

 $^1\,$ In 1871 Laing omitted ''several coarse and very offensive passages '' in the Satire.



BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MIDDLE SCOTS POETRY



GENERAL WORKS: COLLECTIONS OF POETRY.

Porteous of Noblenes and ten other rare tracts. Edinburgh M.CCCCC.VIII. Be W. Chepman and A. Millar.

The above is the title on the back of the binding of the unique set in the Advocates' Library. The volume contains :

I. The last three leaves of the Porteous of Noblenes (prose), beginning: nor compt of is lif that sewis noght diligence quhill. The fragment ends with five lines of verse, ending: All that fals ar and noblis contrefeit; followed by the colophon: Heir endis the porteous of noblenes translatit out of | . . anche in scottis be Maistir Androw Cadiou Imprē | . . t in y^e southt gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepmā | . . . Androw Millar the .xx. dai of apile the yhere of God |ccccc. & viii. yheris. |

Androw Myllar's device on verso.

II. A fragment of 24 leaves. Ff. 2, 8, 12, 14, 18, 20, are signed respectively a ii, b ii, c, c ii, d, d ii. See under Huchown.

III. Fragments of Sir Eglamour, &c.

- 1. Four leaves beginning : Iesu chryste hevynnis kyng; and ending : Sir eglemor has doune to dede. Second leaf signed a ii.
- Twelve leaves, of which ff. 1, 3, 7, and 9 are signed b, b ii, c, c ii. Begins: Sir eglemor vnder ane ake. Ends: Richely portrait on the molde.

3. Two leaves, beginning: That with hym baldely walde I feght. On the verso of the second leaf Sir Eglamour ends: That lestis for owtyn ende | Explicit | It is followed on the same page by: Balade | In all oure gardyn growis thare na flouris. The Balade breaks off at the third line of Stanza 3: I tak my leve at all vnstedfastnes. See Pinkerton, 1792.

IV. Dunbar's Goldyn Targe. See under Dunbar.

V. Four leaves, the second a ii. Thirty-two seven-line stanzas beginning: Ryght as all string ρ ar reullit in ane harp; and ending: Than all ye warld murmuris at thow art bogth. See the Book of Pluscardine for this piece.

VI. Here begynnys the mayng or disport of | chaucer. | [Chepman's device]. Walterus . chepman_p. |

Fourteen leaves, the third (second of text) a ii, the ninth b, the twelfth b ii. Begins: In may quhen flora the fresche lusty quene. F. 13 verso, Seven seven-line stanzas beginning: Quhen be dyvyne deliberation. Ends on f. 14 recto: Explicit. | Heir endis the maying and disport of chaucer Imprē | tit in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter chepman | and Androw myllar the fourth day of apile the yhere | of god .M.ccccc. and viii. yheris. | Verso, Myllar's device.

VII. The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy, Henryson's Praise of Age, etc. See under Dunbar.

VIII. Henryson's Orpheus, and Want of Wise Men. See under Henryson.

IX. Dunbar's Ballad of Lord Bernard Stewart. See under Dunbar.

X. Dunbar's Twa mariit wemen, etc. See under Dunbar.

Several fragments. Doubtful if printed by Chepman and Myllar, or in Scotland.

Cantus Songs and Fancies, 1662*.

The title of the second edition is-

Cantus, | Songs and Fancies, | To Three, Four, or | Five Parts, | Both apt for Voices and Viols. | With a brief Introduction | to Musick, | As is taught by Thomas | Davidson, in the Musick - | School of Aberdene. | Second Edition, Corrected | and Enlarged. | Aberdene, | Printed by John Forbes, and are to be sold at his shop, | Anno Domini. M.DC.LXVI. | And are to be sold at Edinburgh, by David Trench, Book-seller. | ¹

Third edition "much Enlarged and Corrected," 1682*.

Facsimile of the third edition, New Club Series, Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1879.

 A | Choice Collection | Of | Comic and Serious | Scots Poems | Both | Ancient and Modern. | By several Hands. | Part I. | Quicquid agunt Homines, votum timor, ira, voluptas, | Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago Libelli. | Edinbvrgh, | Printed by James Watson: Sold by John Vallange. | M.DCC.VI.

- Part II. | Edinburgh, | Printed by James Watson, and Sold at his | Shop next Door to the Red-Lyon, opposite | to the Lucken-booths. 1709. |
- ----- Part III. | Edinburgh, | Printed by James Watson, and Sold at his | Shop, next Door to the Red-Lyon, opposite to | the Lucken-Booths. 1711. |

These three parts form the first volume. No more appeared.

Second edition of Part I. (A Choise Collection . . .), 1713. The whole was reprinted for private circulation, Glasgow, 1869, 1 vol. (165 copies).

The | Ever Green | Being A | Collection | Of | Scots Poems, | Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. | Vol. I. | Published by Allan Ramsay. | Still green with Bays each ancient Altar stands, | Above the Reach of sacrilegious Hands, | Secure from Flames, from Envys fiercer Rage, | Destructive War

¹ Also an issue * without Trench's name, according to Edin. Bib. Soc.'s Handlist.

and all devouring Age. | Pope. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman for the Pu- | blisher, at his Shop near the Cross. M.DCC.XXIV.

Vol. II. | Quha dar presume thir Poetis to impung,
 | Quhais Sentence sweit throw Albion bin sung. | S^r. D.
 Lindsay. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman
 for Allan | Ramsay. M.DCC.XXIV. | 8vo.

A third volume was promised, but not published. See Bibliography under Lyndsay.

Poems In The Scottish Di	alect By Several Celebrated
Poets, Viz.	
Christ's Kirk on the Green, by K. James I. of Scot- land. Habbie Simson's, and Sanny Brigg's Elegys. The Blythsome Wed- ding. The merry Testament of Mr. Andro Ken- nedie.	Johnie Armstrang. A Satyre on Covetous- ness. A Panygyrick on Sr Penny. Robin and Makyne. a Pas- toral. An Interlude of the Droichs. An Epistle.

Glasgow, | Printed And Sold By Robert Foulis. | MDCCXLVIII. | 8vo.

- Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, (Chiefly of the Lyric kind.) Together with some few of later Date. [Edited by Thomas Percy.] London: Printed for J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. M DCC LXV. 3 vols. 8vo. Many later editions. For collation see Schröer's edition.
- A | Choice Collection | Of | Scots Poems, | Antient and Modern, | Selected chiefly from the Labours of the most | ingenious Writers in this Kingdom, during the | two last Centuries. | Consider it warily, read aftiner than anis; | Well at ane blink sly Poetry not tane is. | Gawin Douglas. | Edinburgh : |

Printed by Wal. Ruddiman, Junior, | Forrester's - wynd, Lawn-market. | M,DCC,LXVI. | 12mo. From the Evergreen and Watson's Collection.

Ancient Scottish Poems. Published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, MDLXVIII. [Edited by Lord Hailes.] OΥ POΔON AΥΟΝ ΟΛΕΙΤΑΙ. Theor. Edinburgh: Printed by A. Murray and J. Cochran. For John Balfour. MDCCLXX. 12mo.
Reprinted 8vo., about 1815, with the old date on the title-

page.

- Select Scotish Ballads. [Edited by John Pinkerton.] London, Printed by and for J. Nichols. 1783. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. II.
- Ancient Scotish Poems, never before in print. But now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Senator of the College of Justice. Comprising pieces written from about 1420 till 1586. [Edited by John Pinkerton] With large notes, and a glossary. Prefixed are An Essay on the origin of Scotish poetry. A list of all the Scotish poets, with brief remarks. And an appendix is added, containing, among other articles, an account of the contents of the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS. London, printed for Charles Dilly; and for William Creech at Edinburgh. M.DCC.LXXXVI. 2 vols. 8vo.

Scotish Poems, Reprinted From Scarce Editions.

- The Tales Of The PriestsPhilotus, A Comedy. GawanOf Peblis. The Palice Ofand Gologras, A MetricalHonour. Squire Meldrum.Romance. Ballads, FirstEight Interludes, By DavidPrinted At Edinburgh,Lindsay.1508.
- With Three Pieces Before Unpublished. Collected by John Pinkerton, F.S.A. Perth, Honorary Member Of The Royal

Society Of Icelandic Literature At Copenhagen, And Of The Royal Society Of Sciences At Drontheim. In Three Volumes. Volume I. [II., III.] London: Printed By And For John Nichols. M,DCC,XCII. 8vo.

- Scotish Poems, of the Sixteenth Century. [Edited by Sir John G. Dalyell.] Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, and Messrs. Vernor & Hood, London. 1801.
 2 vols. 12mo.
- Specimens of the Early English Poets, to which is prefixed An Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language; In Three Volumes. By George Ellis, Esq. London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. for G. and W. Nicol, Booksellers to His Majesty, Pall-Mall; and J. Wright, Piccadilly. 1801. 8vo.

This is the second edition. The first does not include any Scottish poets before Drummond and Alexander.

- Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century, to the Union of the Crowns: To which is added A Glossary, By J. Sibbald. Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere.—Hor. In Four Volumes. Edinburgh: Printed for J. Sibbald, Parliament Close, By C. Stewart & Co. Printers to the University; Sold by P. Hill, and Ross & Blackwood: And by G. & W. Nicol, and Longman & Rees, London. 1802. 4to.
- Scotish Descriptive Poems; with Some Illustrations of Scotish Literary Antiquities. [By John Leyden.] Edinburgh: Printed by and for Mundell & Son; and for Longman & Rees, London. 1803. 8vo.

Contains King Robert's Testament, and poems by Alexander Hume and William Fowler.

Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries : Published from Ancient Manuscripts. With an Introduction, Notes and a Glossary. By Henry Weber, Esq. Edinburgh: Printed by George Ramsay and Company, for Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh; and John Murray, and Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter, London. 1810. 3 vols. 8vo.

- Specimens of the British Poets; with Biographical and Critical Notices, and an Essay on English Poetry. By Thomas Campbell. In Seven Volumes. London: John Murray. Vol. II. 1819. 8vo.
- The Caledonian Muse: A Chronological Selection of Scotish Poetry from the Earliest Times. Edited by the late Joseph Ritson, Esq. With Vignettes Engraved by Heath, after the Designs of Stothart. London: Printed in 1785: and now first published by Robert Triphook. 1821. 16mo.

"The impression of my 'Caledonian Muse,' which had engaged the attention of so many years, and was just ready for publication, has been lately destroyed by a fire which broke out in the Printer's house; so that I have not, nor can I procure, a single copy. I am of course meditating a trip to Scotland to recollect materials for a new edition."—Letter, Ritson to Laing, July 30, 1793, Nichols's Illustrations III. 778-9. Apparently Triphook published the portion of the work that escaped. See Park, cited by Nichols.

Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland.
[Edited by David Laing.] Printed at Edinburgh [for Wm. & D. Laing]. 1822. 4to.
Re-edited by Small, 1885. See also Hazlitt, 1895.

The Beauties of Scottish Poets, Ancient and Modern, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, and Notes, Illustrative and Explanatory of the Ancient Poems. [By Robert Malcolm?] Embellished with Engravings. Glasgow: Richard Griffin and Co. Hutcheson-Street; and Thomas Tegg, Cheapside London. 1823. 12mo.

- The Poetic Remains of Some of the Scotish Kings.Now firstCollected by George Chalmers, Esq. F.R.S.A.S.London :John Murray.1824.8vo.
- Early Metrical Tales; Including the History of Sir Egeir, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steill. [Edited by David Laing.]
 Edinburgh: Printed for W. & D. Laing and J. Duncan, London. 1826.
 See Hazlitt. 1895.
- The Knightly Tale of Golagrus and Gawane and other Ancient Poems. Printed at Edinburgh by W. Chepman and A. Myllar in the Year M.D.viij. Reprinted M.Dccc.xxvij. [David Laing.] 4to. B. L. Gaps supplied from MSS., and some misprints corrected.

Laing. Dunbar. 1834.

For the contents of the cancelled sheets * see the Hunterian Club's edition of the Bannatyne MS.

- Miscellany of Popular Scottish Poems, chiefly of a Humorous and Descriptive Character. With Notes. Edinburgh: Published by William and Robert Chambers. 1841. 8vo. Advertisement signed R.C. Contains Peebles to the Play, and Wife of Auchtermuchty, both modernised.
- The Ballads of Scotland. Edited by William Edmonstoune Aytoun. In Two Volumes. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London. 1858. 8vo. Vol. 1.
- The Poets and Poetry of Scotland, From James I to the Present Time, with Biographical Sketches and Critical Remarks. By the Rev. Andrew R. Bonar. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. 1864. 8vo.

Of no importance. A few very short modernised extracts and very short biographical sketches.

- Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche. Unter Mitwirkung von Karl Goldbeck. Herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Erster Band: Sprachproben. Erste Abtheilung: Poesie. Berlin: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung. 1867. 8vo.
- Selections Made Chiefly from Works in the Old Scots Language. For the Use of Schools in Scotland. Edinburgh : Printed by D. R. Collie & Son. 19 St David Street. 1867.

1 2 m 0.

- Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances.
 Edited by John W. Hales, M.A., and Frederick J. Furnivall,
 M.A. Assisted by Prof. Child, W. Chappell, Esq., &c., &c.
 London: N. Trübner & Co. 1867-8. Three volumes.
 8vo.
- A Book of Scottish Pasquils. 1568-1715. [Edited by James Maidment.] Edinburgh: William Paterson. 1868. 8vo. Contains "Woman's Truth" ("I geid the gait wes nevir gane") from the Bannatyne MS. "Has never previously been printed." The rest of the pieces included are later than 1600.
- Specimens of English Literature from the 'Ploughmans Crede' to the 'Shepheardes Calender.' A.D. 1394-A.D. 1579. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A., Late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1871.
- The Bannatyne Manuscript. Compiled by George Bannatyne. 1568. [Edited by George A. Paton and James Barclay Murdoch. Glasgow:] Printed for the Hunterian Club. 1873-5-7-8-9, 1880-1, 1896 (Introduction, etc.) 4to.
- Altenglisches Übungsbuch zum Gebrauche bei Universitäts-Vorlesungen. Mit einem Wörterbuche. Von Julius Zupitza. Wien : Wilhelm Braumüller. 1874. 8vo.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry of Scotland. 1876.

Half-volume I. The biographical and critical notices are very short.

The Book of Scottish Poems: Ancient and Modern. Edited with Memoirs of the Authors. By J. Ross. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Publishing Company, London: Simpkin, Marsball & Co. 1878. 8vo.

Memoirs not important. Many of the poems and extracts modernised.

- Altenglisches Lesebuch. Zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen und zum Selbstunterricht herausgegeben von Richard Paul Wülcker. 2 Teil, die Zeit von 1350-1500 umfassend.
 I Abteilung: Texte und Anmerkungen. 2 Abteilung: Glossar. Halle a/S. Max Niemeyer. 1879-80.
- The English Poets. Selections with Critical Introductions by Various Writers and a General Introduction by Matthew Arnold. Edited by Thomas Humphrey Ward, M.A. Vol. I. Chaucer to Donne. London: Macmillan and Co. 1880. 8vo.
- Early English Poetry Selected and Edited with a Critical Introduction and Notes. By H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon. London: Walter Scott. 1887. 8vo.

Modernised extracts. Canterbury Poets series.

Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas. Edited with Introduction, Appendix, Notes, and Glossary by F. J. Amours. Scottish Text Society. 1897. [Text published 1891.]

Contains The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane, The Buke of the Howlat, Rauf Coil3ear, The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne, The Pistill of Susan.

IO

- Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets. Edited by George Eyre Todd. Glasgow: William Hodge & Co. ——
 Early Scottish Poetry. 1891.
 Mediæval Scottish Poetry. 1892.
 Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892.
- Kaye. Leading Poets of Scotland. 1892. Short extracts.
- An Old and Middle English Reader on the Basis of Professor Julius Zupitza's Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch. With Introduction Notes and Glossary By George Edwin Maclean, Ph.D. New York : Macmillan and Co., and London. 1893. 8vo.
- Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border. Edited by David Laing, LL.D. in 1822 and 1826. Rearranged and Revised with Additions and a Glossary By W. Carew Hazlitt. In Two Volumes. London: Reeves and Turner. 1895. 8vo.

An amalgamation of Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland, 1822, and Early Metrical Tales, 1826. The Bludy Serk is omitted.

- Selections from the Early Scottish Poets. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, By William Hand Browne, Professor of English Literature in the Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1896.
- English Lyrics. Chaucer to Poe. 1340-1809. Selected and Arranged by William Ernest Henley. London : Methuen & Co. 1897. 8vo.
- The Harp of Stirlingshire. By William Harvey. J. and R. Parlane, Paisley. John Menzies and Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow. Houlston and Sons, London. 1897. 8vo.

- A Little Book of Scottish Verse. Edited by T. F. Henderson.
 With a Frontispiece by W. E. F. Britten. London: Methuen & Co. 1899. 8vo. (The Little Library).
- British Anthologies. I. The Dunbar Anthology. 1401-1508 A.D. II. The Surrey and Wyatt Anthology. 1509-1547 A.D. Edited by Professor Edward Arber, F.S.A. London: Henry Frowde. 1901, 1900. 8vo.
- Specimens of Middle Scots, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By G. Gregory Smith, M.A. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1902.
- The Edinburgh Book of Scottish Verse. 1300-1900. Selected and Edited by W. Macneile Dixon. London: Meiklejohn and Holden, 11 Paternoster Square, E.C. 1910. 8vo.
- The Book of Scottish Poetry being an Anthology of the best Scottish Verse from the Earliest Times to the Present. Chosen and Edited by Sir George Douglas, Bart. T. Fisher Unwin London: Adelphi Terrace. Leipsic: Inselstrasse 20. 1911. 8vo.
- Scottish Vernacular Poetry from Barbour to Burns, selected and edited, with an Introduction, by T. D. Robb. Blackie. 1912.*

GENERAL WORKS:

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, CRITICAL, LINGUISTIC, Etc.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. 1508. See Introd., p. xvii.

Douglas. Palice of Honour. See Introd., p. xvii. The Third Part (Small, p. 65) mentions Raf Coilzear, &c.

- Historia Ma | ioris Britanniae, tam Anglię § Scotię, per Johanne Ma | iorem, nomine quidem Scotum, professione autem | Theologum, e veterum monumentis concinnata. Vęnundatur Iodoco Badio Ascensio. | [1521.]
- Lyndsay. Complaint of the Papyngo. See Introd., p. xviii.
- Illvstrivm | Maioris Britanniae | Scriptorvm, Hoc Est, Angliae, Cambriae, | ac Scotiæ Summariū, in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum di- | uersitate doctrinarū atq3 annorū recta supputatione per | omnes ætates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad | annum domini. M.D.XLVIII. | Avtore Ioanne Balaeo Svdovolca. | Excvdebatvr Praesens Opvs, Anno A Nativi- | tate unicæ illius pro peccatis uictimæ, patri in crucem oblatæ, quadragesimo octa | uo supra millesimum & quingentesimum, pridie Calendas Augusti. | 4to.

The labo- | ryouse Journey & serche | of Johan Leylande, for Englandes | Antiquitees, geuen of hym as a newe | yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the | viij. in the .xxxvij. yeare of | his Reygne, with decla- | racyons enlarged: | by Johan Bale. | ij. Macha. ij. | (He that begynneth to | wryte a storye, for the fyrste, muste | wyth hys vnderstandy[ng]e gather | the matter togyther, set [] wordes | in ordre, and dylygently seke out on | euery parte. | (To be sold in fletestrete at the signe | of the Croune next vnto the whyte | Fryears gate. | [1549.]

To this work Bale appended: A Regystre | of the names of Englysh Wryters, whome the seconde part of | my worke, *de Scriptoribus Britan-* | *nicis*, shall comprehēd as it | cometh fourthe. | This list includes an entry "Scotici Scriptores" (H. iiij.), and names Douglas and Lyndsay.

[The Complaint of Scotland. 1549 *?] Ed. Leyden, pp. 98-101, Lists of poems.

- Anecdota. Oxoniensia Index Britanniae Scriptorum Quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus, cum aliis. John Bale's Index of British and other Writers. Edited by Reginald Lane Poole, M.A., Ph.D., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, With the help of Mary Bateson, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1902. 4to. Mediæval and Modern Series—Part IX.
- Scriptorvm Il- | lustrium maioris Brytanniæ po- | sterior pars, quinque continens Cen- | tvrias Vltimas, Qvas Avthor, Ioannes | Baleus Sudouolgius, Anglus, ex Lelando Antiqua-| rio, aliisque probis authoribus, non par- | uo labore collegit. | His Addita Svnt, Adami, Sethi, | Enochi, Noachi, aliorumq3 ueteris Testamenti patrum | scripta, ut

sciant homines, ab initio mortalium semper | fuisse in Ecclesia scriptores. Adiectæ sunt & descriptio- | nes Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hyberniæ, Hebridum atque Or- | chadum insularum, cum alijs lectu non iniucundis : ut to- | ta res, cursusq3 negotij, certius & compertius ab | omnibus qui Brytanniam non uide- | runt, cognosceretur. | Accesserunt & Indices utriusq3 partis totius huius Operis, | tam rerum quàm nominum præcipuè memora- | bilium, ualde locupletes. | Nolite tacere super iniquitatem Babylonis : quoniam tempus | ultionis eius est à Domino, uicissitudinem | ipse retribuet ei. Hier. 51. | Basileæ, Per Ioan- | nem Oporinum. [1559]. Fo.

- John Rolland. Seven Sages. See Introd., p. xx.
- Ane Adhortation of All Estatis to the reiding of thir present warkis. [By Henrie Charteris?]. Lyndsay's Works. 1568*. Also in later editions. See Introd., p. xx.
- Rervm Scotica- | rvm Historia | Avctore | Georgio Buchanano | Scoto. | Edimbvrgi | Apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum Typographum Regium | Anno M.D.LXXXII. | Cvm Privilegio Regali. | Fo.
- Bibliotheca | Institvta Et Col- | lecta Primvm A Conrado Gesnero, | Deinde in Epitomen redacta & nouorum Li- | brorū accessione locupletata, iam vero po- | stremo recognita, & in duplum post pri- | ores editiones aucta, per Iosiam | Simlerum Tigurinum. | Habes hic, optime Lector, catalogum locupletissimum omnium | ferè scriptorum, à mundi initio ad hunc vsq3 diem, extantium & non | extantium, publicatorum & passim in Bibliothecis latitantium. Opus | non Bibliothecis tantum publicis priuatisue instituendis necessarium, | sed studiosis omnibus, cuiuscunq3 artis aut scientiae, ad studia melius | formanda vtilissimum. |

Tigvri | Apvd Christophorvm Froscho- | vervm, Mente Martio, Anno | M.D.LXXIIII. | Fo.

This edition (the second) of the Epitome by Lycosthenes (Wolffhart) and Simler, was followed by a third in 1583. The work appeared first in 1555*.

The Essayes Of | A Prentise, In The | Divine Art Of | Poesie. | [By James VI.] | Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas | Vautroullier. | 1584. | Cvm Privilegio | Regali. | 4to. Contains Revlis and Cautelis. See Introduction, p. xxiv.

Francis Thynne alias Botevile. A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scotish kings.

Appended to Holinshed's Chronicles from the edition of 1586-7 onwards. Ed. 1586-7 Vol. II. Pp. 457-64.

- Apparatvs | Ad Historiam Scoticam | Lib. II. | Accesservnt | Martyrologivm Scoticvm | Sanctorum DCLXXIX. | Scriptorvm Scotorvm MDCIII. | Nomenclatura. | Avctore Thoma Dempstero | Barone de Muresk IC Scoto Eminente professore. | Opus e peregrinis omnium gentium Historijs collectum, omnia | orbis regna pio studio lustrantur, religiosae S.R.E. familiae nobi- | litantur, Historia patria augetur, sectarij admonentur, catholica | veritas contra hostes Dei & Scotiae firmatur. | Ivsti Et Parati Operis Praenvntia. | Bononiae, Typis Nicolai Tebaldini. M.DC.XXII. | Superiorum Permissu. | 4to.
- Scotorvm | Scriptorvm | Nomenclatvra. | Quartum Aucta. | Sancti .DCLXXIX. Beati .LXXXI. Papae .v. | Cardinales .XIV. Patriarchae .IV. Reges aut Regum liberi .XLVIII. | Apostoli gētium .LXIII. Monasteriorum extra Scotiam fundatores | Archiepiscopi & Episc .CCLVII. Abbates extra Scotiam .CXCII. | Academiarum fundatores .XII. viri domi & tota passim Europa om | nium scientiarum genere illustrissimi. Haeretici pauculi confutantur. | Ex suis Historiarum lib. xix. excerpsit.

| Thomas Dempstervs Baro De Mvresk. IC. | Scotus. Profess. Eminens. | Bononiae, Typis Nicolai Tebaldini .M.DC.XXII. | Superiorum Permissu. | 4to.

Gilbertus Gray. Ane Oration. Raban. Aberdeen. 1623*. Printed in Mackenzie 1708.

Historia Ecclesiastica | Gentis Scotorvm Lib. xix. | Qua Viri Sanctitate, literis, dignitatib⁹. | toto Orbe Illustres, & familiæ, et Scoticæ | in varias Vrbes transmissæ, & pręcipuè | Placentiā Recensentur. | Illustrissimo Viro | Fabio Scoto Plac⁹ Miceni Com. Dicata. | Auctore Thoma Dempstero Scoto I.C. Baron. | de Muresck, Eq. Aur. Bonon. Prof. | eminente, et in Academia Noctis | Euantio | Superior, pmissu Bononiæ Typis Nicolai Thebaldini 1627 Oliuiero Gatti fec. | 4to.

Second edition, Bannatyne Club, 2 vols. 4to. 1829.

Davidis Buchanani De Scriptoribus Scotis libri Duo, Nunc Primum editi. Edinburgi: Excudebant Balfour et Jack. 1837. 4to. Bannatyne Club. Edited by David Irving.

Mock-Poem, | Or, | Whiggs Sypplication. | [By Samuel Colville.] Part II. | London, | Printed in the year, 1681. | 8vo.

P. 8, Part of the description of the contents of the Squire's pack :

Catalogues of Scotish Writers. [Edited by James Maidment.] Edinburgh: Thomas Stevenson, Princes Street. 1833. 8vo.

80 copies printed. Contains A Short Account of Scots Divines, attributed to Laurence Charteris; A Catalogue of Scottish Writers; and Account of the Learned Men and Writers in Aberdeen; all from a MS. in Robert Wodrow's hand in the Advocates' Library. Partly in English, partly in Latin. Maidment connects them with Sir Robert Sibbald's unfinished literary history of Scotland. The book contains also an Introductory Notice, and Literary Correspondence 1698-1723.

- The Scottish Historical Library: Containing a Short View and Character of most of the Writers, Records, Registers, Law-Books, &c. Which may be Serviceable to the Undertakers of a General History of Scotland, Down to the Union of the Two Kingdoms in K. James the VI. By W. Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle. London, Printed for T. Childe, at the White Hart in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCCII. 8vo.
- The Lives and Characters Of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation; with An Abstract and Catalogue of their Works; Their Various Editions; and the Judgment of the Learn'd concerning Them. By George Mackenzie M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. Edinburgh, Printed by James Watson in Craig's Closs on the North-side of the Cross. M.DCC.VIII-XI-XXII. 3 vols. F⁰.

Contains also Oratio de Illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus, habita a Magistro Grayo, Gymnasiarcha Academiae Novae Abredoniae, A.D. 1611. See under 1623.

 A Geographical, Historical Description of the Shire of Tweeddale. With a Miscelany and Curious Collection of Select Scotish Poems. By A. P. [=Alexander Pennecuik]
 M.D. . . Edinburgh, Printed by John Moncur.
 M.DCC.XV. 4to.

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Sign. ** 2 and verso, Al[exander] P[ennecuik (the younger)] Mercator Edinburgensis. To the Ingenious and Worthy Author of the following Description and Poems.

> Proud England boasts to be the Muses seat, Glorys in Spencer's Flights, and Cowley's Heat. Ben Johnston's Manly Sence, Ethridge's Plays, Chaucer's bright Wit, and Herbert's Heavenly Layes. Milton's Inspired Thoughts, and Sidney's Strains, Who sung the sweetest of the Arcadian swains.

These are the Muses Darling Sons indeed, Yet Equaliz'd by Bards benorth the *Tweed*, Our Famous Scotlands Snowy Hills gives Birth, To Witts and Warriours Famous on the Earth. On Barren Heaths which never felt the Plow, And frozen Hills the Richest Learning grew. Toss'd in cold Cliffs of *Caledonia* Coasts, With *Boreas* Blasts and Hyperborian Frosts.

Seraphick Songs flow from Buchannan's Quill, Too great for Man, almost for Angels Skill. The Admir'd Drummond dropt celestial Lines, Of Wit, in which a Boundless Fancy Shines. Immortal Douglass in his Hermit Cell, Drunk with the Streams of Helliconian Well, Reeling with Raptures, in a rapid Strain. Virgil Translates, and brightens up his Fame. Stirling and Maitland leave immortal Names, Let's read the Muses Welcome to King James. Where Constellations of bright Wits appear, Who fill the Soul with Knowledge, Charm the Ear. Crawfoord of late the British Ovid grew, And you prove Sir the British Ovid now.

I Wish my Worth did Equalize my Will, That I in Natur's Secrets had thy Skill; And could Express them with thy Matchless Quill. Happy that People whom thou dwells among, No wonder they're contented to live long, Their Health comes from thy hand, their Pleasure from thy Song.

Al. P. Mercator Edinburgensis.

[= Alexander Pencook = A. Pennecuik the younger.]

Streams from Helicon : | Or, | Poems | On | Various Subjects. | In Three Parts. | By Alexander Pennecuik Gent. | Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo : | Impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet. | Ovid. | The Second Edition. | Enter'd in Stationer's Hall. | Edinbvrgh : | Printed by John Mosman and Company for the Au- | thor. Anno M.DCC.XX. | 8vo.

Pp. 61-2, To My honour'd Friend Dr. P— k, Author of the Description of Tweeddale, and Miscellany Poems. See above under year 1715. P. 75, Merry Tales For The Lang Nights of Winter, In Dialogues betwixt the Tinklarian Doctor and his Grandam, &c. Lines 9-13,

"My Aunt, whom nane dare say has no Grace, Was reading on the *Pilgrim's Progress*; The meikle Tasker, *Davie Dallas*, Was telling Blads of *William Wallace*: My Mither bad her second Son say, What he'd by Heart of *Davie Lindsay*."

Allan Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars of Ballates, Sangis, and Tragedies. [1724*].

Broadside. Intended to be prefixed to The Evergreen. Reprinted in Laing's Memorials of Bannatyne, and in The Sempill Ballates, pp. 255-6.

Bibliotheca Britannico - Hibernica : | Sive, De | Scriptoribus, | Qui In | Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia | ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, | literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis | Commentarius : | Auctore | Viro admodum reverendo, et in patriis antiquitatibus versatissimo, | Thoma Tannero, Episcopo Asaphensi. | Qui | non tantum Scriptores quam plurimos, a Lelando, Baleo, Pitseo, et aliis praetermissos, | e codicibus Mss. nunc primum in lucem protulit ; sed Notis etiam uberioribus, | tum omissa supplevit, tum parum fideliter tradita correxit et illustravit. | Opus utilissimum, et XL annorum studio ac industria elaboratum. | Praefixa Est | Reverendi et doctissimi viri Davidis Wilkinsii S.T.P. et Canonici Cantuar. | Praefatio, | Historiam Literariam Britannorum ante Caesaris adventum, Bibliothecae | hujus schema, Bostonum Buriensem, aliaque scitu non indigna complectens. | Londini, | Excudit Gulielmus Bowyer, | Impensis Societatis Ad Literas Promovendas institutae, | Anno Domini MDCCXLVIII. | [Pr. 1 l. 5 s.] | Fol.

A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, With Lists of their Works. [By Horace Walpole.] Dove, diavolo! Messer Ludovico, avete pigliato tante coglionerie? Card. d'Este, to Ariosto. Vol. II. Printed at Strawberry-Hill. 1758. 8vo.

Pp. 182-203, Scotch Authors. This catalogue, in which Walpole professes to give no more than "what has occurred to" him "accidentally," includes James I., James IV. ('Wrote "On the Apocalypse"'), James V., Mary, Lord Chancellor Maitland ("Latin Epigrams"), and a few later noblemen. See also under 1806.

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*.

Poetical Works 1766, Vol. I. Pp. 20-2, Amyntor reviews the history of Scotland, making mention of James I., Dunbar, Henryson, Bellenden, and Scott.

- Thomas Gray. Metrum. Observations on English Metre. See Introduction, P. lxxvii.
- To Mr. Alexander Ross at Lochlee, Author of The Fortunate Shepherdess, and other Poems, in the Broad Scotch Dialect. 1768*.

This poem is said to have been printed in The Aberdeen Journal, 1768, under the name of Oliver Oldstile. It has been attributed to Beattie. See Campbell, 1798, and Leyden. It appears anonymously in the second (1778) and subsequent editions of Ross's Helenore, or The Fortunate Shepherdess. Stanzas XIII.-XIV.,

"I here might gie a skreed of names Dawties of Heliconian Dames! The foremost place Gavin Douglas claims, That pawky priest. And wha can match the First King James For sang or jest?

"Montgomery grave, and Ramsay gay, Dunbar, Scot, Hawthornden, and mae Than I can tell; for o' my fay, I maun brak aff; 'Twould take a live-lang summer day To name the half."

Footnotes give CK. to James and The Vision to Scott.—Ross, ed. 1778, Pp. vii.-viii.

- The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed Two Dissertations. I. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. II. On the Introduction of Learning into England. By Thomas Warton, B.D. London: Printed for and sold by J. Dodsley etc. 1774-78-81. 3 vols. 4to.
- The History of Great Britain, from the first Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar. Written on a New Plan. By Robert Henry, D.D. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author. Vol. IV., 1781. Vol. V., 1785. Vol. VI., 1793. 4to. Chapters v. and vii. of Vol. VI. are by Macolm Laing.
- Biographia Britannica: Or Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have flourished in Great-Britain and Ireland, from the Earliest Ages, to the present Times: Collected from the best Authorities, printed and manuscript, and digested in the manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. The Second Edition, With Corrections, Enlargements, and the Addition of New Lives: By Andrew Kippis, D.D.

F.R.S. and S.A. With the Assistance of the Rev. Joseph Towers, LL.D. And Other Gentlemen. London: Printed by John Nichols, for T. Longman, . . . 1778-93.

Vol I. 1778—Alexander Arbuthnot and Bellenden by Dr John Campbell. Vol. V. 1793—Douglas by Towers, Dunbar by Kippis.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Observations Made In A Journey Through The Western Counties Of Scotland; In The Autumn Of M,DCC,XCII. Relating To The Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, Manners, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Political Condition, And Literature Of These Parts. By Robert Heron. In Two Volumes. Perth: Printed By R. Morison Junior. For R. Morison And Son, Booksellers, Perth; Bell And Bradfute, Edinburgh; And Vernor And Hood, Birchin Lane, London. 1793.

"Singing is the common amusement of the maids in the farmhouses of these pastoral regions, [Gatehouse-of-Fleet] over their sedentary work. I have heard from the old women, some of the best and rarest of the songs in Dr Percy's Collection, and in the collection published by the late Lord Hailes from Bannatyne's manuscript. . . . Love Gregory, The Earl of Cassilis Lady, Young Beechom, Robene and Makyne, Gill Morrice, Young Logie, and some of the satirical pieces of Dunbar, are the chief favourites of the old people. Almost within my remembrance, Davie Lindsay was esteemed little less necessary in every family, than the Bible. It is common to have, by memory, great part of his poetry. I neglected to mention, in its proper place, that the Dee, near the Kirk of Tongueland is said to be alluded to, in the well-known Scottish poem of the Cherry and the Slae; and that the author is said to have lived somewhere in the neighbourhood. But the same honours have been claimed to the Tay." See also under Harry and Douglas.

Scotish Song. In Two Volumes. Volume the First. [Edited

by Joseph Ritson.] Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium Custodes ovium carmina, fistula Delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri Colles Arcadiae placent. Horace. London: Printed for J. Johnson in St. Pauls Churchyard; and J. Egerton, Whitehall. MDCCX[C]1V.¹ I2mo. Pp. xi.-cxix., A Historical Essay on Scotish Song. Second edition, Glasgow: Hugh Hopkins, 1869.

History of Scotland, from the Earliest Times, to the Æra of the Abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions of Subjects, in the Year 1748. By Robert Heron. Edinburgh : [Printed for R. Morison and Son, &c.] Vol. III., 1797. Vol. V. Part I., 1799. 8vo.

Various imprints. Heron shows more good sense, and is less inclined to take his opinions from others, than most.

An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland, from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century down to the Present Time; together with A Conversation on Scotish Song, by Alexander Campbell, Author of Odes and Miscellaneous Poems, &c. To which are subjoined, Sangs of the Lowlands of Scotland, Carefully compared with the original editions, and embellished with characteristic designs, composed and engraved by the late David Allan, historical painter. Edinburgh: Sold by Andrew Foulis, at his shop, opposite the Turf Coffee-house St. Andrew's Street. M,DCC,XCVIII. 4to.

90 copies printed.

Poems, By George Dyer. London: Printed for the Author; and Sold by Longman and Rees, Paternoster-Row. 1801. 8vo.

Pp. 89-90, Ode XVI. Addressed to Dr. Robert Anderson. Stanza II.,

¹ Volume the Second reads Songs, and gives the date correctly MDCCXCIV.

"Where now Dunbar? The bard has run his race : But glitters still the Golden Terge on high; Nor shall the thunder storm, that sweeps the sky, Nor light'ning's flash the glorious orb deface. Dunkeld, no more the heaven-directed chaunt Within thy sainted wall may sound again. But thou, as once the muse's favourite haunt-

Shalt live in Douglas' pure Virgilian strain : While time devours the castle's crumbling wall, And roofless abbies pine, low-tottering to their fall."

This stanza is preceded by one on Ossian. In a foot-note Dyer says: "On some future opportunity I shall extend this list of Scotch poets, and shall avail myself of Campbell's History of Scotch Poetry." This he did in Poetics: Or a Series of Poems, and Disquisitions on Poetry, 1812, where the piece is printed as Ode IX. The Triumph of Poetry.

Vol. I., Pp. 215-7,

"Lermont, too, sleeps, tho' still at Melrose tower, (By Scott so sweetly sung) methought I heard The old minstrel's voice :—and he, who whilom cheer'd The banks of Dee, shall cheer those banks no more; (Nor there in friendly converse may I stray With Dawnie, nor more weigh the sage remark Of Ogilvie :) nor chanting on his way Of Wallace, Henry wander poor and dark; No more, tho' still his hero's name shall rise, Suppliant the bard shall stroll, waking fond minstrelsies.

"And where's old Scotland's chronicler? He's sped. Some trace of ancient days still Leven shews : Still frowns St. Rules, and near it ebbs and flows Ocean; but Scotland's chronicler is dead.

-And may not death spare kings? No: kings must fall; Death scales alike the cot and regal seat;

Else James, as wont, had still grac'd bower and hall, And charm'd his native fields with numbers sweet. But still his Peblis lives, and Scotland pays,

Proud of one royal bard, the meed of rapturous praise."

The next stanza is as in 1801 with changes in spelling and

punctuation, and the following readings. 1. He too has run. 3. which. 6. walls. 7. poet's. 8. Shalt shine in Douglas's Virgilian strain. 9-10. While Time the crumbling castle undermines, Tottering to its fall, and, lo ! the roofless abbey pines.

Leyden. Complaint of Scotland. 1801.

Leyden. Scotish Descriptive Poems. 1803.

The Lives of the Scotish Poets; with Preliminary Dissertations, on the Literary History of Scotland, and the Early Scotish Drama. By David Irving, A.M. Edinburgh: Printed by and for Alex. Lawrie and Co. Sold by Bell & Bradfute, P. Hill, and A. Lawrie; Brash and Reid, Glasgow; and Vernor & Hood, London. 1804. Two Vols. 4to.

Second Edition. "By David Irvine, L.L.D." Edinburgh 1810. "Second Edition, Improved" (*i.e.*, title-page corrected). London 1810. These are only reprints.

The material of this work was afterwards incorporated in The History of Scotish Poetry, 1861.

Censura Literaria. Containing Titles, Abstracts, and Opinions of Old English Books, with Original Disquisitions, Articles of Biography, and other Literary Antiquities. [Edited by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges.] London: Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt-Court, Fleet Street, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row; and J. White, Fleet-Street. Ten Vols. 1805-9. 8vo.

Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806.

A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, Scotland, and Ireland; with Lists of their Works: by the late Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford. Enlarged and continued to the present time, by Thomas Park, F.S.A. London: Printed for John Scott. 1806. 5 vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and V. See also under 1758.

The British Bibliographer. By Sir Egerton Brydges, K. J. and Joseph Haslewood. Volume IV. London: Printed for R. Triphook, 37, St. James's Street, by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street. 1814.

Pp. 300-13, D.L.E. ¶Catalogue of Early Scotish Poets, to the End of the Sixteenth Century. Attributed to David Laing.

Pp. 183-92, H. W[eber]. The Bannatyne Manuscript. (Dated Edinburgh, 25 Aug. 1812).

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 London : Printed by T. Bensley, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1815-6. 4to.
- The Life of Andrew Melville: Containing Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, during the latter part of the Sixteenth and beginning of the Seventeenth Century. With an Appendix, consisting of Original Papers. By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Edinburgh: Printed for William Blackwood, Edinburgh; and T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, London. 1819.
- Specimens of the British Poets; with Biographical and Critical Notices, and an Essay on English Poetry. By Thomas Campbell. In Seven Volumes. London: John Murray. 1819. 8vo.

Vol. II. Pp. 63-70, "Scottish Poetry," a brief outline. Also very short lives of James I. (p. 71), Henryson (p. 76), Dunbar (p. 76), Lyndsay (p. 92), Alexander Hume (p. 238).

- Lives of Scottish Poets with Portraits and Vignettes. [By the Society of Ancient Scots.] London: Printed for T. Boys. [1821-]1822. 3 vols. 12mo.
- The Poetic Remains of Some of the Scotish Kings. Now First Collected by George Chalmers, Esq., F.R.S.A.S., &c. London: John Murray. 1824. 8vo.

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THE HUCHOWN QUESTION:

ITS EARLIER HISTORY.

In 1792, four years after the discovery of the unique Chepman and Myllar volume, Pinkerton printed Golagros and Gawane¹ under the title Gawan and Gologras. He quotes Dunbar's lines on Clerk of Tranent, and without adducing any evidence, at once proceeds to the conclusion : "Hence it appears that this poet is the author of this romance and also of that intituled Sir Gawan and Sir Galaron of Galloway," which bears "intrinsic marks of being a production of the same author." The latter is the name given by him to The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne, which he printed, for the first time, in an appendix to the same work (Scotish Poems reprinted from scarce editions). He considers the dates of composition to be not later than the middle of the fifteenth century.

Huchown is not mentioned in connection with either of these poems, but on p. xxxv. a suspicion is expressed "that this poet [Huchown] is Sir Hew of Eglintoun, mentioned by Dunbar as preceding Winton in time, for his 'lament' is often chronological." AA. is printed "from a MS. belonging to Mr. Baynes of Gray's-inn"—the Douce MS.—which Ritson accused Pinkerton of obtaining surreptitiously. See Ritson in Gentleman's Magazine, 1793, pp. 32-3, his edition of Minot, glossary under "Brems."

¹ Contractions :--GG. = Golagros and Gawane. PSS. = Pistel of Swete Susan. MA. = Morte Arthure. AA. = Awntyrs of Arthure. H. = Huchown. C. = Clerk. E. = Sir Hugh of Eglintoun. Macpherson remarks that "Wyntoun does not inform us of what country this Huchown was, (that being apparently well known when he wrote) but the probability is, that he was of Scotland, and even a friend of Wyntoun, from the warmth, with which he defends him from the censure of some of the small critics of those days." He suggests that he may be the same as Clerk of Tranent: if not, Wyntoun's notice is all that rescues from utter oblivion the name of one who "appears to have been of no small reputation in his time."

Ellis (1801) suggests that Huchown may have been "the author of the Norman original" of Clerk's work, of which the two pieces printed by Pinkerton are taken to be "cantos." He finds "a sort of wildness in the narrative which is very striking."

"Whether Huchowne and Clerk be different persons, and whether this romance be the composition of either," says Leyden of GG., "is quite uncertain."

From the terms in which Wyntoun speaks of H., Sibbald is inclined to assign him a date not later than the reign of David II. He thinks it improbable that a work of such magnitude and popularity as the "Gest of Broyttys" should be altogether lost, but finds no fragments so likely to be parts of it as GG. and AA. If these are not parts of the "Gret gest of Arthur" they seem at least coeval with it. Huchown may be either Clerk of Tranent or Sir Hew of Eglintoun. An allusion is made to "the tedious metrical romance of Gawan and Gologras, supposed to have been written about this period [James II.] by Clerk of Tranent," to whom Sibbald supposes the stanzas beginning "Thingis in kynde desyris thingis lyke," to have been once attributed.

Scott (1804) conjectured that long before the poets of England began to write original romances in English, or even to translate French romances, there flourished a vernacular romantic school in Scotland, including Thomas of Ercildoune, Kendal, and Huchown. "Besides *Sir Tristrem*, there still exist at least two Scottish romances, which in all probability, were composed long before the conclusion of the 13th century. These are entitled *Gawan and Gologras* and *Galoran of* Galoway." This opinion is founded not merely on their rudeness and unintelligibility, due partly to alliteration, but on "the comparative absence of French words, and French phraseology, so fashionable in Scotland after the time of Robert Bruce." Finding no trace of a French original, Scott inclines to believe that they were written from Keltic traditions which, being connected with localities, would be adopted by the invading Teutons in place of their own.

In the Border Minstrelsy¹ Scott had described GG. and AA. as "two romances rendered almost unintelligible by the extremity of affected alliteration," and dated them "perhaps not prior" to James V. He suggested H. (1804) as author of Arthur and Merlin.

The alliterative poets of Scotland, whose style "continued the race of improvement till it arrived at the *acme* of fine writing; when it acquired the desirable quality of total *unintelligibility*," share with their critics Pinkerton, Sibbald, and Scott, the sneers of Chalmers. H. is identified with E. and made the author of GG. C. is given AA.

Whitaker refers to a MS. of PSS., supposed to be about as old as Piers the Plowman. "It is not to be wondered at that it has had no imitators."

In the Select Remains AA. and GG. are assigned to one author, whether C. or not Laing hesitates to decide. PSS. is taken to be Huchown's. The same work includes an extract from a letter of Chalmers, and a criticism of AA. by Alexander Thomson, who points out its want of unity of action. Laing thinks that the author of GG. and AA. "has certainly added something new to the Poetry of his Country." In them he finds originality of incident and manner; for he takes the intricate verse structure as evidence against translation. AA. he considers later (1827) to be not improbably an imitation of GG. "by a different but perhaps coeval hand." GG. he praises for the "bold and rapid manner in which the narrative is conducted." In 1834 he inclines to assign PSS. and, on grounds of style, "one or other of the later romances of ¹ Edit. 1902, IV. 115.

Gawane," to H. Both conjectures as to H.'s identity he thinks improbable.

Guest gives Gawayn and the Green Knight to H. "for several reasons." The only one stated, the presence of the name "Hugo de" at the head of the MS., "seems almost decisive." E. is probably H.; C. "may have written the tales which Pinkerton published."

In Madden's Syr Gawayne the Huchown question makes a distinct advance. A beginning is made of solid research, and some of the tentative speculations of the earlier writers are swept aside, owing to the much larger body of information that has become available. Gawayne and the Grene Kny3t and the other poems in the same MS. are regarded as Scottish, though modified by a Midland scribe. H.'s claim to their authorship is considered best. As MA. is identified with the poem cited by Wyntoun as the Gret Gest of Arthur, as the Gest Historiale, and as the Gest of Broyttys auld story, Madden observes that we are "singularly fortunate in possessing probably *all* the pieces written by him noticed by Wyntoun." He favours neither attempt to identify Huchown. AA. and GG. he gives to some poet of the first half of the 15th century. Some of the sources of both groups are pointed out.

By Robson the dialect of the Ireland version of the Awntyrs is characterised as that of North-west Lancashire. Evidence of translation or imitation from the French is denied. From political and topographical considerations the poet is supposed to be a Cumberland or Westmoreland man, not the author of the Pistill, who is assumed to have been a Scotsman. Robson favours a date "before the assumption of the Scotish crown by Edward I." The incidents are described as "commonplace," and the story as "simply put together."

Irving (1861) criticises Golagros, The Awntyrs, and the Pistill as literary productions, and is inclined to praise them, especially the first. He considers the evidence of common authorship almost conclusive in the case of Golagros and The Awntyrs. His whole discussion is a little irresolute, and adds little that is new. Morris (1864) declines to draw any certain conclusions from Wyntoun's lines. That The Pearl, Cleanness, and Patience retain their literary merit he takes as evidence that they were originally written in the West-Midland dialect and have not been transcribed from Scots. On the title-page of Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, ed. Morris, E.E.T.S. 1864, the romance is attributed to the author of "Early English Alliterative Poems." To Madden's ascription of MA. to H. Morris objects on grounds of dialect.

Panton (Preface, dated 1872) emphasises the intelligibility of Troy and Morte Arthure to modern Scots speakers. "There are portions which Allan Ramsay or Robert Burns might have written." The dialect is held to be Scots, modified by a Midland scribe, and to be more Scottish in spelling in those parts which are copied than in those which show evidence of having been dictated. The proof that Morte Arthure, and therefore Troy also, is Scots and Huchown's is declared to be "conclusive and satisfactory." Evidence of influence on Wyntoun is pointed out. The passages on the sea, woodcraft, war, courts, "materially strengthen the presumption" that Huchown was Sir Hew-Madden's argument in the case of Gawayne and the Grene Knyzt. PSS., Gawayne and the Grene Knyzt, and the poems accompanying it, are given to Huchown. Panton shows a good deal of the praefervidum ingenium, and becomes very enthusiastic, especially over the more original passages.

Donaldson (1873) analyses the dialect, and comes to almost the same conclusions on all points as Panton. Instead of the Grene Kny3t he gives AA. and GG. to H.

The Huchown group of poems early attracted the attention of German students. Ten Brink noticed them in his Geschichte der englischen Litteratur (1877-89). The first volume of Anglia (1878), contains Horstmann's text of PSS. with his discussion of the dialect, in its original and present forms, and of the stanza—"die sehr künstliche strophe, ein wahres meisterwerk metrischer und rythmischer kunst." It contained also Trautmann's notable paper Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke. This paper is divided into the following sections :— I. Die Huchown-Frage. II. Sprachliche und metrische Untersuchungen. III. Huchown's Werke. IV. Wer Huchown War.

Donaldson and Panton had begun the comparative study of the vocabularies of the poems attributed to Huchown. Trautmann here, after summing up the history of the question, sets about a thorough analysis of the vocabularies of the nine poems. It is his object, however, to find not criteria of dialect, but evidence of common or separate authorship, in the choice and use of words expressing common ideas. He examines also peculiarities of versification, as the riming of w with wh and with v. From this laborious investigation he concludes that Gawayne and the three religious poems are by one author, MA. and PSS. by another, GG. by a third, AA. by a fourth, and Troy by a fifth. From external and internal evidence he decides that the second of these was Huchown, a Scotsman, probably Eglintoun, and that The Gret Gest of Arthure is MA., and the Awntyrs of Gawane an "Abschnitt" thereof. As a poet Huchown receives high praise. "Huchown ist nicht der gröste dichter des 14. jhd., das ist Chaucer; aber er kommt gleich nach diesem und steht auf gleicher stufe mit Langland." In the next volume the same scholar discussed GG. under these headings :-- I. Ueberlieferung und Ausgaben. II. Stoff und Ouelle. III. Sprach und Heimat. IV. Zeit und Dichter. V. Form. VI. Die neue Ausgabe.

Since Trautmann wrote, much solid work has been done, chiefly in Germany, on the sources, versification, etc., of the Huchown-Clerk group of poems. These need not be discussed here in detail. It will be sufficient to draw attention to Mr. Geo. Neilson's exorbitant claims, as they appear to most critics, on behalf of Huchown.

HUCHOWN, SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN, AND CLERK OF TRANENT.

EDITIONS AND EXTRACTS.

I do not include all the poems that have been attributed to these writers, but only those that have been most commonly and most plausibly connected with their names, to wit, The Pistel of Swete Susan (PSS.), Morte Arthure (MA.), The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne (AA.); Golagros and Gawane (GG.)

Ritson prepared, and seems in part to have printed, an edition of PSS., to be included in his Caledonian Muse. It was omitted, however, and was never published. See Ritson, Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of Henry the Second to the Revolution, 1829, II. 124 n.

Chepman and Myllar. 1508.

GG. is the second tract in the Advocates' Library volume. It concludes on the verso of the twenty-second leaf, and is followed by the Balade "Thingis in kynde desyris thingis lyke." On the last leaf (24a) is the colophon of Golagros: Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagros / and gawa | ne in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter chepman | and Androw Millar the viii day of apile the yhere of | god. M.ccccc. and viii. yheris. Myllar's device is on the verso.

Reprinted in facsimile by David Laing, 1827, with some of the misprints corrected. See Dickson and Edmond 52-4.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. III. Pp. 65-123, GG. ("Gawan and Gologras"). From Chepman and Myllar, with many errors. Pp. 197-226 (Appendix), AA. ("Sir Gawen, and Sir Galaron of Galloway") from the Douce MS.

HUCHOWN.

Sibbald. Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. xvii.-xxvii., AA. stanzas I.-XXVI. (the first part of the poem) from Pinkerton's text, with a new set of errors.

Laing. Select Remains. 1822.

AA. from the Thornton MS., collated with the Douce MS. PSS. from the Vernon MS.

Small's edition 1885. Awntyrs pp. 86-113. Pistill pp. 171-83. Many corrections have been made in this edition.

Laing. Golagros. 1827. Reprint of Chepman and Myllar. See 1508.

Syr Gawayne; a Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems, by Scotish and English Authors, relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table, with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary. By Sir Frederic Madden, K.H. London: Printed [for the Bannatyne Club] by Richard and John E. Taylor. 1839. 4to.

- Three Early English Metrical Romances. With an Introduction and Glossary. Edited from a MS. in the possession of J. I. Blackburn, Esq., M.P. By John Robson, Esq. London: Printed for the Camden Society. 1842.
 Pp. 1-26, AA., from the Ireland MS.
- Morte Arthure. The Alliterative Romance of the Death of King Arthur. Now first printed from a Manuscript in Lincoln Cathedral. Edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A. Brixton Hill. For Private Circulation Only. 1847. 4to.

Pp. ix.-xii., Introduction. Pp. 1-363, Text, from Thornton MS. Pp. 365-8, Notes (antiquarian). 75 copies printed.

Morte Arthure. Edited from Robert Thornton's MS. (Ab. 1440 A.D.) In the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, by George G. Perry, M.A. London: Early English Text Society. 1865. 8vo.

Pp. 95-128, AA. (Thornton). Pp. 131-83, GG.

Morte Arthure, or The Death of Arthur. Edited from Robert Thornton's MS. In the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, by Edmund Brock. [A New Edition, 1871.] London: Early English Text Society. 1865 [really 1871]. 8vo.

"The present edition appears instead of a reprint of Mr. Perry's, but differs from it in several respects; the text has been carefully read throughout with the MS. at Lincoln, and corrections made, where needful; the side-notes are greatly altered, often replaced with new; a new Glossary has been written, and an index of names and some notes added."—Preface. Skeat's Essay is revised. Perry's Preface is dropped: in its place Brock says a few words on the story, poetical quality, etc. "Of the author nothing whatever is known, not even his name."

[Horstmann.] Nachträge zu den Legenden. III. Susanna. Herrig's Archiv. XXXIII. Jahrgang. 62 Band. 1879. Pp. 406-11, Text of Cotton Calig. A II. Pp. 411-3, variants from MS. Addit. 22283, and Laing, with notes on the MSS.

K. Horstmann. Susanna. Anglia. I. 1878. Pp. 93-101, from the Vernon MS.

Trautmann. The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane. Anglia. II. 1879. Pp. 410-40.

Wülcker. Altenglisches Lesebuch. II. i. 1879.

Pp. 109-15, M.A. ll. 4073-342, from Perry. Notes, pp. 272-6.

Nachträge zu den Legenden. 2. Susanna, aus Ms. Cheltenham 8252. Herrig's Archiv. XXXIX. Jahrgang. 74 Band. 1885.

Pp. 339-44.

Amours. Scottish Alliterative Poems. S.T.S. 1891-7.

Pp. 1-46, GG. Pp. 115-71, AA. (Douce and Thornton). Pp. 172-87, PSS. (Vernon). Part II. contains, besides intro-

duction, notes, and glossary, the Additional, Ingilby, Phillipps, and Cottonian texts of Susan, pp. 190-245.

Huchown's Pistel of Swete Susan. Kritische Ausgabe von Dr Hans Köster. Strassburg. Karl J. Trübner. 1895. 8vo. Heft LXXVI. of Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, herausgegeben von Alois Brandl, Ernst Martin, Erich Schmidt.

Text, pp. 63-90.

- Morte Arthure. An alliterative Poem of the 14th Century From the Lincoln MS. Written by Robert of Thornton. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Mary Macleod Banks. Longmans, Green, and Co., London, New York and Bombay. 1900. 16mo.
 Pp. 1-117, Text. Pp. 121-206, Introduction, etc.
- Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 15-8, PSS., lines 66-130.

CRITICISM, ETC.

For notes on entries down to 1879, see pp. 40-5.

Wyntoun. Chronicle. See Introduction, p. xi.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars.

Lines 53-5,

The gud Schir Hew of Eglintoun, Ettrik, Heriot, and Wintoun, He hes tane out of this countre.

Lines 65-6,

Clerk of Tranent eik he has tane, That maid the aenteris of Gawane.

Complaynt of Scotland.

Ed. Leyden 1801, P. 98, List mentions "gauen and gollogras."

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 712, "Thornton [Robertus de] scripsit carmine Anglico The Romance of the death of Arthur. Pr. "Now, great glorious God." Ms. eccl. Cathedr. Lincoln. The life of S. Christopher. Pr. "Lordynges, if it be your will." Ibid."

Pinkerton. Scottish Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Pp. xxii.-xxiii., xxx.-xxxi., xxxiv.-xxxv.

Percy. Reliques. Fourth Edition. 1794.

Vol. III. Essay "On the Ancient Metrical Romances, &c." Pp. xlv.-xlvi. Percy adds to his catalogue the two romances (GG. and AA.) printed by Pinkerton in 1792, and reports Pinkerton's suggestions as to authorship.

Macpherson. Wyntown. 1795. Vol. II. Pp. 463-4.

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801. Vol. I. Pp. 254-5, 347-8.

Leyden. Complaint of Scotland. 1801. Pp. 228-9.

Scott. Minstrelsy. 1802*. Ed. 1902, Vol. IV. P. 115 (Introduction to Thomas the Rhymer, part II.).

Sibbald. Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. 1802. Vol. I. Pp. xv.-xvii., xxvii.-xxviii., 153, 330.

Bibliographia Poetica: A Catalogue of Engleish Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centurys, with a short account of their works. [By Joseph Ritson.] Invenias etiam disjecti membra poetæ. Horatius. London: Printed by C. Roworth, Hudsons-court, for G. and W. Nicol, Bookselers to his Majesty, Pel-Mel. 1802.

P. 107, 'THORNTON ROBERT wrote the following poems: 1.

"Morte Arthure," a romance in the alliterative metre of "The vision of Pierce Plowman" (begins, "Now grett glorious godd thurgh grace of hymselven"): . . . all extant in a MS. of the library of Lincoln-cathedral, examined by the present compiler. This author was, probably, the person who is mentioned in the catalogue of the Cotton-library, in the description of Vitellius E. VII. (since destroyed): "*Hunc librum frater* Robertus de Thorneton, *quondam prior, dedit claustralibus de* Bardenay."'

- Scott. Sir Tristrem. 1804. Pp. liv.-lvi., cxviii.-cxix.
- Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806. Vol. I. Pp. 132-3.
- Whitaker. Langland. 1813. 4to. P. xvii.
- Laing, etc. Select Remains. 1822.
- Laing. Golagrus and Gawane. 1827. Introduction, pp. 7-9.
- P. F. Tytler. History of Scotland. Vol. II. 1829.

Pp. 359-61, 365-7, 367-8 n. The Pistill, "infinitely overrated by the partiality of Winton," "contains no passages which in any degree support the high character given of its author by Winton."

Laing. Dunbar. 1834. Vol. I. Pp. 38-9. Vol. II. P. 355, Life of Eglintoun.

Guest. English Rhythms. 1838. Vol. II. Pp. 166-72, 291-2, 418.

Madden. Syr Gawayne. 1839. Pp. xxv.-xxvi., li., Morte Arthure. Pp. xli., 299-308, 326-30, 336-40.

- Robson. Early English Metrical Romances. 1842. Pp. xi.-xxiv.
- Halliwell [-Phillipps]. Morte Arthure. 1847. Pp. ix.-xii., 365-85. Chiefly on the story.
- Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 80-8.
- Morris. Early English Alliterative Pieces in the West-Midland Dialect. Early English Text Society. 1864. Pp. v.-ix.
- Morley. English Writers. I. 1864. Pp. 664-5. Repeated in later work, Vol. III. 1888.

Perry. Morte Arthure. 1865.

The Preface discusses the general literary characteristics of the romance. Mr W. W. Skeat furnishes a note on its metre, pp. xv.-xix.

The "Gest Historiale" of the Destruction of Troy: an Alliterative Romance translated from Guido de Colonna's "Hystoria Troiana." Now first edited from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, with Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by the late Rev. Geo. A. Panton, and David Donaldson, Esq. London: Published for the Early English Text Society. 1869 and 1874. 8vo. Pp. vii.-liii. (Panton), liii.-lxiv. (Donaldson).

Ten Brink. Geschichte der englischen Litteratur. 1877-89.
Vol. I. Pp. 421-40, AA. Vol. II. Pp. 402-4, PSS. and
MA. Huchown, as author of the two last, receives great praise.

Horstmann. Anglia. I. 1878. Pp. 85-93.

Moritz Trautmann. Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke. Anglia. I. 1878. Pp. 109-49, 188. Veitch. History and Poetry of the Scottish Border. 1878.

Pp. 248-62. Summary of the authorship question; placenames; feeling for nature, etc.

- Trautmann. Golagrus und Gawain. Anglia. II. 1879. Pp. 395-409.
- Schipper. Englische Metrik. 1881.
- The Aunters of Arthur at the Tern-Wathelan. Teil I. (Handschriften, Metrik, Verfasser). Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde von der philosophischen Facultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin genemigt und öffentlich zu verteidigen am 4. August 1883 von Hermann Lübke aus Bülstringen. Opponenten : Alfred Schulze, stud. phil. Fritz Halverscheid, stud. phil. Hans Willert, cand. phil. Berlin, Druck von Oscar Oehring, SW., Anhaltstrasse 8.

Pp. 1-2, Die Handschriften und Ausgaben. Pp. 2-12, Das Handschriftenverhältnis. Pp. 13-9, Metrik. Pp. 20-33, Verfasser und Zeit der Abfassung.

- Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 107-8.
- Herman Brandes. Die mittelenglische Destruction of Troy und ihre Quelle. Englische Studien. VIII. 1885.Pp. 398-410. Troy is given to Huchown.
- P. Branscheid. Über die Quellen des Stabreimenden Morte Arthure. Ein beitrag zur geschichte der Arthursage. Anglia. VIII. Anzeiger. 1885.
 Pp. 179-236.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 129-46.
- Geo. P. M'Neill. Huchown of the Awle Ryale. The Scottish Review. Vol. XI. April 1888.

Pp. 266-88, A popular account of the poems and the identification questions. Mr. M'Neill's attitude, "for exposition's sake," is expressed in his own words : "Let us begin with belief, and then we may examine our grounds of doubt."

Morley. English Writers. 1888-90-91.

Vol. III. Pp. 278-80. Vol. VI. Pp. 61-3, 121, 237-44. Vol. VII. Pp. 144-6. Follows Trautmann.

- K. Luick. Die englische Stabreimzeile im XIV., XV., und XVI. Jahrhundert. Anglia XI. 1889.
 Pp. 392-443, 553-618.
- Karl Luick. Zur Metrik der mittelenglischen reimend-alliterierenden Dichtung. Anglia XII. 1889.Pp. 437-53.
- Über die Sprache des Gedichtes "The Knightly tale of golagros and gawane." Inaugural - Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Marburg vorgelegt von Otto Noltemeier aus Hannover. Marburg. 1889. 8vo.

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-flexion. III. 1889. GG.

Le Morte Darthur. By Syr Thomas Malory. The Original Edition of William Caxton Now Reprinted and Edited by H. Oskar Sommer, Ph.D. London: David Nutt. Vol. III. 1891. 8vo.

Pp. 148-75, Le Morte Arthure, Thornton MS., as a source of Malory's fifth book.

Max Kaluza. Strophische Gliederung in der mittelenglischen rein alliterierenden Dichtung. Englische Studien. XVI. 1892.

Pp. 169-80.

Über Huchown's Pistil of swete Susan. Inaugural-Dissertation, welche nebst den beigefügten Thesen mit Genehmigung der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Breslau zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doktorwürde Montag, den 26. September 1892, vormittags 12 Uhr in der Aula Leopoldina öffentlich verteidigen wird Gustav Brade aus Schlesien. Opponenten : Herr Oskar Preussner, Dr. phil. Herr Rudolf Sternberg, Drd. phil. Buchdruckerei Maretzke & Märtin, Trebnitz in Schles. 8vo.

Pp. 1-12, Ausgaben und Handschriftenverhältnis. Pp. 12-22, Dialekt. Pp. 22-41, Metrik. Pp. 41-6, Inhalt und Quelle. Pp. 46-60, Glossar.

- Alois Brandl. Paul's Grundriss II^{1.} 1893. Pp. 662-5, Huchown, PSS., MA., AA. P. 712, GG.
- Chapters on Alliterative Verse. By John Lawrence, D.Lit., M.A. (Lond.) Lektor of English in the University of Prague. A Dissertation in candidature for the Degree of D.Lit. (Lond.) Accepted by the Examiners Dec. 1892. London: Henry Frowde. 1893. 8vo.

For MA. (and the Destruction of Troy).

Bearder. Über den Gebrauch der Praepositionen. 1894. GG. Of "A disputisoun bytwene a cristenemon and a jew," Bearder says, "Horstmann meint es rühre vom dichter der , Susanna 'her."

W. W. Skeat. The Buke of the Howlat : A Correction. Academy. Vol. XLV. No. 1131. January 6, 1894.P. 13, On a reading in GG. line 704, edit. S.T.S.

Köster. Huchown's Pistel of Swete Susan. 1895.

Pp. 1-6, Ausgaben und Handschriftverhältnis. Pp. 6-14, Quelle und Zeit der Abfassung. Pp. 15-36, Metrik. Pp. 36-46. Stilistisches. Pp. 46-61, Sprache. Pp. 91-5, Anmerkungen. Pp. 96-8, Glossar. Ex Ordinis Philosophorum Mandato renuntiantur Philosophiae Doctores et Artium Liberalium Magistri Rectori Magnifico Paulo Flechsig . . . Decano Ricardo Paulo Wuelker . . . Procancellario Adolpho Mayer . . . Praemissa est Ricardi Wülker dissertatio : Die Arthursage in der englischen Literatur. Lipsiae : Typis A. Edelmanni, Typogr. Acad. [1896.] 4to.

Pp. 12-6, MA.

Amours. Scottish Alliterative Poems. 1897.

Pp. vii.-x., Preliminary remarks. Pp. x.-xx., GG. Pp. xl.-xlvi., AA. Pp. xlvi.-li., PSS. Pp. li.-lxxxii., Huchown. Pp. lxxxii.-lxxxix., Remarks on the Versification.

Besides some account of the contents of the poems, their sources, dialect, verse-form, and manuscripts, M. Amours gives a history of the Huchown question. GG. he assigns to Clerk of Tranent and the second half of the fifteenth century. He accepts Trautmann's conclusions on the whole, but gives reasons for believing AA. to be Huchown's. He identifies Huchown with Dunbar's Sir Hew, a Scotsman, not the Sir Hew of history but a priest otherwise unknown.

Kölbing. Englische Studien. XXIII. 1897. Pp. 85-95, Review of Köster's PSS.

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Pp. 373-7. A parallel from Sweden—C. M. Bellman's Lied von der schönen und tugendhaften Susanna—text and P. J. Willatzen's German translation.

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Pp. 33-144.

Henry Bradley. A New Theory as to Huchown. The Athenaeum, No. 3817, Dec. 22, 1900.

Pp. 826-7, Suggests that Huchown was a member of Oriel College, Oxford, possibly a Cumberland man.

Geo. Neilson. Huchown's (?) Codex. Athenaeum. Nos. 3785, 3790. May 12, June 16, 1900.

Pp. 591-2, 751-2, On Hunterian MS. T. 41, and the alliterative Wars of Alexander and Destruction of Troy.

Banks. Morte Arthure. 1900.

Pp. 123-30, Introduction. i. The Poem. ii. The Author. iii. The Sources. iv. The Text. Pp. 131-53, Notes. Pp. 155-99, glossary.

Neilson. Barbour : Poet and Translator. 1900.

- Sir Hew of Eglintoun and Huchown off the Awle Ryale: A Biographical Calendar and Literary Estimate. By George Neilson. Philosophical Society of Glasgow. 1900-1.
- George Neilson. Crosslinks between "Pearl" and "The Awntyrs of Arthure." The Scottish Antiquary. Vol. XVI. No. 62. Oct. 1901.

Pp. 67-78, An attempt to connect Pearl and Erkenwald with the Awntyrs by a study of borrowings from the Trentalle Sancti Gregorii, and to trace the influence of the "Awle Ryale." The evidence is of the slenderest kind.

J. E. Wülfing. Das Laud-Troybook. Englische Studien XXIX. 1901.

Pp. 382-96, On the various English Troybooks (Barbour's, Alliterative, Lydgate's, Laud).

- Billings. Guide to Romances. 1901. Pp. 168-73, GG. Pp. 173-8, AA. Pp. 181-8, MA.
- J. A. Neilson, John Anderson, Henry Bradley, Geo. Neilson, R.M.O.K., Jas. Platt, Jun., G.N. The Athenaeum. Nos. 3819-24, 3826, Jan. 5, 12, 19, 26, Feb. 2, 9, 23, 1901.
 Pp. 19, 52, 81-2, 114, 145-6, 176, 244, Correspondence on the name Huchown, and the various theories as to who H. was.
- Geo. Neilson. Three Footnotes. An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall. 1901. 8vo. Pp. 383-5.
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- J. Golancz, Henry Bradley. Athenaeum. No. 3842. June 15, 1901. Pp. 760.
- G. N., J. Gollancz. Athenaeum. Nos. 3849, 3852, 3854, 3855. August 3, 24, Sept. 7, 14, 1901.
 Pp. 157, 254-5, 319, 351. Controversy on the date of Wynnere and Wastoure.
- Geo. Neilson. Huchown. II. 'The Parlement of the Thre Ages.' Athenaeum. No. 3861. Oct. 26, 1901. Pp. 559-61.

HUCHOWN.

- 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale' the Alliterative Poet: A Historical Criticism of Fourteenth Century Poems ascribed to Sir Hew of Eglintoun. By George Neilson. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1902. 8vo.
- G. Neilson. Early Literary Manuscripts. Scottish History and Life. 1902.

Pp. 265-71. Several notes touching the authorship question.

G. N. The Scottish Antiquary. Vol. XVII. No. 65. July 1902.

Pp. 51-3, Review of Banks, MA. Deals with internal evidence of date.

- H. Holthausen. Englische Studien. XXX. 1902. Pp. 270-5, Review of Mennicken, 1900.
- Huchown of the Awle Ryale and his Poems Examined in the Light of Recent Criticism. J. T. T. Brown. Omnia Explorate. Glasgow 22nd May, 1902.

Read to the Royal Philosophical Society, Glasgow (Historical and Philological Section), on 21st April, 1902.

Garnett. English Literature. Vol. I. 1903. Pp. 282-4, 285.

- M. M. Banks. Notes on the 'Morte Arthure' Glossary. Modern Language Quarterly. Vol. VI. No. 2. August 1903.
 Pp. 64-9.
- Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 8-14.
- Skeat. Scottish Alliterative Poems. Golagros and Gawane.The Scottish Historical Review. No. 3. April 1904.Pp. 296-9, Some suggestions on difficulties of interpretation.

Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 106-7, 186-8.

- Untersuchungen über den Stil der mittelenglischen alliterierenden Gedichte Morte Arthure, The Destruction of Troy, The Wars of Alexander, The Siege of Jerusalem, Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Huchown-Frage. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde bei der philosophischen Fakultät der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr. von Curt Reicke aus Pillau. Königsberg i. Pr. Hartungsche Buchdruckerei. 1906. 8vo.
- Giles. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 115-24.

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BARBOUR.

EDITIONS.

I. THE BRUCE.

These editions are described in Skeat's Preface.

Edinburgh. Lekpreuik for H. Charteris. 1571*.

Dickson and Edmond, 248-9, describe the unique copy which belonged to David Laing.

Edinburgh. Hart. 1616.*

The | Actes | and life of the most | Victorious Conque- | rour, Robert Bruce King | of Scotland. | Wherein | also are contained the | Martiall deeds of the va- | liant Princes, Edward Bruce, Syr | Iames Dowglas, Erle Thomas Randel, | Walter Stewart, and | sundrie others. | Newly corrected and conferred with the best | and most ancient Manuscripts. | [Ornament : a crown.] | Edinbyrgh. | Printed by Andro Hart. Anno 1620. | 8vo. B.L.

¶⁸, ¶¶⁴, A-Z, Aa-Cc⁸, Dd².

Pp. [24]+1-413+[7]. Some irregularity in pagination. 34 lines.

 \P_1 , Title. Verso coat of arms. $\P^2-\P\P_3$ b, The Printers Preface | to the Reader. | Begins: There is nothing vnto | which the minde of | mā doth more aspire | Ends: God give vs grace | to bee thanke- | full for it. | Amen. | $\P\P_4$, Robertvs Bryssivs | Regni instaurator, ac penè novus con- | ditor, in omni Fortuna invictus. | 12 lines of Latin elegiacs, beginning: Qvis varios casus, quis dura pericula Brvssi. Translation, headed: The same in English. Verso blank. A1 (Fol. 1.), The | Actes And Life Of | the most victorious Con- | querour Robert Bruce King of | Scotland. | Wherein Also Are | contained the Martiall deedes of the va- | liant Princes: Edward Bruce, Syr James | Dowglas, Earle Thomas Randell, Wal- | ter Stewart, and sundrie others. | A,-Cc7(pp. 1-413), Text. Begins: Stories to read are delectable. Cc7, Text ends: Where alway ioy and resting is. Amen. | Here endes the Booke of the Noble King, | That euer in Scotland yet did ring, | Called King Robert the Bruce, | That was maist worthie of all ruce, | And of the Noble and good Lord Dowglas, | And mony ma that with him was. | Verso, arms as on verso of title-page. Cc8, A Table. Dd2b, Finis Tabylae.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most victorious | Conquerour | Robert Brvce | King of Scotland. | Wherein also are contained | the Martiall deeds of the Valiant Prin- | ces : Edward Bruce, Sir James Dowglas, | Earle Thomas Randell, Walter Stew- | art, and sundrie others. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Gedeon Lithgow, Printer to the | Universitie of Edinburgh. 1648. | 8vo. B.L.

Unsigned leaf (title), A-Z, Aa-Bb⁸, Cc².

Pp. [2]+1-398+[6]. Sheet F wrongly paged 92, 83, 84 . . .
97. Minor irregularities in pagination.

Title within border. Verso blank. A_1 (Fol. 1), The | Actes And Life | of the most victorious Conque- | rour Robert Bruce King | of Scotland. | Wherein Also Are | cantained the Martiall deedes of the | valiant Princes: Edward Bruce, Sir James | Dowglas, Earle Thomas Randell, Walter | Stewart, and sundrie others. | A_1 -Bb7b. Text. Begins: Stories to read are delectable. Ends: Where alway joy and resting is. Amen. | Here endes the Booke of the Noblest King, | That ever in Scotland yet did ring, | Called King Robert the Bruce, | That was maist worthie of all ruce, | And of the Noble good Lord

BARBOUR.

Dowglas, | And many ma that with him was. | Bb8-Cc2b, A Table. Cc2b, Finis.

Glasgow. Sanders. 1665*.

The | Acts, | And | Life | Of The | Most victorious Conquerour Robert Bruce | King of Scotland. | Wherein | Also are contained the | Martiall deeds of the valiant | Princes, Edward Bruce, Sir | James Douglas, Earle Tho- | mas Randel, Walter Stew- | art and sundry others. | Edinbyrgh, | Printed by Andrew Anderson, and are to | be sold at his House, on the north side | of the Cross, Anno Dom. 1670. | 12mo. B.L.

A-O¹², P⁶.

Pp. [3]+4-348. 34 lines.

A¹, title within border. Verso blank. A², The | Actes and Life | of the most victorious | Conquerour Robert Bruce | King of Scotland. | Wherein also are contained the | Martial deeds of the valiant Princes; | Edward Bruce, Sir James Douglas, | Earle Thomas Randell, Walter | Stewart, and sundrie others. | Text begins: Stories to read are delectable. P6b, Text ends: Where alway joy and resting is. Amen. | Here ends the Booke of the Noblest King, | That ever in Scotland yet did ring, | Called King Robert the Bruce, | That was maist worthie of all ruce | And of the Noble good Lord Dowglas | And many ma that with him was. | Finis.

The | Acts | And Life | Of | The most Victorious Conqueror | Robert Bruce, King of | Scotland. | Wherein also are contained the mar- | tial deeds of the valiant Princes, | Edward Bruce, Sir James Dow- | glas, Earl Thomas Randel, Wal- | ter Stewart, and sundry others. | Glasgow, | By Robert Sanders, Printer | to the City and University, and are | to be sold in his Shop, 1672. | 12mo. B.L.

A-M¹², only 11 leaves in N.

Pp. [2]+3-144 (no pp. 145-6), 147-194, 185-302. Last p. should be 310. 45 lines.

 A_1 , title within a border. Verso blank. A_2 , The Acts And Life | of the most victorious Conqueror | Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. | Wherein also are contained the martial deeds of | the valiant Princes, Edward Bruce, Sir James | Dowglas, Earl Thomas Randel, Walter | Stewart, and sundry others. | A_2 -N₁₁b, Text. Begins: Stories to read are delectable. Ends: where alway joy and resting is. Amen. | Here ends the Book of the noblest King, | That ever in Scotland yet did reign, | Called King Robert the Bruce, | That was most worthie of all ruse, | And of the noble good Lord Dowglas, | And many mo that with him was. | Finis.

Freebairn. 1715. See 1758.

- The | Acts | And | Life | Of the most victorious Conqueror | Robert Bruce | King of Scotland. | Wherein also are contained | The martial Deeds of the valiant | Princes Edward Bruce, | Sir James Dowglas, Earl | Thomas Randel, Wal- | ter Stewart, and sundry | others. | To which is added a Glossary, explaining | the difficult Words contained in this Book, | and that of Wallace. | Glasgow, | Printed by Mr. A. Carmichael, and A. Miller. | MDCCXXXVII. | 12 mo.
- The | Life and Acts | Of | The Most Victorious Conqueror |
Robert Bruce, | King of Scotland. | By John Barbour,
Archdeacon of Aberdeen. | Carefully corrected from the
edition printed by Andro Hart in | 1620. | Edinburgh : |
Printed in the Year MDCCLVIII.
4to. B.L.
Modernised. See The Wallace 1758.
- The Bruce; or, the History of Robert I. King of Scotland. Written in Scotish verse By John Barbour. The First Genuine Edition, Published from a MS. dated 1489; With Notes and a Glossary By J. Pinkerton. London: Printed by H. Hughs, for G. Nicol, Bookseller to his Majesty. M.DCC.XC. 3 vols. 8vo.

See Introduction, p. lxxxvi. The transcript from the Edin-

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burgh MS. was done by another, and Pinkerton trusted too much to Lord Buchan's attestation of correctness. Pinkerton was the first to divide the poem into twenty books, with an argument prefixed to each. He uses no chapter headings.

The Bruce; or, the Metrical History of Robert I. King of Scots. By Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Published from a Manuscript dated M.CCCC.LXXXIX. With Notes, and a Memoir of the Life of the Author. By John Jamieson, D.D. Printed at Edinburgh. [James Ballantyne and Co.] 1820. 4to.

The first volume of The Bruce and Wallace. Vol. II. (Wallace) contains a glossary to both poems.

A limited edition. The text, from the Edinburgh MS., is a great improvement upon Pinkerton's. It is divided into fourteen books, for no other reason than that "it did not seem necessary . . . to extend the number of books as far as twenty."

- New Edition. Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Co. 1869. 8vo. "A few trivial, but necessary, alterations in the Notes."
- The Brus From a Collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Manuscripts. [Edited by Cosmo Innes.] Aberdeen : Printed for the Spalding Club. 1856.

"I have endeavoured to seize the scribe's most reasonable, as well as for the most part his most usual method of spelling his words, and to adhere to that uniformly." The "books" of Pinkerton and Jamieson are rejected, and the lines are numbered by "fyttes."

The Bruce; or the Book of the most excellent and noble prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots: compiled by Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, A.D. 1375. Edited from MS. G. 23 in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, Written A.D. 1487; collated with the MS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, Written A.D. 1489, and with Hart's Edition, Printed A.D. 1616; with a preface, notes, and glossarial index, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat,

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Litt.D. London: Early English Text Society. 1870-74-77-89. Reprinted 1896. Two vols. 8vo.

The same. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1894. Two vols. 8vo.

The S.T.S. edition is revised and corrected, and does not indicate the contractions and capital letters of the MSS.

The Bruce. By John Barbour Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Edited From The Best Texts With Literary And Historical Introduction, Notes And Appendices, And A Glossary By W. M. Mackenzie, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.) London: Adam And Charles Black. 1909. 8vo.

II. DISPUTED OR SPURIOUS WORKS.

The E.E.T.S. names the Troy-Book fragments among the "MSS. and old books which need copying or re-editing" for the Extra Series.

Alexander. Edinburgh. Arbuthnot. 1580?* Dickson and Edmond 325-6.

The Buik of the most noble and vail3eand Conquerour Alexander the Great. Edinburgh : Reprinted M.DCCC.XXXI. 4to.

Presented to the Bannatyne Club by William Henry Miller. Text only.

[Horstmann.] Nachträge zu den Legenden. I. Alexius aus Barbour's Legendensammlung. Ms. Cambr. Gg II., 6, fol. 164 b. (Altschottisch). Herrig's Archiv. XXXIII. Jahrgang, 62 Band. 1879.

Altenglische Legenden. Neue Folge. Mit. Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Herausgegeben von C. Horstmann. Heilbronn. Verlag von Gebr. Henninger. 1881. 8vo.

Pp. 397-402.

Pp. 189-208. St. Machor. Line 720 = Metcalfe 710, 1196 = Metcalfe 1005, 1340 = Metcalfe 1150. Pp. lxliii.-lxlv. Prologue. The introduction gives many extracts, especially opening passages of legends.

Barbour's Des Schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung nebst den Fragmenten seines Trojanerkrieges. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben und kritisch bearbeitet von C. Horstmann. Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger. Two vols. 1881-2. 8vo.

Omits St. Machar. The Troybook is in Vol. II.

- Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century. Edited from the Unique Manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index, by W. M. Metcalfe, D.D. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society. 1896. Three vols. 8vo.
- The Legends of SS. Ninian and Machor From an Unique MS. in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Glossary By W. M. Metcalfe, D.D. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1905. 8vo.

Introduction, Text, Notes, Appendices [Lives from Ailred and Colgan], Glossary. "In the following pages I have dealt more freely with the text than I felt myself at liberty to deal with it when editing the whole of the Legendary. My object then was to depart as little as possible from the MS. Here my endeavour has been to give a readable text, but owing to the corrupt state of the MS., in one or two places I have failed."— Preface.

EXTRACTS.

Wyntoun. Chronicle.

Wyntoun's extracts from Books I.-II. of the Bruce are printed by Skeat, Appendix to the Preface.

Sibbald. Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 1-6, Pinkerton, Book XII. vv. 165-334.

Scott. Lord of the Isles. 1815*. Considerable extracts in notes.

Scott. Castle Dangerous. 1831*. Appendix to Introduction. II.

Maetzner. Sprachproben. I. i. 1867.

Pp. 373-87, Jamieson's "Buke Nynte," except the last thirtytwo lines, *i.e.*, Book XII. l. 407 to Book XIII. l. 712, according to Pinkerton's division. "The Scottis men, quhen it wes day . . . As wele as in his tyme did he!"—Text from Jamieson. Notes.

Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867. P. 47, Bk. I. lines 225-40.

Morris and Skeat. Specimens of Early English. Edit. 1872*. In this edition extracts from The Bruce (Book VII. lines 1-230, 400-87), E.E.T.S. text, are substituted for one from Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knyght which appeared in Dr Morris's edition, 1867. Edit. 1889, etc.

Zupitza : Altenglisches Uebungsbuch. 1874.

Pp. 66-9, Book V., ll. 1-122, from Skeat. Also in G. E. Maclean's Old and Middle English Reader. 1893, pp. 107-10.

Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876.

Vol. I. Pp. 6-8, Book XII. lines 165-334 (= Jamieson VIII. 824-993); Book I. lines 225-40. Jamieson's text.

Wülcker. Altenglisches Lesebuch. II. i. 1879.

Pp. 60-9, Book I. ll. 1-444. From Skeat, E.E.T.S. Notes pp. 256-9.

Eyre Todd. Early Scottish Poetry. 1891.

Pp. 73-127. The Brus: I. 1-36, 179-274, 375-444. III. 187-208, 251-272, 299-366, 405-441. IV. 184-218, 308-335, 463-517. V. 1-88. VI. 41-178, 285-332. VII. 231-281.

IX. 536-631, 726-757. X. 259-305. XI. 180-211. XII. 15-60, 445-494. XIII. 112-224, 282-322, 514-546. XVI. 271-292. XX. 149-280. Edinburgh text.

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 13-22. Brus. I. 219-240. XIII. 225-356. XVII. 589-705. Skeat's text.

Selections from Barbour's Bruce. Books I.-X. with the Notes thereto and the Preface and Glossarial Index to the whole Work, as edited by Professor Skeat. Richard Clay and Sons, Limited, Bungay. 1900. 8vo.

Early English Text Society. Edited for the use of London University students.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. New Edition. Vol. I. 1901.

Pp. 176-8. I. 225-40; XI. 374-409 (=Jamieson VIII. 378-413); XII. 25-74 (=J. VIII. 684-733); XII. 87-98 (=J. VIII. 746-57); XII. 476-525 (=J. IX. 70-119); XII. 541-82 (=J. IX. 135-76); XIII. 27-40 (=J. IX. 208-21); XIII. 203-10 (=J. IX. 384-91); XIII. 220-4 (=J. IX. 401-5); XIII. 328-40 (=J. IX. 509-21).

Gregory Smith. Specimens of Middle Scots. 1902. Pp. 246-9. The Bruce I. 1-36, 353-406. Edinburgh MS.

 A Middle English Reader. Edited, with Grammatical Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Oliver Farrar Emerson, A.M., Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co. 1905.

Pp. 166-75, Book VII. lines 1-295 (297 lines). Cambridge text. Pp. 294-6, Notes.

The Bruce. By John Barbour. Selections For Use In Schools.
With An Introduction, A Section On Early Scots Grammar,
Etc., Notes And A Glossary. By W. M. Mackenzie, M.A.
London : Adam And Charles Black. 1909. 8vo.
Books III., XI., XII., and XIII. Il. 1-546.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Short extracts.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. III. 61-145; VIII. 207-353; X. 352-755; XII. 1-86, 207-334; XII. 407-XIII. 224.

TRANSLATION, ETC.

Patrick Gordon. 1615. See below.

The Bruce Being the Metrical History of Robert the Bruce King of Scots. Compiled A.D. 1375. By Master John Barbour Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Translated by George Eyre-Todd. Gowans & Gray Limited. London, Glasgow. 1907. 8vo.

Modern prose.

John Wood. Stories from Barbour's Bruce. E. J. Arnold. 1908.*

A school-book.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

For authorities for life see Skeat's Introduction.

Bower. Scotichronicon. Lib. XII. c. 9. See Introduction, p. xiii.

Wyntoun. Chronicle. See Introduction, p. x.

Blind Harry. The Wallace. Book XI. Lines 1213-5 (Jamieson),

> " Off Brucis buk as now I spek no mar. Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk, He said the Bruce amang his othir werk."

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. 1508. Line 61,

"Holland and Barbour he has berevit."

The Complaint of Scotland. Mentions the Bruce. Ed. Leyden, p. 98.

[The | Famovs | Historie Of | the Renouned and Valiant | Prince Robert surnamed the | Brvce King of Scotlande &. | & of Sundrie Other valiant | knights both Scots | and English. | Enlarged with an addition of the Scot- | tishe Kinges lineallie discended from him to | Charles now Prince, together with a note of | the beginninges of the most parte of the antiët | and famous Nobilitie of Scotland. | A Historye both pleasant and | profitable set forthe and done in heroik | verse by Patrick Gordon | Gentleman. | At Dort | Printed by George Waters | 1615.]

The title is wanting in the British Museum copy. It is given here from a modern copy supplied in it.

"The preface or rather an aduertisment to the Reader . . . but to sett downe all his workes and fortitude of mynd ware to tedious, seing you shal find manie of them in the historie following altho the old printid book besyds the owtworne barborous speiches was so euill composd that I culd bring it to no good method till my loveing freind Donald farchersone (a worthie gentil man whoes name I am not asham'd to expres for that he was a restles suter to me to taik this work in hand) broght me a book of virgine parchement which he hade found amongst the rest of his books it was old & torne almost inlegeable in manie places vanting leaves yet hade it the beginning and hade bein sett doune by a monk in the abey of melros called Peter fenton in the year of god (one thousand thrie hundreth sixtie nyne, which was a year before the death of King Dauid Bruce, it was in old ryme like to Chaucer but vanting in manie parts and in special from the field of Bannochburne fourth It wanted all the rest almost, so that it could not he (sic) gotten to the pres. yet such as I could reid thereof hade manie remarkable taillis worthie to be noted, and al so probable agreing with the trewth of the

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historie as I haue foloued it alsweil as the other theris (sic) onlie two partes seeming fabolous the first is the *Baliols* Visioune which as it is of small consequence & doth no euil, so doth it chek and forbid a base mind to aspire, showing that a mightie & generous sperit onlie ought to be ambitious: the secound is the historie of the Kingis which after I hade fullie accomplisd with the rest of the book, fearing it should be too tedious for the reader I haue taken it out & in the place therof insert thoes princes discended of the *Bruce* nether would I be offenceive for the adding of theis fragments for I know" etc.

Side notes: "The baliol his visione not vnnecessare for the Historie" "The Historie of the Kings precceding the Bruce cheanged for thoes succeeding after him. This Historie not offesiue to anie."

Hume of Godscroft. House of Douglas. 1644. Pp. 30-1. See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

Colville. Whiggs Supplication. 1681. P. 8. See p. 17.

Nicolson. Scottish Historical Library. 1702. Pp. 145-8. Edit. 1776, pp. 40-1.

Sibbald? Catalogues. 1833.

P. 73, "Barber (John)" named. There is no mention of him in the list of Learned Writers of Aberdeen.

Mackenzie. Writers of the Scots Nation. I. 1708.

Pp. 265-97, This so-called life is really a history of the War of Independence, followed by a list of contents of each chapter of The Bruce, with a few sentences on Barbour at the beginning and end, derived from Nicolson.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

Pp. 72-3, "Barber [Johannes] archidiaconus Aberdonensis. Salvus conductus pro eo de veniendo in Angliam studendi causa in universitate Oxon. MCCCLVII extat apud Rymer, *Foeder*. VI. 31. Et A. MCCCLXV. Ibid. 478. Scripsit rhythmis Scoticanis Historiam Roberti Brucei, regis Scotorum. Pr. "Stories to read are delectable." Glasgow MDCLXXII. I 2mo. Quapropter habuit pensionem, durante vita, ex scaccario regio, quam dedit hospitali ibidem. Claruit tempore regis Davidis Brusii. Ms. Hatton. Script. Scotic."

Warton. English Poetry. I. 1774.

Pp. 318-21. Hazlitt's edition, Vol. II. Pp. 285-8; also pp. 129-30, note on Troybooks.

Hailes. Annals. II. 1779. P. 3 n., "Some particulars concerning the author."

Henry. History of Great Britain. Vol. IV. 1781.

Pp. 471-2, 520-2, Life; Barbour not inferior to Chaucer in beauty of style.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. A List of the Scotish Poets. Pp. lxxix.-lxxxiv., Life; editions. See also p. xvii. for popularity.

Pinkerton. The Bruce. 1790.

Preface, pp. x., xv. ff., Pinkerton "prefers it to the early exertions of even the Italian muse, to the melancholy sublimity of Dante, and the amorous quaintness of Petrarca." "Here indeed the reader will find few of the graces of fine poetry, little of the Attic dress of the muse : but here are life, and spirit, and ease, and plain sense, and pictures of real manners, and perpetual incident, and entertainment." Pinkerton supplements his previous notice of Barbour's life with passages from Wyntoun on the Brut (pp. xvii. ff.).

Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop. 1898.

P. 294. Letter from Burns, 1790. See under Harry.

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. III. 1797. Pp. 287-90. Campbell. Scottish Poetry. 1798.

P. 53. A mere note. "A work of great merit indeed."

Leyden. Complaint. 1801.

Pp. 224-5, Popularity of Barbour and Harry.

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801.

Vol. I. Pp. 225-45, A discussion of the origin of Scots, and some account of The Bruce with quotations from Pinkerton and modernised extracts from the poem.

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. I. Pp. 253-68.

Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806.

Vol. I. P. 135, A few words only. "A better poet" than Robert of Gloucester or Robert of Brunne.

Weber. Metrical Romances. 1810.

Vol. I. Pp. xxxi., lxxiii.-lxxxvii., A sketch of Alexander "made some years ago by a friend, [*i.e.*,¹ Scott] without any view of its being published."

- History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert I. sirnamed the Bruce. By Robert Kerr, F.R.S. & F.A.S. Ed. In Two Vols. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech . . . 1811.Vol. I. Pp. xi.-xiii.
- Dyer. Poetics. 1812. See p. 25.

Scott. Lord of the Isles. 1815*. Notes.

Nott. Works of Surrey and Wyatt. 1815.

Volume I. Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century. Pp. cxc.-cxci., "A fine example of the simple energetic style, which resembled Chaucer's best manner, and wanted little to make it the genuine language of Poetry."

¹ Laing. Adversaria, 2.

Jamieson. The Bruce. 1820.

Pp. i.-xv., An excellent exhibition and discussion of the authorities and later notices. Pp. xv.-xxii., Ramsay, the MS., editions, title, other poems on Bruce. See also Jamieson's Wallace, p. ix.

H.S. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1821.

Vol. I. Pp. 40-5. "In clearness and simplicity it must rank far before either Gower or Chaucer." The writer is unaware of Jamieson's edition. He follows Pinkerton for biography. Notes signed A. S.

Tytler. History of Scotland. Vol. II. 1829. Pp. 358-9.

Irving. Encyclopædia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. IV. [1831.]

PP. 367-9, Life. Pp. 369-71, Criticism. Eighth edition. Vol. I. 1854. Pp. 432-6. Partly founded on work of 1804: that of 1861 is in turn very largely founded on this.

Tytler. Scottish Worthies. 1832. Vol. II. Pp. 158-72.

Robert Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835. Vol. I. Pp. 120-6, Life, and quotations from critics.

Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen. By James Bruce. Aberdeen: L. Smith; D. Wyllie & Son; S. Maclean; W. Collie; W. Russel; W. Laurie; and J. Strachan. Edinburgh: William Tait; Glasgow: David Robertson; London: Smith Elder & Co. 1841. 12mo.
Pp. 1-7, Biographical. Pp. 7-21, Bibliographical and critical. This work is not original, but it is well done and useful.

Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung nebst geschichtlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen, sowie der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes und umfassenden Auszügen aus den lateinischen, französischen, englischen, persischen, und türkischen Alexanderliedern, von Dr. Heinrich Weismann. Zweiter Band. Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes nebst den Auszügen. Frankfurt am Main. Literarische Anstalt. (J. Rütten.) 1850. 8vo.

Pp. 485-9, Summary of the Scottish Alexander-Book.

Wright. History of Scotland. 1852.

Vol. I. P. 288, "Mere prose, written in measure, and with rhymes." The other edition quotes Warton's praise as "no more than just."

Cosmo Innes. The Bruce. 1856. Preface. (Life; language; criticism).

Craik. English Literature and Language. 1861.

Vol. I. Pp. 317-31. The first few pages are not exclusively devoted to Barbour.

Irving. Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 95-109, Founded on article in Encyclopaedia Britannica.

J. F. Campbell. Popular Tales of the West Highlands. Vol. IV. 1862.
Pp. 49-51, Anti-Keltic feeling.

Morley. English Writers. I. (Before Chaucer). 1864. Pp. 767-9.

On Two Hitherto Unknown Poems by John Barbour, Author of the Brus. Communicated by Henry Bradshaw. Cambridge Antiquarian Communications: being Papers Presented at the Meetings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Vol. III. 1864-1876. Cambridge. 1879.

Pp. 111-7. Read 30 April 1866. Also in Bradshaw's Collected Papers, ed. Prothero, 1888. Laing. Adversaria. 1867.

Pp. 1-10, Scott, Jamieson, and Laing, on Alexander and its relation to Barbour: description of the old edition.

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Pp. 371-3, A good estimate of Barbour's characteristics and position.

Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xiii.-xvi.

Panton. Destruction of Troy. 1874. Preface (dated 1872). Pp. x.-xiii., Discovery of the Barbour Troybook.

Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 85-9. Edit. 1885, pp. 65-8.

Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Vol. I. Pp. 4-6. Unimportant.

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Mackintosh : Civilisation. Vol. I. 1878. Pp. 518-21.

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Einleitung. Pp. lxxxix.-cix., Die schottische Legendensammlung (Barbour's). A description of the MS., its contents, and sources, and the case for Barbour's authorship. Parallels between the life and character of Barbour and of the author of the Legends (pp. cvi.-cix.)

Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881. Pp. 267-8. Horstmann. Legendensammlung. 1881-2.

Vol. I. Pp. 111.-x., Vol. II. Pp. 305-7, Sources, MSS., dialect, etc. of the Legends. Vol. II. Pp. 217, 228-9, Troybook.

- Schipper. Dunbar. 1884. Pp. 14-8.
- Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 48-58.
- Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. III. 1885. Pp. 153-6.
- Darstellung der Flexionslehre in John Barbour's Bruce. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Altschottischen von Dr. Fr. H. Henschel. Leipzig: Gustav Fock. 1886. 8vo.

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IV. Einfluss Barbours. V. Grammatik. VI. Dialekt und Orthographie. VII. Metrik. VIII. Anhang: Bemerkungen zum Text.

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- H. Bergen. Description and Genealogy of the Manuscripts and Prints of Lydgate's "Troy Book." Diss. München. 1906*.
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Mackenzie. The Bruce. 1909.

Pp. v. - xxiii., 496-547, Bibliography, literary criticism, biography, historic value and special points, Alexander. Mr. Brown's 'Sources' for The Bruce, language, glossary. Pp. 378-495, Notes.

Mackenzie. The Bruce. Selections for Use in Schools. 1909. Pp. ix.-xiii., Life. Pp. xiii.-xx., Language. Pp. 73-130, Notes, Appendices (historical), Glossary.

Neilson. Blind Harry's Wallace. English Association. 1910. Harry's indebtedness to Barbour is proved.

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ANDREW OF WYNTOUN.

References to the text are to Laing's edition, unless otherwise stated. Selden was acquainted with the Cottonian MS. of Wyntoun's Chronicle, but not with the author's name. The same MS. was quoted (1722) for the story of Pope Joan by Hearne, who apparently was also ignorant of its authorship. The name of Wyntoun was brought to public notice by Nicolson in 1702. Mackenzie, 1708, gives an account of one of the Edinburgh MSS. Ruddiman in his preface to Buchanan's works, 1715, calls him "Scriptor neutiquam spernendus, quippe qui res sua aetate & paullo superius gestas multo aliis fusius & accuratius pertractet" (I. xv.). Other early eighteenth century notices are those of Innes and Tanner.

Pinkerton intended to publish an edition of Wyntoun. He mentions "a MS. in the editor's possession, compared with three old ones, and prepared for the press by Robert Seton ¹ 1724" (Bruce I. xix. See also Correspondence I. 248). In 1786 (List of Scotish Poets) he offered to publish Wyntoun in part, for, as he said later (Bruce I. xxiii.), "Tho' Winton's work will not bear a total publication, it would be worth while to publish this latter part, from David II. till 1414." He seems for a time to have entertained the notion of a complete edition in four volumes 8vo. He proposed to use the Royal MS., as it would be cheating the subscribers to give them Seton's inferior text (Correspondence I. 248). In 1795 Macpherson in a letter to George Chalmers said, "Previous to this I had entertained some thoughts of publishing Wyntoun, ever since Pinkerton

¹ Died 1731.

declared his resolution of not doing it; but had not begun to set about it seriously till I was applied to by Dr. Lorimer, who told me he had promised to secure forty subscribers to Pinkerton, and he should employ his services in the same manner for my edition, if I would in good earnest engage in it" (Laing ed. Wyntoun, App. III. to Pref., Vol. III. xl.-xli.)

EDITIONS.

De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, be Androw of Wyntown, Priowr of Sanct Serfis Ynche in Loch Levyn. Now first published, with Notes, a Glossary, &c. by David Macpherson. London: Printed by T. Bensley. M.DCC.XCV. Two vols. 8vo.

From Royal MS., with additions and corrections from Cotton, Harleian, and those in the Advocates' Library. Those portions of the first five books which do not relate to British history are omitted.

The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland. By Androw of Wyntoun. Edited by David Laing. In Three Volumes. Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas. 1872-9. 8vo.

Part of "The Historians of Scotland" series.

"A republication of Macpherson's edition, revised and enlarged, wherever it seemed to be required." The suppressed portions are added. Laing supplies additional notes, notices of Wyntoun and the MSS., and a biographical notice of Macpherson. Side-notes and extracts from Wemyss MS., and additional various readings from MSS. not used by Macpherson.

The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun. Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS., with the Variants of the Other Texts. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by F. J. Amours. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1903-4-6-7-8. 8vo. Vol. II., Books I.-III.; Vol. III., IV.-V. (ch. 12); Vol. IV., V. (ch. 13)-VII. (ch. 7); Vol. V., VII. (ch. 8)-VIII. (ch. 24); Vol. VI., VIII. (ch. 25)-IX. Facsimiles. Prefatory Note.

EXTRACTS.

Selden. Judicium de Decem Scriptoribus Anglicanis. 1653*.
Ed. 1726 (Works, 6 vols. in 3), Vol. II. tom. II. columns 1141-3, Book VI. c. x. lines 719-26, Laing (=715-22, S.T.S., Cotton); Book VII. c. 1x. lines 2641-708, Laing. From the Cottonian MS.

Thomas Hearne. Fordun. 1722.

Vol. V. Appendix. Pp. 1568-9, Book VI. 465-502. Cottonian text.

Innes. Critical Essay. 1729.

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Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

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No. 7, The Duik of Orlyance in Defence of the Scots. From the Maitland MS. This corresponds to Laing, Book IX. lines 1445-514 with some omissions and differences, and with 10 additional lines at the end. Edit. Small, 1885, pp. 196-7; Hazlitt, 1895, Vol. I. pp. 304-6.

 Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace, His Life and Times. [Edited by Joseph Stevenson.] Printed for the Maitland Club. 1841. 4to. Pp. 131-40, Book VIII. lines 2011-194, 2221-306. From Macpherson, collated with Lansdowne MS.
Wright and Halliwell. Reliquiae Antiquae. Vol. II. 1843. P. 162, Book VI. lines 465-502. From Cotton Nero D xi. fol. 95.
 Wülcker. Altenglisches Lesebuch. II. i. 1879. Pp. 69-73, Book VI. lines 1843-958, 2189-252, and Latin following. From MS. Royal 17 D. xx. Notes, pp. 259-60.
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Hume Brown. Scotland Before 1700. 1893. Pp. 16-8, Book I. lines 1335-414.
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BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.
Wyntoun, Chronicle

I. Prologue; IX. Prologue.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. Stanza XIV.

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Nicolson. Scottish Historical Library. 1702.

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Ruddiman. Buchanani Opera Onmia. 1715. Tom. I. Praefatio. P. xv. See p. 86.

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P. 41, "Andreas de Wintown, natione Scotus, canonicus S. Andreae. Scripsit (mandato dom. Johannis de Weemse) *Historiam ab orbe condito ad A.D.* MCCCCXX. lib. ix. "As men ar be yare qualyteys"; rhythmis Scoticis; posteriores v vel vi libri multa continent ad historiam Scotiae pertinentia et luce digna. MS. in bib. reg. Westmon. 17. D. xx.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786. Vol. I. List. Pp. lxxxiv.-lxxxviii. Not all about Wyntoun.

Pinkerton's Correspondence. 1830.

Vol. I. P. 94, Thomas Astle to Pinkerton, Nov. 4, 1785. Proposes the publication of extracts from the last two books. P. 105, Hailes, Dec. 2, 1785. Wyntoun "very incorrect and ill-informed." P. 163, Pinkerton to Lord Buchan, Sept. 20, 1787. "Winton's Chronicle, my lord, I have a fine manuscript of; but, upon a diligent perusal of that ocean of Scotish Poetry, I find it a crude history of the whole world, and which would not bear printing; as it would not, if printed, bear reading. But extracts of all worth preserving I may publish in time."

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Campbell. Scottish Poetry. 1798.

P. 53, "Remarkable good and harmonious verse, considering the time he wrote." "He certainly was worthy of more enlightened times; and may be deemed a great improver of the art of poetry, as it then stood in the fifteenth century."

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801. Vol. I. Pp. 246-61.

Irving. Lives of Scotish Poets. 1804. Pp. 275-83.

Dyer. Poetics. 1812. See under General Works, Dyer's Poems. 1801.

E. M. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1821. Vol. I. Pp. 46-53, A diffuse notice, largely made up of quotations.

- Tytler. Worthies. II. 1832. Pp. 173-87.
- Stevenson. Wallace Papers. Maitland Club. 1841. P. 140, Note on Lansdowne MS.
- Irving. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. XXI. 1842.
 Pp. 903-4. Abridged from the Lives. 1804.

James Bruce. Eminent Men of Fife. 1846.

Pp. 98-109, A well-written popular account, approximating to the nature of a review of Macpherson. Short notice of St. Andrews MS. Anonymous. Andrew Wyntoun, the Chronicler. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal. Vol. IX. 1848. Pp. 217-9.

Irving. Scotish Poetry. 1861.

Pp. 112-22. Founded on the notice in the same author's Lives of Scotish Poets and his Britannica article.

Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. I. 1878. Pp. 522-3.

Laing. Wyntoun. Vol. III. 1879.

Appendix I. to Preface. Pp. xi.-xvii., Notice of the Author and his Work. Appendix II. Pp. xvii.-xxxv., Notices of the Various Known Manuscripts of the Cronykil.

Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881.

Schipper. Dunbar. 1884. Pp. 18-20.

Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 104-5.

Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 101-2.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 184-5.

Hahn. Verbal- and Nominal-Flexion. II.-III. 1888-9.

Morley. English Writers. Vol. VI. 1890. Pp. 48-56, Mainly a summary of the Chronicle.

Eyre-Todd. Early Scottish Poetry. 1891. Pp. 131-142.

Kaye. Leading Poets. 1892.

Pp. 312-3. Short and unimportant article by the editor, accompanying a short extract.

W. A. Craigie. Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*. Scottish Review. Vol. XXX. 1897.

Pp. 33-54, A study of the relations of the MSS. Innes's opinion, followed by Macpherson and Laing, that the Royal represents the author's last corrected version, is combated. The order of the various versions (not MSS.) is shown to be Wemyss, Royal, Cottonian.

- W. A. Craigie. The St. Andrews MS. of Wyntoun's Chronicle. Anglia XX., N.F. VIII. 1898.Pp. 363-80.
- Henderson. Scottish Literature. 1898. Pp. 56-62.
- R. H. Hundall. A Presentation of the Grammatical Inflexions in Androw of Wyntoun's Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland. Diss. Leipzig. 1898*.
- Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol.
 LXIII. 1900.
 Pp. 266-7.
- C. Christian. Die Quellen des allgemeinen Teils von Andrew of Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, und das Verhältnis des Chronisten zu seinen Vorlagen. Diss. Halle. 1900*.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. Vol. I. 1901. Pp. 181-2.

Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 20-2. Amours. Wyntoun. Vol. II. 1903. Pp. v.-xi., Prefatory Note (bibliographical).

Palaestra XXXIX. Die Sage von Macbeth bis zu Shakspere. Von Ernst Kröger. Berlin. Mayer & Müller. 1904. 8vo.
II. Teil. II. Kapitel. Pp. 50-90, Näheres über Wintouns Leben und Schaffen; Seine Darstellung; Rückblick und Sagenvergleichung.

Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 50-4.

Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. P. 269. Very short.

Giles. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 129-32.

Maxwell. Early Chronicles. 1912. Pp. 253-61.

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JAMES I.

EDITIONS.

For an account of the editions of The Kingis Quair see the Introduction to Prof. Skeat's edition (Scottish Text Society).

Sen throu vertew appeared in the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, for the editions of which (not included in this bibliography) see Prof. Mitchell's edition (Scottish Text Society).

Peblis to the Play and Christis Kirk are included, as they have generally been discussed in connection with James I., whatever may be the ultimate opinion as to their authorship.

KQ. = Kingis Quair.

PP. = Peblis to the Play.

CK. = Christis Kirk on the Green.

A merrie Ballad, | Called, Christs Kirk on the Green. | [1643.] S. Sh.

Printed on one side, in four columns. Col. 1, Title. Text begins: Was never in *Scotland* heard nor seen. 23 stanzas. Bottom of Col. 4: Imprinted for | Patrick Wilson, | Upon the Malt-Mercat. | Anno 1643. |

A Ballad of a Countrey VVedding, | By King James the Fifth of Scotland. | [1660?] S. Sh.

Printed in two columns, separated by a broad ornament. Title across the top of both. "May 9 1660" is written at the bottom of the second column (British Museum). Text begins: Wa's ner'e in *Scotland* heard nor seen. 23 stanzas. The text is more corrupt than that of 1643, but often retains more of the Scottish dialect. There are some curious side-glosses, *e.g.*, Rude: "The apples of the Chek"; ruggs were laid on riggs: "Poles were beeten to the ground"; dods: "Fathers"; paiks: "Javelins."

Christ's Kirk. 1663*.

See Hazlitt's Warton, III. 245. "The earliest edition that has hitherto been traced was printed in the year 1663. There are other two impressions without date, which seem to have followed within twenty or thirty years." Irving, Scotish Poetry, 142.

- Polemo-middinia inter Vitarvam et Nibernam . . . Accedit . . . Christ's Kirk on the Green. Edinburgh. 1684*. 4to. Ed. Bib. Soc. Hand-List, no. 2468.
- Polemo-Middinia. | Carmen Macaronicum. | Autore | Gulielmo Drummundo, | Scoto-Britanno. | Accedit | Jacobi id nominis Quinti, | Regis Scotorum, | Cantilena Rustica | Vulgo Inscripta | Christs Kirk on the Green. | Recensuit, Notisque illustravit | E[dmundus]. G[ibson]. | Oxonii, | E. Theatro Sheldoniano | Anno Dom. 1691. | 4to.

a1, Title. a2-b2 verso, Preface, dated Kalendis Januariis | An. MDCXCI. Pp. 1-10 (Signs. A1-B1 verso), Polemo-Middinia, with etymological footnotes. Pp. 11-22 (B2-C3 verso), Christs Kirk | on the Greene. | Composed | (As is supposed) by King James the Fifth. | B.L. Etymological footnotes, with quotations from Chaucer and Douglas. Text modernised.

Watson's Choice Collection. Part I. 1706.

Pp. 1-7, "Christ's Kirk on the Green. Composed (as was supposed) by King James the Fifth." Modernised. Second edition 1713, substitutes "First" for "Fifth."

Allan Ramsay. Christ's Kirk. 1716*.

Christ's-Kirk | On The | Green, | In Three | Cantos. | Κουσιδερ ιτ 8αριλι ριδ αφτυηρ θαν ενις, | 8ιλ ατ εν βλινκ σλι ποετρι νοτ τεν ις. | Γ. Δδγλας. | Edinburgh, | Printed for the Author, at the *Mercury*, op- | posite to *Niddry's*-Wynd, M.DCC.XVIII. | 8vo.

Ramsay's second edition. Pp. [3]-[4], Advertisement. Pp. 5-13, Christ's-Kirk | On The | Green. | Canto I. | By King James I. | Pp. 14-22, 23-31, Cantos II. and III., by Ramsay. P. [32], Index [of persons in all three cantos]. "This Edition of the first Canto, is copied from an old Manuscript Collection of Scots Poems wrot an hundred and fifty years ago; where it is found to be done by King James I. Besides its being more correct the VIIIth stanza was not in print before; the last but one, of the late Edition, being none of the King's gives place to this." — Advertisement. The first statement is inexact. The texts printed by Ramsay before 1724 (Evergreen) are not of the Bannatyne type. Two additional stanzas are included.

Christ's-Kirk | On The | Green, | In Three | Cantos. | Κονσίδερ ἰτ Ἐαριλι ρίδ ἀφτνήρ θὰν ἕνις, | ἑίλ ἀτ ἐν βλίνκ σλὶ πόετρι νὸτ τέν ἰς. | Γ. Δ8γλας. | Edinburgh:
| Printed for the Author at the Mercu- | ry, opposite to Niddry's-Wynd, 1720. | 8vo.

Ramsay. Text as in 1718. 2pp. Advertisement, nearly as in 1718. Pp. 93-101, Canto I. Pp. 102-10, 111-9, II. and III. P. [120] Index.

Poems by Allan Ramsay. Edinburgh : Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author. Vol. I. 1721. 4to.

Pp. 93-105, CK. Footnotes. Modernised text. Pp. 106-131, Ramsay's additional cantos. The poem is preceded by the Greek-letter motto from Gawin Douglas.

Footnote, p. 92, "This Edition of the first *Canto* is taken from an old Manuscript Collection of *Scots Poems* written 150 Years ago, where it is found that *James*, the first of that Name, King of *Scots*, was the Author; thought to be wrote while that brave and learned Prince was unfortunately kept Prisoner in *England* by *Henry* VI. about the Year 1412." &c.

Christ's Kirk | On The | Green, | In Three | Cantos. | $Kov\sigma i\delta\epsilon\rho$ $i\tau \quad \delta a\rho i\lambda \iota \rho i\delta \quad a\phi \tau \nu \eta\rho \quad \theta a\nu \quad \epsilon \nu \iota s, \quad | \quad \delta i\lambda \quad a\tau \quad \epsilon \nu \quad \beta \lambda i\nu\kappa$ $\sigma\lambda i \quad \pi \delta\epsilon \tau \rho \iota \nu \delta\tau \quad \tau \epsilon \nu \quad i s. \quad | \quad \Gamma. \quad \Delta \delta\gamma \lambda a s. \quad | \text{ The Fifth Edition. } |$ Edinburgh : | Printed for the Author at the *Mercu-* | *ry*, opposite to the Cross-Well, 1722 | $\delta vo.$

This forms part of Poems By Allan Ramsay. . . . The Third Edition. Edinbvrgh: Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for, and sold by the Author . . . M.DCC.XXIII. The parts have separate title-pages with dates from 1721 to 1723, and CK. occurs separately; but the pagination and signatures run on. This edition resembles that of 1720 in introduction, text, and pagination.

Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. I. Pp. 1-14, Chrysts-Kirk of the Grene. "Finis quod King James I." "We strictly observe the old Orthography," but "we have endeavour'd to fix the Orthography to the most frequent Manner."

Poems in the Scottish Dialect. 1748.

Pp. 1-7, CK. Modernised. Follows Watson, but not exactly.

Christ's Kirk on the Green; | In Two Canto's Canto the First, by King James the Fifth. | S. Sh., n.p. n.d.

Text, in three columns, follows Watson. On second page (also in three columns): Canto II. by Allan Ramsey. | Consider it werly, Read oftner than anys, | Wiel at an Blenk sle Poetry not Tane is. G. Douglas.

Brit. Mus. Roxburghe Ballads, Vol. III. pp. 706-7. Dated in Catalogue 1750?

Ramsay. Christ's Kirk on the Green, and a Collection of other Humorous Poems in the Scottish Dialect. 1763*. 12mo. Wm. Brown, Edinburgh, Catalogue 158, 1905. Christ's Kirk on the Green, in Three Canto's. The first canto by King James the First; the other two by Allan Ramsay. Glasgow: Printed in the year M.DCC.LXVIII.

8vo.

Modernised. Notes by Ramsay.

- Warton. English Poetry. II. 1778. See under Biography, etc.
- Two Ancient Scottish Poems; The Gaberlunzie-Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green. With Notes and Observations. By John Callander, Esq. of Craigforth. Edinburgh: Printed by J. Robertson. Sold by J. Balfour, W. Creech, and C. Elliot, Edinburgh; Dunlop and Wilson, Glasgow; Angus and Son, Aberdeen; W. Anderson, Stirling; and A. Donaldson, London. M,DCC,LXXX11. 8vo.

Both poems are buried in notes, chiefly etymological. The text of Christ's Kirk is founded on Ramsay's. "Mr Ramsay has certainly departed very often from the orthography of Bannatyne's M.S. As I have no opportunity to consult that book, I have given such readings as appear to me most consonant to the phraseology of the sixteenth century." The two stanzas not in the Evergreen are supplied from Gibson.

Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland. [Edited

by William Tytler.] Edinburgh : Printed for J. and E. Balfour. 1783. 8vo.

Pp. 55-162, The King's Quair. "From a very accurate copy" made by "an ingenious young gentleman, a student of Oxford," whom Tytler set to discover the MS. The editor divides the poem into six cantos. Pp. 165-188, Christis Kirk of the Grene, from Bannatyne. One of the additional stanzas in Gibson is admitted into the text in a Scotticised form: the other two are printed in the notes as spurious. Footnotes. Dissertations on the Life and Writings of James I. and on Scottish Music. Pinkerton. Select Scotish Ballads. 1783.

Vol. II. Pp. 1-14, Peblis to the Play. This was the first publication. Pinkerton was indebted for it to Dr. Percy. Some corrections from the MS. are given in Ancient Scotish Poems, 1786, ii. 452. Pp. 15-27, Christ's Kirk professedly from Callendar, but full of divergencies.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. II. Pp. 214-8, Sen that. Pp. 444-9, Christis Kirk on the Grene from the Maitland folio MS., with some notes.

The Works of James I, King of Scotland. Containing the King's Quair, Christis Kirk of the Grene, and Peblis to the Play. Consider it warilie, rede aftiner than anis Weil at ane blink slie poetry not tane is. Gavin Douglass. Perth: Printed by R. Morison, Junior, for R. Morison and Son, Booksellers; and sold by G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, London. 1786. 12mo.

Pp. i.-iv., Introduction. Pp. 1-73, KQ Pp. 75-80, Notes on KQ. "principally extracted (by permission)" from Tytler. Pp. 83-4, Introduction. Pp. 85-96, CK. from Tytler. Pp. 98-9, Introduction. Pp. 100-12, PP. The volume contains also "Two Ancient Scotish Poems, commonly ascribed to King James V." (The Gaberlunzie-Man and The Jolly Beggar), with Introduction. This edition is, in text notes and introductions, an adaptation of Tytler's, with the addition of PP. and the "Two Ancient Scotish Poems."

Christ's Kirk | On The | Green. | In Three Cantos. | Containing | A very humorous Description of a | Country Wedding, with a Squabble | that ensued: also, how a Peace was | made up, and a' things 'greed again. | Written by King James the First, when con- | fined a Prisoner in England. | Glasgow, | Printed In The Saltmarket, | MDCCXCIV. |

Pp. 2 (verso of T. P.)-9, Canto I. Pp. 10-7, Canto II. Pp. 17-24, Canto III. There are footnotes, founded partly upon Ramsay's Introduction.

Christ's Kirk on the Green; in Three Cantos. Glasgow. 1796*.

Beveridge, Bibliography of Dunfermline, p. 181.

- Christ's Kirk on the Green. Glasgow. 1799.* Copy in possession of Mr J. A. Fairley.
- The Poems of Allan Ramsay. A New Edition, Corrected, and Enlarged; with a Glossary. To which are prefixed, A Life of the Author, from Authentic Documents [By George Chalmers]: and Remarks on his Poems, from a Large View of their Merits [By A. F. Tytler]. In Two Volumes. London: Printed by A. Strahan, Printers Street, for T. Cadell Junr. and W. Davies, Strand. 1800. 8vo. Pp. 239-58, CK. from Tytler 1783, with his notes. Motto

in incorrect form. Ramsay's cantos follow.

Carminum Rariorum Macaronicorum Delectus. 1801. Modernised text. See under Translations, &c.

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801.

Vol. I. Pp. 299-305, KQ., stanzas 29-31, 33-5, 40-4, 46-50. Modernised.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 14-54, KQ. Omits stanzas 1-19, 116-20, 182-6, 188-93, 195-6. "This is the first *corrected* copy." It scarcely differs from Tytler's. Skeat points out that some of Tytler's errors are corrected and some new errors introduced. Pp. 55-9, "Yas! Sen the eyne" from Pinkerton. Pp. 129-137, PP. from Pinkerton with Pinkerton's corrections (1786). Vol. II. Pp. 359-66, CK., 356-9, 366-71 notes. "No small pains have been taken to give here a correct edition of this celebrated poem."

[Christ's Kirk on the Green.] Stirling: Printed and sold by C. Randall. n.d. *

Copy in possession of Mr J. A. Fairley. Not later than 1812.



The King's Quair, A Poem: By James the First, King of Scots. With Explanatory Notes, a Glossary, &c. By Ebenezer Thomson, Teacher of Greek and Latin in the Air Academy. Air: Printed by Wilson & Paul. Sold by Archibald Constable & Co. & Adam Dickinson & Co. Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London. 1815. 4to.

Introduction, Text, Notes, and Glossary. Canto-divisions as in Tytler, whose text is followed.

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. Pp. 73-6, KQ., stanzas 29-31, 33-34, 40, 46, 48-50. Modernised.

Christ's Kirk | On The | Green : | In Three Cantos. | Containing, | A very humorous Description of a | Country Wedding, | with a Squabble that ensued : | Also, | how a Peace was made up, and a' | things 'gree'd again. | Written by King James the First, when confined | a Prisoner in England. | Stirling, Printed and Sold by M. Randall. | [1820?]

Pp. 2 (verso of T. P.)-9, Canto I. Pp. 9-17, 17-24, II. and III. Cut on title-page, three men sitting round a table with pipes and punch. Dated 1820? in Brit. Mus. Cat.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821.

Pp. 1-11, PP. (James I.) Pp. 26-34, CK. (James V.) Both from Maitland.

Christ's Kirk On The Green, In Three Cantos. Containing, A very humorous Description of a Country Wedding with a Squabble that ensued—Also, how a Peace was made up, and a' things 'greed again. Written by King James the First, when confined a Prisoner in England. Falkirk: Printed And Sold By T. Johnston. 1821.

In the introductory note to the first canto, Ramsay's "an hundred and fifty years ago" has become "380 years ago."

I02

Beauties of Scottish Poets. 1823.

Pp. 5-12, CK., apparently from Tytler. Pp. 15-23, PP.

The King's Quair, A Poem, by James, King of Scots; Collated with An Original Manuscript, and Illustrated from Authentic Sources. With an Introduction, containing particular notices of the poem, its composition, preservation, &c. collators of MSS., editors of "Poetical Remains," &c. By Ebenezer Thomson, of Ayr Academy. Second Edition Ayr: Printed for M'Cormick & Carnie; Oliver & Boyd, W. Blackwood, and Constable & Co. Edinburgh; and Harding, Mavor & Lepard, (Lackington's) London. 1824. 4to.

Introduction, Text, Notes, & Glossary.

"When the greater part of this work was printed off, the Editor had no means, either personally or by proxy, of obtaining a Collation of the only Manuscript that is known to exist. It was not, indeed, till he had nearly completed the undertaking, that he began to suspect that the copy from which Mr. Tytler printed, was not so accurate as had been believed. . . . At last, in August, 1823, the long desired opportunity arrived, but unexpectedly, and without the necessary arrangements for a leisurely and complete revision. From the notes then taken upon a rapid inspection of the MS., a number of corrections have been introduced in the last nine pages of the Notes, in the Glossary, and subjoined Errata." P. 96.

Chalmers. Poetic Remains. 1824.

Pp. 23-103, KQ. modernised, with Tytler's notes. Pp. 107-17, PP. modernised. Notes. Pp. 136-77, CK. modernised. Notes. The dishonesty and worthlessness of Chalmers's KQ. are exposed by Irving, Scotish Poetry, p. 135, and Skeat, Kingis Quair, pp. xlviii.-l.

The Works of James the First, King of Scotland, to which is prefixed, A Historical and Critical Dissertation on his Life and Writings. Also, Some brief remarks on the intimate connexion of the Scots Language with the other Northern Dialects. And A Dissertation on Scottish Music; The whole accompanied with notes, historical, critical and explanatory. Sweet bard! to Scotia dear, thy laws . . . Glasgow: Printed by W. Lang. Sold by Brash and Co. Reid and Henderson, T. Ogilvie, and M'Leod & Morris, Glasgow. A. Constable & Co. and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. 1825. 12mo.

A reprint of Tytler, with the addition of PP. (text and introduction) and a preface.

[Title as above.] Perth: Printed by Crerar and Son. n.d. 12mo.

The same in all other respects as the Glasgow edition of 1825. London Library.

Chambers. Miscellany of Popular Scottish Poems. 1841. Pp. 5-7, PP. Modernised.

Paterson. James the Fifth. 1861. Pp. 141-53, CK. partly modernised.

Ratis Raving, and Other Moral and Religious Pieces, in Prose and Verse. Edited from the Cambridge University MS.
KK. 1. 5, by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A. London: Published for the Early English Text Society, by Trübner & Co. 1870.

Pp. 10-1, Sen trew Vertew, from the MS., the second stanza supplied from the 1621 edition of the Gude and Godlie Ballates. Notes, pp. 118-9, including the text of 1578, repr. 1868 (Laing).

Burns, Ramsay and the Earlier Poets of Scotland. To which is added Ancient Ballads and Songs. Edited with notes critical and biographical, by Allan Cunningham and Charles Mackay LL.D. Illustrated by steel engravings. Vol. I. Ramsay and the Earlier Poets of Scotland. London: Virtue & Co. n.d. 4to.

Pp. 55-9, CK. from Tytler, followed by Ramsay's Cantos.

Skeat. Specimens of English Literature. 1871.

Pp. 42-7, KQ., stanzas 152-173. From the MS. Introductory note p. 41. Notes pp. 380-5.

The Poetical Remains of King James I. of Scotland. With a Memoir and an Introduction to the Poetry. By the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., Historiographer to the Royal Historical Society. Edinburgh: Printed for the Editor. 1873. 8vo.

150 copies printed. Memoir, Introduction, Text of KQ., Sen that the eyne, PP., CK., Sen throw vertew, with foot notes. "In the present work, the versions of Chalmers and Tytler [KQ.] have been collated so as to form a text suitable to the period." PP. modernised. CK. apparently from collation of Chalmers with others.

Murdoch. The Bannatyne MS. Part II. 1874.

Pp. 282-8, Christ's Kirk. "*Finis quod* King James the first." Pp. 159-60, Sen throw.

J. G. Wilson. Poets and Poetry of Scotland. 1876.

Half-vol. I. Pp. 15-8. CK., Sen throw vertew, and part of KQ.

The King's Quair: A Poem. By James the First, King of Scots. John Thomson, Glasgow. 1877. 8vo.

"May be considered a reprint" of Ebenezer Thomson, with the corrections in the notes of his second edition incorporated in the text. Short introductory note, text, glossarial foot-notes, and Additional Glossary.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 73-99, KQ. "the text thoroughly revised but verbally unaltered." Pp. 99-103, PP. Pp. 103-7, CK. All partly modernised. Explanatory footnotes.

Ward. English Poets. I. 1880.

Pp. 132-6, KQ. Stanzas 30-45, 50-4, Tytler's text; Sen throw vertew, from the Gude and Godlie Ballates.

The Kingis Quair : Together with A Ballad of Good Counsel : By King James I. of Scotland. Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. Published for the [Scottish Text] Society By William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1884. 8vo.

Introduction. Text (from MS.) Notes. Glossarial Index. Remarks on Jamieson's Dictionary. Good Counsel is printed from MS. Camb. KK. 1, 5, (Ratis Raving, ed. Lumby), the Bannatyne MS., and The Gude and Godlie Ballates, 1578, repr. 1868, with a "restored version" from collation of these. The chief variations between the 1578 version and that of Ane Compendiovs Booke 1621, printed by Irving, 1861, are given.

Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887.

Pp. 45-6, Sen throw, part of KQ. Both modernised.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892.

Pp. 25-74, KQ. from Skeat. P. 75, GC. from "The Gude and Godlie Ballates" 1578.

------. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892.

Pp. 159-67., PP. apparently from Pinkerton 1783; Pinkerton's corrections given in Ancient Scotish Poems 1786 are overlooked. Pp. 168-75, CK. These with GM. and JB. are printed as works of James V.

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 28-39, KQ., stanzas 30-50, 74-93. Apparently from Skeat.

Harvey. Harp of Stirlingshire. 1897. Pp. 19-26, KQ. (short extract), and CK., both modernised.

Henderson. A Little Book of Scottish Verse. 1899.

Pp. 2-11, CK. Bannatyne version. Glossarial footnotes.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. Vol. I. 1901.

Pp. 184-5, GC.; KQ., stanzas 25-37, 45-50. Apparently from Skeat.

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Heireftir Followis The Quair | Maid Be King Iames Of Scot- | land The First Callit The | Kingis Quair And Maid Quhen | His Maiestie Wes In Ingland | [Edited by Robert Steele. London. 1903.] 8vo.

P. [i.], Title; ii. blank; iii. and iv., Stanzas from The King's Tragedy; v.-liv., Text; liv., Explicit | Quod Jacobus Primus, Scotorum Rex | Illustrissimus. | lv. Here Ends The Kingis Quair, | Edited By Robert Steele, Com- | posed In The Fount Called | The King's Fount, Designed | By Charles Ricketts, And | Printed Under His Super- | vision At The Ballantyne | Press, London, MCMII. | Sold by Hacon and Ricketts, London, | And by John Lane, New York.

The Kingis Quair and The Quare of Jelusy. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendix and Glossary, by Alexander Lawson, M.A. (St. And.), Hon. D.D. (Edin.), Berry Professor of English Literature in the University of St. Andrews. London : Adam and Charles Black. 1910. 8vo.

Amended text and text as in MS. on opposite pages. The Ballad of Good Counsel from the Gude and Godlie Ballatis and the Cambridge MS.

- Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 7-8., KQ., stanzas 40-44. Pp. 8-9, Good Counsel. Pp. 83-92, CK. Pp. 92-102, PP.
- Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 64-72, KQ., stanzas 20-52. Pp. 167-83, PP. and CK.
- The Kingis Quair: Together with A Ballad of Good Counsel: By King James I. of Scotland. Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Second and Revised Edition. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society. 1911. 8vo.
- Christ's Kirk on the Green, | In Two Canto's. Canto first by | King James the Fifth. | S. Sh. n.p. n.d.
 - In three columns. Modernised. Opposite, also in three

columns: Christ's Kirk on the Green. Canto Second by | Allan Ramsay. |

To Sir (sic), If these following mery Images contribute to your Diversion, and if you own them to be just, I shall not trouble my self with defending every little Thing, the Chagreen may alledge, to the Detriment of what pleases both you, and,

Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

Allan Ramsay.

Advertisement.

I own it to be my Thirst after Glory, that push'd my Muse on such a vast Performance of adding a Second Canto to this admirable Poem, which never own'd any other Author than a Scots Monarch. How I have acted my Part, if you'll take my Word for it, excellently, and, I hope, the World will agree with me after two or three readings.

> Consider it werly read oftner than anys, Wiel at an Blenk sle Poetry not tane is.

G. Douglass.

Wherefore I would intreat my Gentle, & C. Readers, to beware of rash Judgment, lest mistaken Notions may make them speak disrespectfully of some beautiful *Stanza*, and be guilty of a Blunder, which once advanced, must be supported from a Principle of Pride, tho' a Man be secretly convinced of his Error. Adv. Lib. ½-22.

Christ's Kirk. Glasgow : Stewart and Meikle. n.d.*

TRANSLATIONS, IMITATIONS, ETC.

Ramsay. Christ's Kirk. 1716*.

Ramsay adds a second "Canto." See under Editions, 1718.

Ramsay. Christ's Kirk. 1718.

For Ramsay's third Canto see under Editions.

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Poems on Several Subjects, both Comical and Serious. In Two Parts. By Alexander Nicol, Schoolmaster. To which are added, The Experienced Gentleman, and The She Anchoret; Written in Cromwell's Time, by the then Duchess of Newcastle. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, and James Stark Bookseller in Dundee; and sold by him and the other Booksellers in town and country. MDCCLXVI. 12mo. Running title: Nature without Art: or, Nature's Progress in

Poetry. Pp. 47-53, Christ's Kirk on the Green. Canto IV. "After reading the three Cantos of that Poem, the *First* whereof was composed by no less an Author than a Scottish Monarch; the other *Two* by the famous Mr Allan Ramsay," Nicol was moved to describe the kirking of the bride and bridegroom.

John Skinner. A Latin translation of Christ's Kirk. Aberdeen. Some years before 1788*.

In a letter to Burns dated 1788, printed in the Introduction to his poems, Skinner states that his translation had been published at Aberdeen some years ago. See below, under 1801. Skinner also wrote an imitation in his local dialect, The Monymusk Christmas Ba'ing. Amusements of Leisure Hours, 1809 (see below, under Biography, etc.), pp. 41-52.

Carminum Rariorum Macaronicorum Delectus. In Usum Ludorum Apollinarium. Fasciculus Primus. [Edit. Andr. Duncan.] Edinburgi: Ex Typographeo Adami Neill et Soc. 1801.

Second title :

Chryste-Kirk on the Green : Supposed to be written by King James the First of Scotland ; Attempted in Latin Heroic Verse. Edinburgh : Reprinted by A. Neill & Co. 1801. 4to.

Second Edition. Edinburgh 1813. 8vo.

Modernised text. The translation is attributed to John Skinner.

King James the First of Scotland : a Tragedy in Five Acts. By Capt. D. Erskine. Kelso : Printed by Alex. Leadbetter. 1827.

Contains an extract (modernised) from Thoresby MS.

- P. F. Tytler. Scottish Worthies. Vol. III. 1833. See under Biography, etc.
- The Romance of Old London. No. V. The King's Quair: A Royal Love-Story. London Society. Vol. XXXII. October 1877.

Pp. 333-40, A poem, mainly from KQ., modernised. Begins: "It may be scarce a year ago."

The "Kingis Quair," By King James I. of Scotland. Modernised by Wm. Mackean. London and Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1886. 8vo.

"It has been aimed to alter as little as possible the verbal arrangement of the poem : the spelling only being modernised." Examples of modernisation : "The sharp and green sweet scented juniper," "The funny ape; the warlike porcupine," "The listening boar; the badger good for hurts; The hare besides, that oft goes to the worts." Good Counsel is given as well as KQ. Reprint 1908*.

Gunn. Peebles to the Play. 1904. A modern rendering of PP.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Biographical notices, written from the point of view of political history, have as a rule been excluded.

Bower. Scotichronicon.

Lib. xv. Cap. xviii. Lib. xvi., Life and eulogy, especially cap. xxx., "artis literatoriae et scripturae," ed. Goodall 1759, vol. II. p. 505.

Major. Historia Majoris Britanniae. 1521.

Lib. v1. cc. viii.-xv. especially c. xiv. (character and works). See Introduction, p. xiv.

IIO

Hector Boethius. Scotorum Historiae.

Lib. xv1., "Iam vero humaniores artes grammaticam, oratoriam, poeticámque vt tum temporis eximiè nouerat. In lingua vernacula tam ornata faciebat carmina, vt poetam natum credidisses. Latinè vero vt tum mos erat, temporis iniuria incondita quidem, attamen grauissimis referta sententiis conficiebat, vt facile appareret, si meliores adhibiti praeceptores fuissent, qualis euasurus tum fuisset."—Ed. Paris 1574, f. 340 verso.

"He was expert in gramer, oratry, and poetry; and maid sa flowand and sententious versis, that apperit weil he was ane naturall and borne poete." Bellenden's translation, ed. 1821, vol. II. p. 483 (Chap. xvi.)

Lyndsay. Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo. Lines 430-6 (Laing),

> Kyng James the First, the patroun of prudence, Gem of ingyne, and peirll of polycie,
> Well of Justice, and flude of eloquence, Quhose vertew doith transcende my fantasie, For tyll discryve ; yit, quhen he stude moste hie,
> Be fals exhorbitant conspiratioun
> That prudent Prince wes pieteouslie put down." —Ed. Laing 1879, vol. I. p. 77.

Bale. Summarium. 1548.

Fol. 194 verso, "Iacobus Stuart, illius nominis Scotorum rex primus, Ioannis Stuarti (qui Robertus tertius, quamsuperstitiose a praelatis permutato nomine, dicebatur) filius iunior, dum .xij. annos natus, in Gallias pro lingua ac moribus discendis a patre mitteretur, ab Anglica classe captus, ad regē Henricū .iiij. perducebatur anno domini .M.cccc.vi. Sub quo per diuersos paedagogos instructus, humaniores artes Grāmaticā, oratoriā, ac poeticen pro tempore satis nouit. Musicam exacte tenebat, ac quicquid illi arti est affine. In uernaculo sermone, ornata faciebat carmina, latine uero iuxta illam aetatem incondita & confusa, grauibus tamen referta sententijs. Atq3 inter caetera, dum esset in Anglia captiuus, Anglice composuit. De regina sua futura, li. 1. Cantilenas Scoticas, li. 1. Rhithmos Latinos, li. 1.

Plurimi eius in Scotia codices, adhuc inter primos habentur. In suam patriam post .xvij. annos dimissus, ducta prius Ioanna Clarentię ducis priuigua (*sic*), Scotici regni administrationem .xiij. annis tenuit Occisusque demum a suis .anno Christi. 1436. die .xx. Februarij, in Parthi suburbio ad Carthusianos sepulturam accepit regiam."

Bale. Catalogus. 1559.

Centuria decima quarta. LVI., short notice of life. "In uernaculo sermone, ornatissima carmina faciebat: latinè uerò iuxta eius aetatis morem incondita & confusa, grauibus tamen referta sententiis. Et inter caetera, dum esset in Anglia captiuus, in Anglico sermone congessit.

> Super uxore futura, Lib. 1. Cantilenas Scoticas, Lib. 1. Rhythmos Latinos, Lib. 1.

Et alia, quae multis sunt probata."

Bale follows Major, Boece, and Polydore Vergil.

Simlerus. Gesneri Epitome. 1574.

P. 324, "Iacobus Stuart Scotorum rex, qui postea Robertus tertius à quibusdam appellatus est, scripsit in exilio suo carminum lib. 1. composuit (musicus enim insignis erat) cantilenas multas, & alia. Claruit an. 1436. quo à suis etiam occisus est." Edit. 1583, p. 387.

Leslaeus. De Rebus Gestis Scotorum. 1578.

Lib. VII. P. 278, "Ita orator erat, vt eius dictione nihil fuerit artificiosius; ita poeta, vt carmina non tam arte astrinxisse, quam natura spontè fudisse videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diuersi generis, que in rythmum Scoticè illigauit, eo artificio, vt antiquorum poetarum acumē, grauitatem, prudentiā planè putetur aequasse." G. Buchanan. Rerum Scoticarum Historia. 1582.

Fol. 115, recto and verso, "Carmina Latina, vt illud erat seculum, rudia ex tempore fundebat. Anglico quidem sermone poemata ab eo conscripta nonnulla adhuc extant : in quibus ingenij praestantia elucet, expolitior doctrina fortasse requiratur." The rest of Buchanan's eulogy refers to other arts. For life see CI. Rex, CII. Rex.

Thomas Churchyard. A Praise of Poetsie.*

Sidenote, "Iames the first that was King of Scotland and K. Iames the sixt now reigning, great poets." — Stevenson, Montgomerie, p. lvi. *n*.

Thynne. Catalog. 1587.

P. 461, "James Steward the first of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his natiue soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue beene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Steward, and not James. This man in the time whilest he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six."

Sir Philip Sidney. The Defence of Poesie. 1595.*

"Sweete Poesie, that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperors, Senators, great Captaines, such as, besides a thousand others, *Dauid, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus*, not onely to fauour Poets, but to be Poets. And of our neerer times can present for her Patrons a *Robert*, king of Sicil, the great king *Francis* of France, King *James* of Scotland. . . . I say these, with numbers of others, not onely to read others Poesies, but to Poetise for others reading."—Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, vol. I. pp. 193-4. This of course may refer to James VI., or to any intermediate James. James Montague, Bishop of Winton. Works of James VI. 1616.

Sign. c3 verso, "Iames the first writ diuers Bookes both in English and Latine Verse: He writ also, as Baleus saith, De uxore futura." There is no mention of James V. in the list of kings who were authors. The only other Scottish examples are Achaius ("the Acts of all his Predecessors") and Kennethus ("a huge Volume of all the Scottish Lawes").

Gilbertus Grayus. Oratio de Illustribus Scotiae Scriptoribus. 1623*.

Mackenzie's Lives and Characters. 1708. Vol. I. P. xxiv., Jacobus etiam Primus dabat Eruditionis suae non vulgare Testimonium, quod docent relicta ab eo pulcherrima Poemata, sciz. Latinorum Rythmorum Lib. unum, De Regina sua futura Lib. unum, Legum Patriae Liber, qui praeterquam quod esset in universa Philosophia & Theologia apprime versatus, Oratoriam tamen & Poeticam plurimum excolebat, Juris & Æqui studiosissimus, floruit Anno Messiae 1424."

Gray begins his catalogue of writers with kings. He passes straight from James I. to James VI. without any mention of James V.

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica. 1627.

Pp. 380-1, "Iacobys. 713.

" Iacobvs I. Roberti filius, qui & ipse Roberti I. ex Mariotta nepos primus sceptrum in Stuartorum familiam intulit, dū in Galliam contenderet à prędonibus, vt nonnulli volunt, aut ab Henrici IV. Anglorū Regis ministris, quod verius est, captus patri ingentem moerorem attulit, quo victus tertium post diem audito nuncio obijt. Erat is, cū caperetur à classe Anglicana, natus Xii. annos Polidor. Virgil. lib. xx1. histor. Anglican. ad finē. Verba Hectoris Boethij ex lib. xVI. histor. Scot. pag. CCCxL. apponam. Placuit captiuum obseruare . . . contingere posset, felicitatem. Octodecim eum in Anglicana custodia annos egisse Boethius vult, alij decem tantū, & in his est Polydorus Virgilius lib. X11. qui addit. Tanta verae gloriae . . . accitos curare. Eadem alij.

II4

Persolutis C. Mille marcis ad suos remissus, tumultuantes se absente seuerè excepit, ac seditiones sedauit. Scripsit multa in his.

Leges aequissimas	lib. 1. Ioan. Leslaeus.
Super vxore futura	lib. 1. Balaeus.
Cantilenas Scoticas	lib. I.
Rythmos latinos	<i>lib</i> . I.
De Musica	lib. 1. Boethius.

Captus est anno MCCCCVI. Redemptus ad suum regnum rediit, vxore secum ducta *Clarentij* ducis priuigna. Anno MCCCCxXIV. occisus Perthi à coniuratis indignissimè. Anno MCCCCxXXVI. sedente in Petri Cathedra *Eugenio* IV. Imperante *Alberto* Francorum Rege *Carolo* VII. Et haud temerè vllius Principis mors tā seuerè perduelles vindicauit. Sepultus ad Carthusianos in suburbano Perthano, quod ipse edificauerat."

P. 382, The article on James V. concludes : "Erat illi amaenissimum ingenium, quod ab eo poemata relicta testantur, quorum ego tantum vidi.

De Choreis Rusticis FakirKēsibus Epos vernaculė. *lib.* 1. quo nihil ingeniosius, aut Graeci, aut latini ostentare possunt. Obiit anno MDxLII."

David Buchanan. De Scriptoribus Scotis. 1837. Pp. 85-7. Copied from Bale, &c.

Drummond of Hawthornden. History. 1655.

P. 31, James I. P. 228, James V. See Introduction, p. x.

Memoires | Of The | Family | Of The | Stuarts, | And the Remarkable Providences of | God towards them; | In An Historical Account | Of The | Lives | Of those His Majesty's | Progenitors of that Name, that were | Kings of Scotland. | Fallitur egregio quis-quis sub principe credit | Servitium : Nusquam libertas gratior extat | Quam sub rege pio . . . Claudianus. | London, Printed by J. Walis for Walter Kettleby, at | the Bishop's-Head in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1683.

Pp. 21, 23-38, "In Poetry and Musick he far exceeded the decorum of a King."

Mackenzie. Writers. Vol. I. 1708. Pp. 305-18. See also 1711.

Ruddiman. Douglas. 1710.

Preface, CK. (Gibson's edition) referred to as "the Famous Poem of K. James V."

Mackenzie. Writers. Vol. II. 1711.

P. 594. In "The Life of John Lesly" Mackenzie says of James V. "He was a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men, and naturally given to Poetry, as many Verses of his yet extant testify; especially that Poem call'd *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, written with an inimitable Livelyness of Wit and good Humour." P. 614. In the same article mention is made of James V.'s poems, "severals of which are still extant in MS; and especially that famous One call'd *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, many Times printed, and lately by Mr. Gibson . . ."

Ramsay. Poem on some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Lines 1-2,

> "Heir mighty James the First, the best of Kings, Imploys the merry Muse, and smyling sings."

-Sempill Ballates,

P. 225.

Pope. The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace. 1737*.

"Authors, like coins, grow dear as they grow old; It is the rust we value, not the gold. Chaucer's worst ribaldry is learned by rote, And beastly Skelton heads of houses quote : One likes no language but the Faery Queen; A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk o' the Green : And each true Briton is to Ben so civil, He swears the Muses met him at the Devil."

Note by Pope: "A ballad made by a king of Scotland." Ed. Elwin and Courthope, 1881. Vol. III. Pp. 351-2. Aldine edit. 1866. Vol. III. P. 58.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748. P. 426, "Jacobus Stuartus i rex Scotiae. (Dempst. 380.

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Bal. par. post. 217.) In fine poëmatis Lamentatio Gowerum et Chaucerum mirifice laudat. Scripsit Leges aequissimas, lib. i. Super uxore futura, lib. i. Cantilenas Scoticas, lib. i. [Lamentatio facta, dum in Anglia fuit rex. Pr. "Heigh in the hevyns figure circulare." Ms. bibl. Bodl. Selden. Archiv. B. 24.] Rhythmos Latinos, lib. i. De musica, lib. i. Occisus Perthi A. MCCCCXXXVI. Dempster. ix. 713."

P. 426, James V. CK., with reference to Dempster and Gibson.

Walpole. Royal and Noble Authors of England. 1758.

Vol. II. Pp. 182-3,

'James the First,

'Wrote

" "On his future Wife," one book.

"Scotch sonnets," one book. One of them "A lamentation while in England," is in manuscript in the Bodleian library, and praises Gower and Chaucer exceedingly.

""Rythmos Latinos," lib. i.

"'On Music."

P. 183,

'James the Fifth,

'Wrote the celebrated ballad called

"" Christ's Kirk on the green."

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*.

Works, 1766. Vol. I. P. 20,

"For James the Muses tun'd their sportive lays, And bound the Monarch's brow with Chaucer's bays. Arch Humour smil'd to hear his mimic strain, And plausive Laughter thrill'd thro' every vein."

Foot-note—" James the First, King of Scotland, Author of the famous old song, entitled *Christ's Kirk on the Green.*"

Percy. Reliques. Second Edition. 1767.

Vol. II. P. 59, "Bp. Tanner has attributed to James V. the celebrated ballad of Christ's Kirk on the Green, which better authorities ascribe to his ancestor James I. and which has all the internal marks of being the production of an earlier age. See the Ever-green, Vol. I." The fourth edition 1794 reads "which is ascribed to K. James I. in Bannatyne's MS. written in 1568: And notwithstanding that authority, the Editor of this Book is of opinion that Bp. Tanner was right." Vol. II. P. 60. Schröer's edition with variants, 1893. Vol. II. Pp. 1039-40. Nothing in first edition, 1765.

- To Alexander Ross. 1768*. See under General Works.
- A Specimen of Notes on the Statute Law of Scotland. [By Lord Hailes. 1768.]

Pp. 6-7, "Upon the supposition that James I. was the author of *Christ Kirk on the Green*, there will be found in that poem several severe sarcasms against the Scottish commons for their unskilfulness in the art of archery." Lord Hailes speaks doubtfully of James as the author because—(1) the authority of the Bannatyne MS., by its lateness proves nothing; (2) neither Bellenden nor Major mentions the poem "which, however, was a great and voluminous work for those days"; (3) "That James I. wrote this poem during his captivity, is exceedingly improbable. Educated from his early youth in England, he could not be acquainted with the manners of the Scottish commons, nor with the language of the vulgar in Scotland"; (4) "The fourth line, where mention is made of "Peebles at the *Play*," seems to relate to a more modern aera than that of James I."; (5) Gibson and Ruddiman give the poem to James V.

Letters to George Paton. 1830.

Pp. 19, 21-3, Letters from Percy, dated Jan. 9th., 1773 and May 1, 1773, on date and authorship of PP. See Introduction, p. lxxix.

Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778.

Pp. 125-6 foot-note, "It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scotch poetry, except

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such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period, in the text." Warton, however, gives two stanzas of KQ. ("The King's Complaint"), which he fails to recognise as Super Uxore futura. Old writers are cited. "Dr. Percy has one of James's Cantilenae, in which there is much merit."

P. 318, James V. "the author of the celebrated ballad called Christ's Kirk on the Green."

Sketches of the History of Man. Considerably Improved in a Second Edition. [By Henry Home, Lord Kames.] In Four Volumes. Volume I. Edinburgh: Printed for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell, London; and for W. Creech, Edinburgh. 1778.

P. 292, "Our James I. was eminent for poetry no less than for music. He is praised for the former by Bishop Leslie, one of our historians, in the following words : "Patrii carminis gloria nulli secundus." We have many poems ascribed by tradition to that king; one in particular, *Christ's kirk on the green*, is a ludicrous poem, describing low manners with no less propriety than sprightliness." This follows a citation and discussion of Tassoni, Pensieri Diversi, X. c. 23.

Tytler. Poetical Remains. 1783.

Dissertation. Pp. 1-28, Life founded largely on Boece and Hawthornden. Pp. 29-52, CK. and KQ. (authorship, etc.) Footnotes.

Pinkerton's Correspondence. 1830.

Vol. I. Pp. 30-32, Percy to Pinkerton, Jan. 3, 1783. On publication of PP. Pp. 40-2, W. Tytler to Pinkerton, Dec. 27, 1783. On site of Christ's Kirk: authorship of PP.: its inferiority in "arch humour" and "design" to CK.

Pinkerton. Select Scotish Ballads. 1783.

Vol. II. Pp. 161-78, Notes on PP., partly supplied by Percy, and by others who had seen his transcript from the

Maitland MS. The authority for assigning the Gaberlunzie Man and the Jolly Beggars to James V. is questioned.

Henry. History of Great Britain. Vol. V. 1785.

Pp. 479-87, Criticism of CK., PP., KQ., with an argument of the last. Also pp. 423-6, 437, 451-2, Life etc.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. List of Scotish Poets. Pp. lxxxviii.-lxxxix., Pinkerton gives James I. five poems.—Sen that, KQ., PP., "Falkland on the green. lost. Christ's kirk on the green. common." "The King's Quair equals anything Chaucer has written; and the other works of this prince have superlative merit." Vol. II. Pp. 425-6, Sen that. Pinkerton suspects that this is "Yas sen."

Amusements of Leisure Hours: or Poetical Pieces, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect: by the late Reverend John Skinner; at Longside, Aberdeenshire. To which is Prefixed, A Sketch of the Author's Life, with Some Remarks on Scottish Poetry . . . Edinburgh. . . . 1809.

P. 30, Letter from Skinner to Robert Burns, 14th November 1787. "A small portion of taste this way I have had almost from childhood, especially in the old Scottish dialect; and it is as old a thing as I remember, my fondness for "*Chryste-Kirk o' the Green*," which I had by heart ere I was twelve years of age, and which, some years ago, I attempted to turn into Latin verse."

P. 35, Another, Skinner to Burns, 28th April 1788, mentions the translation as "printed at Aberdeen some years ago."

P. 14, The writer of the introduction says of Skinner's Christmas Ba'ing: 'It seems to have been designed as a humble imitation of the old poem, ascribed to *James the First* of Scotland, called "*Christ-Kirk o' the green*," of which 'etc.

Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop. Correspondence now published in full for the first time. With Elucidations by William Wallace. London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1898. 8vo. P. 268, Letter from Burns to Mrs. Dunlop, dated Ellisland, 9th July 1790.

"As our Royal Scottish Poet says-

He sud been swift that gat him Thro' speed that day."

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Pp. xxxvi.-xxxvii., A few out of over three hundred variations found by "a learned friend now visiting the classic scenes of Egypt, Syria, and Greece" on collating Tytler's edition of the King's Quair with the original.

The Statistical Account of Scotland. Drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes. By Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Edinburgh : Printed and Sold by William Creech. 1794. 8vo.

Vol. XIII. Pp. 77-8 n., George Donaldson suggests Christ's Kirk in the parish of Kenethmont, Aberdeenshire, as the scene of CK.

Percy. Reliques. Fourth Edition. 1794. See 1767 (Second Edition).

Ritson. Scotish Song. 1794.

Vol. I. Historical Essay on Scotish Song. Pp. xxx.-xxxi., xxxvi. Ritson here gives CK. to James V., PP. to James I.

Pinkerton. History of Scotland. 1797. Vol. I. Pp. 153-4, PP. by James I.

Campbell. History of Poetry in Scotland. 1798.P. 54. Avoids criticism : does not even name James's works.

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1799.

Pp. 194-5, Power of painting in CK. and PP. KQ. is not mentioned.

The Links o' Forth: or A Parting Peep at the Carse o' Stirling; A Plaint. By Hector Macneil, Esq. . . . Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, Edinburgh, Vernor and Hood, London, and Brash and Reid, Glasgow. 1799. Stanza 36, Allusion to James's murder,

> "Tho' Science, mid the captive gloom And Genius bright And Fancy, at her fairy loom, Shot radiant light."

The Works of Robert Burns; With An Account of his Life And A Criticism on his Writings. To which are prefixed some Observations on the Character and Condition of the Scottish Peasantry. [Edited by J. Currie.] Liverpool, Printed for J. M'Creery, Houghton-street; for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, Strand, London; and W. Creech, Edinburgh. 1800. 8vo.

Pp. 290-1, Christ's Kirk and Ramsay's additions.

George Chalmers and A. F. Tytler. Poems of Allan Ramsay. 1800.

Vol. I. Pp. xv.-xvi., Chalmers calls CK. "a ludicrous poem of James I. of Scotland." Pp. lxxix.-lxxxi., Tytler gives CK. to James I. on the authority of Bannatyne, and because of the difference of language between it and the Gaberlunzie Man, which he assumes to be James V.'s.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801.

Pp. 295-9, 305-11, Sketch of James's life with some criticism. James compared with Charles of Orleans. CK. and PP. are spoken of as universally attributed to James I.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 121-8, "Observations relative to the true aera and author of the two poems called, Peblis at the Play, and Christ's Kirk on the Green." (Cancelled sheet Q, rarely met with). Pp. 129, 137-8, PP. probably not by James I. Vol. II. Pp. 356-9, CK. by James V.

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Irving. Lives of Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. I. Pp. 287-335.

Park. Walpole's Catalogue. 1806.

Vol. V. Pp. 4-15, James I. Pp. 19-20, James V. Compiled from Tytler, Ellis, etc. Park disagrees with Walpole as to the authorship of CK. which he gives to James I.

Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806.

Vol. I. Pp. 135-6, "Has been compared with Chaucer himself; and was perhaps his superior, in sublimity, and pathos, though much his inferior, in variety, and ease, and humour, and in a minute acquaintance with daily life."

Dyer. Poetics. 1812. See under General Works, Dyer's Poems, 1801.

William Tennant. Anster Fair. 1812.* For allusions to KQ. and CK., see Introduction, p. xcvi.

Ebenezer Thomson. The King's Quair. 1815. Introduction, Pp. iii.-v., Date of the poem, etc.

- J. H[aselwood]. Censura Literaria. Second Edition. Vol. IX. 1815. Pp. 11-3.
- The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. [Washington Irving]. 1819.* Second Edition, 1820. Vol. I. Pp. 167-97, A Royal Poet.

J. T. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1821-2.

Vol. I. Pp. 1-23, Life and criticism : followed by a discussion of James as a musician. Unimportant. Also Vol. III. (Part VI.), Appendix.

Beauties of Scottish Poets. 1823.

Pp. 1-5, Life of James I. Pp. 13-4, Notes on CK. Pp. 24-5, Notes on PP. Unimportant.

E. Thomson. King's Quair. Second edition 1824.

Introduction, pp. iii.-xiv., Mainly on language and its interpretation by former editors: much less elaborate than the title-page suggests. Pp. xiii.-xiv., CK. and PP. Glossarial foot-notes, etymological and other notes at end.

Chalmers. Poetic Remains. 1824.

Pp. 105-6, 125-36, PP. by James I., CK. by James V., with notes on editions of CK. Pp. 1-22, 121-5, Lives of James I. and James V.

P. Fraser Tytler. Scottish Worthies. 1832-3.

Vol. II. Pp. 233-322, Vol. III. Pp. 1-50, A history of the period as well as a life of James. (Vol. II. Pp. 203-33. "Historical Introduction"). Vol. III. Pp. 50-75, KQ. paraphrased with partly modernised extracts. Shorter accounts of CK. and PP. KQ. not completed till after marriage.

Hallam. Literature of Europe. 1837.

Vol. I. p. 172, "The King's Quair, by James I. of Scotland, is a long allegory, polished and imaginative, but with some of the tediousness usual in such productions."

Guest. English Rhythms. 1838.

P. 342-5. Edit. 1882, pp. 622-5, "One can hardly suppose those critics serious, who attribute this song [CK.] to the moral and sententious James the First; every line in it smacks of the royal profligate, who wrote the Gabe[r]lunzie man."

Wright. History of Scotland. 1852.

Vol. I. Pp. 288-9. Another edition Vol. I. P. 31.

Aytoun. Ballads. 1858.

Vol. I. Introd. Pp. lvi.-lix., Chaucerian and English character of KQ. against authorship of CK.

Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861.

Pp. 123-32, Life. Pp. 134-54, Criticism. From Lives of Scotish Poets, revised. Followed by a discussion of James as a musician.

Paterson. James the Fifth; or the "Gudeman of Ballangeich." 1861.

Especially chapters vii. and viii. which discuss the authorship of CK. and PP. The former is given to James V. and the latter denied to both. Chapter vi. deals with James V. as poet and patron of literature.

A History of Peebleshire. By William Chambers. William and Robert Chambers Edinburgh and London. 1864. 8vo.

Pp. 74-7, The local connections of PP., which is given to James I. CK. given to James V.

Conolly. Eminent Men of Fife. 1866. Pp. 435-43, An omniscient and absurd biography.

Morley. English Writers. Vol I. Part I. (Chaucer to Dunbar). 1867. Pp. 445-55.

Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xviii.-xxi.

Rogers. Poetical Remains of James I. 1873. Pp. 1-18, Life. Pp. 19-24, Authorship of the various poems; scene of CK. (Leslie, Fife), etc.

Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 122-7. 2nd Ed. pp. 94-7. Unimportant.

- W. G. The Poet King of Scotland. Fraser's Magazine. New Series. Vol. X. September 1874.Pp. 378-87.
- Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Half vol. I. Pp. 12-4. Unimportant.
- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. Pp. 65-73. Unimportant.

- Veitch. History and Poetry of the Scottish Border. 1878. Pp. 311-9, PP. as a picture of manners: ascribed with CK. to James I.
- Mackean. The King's Quair. 1886. Introduction. Pp. v.-xi. Unimportant.
- Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. I. 1878. Pp. 523-7.
- Ward. English Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 129-31. By T. W. Ward.
- Henry Wood. Chaucer's Influence upon King James I. of Scotland as Poet. Anglia. III. 1880. Pp. 223-65.
- Rossetti. The King's Tragedy. 1881.*
- Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881.

Skeat. The Kingis Quair. 1884.

Pp. vii.-lv., Biographical facts connected with KQ.; Sen that eyne possibly James's; CK. and probably PP. of the reign of James V.; language, and Chaucer's influence; MS. and editions.

J. M. Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884.

Pp. 148-59, Mainly on James as a Chaucerian : argument of KQ. Short criticism of CK. and PP.

Schipper. Dunbar. 1884. Pp. 23-33.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 186-201, KQ.

Untersuchungen über das Kingis Quair Jakobs I von Schottland. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde von der philosophischen Facultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Uni-

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versität zu Berlin genehmigt und nebst den beigefügten Thesen öffentlich zu vertheidigen am 12. October 1887 von Walther Wischmann aus Wismar. Opponenten : Karl Münster, Dr. Phil. Richard Nuck, Dr. Phil. Hugo Hannemann, Cand. Phil. Wismar. Hinstorff'sche Raths-Buchdruckerei (L. Eberhardt). 1887. 8vo.

P. 1, [Introduction]. Pp. 2-9, Dialekt. Zur Lautlehre. Pp. 9-25, Dialekt. Zur Flexionslehre. Pp. 25-32, Abhängigkeit des Dichters von Chaucer. Pp. 33-41, Art und Zeit der Entstehung des Denkmals. Pp. 41-71, Anmerkungen zum Text.

Shairp. Sketches in History and Poetry. 1887. Pp. 240-81, James I. of Scotland and the King's Quair (Oxford Lecture, Oct. 22, 1883).

'For Puir Auld Scotland's Sake.' A Book of Prose Essays (With a few Poetical Fringes) on Scottish Literary and Rural Subjects. By Hugh Haliburton. William Paterson, Edinburgh. 1887.

Pp. 35-41, CK. by James I. An answer to Skeat.

- Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 104-7.
- Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. 1887-8-9.
- Morley. English Writers: VI. 1890. Pp. 166-73, KQ. (argument). Pp. 176-8, PP. Text of Good Counsel. CK. an imitation. Pp. 163-6, 173-5, Life.
- Lydgate's Temple of Glas. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. Schick, Ph.D. London: Published for the Early English Tract Society By Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1891.

Introduction. Pp. cxxix.-cxxxiii., cxlv.-cxlvi., Relations of The Temple of Glas, The Court of Love, and The Kingis Quair. Palemon og Arcite. En literaturhistorisk undersøgelse som bidrag til Shakespearekritiken af Theodor Bierfreund. København: Lehmann & Stages Forlag. Triers Bogtrykkeri (H. J. Schou). 1891. 8vo.
Contents: G. Boccaccio: La Teseide; G. Chaucer: The Knightes Tale; Iakob I.: The Kings Quair (pp. 26-7); Knightes Tale og det Elizabethske Drama; Two Noble Kinsmen.

Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXIX. 1892. Pp. 129-36.

Eyre Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892.

Pp. 9-23.

—— Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892.

Pp. 150-8.

Both volumes discuss the authorship of CK. and PP., which are criticised in the second. KQ. is criticised in the first volume.

W. J. Kaye. Leading Poets. 1892. Pp. 180-1, Short and uncritical article by J. W. Kaye.

Auguste Angellier. Robert Burns. 1893.

Vol. II. Pp. 42-9, Chiefly on PP. and CK. as the first examples of their class.

Brandl. Paul's Grundriss. II. i. 1893. Pp. 713-4, KQ., Good Counsel, PP.

Bearder. Über den Gebrauch der Præpositionen. 1894. The Kingis Quair is among the texts used.

Jusserand. Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais. Vol. I. 1894.

Pp. 522-4, KQ.: "poème très brillant de couleur, très frais et très jeune." English Edition Vol. I. 1895. Pp. 503-6.

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John Callaghan, Junior. The King's Quair. The Scots Magazine (Perth). Vol. XIV. No. 80. July 1894.Pp. 112-8, An account of KQ. in rhetorical style.

Skeat. The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. 1894-7.
Vol. I. Pp. 46-8, Suggestion that Prosperity and Leaulte vault Richesse may be by James I. Of the second he says "If I could be sure that the above lines were by a well-known author, I should at once ascribe them to King James I., who might very well have written these and the lines called *Prosperity* above." The text of both is given in Vol. I. and repeated in the Supplement (Vol. VII. 1897) P. 449, where Prosperity is attributed to John Walton, on Professor Mark Liddell's authority, P. lxxxi. P. lxxxiii., Authorship of Leaulte vault Richesse. Pp. lxxv.-lxxvi., The Court of Love imitates KQ., not KQ. The Court of Love.

Mark Liddell. The Authorship of a Spurious Chaucer Poem. Athenaeum. No. 3557. December 28, 1895.

Reply to Skeat, Chaucer's Works I. 48, showing that Prosperity is by John Walton.

Le Roman d'un Roi d'Écosse. Par J. J. Jusserand. Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie.} 1895. 16mo.

The title of the English edition is :

The Romance of a King's Life. By J. J. Jusserand. Translated from the French by M.R. Revised and enlarged by the Author. Illustrated. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1896. 12mo.

The English edition contains the following appendices: I. The Wild Scots, II. The Truce between England and Scotland, 1404-5, III. King James's Poems, IV. James's Treaties with Norway and Holland, V. Some of King James's Laws, VI. A Fight between Highlanders, VII. The Pastimes of James I., VIII. Concerning Carthusians, IX. Æneas Sylvius's Impressions of Scotland, X. Journey of Æneas Sylvius to Scotland, XI. Alain Chartier's Speech to James I., XII. Regnault Girard at Sea, XIII. Regnault Girard leaves Scotland—A Farewell Banquet and an Exchange of Gifts, XIV. Death of Margaret, daughter of James I., Dauphiness of France, XV. The "Bar-Lass," XVI. The Death of James I.

- Courthope. History of English Poetry. Vol. I. 1895. Pp. 362-6, KQ. as an allegorical poem.
- The Authorship of the Kingis Quair. J. T. T. Brown. Omnia explorate. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1896. 4to.
- A. H. Millar, J. T. T. Brown, Walter W. Skeat, Angelina F. Parker, J. J. Jusserand. 'The Kingis Quair.' Athenaeum, Nos. 3585, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3592. July 11, 25, August 1, 8, 15, 29, 1896. Controversy on authorship.
- J. J. Jusserand. Jacques I^{er} d'Écosse fut-il poète? Revue Historique. Tome Soixante-quatrième. Mai-Août 1897. Pp. 1-49.
 Also published separately.
- Skeat. Chaucerian and Other Pieces. 1897. See Complete Works of Chaucer. 1894.
- A. Brandl. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen. LI. Jahrgang. 99. Band. 1897.

Pp. 167-70, Review of (reply to) J. T. T. Brown, The Authorship of the Kingis Quair.

- M. Kaluza. Englische Studien XXIV. 1898. [1897]. Pp. 84-100. Review of J. T. T. Brown.
- Gosse. Modern English Literature. 1898. Pp. 38-40.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898.

Pp. 94-115, Argues for James's authorship of KQ., CK. and PP., and discusses the characteristics and historical position of these poems.

I 30

- "The Kingis Quair" and The New Criticism. By Robert Sangster Rait. Aberdeen: A. Brown & Co. 1898.
- W. A. Neilson. Origins and Sources of the *Court of Love*. 1899.

Pp. 152-5, Analysis of KQ.; features of the Court of Love school; vitalization of convention. Pp. 210-2, KQ. and the "Statutes of love." Pp. 232-7, KQ. as a source of the Court of Love.

A History of the Border Counties (Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles). By Sir George Douglas, Bart. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1899.

Pp. 211-4, PP. The author seems to favour James I. as author of PP. and CK.

W. W. Skeat. 'The King's Quair' and 'The Romaunt of the Rose.' Athenaeum. Nos. 3741, 3743. July 8, 22, 1899.
Pp. 66-7, 129-30, Fragment A known to James I., Fragment B perhaps (as suggested by Sir John Seeley) by him. But see Prof. Skeat's edition of KQ. (1911), p. xxii.

G. Neilson, A. H. Millar. The Scribe of the 'Kingis Quair.' Athenaeum. Nos. 3764, 3766. December 16, 30, 1899.

Pp. 835-6, 899, Has some bearing on the authorship question. Mr. Millar quotes a communication from Mr. W. A. Craigie.

The Chaucer Canon. By Walter W. Skeat. 1900.

Pp. 85-9, The Romaunt of the Rose: Fragment B. Partly reprinted from The Athenaeum July 8, 1899.

Gregory Smith. The Transition Period. 1900. Pp. 40-3.

P. Hume Brown. Chambers's Cyclopaedia of Literature. Vol. I. 1901.
Pp. 183-4, KQ.
Anon. Ibid. Pp. 210-1, CK. and PP.

Garnett. English Literature. I. 1903. Pp. 286-92. Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 23-9. Follows Henderson.

"Peebles to the Play" Rendered from the Ancient Vernacular into Modern Scots by Dr Clement B. Gunn. With Historical Account, Notes, and Facsimile of Earliest M.S. and Illustration of the Peebles Silver Arrow, 1628. Selkirk: James Lewis. [1904.] 8vo.

Dr Gunn gives no new evidence, and an imperfect account of the old, in favour of James I.'s authorship of PP. He gives a modern rendering of the poem, with notes, including historical notes relating to Peebles.

Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 60-71.

- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 269-71.
- Gregory Smith. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 240-5, 270-3, 471-3.

Murdoch. The Royal Stuarts. 1908. Pp. 24-34.

Lawson. Kingis Quair. 1910.

Pp. ix.-xliii., Life of King James I. Pp. xliii.-lix., Authenticity of the Quair (against James). Pp. lx.-lxxvii., The Quair and Earlier and Later Poetry. Pp. lxxvii.-lxxxiii., The Texts as in the Manuscripts. Pp. lxxxiii.-lxxxviii., Language of the Poems.

W. W. Skeat. The Author of 'Lancelot of the Laik.' Scottish Historical Review. Vol. VIII. No. 29. October 1910.

Pp. 1-4, Phonology of KQ. earlier than Lancelot or the Quair of Jelousy.

Skeat. The Kingis Quair. 1911.

See 1884. Pp. lv.-lxiv., Postscript (reply to Mr J. T. T. Brown). Pp. 120-1, Rime Index.

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BLIND HARRY.

EDITIONS.

Chepman and Myllar? C. 1508?*

Laing records the discovery of twenty leaves "more or less mutilated from having been cut down by a binder at an early period, and pasted together for the purpose of stiffening the boards of an old quarto volume of no great value." He believed "that the work, if not actually printed by Walter Chepman, was at least executed with his types." "They are fragments chiefly of Books VI. XI. and XII., in signatures extending to letter R, each signature having apparently eight leaves." Laing, Golagrus and Gawane 1827, pp. 25-8 (description and facsimile of two pages).

Lekpreuik for H. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1570. 4to. B.L. A-Z⁸.

Ff. [1]-184.

No title page. A1, The actis and | Deidis of the Illuster and Vailzeand Campi- | oun, Schir William Wallace, | Knicht of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessouris, that we suld of reid. Z4 verso (fol. 180 verso), Text interrupted : Elecaus that the mair part of thir thingis followand, ar | altogidder superstitious and not agreabill to ye treuth | of Goddis word, . . . thairof, at our libertie and plesure. | Text resumed : How that ane Monk of Bury Abbay than. Z8 (fol. 184), Text ends : That he till vs grant, his deir lestand lufe. | Thus endit Williame Wallace the wicht, | Behind him left nocht sic ane Knicht. | Be worthyness, and deid of hand, | Fra thraldome thryis he fred this land. | \P Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreuik | at the Expensis of Henrie Charteris, & ar to be | sauld in his Buith, on the North syde of ye gait | abone the Throne. | Anno. Do. M. D. LXX. | Z 8 verso blank.

British Museum. C. 39. d. 24. Unique; said to have belonged to Queen Elizabeth (Dickson and Edmond 240).

The | Lyfe | And | Actis | Of The Maist Illvster | And Vailzeand Cam- | piovn | VVilliam Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie, | Mainteiner and defender of the | libertie of Scotland. | Cicero 2 de finibus. | ¶ Laudandus est is qui mortem oppetit pro Republica, | qui doceat chariorem esse patriam nobis, quam nosmet- | ipsos. | Cicer. Philip. 14. | ¶ Proprium sapientis est, grata eorum virtutem memoria | prosequi, qui pro Patria vitam profuderunt. | Cicer. ibidem. | ¶ O fortuna mors, quae naturae debita, pro Patria potissimum est reddita. | Ovid. 2. Fastor. | ¶ Et memorem famam, qui bene gessit, habet. | Imprentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris. | M.D.XCIIII. | Cvm Privilegio Regali. | *

Title taken from Bannatyne Miscellany III. 161. Charteris's preface, which differs from those of the other editions, is printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany III. 163-76, preceded (159-60) by a notice of Charteris and his edition. Dickson and Edmond, 370-1.

- R. Charteris. 1600-1*. Dickson and Edmond, 495-6.
- The | Life And Acts | Of The Most Fa- | mous and valiant Campion, Sir | William Wallace | Knicht of Ellerslie, Maintainer of the | Libertie of Scotland. | Cicero 2 de finibus. | ¶ Laudandus est is, qui mortem oppetit pro Republica, | qui doceat chariorem esse patriam nobis quam nos- | metipsos. | ¶ Et memorem famam, qui bene gessit habet. | [Device with initials A H] | Edinbyrgh. | Printed

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by Andro Hart and are to | be sauld at his builth on the North syde of | the gait a litle beneath the crosse. | Anno Dom. 1611. | 4to. B.L.

[A]², B⁴, C-Y⁸.

Pp. [4]+[1]-328 (wrongly numbered 317).

A1, Title. Verso, (Roman), In Obitvm Clarissi- | mi Ducis Gulielmi Wallace, quem | Edwardus primus Anglorum Rex sibi prodi- | tum supplicio Londini affecerat. Carmen. | Begins : Invida Mors tristi Gulielmi funere Wallam. A2 and verso, The Table. Roman. B1, The Actes And | Deeds Of The Most Famous | and valiant Campion, Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessours whom we should of reade. The text is interrupted on p. 321 (wrongly numbered 310) and resumed on the next page, after an admonition, as in 1570 but modernised and added to. Roman. Y8 verso, Text ends: That he till vs grant his deir lestand loue. | Four lines in Roman type : Thus endit Williame Wallace wicht, | Behind him left not sik a Knicht : | Be worthines and deid of hand | From thraldome thryse he fred this land. | Finis. | British Museum.

Hart. 1618*. E.B.S. Handlist.

The | Life And Acts | Of the most famous & | valiant Champion, | Syr William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie : | Maintainer of the Liberty of | Scotland. | Cicer. 2. de finibus. | Laudandus est is, qui mortem | oppetit pro Republica, qui | doceat chariorem esse pa- | triā nobis, quā nosmetipsos. | Et memorem famam, qui | bene gessit habet. | [ornament] | Printed at Edinbvrgh, by | Andro Hart. 1620. | 8vo. B.L.

¶8, A-Z8.

Pp. [16]+1-[368].

¶1, Title within border. Verso, Arms. A2-A8 verso, To The Reader. A8 verso, In obitum Clarissimi Ducis Gvlielmi Wal- | lace, quem Edwardus primus Anglorum Rex, | sibi proditum suplicio Londini affecerat. Carmen, | Sixteen lines of Latin verse. Roman. A1 (Fol. 1.), The | Acts and Deedes | of the moste Famous and | valliant Champion, | Syr William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessours of whom wee should of reade. Z2 verso (Fol. 356), An Admonition to the Reader. Roman. Z3, Text continued. Z6 verso, Text ends. The last few lines, from Goe Noble Booke fulfilled of Sentence, are printed in Roman type and headed : The Conclusion | of this Booke. | The four lines beginning Thus endeth William Wallace wight, which followed in the earlier editions, now precede The Conclusion (Z6 recto). Roman. Z7, A Table of the Contents of this Booke. | Z8, Table ends. Device with Andro Hart's initials. Verso blank.

The | Lyfe and Acts of the | most famous and valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie: | Mayntayner of the Libertie of Scotland. | Cicer. 2. de Finibus. | Laudandus est is, qui mortem oppetit pro Republica, qui | doceat chariorem esse patriam nobis, quam nosmetipsos. | Et memorem famam, qui bene gessit habet. | [Device with initials E R] | Aberdene, | ¶ Printed by Edward Raban, for | David Melvill. 1630. |

8vo. B.L.

A- Z^8 , Aa⁸ (last leaf wanting).

Pp. 16+[1]-366.

A1, Title. Verso blank. A2 wanting (Brit. Mus.) A3-8, To The Reader. Roman. A8, In Obitum . . . Italic. Verso, Arms of Aberdeen. B1, The Acts And | Deedes Of The | most famous and va- | liant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight Of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessors of whom we should of reade. Aa2 and verso, An Admonition to the Reader. Roman. Aa5 verso, Text ends : To Master Blaire wee did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth . . . Roman. Aa 6, The Conclusion | Of This Booke. | Goe Noble Booke . . . Roman. Aa6 verso-7 verso, A Table of the Contents of this | Booke. | Roman. The word Aberdene is printed in large capitals where it occurs in the text, p. 34. Brit. Mus. 1076. k. 4. The | Life And | Acts Of The | most famous and | valiant Champion, | S^r. William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie, | Maintainer of the Libertie of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a | short summe of the Histo- | rie of that time. | J. B. [within ornament] | Printed at Edinburgh by Iames | Bryson, and are to be sold at | his Shop a little above the Kirk | Style at the signe of the golden | Angel, Anno Dom. 1640. | 8vo. B.L.

>⁸, > >⁴ (second leaf signed \blacksquare 2), A-Aa⁸.

Pp. [24]+[1]-380 (wrongly numbered 384).

▶ I, Title. Verso, Epitaphivm | Gulielmi VVallace.
Roman. ▶ 2, The Printer to the Reader. Roman. ▶
▶ 3, Preface ends. Verso, Ornament. > ▶ 4 and verso, A Table of the contents | of this Booke. | Italic. AI, The Acts And | Deeds Of The | most famous and va- | liant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours whom wee should of read. Aa4 verso, An Admonition to the Reader. Roman. Aa8, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth. . . . Roman. Verso. The Conclusion | Of This Book. | Go Noble book. . . . British Museum.

Bryson. 1645*. E.B.S. Handlist.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most famous | and valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Libertie of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short | sum of the History of that time. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Gedeon Lithgovv, | 1648. | 8vo. B.L.

 \P^8 , $\P\P^4$ (the first signed **), A-X⁸, Y⁴.

Pp. [24] + [1] - 341 + [3].

 T_1 , Title in border. Verso, Epitaphivm | Gulielmi Wallace. Roman. T_2 - T_3 , The Printer to the Reader. Roman. T_3 - T_4 , verso, A Table of the Contents of this Booke. Roman. A1, The Acts and Deedes of the | most Famous and Valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessours whom wee should of read. X8, An admonition to the Reader. Roman. Y3, Text ends : To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth William Wallace wight . . . Roman. Y3 verso-4, The Conclusion of | this Booke. | Roman.

Lithgow. Edinburgh. 1661*. E.B.S. Handlist.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most famous and | valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Liberty | of Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short sum | of the History of that time. | Edinbyrgh, | Printed by a Society of Stationers, 1661.

8vo. B.L.

Pp. 24 + [1-14 missing from copy in Adv. Lib.] 15-350 + [2]. \dagger^8 , $\dagger^{\dagger 4}$, A-Y⁸ (A missing except last leaf). The pagination of sheets M to X and the first leaf of Y is wrong. Subtract 2.

^{†1}, Title in border. Verso, Epitaphium | Gvlielmi Wallace. ^{†2}-^{††3}, The Printer to the Reader. ^{††3} verso-^{††4} verso, A Table of the Contents of | this Book... A8, The Second Book. Y4, Text interrupted. An Admonition to the Reader. Y7 verso, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth William Wallace wight. ... Y8, The Conclusion of this | Book. | Go Noble Book ... Finis. Verso blank. The Epitaph, Preface, Table, Thus endeth, and Go noble book, are in Roman type. Advocates' Library.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most famous and va- | liant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Liberty of Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short sum of | the History of that time. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert Sanders, Printer to the Town, | and are to be sold at his Shop, Anno 1665. |

*8, **4, A-X⁸.

Pp. [24]+1-336.

*1, Title. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. Italic. *2, The Printer | To The Reader. | Roman. **2 verso, Preface ends. **3 and verso, A Table | Of The Contents | Of This Book. | Italic. **4 and verso, blank. A1, The Acts And Deeds Of The | most Famous and Valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours of whom we should oft read. X5 verso, An admonition to the Reader. Roman. X8 verso, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth ... Roman. The Conclusion of this Book. | Go, Noble Book ... Roman. Finis. British Museum 11621. aa. 44.

Bibliotheca Wallasiana has this entry: "[Cannot give title.] 8vo. Glasgow, 1665." This seems to mean some other edition, as there is another entry which would fit the above.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of The | Most famous and valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie; | Maintainer of the Liberty | Of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short | summe of the History of that time. | Edinbvrgh, | Printed by Andro Anderson, | Anno Dom. 1666. | 12mo.

A-R¹².

Pp. [24] + 1 - 380 + [4].

A1, Title in border. Verso blank. A2-A11, The | Printer | To The | Reader | A11 verso, A Table of the Contents | of this Book. | A12, Table ends. Verso, Full-page figure of an archer. B1, The Life And Acts | of the most Famous and Valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours, of whom we should oft read. Roman. R7, An Admonition To The | Reader. | Italic. R10 verso, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth . . . Italic. R11 and verso, The Conclusion of this Book. R12, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. | Italic. Verso, figure of an archer, as on A12 verso. Edin. Univ. Lib. The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most Famous | and valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Liberty of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a | short sum of the History of | that time. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Andrew Anderson, Printer | to the King's most Excellent Majesty | Anno Dom. 1673.

12mo. B.L.

A-L¹², M⁶.

Pp. [24]+[1]+252.

A1, Title within border. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. Roman. A2, The Printer to the Reader. A10, Preface ends. Verso, A Table of the Contents of this Book. A11, Table ends. Verso, Verses headed: Scrimger to Wallace, by reason of the | false Menteith Captive at London; and a reply headed: Wallace to Scrimger his Banner-man. A12, Verses end. Verso, Picture of a knight with bow and quiver. B1, The Acts and Deeds of the | most Famous and Valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours whom we should of read. M4 and verso, An Admonition to the Reader. Roman. M6 verso, Text ends: To Maister Blair we did part of supprise. Thus endeth William Wallace wight. . . The Conclusion of this Book. Go Noble Book . . . Finis. Advocates' Library.

An edition. 1675*.

Noted, apparently in error, by Moir, Study, but not in his edition of the Wallace.

Sanders. Glasgow. 1684*. E.B.S. Handlist.

[The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most famous and valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Liberty of Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short sum of the History of that time. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert Sanders, One of his Majesties | Printers Anno. Dom. 1685.]

Pp. [xxxii.] + 1-298.

*12, ***4, A8, B-E12, G-N12, O6, P3.

[Title missing in Mr. Fairley's copy. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. | Italic.] *2-**3, The Printer | To The Reader. | Roman. **3 verso-4 verso, A Table | Of The Contents | Of This Book. | Italic. AI, The Acts And Deeds Of The | most Famous and Valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours of whom we should oft read. E3 verso, Wallace's defiance to King Edward (Book VI. Il. 381 ff.) is in Roman type. O6 verso, An admonition to the Reader. Roman. P3 verso, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. | Finis. | Thus endeth . . . Roman. The Conclusion of this Book. | Go, Noble Book, . . . Roman. Finis.

This edition agrees very closely in text with Sanders 1665. The pages in the table of contents are entirely wrong, and point also to the 1665 edition.

Sanders. Glasgow. 1690*.

E.B.S. Handlist, on authority of MacUre's Hist. of Glasgow 1830 (Addit. App., A Short Hist. of Printing, p. 369, edit. 1836). D. L. E. in British Bibliographer, IV.

Sanders. Glasgow. 1699*.

Nicholson. Mackenzie. Bibl. Wallasiana. E.B.S. Handlist.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most Famous and Valiant Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Maintainer of the Liberty of Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short sum of the | History of that time. | Printed in the Year 1701. | 12mo. A-N¹², O⁶.

Pp. [i]-xxx. 31-324.

A1, Title. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. | A2, The | Printer | To The | Reader. | B3 verso, Preface ends. B4 (P. 31), The Acts and Deeds | Of The | Most Famous and Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text. begins: Our Antecessours of whom we should oft read. O₃, An Admonition to the Reader. | O₅ verso, Text ends: To Master Blair we did part of supprise. Finis. Thus endeth... The Conclusion of this Book. | Go noble Book ... O6, Conclusion ends. Finis. A Table of the Contents of this | Book. Verso, Table ends. British Museum.

- The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace, turned from Latin into Scots metre by one called Blind Harry. Edinburgh. 1709*. 12mo. Bibl. Wallasiana.
- The Lyfe and Actis of Sir William Wallace. Edinburgh. 1711*.

4to. B.L.

Bibl. Wallasiana. Moir.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most Famous and Valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie; | Maintainer of the Liberty of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short | sum of the History of that time. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert Sanders, One of | Her Majesties Printers. 1713. | 18mo.

A-U in 12's and 6's, X2.

Pp. [1]-364 (wrongly numbered 374).

A1, Title. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. A2, The | Printer | To The | Reader : | B2 verso, Preface ends. B3, The Acts and Deeds | Of The | Most Famous and Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins : Our Antecessours of whom we should oft read. U5, An admonition to the Reader. Verso, Admonition ends. X2 verso, Text ends : To Master Blair we did part of supprise. Finis. Thus endeth... The Conclusion of this Book | Go noble Book ... Finis. British Museum. 1076. b. 29.

The Life and Acts . . . in verse, by John Blair. Glasgow, 1713*. 16mo. Bibl. Wallasiana.

Freebairn. Edinburgh. 1714 or 1715. See 1758.

The | Life | And | Acts | Of the most Famous and Valiant | Champion, | Sir William Wallace | Knight of Ellerslie; | [M]aintainer of the Liberty of Scotland. | [Wit]h a Preface containing a short Sum of the | History of That time. | Belfast. | [Pri]nted by James Blow, and are to be sold at | his shop, 1728. | 18mo.

A-S in 12's and 6's.

Pp. [i]-xxx, 31-324.

A1, Title. Verso, Epitaphium | Gulielmi Wallace. | A2, The | Printer | To The | Reader. | B3 verso, Preface ends. B4 (P. 31), The | Acts and Deeds | Of The | Most Famous and Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessours of whom we should oft read. S3, An Admonition to the Reader. S5, Text ends: To Mr. Blair we did part of surprise. Finis. Thus endeth VVilliam VVallace wight, | Behind him left not such a Knight, | Of worthiness and deed of hand: | From thraldom thrice he fred this Land. | The Conclusion of this Book | Go noble Book . . . S6, Conclusion ends. Finis. A Table of the Contents of this | Book. | Verso, Table ends. Finis. Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

Glasgow. 1737?* Bibl. Wallasiana.

The | Life and Acts | Of The | Most Famous and Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie; | Maintainer of the Liberty of | Scotland. | With a Preface containing a short Sum | of the History of that Time. | Glasgow: | Printed by Archibald M'Lean. | Sold by the Booksellers | MDCCLVI. | I 2mo. A-N¹².

Pp. [i]-xvi. + 1-[296].

A1, Title. Verso, Epitaphium Gulielmi Wallace. | Same page, The Author of the History of the Douglasses | hath translated the foresaid Verses. | A2, Preface : | A8, verso, Preface ends. A9 (P. 1), The | Life and Acts | Of The | Most Famous and valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Text begins: Our Antecessors of whom we should oft read. N9 (top of page), An Admonition to the Reader. | N11 verso, Text ends: To master Blair he (sic) did in part supprise. Thus endeth . . . N12, The Conclusion of this Book. | Go noble Book . . . Finis. Verso blank. British Museum, 11623. aa. 3.

The | Acts and Deeds | Of | The Most Famous and Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight of Ellerslie. | Written by Blind Harry in the year 1361. | Together With | Arnaldi Blair Relationes. | Edinburgh: | Printed in the Year MDCCLVIII. | 4to. B.L.

It is believed that Freebairn printed this edition in 1714 or 1715, and that its issue was delayed by the Rebellion in which he took part. The text (pp. 1-403) is almost utterly modernised in spelling, and is divided, as in the older editions, into twelve books, but, as Jamieson says, shows signs of collation with the MS. It is followed by Relationes Quaedam Arnaldi Blair Monachi de Dumfermelem Et Capellani D. Willielmi Wallas Militis, 1327 (pp. 1-8). P. 8, In obitum . . . Pp. 9-40, Commentarius in Relationes Arnaldi Blair. Pp. 40-1, Addenda. Pp. 43-79, Pars Secunda Commentarii . . .

The Metrical History Of Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie, By Henry, Commonly Called Blind Harry: Carefully 'Transcribed from the M.S. Copy of that Work, in the Advocates' Library, Under the Eye of the Earl of Buchan. And now Printed for the first time, according to the ancient and true orthography. With Notes and Dissertations. In Three Volumes. A! Fredome . . . freely lives! Barbour's Brus. Perth: Printed by R. Morison Junior, for R. Morison and Son, Booksellers; Perth. 1790.

12mo.

Advertisement &c. Account of Harry. Text, Dissertations &c. Subscribers Names (including "Mr Robert Burns, Ellisland"). Glossary. The Bruce; and Wallace; Published from two Ancient Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. With Notes, Biographical Sketches, and a Glossary. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. for Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co. William Blackwood, and Alexander Jameson, Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and T. Payne, London. 1820.

Second title :

- Wallace; or The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace, of Ellerslie. By Henry the Minstrel. Published from a Manuscript dated M.CCCC.LXXXVIII. With Notes, and Preliminary Remarks. By John Jamieson, D.D., Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, and the American Antiquarian Society. Printed at Edinburgh. MDCCCXX. 4to.
 Reprinted Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Co. 1869. 8vo.
- The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vail3eand Campioun Schir William Wallace Knicht of Ellerslie. By Henry the Minstrel commonly known as Blind Harry. Edited by James Moir, M.A., Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1889. 8vo.
- The Life and Acts of the most Famous and Valiant Champion, Sir William Wallace. Glasgow. n.d.* B.L. Bibl. Wallasiana.

EXTRACTS.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801. Modernised.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 83-6, Book XI. lines 1305-87, 1389-406. A bad copy of Lord Buchan.

Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867. Pp. 41-2, Bk. X. lines 560-86; Bk. I. lines 1-15.

Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry of Scotland. 1876.

Half-vol. I. Pp. 11-12, Book XI. lines 1305-406. From Jamieson.

Skeat. Specimens of English Literature. 1871.

Pp. 58-66, Bk. I. lines 181-448. "The text is given (with very slight alterations) as it stands in Jamieson's edition, but has been recompared with the MS." Introductory note, p. 57. Notes, pp. 388-93.

Eyre Todd. Early Scottish Poetry. 1891.

Pp. 189-220, Book IV. lines 701-91; V. 170-214, 418-26; VII. 1121-248; VIII. 1183-238, 1389-470; IX. 182-282, 319-404, 419-24, 1146-217, 1909-44; X. 393-404, 439-68, 527-46, 553-86. Apparently from Moir.

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 78-94, Book I. lines 367-448; V. 1-236; VI. 429-93; XI. 1305-402. From Moir. Pp. 184-7, Notes.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. I. 1901. Pp. 186-8.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 9-12, Book VI. lines 81-96; IX. 1915-40; X. 563-82.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 100-4, Book XI. lines 1111-28, 1305-406.

WORKS FOUNDED ON HARRY.

A New Edition Of The Life And Heroick Actions Of The Renoun'd Sir William Wallace, General and Governour Of Scotland. Wherein the Old obsolete Words are rendered

more Intelligible; and adapted to the understanding of such who have not leisure to study the Meaning, and Import of such Phrases without the help of a Glossary. [By William Hamilton of Gilbertfield.]

Glasgow, Printed by William Duncan. A.D. M.DCC.XXII. Many later editions.

The Preface explains "that nothing more was intended in this new Edition, than making the Original Copy intelligible, putting the Book in modern *Scots*, and making the Numbers run smooth and easy; all which will be found in some Measure to be done. AND tho' this homely Way was the Method concerted and concluded upon, by a vast Majority of the Subscribers, yet to gratifie the Inclinations of a few, some Part of the Book is done by Way of Paraphrase, and in more lofty Strains than what was at first proposed." The Introduction is what appeared as preface to the old editions from 1648 onwards. The epitaph "Invida mors" and Godscroft's translation follow the text.

John Harvey. The Life of Robert Bruce. 1729.*

Remodelled as the Bruciad, 1769. Printed along with Gilbertfield, 1822. Book I. is founded on Harry, Book XI.

A New Edition of the Life and Heroic Actions of Sir William Wallace, Knight of Elderslie, In Three Parts. By Alexander Brunton . . . Glasgow: Porteous Brothers . . . 1881. 8vo.

Includes the prose history from Sloane MS. No. 1226 (British Museum), founded on Harry.

Wallace, | A | Poem, | In Eleven Books; | Composed About The Year 1361. | By Henry, | A Blind Bard; | And Now
| Translated into Modern English Poetry from the most
| Authentic and Correct Edition, | By Anthony Macmillan.
| With a Dissertation on the nature and execution of the Poem; | Notes Biographical, Genealogical, Geographical, Explanatory, | and Critical; also Full Arguments to the different Books, | now more equally divided into Eighteen; and an Ap- | pendix to each Book of authorities in confirmation, | with a Translation of such as are in Latin. | In Four Volumes. | Vol. I. | Edinburgh : | Printed For Peter Hill. | 1799. | 12mo.

Vol. I. all published.

Verso of title, The | Acts And Deeds | Of The | Illustrious | And | Valiant Champion | Sir William Wallace, | Knight Of Ellerslie. | Jesu, Salvator ! ex jussu, | Mihi exponere ad finem dignum | Predictum librum atque benignum. | O Jesus ! Saviour of the human race ! | Grant me, I now beseech, of thy pure grace, | That I this book to a good end explain, | And Wallace' virtues their just praise may gain. |

Pp. 3-6, Dissertation on Wallace, A Poem. Pp. 6-8, Commendations of Authors on Henry's Poem of Wallace. Pp. 8-9, Of the date of the Poem. Pp. 10-3, Preface (attacking Gilbertfield's paraphrase). Pp. 14-6, List of Subscribers. Pp. 17-40, Wallace, Book I. (with argument and footnotes). Pp. 41-3, Appendix to Book First.

Translation begins-

"Of ancestors, of whom we ought to read, And hold in mind each honourable deed, Through perfect sloth we constantly pass o'er, Or other business interests us more. Honour in war to gain they still were bent As hath been seen in all the time now spent."

Blackwood's Magazine. Vol. V. No. XXX. September 1819.

Pp. 686-8, The Meeting of Wallace and Bruce on the Banks of the Carron. By Mrs. Hemans. This poem, which won a prize offered for a poem on the subject, is a sort of descant upon a passage in Harry's tenth book. Mrs. Hemans's Works, 1839, pp. 341-51 ("Wallace's Invocation to Bruce").

Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters. By Joanna Baillie. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1821. 8vo.

A Metrical Legend of William Wallace. Notes, Pp. 85-122, including many modernised extracts from Harry. This legend and The Ghost of Fadon are founded on The Wallace.

- Sir William Wallace, The Scottish Hero: A Narrative of his Life and Actions, chiefly as recorded in The Metrical History of Henry the Minstrel, on the authority of John Blair, Wallace's Chaplain, and Thomas Gray, Priest of Liberton. By the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A., F.R.S.L. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1861.
- John Wood. The Story of Wallace Wight. E. J. Arnold. 1908. A school-book.
- Sir William Wallace His Life and Deeds. By Henry the Minstrel (Blind Harry). In Modern Prose by Thomas Walker (From the Edition of Dr. Jamieson). Glasgow: Published for the Author by Muir. 92 Main Street, Bridgeton. 1910.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. Stanza XVIII.,

> "He hes Blind Hary, and Sandy Traill Slain with his schour of mortall haill."

The Droichis Part of the Play. Line 10,

"I am the nakit blynd Hary."

Major. Historia Majoris Britanniae. 1521. Lib. Iv. Cap. xv. See Introduction, p. xiv.

Complaynt of Scotland. Ed. Leyden, 1801, P. 98, "vallace."

Bale. Scriptorum Illustrium Catalogus. Posterior Pars. 1559. Cent. XIV. No. LVII. At the end of the article Guilhelmus Elphinston is this sentence : "Huius tempore claruit Henricus quidā, à natiuitate luminibus captus, qui carmine uulgari Guilhelmi Vualleys uitam conscripsit, de quo Maior lib. 4. cap. 15."

Holinshed's Chronicles. II. 1587. See Introduction, p. xlvi.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 11, "Henricus. Caecus. 1310."

Dempster. Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam. 1622. P. 9, (List of historians), "Henricus Caecus MCCCLXI."

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica. 1627.

Lib. VIII. No. 662. Bannatyne Club edition 1829. Vol. II. P. 349. "Henricus quidam, a nativitate caecus, rara tamen ingenii felicitate, Homerus alter, patriam linguam supra aetatem suam ditavit. Scripsit operosum et grande opus versu vernaculo,

De Gestis Gulielmi Wallasii lib. x. Huic, filio Gulielmi de Eldeslia. . .

Vivebat anno MCCCLXI." The passage omitted relates to Wallace only.

Colville. Whiggs Supplication. 1681. P. 8. See under General Works.

Nicholson. Scottish Historical Library. 1702. Pp. 246[†]-249[†], Trustworthiness and sources.

Mackenzie. Lives and Characters. Vol. I. 1708.

Pp. 422-5, Contents chapter by chapter. Major, Dempster, and Nicholson cited. Dempster's date first accepted, then rejected.

Pennecuik. Streams from Helicon. 1720. See under General Works.

Pennecuik. The Merry Wives of Musleburgh, at their meeting together, to welcome Meg Dickson after her loup from the ladder.

P. 17, "It's war nor playing at Blin Harrie."

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

"Henricus Scotus natione, bardus, caecus a partu. Rhythmis Scoticanis fabulose scripsit *De rebus gestis D. Gul. Wallasii*. Vide Joh. Majoris *Chronica* circa A. MCCCV. *Historiam Scotiæ* apud Hollingsh. vol. ii. p. 214."

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 271-2, "A popular poet, who has celebrated the actions which Wallace did not perform, as well as those which he did." "Much altered and amended."

Warton. English Poetry. Vols. I.-II. 1774-8.

Vol. I. Section xi. Pp. 321-31, Almost entirely made up of extracts. Vol. II. Section xiv. P. 334, Corrects error of Dempster, Mackenzie, and Vol. I. as to date. "The poem as now extant has probably been reformed and modernised."

Annals of Scotland from the Accession of Malcolm III. Surnamed Canmore, to the Accession of Robert I. By Sir David Dalrymple. Edinburgh: Printed by Balfour and Smellie for J. Murray, No. 32. Fleetstreet, London. 1776. 4to.

P. 245 n. "It would be lost labour to search for the age, name, and condition, of an author who either knew not history, or who meant to falsify it." Examples of errors.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. lxxxix.-xcii., List of the Scotish Poets. Some singular criticism. Editions. See also Preface, pp. xvii.-xviii. for Harry's popularity in Pinkerton's time. Vol II. Pp. 483-9, The Wallace "disfigured" by the use of stanzas in places, perhaps "altered by the whim of some riming transcriber." Pinkerton suggests alterations "which I should wish to see adopted in any future edition." Robert Burns. Autobiography.

To Dr Moore, 2nd August 1787.

"The first two books I ever read in private, and which gave me more pleasure than any two books I ever read again, were "The Life of Hannibal," and "The History of Sir William Wallace." Hannibal gave my young ideas such a turn, that I used to strut in raptures up and down after the recruiting drum and bag-pipe, and wish myself tall enough that I might be a soldier; while the story of Wallace poured a Scottish prejudice in my veins, which will boil along there till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest." Works, ed. Douglas, Vol. IV. pp. 6-7.

James Scott. The Wallace. 1790.

Vol. I. Pp. 5-20, An Account of Henry. Pp. 21-3, Of the Historical Relations ascribed to Arnald Blair. Vol. III. Pp. (1)-(3), Verses not in the manuscript \ldots Pp. (4)-(9), Of the Manuscript Copy of Henry's Poem. Pp. (10)-(15), Chronology. Pp. (16)-(61), Remarkable Persons of the Scotch Party. These, with the list of subscribers and the glossary, are at the end of the volume. Scott inclines to accept Dempster's date, and to consider Harry "above the vulgar" and a member of a religious order. He discusses the general character of the poem, in which he finds traces of the author's blindness. Vol. I. Pp. 3-4, Pinkerton's suggestions for a new division into books.

Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop. Ed. W. Wallace. 1895.

P. 294, Letter from Burns to Mrs. Dunlop, dated Ellisland, 6th Dec. 1790.

"There is a fine copy of Blind Harry's history of Wallace printed at Perth, from a Manuscript of great antiquity in the Advocates' Library; with an Engraving of him from a genuine picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquarians.

"If I thought you had not seen it, I would send it you. It is the most elegant piece of work that ever came from any Printing-press in Great Britain. "There is likewise just published, Barbour's *Life of Robert Bruce*, done from an old Manuscript in the Advocates' Library. If I could get it safely sent, you might have it."

Heron. Journey Through the Western Counties. 1793.

Vol. II. P. 398, "*Wallace*, were his real history somewhat more hid in the darkness of antiquity, would certainly furnish one of the fittest characters that can be contemplated for the hero of an Epic Poem. His deeds have been celebrated in verse and disguised, as it should seem, in fable, by Blind Harry, but with little of that poetical power which consecrates the rudest language, and gives deathless renown to every object honoured by its notice. Yet, even the strains of Blind Harry have given Wallace that celebrity which his name enjoys among the vulgar."

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. III. 1797. Pp. 290-7.

Campbell. Poetry in Scotland. 1798.

Pp. 54-5. "This celebrated epic romance is of all the poems among the Lowland Scotish by far the most popular." The notice is filled up with the anecdote already given. See Introduction, p. xxxvi.

Macmillan. Wallace. 1799.

Pp. 3-9, The Wallace as an epic; the date about 1361, from internal evidence.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801. Vol. I. Pp. 348-57.

Leyden. Complaint of Scotland. 1801. Pp. 224-5, Popularity of the Wallace down to "a late period."

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. P. 82, Unimportant. "No ground for suspecting" that John Ramsay altered or amended though he might arrange.

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804.

Pp. 339-52, Minstrels. Pp. 352-63, Harry: his blindness, versification, faithfulness as a historian, sources, etc. More fully in 1861.

Scott. Sir Tristrem. 1804.

Pp. xiii.-xv., "This romantic biographer" on Thomas the Rymour.

Brydges. Censura Literaria. Vol. III. 1807. Pp. 308-9, Title of 1611 edition.

Kerr. History of Robert I. 1811. Vol. I. Pp. 113-124, Harry as a historian.

Dyer. Poetics. 1812. See under General Works, Dyer's Poems. 1801.

Jamieson. Wallace. 1820.

Preliminary Remarks on Harry's life, learning, etc., editions, and William Wallace. Also in reprint 1869, pp. i.-xvii.

- P. R. Lives of the Scottish Poets. 1821. Vol. I. Part II. Pp. 55-60, Criticises Ellis.
- Joanna Baillie. Metrical Legends. 1821. See under Works founded on Harry.
- Life of Sir William Wallace, of Elderslie. By John D. Carrick. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh: Printed for Constable and Co.; and Hurst, Chance and Co., London. [Constable's Miscellany, LIII.-LIV.] 1830.

Vol. I. Introduction, pp. 13-30, Harry's trustworthiness defended. His sources. Much use is made of Harry in this work.

Tytler. Scottish Worthies. Vol. III. 1833.

Pp. 299-314, Harry as a historian. "An ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials."

Laing. Dunbar. 1834. Vol. I. Memoirs, p. 44, A short notice.

Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835.

Vol. III. Pp. 15-7, Blindness. Superior, though not in all respects, to Barbour.

Stevenson. Wallace Papers. Maitland Club. 1841. Introductory Notice. Pp. xii.-xiii., Harry as a historian.

Wright. History of Scotland. 1852.

Vol. I. P. 288, Harry preferred to Barbour and Wyntoun, but "very heavy and wearisome."

Another edition, n.d., p. 30.

Life of Sir William Wallace, or Scotland Five Hundred Years Ago. Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Son. 1858. 8vo. Pp. 276-88, Bibliotheca Wallasiana. This includes (1) editions of Harry, (2) editions of Gilbertfield, (3) miscellaneous.

Wallace and his Times. By James Paterson. 1858. 16mo. Uncritical.

Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 176-86, Minstrels. Pp. 174-7, 186-98, Harry. An amplification of the notice of 1804.

Craik. English Literature. 1861. Vol. I. Pp. 386-90.

Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry, 1871. P. xvii.

Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. P. 90. A very short notice. Harry's continued popularity.

The Early Days of Sir William Wallace. A Lecture Delivered at Paisley, November 16, 1875. By John Marquess of Bute, K.T. With Two Illustrations. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1876.

Pp. 12-4. Harry as a historian.

- Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. I. 1878. Pp. 527-33.
- Brunton. Life and Heroic Actions of Sir William Wallace. 1881.

This singular book contains much uncritical criticism of Harry as a historian.

- Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881.
- Schipper. Dunbar. 1884. Pp. 20-3.

Merry Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884.

Pp. 48-9, 59-61, 76-89, 231, The Wallace as history, ignorant, stupid, and credulous. Pp. 129-31, Literary position and merits.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 172-84. With considerable extracts.

Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 102-3.

Sir William Wallace. A Critical Study of his Biographer Blind Harry. By James Moir, M.A. Rector of Aberdeen Grammar School. Aberdeen: J. & J. P. Edmond & Spark. 1888. 8vo.

The substance of a paper read to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. Scarcely differs from the introduction to the S.T.S. edition, which contains bibliographical matter not given here.

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. II.-III. 1888-9.

Moir. Wallace. 1889.

Introduction. Pp. vii.-xi., What is known of Blind Harry. Pp. xi.-xii., John Blair's 'Latin Buke.' Pp. xiii.-xxi., Bibliographical notes. Pp. xxi.-xxiii., Harry's account of Wallace. The rest of the Introduction deals with Wallace's life.

- Morley. English Writers. Vol. VI. 1890. Pp. 244-50, Materials for life, and account of The Wallace.
- Eyre-Todd. Early Scottish Poetry. 1891. Pp. 179-88.
- Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXVI. 1891. Pp. 120-1.
- Craigie. Barbour and Blind Harry as Literature. Scottish Review. Vol. XXII. July 1893. Pp. 173-201, Harry a better poet than Barbour.
- Brandl. Paul's Grundriss. II. i. 1893. P. 715. Short.
- Kolkwitz. Das Satzgefüge in Barber's Bruce und Henry's Wallace. 1893.
- Jusserand. Histoire littéraire. 1894. Pp. 524-5. A short notice. English edition 1895, p. 506.
- Heuser. Offenes und geschlossenes ee. Anglia XVIII., N.F. VI. 1896.

Pp. 114-23, Die ee-reime in Wallace.

- W. W. Skeat. Chaucer and Blind Harry. The Modern Language Quarterly. Vol. I. No. 2. November 1897.
 Pp. 49-50, Chaucer's influence in metre, grammar, and matter.
- J. T. T. Brown. Some Desultory Notes. The Scottish Antiquary. Vol. XIII. No. 49. July 1898.

Pp. 7-9, Harry in The Droichis Part. Pp. 10-1, Topography of The Wallace ("Kingace") and relations to The Howlat (Book X., lines 135 ff.; Book VI. lines 139-40). Used in Wallace and Bruce Restudied, 1900, pp. 30-3. Gosse. Modern English Literature. 1898. Pp. 45-6.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898. Pp. 62-75.

Brown. The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied.

From "the organic unity; the minutely particular topography; the Chaucerian and other influence on versification and thought; the extensive acquaintance with Romance literature; the direct borrowing from chronicles," Mr. Brown argues against a blind man's authorship of The Wallace. He suggests that Harry's verses suggested to John Ramsay—whom he identifies with Sir John the Ross—"a theme for a national epic worthy to be in some measure complementary to *The Bruce* of John Barbour."

- J. Ernst Wülfing. Anglia. Beiblatt. XI. 1900. Pp. 336-45, Review of Mr. Brown's book.
- G. Neilson, J. T. T. Brown. John Barbour versus John Ramsay. Athenaeum. Nos. 3812-3. November 17 and 24, 1900.

Pp. 647-8, 683-4, Controversy arising out of Mr. J. T. T. Brown's book.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. I. 1901. P. 186.

- T. F. Henderson. Barbour and Blind Harry. Englische Studien XXX. 1902.
 Pp. 281-94.
- Beiträge zur neueren Philologie. Festschrift für J. Schipper. Wien u. Leipzig. 1902.*

Pp. 132 ff. E. Anschauer. Zur "Wallace"-Frage.

- Ernst A. Kock. Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts. Anglia XXXVI., N.F. XIV. 1903. Pp. 371-2, Notes on Skeat, Specimens of English Literature, No. VI.
- Garnett. English Literature. Vol. I. 1903. Pp. 292-3.
- Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 35-8, "It may be questioned whether he is much superior to the respectable Wyntoun."
- Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 54-60.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. P. 269. Very short.
- Giles. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 108-12, 449.
- Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Collected by A. C. Bradley. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1910. 8vo.

Pp. 85-112, On Blind Harry's 'Wallace.' By George Neilson. Poet and Quasi-Historian. Some Poetical Sources; The Pillaging of Barbour; The Wallace Portrait; Wallace's Alleged Yorkshire Campaign; The 'Revare Edward' of 1482.

Die Sprache in Henry the Minstrel's "Wallace." Laut- u. Flexionslehre. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Königl. Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel vorgelegt von Herbert Heyne aus Hamburg. Kiel 1910. Druck von H. Fiencke. 8vo.

HOLLAND.

EDITIONS.

The Buke of the Howlat. 1520?*

A black letter edition, printed from Walter Chepman's types, "and not later than perhaps the year 1520. The size may be called a small 4to." Laing, Adversaria, p. 15. Fragments of this edition were discovered by Laing in the covers of a Protocol book, 1529 or 1530. The two stanzas (XLIII. and XLV.) which could be recovered are printed in Adversaria, p. 16. See also Amours, Alliterative Poems, S.T.S., p. xxi., Dickson and Edmond, 101-2.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. III. (Appendix) Pp. 147-88, From the Bannatyne MS. "Before unpublished." Divided into three parts, with arguments. "Without any sort of exaggeration, might perhaps be termed the most inaccurate copy of any old Scotish poem which has in our days been submitted to the publick."—Laing.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 62-81. Stanzas 1-12, 19-24, 52-77. From Pinkerton with many new errors.

The Buke of the Howlat. By Holland. [Edited by David Laing.] Printed at Edinburgh [for the Bannatyne Club]. 1823. 4to. B.L.

From the Asloan MS. Some variants from Bannatyne MS.

- Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. Vol. VI. 1880. Pp. 867-97.
- The Buke of the Howlat. Edited by David Donaldson, F.E.I.S. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1882. 4to. B.L.

Reprint of Laing 1823. Variants from Bannatyne collected anew and placed in footnotes instead of Appendix. Notes on MSS. added. Also reprint of an account of the Maitland Club, Scots Times, Sept. 16, 1829.

- Amours. Scottish Alliterative Poems. 1891. Pp. 47-81, From Asloan. Variants in foot-notes.
- Holland's Buke of the Houlate published from the Bannatyne Ms. with Studies in the Plot, Age and Structure of the Poem. By Arthur Diebler, Phil.Dr. Leipzig. O. R. Reisland. 1893. 8vo.

Pp. 25-52, Text from Bannatyne, with "all essential variants" from Laing and the Hunterian Club edition.

Holland's Buke of the Houlate published from the Bannatyne Ms. with Studies in the Plot, Age and Structure of the Poem. By Arthur Diebler, Phil.Dr. Chemnitz. Druck von J. C. F. Pickenhahn & Sohn. 1893. 4to. This is the same work as the one last noted.

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 62-77. Stanzas 1-16, 60-76. From Amours. Notes pp. 182-4.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Henry the Minstrel. The Wallace.

Book X. Lines 130-42 (Ed. Jamieson). This passage seems to refer to Holland's Howlat.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars.

Stanza xvi.,

"Holland and Barbour he has berevit."

Lyndsay. Testament of the Papyngo. Lines 19-20. See Introd. p. xix.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 270-1, "A verbose work." Antiquarian interest. Date before Ancrum Moor.

Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778.

P. 319, Footnote on Lyndsay's Papyngo.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. P. lxxxix. List of the Scotish Poets, "Holland wrote a poem, called *The Howlat*, extant in the Bannatyne MS: and in a MS belonging to James Boswell Esq. of Auchinleck. In it are described 'The Kyndis of Instrumentes; the Sporteris' (or Juglers); 'The Irish bard; and the fule.' See Mr. Warton's Hist. of E. P. Vol. I. where this poem is shewn to have been certainly written before 1455." Pinkerton heads this notice 1450. In the description of the Bannatyne MS. Pinkerton seems to include the Howlat among Henryson's works. Vol. II. Pp. 481, 483.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems. 1792.

Pp. xxviii.-xxx., "Prolix and dull" etc. Attempt to read as a political satire.

Campbell. Poetry in Scotland. 1798.

P. 54, More about Pope and Hayley as writers of allegory than about Holland.

Heron. History of Scotland. 1799. Pp. 196-7.

r p. 190-7.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801.

Vol. I. P. 348, "An allegorical satire in language equally obscure but far less beautiful" than Golagros. A very short notice.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 61-2, Holland and the Douglases. Sibbald follows Pinkerton in interpretation as a political satire. Style.

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804.

Vol. I. Pp. 369-71, Very slight. Used in 1861.

Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806.

Vol. I. Pp. 133-4, Holland's "prize poem" is scoffed at for its unintelligibility. Even Hoccleve is preferred to the alliterative Scottish poets.

Lives of Eminent Scotsmen. 1821. Vol. III. (Part VI.) Supplement. P. 133. Very short.

Laing. Buke of the Howlat. 1823.

Preface pp. i.-xxiv., Nature of the poem: not a political satire. Holland and the Douglases. Analysis, partly from notes of the late Alexander Thomson for his projected History of Scottish Poetry. Poetical merits, etc. The Preface and Appendix contain also opinions and notes by Thomson and Sir Walter Scott. Reprinted, Donaldson 1882.

Laing. Dunbar. 1834.

Vol. I. P. 42, Very short. "Some invention and descriptive powers."

Wright. History of Scotland. 1852. Vol. I. Pp. 288-9.

Irving. Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 163-70.

Campbell. Popular Tales of the West Highlands. Vol. IV. 1862.

Pp. 53-4, Explanation of Gaelic phrases.

Laing. Adversaria. 1867.

Pp. 11-6, Documents relating to Sir Richard Holland. Discovery of fragments of a B.L. edition. Facsimiles.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. P. 128, Very short and quite unimportant. Donaldson. Buke of the Howlat. 1882.

Editor's Preface (on MSS.), and Notes on the Bannatyne version.

- Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 126-7, Very short.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 202-4, Scenery and versification.

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-flexion. III. 1889.

Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXVII. 1891.P. 154-5.

Morley. English Writers. Vol. VII. 1891. Pp. 142-3, Life, argument. Not in work of 1867.

Diebler. Holland's Buke of the Houlate. 1893.

Pp. 5-24, 1. Investigations on Holland, the author of the Buke of the Houlate. 2. Reasons for dating the poem in connection with historical allusions and events. 3. Plot and contents of the Buke of the Houlate. 4. Scope and tendency of the poem. 5. Sources of the poem and the influence of other poets. 6. The structure of the poem. 7. Explanatory notes on the talk of the Irish bard (in stanza LXII). The Gaelic is explained by Professors Windisch and Mackinnon.

- J. Gutmann. Untersuchungen über das mittelenglische Gedicht "The Buke of the Houlate." Diss. Halle. 1892. C. Vogt's Verlag. Berlin. 1893*.
- Alois Brandl. Paul's Grundriss. II. i. 1893. Pp. 714-5.

W. W. Skeat. "The Buke of the Howlat": A Correction. Academy. Vol. XLV. No. 1131. January 6. 1894.

P. 13, Corrects line 736, S.T.S. edition, (aue for ane), and explains talburn (760), golk (821), rolpand (215).

Diebler. Zu "Holland's Buke of the Houlate." Anglia XVI. N.F. IV. 1894. Pp. 385-6.

Amours. Scottish Alliterative Poems. 1897.

Introduction Pp. xx.-xxxiv., Deals with MSS. and editions, the author, date, contents, and meaning of the Howlate, and references to it and to Holland. Notes pp. 287-317. Index of names, p. 479. Glossary.

J. T. T. Brown. Some Desultory Notes. The Scottish Antiquary. Vol. XIII. No. 49. July 1898.

Pp. 9-11, Campbell's explanation of Gaelic phrases preferred to Diebler's. Relation of The Wallace to The Howlat. Used in Wallace and Bruce Restudied, 1900, pp. 30-3.

J. T. T. Brown. Wallace and Bruce Restudied. 1900.

Pp. 30-3, The Wallace and The Howlat; from The Scottish Antiquary, XIII. pp. 9-11.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898. Pp. 133-5.

Gregory Smith. Transition Period. 1900.

Pp. 74-6, The Howlat as a poetical exercise, with a note of individuality, and as an expression of the topsy-turvy humour.

Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 38-40.

Giles. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 112-5, 449-50.

ROBERT HENRYSON

[WITH PATRICK JOHNISTOUN].

The order of the poems in this list is that of Laing's and Diebler's editions.

- 1. Robene and Makyne.
- 2. The Garmond of Gude Ladeis.
- 3. The Bludy Serk.
- 4. The Abbay Walk.
- 5. Aganis Haisty Creddence of Titlaris.
- 6. The Prais of Aige.
- 7. The Ressoning betwixt Aige and 3outh.
- 8. The Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man.
- 9. The Three Deid Powis.
- 10. The Salutation of the Virgin.
- II. The Want of Wyse Men.
- 12. Ane Prayer for the Pest.
- 13. Sum Practysis of Medecyne.
- 14. Orpheus and Euridice.
- 15. Testament and Complaint of Cresseid.
- 16. Moral Fables:

or separately-

- F. o. Prologue. Thocht feinzeit.
 - 1. The Taill of the Cok and the Jasp.
 - 2. The Taill of the vponlandis Mous and the burges Mous.
 - 3. The Taill of schir Chantecleir and the Foxe.
 - 4. The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his confessioun to freir wolf waitskaith.

- 5. The Taill of the sone and air of the foirsaid fox, callit Father Ware; alswa the Parliament of Fourfuttit Beastis haldin be the Lyoun.
- 6. The Taill of the Dog, the Scheip, and the Wolf.
- 7A. Prologue. In middis of June.
- 7B. The Taill of the Lyoun and the Mous.
- 8. The Preiching of the Swallow.
- 9. The Taill of the wolf that gat the nekhering throw the wrinkis of the Fox that begylit the Cadgear.
- 10. The Taill of the fox that begilit the Wolf in the schadow of the mone.
- 11. The Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder.
- 12. The Taill of the Wolf and the Lamb.
- 13. The Taill of the Paddok and the Mous.

M. following the number of a fable means Moralitas only.

The above list includes some doubtful poems. Diebler ascribes to Henryson, in addition to those named, some minor religious pieces in the Makculloch MS. "Master Robert Hendersonis dreme, On fut by forth" (Asloan MS. Table of Contents) is lost. **15** is to be found in old editions of Chaucer, omitted here. See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

EDITIONS.

- [Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy, etc. Edinburgh. Chepman and Myllar. 1508?] 4to. B.L. See under Dunbar for 6.
- Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng and | how he yeid to hewyn & to hel to seik his quene And | ane othir ballad in the lattir end. | [Chepman's device with name .Walterus. chepman] | [Edinburgh. Chepman and Myllar. 1508?] 4to. B.L.

Two fragments, of two and eight leaves respectively. Ff. 3 and 5 of second fragment are signed b and b ii. First fragment. F.1, Title. Verso blank. F.2, Text of 14 begins: The nobilnes and grete magnificence. F.2 verso, Fragment ends: In oure langage quha coud it wele expound (Stanza 9, line 2).

Second fragment. F.1, Text begins: To mend my murnyng and my drery mone. F.7 verso, Text ends: And thus endis the tale of Orpheus. It is followed immediately by **II** without heading or author's name. Begins: Me ferlyis of this grete confusion. Seven stanzas. Ends F.8 verso. Myllar's device below, with name Androv myllar.

Adv. Lib. Unique. Eighth Tract in "The Porteous of Noblenes and ten other rare tracts."

The Morall Fabillis | of Esope the Phrygi- | an, Compylit in Eloquent, and Ornate Scottis | Meter, be Maister Robert Henrisone. | Scholemaister of Dun- | fermeling. | ¶Dulcius Arrident Seria Picta Jocis. | ¶ Vt Naufragii leuamen est Portus, Ita Tranquillitas | animi seu Jucunditas est quasi Vitae Portus. | ¶ Newlie Imprentit | at Edinburgh, be Robert Lekpreuik, | at the ex- | pensis of Henrie Charteris : and ar to be | sauld in his Buith, on the North syde | of the gait, abone the Throne. | Anno. Do. M. D. LXX. | *

4to. B.L.

The title and colophon are taken from Laing's description of the unique copy at Britwell, Henryson 1865, pp. 265-6. Dickson and Edmond, 240-1.

The Testament of | Cresseid, | Compylit be M. Robert | Henrysone, Sculemai- | ster in Dunfer- | meling. | Imprentit at Edin- | burgh be Henrie Charteris. | M. D. XCIII. |

4to. B.L.

A-B⁴, C². No pagination.

Ai., Title. Verso, The | Testament of Cresseid. | Text begins : Ane doolie sessoun to ane cairfull dyte. C ii. verso, Text ends. Finis.

Fabilis of Isope. Robert Smith. Edinburgh*.

This edition is lost. In 1599 Smith obtained the privilege of printing the Fables (Laing, 264), and the inventory of his stock at his death in 1602 shows 743 copies (Dickson and Edmond, 483).

Cresseid. Robert Smith. Edinburgh*.

Lost. 1638 copies in inventory of Smith's stock 1602 (Dickson and Edmond 483).

Testament of Cresseid. Edinburgh. 1605.*

8vo. B.L.

Testament of Cresseid. Edinburgh. 1611*.

8vo. B.L.

The | Morall Fabl . . | of Esope, the | Phrygian. | Compyled into eloquent and orna . . | Meeter, by Robert Henri . . . | Schoole-master of Dvmfermeling | ¶ Dulcius arrident seria picta Jocis. | ¶ Vt Naufragii levamen est portus: ita tra . . . | animi, seu iocunditas est quasi vitæ portus. | Newlie reuised and corrected. | [Device with H, the A missing] | Edinb . r . . | . . . 8vo. B.L. Printed by Andro Hart 1621.

A-F⁸.

Pp. [1]-[96].

A1, Title. Verso apparently blank. A2, The Prologue. Ends on verso. A3, The Tale Of \ldots | Cocke and the Iaspe. | Text begins: Though feinzed Fables and old Poetrie. F8, Text of Fables ends: Grant vs to passe to thee in blessed houre. | Finis. F8 verso, The Table of this Booke. Device as on T.P. with initials A H. The Prologues and Morals are in Roman type. Advocates' Library. The leaves of this unique copy are much damaged. Irving, 1832, supplies the defects of the titlepage from Bagford's Collections. See Scots Magazine, 1813. The Testament of Cresseid. Compyled by Master Robert Henrison, schoolemaster of Dunfermeling. Printed in the year 1663*. 8vo. B.L. Printed "apparently at Glasgow by Andrew Anderson,"

Laing, Henryson, p. 259. Trinity College, Cambridge, v. 15, a, 55.

Forbes. Aberdeen. 1686*.

Laing, Henryson, p. 241, mentions "one of the separate editions" of **4**, printed "along with some other popular verses," by Forbes, 1686.

Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. I. Pp. 56-63, I. Pp. 144-55, F2. Pp. 185-99, F7A and B. Pp. 234-6, 2. From the Bannatyne MS. Great liberties have been taken. Some parts are rewritten. The dialect is debased.

Poems in the Scottish Dialect. 1748. Pp. 33-7, I. From Ramsay.

Percy. Reliques. 1765. Vol. II. Pp. 67-71, I. From Ramsay.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 98-102, I. Pp. 103-4, 2. Pp. 105-6, 4. Pp. 107-8, 6. Pp. 109-30, F6, F12, F13M, F1M, F2M, F7BM. Pp. 131-3, 7. Pp. 134-5, 8. Pp. 136-8, 5. Pp. 139-41, 9 ("Patrick Johnstoun").

Pinkerton. Select Scotish Ballads. 1783. Vol. II. Pp. 63-9, **I**.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. III. Pp. 128-9, 6. Pp. 133-5, II. From Chepman and Myllar. Pp. 189-94 (Appendix containing three pieces before unpublished), 3. From Bannatyne.

The Works of the British Poets. With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical. By Robert Anderson, M.D. Volume First; containing Chaucer, Surrey, Wyat, Sackville, and a Glossary. London: Printed for John and Arthur Arch; and for Bell and Bradfute and J. Mundell & Co, Edinburgh. 1795. 8vo.

Pp. 409-14, 15. Printed among Chaucer's works, but attributed on authority of Urry (really Kinaston) to Henryson.

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801.

Vol. I. Pp. 361-9. Modernised extracts. 2 (complete), 4 (third stanza omitted), 9 (attributed to Johnstoun).

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 90-120, F7A, F12, F6, F2, I. Pp. 157-93, 15, 3, 4, 7, 9 (Johnstoun). Pp. 199-200, II.

The Works of the English Poets, From Chaucer to Cowper . . . The Additional Lives by Alexander Chalmers, F.S.A. In Twenty-one Volumes. Vol. I. Chaucer. London : . . . 1810. 8vo.

Pp. 294-9, **I5** among Chaucer's works. Nothing said of authorship.

Scots Magazine. Vol. LXXV. July 1813. Pp. 505-9, **Fo** and **F9**. From Hart. 1621.

Nott. Works of Surrey and Wyatt. 1815. Vol. II. Appendix VI. Pp. 451-7, F2. From MS. Harleian

No. 3865.

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol II. P. 77, I, Stanzas I., XII., XV.-XVI. Almost every line is translated in the notes.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821. Pp. 21-5, I. From Hailes.

Laing. Select Remains. 1822. Number 8, 3. From Bannatyne.

Robene and Makyne, and the Testament of Cresseid; by Robert Henryson. [Edited by George Chalmers.] Edinburgh: 1824. Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. (Bannatyne Club). 4to

Preface, Text, and Foot-notes on I. I from Bannatyne, 15, from Henry Charteris 1593.

- Laing. Gawen and Golagrus. 1827. From Chepman and Myllar 1508.
- Mercer. History of Dunfermline. 1828. Pp. 66-7, 4 (third stanza omitted). Not modernised.
- The Moral Fables of Robert Henryson. Reprinted from the Edition of Andrew Hart. [Edited by David Irving.] Edinburgh: 1832. 4to. B.L.

Presented to the Maitland Club by Duncan Stewart.

Preface. Text. List of Corrections.

Text from Hart, with corrections : gaps filled from Bannatyne, &c. Prologues and Morals in Roman type.

Laing. Dunbar. [Cancelled Leaves.] 1834*.

Vol. II. Pp. 157 ff., 6, 7, 9. See Hunterian Club Bannatyne.

Aytoun. Ballads of Scotland. 1858.

Vol. I. Introduction. Pp. lxii. - lxiv., 4. Pp. 86 - 91, 3. Spelling partly altered.

The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, Now First Collected. With Notes, and a Memoir of his Life. By David Laing. Edinburgh : William Paterson. 1865. 8vo.

"In the present volume the whole of Henryson's Poems and Fables are collected for the first time. The text is uniformly given from the earliest and best copies; and the principal various readings are printed out in the Notes." Nos. I-I6. Glossary.

Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867. P. 46, 6. Pp. 56-7, 4. P. 61, two stanzas of F2M. Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. Vols. II.-III.-IV. 1873-75-78-80-81. Vol. II. Pp. 61-4, 12. Pp. 125-7, 4. Pp. 149-59, 7, 8, 6. (All these have variants from the duplicate text in foot-notes.)
9. ("Finis quod Patrick Johnistoun"). Pp. 182-4, 5. Pp. 213-5, II. Vol. III. Pp. 401-4, 13. Pp. 611-2, 2. Vol. IV. Pp. 856-66, F8. Pp. 898-988, F3, F4, F5, 14, 3, F0, F1, F13, F2, F6, F12, F7AB. Pp. 1050-4, I.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry of Scotland. Vol. I. 1876. Pp. 20-2, F2. Short introductory notice.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 131-70, I, 15, F7A, F12, F0, F1, F6, F2, F13, F8. All partly modernised. P. 126, 9. From Laing. "No opinion" as to authorship is indicated by placing it under Johnstoun's name.

Ebenezer Henderson. Annals of Dunfermline. 1879.

Appendix I. Pp. 721-3, 4, 2, 8 (2 stanzas), 12 (7 stanzas). From Laing.

Ward's English Poets. Vol. I. 1880.

Pp. 140-6, 2, F7B (last stanza and M omitted). From Laing. Glossed in foot-notes.

Gregor. The Court of Venus. 1884.

Pp. xvi.-xx. **F6** (M omitted, except lines 120-33, Laing's numbering). Printed in evidence of influence on Rolland.

A. R. Diebler. Henrisone's Fabeln. Anglia. IX. Band. 1886.

Pp. 337-90, 453-92. Introduction. Text. From Harleian MS., with variants in foot-notes.

Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887.

Pp. 47-61, 4, 2; extracts from 9, F2, 15, and F7A; 6. Modernised.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892. Pp. 91-138, 1, 2, 4, 6, 15, F7A, F2. Laing's text. Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 39-61, I (stanzas 5-6 omitted), 2, F9 (M omitted), F2 (M omitted). All from Laing. Notes pp. 180-2.

Skeat. Chaucerian and other Poems. 1897.

Pp. 327-46. **15** from Charteris 1593. Collated (footnotes) with Thynne, 1532.

Henderson. Little Book of Scottish Verse. 1899.

Pp. 11-22, 4, 7, I. Spelling slightly modernised. Glossed in foot-notes.

Arber. Dunbar Anthology. 1901. Pp. 146-78, **I**, **3**, **I5**. Modernised.

Gregory Smith. Specimens of Middle Scots. 1902. Pp. 1-10, F0, F1. Both from the Makculloch MS. 10. From the Gray MS. Pp. 21-5, 34-41, I, F13. Both from the Bannatyne MS.

The Poems of Robert Henryson. Edited by G. Gregory Smith. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. Vols. II.-III. 1906-8. 8vo.

Vol. II. Fables. Vol. III. Remaining poems. Texts from Harleian, Makculloch, Gray, Bannatyne (both versions) and Maitland MSS., from William Gibb's¹ and Prof. Bülbring's transcripts of the Asloan MS., and from the printed editions of Chepman and Myllar, Charteris (**15** and **16**) and Thynne (**15**).

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 12-23, **I**, 3, 2.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1910. Pp. 73-99, **15**, **1**.

¹ Made for the use of Chalmers: Edinburgh Univ. Lib., Laing 450.

I74

PARAPHRASE, ETC.

Richard Smith. The Fabulous tales of Esope the Phrygian, Compiled most eloquently in Scottishe Metre by Master Robert Henrison, & now lately Englished. Every tale Moralized most aptly to this present time, worthy to be read. Imprinted at London by Richard Smith. Anno 1577^{*}.

See Introduction, p. xxxi.

Sir Francis Kinaston translated Cresseid, along with Chaucer's Troilus, into rhymed Latin.

See Introduction, p. xxxix.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. Stanza XXI.,

> "In Dumfermelyne he hes tane Broun [done rowne] With Maistir Robert Henrysoun."

Patrick Johnston is mentioned in Stanza xvIII.

Gawin Douglas. Æneid.

Douglas's "Schort Coment" in the Cambridge MS. has this note on Prologue I. line 13: "Musa in Grew signifeis an inuentryce or inuention in our langgage And of the ix musis sum thing in my palyce of hono^r & be Mastir robert hendirson in new orpheus." Small's edition Vol. I. plate facing p. clxxiii., (facsimile); and Vol. II. p. 281.

Lyndsay. Papyngo. See Introduction, p. xix.

Leland. 1540*.

In list of Chaucer's works: "Testamentum *Chrysidis*, & ejusdem Lamentatio." Edit. 1709, p. 424.

Bale. Summarium. 1548.

Fo. 198, In list of Chaucer's works :

"Chryseidae testamentum, trac. 1. Diuturnis horis donec dolo. "Chryseidae quaerimoniam, trac. 1. O tristem & cruentam lethi."

Bale's other works recognise only Chaucer's five books of Troilus.

Complaynt of Scotland. 1549?*

Ed. Leyden, 1801, p. 98. The list of poems includes "on fut by fortht as i culd found," apparently the lost work of Henryson.

Richard Smith. Esope. 1577*. See Introduction, p. xxxi.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 13, "Patric. Ihonstonus."

Kynaston.

See Introduction, p. xxxix.

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Stanza 8,

> "To mend zour morals, with delyt attend, Quhyle Henryson dois guidness recommend; Quhyle Truth throw his transport Fablis schynes, And all the mynd to quhat is just inclynes."

—Sempill Ballates, p. 256.

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*. Works. 1766. Vol. I. P. 22,

> "In gentle Henryson's unlabour'd strain Sweet Arethusa's shepherd breath'd again."

Foot-note—"Mr. Robert Henryson, an ingenious pastoral poet."

Percy. Reliques. 1765. Vol. II. P. 314. Vol. III. P. 66.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 168 (art. Chaucerus), 15 attributed to Chaucer.

Richard Farmer. An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare. Second edition. 1767.

P. 37, "For not to insist upon Stephen Bateman's Golden booke of the leaden Goddes, 1577, and several other laborious compilations on the subject, all this and much more Mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the Testament of Creseide, and the Fairy Queen, as from a regular Pantheon, or Polymetis himself." Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare. Edited by D. Nichol Smith, M.A. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1903. Pp. 185-6.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 273, 277-86, Notes on Dunbar's Lament and the Poems of Henryson and Johnston. Hailes does not think highly of Henryson. His poems "have a moral turn, and are free from that licentiousness which debases the compositions of some of his cotemporaries," but the Fables "are rather tedious," and in 2 "the comparison between female ornaments and female virtues, is extended throughout so many lines, and with so much of a tire-woman's detail, that it becomes somewhat ridiculous."

Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778. P. 319 footnote, "Of a grave moral turn."

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. List. P. xcix., "Several of Henryson's poems are extant in the work last quoted [Hailes]. His Fabils are in the Harleian Library, and, instead of being so moral as Lord Hailes states them, have, in many passages, equal freedom with any cotemporary poetry. *The twa mice* in the Evergreen, Vol. I. is the only one worth preservation, being written with much *naiveté*." Harleian MS. and Hart's edition 1621 noticed. Vol. II. Appendix. Pp. 453-4. Maitland readings from 7. P. 462, 5 "A very poor production against tale-bearing." **4**, Maitland readings. P. 465, **9**, Maitland readings. Pinkerton. Scotish Poems from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. P. xxiv., 14 "A tedious fable by Henryson, with a spiritual moralization" P. xxx., "The next poem, called *The Bludy Serk*, is written by Henryson, a poet who flourished about the year 1490; and has little merit, except its easy versification, and ballad-stanza, rarely found in productions of that epoch."

Ritson. Scotish Song. 1794.

Vol. I. Historical Essay on Scotish Song. P. xlix., Certain anonymous poems "have no inconsiderable degree of poetical merit for so remote an age. *Robene and Makyne*, by Henrysone, *The blait luvar*, *The luvaris lament*, by Fethy, and several pieces by Alexander Scot, though not all, perhaps, properly songs, are entitled to a still higher compliment. This, indeed, was the Augustan age of Scotish poetry."

The Loves of Troilus and Creseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary, By Sir Francis Kinaston: Never before published . . . London, Printed for and Sold by F. G. Waldron, At No. 18, in Prince's Street, opposite Gerrard Street, St. Ann's. 1796. 8vo.

Pp. xxix.-xxxii., Waldron gives extracts from Tyrwhitt's Account of the Works of Chaucer, and from Kinaston's MS. on Henryson. See Introduction, p. xxxix.

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1799. Pp. 197-200.

Leyden. Complaint of Scotland. 1801.

Pp. 244-5, "The morality of this poem [14] is better than the poetry, which is much inferior to that of many of Henrysone's productions. This author united a powerful allegorical genius with considerable descriptive powers; nor was he devoid of that dry, *naif* humour, which characterizes his master Chaucer."

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801. Vol. I. Pp. 361, 364, Henryson. P. 367, Johnstoun.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 87-90, 189-90, Conjectures as to date and family. See also critical notes, &c., at beginning and end of each poem. "Three other pieces by Henryson have been published by Lord Hailes, but being of inferior merit, it would be useless to reprint them, especially as they are without Notes."

Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, The Early English Poet: Including Memoirs of his near Friend and Kinsman, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: With Sketches of the Manners, Opinions, Arts and Literature of England in the Fourteenth Century. [By William Godwin.] London: Printed by T. Davison, White - Friars; for Richard Phillips, N°. 71, St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1803. 4to.

Vol. I. Pp. 308-14, Henryson's Testament of Creseide: account and criticism. Second edition. 1804. Vol. I. Pp. 486-95.

Scott. Sir Tristrem. 1804.

Pp. 342-3, Note on "Coppe and claper," etc. Account of passages in 15.

Irving. Lives of Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. I. Pp. 375-88.

Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of Ancient Manners: With Dissertations on the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare; on the Collection of Popular Tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance. By Francis Douce. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. 1807.

Vol. I. Pp. 15, 487, Henryson's Cresseid cited as Chaucer's.

Anonymous. Scots Magazine. Vol. LXXV. July 1813.

Pp. 504-10, Account of an Edition of the Fables of Æsop, translated into verse by Robert Henryson, Schoolmaster at Dunfermline. Printed at Edinburgh by Andro' Hart 1621, in 8vo. Nott. Works of Surrey and Wyatt. 1816.

Vol. II. P. cxliii. n., Wyatt possibly indebted to the Uponlondis Mous in his Mean and Sure Estate.

Laing. Select Remains. 1822.

Introduction to No. 3 (Orfeo and Heurodis) gives a short account of Henryson's poem on the same subject. Introduction to No. 8 (The Bludy Serk). A short note on editions, etc.

R. H. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1822. Vol. III. Part V. Pp. 1-12.

Chalmers. Robene and Makyne, and The Testament of Cresseid. 1824.

Preface (pp. v.-xiv.), biographical and bibliograpical.

Mercer. History of Dunfermline. 1828. Pp. 63-5. Quite unimportant and misleading.

Maidment. Letters from Percy etc. to Paton. 1830. Pp. 84-6, foot-note, On the Fables 1621 and lost older

editions.

Irving. Moral Fables of Robert Henryson. 1832.

Preface, Pp. i.-xii. Partly founded on Lives of Scotish Poets 1804.

Tytler. Worthies. Vol. III. 1833. Pp. 76-88, Chiefly on **6**, **15** and **16**.

R. Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835. Vol. III. Pp. 36-8. Abridged from Irving's introduction to Fables, 1832.

Laing. Dunbar. I. 1834. P. 43.

Irving. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. XI. 1835.

Pp. 237-9. This article is the foundation of the chapter on Henryson in the work of 1861.

Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline. By the Rev. Peter Chalmers, A.M. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1844-59. 8vo.

Vol. I. Pp. 312-4, 575. Vol. II. Pp. 312-3. Unimportant. Vol. I. Pp. 531-2. Text of 4, Stanza III. omitted.

Bruce. Eminent Men of Fife. 1846.

Pp. 121-41. Good on the whole. Chiefly on 15 and 16, Modernised extracts, including F7B without M.

Wright. History of Scotland. I. 1852. Pp. 289-90.

Aytoun. Ballads. 1858.

Vol. I. Introd. Pp. lix.-lxiv., Henryson as representative of the artistic progress of his time.

- Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 208-24.
- Burgh Life in Dunfermline in the Olden Time. A Lecture by the Rev. William Ross, Aberdour. Delivered in the Music Hall, Dunfermline, 8th February 1864, at the request of the Literary Society of that Town. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1864.
 Partly founded on Henryson's poems.

Laing. Poems and Fables of Henryson. 1865.

Memoir. Pp. ix.-xxi., Life. Pp. xxi.-xxv., Poetical character, and account of longer poems. Pp. xxxvii.-lx., Appendices (four) on persons of the name of Henderson, and on Fordell. Pp. 227-306, Notes.

Anonymous. The North British Review. Vol. XLIV. No. LXXXVII. March 1866.

Pp. 154-79, An article in the form of a review of Laing's edition 1865. Deals chiefly with subject-matter of Henryson's longer poems.

Anonymous. St. James's Magazine. Vol. III. New Series. April 1869.

Pp. 60-79, Probabilities of life, account of **15**, and general criticism.

- Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xxi.-xxii.
- Hazlitt. Warton. Vol. III. 1871. Pp. 264-5. Quite unimportant.

Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 127-8. Second edition, pp. 97-8.

- Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. I. 1878. Pp. 533-5.
- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. Pp. 129-31, Henryson. P. 126, Patrick Johnstoun.
- The Annals of Dunfermline and Vicinity from the Earliest Authentic Period to the Present Time. A.D. 1069-1878.
 Interspersed with Explanatory Notes, Memorabilia, and Numerous Illustrative Engravings. By Ebenezer Henderson, LL.D. Glasgow: John Tweed. 1879. 4to.
 Pp. 175-8, Henryson and the plague in Dunfermline 1499.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. XI. 1880. Pp. 677-8. A short notice.
- W. E. Henley. Ward's English Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 137-9. A good estimate of Henryson's genius.

Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881.

Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884.

Pp. 159-69, Life, and genius. P. 128, 9, given to Johnstoun; comparison with Henryson.

Schipper. Dunbar, sein Leben und seine Gedichte. 1884. Pp. 37-40.

Henrisone's Fabeldichtungen. Inaugural - Dissertation zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doctorwürde an der Universität Leipzig vorgelegt von Arthur Richard Diebler. Halle-a-S. Druck von Ehrhardt Karras. 1885.

Inhalt : Name, lebensstellung und lebenszeit unseres dichters ; Genauere datierung der fabeln ; Charakteristik Henrisone's, seine dichterische fähigkeit und seine behandlungsweise des stoffes, mit besonderer berücksichtigung seiner fabeln ; Vers- und strophenbau der fabeln ; Analyse, quellen, beeinflussungen und nachweisungen der einzelnen fabeln ; Verhältniss der fabeln zu den quellen (kurze zusammenfassung).

Diebler. Henrisone's Fabeln. Anglia. IX. 1886.

Pp. 337-42. Chiefly bibliographical. Henryson's works divided into three periods. Diebler gives Henryson some short religious poems in the Makculloch MS., not printed by Laing or Prof. Gregory Smith.

Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 104, 107-8.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. Vol. I. 1887.

Pp. 208-19, Henryson as a poet of nature, with considerable extracts from Laing's edition. "He rose to a sense of feeling and picturing far beyond what any native-bred Scottish poet had done before—a genuine aesthetical emotion, far above the mere agreeableness of sensation."

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-flexion. III. 1889.

F. R. Oliphant. Robert Henryson. Blackwood's Magazine. Vol. CXLVIII. No. DCCCC. October 1890.

Pp. 497-512. A general account in a light style.

Also in Littell's Living Age. Fifth Series, Vol. LXXII. From the beginning Vol. CLXXXVII. No. 2422. November 29, 1890. Pp. 537-48. Morley. English Writers. Vols. VI.-VII. 1890-1.

Vol. VI. Pp. 251-7, Henryson's life and works. Vol. VII. P. 146, Patrick Johnstoun. A mere note.

Thomas Bayne. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXVI. 1891. Pp. 130-1.

Studies in Chaucer: His Life and Writings. By Thomas R. Lounsbury. London: James R. Osgood, M'Ilvaine & Co. 1892.

Vol. I. Pp. 458-60. On **15**. Henryson is "one of those early writers whom Scottish patriotism struggles energetically to consider a poet."

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892. Pp. 79-90, Summary of conjectures and criticisms.

Brandl. Paul's Grundriss. II. i. 1893. Pp. 716-7, Henryson as a poet.

Jusserand. Histoire littéraire. Vol. I. 1894.

Pp. 525-8, Critical account of works, especially F2. English edition, I. 1895, pp. 507-10. "Ésope récite ses fables, et il le fait d'une manière si nouvelle, si gracieuse, avec un si aimable mélange de vérité et de fantaisie qu'il n'a jamais rien dit de mieux, du temps qu'il était Grec et sauvait sa tête d'esclave par ses bons mots."

Courthope. History of English Poetry. Vol. I. 1895.

Pp. 368-70, Pictorial treatment of allegory as sign of the approaching Renaissance, etc. A short notice only.

Heuser. Offenes und Geschlossenes ee, Anglia. XVIII. N.F. VI. 1896.

Pp. 123-8, Die ee-reime in Henrisone's Fabeln.

Skeat. Chaucerian and Other Poems. 1897.

Pp. lv.-lvi., On the editions of Thynne and H. Charteris. "It is a rather mature performance, and is his best piece. Perhaps it is the best piece in the present volume." See also Skeat's Chaucer, Vol. I. P. lxvii.

Henderson. Vernacular Scottish Literature. 1898.

Pp. 115-31, Henryson's life, his works, metres, poetical character, comparison with Cowper and Wordsworth.

W. A. Neilson. Origins and Sources of the Court of Love. 1899.

Pp. 159-60, "Court of Love features" in Testament of Cresseid.

Gregory Smith. The Transition Period. 1900.

Pp. 43-8, Henryson's place in the history of allegory in relation to his moralising tendency and "the pictorial quality."

- Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. Vol. I. 1901. Pp. 189-91.
- Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 29-35.
- Garnett. English Literature. Vol. I. 1903. Pp. 293-6.
- Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 74-80.
- Skeat. Chaucer. Facsimile of First Collected Edition, 1532. 1905. Introduction, pp. xxxi.-xxxii., On editions of 15.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 271-2.

Gregory Smith. Poems of Henryson. Vols. II.-III. 1906-8. Vol. II. Pp. vii.-xviii. Vol. III. Pp. x.-xix. Tables, bibliographical and textual. Vol. I. to contain introduction, etc.

Gregory Smith. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908. Pp. 245-50, 473-5.

Gregory Smith. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. 1911. Vol. XIII. P. 302.

DUNBAR AND KENNEDY.

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XII.	(103.) Of	the	Res	urrect	ion	of	Ch	rist.	S	urrex	it	
		De	omin	us		•						٠	37

Given the number of a poem in Small's edition, Schipper's number, used in this work, can be found by means of the following table :----

Small.	Schipper.	Small.	Schipper.	Small.	Schipper.	Small.	Schipper.
I	17	7	61	I 3	II	19	64
2	28	8	62	14	67	20	70
3	6	9	81	15	47	2 I	58
4	60	IO	83	16	48	22	52
5	7	ΙI	89	Ι7	49	23	76
6	35	I 2	72	18	65	24	74

Small.	Schipper.	Small.	Schipper.	Small.	Schipper.	Small. Schipper.
25	4	45	2 I	65	68	84 82 + 97
26	25	46	78	66	53	85 84
27	26	47	79	67	73	86 85
28	27	48	ıб	68	59	87 22
29	41	49	34	69.	71	88 14
30	45	50	32	70	88	89 15
31	44	51	30	7 I	98	90 80
32	2	52	31	72	86	ad. 1 92
33	37	53	23	73	91	ad. 2 99
34	I 2	54	33	74	20	ad. 3 93
35	36	55	24	75	3	ad. 4 96
36	75	56	50	76	90	ad. 5 94
37	103	57	5	77	63	ad. 6 29
38	87	58	51			ad. 7 95
39	66	59	38	78	42	ad. 8 101
40	8	60	54	79	40	ad. 9 100
4I	69	61	56	80	I	ad. 10 77
42	18	62	43	81	46	ad.11 102
43	9	63	55	82	13	57
44	10	64	19	83	39	•••

KENNEDY.

Schipper's numbering.

1. Pious Counsale.

2. Against Moub bankless.

3. The Praise of Aige.

4. Praise of Our Lady.

5. The Passioun of Christ.

[6. The Flyting. Omitted by Schipper.]

For bibliography see Morley VII.; Schipper, Introduction; Mackay, S.T.S. I.; Small, S.T.S. II. (Prefatory Note).

For authorities see Laing, Mackay, Smeaton, p. 47.

Those who make use of the tables in the S.T.S. edition should note the following errors.

Table.	Column.	
С	В.	Nos. 51 and 52 and attributed 4 should
		not be marked.
		No. 37 should. ¹
	Mak.	No. 40. This seems to be a mistake
		for the Aberdeen MS.
D	5 (Ph.)	Nos. 26 and 34 should be marked with
		the same sign as in col. 3 (H).
	7 (L.)	Laing's edition includes 88 and 89,
		marked as wanting; also the last
		stanza of 84 (i.e., as much of the
		piece as is accepted by Schipper,
		numbered by him 82, the rest, which
		he numbers 97, being omitted).
		Laing also includes Schipper 57,
		omitted by Small.
		VIIICOU OJ VIIICI

DUNBAR AND KENNEDY.

EDITIONS.

For editions of Dunbar proposed by Pinkerton, Ritson, and Chalmers, see Introduction, pp. lxxxvi., ciii,, cviii.-cix. Laing announced, in his Lyndsay 1871, but never published, "a new and revised edition" of his Dunbar as the next volume of his projected series of "Early Scottish Poets."

Schipper's numbering of the poem is followed for both poets.

Here begynnys ane litil tretie intitulit the goldyn | targe compilit be Maister Wilyam dunbar. | [Chepman's device with monogram and name .Walterus. chepman] | [Edinburgh .Chepman and Myllar. 1508?] 4to. B.L.

Six leaves, the third signed a ii.

F. 1, Title. Verso blank. F. 2, Text begins: Rycht as the stern of day begouth to schyne. F. 6 verso, Text ends. Myllar's

¹ I have not compared with the MS, itself but with the Hunterian Club's edition.

device with monogram, and name Androv myllar. Advocates' Library. Unique. The fourth tract in the volume Porteous of Noblenes and ten other rare tracts.

[The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy, etc. Edinburgh. Chepman and Myllar. 1508?] 4to. B.L.

Six leaves, the first signed b, the third b ii.

F. 1, Fragment begins: Apon thy cors vengeance vengeance thay cry. F. 4 verso, Text ends: Spynk / sink wyth stynk / ad tertera termagorum. Followed on same page by Henryson's Praise of Age, without heading. Text begins: Wythin a garth. vnd⁷ a rede rosere. F. 5, Text ends: The more of age / the nerar hevynnis blis. Followed immediately by Devise prowes anv (sic) eke humilitee. F. 5 verso, Text ends: And thyne of spring was banyst for thy vice | Explicit. | F. 6 recto blank. Verso, Myllar's device with monogram and name. The poems are printed anonymously. Adv. Lib. Unique. The seventh tract in the volume The Porteous of Nobleness and ten other rare tracts.

The ballade of ane right noble victorius & myghty | lord Barnard stewart lord of Aubigny erle of Beau- | mont roger and bonaffre consaloure and chamlane or- | dinare to the maist hee maist excellêt & maist crystyn prin | ce Loys king of france Knight of his ordoure Capi- | tane of the kepyng of his body Coquereur of Naplis | and vmquhile costable general of the same Compilit | be Maistir Willyam dumbar at the said lordis cuyng to Edinburghe in Scotland send in ane ryght excellêt em- | bassat fra the said maist crystin king to our maist sou- | uerane lord and victorius prince James the ferde kyng | of Scottis. | [Chepman's device with monogram and name: .Walterus. chepman] | [Edinburgh. 1508?] 4to. B.L.

Fragment of three leaves, and one of one leaf.

First fragment. F. 1, Title. Verso blank.

F. 2, Text begins : Renownit ryall right reuerend and Serene. This fragment consists of twelve stanzas, ending : For wourthines in gold suld writtin be. | With glorie and honour lawd and reuerence.

Second fragment. Recto blank. Verso, Myllar's device with monogram and name. On the recto (Adv. Lib.) some words from the poem are written in a late hand.

Adv. Lib. Unique. The ninth tract in the volume The Porteous of Noblenes and ten other rare tracts. Dickson and Edmond, 62, 63-4.

[The twa mariit wemen and the wedo, etc. 1508?] 4to. B.L.

Ten leaves. Fol. 1 signed a. iii., f. 2 a. iiii., f. 5 b. i., f. 6 b. ii., f. 7 b. iii.

Ff. 1-7 recto, Conclusion of Twa mariit wemen. Text of fragment begins: He wil my corse all beclip et clap to his breist. Ends: Quhilk wald 3e vvaill to 3our vvif gif 3e suld vved one. F. 7 recto, q3 dunbar. Followed on same page by Lament for the Makars, without heading. Text begins: I yat in heill vves and gladnes. Ends f. 8. verso. Followed on same page by Kind Kittok, without heading. Text begins: My guddame wes a gay wif bot scho wes ryght gend. F. 9 recto, Text ends: Drink with my guddame as 3e gaby | Explicit &c. | Same page, Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy, without heading. Text begins: I maist⁹ andro kennedy. F. 10 verso, Text ends: De terra plasmasti me | Explicit. | Advocates' Library. Unique. Bound with the Chepman and Myllar tracts. Doubtful whether printed in Scotland, and by Chepman and Myllar.

Friars of Berwick. R. Charteris, Edinburgh. 1603*. Lost. Dickson and Edmond, 501.

Friars of Berwick. E. Raban for David Melville. Aberdeen. 1622*.

Lost. Aberdeen Printers, 501.

Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. I. Pp. 200-3, 2. Pp. 206-8, 9. This is followed by "Annother of the samen Cast," which, according to Ramsay, was "Pend be the Poet wrote the last." Pp. 98-101, **II**. Pp. 171-5,

12. Pp. 15-25, 16. Pp. 240-6, 25. Pp. 247-53, 26. Pp. 253-5,
27 (seventh stanza omitted). Pp. 258-64, 29 (stanza beginning Bot 3it I trow that I vary, omitted). Pp. 91-7, 37. Pp. 204-5,
44. Pp. 129-35, 60. Pp. 102-6, 67. Pp. 64-6, 75.

Vol. II. Pp. 18-21, 3 ("Quod Clerk"). Pp. 41-6, 4. Pp. 22-37, 17. Pp. 47-75, 28. Pp. 76-81, 35. Pp. 209-11, 38. Pp. 82-4, 47. Pp. 84-7, 48 (Stanza IV. omitted). Pp. 87-9, 49 (with a stanza added at the end). Pp. 90-2, 65. Pp. 95-7, 66.

Kennedy. Vol. I. Pp. 115-7, 2. Pp. 231-3, Jok Up-on-lands Complaint, with colophon *Quod* Kennedy. Vol. II. Pp. 47-75, 6 (omitting stanza beginning Herode thyne othir eme).

Poems in the Scottish Dialect. 1748. Pp. 18-22, 35. Pp. 28-9, 66. Pp. 38-42, 29. From Ramsay.

The Thistle | And | The Rose, | A Poem | In Honour Of
Margaret, | Daughter To Henry VII. Of England, | Queen
To James IV. King Of Scots. | The Thistle And The Rose,
| O'er Flowers And Herbage Green, | By Lady Nature
Chose, | Brave King And Lovely Queen. | Glasgow : |
Printed And Sold By Robert And Andrew Foulis. |
MDCCL. 4to.

From the Evergreen. Colophon: Mr. Wm. Dunbar. Printed with Bellenden's Virtue and Vice. Collective half-title: The Thistle | And | The Rose. | Vertue | And | Vyce. | Two Antient | Allegorical | Scots Poems. | Price Six-pence. |

The Union. Edinburgh. 1753*.

Second edition: The Union: Or, Select Scots and English Poems. The Second Edition.—Dubiam facientia carmina palmam. Juv. London: Printed for R. Baldwin, In Paternoster-Row. M.DCC.LIX. 8vo.

Pp. 1-9, 16, from The Evergreen.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 40-1, **II.** Pp. 31-4, **I2.** Pp. 1-7, **I6.** Pp. 8-18, **I7.** Pp. 27-30, **25** (lines 88-9 omitted). Pp. 173-7, **29** (stanza be-

ginning The hingand brayis, omitted). Pp. 35-9, 35. Pp. 23-4, 36. Pp. 19-22, 37. Pp. 68-9, 41. P. 53, 44. Pp. 25-6, 45. Pp. 46-7, 47. Pp. 48-50, 48. Pp. 51-2, 49. Pp. 64-5, 52. P. 167, 57. Pp. 70-3, 58. Pp. 74-8, 60. Pp. 60-1, 64. Pp. 62-3, 65. Pp. 168-9, 66 (among anonymous poems). Pp. 42-3, 67. Pp. 96-7, 70. Pp. 87-8, 72. Pp. 58-9, 74. Pp. 56-7, 75. Pp. 54-5, 76. Pp. 89-93, 78. Pp. 79-82, 79. Pp. 83-4, 83. Pp. 85-6, 87. Pp. 94-5, 89.

Kennedy. Pp. 189-90, 3.

Hawkins. History of Music. 1776.

Vol. III. Pp. 32-3. "The following not inelegant stanzas seem to have been occasioned by the marriage of Margaret the daughter of Henry VII. to James IV. king of Scotland, in 1502; of whom it is related . . ." No. 15. Source and authorship not mentioned. The text does not agree well with Brit. Mus. App. Roy. MSS. No. 58, fol. 15 b., as printed by Small.

Pinkerton. Select Scotish Ballads. 1783.

Vol. II. Pp. 75-80, 29. "Three stanzas are here omitted, as full of filth without humour to palliate it." Pp. 55-6, 44. Pp. 60-2, 74. Pp. 57-9, 75. All from Hailes. Notes at end.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. 102-3, 5. Pp. 44-64, 6. Pp. 113-4, 8. P. 89, 19. Pp. 94-6, 23. Pp. 99-100, 24. Pp. 90-1, 30. Pp. 92-3, 31. Pp. 97-8, 33. Pp. 107-8, 38. Pp. 120-1, 43. P. 101, 50. Pp. 104-5, 51. Pp. 115-9, 53. Pp. 109-11, 54 (some lines omitted as "quite worne off the MS."). P. 112, 56 (lines 23-47; the second line of the refrain omitted after line 2). P. 124, 59. P. 106, 68. Pp. 125-7, 71. Pp. 122-3, 73. Pp. 128-9, 88. Pp. 65-85, 92.

Vol. II. Pp. 359-61, 32 (with the title: "[Fragment] Of a Satire on Sir Thomas Moray by Dunbar." Stanzas I and 7 are imperfect).

Select Poems | Of | Wil. Dunbar. | Part First. | From The M. S. Of | George Bannatyne, | Published 1568. | Consider It Warilie, Rede Aftiner Than Anis, | Weil At Ane Blink Slie Poetry Not Tane Is. | Gavin Douglass. | Perth : | Printed by R. Morison, Junr. | For R. Morison & Son, Booksellers; and Sold by | J. Murray, No. 32 Fleet-Street, London, | And C. Elliot, Edinburgh. | M,DCC,LXXXVIII. | 12mo.

All published. Contains the poems printed in the first 95 pp. of Hailes, that is all, except Nos. 29, 66, and 70. The text and order are Hailes's, except in the case of The Goldin Terge, which shows considerable divergencies from Hailes, and is placed before The Thistle and the Rose.

Pinkerton. Poems from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. III. Pp. 141-2, 7. P. 127, 95. Both from Chepman and Myllar.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 244-6, 2. Pp. 370-2, 3 (stanza 2 omitted: assigned to John Clerk). Pp. 235-9, 4. P. 274, 5. Pp. 210-29, 6. Pp. 358-9, 7 ("It may be a composition of Kennedy"). Pp. 232-3, 8. Pp. 251-2, 9. Pp. 247-9, II. Pp. 290-4, I2. Pp. 264-71, I6. Pp. 253-63, I7. Pp. 275-7, 23. Pp. 282-6, 25. Pp. 351-8, 28 (Dunbar to Kennedy, stanzas 1-2, K. to D. 2, D. to K. 1, 6, 8, 11-4, 20-3, K. to D. 10-3, 15-7, 21-3, 33). P. 278, 30. P. 279, 3I. Pp. 296-300, 35. Pp. 313-4, 36. Pp. 305-9, 37. Pp. 280-1, 4I. Pp. 322-3, 43. Pp. 345-6, 44. Pp. 240-2, 45. Pp. 316-9, 52. Pp. 333-6, 53. Pp. 340-1, 54 (extracts). Pp. 339-40, 56. Pp. 325-9, 60. Pp. 374-7, 67 (assigned to Inglis). Pp. 342-4, 75. Pp. 368-9, 93.

Vol. II. Pp. 23-4, I9. Pp. 350-4, 29. P. 7, 47 (stanzas 9, 7, 8). Pp. 7-8, 48 (stanzas 4, 5, 8). Pp. 8-10, 49 ("here given, for the first time, at large, and correctly," *i.e*, from Hailes, with two additional stanzas from Pinkerton's Maitland collation, one of them not printed by Small). Pp. 14-6, 58. P. 13, 59. Pp.

4-5, 64. Pp. 2-3, 65. Pp. 17-8, 66. Pp. 11-2, 71. Pp. 20-3, 79. Pp. 25-6, 88. Pp. 372-88, 92.

Vol. III. P. 224, 57.

Nos. 2, 3 and 9 are from Ramsay; 11, 12, 16, 25, 29, 36, 37, 41, 47, 48, 52, 57, 58, 64, 65, 67, 79, 92 from Bannatyne or Hailes; 5, 19, 23, 30, 31, 43, 54, 59, 71, 88 from Pinkerton. A common method of Sibbald's was to insert Pinkerton's readings from the Maitland MS. (Maitland Poems, Appendix) in Hailes's text. This has been done in 44, 66, and 75. Chepman and Myllar's text is used for the first time in No. 7. It is combined with Hailes in 17, the latter part of 28, 35, and 60, and with Pinkerton in 6 and (professedly at least) in 60. Sibbald's statements as to the sources of his texts are not to be trusted. Where he professes to use Bannatyne he generally uses Hailes, but for Nos. 29 and 92 at least he seems to have consulted the MS.

Kennedy. Vol. I., Flyting (see above).

- British Bibliographer. Vol. IV. 1814. Pp. 191-2, 77 (anonymously), 21.
- Restituta; Or, Titles, Extracts, and Characters of Old Books in English Literature, Revived. By Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. K.J. M.P. Vol. II. London: Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster Row. 1815. 8vo. Pp. 508-15, 16, contributed by Scotus, with a short notice, pp. 507-8.
- A Curious Collection of Scottish Poems, in Two Parts: . . . Aberdeen: Printed by A. Imlay, For Alex. Keith, Long Acre, Aberdeen, and Sold by him, and most other Booksellers in Town and Country. 1821. Price One Shilling. 12mo.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821. Pp. 12 ff., 16. From Hailes.

P. 59, No. 75 (modified from Ramsay).

Laing. Select Remains. 1822.

29, from Asloan. "Instead of being the work of Sir David Lyndsay, it seems to bear sufficient evidence of the more masterly hand of his predecessor Dunbar." Also in Small, 1885.

Beauties of Scottish Poets. 1823.

Pp. 42-9, 16. Pp. 51-5, 37. Pp. 109-19, 17. Pp. 240-55, 92. Text and notes from Sibbald : partly from Hailes directly.

Laing. Golagrus and Gawane. 1827.

Facsimile reprint of Chepman and Myllar, misprints corrected. The Flyting completed from Bannatyne, Twa Mareit Wemen from Maitland.

The Poems of William Dunbar, Now First Collected. With Notes, and a Memoir of his Life. By David Laing. Edinburgh: Printed for Laing and Forbes, Prince's Street and William Pickering, London. 2 vols. 1834, and Supplement 1865. 8vo.

Vol. I. Memoir, Text. Supplement. Additional poems and other matter. Vol. II. Poems attributed to Dunbar, The Flyting, Poems by Kennedy, Notes, Glossary. Sheets H to N (pp. 113-208) of Vol. II., containing poems by contemporaries of Dunbar, were cancelled.

This edition contains all the poems printed by Small or Schipper, including Schipper No. 57, not given by Small. Nos. 14, 15, 22, 85, and the last six stanzas of 86, are in the Supplement. The Aberdeen text of 8 is in the notes in the Supplement, pp. 312-3, the Bannatyne text Vol. I. pp. 81-2. "In his editorial labours Dr Laing has not implicitly followed the text of any of his authorities, but has inserted what he considered the best readings, so as to render the poems more easily intelligible. He has also modernised the spelling of many words, and in a few instances has substituted different expressions for those which he believed might offend the taste of persons unaccustomed to the plain speaking of our early writers."—Small, II. vii. But see Schipper's edition.

Kennedy. Vol. II. Nos. 6, 3, 2, 4, I, and 371 lines of 5.

Blackwood's Magazine. February 1835.

Nos. 4, 13, 16, 30, 31, 42, 55, 56, 71, 74, 76, 78, and seven stanzas of 17. From Laing.

Wright and Halliwell. Reliquiae Antiquae. Vol. I. 1841. Pp. 205-7, 14. From MS. Lansd. 762, fol. 7 v°.

A Little Book of Songs and Ballads, gathered from Ancient Musick Books, MS and Printed. By E. F. Rimbault, LL.D. &c. London: Printed for John Russell Smith. 1851.

Pp. 27-8, No. 15. Introduction partly from Hawkins 1776. Text professedly from Brit. Mus. Appendix to Royal MSS. No. 58, fol. 15 b., apparently from Hawkins.

The Book of Celebrated Poems, containing forty-three of the most popular poems in the English language, unabridged. Illustrated by upwards of eighty engravings by C. W. Cope, K. Meadows, G. Dodgson, and J. Ferguson. F. P. London. 1854*.

- The Life and Poems of William Dunbar. By James Paterson.
 Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 2 St David Street.
 London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1860. 8vo.
 A modernised selection embedded in a life.
- The Works of William Dunbar, including his Life, 1465-1536,
 With Notes, and Glossarial Explanations. By James Paterson. Edinburgh: James Stillie. J. R. Smith, London. 1863.

The same work.

Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867. Pp. 67-8, 73.

Skeat. Specimens of English Literature. 1871.

Pp. 109-17, 16 from Bannatyne, 45 from Laing. Introductory note p. 108, notes pp. 408-10.

No. 78.

Kaufmann. Traité de la langue du poète ecossais William Dunbar. 1873.

Pp. 23-46, Nos. 16, 17, 25, 2, 60. From Laing, with footnotes.

Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. 1873-81.

Vol. II. Pp. 330-3, 2. Pp. 296-8, 3. Pp. 292-6, 4. Pp. 160-2, II. Pp. 312-5, 25. Pp. 316-9, 26. Pp. 319-21, 27. Pp. 337-41, 29. Pp. 333-7, 37. Pp. 322-4, 4I. Pp. 329-30, 44. Pp. 327-8, 45. Pp. 165-7, 47. Pp. 167-9, 48. Pp. 170-1, 49. Pp. 271-4, 52. Pp. 180-1, 57. Pp. 234-6, 58. Pp. 308-11, 60. Pp. 178-80, 64. Pp. 171-3, 65. Pp. 175-6, 66. Pp. 162-5, 67. Pp. 184-6, 70. Pp. 131-2, 72. Pp. 281-2, 74 (the beginning repeated, p. 329). Pp. 279-80, 76. Pp. 43-8, 81. Pp. 69-70, 83. Pp. 94-6, 87. Pp. 127-9, 89. P. 204, 90. Pp. 215-6, 98. Pp. 133-5, 99. Pp. 67-8, 100. Pp. 71-2, 101. Pp. 80-2, 102. Pp. 93-4, 103. Pp. 181-2, Sumtyme this warld (attrib. to Dunbar, Vol. I. p. lxxviii., "*auct.* Laing").

Vol. III. Pp. 382-3, 7. Pp. 386-7, 8. Pp. 372-5, 12. Pp. 607-10, 18. Pp. 420-37, 28. Pp. 438-41, 35. Pp. 375-7, 36. Pp. 602-3, 69. Pp. 383-4, 75. Pp. 689-91, 77. Pp. 667-8, 94.

Vol. IV. Pp. 762-3, 9. Pp. 809-10, 10. Pp. 988-94, 16. Pp. 995-1003, 17. P. 816, 21. Pp. 1094-5 (Appendix II.), 34. Pp. 822-6, 78. Pp. 826-9, 79. Pp. 1004-20, 92. P. 744, 93.

Kennedy. Vol. II. Pp. 143-4, 3. Pp. 265-7, Jesus Chryst that deit on tre. Vol. III. Pp. 420-37, 6. Vol. IV. Pp. 780-2, 2.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Half-vol. I. Pp. 26-8, 16 and 72. Kennedy. Pp. 23-4, 2 and 3.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Pp. 177-97, 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 30, 31, 56, 59, 60, 68, 71, 76, 79, Pp. 201-10, 92. All partially modernised.

Kennedy. P. 199, 3. Partially modernised.

Ward. English Poets. I. 1880.

Pp. 151-8. Extracts from 16, 17, 26, 60. Laing's text "generally adhered to."

Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887.

Pp. 63-97, 12, 19, 59, 60, 71, 73, 76, 78, 90, 94, 100, with parts of 16, 17, 25, 27, 53, 64. Modernised except 25.

Pp. 100-1, Kennedy, 3. Modernised.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892.

Pp. 159-214, Nos. 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 27, 37, 47, 56, 60, 69, 71, 74.

The Poems of William Dunbar. Edited by the late John Small, LL.D. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1893. Three Vols. 8vo.

Vol. I. Introductory Note (W. Gregor); Prefatory Note; Introduction and Appendix (Æ. J. G. Mackay, G. P. M'Neill); Index to Introduction and Appendices; Facsimiles. Vol. II. Prefatory Note (W. Gregor, John Small); Text with footnotes (various readings). Vol. III. Notes (W. Gregor); Appendix on Intercourse between Scotland and Denmark (Æ. J. G. Mackay); Glossary (W. Gregor); Corrigenda and Addenda.

This edition contains all the poems given by Schipper or by Laing, except Schipper No. 57. Nos. I-7 and attributed 7, (Small's numbering), are from Chepman and Myllar; 9-49, 7I, and attributed I-3, 5-6, 8-II from Bannatyne; 50-70, 72-76, and attributed 4 from Maitland; 8, 77-84 from Reidpeth; 85-86 from Asloan; 87 from Aberdeen Register of Sasines; 88 from Cotton Vitellius A. xvi.; 89 from Appendix to Royal MSS. No. 58; 90 from Arundel 285. The Aberdeen text of No. 40 is given in Vol. III. pp. 249-50. Facsimiles of No. 89 (with music) from App. to Roy. MSS. 58, and of the beginning of the Golden Terge from Bannatyne and from Chepman and Myllar are given at the end of Vol. I. The numbers given above are those of Small's edition : for the corresponding numbers in Schipper see pp. 191-2. Hume Brown. Scotland before 1700. 1893. Pp. 109-12, 13, with footnotes.

The Poems of William Dunbar. Edited with Introductions, Various Readings, and Notes by J. Schipper, Ph.D. Honorary LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh, Professor of English Philology in the University of Vienna, Member of the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna. Published by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, sold by F. Tempsky, Bookseller to the Academy. 1894. 4to.

Introduction, (A. Former Editions, B. Description of the Manuscripts, C. On the Mutual Relationship of the Manuscripts and the Old Print); Text with separate Introductions, Various Readings, and Notes; Glossary.

First part (to p. 90) published 29th April 1891, Second part (to p. 197) 22nd September 1891, Third (to p. 301) 31st August 1892, Fourth (to p. 388) 27th May 1893, fifth (to p. 524) 10th March 1894; This work appeared also in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe, Vol. XL. (II. and IV.), Vol. XLI. (IV.), Vol. XLII. (IV.) and Vol. XLIII. (I.).

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 129-31, 6 (lines 1-37, 511-26). Pp. 133-5, 7. Pp. 114-21, 16. Pp. 123-7, 37. Pp. 121-3, 45. Pp. 127-9, 70. Pp. 131-3, 71. Pp. 135-53, 92 (omitting lines 123-4, 139-42, 180-2, 207-8, 233-4, 479-80). From the Scottish Text Society's edition. Notes, pp. 188-91.

Henley. English Lyrics. 1897.

Pp. 5-9, **60**, **71**, **91**. Stanzas 14-23 of the first are removed to pp. 372-3. "More or less modernised" from Small.

Henderson. Little Book. 1899.

Pp. 44-73, **15**, **84**, **87**, **76**, **59**, **71**, **14**, **60**, **7**, **35**, **58**, **34**, **27**. Pp. 74-8, Tayis Bank, which, "may have been written by Dunbar."

Arber. Dunbar Anthology. 1901.

Pp. 1-49, Nos. 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 45, 60, 78, 79. Modernised.

Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historiche Classe. Achtundvierzigster Band. Wien. 1902. In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn.

I. The Poems of Walter Kennedy Edited with Introductions, Various Readings, and Notes By J. Schipper. Vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 10 Jänner 1901.

Omits the Flyting. Prints the Passioun of Christ in full.

Gregory Smith. Specimens of Middle Scots. 1902.

Pp. 47-8, 6 (lines 1-40), from the Maitland folio. Pp. 26-7, 7, from Bannatyne. Pp. 27-34, 16, from Bannatyne. Pp. 14-7, 84, from Ed. Un. Lib., Laing MSS. No. 450 (transcript from Asloan MS.) Notes at end of volume.

Chronicles of London. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. Oxford : At the Clarendon Press. 1905. 8vo.

Pp. 253-5, 14, from MS. Cotton Vitellius A. XVI. Notes p. 336.

- The Poems of William Dunbar. With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. By H. Bellyse Baildon, M.A. Cantab.; Ph.D. Freiburg i/B. Lecturer in English Language and Literature, University College, Dundee, University of St Andrews. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1907. 8vo. Founded on Schipper.
- Henry Noble MacCracken. New Stanzas by Dunbar. Modern Language Notes. Vol. XXIV. 1909.

Pp. 110-1, Text of 56 with four additional stanzas until then unprinted, from MS. Brit. Mus. Harley 1703, fols. 79b-80a. Ten stanzas by William Forrest follow. See pp. 206, 209.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910.

Pp. 24-75, Nos. 60, 83, 76, 25, 37 (omitting lines 98-104), 19, 73, 59, 71, 90, 1, 14, 15, 84, 17, 16, 56.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. Pp. 105-31, Nos. 25, 19, 60, 16, 17.

DUNBAR.

TRANSLATIONS, IMITATIONS, PARAPHRASES.

Georgii Buchanani Scoti Franciscanus. Varia eiusdem authoris poemata. 1566*.

[Fratres Fraterrimi.] Somnium. An imitation of **30.** Edit. 1715. II. Pars II., P. 27. For Buchanan's acknowledgment, see pp. 208-9.

William Forrest. Ane Ballat of Our Lady. Not earlier than 1581*.

Forrest added ten stanzas to No. 56. See above, p. 205, (Modern Language Notes 1909), and below, p. 209.

Cogitation upon Death. 4th edition. J. Forbes, younger. Aberdeen. 1681*.

Seventh edition, Edinburgh 1710*. Uncertain when first printed. An imitation of **60**. See Aberdeen Printers.

Dublin University Magazine. Vol. XIII. No. LXXV. March 1839.

Pp. 369-76. The Friars of Berwick. A Scottish Story in English Rhyme.

Dunbar's Two Married Women and the Widow. Translated into English Verse. Edinburgh: 1840. 8vo. Begins—

> When lusty Summer had to manhood grown, At midnight hour I wander'd forth alone. A gorgeous scene I sought, bedeck'd with flowers, And sweetly canopied with hawthorn bowers. Some feather'd minstrel, piping in the grove, Made the bright welkin ring with notes of love.

Preface, pp. v.-vi., excusing the translation, and commenting on the morality of the poem. "The few persons for whose perusal the following paraphrase is designed are fully capable of relishing the beauties of Dunbar, without any assistance from the present versifier. But still some amusement may be derived from a translation of what has been enjoyed in the original. If the ancient bard can obtain no welcome without his venerable robes, it is easy to restore them, and commit his new apparel to the flames."

Schipper. William Dunbar sein Leben und seine Gedichte. 1884.

Contains German translations of many poems. See table in Small's edition.

Ten Brink. Geschichte der Englishen Litteratur. II. 1889. Pp. 423-4, "Die Heimsuchung durch St. Franciscus" oder "Wie Dunbar aufgefordert wurde Bettelmönch zu werden."

- Dunbar: Being a Selection from the Poems of an Old Makar, Adapted for Modern Readers. By Hugh Haliburton. London: Walter Scott, Ltd. 1895. 8vo. Free paraphrases.
- Schipper. Beiträge und Studien zur Englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte. 1908*.

Section II. German translation of the Freiris of Berwik.

DUNBAR.

MUSIC.

The music of No. 59 is printed in facsimile from MS. Brit. Mus. App. Roy. 58 in Small's edition, and in Garnett and Gosse's English Literature, Vol. I. p. 359.

No. 83 (soprano solo, chorus, and orchestra) by Sir Hubert Parry was produced at Hereford, September 1912.

DUNBAR AND KENNEDY.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Dunbar. Lament for the Makars. 1508. Kennedy is named in stanza XXIII. See Introduction, p. xvii.

Douglas. Palice of Honour. See Introduction, p. xviii.

Lyndsay. Papyngo. See Introduction, p. xix.

Bale. Index. 1902. Appendix IV. See Introduction, p. xlv.

Complaint of Scotland. 1549?*. Ed. Leyden, p. 99, Mentions "the goldin targe."

Charteris. Adhortation. 1568*. See Introduction, p. xx.

George Buchanan In The Lisbon Inquisition. The Records Of His Trial, With A Translation Thereof Into English, Fac-similes Of Some Of The Papers And An Introduction. By Guilherme J. C. Henriques (Carnota). Lisboa: Typografia da Empreza da Historia de Portugal. 45-Rua Ivens-47. 1906. 4to.

P. 21, [18th August, 1550] " I preguntado se era lembrado nos tempos pasados offemder a noso senhor ou sua santa ffee Catholyca em dizer ou ffazer alguña cousa contra o que tem a santa madre Jgreja dise que estamdo em escorsea lhe mandara elRey que fizese huñs versos contra os frades de sam francisco per os ter por sospeitos de alguñs saberem dalgñas pesoas que lhe fazyão treição / os quaes lhe nõ lembrão agora nem os tem em seu poder e que a semtemça delles era taxar os frades que nõ comprião os statutos de sua Regra amtiga e que estes versos deu a elRey descorsya e que antes de fazer estes versos fez outros tambem¹ nos quaes contaua fingindo huũ sonho como são francisco lhe aparecera e lhe dezya que tomase o abito de sua ordem e elle lhe Respomdera que ho nõ podia fazer per a sua ordem ser muito aspera com jejũs e descyplinas e que querya antes ser da hordem dos bispos porque vya per as jgrejas mais bispos santos que frades e que disto se escamdalizarão hos frades e pregauão contra os que dezyão mal da Religião e que huũ dos que pregauão lhe nõ quis mais ffalar / "

P. 24, [23 August 1550.]

"Ego inuicem ut me ultiscerer epigrāma uetus nostrate lingua scriptum in latinos uersus transtuli, cuius sentētiam nobis ante retuli."

William Forrest. Ane Ballat of Our Lady. Modern Language Notes 1909.

The first of Forrest's additional stanzas runs :----

"This salutation, much eloquentlye A devoute Scotte, of loue most entire, longe time sithen, dyd yt edyfye And thorowe like spirite, which can me Inspire, Of like devotion, so well as I maye, I shall continue, In this poore quyre, To saye with the scotte, Salue Maria."

Ramsay. Ever Green. 1724.

Vol. I. P. 21, Footnote on The Thistle and the Rose, "If one were to comment and illustrate every poetical Beauty that strikes our Imaginations so agreeably, and come so frequent, he would swell the Notes too much, and rob the Reader of a Pleasure which is his own Property; wherefore such Annotations shall be declined. When Folks are ravished with any Pleasure, tho' it be obvious to every By-stander, yet they cannot help expressing what delights them many Times over, when there is not the least Occasion for Information. This was just my Case on reading this excellent Description of the Lyon and the *Scots* Arms, never so happily blazoned."

¹ Riscaram a seguir as palavras : por mandato del Rey dEscorsya. [Henriques.]

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Stanzas 2-3,

> "And heir Dunbar does with unbound ingyne, In satyre, joke, and in the serious schyne. He to best poets skairslie zeilds in ocht; In language he may fail, but not in thocht.

"Blyth Kennedie, contesting for the bays, Attackis his freind Dunbar in comick layis, And seims the fittest hand (of ony then) Against sae fell a fae to draw his pen."

- Sempill Ballates, p. 255.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 237, "Dunbar [Gulielmus] Scripsit A tabill of confession. Pr. "To the, O mercifull Father." Ms. Gresham 286."

P. 452, "Kennedy [Gualtherus] scripsit metris Scoticanis Poema de passione Christi. Pr. pr. "Hail Christin knyght." MS. Gresham, 286."

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*. Works. 1766. Vol. I. Pp. 20-1, 22.

> "When Taste and Genius form the Royal Mind, The favour'd arts a happier era find. By James belov'd the Muses tun'd their lyres To nobler strains, and breath'd diviner fires. But the dark mantle of involving Time Has veil'd their beauties, and obscur'd their rhyme. "Yet still some pleasing monuments remain, Some marks of genius in each later reign. In nervous strains Dunbar's bold music flows, And *Time* yet spares *the Thistle and the Rose*.

"With bold Dunbar arose a numerous choir, Of rival bards that strung the Dorian lyre."

This passage follows immediately upon that on James I. The omitted portion relates to the union of Scotland and England.

Footnote on the Thistle and the Rose—"A poem so called, written in honour of Margaret daughter of Henry VII. on her marriage to James IV. King of Scots. By Mr. William Dunbar." Gray. Metrum. See Introduction, p. lxxvii.

Beattie. To Alexander Ross. 1768*. See under General Works, p. 22.

The Letters Of Thomas Gray Including The Correspondence Of Gray And Mason. Edited By Duncan C. Tovey. Vol. III. London: G. Bell And Sons, Ltd. 1912. 8vo.
P. 278, Letter to Thomas Warton, April 15, 1770, names

"Gawen Douglas, Lyndesay, Bellenden, Dunbar, etc.," among those he had intended to deal with in his history of poetry.

Hailes. Bannatyne. 1770. Notes.

Percy. Reliques. Edit. 1775.

Vol. II. Pp. 401-2. In the additions to the Essay on Alliterative Poetry, in this and subsequent editions, 3 is quoted from the Maitland MS. and praised.

Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778.

Pp. 257-79, Dunbar. See Introduction, p. lxxvi. P. 319 *n.*, Kennedy. For Dunbar see Hazlitt's edition, Vol. III. pp. 204-18.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Preface, pp. ix.-xii. 6 and 92 highly praised : other poems. Essay, p. l., 9 attributed to Lyndsay. List, pp. xcii.xciv., Life: comments on Warton's criticism : proposal to edit Dunbar's works. Pp. xciv.-xcv., Short notice of Kennedy. For further criticism of Dunbar, see Vol. II., notes.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems from scarce editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Preliminaries, pp. xxv.-xxviii. Chepman and Myllar's readings, No. 6.

Malcolm Laing. Henry's History of Great Britain. Vol. VI. 1793.

Pp. 604-6. See Introduction, pp. lxxvi.-lxxvii.

K[ippis]. Biographia Britannica. Second Edition. Vol. V. 1793.

Pp. 489-92. Founded on Warton and Pinkerton, from whom very long extracts are given in footnotes. The writer read Hailes only in time to add a footnote. The notice first appears in this edition.

Scottish Register. Vol. II. 1794.

Pp. 194-203. Taken mainly from Warton, with a little from Pinkerton.

A. Campbell. History of Scottish Poetry. 1798.

P. 55. A mere note. "He was born in east Lothian. His poems are many, and possess great merit." **16** and **17** "among the best of his work." P. 55-6. Kennedy, also very briefly treated. "He appears to have had the knack of flyting in a high degree."

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1799. P. 200, Kennedy. Pp. 200-2, Dunbar.

Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801.

Pp. 372-85, Criticism, with modernised specimens of Dunbar as a moral and allegorical poet. P. 398, Kennedy.

Dyer. Poems. 1801. See under General Works, p. 25.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vols. II. and III. Notes prefixed and appended to the various poems, very largely taken from Hailes, sometimes with acknowledgment.

Irving. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1804.

Vol. I. Pp. 391-441, Dunbar. Pp. 443-4, Kennedy.

O. G[ilchrist]. Ancient Scottish Poems. Censura Literaria. Vol. V. 1807.

Pp. 240-4, Dunbar: general character; comparison with Burns; extracts. Second edition, 1815, III. 365-70.

Scott. Marmion. 1808*.

Note 2F, "Dunbar's admirable tale of 'The Friars of Berwick.'"

Nott. Surrey and Wyatt. 1815.

Dissertation, pp. cxci.-cxcii., Examples from Dunbar of the false taste of his time. "A poet of rich and lively fancy, and possessing great natural command of language."

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. Pp. 68-9. Reprinted, Essay on English Poetry, pp. 121-2. Comparison of Friars of Berwick with Chaucer, Seven Deadly Sins with Collins. Text of 25 (incomplete) with very full explanatory notes.

J. M. William Dunbar. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. I. Part I. 1821.

Pp. 25-35. Absurd and ill-informed.

There is a short notice of Kennedy by K. K. in Vol. III. Part V. Pp. 19-21.

Beauties of Scottish Poets. 1823. Pp. 37-42, Life. Unimportant.

Laing. Golagrus and Gawane. 1827.

Pp. 9-12, 15. Notes on the Chepman and Myllar Poems. Laing thinks Dunbar's poems "may be considered as having come forth under his own immediate inspection."

Mornings in Spring; or Retrospections, Biographical, Critical, and Historical. By Nathan Drake, M.D. H.A.L. London: John Murray. 1828.
Vol. II. Pp. 1-36. Chaucer, Dunbar, and Burns compared.

Scott. Memoir of George Bannatyne. Memorials of George Bannatyne. 1829. Pp. 14-5.

The History of Scotland. By Sir Walter Scott Bar^{t.} London : Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green; and John Taylor. 1829.
Vol. I. Pp. 333, 351.

David Irving. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. VIII. 1833.

Pp. 268-75. Includes Friars of Berwick. Partly founded on Lives of Scotish Poets. Eighth Edition, 1855, pp. 244-51.

Tytler. Scottish Worthies. Vol. III. 1833.

Pp. 89-133. See also appendices VII. and VIII. for historical illustrations (Tournament for the Black Lady, The Flying Abbot of Tungland).

The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe: with his letters and journals and his life by his Son [George Crabbe]. In Eight Volumes. Vol. I. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1834.

P. 278, Letter, dated Dec. 26th, 1833, from J. G. Lockhart to Crabbe's son, on Crabbe's visit to Scott in 1822: "He then made Sir Walter read and interpret some of old Dunbar to him, and said, 'I see that the Ayrshire bard had one giant before him.'"

Laing. Dunbar. 1834-65.

Vol. I. Memoirs of William Dunbar. (Life, predecessors and successors, character). Appendices: 1. Notices of the Dunbars of Beill, 11. Notices of William Dunbar. Vol. II. and Supplement. Notes. The Supplement contains also Dunbar in London A.D. 1501, On the Period of Dunbar's Decease, &c.

For Kennedy see notes in Vol. II.

Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835.

Vol. II. Pp. 152-6. From Pinkerton, Irving, and the Treasurer's Accounts.

Ancient Scotish Poetry. No. I. Dunbar. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Vol. XXXVII., No. CCXXXII. February 1835.

Pp. 287-318. A review of Laing, much spun out, and without much grip of the subject. It includes Dunbar's life, and illustrated criticism of his poems.

- Hallam. Literature of Europe. 1837. Vol. I. P. 366.
- Guest. English Rhythms. 1838. Vol. II. Pp. 166, 364, 370-2.
- Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. 1843.
 Vol. I. Pp. 40-4.
 Same article in Littell's Living Age. Vol. I. No. 6. 22 June 1844. Pp. 382-4.
- Essays on Subjects Connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith. 1846. 12mo.

Vol. II. Pp. 291-306, The Poet Dunbar.

Wright. History of Scotland. 1852. Pp. 290-1. Another edition, p. 31.

Aytoun. Ballads. 1858.

Vol. I. Introd. Pp. lxiv.-lxvii., "Our English," taken to mean "a renouncement of the Scottish peculiarities of phraseology." The whole criticism hinges on this interpretation.

Paterson. Life and Poems of William Dunbar. 1860. Also reissue, Works of William Dunbar. 1863.

Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861.

Pp. 225-53, Dunbar. Pp. 253-4, Kennedy. Pp. 291-300, Freirs of Berwick. These chapters are founded on the Encyclopaedia Britannica article, but are considerably fuller. Campbell. Tales of the West Highlands. 1862. Vol. IV. Pp. 54-8, Dunbar and the Kelts.

- Dreamthorp. A Book of Essays written in the Country. By Alexander Smith. London: Strahan & Co. 1863. 8vo. Pp. 66-92.
- Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xxvi.-xxxi.
- Traité de la langue du poète ecossais William Dunbar, précédé d'une esquisse de sa vie et de ses poèmes et d'un choix de ses poésies. Inaugural - Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde bei der philosophischen Facultät zu Bonn eingereicht und zugleich mit den beigefügten Thesen am 23.
 Januar 1873 vertheidigt von Johannes Kaufmann aus Elberfeld. Opponenten : Emil Bernard, Stud. phil. Gustav Hoerter, Cand. theol. Emil Beckmann, Doct. phil. Bonn, Druck von Carl Georgi. [1873.] 8vo.

Pp. 1-22, Esquisse de la Vie et des Poèmes de Dunbar. Pp. 23-46, Choix des Poèmes de Dunbar. Pp. 47-107, Traité de la Langue de William Dunbar.

Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 129-39. Second edit. Pp. 98-106.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876.

Half-vol. I. Pp. 22-3, Kennedy. Pp. 24-6, Dunbar. Unimportant.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 171-7, Dunbar. Pp. 197-9, Kennedy. Pp. 200-1, Friars of Berwick. Unimportant.

Veitch. History and Poetry of the Scottish Border. 1878.

Pp. 326, Friars of Berwick. Edit. 1893, Pp. 69-70. Pp. 82-8, Lament for the Makars.

Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. II. 1880.

Pp. 351-5.

- J. Nichol. Ward's English Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 147-50.
- J. G. R. McElroy. Thistle and the Rose. Penn Monthly. Vol. XII. 1881*. P. 533.
- Schipper. Englische Metrik. Erster Theil. 1881. Pp. 509-15, 520.
- William Dunbar. Sein Leben und seine Gedichte in Analysen und ausgewählten Uebersetzungen nebst einem Abriss der altschottischen Poesie. Ein Beitrag zur schottisch-englischen Literatur- und Culturgeschichte von Dr. J. Schipper, ordentl. Professor der englischen Philologie an der k. k. Universität in Wien. Berlin, Verlag von Robert Oppenheim. 1884. 8vo.

Pp. 169-218. Dunbar and his time, his poems, comparison with Burns and others.

- Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 108-10, 114. Includes Inglis, or Dunbar, General Satire.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 220-38.
- Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. 1887-8-9.

Lowell. Essays on the English Poets. 1888. Pp. 13-5.

- Ten Brink. Geschichte der englischen Litteratur. Band II. 1889. Pp. 417-31. English edition 1896, Vol. III. Pp. 65-79.
- William Dunbar 1460-1520. A Study in the Poetry and History of Scotland. By Æ. J. G. Mackay. Printed for Private Circulation by W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh. 1889. Introduction to S.T.S. edition.

Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884.

K. Luick. Die englische Stabreimzeile. Anglia. XI. 1889. Pp. 602-8.

Morley. English Writers. Vol. VII. 1891.

Pp. 115-42, Dunbar and Kennedy. Pp. 153-8, The Freirs of Berwick (argument). Pp. 336-9, Bibliography of Dunbar.

Ochil Idylls and Other Poems. By Hugh Haliburton. London: William Paterson & Co. 1891. 8vo. Pp. 97-8, To William Dunbar.

Kaye. Leading Poets. 1892.

P. 144, A very poor and misleading article by Clarence Foster, M.R.C.S.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892. Pp. 141-58.

J. Z[upitza], J. Schipper. Zu Dunbar. Herrig's Archiv. XLVII. Jahrgang. 1893.

90. Band, P. 151, 91. Band, P. 241, Notes on the presence of London in MS. Lansd. 762, and MS. Balliol College, Nr. 354, with variants.

Small, Mackay, Gregor, M'Neill. Poems of William Dunbar. 1893.

Vol. I. Introduction (Mackay). I. Memoir of Dunbar (including The Scottish Landscape as seen by Dunbar), pp. xi.-lxxv. II. The Poems of Dunbar (Division into classes, estimate of Dunbar's genius, comparison with preceding Scottish poets, with Burns, with Horace, Villon, Heine, and Albert Dürer, influence of Chaucer and of the French poets, Dunbar's mastery of metre), pp. lxxvi.-clii. Appendix to Introduction. I. References to Dunbar in the Records, pp. cliii.-clvi. II. Table of Dunbar's poems according to probable order of their dates, pp. clvii.-clxxii. III. Note on the Versification and Metres of Dunbar (M'Neill), clxxii.-cxciii. IV. Bibliography of Dunbar, pp. cxciv.-cci. V. Historical Notices of Persons alluded to in Dunbar's Poems, pp. ccii.-cclxix. Vol. II. Prefatory Note on manuscripts and editions (Small), pp. v.-viii.

Vol. III. Notes (Gregor, appendix by Mackay).

- F. R. Oliphant. William Dunbar. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Vol. CLIV. No. DCCCCXXXV. September 1893.
 Pp. 416-38. Life and Works.
- Bearder. Über den Gebrauch der Praepositionen. 1894. Uses Dunbar's poems.
- Furth in Field. A Volume of Essays on the Life, Language, and Literature of Old Scotland. By Hugh Haliburton. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894. 8vo.

Pp. 272-80, Dunbar in Burns. Merely a few parallels in language and subjects.

See J. D. Ross, Burnsiana, Vol. V. 1895.

- Jusserand. Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. 1894-1904.
 Vol. I. Pp. 528-9. Vol. II. Pp. 104-5. English edition, 1895-1906, Vol. I. Pp. 511. Vol. II. 1. Pp. 115-7.
- Schipper. Poems of William Dunbar. 1894. Introductions to the whole work and to the several poems.

Courthope. English Poetry. Vol. I. 1895.

Pp. 370-4. His life (in brief) and allegorical poems. "Essentially a poet of the court, his talents were always employed in satisfying the momentary tastes of his patrons, so that though his works are of great importance to the antiquary, he rarely touches those notes of human interest which are the passport to the sympathy of the general reader."

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by Robert Chambers. Revised by William Wallace. In four volumes. Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers. 1896. Vol. IV. pp. 462-6. Comparison with Burns.

- William Dunbar. By Oliphant Smeaton. Famous Scots Series.
 Published By Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, Edinbyrgh and London. [1898.]
 8vo.
- J. T. T. Brown. Some Desultory Notes. The Scottish Antiquary. Vol. XIII. No. 49. July 1898. Pp. 7-9. The Droichis Part and Blind Harry.
- Gosse. Modern English Literature. 1898. Pp. 48-51.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898.

Pp. 142-87, Dunbar and Walter Kennedy. Pp. 277-83, Freiris of Berwick.

On the Rimes in the Authentic Poems of William Dunbar. Inaugural Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy submitted to the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Freiburg. By Henry Bellyse Baildon. Edinburgh: Printed by Neill and Company, Ltd. 1899. 4to.

Also in Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXXIX. Part III. 1900. Pp. 629-665. Read April 3, 1899.

W. A. Neilson. Origins and Sources of the Court of Love. 1899.

Pp. 163-5, Allegorical poems. P. 212, Advice to Lovers and the "statutes of love." Pp. 220, 224, 227, Parodies of religious services, etc.

A. S. Nelson. William Dunbar, Scottish Poet. The Gentleman's Magazine. Volume CCLXXXVII. July 1899.

Pp. 35-45. Poor. Revives the old error about Dunbar's birthplace.

Oliphant Smeaton. English Satires. 1899.

P. xxiv. Compares Dunbar with Salvator Rosa and Juvenal. Pp. 14-19, **25** modernised and slightly abridged.

Gregory Smith. The Transition Period. 1900.

Pp. 50-8, 194-5 (prosody), 293-4 (Droichis Part). Pp. 71-2, Kennedy.

Ritter. Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns. 1901.

Chambers. Cyclopaedia of English Literature. Vol. I. 1901. Pp. 191-200, Dunbar. Pp. 200-2, Kennedy.

Schipper. Poems of Walter Kennedy. 1902.

Pp. 1-9, Introduction (biographical and bibliographical). Each poem has a short introduction, various readings, and notes. Written in English.

Studien zu William Dunbar. Inaugural-Dissertation, welche nebst den beigefügten Thesen mit Genehmigung der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Breslau zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doctorwürde Sonnabend, den 12. Juli 1902, mittags 1234 Uhr in der Aula Leopoldina öffentlich verteidigen wird Friedrich Mebus. Opponenten : Otto Schmidt, Cand. des höheren Lehramtes, Otto Will, cand. phil. Breslau Buchdruckerei Anton Schreiber, Albrechtsstrasse 20. 1902. 8vo.

Notes on 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 13, 14, 78.

Garnett and Gosse. English Literature. 1903. Vol. I. Pp. 358-62. By Dr Garnett.

- H. Bellyse Baildon. Burns and Dunbar. Scottish Art and Letters. Vol. II. Nos. 2 and 3. February-April and June-August, 1903.
 Pp. 161-8, 257-65.
- P. Teichert. Schottische Zustände unter Jakob IV. nach den Dichtungen von William Dunbar. Wiss. Beilage des Gymnasium Augustum zum Görlitz. Ostern, 1903*.
- F. Holthausen. Kennedy-Studien. Archiv f
 ür das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen. CX. Band. N.S. X., CXII. Band. N.S. XII. 1903, 1904.

Band CX. Pp. 359-87, I. Zur Erklärung und Textkritik. 1. Pious Counsale. 2. Against Moub Dankless. 3. The Praise of Aige. 4. Praise of our Lady. 5. The Passioun of Christ. Band CXII. Pp. 298-316, II. Die Quellen der Passioun of Christ. Nachtrag zu den Kennedy-Studien I. Supplementary to Schipper's edition.

- Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 81-91, Dunbar. Pp. 91-3, Friars of Berwick.
- U. Weber. Kennedy-Studien. Kiel Diss. 1905*.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 273-5.

Bellyse Baildon. Poems of William Dunbar. 1907.

Pp. xii.-xvi., Sources. Pp. xvi.-xxvi., Life, etc. Pp. xxvi.xxxviii., Language (of Dunbar and his time). Pp. xxxviii.-xlii., Versification. Pp. 239-98, Notes. Pp. 299-392, Glossary. Pp. 393-5, First lines.

- Clement Armstrong, W. Dunbar and his Times. Trans. Hawick Archæological Society. 1908*.
- F. Mebus. Beiträge zu William Dunbars Gedicht *The Goldin Terge.* Englische Studien. XXXIX. Band. I. Heft. 1908. Pp. 40-69.
- Beiträge und Studien zur Englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte. Von J. Schipper. Wien und Leipzig: C. W. Stern. 1908*. 8vo.

The second section contains a paper on The Freiris of Berwik.

Gregory Smith. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. II. 1908.

Pp. 250-8, 475-6.

Gregory Smith. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. 1911.

Vol. VIII. Pp. 668-9.

GAWIN DOUGLAS.

EDITIONS AND EXTRACTS.

 $\mathcal{E}n. = \mathcal{E}neid.$

PH. = Palice of Honour.

KH. = King Hart.

These, with the short poem "Conscience," are the only extant works.

For an edition by Lord Glenbervie, announced in 1806, but never published, see Small's edition, preface vi.-xi., and Memoir of Thomas Thomson (Bannatyne Club).

For bibliography see the British Bibliographer II.-III. (1812-4); Censura Literaria III. and VIII. (1807-8); Laing, Adversaria; Morley VII.; Small.

Palyce of Honour. Thomas Davidson. Edinburgh. About 1540*. 4to B.L.

Fragments of this edition were obtained by David Laing. Small gives facsimiles of part of the frontispiece and part of the tailpiece to the Prologue, with the words: . . . gy me grace) |. . . mys rud. | . . . eambyl. And novv nixt efter | the Palyce of Honovr | . . . n. &c. | [Cut.] | This edition is supposed to be one of those referred to in the preface to the Edinburgh edition 1579. See Laing, Adversaria, 19, Small, Douglas, I. clxix., Dickson and Edmond, 133-5.

The | .xiii. Bukes of Eneados of | the famose Poete Virgill | Translatet out of Latyne | verses into Scottish me- | tir, bi the Reuerend Fa- | ther in God, May- | ster Gawin Douglas | Bishop of Dunkel & | unkil to the Erle | of Angus. Euery | buke having hys | perticular | Prologue. | ¶ Imprinted at Londō | 1553. | 4to. B.L.

Printed by Copland.

[A]¹, B-Z⁸, a-z⁸, aa-bb⁸.

Fol. [1]+i-[Ccclxxvi]. Foliation erroneous.

Leaf unsigned, Title in border. Verso blank. BI, \P The Preface. Text begins: Laude, honoure, prasing, thankis infinite. CI, The first Booke of Eneados. bb6, Book XIII. ends. Conclusion. | Now is my werk al finist and complete. Ends on verso, where it is followed by: The space tyme and date, of the translatione of this buk. bb7, \P Ane exclamacion aganis detractouris and uncurtase | redaris, that bene ouer studious but occasioun to note | and spye out faltis, or offensis, in this volume | or any vthir thrifty werkis. | Ends on verso, where it is followed by: To knaw the name of the translator. bb8 blank. Marginal summary.

A Protestant edition: e.g. Prologue XI. Stanza 14, last line—And aye the moder of grace in mynd emprent (Small) becomes—And aye vnto his wourd thy mynd be bent.

The | Palis Of | Honoure Compyled by | Gawyne dowglas Bys- | shope of Dunkyll. | ¶ Imprinted at London in | fletstret, at the sygne of | the Rose garland by | wyllyam | Copland. | ¶ God saue Quene | Marye. | [1553?] 4to B.L.

The title has the same border as the 1553 Æneid, and therefore the date is supposed to be about 1553.

A-K⁴

40 leaves. No pagination.

A1 blank. A2, Title. Verso, Text of Prologue begins: Quhen pale Aurora with face lamentable. A4 verso, Prologue ends. Royal arms of England. B1, The Palys of Honour. B1-K3 verso, Text. K3 verso, The auctor direkit his buke to the rycht | nobill Prynce, James the ferd Kyng | of Scottis. | K4, Text ends. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the | sygne of the Rose garland, by Wyllyam | Coplande. | Verso blank. Marginal summary. The text differs considerably from the Edinburgh edition 1579: the spelling is more Southroun.

I Heir beginnis | ane Treatise callit the Palice | of Honovr, Compylit | be M. Gawine | Dowglas | Bischop of | Dunkeld. | [Figure of Truth holding open book inscribed ^{VER} DEI, surrounded by motto Vincet Tandem Veritas, between initials IR] | Imprentit at Edin- | burgh be Iohne Ros, | for Henrie Charteris. Anno 1579. | Cvm Privilegio Regali. | 4to. B.L.

 \mathbf{A} - \mathbf{K}^{4} .

Pp. [8]+1-[72].

A1, Title within border. Verso, To the Reidar. | Qvhen vve had sene | and considderit the diuers Impressi- | ones befoir Imprentit of this Notabill | werk, to haue bene altogidder faultie | and corrupt : not onlie that quhilk hes bene Imprentit at London, bot also the Copyis set | furth of auld amangis our selfis: We have thocht gude | to tak sum panes and trawellis to have the samin mair | commodiously and correctly set furth: to the In- | tent, that the beneuolent Reidar may haue the | mair delyte and pleasure in reiding, and | the mair frute in perusing, this | pleasand and delecta- | bill werk. | A2, The Prologve. Text begins: Ovhen paill Aurora with face lamentabill. A4, Text of Prologue ends: Myne Visioun in rurall termis rude. | Finis Prologi. | [Tailpiece.] Verso blank. B1, C The Palice of | Honovr, Compylit be M. | Gawine Dowglas | Bischop of Dunkeld | The First Part. | Text begins: Thow barrant wit ouirset with fantasyis. D4, The Secvnd Part. G1, The Thrid Part. K3 verso, Text ends: For I apply, schortlie to thy deuise. | The Author directis his buik | to the richt Nobill and Illuster Prince Iames | the Feird King of Scottis. | K4, Trivmphovs laud with palme of victorie. Ends: Fair on with site, and on this wise I end the. | Finis. | Verso, A modification of device on title-page, with border and without initials. Roman type to end of Prologue. Very rare. Edin. Univ. Lib.; Adv. Lib.

Virgil's Æneis | Translated into Scottish Verse, | By The | Famous Gawin Douglas | Bishop of Dunkeld. | A new Edition. | Wherein | The many Errors of the Former are corrected, and the De- | fects supply'd, from an excellent Manuscript. | To which is added | A Large Glossary, | Explaining the Difficult Words : Which may serve for a Dictionary | to the Old Scottish Language. | And to the whole is prefix'd | An Exact Account of the Author's | Life and Writings, from the best | Histories and Records. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, and Mr. Robert | Freebairn, and sold at their shops. MDCCX. | Fo.

Title, verso blank. One sheet unsigned, The Preface. A-E, The Life of Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld. F, The Judgment and Testimonies of Learned Men, concerning Gawin Douglas and his Works. A-C, The XIII Bukes of Eneados . . . London 1553. The Preface. One sheet unsigned: List of Subscribers. D-F fffff, Text. A, General Rules for Understanding the Language of Bishop Douglas's Translation of Virgil's Æneis. B-Z, glossary. Aa, The most considerable of the various readings . . .

This notable edition is attributed to Ruddiman, the Life to Bishop Sage. See Introduction, p. lxiv.

Fawkes. A Description of May. 1752. Prologue XII. From 1710.

Fawkes. A Description of Winter. 1754.Prologue VII.See under Translations, etc. Both of these are in Fawkes's

Original Poems and Translations. 1761.

Warton. English Poetry. II. 1778. Pp. 282-9. A great part of Prologue XII.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. 3-43, KH. The first edition. Pinkerton supplies the title "King Hart, Ane Alegorycale Poeme," divides

the text into two cantos, and prefixes an argument (pp. 1-2) in imitation of Douglas's Scots. Notes, vol. II. pp. 365-80. "He has in several instances misread the manuscript. He has however supplied several of its defects with considerable ingenuity." —Small.

Select Works Of Gawin Douglass, Bishop Of Dunkeld. Containing Memoirs Of The Author [by James Scott], The Palice Of Honour, Prologues To The Æneid, And A Glossary Of Obsolete Words, To Which Is Added An Old Poem, Author unknown. Consider It Warilie, Rede Aftiner Than Anis, Weill At Ane Blink Slie Poetry Not Tane Is. Gavin Douglas. Perth: Printed by R. Morison, Junr. For R. Morison & Son, Booksellers; and Sold by G. G. J. And J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, London, And C. Elliot, Edinburgh. 1787. 12mo.

Contains PH., inaccurately given from the Edinburgh edition 1579, and Æn. Prologues IV., VII., VIII., XII., XIII. Short notes, glossarial and other.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems, Reprinted from scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Pp. 141 ff., PH. Text almost identical with that of Perth edition 1787. Variants from the London edn. 1553 are given, and some of its readings adopted.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 386-464, PH. abridged from Pinkerton 1792, (127 stanzas); Prologues VII., XII., XIII., IV., VIII. (VII. slightly, XIII. and IV. much, abridged); A Specimen of Virgil's Æneid, as translatit be Gawin Douglas (Of Eneas Sacrifyce by nycht, And how to hel he tuik the way ful rycht); A Protestation to the Reader; Ane Exclamation; etc.

J. H. British Bibliographer. Vol. II. 1812. Pp. 422-4, PH., stanzas 1-9.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821.

P. 219, Æneid, Prologue VII. "From the edition of 1710."

The Palice of Honour. By Gawyn Douglas, Bishop of Dun-
keld. Reprinted at Edinburgh: By James Ballantyne and
Company. 1827.4to. B.L.

Presented to the Bannatyne Club by John Gardiner Kinnear. A facsimile reprint of the 1579 edition, its typographical errors corrected. The edition of 1553 is collated.

The Æneid of Virgil Translated into Scottish Verse By Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld. Printed at Edinburgh. 1839. Two vols. 4to.

Presented to the Bannatyne Club by Andrew Rutherfurd and George Dundas. The Cambridge text. No introduction or notes.

Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867.

Pp. 11-22, Æn. Bk. I. cc. 1.-11.; Prologue II.; Bk. I. c. XII.; Bk. II. cc. 1., VII.

Skeat. Specimens of English Literature. 1871.

Pp. 127-36, Prologue XII. Introductory note, pp. 126-7; notes, pp. 413-8. Cambridge text.

Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. Parts I., VI. 1873-80. Part I. Pp. 21-7, Prologue X. Pp. 122-3, Prologue IX. Part VI. Pp. 844-53, Prologue IV.

The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld,
With Memoir, Notes, and Glossary. By John Small,
M.A., F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: William Paterson. London:
H. Sotheran & Co. 1874. Four Vols. 8vo.

Vol. I. Introduction, etc. PH., KH., Conscience. Notes and various readings. Vols. II.-IV. Æneid, Notes, &c., "Comment," Glossary. The first collected edition. PH. reprinted from Edinburgh edition, 1579; KH. collated with the Maitland MS.; Conscience from the Maitland MS.; Æneid printed from the Elphynstoun MS., but inaccurately.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 234-65, KH., modernised; PH., partly in prose analysis, following Irving, partly in Tytler's paraphrase; extracts from the Prologues, modernised except one.

Ward. English Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 151-8, Scraps.

H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887. Pp. 117-27, Modernised scraps.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892.

Pp. 235-69, Short extracts from PH. and KH.; Æn. Bk. I. c. 1. lines 1-10, c. 11., except 1-20, c. 1V.; Prologues VII., XII., XIII. (1-75, 158-86). Small's text. Marginal glosses.

Kaye. Leading Poets. 1892.

Pp. 140-1, Conscience; KH., stanzas 1-3.

Hume Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 154-65, Prologues VII. (lines 1-140), XII. (lines 1-208, 234-255). From Small. Notes, pp. 192-4.

Gregory Smith. Specimens of Middle Scots. 1902.

Pp. 49-64, KH. Part I. (Maitland). Pp. 107-28, Æn. Prologues I., VII. (Elphynstoun, collated with Ruthven).

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 76-9, Æn. Prologue VII., lines 12-92.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 132-7, Æn. Prologue VII.

PARAPHRASES.

 A Description Of May. From Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. By Francis Fawkes, A.M. Hic Ver purpureum; varios hic flumina circum Fundit humus flores. Virg. London: Printed for J. Whiston and B. White, in Fleet-Street; A. Millar, in the Strand; and R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. MDCCLII. 4to. Text and paraphrase of Prol. XII. Glossary etc. Also in Original Poems and Translations. Specimen :---

> "Venus bright beam of night, and watch of day, Had chas'd the ling'ring stars of Heav'n away, Driv'n to the deep pale Cynthia from the sky, And lost herself the beauty of her eye."

Vv. 1-4.

 A Description Of Winter. From Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. By Francis Fawkes, A.M. Bruma recurrit iners. Hor. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall; J. Newberry, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Lockyer Davis, in Fleet-street. MDCCLIV.

Text and paraphrase of Prol. VII. on opposite pages. Glossary to May and Winter. Reprinted in Fawkes's Original Poems and Translations, 1761.

Description of a May Morning. Translated from Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. By J[erome] S[tone]. The Scots Magazine. Vol. XVII. 1756.

P. 294. "The most pompous description of that enlivening season I ever met with." Stone attempts to "accommodate the delicacies of that performance [Prologue XII.] to modern ears." Specimen :---

"Aurora joyful harbinger of day Now from the skies had chased the stars away, The moon was sunk beneath the western streams, And Venus' orb was shorn of half its beams." Vv. 1-4.

The last line may be compared with its original—" And Venus loist the bewte of hir eye."

Warton. English Poetry. II. 1778.

Pp. 289-93, Prose paraphrase of part of Prologue XII. and of Prologue VII.

Tytler. Scottish Worthies. III. 1833. Many passages are freely paraphased in verse.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Notices of Douglas's doings as a bishop and as a politician are not included, as a rule, except so far as they refer to him also as a man of letters.

Ioannes Maior in pri- | mū Sententiarum. | B.L.

Colophon: Impressum et exaratum est hoc opus Parisijs per Henri | cū stephanum: impensis honestorum virorum Iodoci ba- | dij ascensij/ Ioannis parui/ et magistri Constantini leporis | Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo; die aprilis | penultimo. |

Prefixed is: **(**Dialogus inter duos famatos viros magistrū Gauuinū douglaiseū virū non minus eruditū ą̄3 nobilē ecclesie beati Egidij edinburgens prefectū et magistrū Dauidē crenstonē in sacra theosophia bacchalariū formatum optime meritū.

The dialogue, which relates to books, philosophy, etc., concludes : "D Hoc ab ipo intellexi. succincte & subtiliter i quodā codicello a te misso hoc īpugnasti. sed sua negligētia codex ille amissus \bar{e}_{c} pfecto. quo circa (si placeat) veniā dabis amico. in mat⁹ia probleumatica vtrāuis _cptē vt nosti tueri sciret si vellet. s3 illā rationi cōformiorē putauit. G Pro eo veniā īplorare noli. \bar{q}_3 cōiunctus est michi patria coniunctus est amicitia. interuallū inter tentalon et glegornū de quo oriund⁹ est bene nosti opinor-D Optime noui iter sabbati in lege moysaica vix hec intercapedo suscipit. G Temporis angustia me premit discedere operepreciū est. bene valeas. & me nostro maiori commēdatum facito. D Bene valeas generose prefecte. at faciam lubens."

Ioannis Maioris do | ctoris Theologi In Quartum Sententiarum | quaestiones vtilissimae suprema ipsius lucubra | tiõe enucleatae: denuo tamen recognitae: & ma | ioribus formulis impressae: cum duplici tabel- | la: videlicet alphabetica materiarum decisarū | in fronte: & Quęstionum in calce. | Vęnundantur a sui | impressore Iodoco Badio. | [1519.]

Sign. aij. Dedication to Bishops Gawin Douglas and Robert

Cockburn, because each is "patriae finibus propinquissimus. Natalitii siquidem soli vnius intercapedinem dialogus in exordio Primi enucleat : Alterius origine Hadingthona plenius gaudet" etc. See also Major's History, trans. Constable.

- Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum. A Prima Sedis Fvndatione, Ad Annum M.D.XV. Ab Alexandro Myln, Eivsdem Ecclesiae Canonico, Conscriptae. Impressvm Edinburgi, [Bannatyne Club.] M.DCCC.XXIII. 4to. Edited by Thomas Thomson. See Introduction, p. xv.
- Polydori Vergilii | Vrbinatis Anglicae Histo | riae Libri xxvi. | Simon Grynaevs Lectori. | Anglia Bistonio semper gens inclyta Marte, | Quanta quibusq; animis nongentos mille per annos | Gesserit, imperium firmans adamante reuincto, | Intulerit quoties uicinis gentibus arma, | Seu procul eiecit populantem finibus hostem, | Seu domuit saeuos immania colla tyrannos, | Maxima magnanimûm Polydorvs facta uirorum | Praeclarè latia primus canit omnia bucca. | Indices rerum singularum copiosos & usui | egregio futuros, adiecimus. | Cum gratia & priuilegio Caesareo. | Basileae, Apvd Io. Bebelivm | Anno M.D.XXXIII. | Fo.

Lib. 111. Pp. 50-1,

"Caeterum fortasse aliquando erunt, qui ista stomacherentur : nuper enim Gauinus Dunglas [sic] Duncheldensis episcopus, homo Scotus, uiráj summa nobilitate & uirtute, nescio ob quam causam, in Angliam profectus, ubi audiuit dedisse me iampridem ad historiam scribendam, nos conuenit : amicitiam fecimus : postea multis precibus rogauit, ut ne historiam recens à quodam suo Scoto diuulgatam sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicandis, pollicitusáj est, se intra paucos dies, missurum commentariolum de his neutiquam negligendum, id quod & fecit. Primum in eo erat origo gentis peruetusta eiusmodi : Gathelus Neoli Atheniensium regis filius . . . Ego statim ut ista legi, uisus sum uidere ursam parientem, quemadmodum in prouerbio est. Post haec, ut solebamus, cum animi gratia, unà essemus, Gauinus sententiam meam rogauit. Respondi, me de origine nihil contendere,

quando plerique omnes populi solerent, aut à dijs, aut ab heroibus origines petere, ut qui postmodum uellent tanquam minus creduli eas requirere, cum difficile fuerit, certi aliquid inuestigare, cogerentur potius credere, quàm amplius frustra laborare. sed illud nullo pacto quadrare, ut Scoti et Picti . . . Quare aeque amicè, ac uerè dixi, mihi de Scotis seu Pictis ante eorum in Britanniam aduentum, quem Bedas & suo tempore, & recte posuerat, scribere non licere, per legem historico datam, quae talis est: Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid ueri non audeat, ne qua suspicio gratiae sit, ne qua simultatis. Ab hac sententia Gauinus uir sanè honestus tam minime abhorruit, quàm ratio ipsa ei uisa est cum ueritate maxime consentire, adeò facile uera à fictis semper internoscuntur. Verum non licuit diu uti, frui amico, qui eo ipso anno, qui fuit salutis humanae MDXXI, Londini pestilentia absumptus est."

Lyndesay. Complaint of the Papyngo.

Prologue, stanzas 3-4, lines 22-36. See Introduction, p. xviii.

Complaint of Scotland.

Mentions "the paleis of honour." Ed. Leyden, p. 99.

Bale. Summarium. 1548.

F. 254 verso, "Gawinus Douglas, Scotus, Dunkeldensis episcopus scripsit,

Commetariolu de rebus Scoticis, li. I.

Obijt anno domini .1521. ex pestilentia Londini sepultus."

Bale. Leland's Newe Yeares Gyfte. 1549.

Sign G. v. verso (in list of writers to be dealt with in a future work), "Gawinus Douglas."

Bale. Index. 1902.

 P. 83, "Gawinus Douglas, Scotus, Dunkeldensis episcopus, scripsit, [f. 57 b.
 Palacium honoris, li. i. Eneidos Vergilij in metra quoque transtulit. Nicolaus Brigan in collectionibus.

Gawinus Douglas transtulit, [f. 57 b. Eneidos Vergilij, li. 13. 'Laus, honor, iubilatio, gratiarum actio,' etc. Ex magistro Nicolao Brigam. Gawinus Douglas, episcopus Dunkeldensis, Scotus, scripsit ad Iacobum quartum, f. 215. Palatium honoris in metris Scoticis li. i. ' Dum aurora pallida, lamentabili facie,' etc. Aureas narrationes, li. i. Transtulit Aeneidos Vergilij li. i. Ex bibliopole officina."

Bale. Scriptorum Illustrium Posterior Pars. 1559.

P. 218, "Gauinus Douglas, clarissimae familiae Scotus, patriae suae gymnasia, florentis aetatis adolescens, laboriose coluit, ac bonae indolis & ingenij praeter communem sortem acuti, manifesta postmodum exhibuit signa. De hoc uiro ad praesens plura producerem, si Polydorus Vergilius in Anglicae historiae libro tertio, se eius laudatorem non interponeret, qui et ipsum olim ex facie nouit. Nuper (inquit ille) Gauinus Douglas, Dunkeldensis episcopus, . . . origo eius gentis peruetusta. Sic ille. Gauinus iste in Scoticis metris, ad Iacobum quartum Scotorum regem scripsit,

Palatium honoris,	Lib. 1. Dum aurora, lachrymabili
	facie.
Aureas narrationes,	Lib. I.
Comædias aliquot,	Lib. I.
De rebus Scoticis,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.

Transtulit in sermonem uulgarem.

Aeneidos Vergilij Maronis Lib. 12. Laus, honor, iubilatio.

"Et alia multa fecit. Verùm non licuit diu (inquit Polydorus) eo frui amico: sed eo ipso anno, qui fuit salutis humanae 1521, Londini pestilentia absumptus est, dum Iacobus quintus in Scotia regnaret."

Rolland. Court of Venus. Book III., lines 109-17, "Alsua quha list to tak pane or laubour Out throw to reid the palice of honour, Maid be Gawine dowglas of Dunkell, Bischop, and als ane honest oratour, Profound Poet, and perfite Philosophour. Into his dayis abone all buir the bell : In sik practikis all vtheris did precell, Weill put in vers in gude still and ordour, Thir Nimphis names, *th*air he dois trewlie [tell.]"

Eglogs | Epytaphes, and Sonettes. | Newly written by | Barnabe Googe: | 1563 | 15. Marche. | Imprynted at London, by | Thomas Colwell, for Raffe | Newbery, dwelyng in | Fleetstrete a litle a- | boue the Conduit | in the late shop | of Thomas | Bartelet. |*

Ed. Arber 1895, P. 72, An Epytaphe of Maister Thomas Phayre, lines 17-28,

> "The Noble H. Hawarde once, that raught eternall fame,
> With mighty Style, did bryng a pece Of Virgils worke in frame,
> And Grimaold gaue the lyke attempt, and Douglas wan the Ball,
> whose famouse wyt in Scottysh ryme had made an ende of all.
> But all these same did Phayre excell, I dare presume to wryte,
> As muche as doth Appolloes Beames the dymmest Starre in lyght."

Henrie Charteris. Lyndsay's Works. 1568*. Adhortation, stanza 3. See Introduction, p. xx.

Simlerus. Gesneri Bibliotheca. 1574.

P. 221, "* Gauinus Douglas, Scotus Episcopus, scripsit Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comœdias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12. Obijt anno 1521. Baleus." Edit. 1583, p. 261. Holinshed. History of Scotland. 1577.

P. 431, "He was a cunning Clearke, and a very good Poet: he translated the twelue bookes of Eneidos of Vergill in Scottish Metre, and compiled also the Palace of honor, with diuers other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant." (Under year 1521).

Leslaeus. De Rebus Gestis Scotorum. 1578. Lib. 1x. Pp. 396-7. See Introduction, p. xlii.

G. Buchanan. Rerum Scoticarum Historia. 1582.

Lib. XIV. Fol. 157 verso-158 recto. See Introduction, p. xlii. For the events of Douglas's public life see Book XIV.

The .xiii. Bookes | Of Æneidos. | The first twelue beeinge the | woorke of the diuine Poet | Virgil Maro, and the thirteenth | the supplement of Maphaeus Vegius. | Translated into English verse to | the fyrst thirdpart of the tenth Booke, | by Thomas Phaër Esquire: and the residue | finished, and now the second time newly | setforth for the delite of such as are stu- | dious in Poetrie: By Thomas Twyne, | Doctor in Physicke. | ¶ Imprinted at London by | William How, for Abraham | Veale, dwelling in Paules Church | yeard, at the signe of the Lambe. | 1584. | 4to. B.L.

Thomas Twyne "To the gentle and courteous Readers:" "And wheras there is now made an accession of *Maphaeus* xiij. Booke, for that the same Auctour iudged *Virgils* cōceit not to be perfected in the former xij. I haue not done it vpō occasion of any dreame as *Gawin Dowglas* did it into the Scottish, but mooued with the worthines of the worke, and the neerenes of the argument, verse and stile vnto *Virgil*, wherin as I iudge, the writer hath declared himself an happie imitatour."

Thynne. Holinshed's Chronicle. Vol. II. 1587.

P. 462, "Gawine Dowglasse, borne of the noble house of the Dowglasses in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning,

was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betweene him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeere of Christ one thousand flue hundred twentie and one, in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. I. Aureas narrationes lib. I. Comoedias aliquot lib. I. De rebus Scoticis lib. I. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12."

Speght. Chaucer. Second Edition. 1602.

Chaucer's Life, "The excellent and learned Scottish Poet Gawyne Dowglas, Bishop of Dunkeld in the preface of Virgils Eneados, turned into Scottish verse, doth thus speake of Chaucer."

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 7, "Gauin. Duglas. E[piscopus]. 1521."

Gilbert Gray. Oratio. 1623*.

Mackenzie's Lives and Characters. Vol. I. 1708. P. xxx., "Anno proximo sciz. 1521 Fatis concessit vir multigenae Eruditionis ac magnum Ecclesiae Lumen Galvinus Douglas Episcopus Dunkeldensis, relicto post se uberi Ingenii foetu, sciz. Commentariis de Rebus Scoticis; Palatio honoris; Comoediis aliquot; Et venusto Carmine Patrio Sermone fideliter redditis Duodecim Libris Æneidôn Virgilii."

A Saxon Treatise Concerning The Old And New Testament. Written Abovt The Time Of King Edgar (700 yeares agoe) by Ælfricvs Abbas, thought to be the same that was afterward Archbishop of Canterbvrie. Whereby Appeares What Was The Canon of holy Scripture here then receiued, and that the Church of England had it so long agoe in her Mother-tongue. Now First Pvblished In Print With English of our times, by William L'isle of Wilbvrgham, Esquier for the Kings Bodie : The Originall remaining still to be seene in S^r Robert Cottons Librarie, at the end of his lesser Copie of the Saxon Pentatevch. And Herevnto Is Added Ovt Of The Homilies and Epistles of the fore-said Ælfricvs, a second Edition of A Testimonie of Antiquitie, &c. touching the Sacrament of the Bodie and Bloud of the Lord, here publikely preached and receiued in the Saxons time, &c. Extera quid quaerat sua qui vernacula nescit? London Printed by Iohn Haviland for Henrie Seile, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard at the Signe of the Tygers head. 1623. 4to.

The second edition, 1638, has the title Divers Ancient Monuments In The Saxon Tongue.

See Introduction, p. liv.

Gerardi Ioannis Vossii De Historicis Latinis Libri Tres, Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Ioannem Maire, Anno c10 10 c xxvii. 4to.

Pp. 613-4, Lib. III. [Pars I.] Cap. XIII., "Nec praetereundus nobis GALVINVS DVGLASSIVS, qui aliis est GAVINVS DOVGLAS, Scotus: qui ob familiae splendorem, doctrinamque, in pretio fuit anno CIO IO X, rerum Scoticarum potiente Jacobo IV: ad quem & Scoticis metris quaedam perscripsit. Edidit praeterea aureas narrationes, item de rebus Scoticis libros, atque alia, ut Balaeus indicat. De hoc ita Polydorus Virgilius lib. III. historiae Anglicae, *Nuper Gavinus Douglas* . . . *pervetusta hujusmodi*, &c. Et aliquantò pòst: *Verùm non licuit* . . . *absumptus est.* Qui annus erat nonus Jacobi V, Scotorum regis." Edit. 1651, P. 686.

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica. 1627.

Pp. 221-2, "Gavinvs Duglasius nobilissima, & apud Scotos primaria comitum Angusiae familia ortus, Episcopus Dunkeldensis, & postea, ut puto, Archiepiscopus Glascuensis, "Vir ad magnae¹ natus summa nobilitate, & virtute," ait Polydorus Virgilius lib. 111. histor. Anglic. pag. L11. Eius eruditionem extollit, licet haereticus, Buchananus lib. 11. Epigrammat. [Here follow eighteen lines from Buchanan, "Praesulis accubui postquam

¹ Sic Dempster.

conviva Gauini" etc., erroneously supposed to refer to Douglas.] Quod praeclarum certe testimonium in ore hominis à vera religione tam alieni. Eius sunt.

"Virgilii Opera Scoticis Rythmis translata lib. 1. mira ingenii felicitate, ut uersibus versus responderent, quod haud scio an exemplum habeat in antiquitate.

Palatium honoris	<i>lib</i> . 1.
Aureae narrationes	<i>lib</i> . 1.
Comoediae aliquot sacrae	<i>lib</i> . 1.
De Rebus Scoticis	<i>lib.</i> 1.

"Extinctus est peste Londini grassante, regnante Iacobo V. anno anno [sic] MDXXI. meminit Leslaeus lib. IX." See p. l.

D. Buchanan. De Scriptoribus Scotis. 1837. Pp. 92-3. See Introduction, p. l.

The History Of The Houses Of Douglas And Angus. Written by Master David Hume of Godscroft. Edinburgh, Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. 1644. Fo.

The first edition, c. 1633, "does not include the Angus portion" (G. P. Johnston's Catalogue, 1905).

Pp. 219-20, 244, 245-6, Events of Douglas's life. Pp. 219-20, 220, Character. P. 220, Criticism. See Introduction, p. xliii.

Spottiswoode. History of the Church of Scotland. 1655.

P. 101, "A man learned, wise, and given to all vertue and goodnesse; some monuments of his engenie he left in *Scottish* meeter which are greatly esteemed, especially his translation of *Virgil* his books of *Æneids*."

Drummond. History of the Five Jameses. 1655.

P. 176, "This Bishop shortly after dyed at *London*, and was buryed in the *Savoy* Church: having been a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent Poet, as his works, yet extant testifie."

Kinaston. Loves of Troilus and Creseid. Ed. Waldron. 1796. P. xxx. See Introduction, p. xl. The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight, Sometime Garter Principal King of Arms. With an Appendix, containing An Account of his published Works, an Index to his Manuscript Collections, Copies of Monumental Inscriptions to the Memory of the Dugdale Family, and Heraldic Grants and Pedigrees. Edited by William Hamper, Esq. F.S.A. London: Printed for Harding, Lepard, and Co. Pall-Mall East. 1827. 4to.
P. 383, Letter from Francis Junius to Dugdale, "Haegh, 1668.
[1667-8.] the 3. of Febr." See Introduction, p. liv.

An Historical Account of Church-Government as it was in Great-Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion. By the Bishop of St. Asaph [William Lloyd]. London, Printed for Charles Brome at the Gun at the West-end of St. Pauls. 1684. 8vo. Preface, Sign. B 6. Lloyd holds that Hector Boethius was the historian against whom Douglas warned Polydore Virgil. Edit. 1842, Vol. II. Pp. 29-30.

- A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal-Line of Scotland. With a true Account when the Scots were Govern'd by Kings in the Isle of Britain. By Sir George Mackenzie His Majesty's Advocate in Scotland. London, Printed for R. C. and are to be Sold by Abell Swalle, at the Vnicorn, at the West-End of St. Pauls. 1685. 8vo.
 Pp. 30-1, Reply to Bishop Lloyd 1684.
- Origines Britannicae, Or, The Antiquities of the British Churches. With a Preface concerning some pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in Vindication of the Bishop of St. Asaph. By Ed. Stillingfleet, D.D. Dean of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. London, Printed by M. Flesher for Henry Mortlock, at the Phoenix in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1685. Fo.

Pp. liv.-lv., Answer to Sir George Mackenzie, 1685. Edit. 1842 (along with Lloyd), Vol. I. Pp. cxii.-cxiii.

Winstanley. Lives of the Most Famous English Poets. 1687. P. 29. This is a word for word repetition of Speght, Chaucer, Second Edition, 1602, q.v.

Nicolson. Scottish Historical Library. 1702.

Pp. 98-100, (Edit. 1776, p. 28), . . . "How well qualify'd he was for an Undertaking of this Nature [*i.e.* De Rebus Scoticis, for which Nicolson cites Vossius and Bale], we may well guess by his admirable Translation of *Virgil's Æneids*; which (in Eighteen Months time) he turn'd into most elegant *Scotch* Verse, thereby wonderfully improving the Language of his Countrey and Age. One that was a good Judge of the Work assures us that 'tis done in such a Masculine strain of True Poetry, that it may justly vye with the Original; every Line whereof is singly render'd, and every Word most appositely and fully." Nicolson mentions the MS. notes and glossary of Junius: "So that the Poem may now be reprinted, with great Advantage. Dr. *Gale*, the worthy Dean of *York*, has also a good Manuscript Copy of it."

Catalogues of Scotish Writers. 1833.

P. 84, "Duglassius (Gavin) Episc. Caledonius scripsit Palatium Honoris, Edin. 1579. Aureas Narrationes. Comedias aliquot. De Rebus Scoticis. Transtulit Virg. Æneid. in linguam vulgarem carmine Heroico. Obiit 1521." (General Catalogue.)

- Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesauri Grammatico-Critici et Archaeologici Pars Prima : Seu Institutiones Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae, & Moeso-Gothicae : Auctore
 - . Georgio Hickesio, S.T.P. . . . Oxoniae E Theatro Sheldoniano, An. Dom. мдссии. Fol.

P. 128. Cites Douglas for word "stalwart" "in versione *Æneidos* nunquam satis laudandâ; *Duglassio* episcopo apud *Scotos Dunkellensi* auctore."

[Sage.] The Life of Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkeld. Æneid, ed. Ruddiman. 1710.

Pp. 1-14, Life. Pp. 14-9, Works. See Introduction, p. lxiv.

Mackenzie. Lives of Scottish Writers, II. 1711.

Pp. 295-308. From Sage with verbal alterations. See Introduction, p. lx.

Alexander Pennecuik (the younger). Description of Tweeddale, etc. by Alexander Pennecuik (the elder). 1715. See p. 19.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 232. Refers to Dempster, Mackenzie, Thynne, Major (In I. Sent.), Holinshed, Polydore Virgil, Bale, Stillingfleet, Athenae Oxonienses, and both editions of PH. and of Æn.

Fawkes. Description of May. 1752. Dedication to William Dixon. P. iv.,

> "Can Dixon listen to this flowery lay, Where splendid Douglas paints the blooming May?"

Pp. v.-vi., Preface. Pp. vii.-xii., Some Account of Gawin Douglas.

A Large New Catalogue Of The Bishops of the several Sees Within the Kingdom of Scotland, Down to the Year 1688. Instructed by proper and authentic Vouchers: Together With Some other Things necessary to the better Knowledge of the Ecclesiastical State of this Kingdom in former Times: As Also, A brief Preface concerning the first planting of Christianity in Scotland, and the State of that Church in the earlier Ages. [By Robert Keith.] Edinburgh: Printed by Tho. and Wal. Ruddimans, and sold by the Booksellers in Town. M.D.CC.LV. 4to.

P. 57. A very short summary of Douglas's Life. "The curious reader is referred" to the Life in the 1710 Æneid for "many Particulars concerning him, too long to be enumerated here." Second edition 1824.

Thomas Gray. Metrum. Observations on English Metre.

After noticing the metre of August in the Shepherd's Calender, Gray adds, "Bishop Douglas, in his Prologue to the eighth

Æneid, written about eighty years before Spencer's Calendar, has something of the same kind." The metres of the Æneid and its prologues and of PH. are noted in the classification of "The Measures of Verse." Ed. Mitford 1843, Vol. V. Pp. 242-53. For Gray's opinion of Douglas, see Nicholls's Reminiscences below, under 1805.

An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare : Addressed to Joseph Cradock, Esq; The Second Edition, with Large Additions. By Richard Farmer, B.D. Fellow of Emmanuel-College, Cambridge ; and of The Society of Antiquaries, London. Cambridge : Printed by J. Archdeacon, Printer to the University, for J. Woodyer, in Cambridge ; and Sold by J. Beecroft, in Pater-noster-Row ; J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall ; T. Cadell, in the Strand ; and M. Hingeston, near Temple Bar, London. 1767.

P. 43, A parallel: "Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature Are *burnt and purg'd away*," Hamlet; "Contrakkit in the corpis be *done away And purgit*," Æn. VI. Not in first edit.

- Beattie. To Alexander Ross. 1768*. See p. 22.
- Gray. Letters. Vol. III. 1912. P. 278. See p. 211.
- Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778. Pp. 280-94.
- EIIEA IITEPOENTA. Or, The Diversions of Purley. Part I. By John Horne Tooke, A.M. Late of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-Yard. M DCC LXXXVI. 8vo. Second edit., two parts, 1798-1805. Douglas cited *passim*.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. viii.-ix., xcv.-xcvii. Pinkerton suggests that King Hart was composed in the author's youth, on the ground that it contains some incorrect grammar, but admits (p. xcvii.) that it may be a work of his old age. He considers Douglas inferior to Spenser, "as he had not Ariosto and Tasso to copy, which accident is in fact the whole of Spenser's merit." "The design of our poet Douglas is good for the age; and he has some poetical beauties: but his nature and *naiveté* are exquisite. On the whole, the poem [King Hart] well deserves preservation as a curiosity, tho it will not highly entertain the reader." Prologues VII., XII., XIII., "yield to no descriptive poems in any language." Vol. II. Pp. 365-80, Notes on KH.

[James Scott.] Select Works of Douglas. 1787.

Pp. i.-xxviii., Life. Pp. xxviii.-xliii., Character and works. Pp. xlv.-lxii., References, etc. Pp. 139-50, glossary to PH.

Pinkerton. Poems reprinted from Scarce Editions. 1792. Vol. I. Pp. xiv.-xv., Source of PH.

Heron. Journey through the Western Counties. 1793. Vol. I. Pp. 174-7.

T[owers]. Biographia Britannica. Second Edition. Vol. V. 1793.

Pp. 337-43. Founded on Godscroft, Sage, Pinkerton, and Warton, with very full extracts from these authors in foot-notes, including the long passage given by Warton from the XII. Prologue—"As fresche Aurore." Nothing new.

Henry and Laing. Henry's History of Great Britain. Vol. VI. 1793.

Pp. 565-7, Life (Henry). Pp. 606-7, Criticism (Laing) of Douglas and other Scots as descriptive poets.

Ritson. Scotish Song. 1794.

Vol. I. Historical Essay. Pp. xxxi.-xxxii., Notices of songs from prologues to "the admirable translation of Virgil."

The Scottish Register; or, General View of History, Politics, & Literature, for January, February and March 1794, With Philosophical, Critical, and Miscellaneous Papers, Chiefly

Relative to Scotland. Vol. I. Edinburgh: Printed for Bell & Bradfute, and A. Lawrie, and G. G. & J. Robinson, London. 4to.

Pp. 191-3, A summary of Douglas's Life.

Macpherson. Wyntown. 1795.

Vol. I. Pp. xvii. and xvii.-xviii., n., The use of foreign words.

Campbell. Scottish Poetry. 1798.

Pp. 56-7, 361-2, "Gawin Douglass stands confessedly at the head, in the age he lived, of those his cotemporaries, as a first rate poet." The Æneid "is a performance of great merit—it is the labour, as he himself tells us, of eighteen months only! a proof what genius can achieve when in full vigour. The prologues to each book, are in a stile truely original, and shews what a rich vein, he possessed for descriptive poetry." ". . . To speak of the merits of Douglas as a poet would far exceed the bounds of this short sketch—his works must be read—and to read them is the highest pleasure." Douglas and Lyndsay show "true characteristics of genuine poetry; together with a purity simplicity and elegance of style, as seems not to have been equalled before, or since that period," etc.

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1799. Pp. 202-4.

Ritson. Letters. 1833.

P. 210, Letter to Mr Walker, 28th May 1801. Ritson hears that there will soon be published "a considerable fragment of the translation of a French Romance, entitled *Cleriadus et Meliadice*, of great merit, found among the posthumous papers of the late Lord Hailes, and conjectured to be the work of Bishop Gawin Douglas, or, at least, of his age."

Dyer. Poems. 1801. See under General Works, pp. 25-6. Ellis. Specimens of Early English Poets. 1801.

Vol. I. Pp. 385-97, Notice, and extracts from the seventh and twelfth Prologues, with some discussion of Douglas's language.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. I. Pp. 385-6, 423-8, 432, 441-4, 450-1, 458, Notes on Douglas and on the extracts. Sibbald draws attention to Douglas's admission as burgess of Edinburgh. Vol. IV. Pp. xlv.-xlvi., Douglas's language.

A Journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain: Containing Remarks on Scotish Landscape; and Observations on Rural Economy, Natural History, Manufactures, Trade, and Commerce; Interspersed with Anecdotes, Traditional, Literary, and Historical; Together with Biographical Sketches, Relating chiefly to Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs, from the Twelfth Century down to the Present Time. In Two Volumes, Embellished with Fortyfour Engravings, From Drawings made on the Spot, of the Lake, River, and Mountain Scenery of Scotland. By Alexander Campbell. Vol. I. London: Printed by A. Strahan, Printers-Street; for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster - Row; and Vernor and Hood in the Poultry. 1802. 4to.

Pp. 281-5.

Irving. Lives of Scotish Poets. 1804.

Pp. 1-23, Life. Pp. 23-67, Criticism and elaborate analysis of works.

The Works of Thomas Gray. Volume V. [Edited by John Mitford.] London: William Pickering. 1843. 8vo.

P. 36 (Reminiscences of Gray by his Intimate Friend the Rev. Norton Nicholls, Nov. 18, 1805), "He was much pleased with Gawen Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the old Scotch Translator of the Æneid, particularly with his poetical prefaces to each book,

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in which he has given liberty to his muse, but has fettered himself in the translation, by the obligation he has imposed on himself of translating the whole poem in the same number of verses contained in the original." Also in The Letters of Thomas Gray, ed. Duncan C. Tovey. Vol. II. 1904. Pp. 280-1.

M. P., J. H., etc. Censura Literaria. Vols. III., VIII. 1807, 1808.

Vol. III. Pp. 286-7, Vol. VIII. Pp. 37-9, Descriptions of 1553 Æneid, and collated transcript of last leaf. Second ed. I. 49-53.

Scott. Marmion. 1808*.

J. H., D. L. E., H. British Bibliographer. Vols. II., IV. 1812, 1814.

Vol. II. Pp. 420-2, Description of Copland's edition of PH. Vol. IV. Catalogue of Early Scotish Poets, and note.

Nott. Works of Surrey and Wyatt. 1815.

Vol. I. Pp. clxiii. n., cciii.-ccix.

Nott draws attention to Surrey's indebtedness to Douglas for many lines and expressions, including "almost every turn of expression and combination of words that was worth preserving; certainly all that were valuable for the general purposes of Heroic Poetry" — for Douglas's object was different from Surrey's. Douglas "is homely, diffuse, and familiar; he brings down Virgil to the common vernacular language of his own country, instead of seeking to give him an elevation of style corresponding to the heroic style of the original." Pp. 225*-8**, Collection of parallel passages.

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. P. 68, "He was certainly a fond painter of nature, but his imagery is redundant and tediously profuse," etc. Reprinted, Essay on English Poetry, p. 121. On Gawin Douglas's Translation of Virgil's Æneid. Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany. February 1819, January 1820.

Pp. 99-106 (signed D.). Pp. 41-4 (unsigned).

F. M'N. Lives of Scottish Poets. 1821.

Vol. I. Pp. 54-9, Life. Pp. 59-69, Analysis of KH. and some criticism. "The Prologues of his own composition, which he has prefixed to the different books, are such as almost place him on a level with the divine poet he has translated."

Scott. History of Scotland. 1829. Vol. I. Pp. 333, 351.

An Anglo-Saxon Grammar, and Derivatives; with Proofs of the Celtic Dialects' being of Eastern Origin; and an Analysis of the Style of Chaucer, Douglas, and Spenser. By William Hunter, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric, Anderson's University. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman. Edinburgh: William Tait. Glasgow: Atkinson & Co. 1832. 8vo.

Pp. 70-6, Analysis of Bishop Douglas's Style. "His Orthography is not UNIFORM." "V and U are used promiscuously. W is used for u, and sometimes u for w, as bewty for beauty, doun for down." These examples sufficiently illustrate the character of the "Analysis," which is followed by some "Examples for Practice" (pp. 74-6).

Tytler. Scottish Worthies. Vol. III. 1833.

Pp. 137-87. Life interwoven with criticism and analysis of poems, portions of which are freely paraphrased in verse.

David Irving. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. VIII. 1833.

Pp. 124-9. Founded on Lives of Scotish Poets, but considerably altered. Eighth Edition, 1855, pp. 114-9.

Laing. Dunbar. 1834. Vol. I. pp. 50-1.

Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835.

Vol. II. Pp. 87-98, Life and works, put together from Warton, Irving, etc.

Hallam. Literature of Europe. 1837.

Vol. I. P. 386, "The character of Douglas's original poetry seems to be that of the middle ages in general—prolix, though somewhat animated, description of sensible objects.

Guest. English Rhythms. 1838. Vol. II. Pp. 172-3, 364-5, 373.

Aytoun. Ballads. 1858.

Vol. I. Introd. Pp. lxvii.-lxxiii. Douglas as "the very Prince of the purely Scottish poets." His language from this point of view.

Registrum Cartarum S. Egidii. Bannatyne Club. 1859. Pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861.

Pp. 255-90. Follows article in seventh edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, but is somewhat fuller.

Laing. Adversaria. 1867.

Pp. 17-20. Very short summary of life, with bibliography, and facsimile of sepulchral brass.

Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xxiv.-xxvi.

J. A. H. Murray. Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland. 1873. P. 47 n.

Small. Works of Gavin Douglas. 1874.

Vol. I. Pp. v.-xiv., Preface (on projected editions, and his own). Pp. i.-cxxvii., Biographical Introduction. Pp. cxxviii.clxvii., Account of the Writings of Bishop Gavin Douglas. Pp. clxviii.-clxxxii., Notices of the Manuscripts and Printed Editions of the Works of Gavin Douglas. Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 139-43. Second Edition, 106-9.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry of Scotland. 1876.

Vol. I. Pp. 28-30, Memoir: unimportant and inaccurate. The extracts are only a few lines.

J. Sm[all]. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ninth Edition. Vol. VII. 1877.

Pp. 376-7. A short notice, chiefly biographical.

Annie Wall. Gawain Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. The Western. (St. Louis.) New Series. Vol. III. December 1877.

Pp. 724-37, Popular memoir and short summary of works : a little fanciful.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 225-34, Memoir with a little criticism. Douglas's defects as a poet "must have been due to some deflection in his moral and imaginative perceptions."

The Works of Robert Burns. [Edited by William Scott Douglas.] Volume Sixth. Prose. Edinburgh : William Paterson. 1879.

P. 178, Letter from Burns to Robert Cleghorn, [Dumfries, Jan. 1796.] "Thanks—many thanks for my 'Gawin Douglas.'"

Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. II. 1880. Pp. 356-61.

Andrew Lang. Ward's Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 159-62.

Schipper. Altenglische Metrik. 1881. Pp. 515-9.

Hawick Myths. I. Gawyn Douglas. A Paper read to the Hawick Archaeological Society On Tuesday, 20th March, 1883. By J. C. Goodfellow. Reprinted from the "Hawick News." Hawick : J. C. Goodfellow, 63 High Street. 1883. On the mistaken identification of Hawche with Hawick, and

its survival in guide-books.

- P. Lange. Chaucer's Einfluss auf die Original-dichtungen des Schotten Douglas. Anglia VI. 1883.
 Pp. 46-95.
- Gregor. Court of Venus. 1884. Pp. xx.-xxiv. Influence of PH. on Rolland.

Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884.

Pp. 293-317, Life. Pp. 317-74, Criticism of works, with elaborate analysis of PH. and KH. The author is very severe upon what he judges to be factious selfishness in Douglas's political life, but he does not allow this to colour his account of his private character.

The Douglas Book. By William Fraser, C.B., LL.D. In Four Volumes. Edinburgh. 1885.

Vol. II. Pp. 119-21, Short Memoir. Vol. III., Charters. Vol. IV., Letters.

Shairp. Sketches in History and Poetry. 1887.

Pp. 209-12, Douglas as "the purest well of the Scottish dialect undefiled that exists."

Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 110-2.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry. 1887.

Vol. I. Pp. 243-82, Douglas's descriptive poetry is illustrated by very considerable extracts, and highly praised for its directness, its "range of observation and sympathy." A short account of Douglas's life, and an attempt to explain the difficulty of his language, are included.

MIDDLE SCOTS POETRY.

Thomas Bayne. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XV. 1888.

Pp. 292-4, Life. Pp. 294-5, Criticism.

Lowell. Essays on the English Poets. 1888. P. 16.

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. II.-III. 1888-9.

Ten Brink. Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur. Bd. II. 1889. Pp. 431-45. English edition 1896, Vol. III. pp. 79-93.

Morley. English Writers. Vol. VII. 1891.

Pp. 159-71, Mainly analysis of poems. Pp. 339-40, Bibliography (short). Not very important.

W. J. Kaye. Leading Poets. 1892. Pp. 137-40. An antiquated article by the Rev. W. J. Kaye, LL.D.

Eyre-Todd. Mediaeval Scottish Poetry. 1892. Pp. 217-34. Not very important.

Über King Hart und Testament of the Papyngo. Programm des K. Gymnasiums Straubing für das Schuljahr 1892/93 von F. Horneber, K. Gymnasiallehrer. Straubing. Cl. Attenkofersche Buchdruckerei 1893.

A. (Pp. 5-25), Über die Echtheit des King Hart. B. (Pp. 26-38), Über die Beziehungen zwischen "King Hart" und Lyndesay's "Testament of the Papyngo."

Scottish Notes and Queries. Vol. VII. July, August, September, 1893.

Pp. 27, 48, 61, Meanings of certain words. Unimportant.

Courthope. English Poetry. Vols. I.-II. 1895-7. Vol. I. Pp. 374-80. Vol. II. Pp. 132-6.

DOUGLAS.

- Heuser. Offenes und Geschlossenes ee. Anglia. XIX., N.F. VII. 1897. Pp. 334-40.
- Die Sprache des Bischofs Douglas von Dunkeld, Von Dr. Heinrich Gerken. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1898*.
- Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898. Pp. 188-201.
- Gosse. Modern English Literature. 1898. Pp. 58-60.
- W. A. Neilson. Origins and Sources of the Court of Love. 1899.

Pp. 160-3, 214, Influence of the Court of Love school in PH.

- G. Gregory Smith. Transition Period. 1900. Pp. 58-63.
- A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day. By George Saintsbury, M.A., LL.D. In Three Volumes. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 8vo. Vol. I. 1900.

Pp. 464-6, Douglas as a critic, showing "side by side with Renaissance tendency (which certainly exists, though to me it does not seem so great as it has seemed to some), the strongest symptoms of persistent mediaevalism."

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. New Edition. I. 1901. Pp. 202-3.

Lawson. Poems of Alexander Hume. 1902. Pp. l.-li., Influence on Hume.

- A History of the House of Douglas from the Earliest Times down to the Legislative Union of England and Scotland. By the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell. With an Introduction by W. A. Lindsay, Windsor Herald. In Two Volumes. London: Freemantle & Co. 1902.
 Vol. II. Pp. 55-61, Life.
- Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903. Pp. 70-86.
- Bishop Dowden. The Bishops of Dunkeld. Concluded.
 Scottish Historical Review. Vol. II. No. 5. October 1904.
 Pp. 62-3. See below, 1912.
- Jusserand. Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. II. 1904. Pp. 116-20. English edition, II. i. (1906), Pp. 130-4.
- Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 93-100.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 275-7.
- Gregory Smith. Cambridge History of English Literature.Vol. II. 1908.Pp. 258-65, 476-8.
- Das Pronomen in den Werken des schottischen Bischofs Gavin Douglas. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde in der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg vorgelegt von Joseph Leo Larue, aus Villers a / Nied (Lothr.). Strassburg i. E. Druck von M. Du Mont Schauberg. 1908. 8vo.

Anhang: A. Das Geschlecht der Substantiva. B. Das umschreibende *do* bei Douglas. C. Über die Echtheit der King Hart-Dichtung. Larue agrees with Horneber and Gerken in denying Douglas's authorship of KH.

- Des Bischofs Gavin Douglas Übersetzung der Aeneis Vergils, einschliesslich des von Maffeo Vegio angefügten 13. Buches, verglichen mit den Originalen und der französischen Aeneisübersetzung des Octavien de Saint-Gelais. Inaugural-Dissertation einer hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde vorgelegt von Aloys Schumacher aus Essen-Ruhr. Strassburg i. E. Druck von M. Du Mont Schauberg. 1910. 8vo.
- Gregory Smith. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. 1911. Vol. VIII. Pp. 444-6.
- The Bishops Of Scotland: Being Notes On The Lives Of All The Bishops, Under Each Of The Sees, Prior To The Reformation. By The Late Right Rev. John Dowden, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. Edited by J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons. 1912. 8vo.

Pp. 38-40, St Andrews. Pp. 82-6, Dunkeld. Pp. 341-2, Chancellorship. Pp. 430-1, Dunkeld (addendum).

JOHN BELLENDEN.

EDITIONS.

An edition seems to have been contemplated by the Morisons. See Introduction, p. lxxxix. n.

PC. = Proheme of the Cosmography = Vertue and Vyce. PH. = Proheme of Boece's History. PL. = Prologue to Livy.

BP. = The Benner of Pietie.

Heir Beginnis the hystory and | croniklis of Scotland ∴ | [Royal arms, with the words IN DE FENS and IACOBVS¹ REX] | Fo. B.L.

A1, Title. Verso, \P The excusation of the prentar. A2, \P The contentis of this buke. | Verso and A3, The proheme of | the cosmographe. | Begins (A2 verso): Quhen siluir Diane ful of bemis brycht. A6, Proheme ends. A6 verso-D3 verso, Text of the Cosmographe. D4-F1 verso, Tabula. F2-3, List of Scottish kings. F3 verso blank. F4, The proheme of the history. | \P The translatoure sayis to his buke. | Begins: Thow marcyall buke pas to the nobyll prynce. F6 verso, Proheme ends. \P Finis. | \P Heir eftir followis the history and croniklis of Scotland | compilit and newly correckit be the reuerend and noble | clerke maister Hector Boece channon of Aberdene. | Translatit laitly be maister Iohne Bel- | lenden Archedene of Murray, chan | non of Ros. At the command | of the

¹ S reversed.

richt hie, richt excellent, and noble prince Iames | the v. of that name king of Scottis. And impren- | tit in Edinburgh be Thomas Dauidson | dwellyng fornens the frere wynd. | The History and the Epistle follow, with foliation and a new set of signatures. The first set is in sixes.

See Irving, and Dickson and Edmond 123-33, for two alleged editions, believed not to be distinct from this. For date ("at least as early as 1540") see E.B.S. Handlist, p. 112.

- Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724. Vol. I. Pp. 31-52, Vertue and Vyce.
- Vertue | And | Vyce | A | Poem, | Addrest To | James V. King Of Scots, | By The Famous And Renown'd Clerk, | Mr. John Bellentyne, | Arch-dean Of Murray. | Glasgow: Printed And Sold By Robert And Andrew Foulis. | MDCCL. | 4to.

Printed along with Dunbar, The Thistle and the Rose. For collective half-title see under Dunbar. The text is from The Evergreen.

Leyden. Complaynt. 1801. Pp. 184-8, footnote, PL. Leyden gives also a specimen of Bellenden's Translation of Livy.

- Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802. Vol. II. Pp. 49-69, PC., PH.
- The History and Chronicles of Scotland: Written in Latin by Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen; and translated by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, and Canon of Ross. [Edited by Thomas Maitland, Lord Dundrennan.] Edinburgh: Reprinted for W. and C. Tait. 1821. 2 vols. 4to.
- The First Five Books Of The Roman History: Translated From The Latin Of Titus Livius. By John Bellenden, Archdean

of Moray, and Canon of Ross. [Edited by Lord Dundrennan.] Edinburgh: Printed for W. and C. Tait. 1822. 4to.

Pp. iii.-viii. Proloug.

Murdoch. The Bannatyne MS. Parts I., VII. 1873-81.

Part I. Pp. 3-8, BP. Pp. 9-20, PC. Part VII. Pp. 1054-7, PH. Owing to the loss of two leaves the text of the last is imperfect.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Pp. 302-6, PH. Modernised.

Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 115-38, PC., PH. (9 stanzas), PL. (5 stanzas), The Excusation of the Prentar ("which must be attributed to him "---p. 112), BP. (8 stanzas).

Livy's History of Rome. The First Five Books. Translated into Scots by John Bellenden. 1533. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by W. A. Craigie, M.A. Vol. I. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1901. 8vo.

Pp. 1-5, Proloug.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Lyndsay. Papyngo.

See Introduction, pp. xix.-xx.

Rolland.

See Introduction, p. xx.

Bale. Summarium. 1548.

Ff. 225 verso - 226 recto, "Ioannes Bellenden, natione Scotus, theologię scholasticae magister & archidiaconus Morauiensis, accuratissima sedulitate in literis semper a iuuētute uersabatur. Hic multae eruditionis praeses, non indigus dator haberi uoluit, sed quicquid bonarum disciplinarum longo cōquisiuerit labore, prodesse studiosus, hubertim profudit in omnes; Cum iste uidisset suae gentis historiam ab Hectore Boethio uiro disertissimo in .xvij. libris copiose traditā, a multis affectari, a paucis uero ob latini sermonis ignorantiam intelligi, in idioma Scoticum eam fideliter transtulit, ut omnibus aeque esset communis, ab omnibusq3 perciperetur. Ex proprij quoque ingenij promptuario, quo omnia facilius intelligerentur, Stoicae (sic) protulit,

Cosmographiā historiae, Albaniae descriptionem, Ad regem Iacobum quintum, epi. 1. Erasmus Roterodamus in lib. de insti.

De caeteris eius scriptis, nihil constat. Non desunt tamen qui illū ferant auctariū fecisse centū annor ad prędictā historiā, ab anno nati seruatoris, 1436. cū Iacobo secūdo Scotor rege īcipiēs, ad annū scilicet. 1536. eiusdē. In ģ sub Iacobo .5. claruit."

Bale. Index. 1902. App. IV. See Introduction, p. xlv.

Bale. Catalogus. 1559.

P. 223 (Centuria XIV.),

"Ioannes Balantyne. LXV.

"Ioannes Balantyne, qui & alio cognomine Bellendenus dicitur, ex orientali Scotia oriundus, scholasticae theologiae doctor & archidiaconus Morauiensis, accuratione non modica scientias humanas ferè omnes atq3 diuinas acquisiuit. Sic multę eruditionis praeses inde factus, tantorum thesaurorum non perparcus dator haberi uoluit. Sed quicquid bonarum disciplinarum longo quaesiuerat labore, ualde prodesse studiosus magister, ubertim profudit in omnes. Cum Balantinus uidisset suae gentis historiā, ab Hectore Boethio, uiro disertissimo, in xvij libris copiose traditam, à multis desiderari, à paucis tamẽ ob Latini sermonis ignorātiam intelligi, in idioma Scoticū fideliter eam transtulit, ut omnibus esset commune, ab omnibusq3 perciperetur. Ex sui praeterea festiui ingenij promptuario, quo praedicta omnia facilius intelligerentur, in Scotico sermone protulit

Cosmographiam dictae historiae,	Lib. 1. Syluatica Diana ful-
	gentibus radijs.
Albaniae descriptionem,	Lib. 1. Qualiter alterationi &
	morti omnia.
Ad Iacobum quintum regem,	Epist. 1. Erasmus Roteroda-
	mus in libro de.
Super litera Pythagorae,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.
De uirtute & uoluptate,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.
Super quodam somnio,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.
Diuersi generis carmina,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.

Caeterorum eius operum nihil apparet. Non desunt tamen, qui ad praedicti Hectoris Chronicon, centum annorum auctarium addidisse illum ferāt, à Iacobo secundo, usq3 ad Christi seruatoris annum 1536, in quo sub Iacobo quinto floruit. Romae tandem obijsse dicitur."

"Ioannes Balantinus" is named by Bale in the list of authors used in the first Part. Part. II. Sign. α 6 verso.

Simlerus. Gesneri Epitome. 1574.

P. 344, "Ioannes Bellenden, natione Scotus, scripsit Cosmographiam, historiae Albaniae descriptionem lib. 1. Claruit anno 1536." Ed. 1583, p. 409.

Thynne. Holinshed's Chronicles. Vol. II. 1587.

P. 462, "John Bellendon or Ballentine, who florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the fift, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scotish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland."

Gilbert Gray. Oratio. 1623*.

Mackenzie's Lives. Vol. I. 1708, p. xxx., "Interea Musarum Memoriae foeliciter litabat *Joannes Balantyn*, Archi-Diaconus *Moraviensis*, accuratissimâ sedulitate in Literis à puero usque educatus. Scripsit hic *Cosmographicam Historiae* Albaniae *Descriptionem*; transtulit è Latino in Vulgarem Sermonem, in Plebis & Patriae usum, *Hectorem Boetium*; vivens Anno *Christi* 1536."

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica. 1627.

P. 107, "Iacobvs Ballantyn. 197.

"*Iacobvs Ballantyn* S. Theologiae Doctor, Archidiaconus Morauiensis, laboriosa cura, & incredibili studio artes omnes humanas, atque etiam diuinas percepit. Eius sunt.

Boethii Historiae versio in Scoticum.	lib. XIX.
Historiae Scoticae Cosmographia.	lib. I.
Albaniae descriptio.	<i>lib.</i> 1.
Epistolae ad Iacobum V.	lib. I.
De litera Pytagorae.	<i>lib.</i> I.
De virtute & voluptate.	lib. I.
Super quodam somnio.	lib. I.
Diuersi generis Carmina.	<i>lib.</i> 1.
T)	

"Obiit Romae anno, vt puto, MDL."

D. Buchanan. De. Scriptoribus Scotis.

Pp. 98-9, "De Joanne Ballantyno.

"Joannes Ballantynus, vel potius Bellendenus, Theologiae Doctor, et Archidiaconus Moraviensis, genere et natione Scotus, ex orientali Laudonia et honesta Bellendenorum familia oriundus, adolescens in rure natali prima literarum fundamenta jecit, et literas humaniores sedulo didicit; deinde ad Academiam Andreapolitanam missus, decurso philosophiae studio inter magisterii candidatos ita emicuit, ut inter stellas luna minores. Postea, majora discendi desiderio tactus, navem ascendit, et vento secundo in Galliam est delatus; ubi scholasticae theologiae operam dedit, susceptisque supremis in ea facultate insignibus, solum natale haud multo interjecto tempore repetiit; atque

ibidem vocatus Moraviam, factus est archidiaconus. Erat linguarum peritissimus, et in sacrarum Scripturarum lectione optime versatus : in literis humanioribus, sive poesin spectes, sive solutam orationem, erat exquisitissimus; orator facundus, bonus poeta, solidus theologus, concionator celebris, mathematicus haud vulgaris, et nominatim cosmographus insignis, historiographus non temnendus, et acutus philosophus, denique in omni optimarum literarum scientia optime instructus. "Accuratione non modica," inquit Baleus, "scientias . . . profudit in omnes." Multa erudite scripsit hic auctor: haec saltem sequentia monumenta literaria ad nostram notitiam pervenerunt. Ex Latino in [sermonem] vulgarem convertit fidelissimus interpres Historiam Gentis Scoticae, ab Hectore Boethio, viro disertissimo, in septendecim libros copiose digestam, cui centum annorum auctarium addidit, a Jacobo Secundo 1436 usque ad annum 1536, in quo ipse floruit. Scripsit igitur.

> Cosmographiam dictae Historiae, lib 1. Albaniae Descriptionem, lib. 1. Ad Jacobum Quintum Regem Epist. Super Litera Pythagorae, lib. 1. De Virtute et Voluptate, lib. 1. Super quodam Somnio, lib. 1. Diversi generis Carmina, lib. 1.

Et alia plurima edidisse perhibetur, nimirum, super S. Scriptura Lectiones, etc. Romae tandem obiisse fertur circiter annum gratiae 1536, regnante apud Scotos Jacobo Quinto."

Georgii Conaei | De Dvplici Statv | Religionis | Apvd Scotos | Libri Duo. | Ad Illvstriss.^{mvm} Principem | Franciscvm S. R. E. | Card. Barberinvm | Magnae Britanniae Protectorem. | Romae, Typis Vaticanis. M.DC.XXVIII. | Svperiorvm Permissv. | 4to.

P. 167 (Lib. 11.), "Iacobus Balandenus Morauiensis Ecclesiae Archiediaconus (sic), in celebri Sorbonae schola Magistri laurea donatus, sūmo studio popularium suorum animos haeresi laborantes, cum scribendo, tum disputando conatus est liberare : comitemq; habuit" etc. Vossius. De Scientiis Mathematicis. 1650*.

Combined with several other books in the third volume of Vossius's Works, under the title :

Gerardi Joannis Vossii De Artium et Scientiarum Natura ac Constitutione Libri Quinque. Antehac diversis titulis editi. Amstelodami, Ex Typographia P. & J. Blaev, Prostant apud Janssonio-Waesbergios, Boom, à Someren, & Goethals, M DC LXXXXVI.

Edit. 1696, Lib. III. Sive de Mathesi, Cap. XLV. De Geographis qui intra proximum sesquiseculum claruerunt. P. 148,

"5 §. Anno CI_O I_O XX Joannes Balantyne, qui aliter Bellendenus, in Orientali Scotia natus, Cosmographiam edidit ac praeterea Albaniae descriptionem emisit:

"ut est in Simleri bibliotheca. Sed ex Balaeo video, non scripsisse sermone Latino, verùm Scotico. Nimirum praecipuè genti suae studuit : unde & Hectoris Boëthii Historiam Scoticae gentis Latinè scriptam Scoticè transtulit."

Catalogues of Scotish Writers. 1833.

P. 74, "Bellenden (Jacobus), Gesnero per errorem dictus Joannes, scripsit Cosmographiam. Item Historiae Albaniae Descriptionem."

Mackenzie. Lives and Characters. II. 1711.

Pp. 595-7, 599-600. Part of art. John Lesly, with an account of Pythagoras in the midst.

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Lines 3-4,

> "Grave Balantyne, in verse divinely wyse, Makis Vertew triumph owre fals fleechand Vyse." —Sempill Ballates, p. 255.

Brydges. Restituta, Vol. I. 1814.

P. 82, Letter, Thomas Hearne to James West, Nov. 5, 1727.

"John Balenden, or Belenden, is the same that was Author of the old Scotish Translation of Hector Böetheus. Which Translation is hard to meet with. I had a copy of it lately given me." Biographia Britannica: Or, The Lives Of The Most eminent Persons Who have flourished in Great Britain And Ireland, From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times: Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript, And digested in the Manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. Volume The First. London: Printed for W. Innys, W. Meadows, J. Walthoe, T. Cox, A. Ward, J. and P. Knapton, T. Osborne, S. Birt, D. Browne, T. Longman and T. Shewell, H. Whitridge, R. Hett, C. Hitch, T. Astley, S. Austen, C. Davis, R. Manby and H. S. Cox, C. Bathurst, J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, J. Robinson, J. Hinton, J. and J. Rivington, and M. Cooper. M DCC XLVIII.

Pp. 460-2, "Ballenden or Bellenden (Sir John)," by X, *i.e.*, Dr. Campbell. Second edition 1778, Vol. I. Pp. 572-4.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 66, "Balantyn [Johannes] seu Bellenden [Dempstero Jacobus Ballantyn] gente Scotus, S. theologiae doctor; archidiaconus Moraviensis, et canonicus Rossensis, atque clericus registri in minorennitate unius regis Scotiae, et sub initium regni successoris ejus. Georgius Con in libro 2do De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos, p. 167, eum Parisiis in Sorbona S. theol. doctorem renunciatum, et strenuum reformationis adversarium fuisse dicit. Scripsit et transtulit in patrium sermonem, ad mandatum regis Jacobi v. Hectoris Boëthii historiam Scoticam, lib. xvii. Pr. praef. transl. carmine : "Thow marcyal buke pas to the nobyll prince." Pr. tr. "Efter the maner of othir pepyl." Impr. Edinburg. per Tho. Davidson MDXXXVI. fol. Cui praefixa est Cosmographia Scoticae historiae Boëthii, lib i. "Quhen Silvir Diane ful of bemis brycht." Haec alio nomine Albaniae descriptio dicitur juxta Mackenz. ii. 596. Scripsit etiam Ad Jacobum v regem epistolas. Pr. "Erasmus Roterodamus in libro." De vita Pythagorae, lib. i. Juxta Dempsterum et Baleum scripsisse dicitur De virtute et voluptate, lib. i. Ast Mackenz. l. c. tractatulum hunc procemium Cosmographiae constituisse asserit, in quo virtus et voluptas introducuntur dialogi more regem alloquentes.

Super quodam somnio diversi generis carmina. Sunt qui Balantynum Auctarium ad praedictam Historiam c. annorum addidisse dicunt. Sed hoc non extat in editione Edinburgensi. Obiit Romae A. MDL. Bal. xiv. 65. Dempster. ii. 197. Mackenz. ii. 595. seqq."

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*. Works. 1766. Vol. I. P. 22,

> "Nor shall your tuneful visions be forgot, Sage Bellentyne, and fancy-painting Scott."

Footnote.—" Mr. John Bellentyne, Archdean of Murray, Author of a beautiful allegorical poem, entitled, Virtue and Vice."

Gray. Letters. Vol. III. 1912.

P. 278, Letter from Gray to T. Warton, dated 15th April 1770, mentions Bellenden among those he had intended to notice in his projected history of poetry. Also in Chalmers, British Poets. Vol. XVIII. P. 80.

Warton. English Poetry. II. 1778. P. 320 n.

Pinkerton. Maitland Poems. 1786. Vol. I. List, Pp. cix-cx. A very short notice.

Leyden. Complaynt. 1801. P. 183.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802. Vol. II. Pp. 48, 61-2, 72.

Irving. Lives of Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. II. Pp. 119-33.

R. P. G[illies]. British Bibliographer. Vol. II. 1812. Pp. 634-42, An article on Davidson's edition of the translation of Boece, with some stanzas from PH.

- G. M—n. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. II. 1821. Part IV. Pp. 19-25.
- Lord Dundrennan. History and Chronicles. 1821. Vol. I. Pp. xxxvi.-xlii., Life. Pp. xlii.-liv., Works.
- Lord Dundrennan. The First Five Books of Titus Livius. 1822.

Pp. v.-xii., Notice of Bellenden's Livy. The Proloug "does not appear to possess any peculiar merit," and the Benner of Pietie is "certainly not worthy of publication."

Irving. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. IV. 1831.

Pp. 548-51. Eighth edition, Vol. IV. 1854, Pp. 632-5. Founded partly on work of 1804.

Lives of Scotish Writers. By David Irving, LL.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, Booksellers to Her Majesty. 1839.

Pp. 12-22. From Encyclopaedia Britannica, 7th edition.

- Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 306-17. Encyclopaedia Britannica article, slightly altered.
- Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. P. xxxiii.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Pp. 301-2.

Schipper. Altenglische Metrik. 1881. Pp. 520-2, With a specimen.

Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 239-45, Bellenden's prose, with specimens. Pp. 245-6, His verse (very short). A. B. Grosart. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. IV. 1885.

Pp. 186-7. Very short.

Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 107-14, Life, prose, and verse.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898.

Pp. 232-3, Bellenden "known poetically merely as an exemplary disciple of Gavin Douglas." Pp. 304-5, Bellenden's prose.

Millar. Literary History of Scotland. 1903.

Pp. 120-1, Bellenden's prose. "He was also something of a poet."

DAVID LYNDSAY.

The following collation exhibits the gradual degradation of the text in the old editions.

Testament of the Papyngo, Prologue, Stanza I.

BYDDELL, 1538.

Suppose I had ingyne angelicall With sapience super salomonicall I not what mater put in memory The poetis old in stile heroycall In breue subtile termes rethoricall Of euerylk mater tragedie and story So ornatly to thair hie laude and glory Hath done indite whose supreme sapience Transcendeth fer, the dull intelligence.

JASCUY, 4to, 1558.

LINE

2. more than.

3. quhat, putt, memorie.

4. aulde, style.

5. subtell, rethorycall.

6. euerilke, storie.

7. ornatlie, thare heych, glorie.

8. Haith, quhose.

9. Transcendith far.

SCOT, 1559.

Scot agrees with Jascuy's 4to, except-

- 3. put.
- 4. auld.
- 8. indyte.
- 9. Intellygence.

PURFOOTE and PICKERING, 1566.

Variants from Byddell.

LINE

- 1. engine.
- 2. more then sallomonicall.
- 3. I know not what thinge to put in memory.
- 4. Poets old, story.
- 5. subtyll.
- 6. euery matter, tragedy or storye.
- 7. decently, to their laude.
- 8. Haue indured whose.
- 9. Surpasseth farre my.

PURFOOT, 1575 and 1581.

In these editions the text has been very much altered, as is shown elsewhere. The chief divergences in this passage are—

- 1. a wit Angelicall.
- 2. wisdome more than.
- 7. Haue set out things, whose.

Lines 3-6 and 8 follow edit. 1566.

HENRIE CHARTERIS, 1592.

Svppois I had ingyne angellicall, With Sapience mair than Salamonicall : I not quhat mater put in memorie, The Poetis auld in style Heroycall, In breue subtell termis Rethoricall : Of euerie mater, tragedy and story : Sa ornatly to thair heich laude and glorie, Hes done indyte, quhais supreme Sapience, Transcendis far the dul intelligence.

HART, 1614.

Although I had ingine angelicall, With sapience more then Salomonicall I note what matter put in memorie, The Poets old in stile heroicall, In briefe and subtile tearmes Rhetorical, Of euerie Matter, Tragedie, and Storie, So ornatly to their high laud and glore, Hes done endite, whose supreme sapience, Transcends farre the dull intelligence, HART 1617.

As in 1614 except—

2. than Salomonical.

4. olde.

5. Rhetoricall.

8. Haue.

9. Transcendeth. Full stop at end.

HART, 1630.

As in 1617 except—

2. thā Salomonicall.

6. euerie.

7. ornatelie.

8. supreame.

HART, 1634.

As in 1630 except-

2. than.

3. wote not.

4. old.

6. everie.

8. have.

9. far.

LITHGOW, 1648.

As in 1634 except-

3. memory.

4. style.

5. brief and subtle tearms.

6. every.

7. ornatly, glory.

8. supream.

SANDERS, 1665.

As in 1648 except—

1. Angelical.

2. then Solomonical.

3. wot.

4. heroical.

5. subtil, Rhetorical.

6. tragedy, story.

HART, 1670.

As in 1665 except-

7. land.

8. indite.

SANDERS, 1672, 1683, 1696.

As in 1665 except—

5. terms (1672, 1683, 1696).

8. suppream (1683).

9. my dull (1672, 1683, 1696).

SANDERS, 1712, and BLOW, 1714.

As in 1696 except—

2. than.

4. Stile.

HALL, 1754.

As in 1712 and 1714 except-

7. ornately.

8. indite.

WILLIAMSON 1777.

Although I had engine angelical, With sapience more than Solomonical, I wot not what matter put in memory : The poets old in stile heroical, In brief and subtile terms rhetorical, Of every matter, tragedy and story, So ornately to their high laud and glory, Have done infinite, whose supream sapience Transcendeth far my dull intelligence.

The order of the poems in this list is that of Laing's edition, 1879.

I. The Dreme.

2. The Complaynt to the King's Grace.

3. The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo.

4. The Answer to the Kingis Flyting.

5. The Complaynt and Confessioun of Bagsche.

- 6. The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene.
- 7. The Justing betuix James Watsoun and Ihone Barbour.
- 8. Ane Supplicatioun in contemptioun of Syde Taillis.
- 9. Kitteis Confessioun.
- 10. The Tragedie of the Cardinall.
- 11. Ane Description of Pedder Coffeis.
- 12. The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, &c.
- 13. Ane Satyre of the thrie Estaitis.
- 14. Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour = The Monarche.

EDITIONS.

The com- | playnte and | testament of | a Popiniay | Which lyeth sore wounded | and maye not dye, tyll | euery man hathe | herd what he | sayth : | Wherfore gentyll readers | haste you b^t he were | oute of his | payne. | [1538.] 4to. B.L.

A-E4, F3.

Pagination cut away if any (Brit. Mus.)

A1, Title in border. Verso, Incipit prologus. Begins: Suppose I had ingyne angelicall. A2 verso, Prologue ends. Here endis the prologue | And begynnis the complant. | A3, Text begins: Who clymmis to hyghe pforce his fete mon fayle. F3, Text ends. If Here endes the complaynt, & testament of the | kynge of Scottes Papingo, compyled by | Dauid Lyndesay of the mount, and | finysshed the .xiiij. day of Decem- | bre, in the yere of our lord. 1530 | Imprynted at London in Fletestrete, at | the sygne of the Sonne, by Iohn | Byddell. The yere of our | lorde. M.D.XXXViij. | Cvm Privilegio. | British Museum, C. 12. g. 2. (2.)

The Tragical | death of Dauid Beatō | Bishoppe of sainct Andrewes in | Scotland: Whereunto is ioyned | the martyrdom of maister George | Wyseharte gentleman, for whose | sake the aforesayed bishoppe was | not longe after slayne. Wherein | thou maist learne what a bur- | nynge charitie they shewed | not only towardes him : | but vnto al suche as | come to their hā- | des for the ble- | ssed Gospels | sake. | [1546.] 8vo. B.L.

A⁸, B⁶, C-E⁸, F⁶.

Pagination cut away if any (Brit. Mus.)

A1, Title. Verso blank. A2, Robert Burrant to | the reader. | B5 verso, Preface ends. B6, Here foloweth | the Tragedy of the late | moste reuerende father Dauid, by | the mercie of God Cardinall and | archbishoppe of sainct Andrewes. | And of the whole realme of Scot- | land primate, Legate and Chaun | celer, administrator of the bishop- | riche of Merapois in Fraunce, | and comendator perpetuall of the | Abbay of Aberbrothoke, compiled | by sir Dauid Lyndsaye of the | mounte knyghte. Alias | Lione, kyng of | armes. | Anno. M.D.xlvi. | Ultimo Maii. | I The wordes of Dauid Bea- | ton the Cardinall afore- | saied at his death. | Alas alas, slaye me not, | I am a Priest. | Verso, The Prologe | Text begins : Not log sence, after the houre of prime. C1, Prologue ends. The Tragedie. | Text begins: I Dauid Beaton some tyme Cardinall. C7, Text ends. Finis. | C7 verso, I The accusa- | tion of maister George | Wysehart gentlemā, who suffered | martyrdome for the faith of Christ | Iesu, at S. Andrewes in Scotlād | the first day of March. In the yere | of our Lorde. M.D.xlvi. wyth the | articles, which he was accused of, | and his swete answeres to the | same, whereunto are ioy- | ned his godly ora- | tios & praiers. | C7 verso to F6. Text (prose). F6, (Imprinted | at London, by Iohn Day, | and William Seres, dwellynge | in Sepulchres parish, at the | signe of the Resurrecti- | on, a litle aboue Hol- | bourne conduite. | Cum gratia & priuilegio | ad Imprimendum solum. | Verso blank. British Museum, 288. a. 49.

Ane Dialog betuix | Experience and ane | Courteour. | Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld. | Compylit be Schir Dauid Lynde- | say of ye Mont Knycht alias, Lyone | Kyng of Armes. | And is Deuidit in Foure Partis. | As efter Followis.

.&c. | And Imprentit at the Command | and Expensis off Doctor, | Machabevs, | In Copmāhouin. | Absit Gloriari, Nisi in Cruce Domini | nostri Iesu Christi. | [1554.] 4to B.L.

This edition, notwithstanding the imprint and the date 1552 in the colophon, is said to have been printed by John Scot at St. Andrews in 1554.

A-B⁴, C-F⁸, G⁴, H-Q⁸, R². Sheet A has only 3 leaves: the first is supposed to have been blank (Hazlitt). R 2 is wanting. No pagination.

A1 lost. A2, Title. Verso and A3, The Epistil | To The Redar. A2 verso, Text of Epistil begins: Thov Lytil quair, of mat miserabyll. A4 verso, Epistil ends. Finis. | Heir endis be Epistil | & follouis be Prologe | . &c. | B1, The Prologe. | Prologue begins: Mvsing, And maruelling on b^e miserie. B4, Prologue ends. ¶ Finis. | Heir endis the ploge, | And beginnis¹ the Mater. | Verso, Text begins. R1 verso, Text ends. Finis. | Quod Lyndesay, | .1552. | Biblical references and names of speakers in outer margin. Edinburgh University Library, De 6. 35 (bound with Tragedie, &c., of the edition dated by Laing 1559), British Museum C. 39. d. 59.

 Ane Dialog betuix | Experience and ane Courteour. Off the | Miserabill Estait of the Warld. | ¶ Compilit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay of be Mont | Knycht Alias, Lyone Kyng of Armes. And is Deui- | dit in Foure Partis. As efter Followis .&c. | ¶ Absit Gloriari, Nisi in Cruce Domini | nostri Iesu Christi. | [Cut: portrait of Lyndsay as Lyon King] | ¶ And Imprentit at the command, and | expenses of Maister Samuel | Iascuy, In Paris. | 1558. | 4to. B.L. A-E⁴, F⁸, G¹², H-Q⁸, R⁴.

Ar, Title. Verso, Epistle begins. Running title: The Epistil. | To The Redar. | A3 verso, Epistle ends. Finis. | Heir endis be Epistil and follouis | be Prologe. | B3, Heir endis the prologe. | And beginnis the Mater. | B3 verso,

¹ So B.M. copy. Edin. Un. begingis.

Text begins. R4 verso, Text ends. Finis. | Quod Lyndesay. | Two cuts at the bottom of the page : a young man to the left, a woman with a flower to the right.

Heir followis the Tra- | gedie of the vnquhyle / Maister Reuerende | Fader Dauid, be the mercy of God, Cardinal, and Archi | byschope of Sanctandrous. And of the haill Realme of | Scotland Primate, Legate, And Chācelare, And Ad- | ministrator, of the Byschoprik of Merapoys in France. | And Commendator perpetuall of the Abay of Aberbro- | thok. Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay, Off the | Mont, Knycht. Alias, Lyone, Kyng | of Armes. &c. | [Cut as on T.P. of Ane dialog etc.] | ¶ And Imprentit at the command, and | expenses of Maister Samuel | Iascuy, In Paris. | 1558. | 4to. B.L.

 $A-B^4$.

No pagination.

A1, Title. Verso, ¶ The Prolog. | Begins: Nocht Lang Ago, Efter the hour of prime. A2, Prologue ends. The Tragedie. Begins: I David Betone, Umquhyle Cardinale. B3, Text ends. ¶ Finis. | Verso, Qvod | [Cut: a bagpiper and sheep.] | Lindesay.

Heir followis the te- | stament and complaynt of our | souuerane lordis papyngo. | Kyng Iames | the Fyft. | Quhilk lyis sore woundit and may nocht dee, tyll | euery man haue harde quhat he sayis. Quhare- | fore gentyll redaris, haist 30w that he wer | out of his pane. | Compylit be the said Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the | Mont, Knycht Alias Lyoun, Kyng of Armes. | [Cut as on T.P. of Ane Dialog] | And Imprentit at the command, and | expenses of maister Sammuel | Iascuy, In Paris. | 1558. | 4to. B.L.

A-F⁴.

No pagination.

the complaynt. | A3, Text begins, without heading. The subdivisions, however, have headings. F3, Text ends. \P Finis. | Verso, Cut, as on title-page. F4 blank. Verso, Cut, as before.

Heir followis the dre | me of Shir Dauid lindsay of the | mont Knyt, alias Lion Kyng of armes | derecket onto our souerane Lord | Kyng Iames the Fyft. | [Cut as on T.P. of Ane Dialog, &c.] | And Imprentit at the command, and | expenses of maister Samuel | Iascuy, In Paris. | 1558. | 4to. B.L.

A-F⁴, G².

No pagination or headlines.

A1, Title. Verso blank. A2, Rycht potent prince, of hie Imperiall blude. Ends on verso. A3, The Prolog. | Begins: Into the kalendis of ianuarie. A4 verso, Prologue ends. \blacksquare Heir endith the Prolog. | And followith the dreme. | Thessalon. v. | ¶ Prophetias nolite spernere: omnia | autem probate quod bo- | num est tenete. | B1, Text begins: E Thocht (sic) ane lady of portratour perfyte. E4 verso, \blacksquare And (sic) exhortation to | the Kyngis grace. | F1, CHir (sic) sen bat god of his preordinance. F2 verso, Text ends: Confirmand our pace. | Amen. | \blacksquare The deploratioun of the deyth | of Quene Magdalene. F3, Text begins: O Crewell deyth to greit is thy puissance. G2 verso, Text ends. \blacksquare Finis. | Cut as on title-page.

- Works. Jascuy. "Paris." 1558*. 8vo. B.L. Differs considerably from 4to. See Laing, Lindsay, 268-70.
- Dialog. John Scot. St. Andrews or Edinburgh? 1559?* Dickson and Edmond, 186-8, 191. Laing 271.

Minor Works. John Scot. St. Andrews or Edinburgh? 1559? S⁸, A-G⁸. No pagination.

No title-page.

S1, Heir follouis the | Tragedie, of the Umquhyle maist Reuerend Fa | ther Dauid be the Mercy of God. Cardinall,

and Archi- | byschope of Sanct androus. .&c. 🐼 Compylit be | Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont king of armes. | [Cut: Hercules and centaur.] The Prolog. | Text begins : Nocht Lang ago, efter the hour of pryme. Ends bottom of verso. S2, The Tragedie. | Begins : I Dauid Betone, Umquhyle Cardinall. S8 verso, Text ends: My Tragedie, as I haue done Indyte. Finis. | A1, Heir follouis the | Testament, and Complaynt of our Souerane | Lordis Papyngo. Kyng James the Fyft. | Quhilk lyith sore woundit, and may not | dee. Tyll euery man haue hard quhat | he sayis. Quharefor gentyll redaris | haist 30w that he wer out of paine. | Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay | of the mont Knycht, Alias, Lyone Kyng | of Armes. | [Cut: two birds on the ground, trees behind.] | Text begins : Suppose I had Ingyne Angelicall. C8 verso, Text ends. Finis. Cut, as above. DI, Heir follouis the | Dreme, of Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the mont, | Familiar Seruitour, to our Souerane Lord | Kyng James the Fyft. .&c. | [Cut, Hercules and centaur.] | The Epistil. | Begins: Rycht Potent Prince, of hie Imperial blude. D2, Epistle ends. The Prolong (sic). | Begins : In to the Calendis of Januarie. D4, Prologue ends. Finis. | Heir Endis The Prolong (sic). | And Followis the Dreme. | Begins : Methocht ane lady of portratour pfyte. F5 verso, Heir Endis the Dreme. And begynnis | the Exhortatioun to the Kyngis Grace. | F7, Finis. | Verso, And so for conclusioun | ... Cofirmand our peace. | Amen. | Heir beginnis the | Complaynt of Schir Dauid Lindesay. | Begins : Schir I beseik thyne Excellence. G8 verso, Finis. | Quod Lindesay to | King. | 🐼 Gentyll redaris . . . [See Introduction, p. xxxiv.] Edinburgh University Library, De 6. 35 (bound with the Dialog 1554, not the later edition as is said to be more usual); British Museum, C. 29. d. 60.

Works. J. Scot for H. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1568*. Laing, 227-44, 274, Dickson and Edmond, 177-9.

Works. J. Scot for H. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1571*. Laing, 275-6, Dickson and Edmond, 179-80. E. B. S. Handlist, Nos. 103-4. Two issues? Works. Bassendyne. Edinburgh. 1574*. Laing, 276-7. Dickson and Edmond, 308-9.

- Works. J. Ross? for H. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1580?* E.B.S. Handlist, No. 172.
- The | VVarkis Of | the Famous and Wor- | thie Knicht Sir Dauid Lyndsay of the | Mont, alias Lyoun King of Armes. New- | lie correctit, and vindicate from the for- | mer errouris, quhairwith they war befoir | corruptit: and augmentit with sin- | drie Warkis, quhilk was not be- | foir Imprentit. | ¶ The Contentis of the Buik, and quhat war- | kis ar augmentit, the nixt syde sall schaw. | ¶ Viuet etiam post funera virtus. | ¶ Iob. VII. | ¶ Militia est vita hominis super terram. | ¶ Imprentit At Edin- | burgh, be Henrie Charteris. | Anno, M.D.LXXXII. | ¶ Cvm Privilegio Regali. | 4to. B.L.

A-X⁸.

Pp. [16]+[1]-320, wrongly numbered 316.

A1, Title. Verso, ¶ The Contentis Of This | Buik folowing. | The list includes Ane Answer to the Kingis flyting, neuer befoir Imprentit. Squire Meldrum, also "neuer befoir Imprentit," is named but is not in the volume. A2, Vnto The Godlie. | And Christiane Reidar, Hen- | rie Charteris, wischis grace, and peice from Ie- | svs Christ our Saviovr, | with the perpetuall assistence of | his halie Spreit. | A5 verso, Preface ends. A6, Ane Adhortation of all | Estatis, to the reiding of thir pre- | sent Warkis. | Begins : Sen that it is worthie for to be. A7, Adhortation ends. The Epistill | Nvncvpatorie Of Sir | Dauid Lyndsay of the Mont Knicht, | on his Dialog of the Miserabill Estait of the | Warld. | Begins : Thow lytill Quair of mater Miserabill. A8 verso, Epistle ends. B1, The Prolog of the Miserabill estait of the warld, | betuix Experience, and ane Courteour. | Begins: Mysing and meruelling on the miserie. B3 verso, Prologue ends. B4, **(** Ane Dialog of the | Miserabill estait of this warld, | betuix Experience and ane Courteour. | N6, Text ends. Finis | Quod Dauid Lyndesay. | Verso, The

Testament and | Complaint of our Souerane Lor- | dis Papingo, King Iames the Fyft: Lyand sair | woundit, and may not die till euerie | man haue hard quhat scho sayis: | Quhairfoir gentill Reidaris | haist zow that scho wer | out of paine. | Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay, of the | Mont Knicht, alias, Lyoun King of Armes. | ¶ Liuor post fata quiescit. | **(**The Prolog. N6 verso-QI verso, Text. QI verso, The Dreme Of Schir | Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont | Knicht, familiar Seruitour to | our Souerane Lord, King | Iames the Fyft. &c. | QI verso-S3 verso, Text. S3 verso, ¶ Finis. | The Complaint of Schir Dauid | Lyndesay, of the Mont Knicht, &c. directit | to the Quod Dauid Lyndesay to the King. | The Tragedie of the | vmquhyle maist Reuerend Father | Dauid be the Mercie of God, Cardinall, and | Archebischop of Sanctandrous &c. Compylit | be Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the | Mont Knicht, Alias Lyoun, King of Armes. | Mortales cùm nati sitis, ne supra Deum | vos erexeritis. | T3-V2, Text. V2, The Deploratioun of | the deith of Quene Magdalene. | V2-5 verso, Text. V5 verso, Quod maid to | the Kingis Flyting. | V5 verso-6 verso, Text. V6 verso, Quod Lyndesay in his flyting, | Aganis the Kingis dyting. | Finis. | V7, The Complaint and | publict Confessioun of the Kingis | auld Hound, callit Bagsche, direct to Bawtie, the Kingis best belouit Dog, & his Companzeounis. | Maid at command of King Iames the Fyft, | be Sir Dauid Lyndesay, of the | Mont Knicht, Alias Lyoun | King of Armes. | V7-X2 verso, Text. X2 verso, **(**Finis. | Ane Supplicatioun | directit from Schir Dauid Lyndesay | Knicht, to the Kingis Grace, in Contemp- | tioun of syde Taillis. | X2 verso-5, Text. X5, Quod Lyndesay in contempt of syde taillis, | That duddrounis & Compylit (as is beleuit) be Schir | Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount Finis. | Verso, The Iusting betuix | Iames Watsoun & Iohne Barbour, | Seruitouris to King Iames the Fyft. | Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay | of the Mount Knicht. &c. | X7 verso8 verso, Text. X8 verso, Finis | Quod Lyndesay at command of | King Iames the Fyft. | Ross's device and initials. Advocates' Library, H. 29. c. 21. British Museum.

Squire Meldrum. 1582?*

For a conjectured edition about this date see Laing III. 282, where Bannatyne Miscellany II. 214 is cited.

[For an alleged edition of the Works 1588 see Laing III. 282.]

The | VVarkis Of | The Famovs And VVor | thie Knicht, Sir Dauid Lyndsay of the | Mont, alias Lioun, King of Armes. Newlie corre- | ctit, and vindicate from the former er- | rouris, quhairwith they war befoir cor- | ruptit : and augmentit with sindry | warkis, quhilk was not befoir | imprentit. | The Contentis of the Buik, and quhat | warkis ar augmentit, the nixt side | sall schaw. | Viuet etiam post funera virtus. | Iob. VII. | Militia est vita hominis super terram. | Imprentit at Edinburgh, be Henrie Charteris. | Anno, M.D.LXXXXII. | Cum Priuilegio Regali. | 4to. B.L.

A-X⁸.

This edition generally resembles that of 1582. There are differences in type, spelling, punctuation, and lineation, different errors in pagination. The Table is in Roman type, and omits the words "neuer befoir Imprentit" after "Ane Answer to the Kingis flyting." The words "of the Mont" are inserted in the heading to the Supplication (X2 verso). Instead of the device on X8 verso is the colophon: Imprinted at Edinburgh, | be Henrie Charteris. | Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXXII. |

| Proprium sapientis est grata eorum virtutem memo- | ria prosequi, qui pro Patria vitam profuderunt. | Ovid. 2.
Fast. | Et memorem famam, qui bene gessit habet. | Imprentit at Edinburgh | be Henrie Charteris. | Anno M. D. XCIIII. | Cum Priuilegio Regali. | 4to. B.L.
A-C⁸, D⁴.

No pagination.

A1, Title. Verso blank. A2, The | Historie Of . . . **(H) (C)** | (as on title-page). Text begins. C8 verso, History ends. D1, The | Testament of the nobill | and vailzeand Squyer Williame Meldrū | of the Bynnis. Compylit be Sir Da- | uid Lyndesay of the Mont .&c. | D1-4 verso, Text. D4 verso, Finis. Running title : The Sqvyer | Of The Bynnis. | British Museum, C. 39. d. 23. Advocates' Library (bound with Works 1592), H. 29. c. 23.

Works. H. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1597*. Laing III. 285-6.

Ane | Satyre Of | The Thrie Estaits, | in commendation of vertew | and vituperation of vyce. | Maid be Sir Dauid Lindesay of the | Mont, aliàs, Lyon King | of Armes. | [Device with initials H C, as in Laing II. 289.] | At Edinbyrgh | Printed Be Robert | Charteris. | 1602. | Cvm Privilegio Regis. | 4to.

Leaf unsigned, B-V⁴.

First leaf, Title in border. Verso blank. BI, Ane | Pleasant Satyre of the thrie | Estaitis In Commendatiovn | of vertew and vituperatioun of | vyce, as follovvis. | Text begins : Diligence. | The Father and founder of faith and | felicitie. | I4, The End of the first part of the Satyre. | Now sall the pepill mak Collatioun, then beginnis the | Interlude, [or.] the Kings, Bischops and principall players be- | ing out of their seats. | V4, Text ends : To send zow all gude rest. | Rex sapiens aeterne Deus genitorque benigne, | Sit tibi perpetuo gloria, laus & honor. | Colophon : Printed at Edinburgh be | Robert Charteris. | An. Do. MDCII. | And are to be sauld in his Buith on the Northside | of the Gait, at the West-side of the auld | Prouosts Closhead. | Verso blank. Running title: S. D. Lind. Satyre. Advocates' Library, H. 29. c. 24.

[For an alleged edition of the Satyre of the Thrie Estaits, 1604, see Laing III. 287.]

Works. R. Charteris. Edinburgh. 1604*. Laing III. 287. Dickson and Edmond, 501-2.

Works. Edinburgh. 1605*.

Works. Finlason. Edinburgh. 1610*.

Squire Meldrum. Lawson. Edinburgh. 1610*. For these three see Laing III. 288-9.

The | Workes Of | The Famovs And | worthie Knight Sir David
| Lyndesay of the Mont | aliâs Lion, King of Armes. |
Newly corrected and vindicate from the former errours |
wherewith they were corrupted, and augmented | with sundrie workes neuer before imprinted. | Iob 7. | Militia est
vita hominis super terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus.
| [Device with initials A H] | Edinbyrgh | Printed by

Andro Hart, Anno Dom. 1614. 8vo. B.L.

A⁴, B-Z⁸, Aa⁸, Bb⁴. Sheet P in the copy examined (British Museum, 1076. K. 2) is wanting, and a duplicate of R occupies its place.

No pagination.

A1, Title. The point after "Edinburgh," if any, is obliterated by the British Museum stamp. Verso, The Contents of this Booke | following. | A2, The Printer to the Reader | Begins : It hath pleased God in all ages. Verso, Preface ends. A3-4 verso, The Epistle | Nuncupatorie, | Of Sir Dauid Lyndesay of | the Mount Knight, on his Dialogue of | the miserable estate of the World. Begins : Thou litle quair of matter miserable. The Epistle and all that precedes are in Roman type. B1-Q1, The Dialog. Q1 verso-S7, The Papyngo. S7-X3 verso, The Dream. X3 verso-

Y4 verso, The Complaint. In the Contents this appears as: The Complaint vnto the Kings Grace, omitted in the imprintings of Rowen and London. Y4 verso-Z4 verso, The Tragedy. Z4 verso-8, The Deploration. Z8 verso-Aa1 verso, Answer to the King's Flyting. Aa1 verso-5 verso, Bagsche. Aa6-Bb1, Side Tails. Bb1-3 verso, Kittie's Confession. Bb3 verso-4 verso, The Justing.

- The | Workes | Of The Famovs | and worthy Knight, | S^{r.} David Lindesay | of the Movnt, aliàs, | Lyon King of Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the former | errours, wherewith they were corrupted and | augmented with sundrie works neuer | before imprinted. | Iob 7. | Militia est vita hominis super terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | [Device with initials A H] Edinbvgh (sic), | Printed by Andro Hart, 1617. | 8vo. B.L. ¶⁴, A-Z⁸.
 - Pp.[1]-376.

Same poems as 1614. Many misprints. Advocates' Library, H. 29. f. 19.

- Works. Raban for Melvill. Aberdeen. 1628*. Laing III. 290. Edmond, Last Notes, 13.
- The | Workes | Of The Famovs | and worthy Knight, Sir | Dauid Lindesay of the | Mount, Aliàs, Lyon, | King of Armes. | Newlie corrected and vindicate from the for- | mer errours wherewith they were corrupted: | And augmented with sundrie workes. &c. | Iob. 7. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | [Device as in 1617, with initials A H] | Printed at Edinburgh, by the Heires of | Andro Hart : Anno Dom. 1630. | 8vo. B.L.

Two leaves unsigned, A-X⁸, Y⁶.

Pp.[4]+1-348.

Omits the Epistle Nuncupatory. Advocates' Library, H. 29. f. 20.

- The Workes Of | The Famovs And | worthy Knight, Sir | David Lindesay of | the Mount, Aliàs, Lyon, | King of Armes: | Newlie corrected and vindicate from the former | errours wherewith they were corrupted: and | augmented with sundrie workes. &c. | Iob. 7. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | [Portrait of Lyndsay with the words ·S·David·Lyndsay·] | Edinbvrgh printed by | Andrew [H]art. 1634. 8vo. B.L. A-Y⁸.
- Works. Bryson. 1645?* Laing III. 291.
- The | VVorkes | Of The | Famous and worthie | Knight, | S^r David Lindsay. | of the Mount, | Alias, Lyon, King at Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the | former errours wherewith they were | corrupted : And augmented with | sundry works, &c. | Iob 7. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | Edinbvrgh, | Printed by Gedeon Lithgovv, | Anno Dom. 1648. | 8vo. B.L. A-T⁸, U².
- The | Works | Of The | Famous And | Worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindesay | of the Mount, Alias, Lyon, King | at Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the former | errours wherewith they were corrupted : | And augmented with sundry | works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert Sanders, Printer to the Town | and are to be sold at his Shop, Anno 1665. | 12mo. B.I.
- The | VVorks | Of The | Famous and Worthy | Knight. | Sir David Lindesay of | the Mount, Alias, Lyon King at Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the | former errours wherewith they were | corrupted : And augmented with | sundry works, &c. | Job. 7. Militia est vita hominiis

(sic) supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funeram (sic) virtus. | Edinbvrgh, | Printed by Andrew Anderson, and are to | be sold at his House, on the north side | of the Cross, Anno Dom. 1670. | 12mo. B.L.

The | Works | Of The | Famous And Worthy | Knight, Sir David Lindesay | of the Mount, alias, Lyon, | King of Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the [for-]| mer errors wherewith they were corrup- | ted : And augmented with | sundry works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow, | By Robert Sanders, Printer to | the City, and University, and are to be | sold in his Shop, 1672. | I2mo, B.L.

Advocates' Library, H. 29. f. 22.

- The | Works | Of The | Famous And Worthy | Knight, Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount, alias, Lyon, | King of Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from | the former errors wherewith they | were corrupted : And augment- | ed with sundry works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow, | Prented By Robert Sanders One | of his Majesties Printers. | 1683. | 12mo. B.L.
- The | History | Of The Noble | and valiant Squyer | William Meldrum, | umwhile Laird of Cleish and Bins. | As also the Testament of the said | William Meldrvm. | Compyled by Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount : Alias, Lyon King | of Arms. | Edinbyrgh, | Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson. Printer to the | Kings most Sacred Majesty, and are be (sic) sold | at his shop. Anno 1683. | British Museum, C. 34. a. 58.
- Supplication in contemption of Side Tails. Edinburgh. 1690?*. Laing III. 294. A broadside.

- The | Works | Of The | Famous and Worthy | Knight, Sir David | Lindesay of the | Mount, alias Ly- | on, King of | Armes. | Newly corrected and vindicate from | the former errors wherewith they | were corrupted : And augmen- | ted with sundry works, &c. | Job v. ii. Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivet etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert Sanders, One | of His Majesties Printers. 1696. | 12mo. B.L.
- Squire Meldrum. Sanders. Glasgow 1696*. Laing III. 294-5.
- The | Works | Of The | Famous and Worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount, alias, Lyon, | King of Arms. | Newly Corrected and vindicate from | the former Errors wherewith they | were corrupted : And augmented | with sundry Works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Edinburgh. Printed by the Heirs and | Successors of Andrew Anderson, | Printer to the Queen's most Ex- | cellent Majesty, Anno Dom. 1709. | 12mo.
- Squire Meldrum. James Nicol. Aberdeen. 1711*. Laing III. 295.
- The | Works | Of The | Famous and Worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount, alias, Lyon, | King of Arms. | Newly Corrected and Vindicate from the | former Errors wherewith they were | corrupted : And augmented with | sundry Works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow : Printed by Robert Sanders, | in the Year, M.DCC.XII. | 18mo.
- The | Works | Of The | Famous and Worthy Knight, Sir | David Lindsay of the Mount, | alias, Lyon, King of Arms. | Newly corrected and vindicated from the | former Errors wherewith they were cor- | rupted : And augmented with sundry | Works, &c. | Job VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra

terram. | Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Belfast, | Printed by James Blow, and are to | be sold at his Shop 1714. | 18mo.

- Works. Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson. Edinburgh. 1716*. Laing III. 296.
- The | Works | Of The | Famous and Worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount, alias Lyon, | King of Arms. | Newly corrected and vindicate from | the former Errors wherewith they | were corrupted : And augmented | with sundry Works, &c. | Job. VII. | Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Edinburgh, | Printed by the Successors of Andrew | Anderson, Printers to His Ma- | jesty. Anno Dom. 1720. | 12mo.

Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. II. Pp. 219-22, **II**, "Quod Lindsay." The motto on the title-page of Vol. II. is—

Quha dar presume thir Poetis to impung, Quhais Sentence sweit throw Albion bin sung. Sr. D. LINDSAY.

In a note after the glossary (II. 286) Ramsay promises a third volume containing Lyndsay's Interludes. See Introduction, pp. lxvii.-lxviii.

The British Muse, Or, A Collection of Thoughts Moral, Natural, and Sublime, Of Our English Poets: Who flourished in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. With several curious Topicks, and beautiful Passages, never before extracted, from Shakespear, Johnson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and above a Hundred more. The Whole digested Alphabetically under their respective Heads, according to the Order of Time in which they wrote; to shew the gradual Improvements of our Poetry and Language.

In Three Volumes. By Thomas Hayward, Gent. With an Historical and Critical Review of This, and all the Collections of this Kind hitherto published. London, Printed for F. Cogan, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleetstreet, and J. Nourse, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XXXVIII.

Vol. I. P. 159. Vol. II. Pp. 40-1, 121-2. Modernised scraps under the headings Court, Historian, Kings. Vol. II. A List of the Authors, Poems and Plays Cited in this Collection. Sign. a 8, "Lindsay Sir David, of the Mount, alias Lyon King at Arms, his Works, newly corrected and augmented. Edinburgh. 12mo, 1709. This Author flourished in the Court of James V. King of Scotland." Second Edition, The Quintessence of English Poetry. 1740*.

The Union. 1753*.

Second edition 1759, Pp. 129-31, I (Prologue Stanzas I.-VIII.).

The | Works | Of the famous and worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindsay | Of The | Mount, alias, Lion, King of Arms. | Newly corrected and vindicate from the for- | mer Errors, wherewith they were corrupt- | ed : And augmented with sundry Works, &c. | Job vii. Militia est vita hominis supra terram. | Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Glasgow : | Printed by John Hall, | Near the Middle of the Salt-Market. | M.DCC.LIV. | 12mo.

A-M¹².

Pp. [1]-[288].

A1, Title. Verso blank. A2, The | Printer | To The | Reader. | Begins: It hath pleased God in all ages, to raise up. Verso, Preface ends. A3, A | Prologue | Of the miserable Estate of the World, between | Experience and the Courteour. | Begins: Musing and marv'lling on the misery. A5 verso, Prologue ends. A | Dialogue | Of the miserable Estate of the World, between | Experience and the Couteour (sic). | H3 verso, Text ends. Finis. quoad Lindsay. | [Cut: a thistle, crowned.] H4, The Testament and Complaint of our | Sovereign Lord King James the fifth | his Papingo, lying sore wounded, and | may not die, till every Man have heard | what she says : Wherefore gentle Read- | ers haste you, that she may be put out of | Pain. Compiled by Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount, Knight, alias, Lion King of Arms. | Liver (sic) post fata quiescit. | The Prologue. | H4 - I7 verso, Text. 18, The Dream of Sir David Lindsay of the | Mount, Knight, familiar Servitor to our | Soveraign Lord King James the fifth. | I8-K11, Text. K11, The Complaint of Sir David Lindsay, of | the Mount, directed to the King's Grace. | KII - L6, Text. L6, Quod Lindsay to the King. | The Tragedy of the Umquhile most Reve- | rend Father, David, by the Grace of God, | Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, | &c. Compiled by Sir David Lindsay of | the Mount, Knight, alias, Lion King of | Arms. | Mortales cum nati sitis supra Deum ne vos erexeritis. | L6 - 12, Text. L12, The Deploration of the Death of Queen Magdalen. | L12 - M2 verso, Text. M2 verso, The Answer which Sir David Lindsay made to the | King's Flyting. | M2 verso-3 verso, Text. M3 verso, Quoad Lindsay in his dyting | Against the king's flyting. | The Complaint and publick Confession of | the King's old Hound, called Bash, direc-| ted to Bawty, the King's best beloved Dog, | and his Companions : Made at Command | of King James the Fifth, by Sir David | Lindsay of the Mount, Knight, alias, Lyon | King of Arms. | M3 verso-6 verso, Text. M7, A Supplication directed for (sic) Sir David Lind- | say of the Mount, to the King's Grace in | Contemption of side Tails, and muzzled | Faces. | M7-9, Text. M9, Quod Lindsay, in contempt of side Tails, | That duddrons and duntibours, | Through the dubbs trails. | Verso, Kitty's Confession. | Compyled (as is believed) by Sir David Lind- | say of the Mount, Knight, &c. | The Curate and Kittie. | M9 verso - 11, Text. M11 verso, The Justing between James Watson and | John Barbour, Servitors to King James | the fifth. Compiled by Sir David Lindsay | of the Mount Knight, alias, Lion King of | Arms. | MII verso-12, Text. M12, Finis. | Quod Lindsay, at Command of King James the fifth | Verso blank. Advocates' Library.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770. Pp. 170-2, **II**, anonymously. Notes pp. 298-301.

- The | Works | Of The | Famous And Worthy Knight, | Sir David Lindsay | Of The | Mount, | Alias | Lion King Of Arms. | Carefully corrected and amended, with several new | additions by the same Author hereto prefixed, never | before published. | Job vii. Militia est vita hominis supra terram.| Vivit etiam post funera virtus. | Edinburgh : | Printed and sold by Peter Williamson, and | C. Elliot, Parliament Square. | MDCCLXXVI. |
- The | Additional Poems | Of | Sir David Lindsay | Of The | Mount, | Alias | Lion King Of Arms. | Taken from his own original Manuscripts, found in the | Cabinets of the curious, consisting of many different | entertaining subjects.
 | Volume II. | Edinburgh : | Printed and Sold by Peter Williamson, and | C Elliot, Parliament Square. | MDCCLXXVII. A-N⁶ (vol. I.) O-U⁶ (vol. II.)
- The History of Edinburgh. By Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate Printed for W. Creech; Edinburgh : and J. Murray, London. 1779. 4to.

Pp. 604-5, Appendix No. I. "Excerpt from a Manuscript Play, in the Possession of David Garrick, Esq;" *i.e.*, the Interlude of the Old Man and his Wife.

Pinkerton. Scotish Poems Reprinted from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Pp. 143-215, Squire Meldrum, from H. Charteris 1594. Vol. II. (Whole Vol.), Three Estates, from the Bannatyne MS. At the end the omitted portions and chief variants are supplied from R. Charteris 1602. The obscene passages are cut out.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. II. Pp. 77-226, **3**, **1**, **2**, **4**, **8**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **9**, **12**. Pp. 257-348, **13** (in part). Vol III. Pp. 3-68, **14** (extracts), **10**. Sibbald also prints as Lyndsay's The Droichis Part, II. 350-4.

See Dunbar. For Sibbald's text of **13** see Laing II. 287-8. **12** is professedly from H. Charteris 1594, really from Pinkerton 1792, with many additional errors; the rest from Charteris 1592.

Ane Pleasant Satyre Of The Thrie Estaitis, In Commendation Of Vertue, and Vituperation Of Vice; A Play, Maid Be Sir David Lindesay. [Edited by James Sibbald.] Edinburgh: 1802. 4to.

50 copies printed. Text only, and note on date, p. ii.

The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lion King at Arms, under James V. A New Edition, Corrected and Enlarged: with a Life of the Author; Prefatory Dissertations; and an appropriate Glossary. By George Chalmers, F.R.S. S.A. In Three Volumes. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster-Row; and A. Constable and Co., Edinburgh. 1806. 8vo.

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. Pp. 95-104, Squire Meldrum, lines 77-146, 165-74, 431-58, 501-12, 539-64, 849-76, 879-954.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821.

Pp. 226-232, Prologue to the Dialogue, "From the edition dated 1552."

Laing. Select Remains. 1822. The nineteenth piece is Pedder Coffeis.

Sir David Lindesay's Works. London: Early English Text Society. 1865-66-68-69-71. 8vo.

Part I. 14. Part II. 14 continued, 10, 3, 1, 2. Part III. 12. Part IV. 13. Part V. 6, 4, 5, 8, 9, 7, 11. Parts I. and II. are edited by John Small, M.A., Parts III. and IV. by F. Hall, D.C.L., Part V. by Dr J. A. H. Murray, with Professor Nichol's Sketch of Scottish Poetry. A sixth part, edited by William Bayne, has been announced as "At Press." An earlier announcement gave it as by W. H. S. Utley. Selections from Works in the Old Scots Language. 1867. Pp. 63-4, 3, lines 80-107, 136-70. P. 68, 14, lines 538-65.

The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms. A New Edition Carefully Revised. [Edited by David Laing.] In Two Volumes. Edinburgh: William Paterson. 1871. 8vo.

Skeat. Specimens of English Literature. 1871.

Pp. 249-60, The Monarche Bk. III. lines 4499-612, 4663-94, 4709-38. Bk. IV. lines 5450-639. From Hall. Introductory note p. 248, notes pp. 448-52.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Pp. 272-301, I (extracts), 2 (whole), 3, 14, 13 (extracts): all modernised.

Murdoch. Bannatyne Manuscript. Part IV. 1878.

Vol. III. Pp. 458-60, **II.** Pp. 463-597, **I3**, "levand the grave mater thairof, becaws the samyne abvse is weill reformit in Scotland, praysit be God; quhairthrow I omittit that principall mater, and writtin only sertane mirry Interludis thairof verry plesand, beginning at the first part of the Play." See Laing II. 297-9 for the lines included in the MS. text.

The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay with Memoir, Notes and Glossary. By David Laing, LL.D. In Three Volumes. Edinburgh : William Paterson. 1879. 8vo.

Vol. I., Memoir, and Nos. I-I2. Vol. II., I3 and I4, Book I. Vol. III., I4, Books II.-IV., Glossary. The notes are at the end of each volume; those on I4 in Vol. III.

Ward's English Poets. I. 1880.

Pp. 196-202, Scraps from the Dreme, Papyngo, Estaitis, and Monarche.

H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887. Pp. 135-43. Modernised scraps.

DAVID LYNDSAY.

Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892.

P. 29-104, I (Epistle, Prologue, and Complaynt of the Commounweill), 3 (Prologue, and line 626 to end), 7, 9, I2 (lines 245-588, 1819-32), I3 (The Puir Man and the Pardoner, with some excisions; some other extracts), I4 (first 12 stanzas of Prologue). From Laing.

Hand Browne. Early Scottish Poets. 1896.

Pp. 166-75, 2, lines 1067-1171, from Laing; 13, from E.E.T.S., corresponding to lines 1976-2125. Notes, pp. 194-5.

Henderson. Little Book. 1899. Pp. 80-3, II.

The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland From the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane thousand fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein 3eir. Written and Collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie . . . Edited by Æ. J. G. Mackay. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1899. 8vo.

Vol. I. P. 148, Ane Exclamatioun of King James the Secund ...: the first stanza is altered from the Papyngo, lines 437-43. Pp. 211-2, Ane Exclamatioun of King James the Thrid ...: Papyngo, 444-85. Pp. 277-8, Ane Exclamatioun of King James the Fourt ...: Papyngo, 486-525. Pp. 411-4, Ane Deploratioun of King James the Fyft ...: Papyngo, 522-62, 577-97, followed by a paraphrase of the next stanza and two additional stanzas. All these differ considerably from the text of the editions of Lyndsay. The lines of overlap between the two last extracts have been greatly and differently altered in each. Pp. 370-6, The Deploration of Queen Magdalen: the whole poem with a final stanza not in the editions. These passages from Lyndsay were printed from MS. I., then in the possession of Mr John Scott of Halkshill.

Gregory Smith. Specimens. 1902.

Pp. 160-89, **I4** (Ane Exclamatioun to the Redar, twycheyng the wryttyng of vulgare and maternall language), from Skott 1554;

I (Of the Realme [Realne] of Scotland and The Complaynt of the Comoun weill of Scotland), from Skott 1559; I3 (The Poor Man and the Pardoner), from R. Charteris 1602, with some excisions.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 251-3, I (Prologue, except stanzas v.-viii.)

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 138-56. I (Prologue), 9, 12 (lines 245-588).

TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

From the Danish edition of 1591 it appears that Lyndsay's Works were translated into Latin by Andrew Robertson of Aberdeen, and thence into Danish by Iacob Mattss ϕ n. According to Gilbert Gray, David Carnegie, also of Aberdeen, began a translation of the Dialog into Latin verse, but died without completing it.

Ff. [4]+1-154.

 \mathbf{H} I, Title. Verso, Purfoote's device (Lucretia stabbing herself), with the name : Thomas Pvrfoote. \mathbf{H} 2, An Epistle to the Reader. | Begins : Plato the prince of Philosophers. Ends verso. \mathbf{H} 3, Sixteen lines of verse, beginning : Reade and regarde, then

gratifull gaine. Verso, The Table to this present | Booke: A, showith the first | side, and B, the seconde | of the leafe. | 14, Table ends. Verso blank. A1 (Fol. 1), The Prologue. | Begins : Musing and marueling on the miserye. A4, Prologue ends. Here endes the Prologue. | And here begins the matter. | Verso, Text begins. N8 verso, Text ends. O1, Here foloweth | the tragedy of Dauid Beton, late Cardi- | nal and Archbishop of Santandrous, compiled | by Dauid Lindsay of the mounte | kinge of armes. | The prologue. | Begins : Not longe a go, after the houre of prime. OI verso, Prologue ends. The tragedye. Begins: I Dauid Beton some time Cardinall. O8, Tragedy ends. Verso, Here foloeth the Testament of | King Iames the fift his Popiniay which | lieth sore wounded and may not dy, till euery man | haue harde what he saith, therefore Ientill | reders hast you that he were out of paine | Compiled by Sir Dauid Linsay | of the mount knight other | wise lion King of | Armes. | Begins: Suppose I had engine Angellicall. R4, Papyngo ends. Here folovveth the dreame of | Sir Dauid Lindsay of the mount familiar seculer | to king Iames the fyft. | The prologue. | Prologue begins : Within the calendes of Ianuary. R5 verso, Prologue ends. Here foloweth the dreame. | Begins: Me thought a Lady of purtrature parfite. T6 verso, Text (of Exhortation) ends. The deploration of the death of | Queene Magdalen. | Begins : O Cruell death Imprinted at Lon- | don by Thomas Purfoote, and | William Pickering. | An. 1566. | Verso apparently blank. The lower part of the last leaf (British Museum C. 57. e. 3.) has been cut away. Running title to the end of the volume: The fourth boke | of the Monarche. Numerous cuts. The dialect in this edition is much altered. The Epistle to the Reader (Thou lytle quair . . .) is omitted.

¶A Dialogue | betweene Experience and | a Courtier, of the miserable state | of the worlde. | Compiled in the Scottish tung | by Syr Dauid Lindsey Knight, a man of | great learning and science: | First turned and made perfect En- | glishe: And now the seconde time cor- | rected and amended according | to the first Copie. | A worke very pleasant and profi- | table for all Estates, but chiefly for | Gentlemen, and suche as are in | aucthoritie. | Heerevnto also are annexed certein other | works inuented by the sayde Knight, as | may more at large appeare in | a Table following. | Imprinted at London in | Paules Churchyarde by Tho- | mas Purfoote. | Anno Domini. 1575. | [A sheet signed with Roman numerals only]⁴, A-S⁸, T⁴. Ff. [4]+1-148.

First leaf, An Epistle to the Reader (as in 1566). Italic. Third leaf, Epistle ends. Verso, To the Byer of this booke. Begins : Reade and regard, the grateful gaine. Fourth leaf, The table . . . Ends on verso. A1, The Prologe. Begins : Musing and marueling on the miserie. A3 verso, Prologue ends. A4, Text of the Dialog begins: Within that parke I saw appeare. M8 verso, Dialog ends. Finis. | Here foloweth the tragedy of Dauid | Beton, late Cardinall and Archbishop of Santandrous. | Compiled by Dauid Lindsay of the mounte, king | of Armes. | The prologue. | Begins : Not long ago, after the houre of prime. N1, Prologue ends. Verso, The tragedye. Begins : I Dauid Beton sometime Cardinall. N8, Tragedy ends. Verso, Here foloweth the testament of King | Iames the fifthes Popiniay, which lieth sore wounded and | may not dye, till euery man haue heard what he sayth, | therefore gentle Readers hast you that he were out | of payne. Compiled by Syr Dauid Linsay of | the Mount Knight, otherwise Lion | King of Armes. | Begins: Suppose I had a wit Angelicall. Q4 verso, Papyngo ends. Q5, Here followeth the dreame of syr | Dauid Lindsay of the Mount, familiar secular | to king Iames the fifth. | The prologue. | Begins: Within the Calends of Ianuary. Q6 verso, Prologue ends. Here followeth the dreame. Begins : Methought a Lady of portrature parfite. S7, The Dreme ends. The bewayling of the death of | Queene Magdalen. | Begins : O Cruell death to great is thy puissaunce. T2 verso, The Deploration ends. The complaynt and publique confes- | sion of the kings olde Hounde called Bagshe, directed to | Bawtie

the Kings bestbeloued Dog, and his com- | panions: made at the commaundement of | King Iames the fifth, by Syr Dauid Lind- | say of the Mount, knight, alias, Lion, | King of Armes. &c. | Begins: Alas, to whom should I complayne. T4 verso, Text ends. Finis. | Imprinted at London by Thomas Pur - | foote, dwelling in Paules churchyard | at the signe of the Lucres. | The text in this edition is so altered that it is rather a paraphrase than an edition. The Complaint of Bagsche appears for the first time.

¶ A Dialogue | betweene Experience and | a Courtier, of the miserable state | of the Worlde. | Compiled in the Scottish tung | by Syr Dauid Lindsey Knight, a man of | great learning and science : | First turned and made perfect En-| glishe : And now the seconde time cor- | rected and amended according | to the first Copie. | A worke very pleasant and profi- | table for all Estates, but chiefly for | Gentlemen, and such as are in | aucthoritie. | Herevnto also are annexed certain other | Workes inuented by the saide Knight, as | may more at large appeare in | a Table following. | ¶ Imprinted at London, in | Newgate Market within the New | Rentes, by Thomas | Purfoote. | An. Dom. 1581. | 4to. B.L.

This edition follows that of 1575 page for page and sheet for sheet, with differences in type and sometimes in spelling. Errors in head-lines and foliation remain, but the signature of B1 (Ai in 1575) is corrected. The colophon is: Imprinted at London by Thomas Pur- | foote, dwelling in Newgate Market within | the New Rentes. | British Museum; Advocates' Library H. 29. c. 20.

Dialogvs | Eller | En Samtale / | Imellon Forfarenhed / oc en Hoff- | tienere / om Verdens elendige væsen / oc | begribis vdi fire Bøger om | Monarchier. | Fordum screffuen paa Skotske / aff Velbyr- | dige Herre / Herr Dauid Lyndsay | Ridder de monte / etc. | Oc nu nylige transfererit aff Skotske maal paa La- | tine / ved Anders Robertson / født i Aberdijn i Skotland / | Oc siden aff Latine paa Danske Rijm / ved Iacob | Mattssøn Kiøbenhaffn / Aar 1591. | Effter Fertalen skal findis it Register / udi huilcket | ydermere forfattis de synderlige Hoffuitstycke / | som indeholdis i denne Bog. | Hæc quicunýz vides, ne sis monitoribus asper : | Sed primum legito Iudicium inde feras. | Prentet i Kiøbenhaffn: | 1591. | 4to. B.L.

):(⁴, (:)⁴,)⁴, A-Z,⁴ a-z⁴, Aaa-Ggg⁴, Hhh.² Ff. [16]+1-210.

):(1, Title. Verso, Quotations from Proverbs and Psalms (Latin).):(2, Erlige Velbyr- | dige oc Strenge Herrer / oc tilforor- | dinerede Regerendis Raad : Niels Kaas til | Torupgaard / Kong: Maiest: Canceller: Peder | Munck til Eftwadgaard / Rigens Ommerall: | Iørgen Rosenkrantz til Rosenholm: | Hack Vlffstand til Heckebierg : | Mine gunstige Herrer oc | synderlige Patroner. | Naade oc Fred . . .):(4 verso, Ends : ydmyge oc vnderdanige | Tienere. | Andreas Robertsonus Scotus | Abredonensis. | (:)1, En Fortale screff- | uen vdaff Skotsk / oc nu | paa Danske. | Den Gudfryctige oc Christne Lœser / | ønsker ieg Andrijs Robertson / Naade oc | Fred aff Gud Fader / oc hans enige Søn . . . [Charteris's Preface.] verso, Preface ends. A1-2 verso, Register. A3, En Formaning til alle Stater at | de gierne læse denne nærueren- | dis Bog. | [A verse translation of Charteris's Adhortation.] B I, Epistelen til Læseren. | Herr Dauids Lyndesij Epistel til Læseren om denne hans Bog. | B4, Epistle ends. B4-C4 verso, En Fortale . . . C4 verso, Her met endis Fortalen / nu begyn- | der Materien. | Den Første Bog om | Monarchier. | 11, Text ends. Verso, Iacobi Qvinti Scotorvm | Regis Insignia. | In Defensione. | [Arms]. 12 Her effterfølger | Dauidis Lyndesij Ridder de monte / | Drom . . . 12-r3, Text, with usual divisions. r3, Her Dauids Lyndesij Klagemaal / | tilscreffuit Kong: Maiest: | r3-u1 verso, Text. u2, En Papegoyes | Testamente oc Klagemaal / . . . u2-Ccc4 verso, Text. Ddd1, Dauidis Betonij | Tragedia . . . Ddd1-Ggg1, Text. Ggg1 verso, En Begrœdelse | offuer Dronnung Magdalenis | $d\phi d$ i

DAVID LYNDSAY.

Skotland. | Ggg1 verso-Hhh2 verso, Text. Hhh2 verso, Finis. | Prentet i Kiøben- | haffn / Aff Hans Stoc- | kelman. | 1591. | British Museum, C.34. e. 58. Edinburgh University Library, De. 7. 19.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Sir William Eure. Letter to the Lord Privy Seal of England 26 January, 1540.

Printed, from MS. Reg. 7. C. xvi., in Pinkerton's History of Scotland, Vol. II., pp. 494-7 (Appendix XXV.), and in Ellis's Original Letters, 3rd Series, Vol. III., pp. 280-5. Laing, Lyndsay, Vol. II., pp. 5-7, gives the notes only. The letter without the notes is printed in State Papers, Vol. V. Henry VIII. Part IV. continued, 1836, pp. 169-71.

Eure has been informed by Sir Thomas Bellendyn "that the King of Scotts hym self, with all his temporall Counsaile, was gretely geven to the reformacon of the mysdemeanours of Busshops, religious persones, and preists, with in the Realme. And so muche that by the Kings pleasour, he being prevey therunto, thay have hade ane Enterluyde played in the feaste of the Epiphañe of our Lorde laste paste, before the King and Quene at Lighgwe and the hoole Counsaile spirituall and temporall. The hoole matier whereof concluded vpon the declaracon of the noughtines in Religion; the presumpcon of the Busshops, the collucon of the spirituall Courts, called the Concistory Courts in Scotland, and mysusing of preists I haue obteigned a noote frome a Scotts man of our soorte being present at the playing of the saide Enterluyde, of theffecte thereof, whiche I doe sende vnto your Lordeshipe by this berer."-From Ellis.

Bale. Leland's Newe Yeares Gyfte. 1549.

Sign. G v., "Dauid Lyndesay." See Introduction, p. xlv.

Bale. Index. 1902.

P. 60, "Dauid Lynsey, Scotus, haraldus, scripsit
Psitacum, li. i.
Acta sui temporis, li. i.
Et alia quędam. *Ex officina Ioannis Daye.*De mundi miserijs, li. i.
De testamento Cardinalis Scotie, li. i.
Psitacum li. i.
Atque alia plura. Claruit A.D. 1540. *Ex museo Ioannis Aleu.*"

In a list headed "Scotici Scriptores" in Appendix IV. occurs "Dauid Lyndesay." The authority is Nicolas Brigham ("Ex Nicolao Brigan in collectionibus")

Bale. Catalogus. 1559.

Pp. 223-4 (Centuria XIV.),

"David Lynseye. LXVI. Dauid Lynseye, ex Scotorū genere & natione originē ducens, post studia bonarum literarum, Heraldicae arti se totum tradidit, famamý3 nō minimā ab eadem accepit. Est enim ars illa & heroica philosophia, in censendis ac distribuēdis nobilium clypeis admodū occupata. Heraldos ab heroibus deducit Aeneas Syluius, qui ueterani milites erant, laboribus absoluti : quorum officium erat, reipublicę consulere, sontes arguere, laudare probos, corripere malos, uiduis ac pupillis fauere : & à Libero patre seu Baccho, filio Iouis, originem habuisse dicuntur. Composuit inter caetera Lynsaeus, in uulgari sermone, dum studijs aliquando uacaret,

Psittacum loquacem,	Lib. I.
Acta sui temporis,	<i>Lib.</i> 1.
De mundi miserijs,	<i>Lib</i> . 1.
The law of the The The the	7 .7

Testamentum Cardinalis Betoni, Lib. 1.

Et alia quaedam, quorum tituli non occurrunt. Claruit anno à Christi seruatoris aduentu in carnem 1540, Iacobo tertio in Scotia regnante: & an adhuc uiuat nescio."

Rolland. Seven Sages.

See Introduction, p. xx.

A Dialogve bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimente against the feuer Pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death. Newly corrected by willyam Bulleyn, the autour thereof. ¶ Imprinted at London, by Iohn Kingston. Marcii. Anno salutis. M.D.LXIIII*.

"Nexte theim in a blacke chaire of Gette stone, in a coat of armes, sate an aunciente knight in Orange Tawnie as one forsaken, bearyng upon his breast a white Lion, with a Croune of riche golde on his hedde. His name was sir Dauie Linse vppon the mounte, with a hammer of strong steele in his hande, breakyng a sonder the counterfeicte crosse kaies of Rome, forged by Antichriste. And thus this good knight of Scotlande saied to England the elder brother and Scotlande the younger :---

> Habitare fratres in unum. Is a blesfull thyng, One God, one faith, one baptisme pure, One lawe, one lande, and one kyng. Clappe handes together, brethren dere, Unfained truce together make, And like frendes dooe ever acorde, But French and Romaine doe first forsake. You are without the continent, A sole lande of auncient fame, Ab origine a people olde, Bolde Britaines ecleped by name. Sicut erat in principio. Graunt, oh God, it maie bee In saecula saeculorum, That we maie have peace in thee. Then we shall feare no forein power That againste vs shall advaunce, The Tartre cruell, the curse of Rome, Ne yet the power of Fraunce, &c."

E.E.T.S. ed. Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen, 1888, P. 18. Not in edit. 1573.

Purfoote, Dialogue. 1566.

Epistle, etc. See Introduction, pp. xxvii.-xxix.

Lyndsay of Pitscottie. The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland. Preface. Pitscottie's list of "authouris" by whom he was "instructed and learned and laitlie informit," includes "schir dauid lyndesay of the mont allias lyoun herauld king of armes." -Ed. Mackay (S.T.S.) Vol. I. p. 2. Book xx. Chapter xvi., The story of the "mirakill" at Linlithgow concludes: "I hard say Schir Dawid Lyndsay Lyoun harrott and Johnne Inglische the mairchall quho war at that tyme zoung men and spetiall serwandis to the kingis grace war standand presentlie besyde the king quho thocht to have layit handis on this man that they might have speirit forder tydingis at him bot all for nocht; they could not tueiche him ffor he wanischit away betuix them and was no more sen."-Ed. Mackay, Vol. I. p. 259. Book xxi. Chapter xxx., "How the quen [Mary of Lorraine] was ressawit" at St Andrews: "And first scho was ressawit at the New [MS. I, nather] Abbay zeit. Wpoun the eist syde thair was maid to hir ane trieumphant frais [MS. I, pheirs] be Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mont, lyoun harrot, quhilk caussit ane great clude come out of the heavins done abone the zeit quhair the quene come in, and oppin in two halffis instantlie and thair appeirit ane fair lady most lyke ane angell havand the keyis of haill Scotland in hir handis deliuerand thame into the quens grace in signe and taikin that all the heartis of Scottland was opnit to the ressawing of hir grace; witht certane wriesouns and exortatiouns maid be the said Schir Dawid Lyndsay into the quens grace instructioun quhilk teichit hir to serue her god, obey hir husband, and keep hir body clene according to godis will and commandement."-Ed. Mackay, Vol. I. p. 379.

Henrie Charteris. Lyndsay's Works. 1568*.

Admonition, see Introduction, p. xx. Preface, see p. viii.

Simlerus. Gesneri Epitome. 1574.

P. 157, "* Dauid Lynseye Scotus, scripsit Psittacū, li. i. Acta sui temporis, lib. i. De mundi miserijs, lib. i. Testamentum Cardinalis Betoni, lib. i. Claruit anno Domini 1540. Baleus." Ed. 1584, p. 187. Montgomerie. Flyting.

Montgomerie to Polwart (ii.), lines 112-3.

Thy scrows obscure are borowed fra some buike; Fra Lindesay thou tooke; thourt Chaucers cuike."

S.T.S. edit. p. 63.

George Buchanan. Rerum Scoticarum Historia. 1582.

Fol. 150 verso. Lib. xiii. [cap. 31 in later editions]. The story of the miracle at Linlithgow concludes: "In ijs [*i.e.*, the witnesses who failed to observe the disappearance of the apparition] fuit Dauid Lindesius Montanus homo spectatae fidei, & probitatis, nec a literarum studijs alienus, et cuius totus vitae tenor longissime a mentiendo aberat : a quo nisi ego haec vti tradidi, pro certis accaepissem, vt vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam omissurus eram."

James VI. Essayes of a Prentise. 1584. The Phoenix, Sign G. iiii. verso,

> "Then, fra I saw (as I already told) How men complaind for things whilk might amend, How *Dauid Lindsay* did complaine of old His *Papingo*, her death, and sudden end, Ane common foule, whose kinde be all is kend, All these hes moved me presently to tell Ane Tragedie, in griefs thir to excell."

Thynne. Catalog. 1587.

P. 462, "Dauid Lindseie of the mount or hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his works written in his owne toong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. I. De mundi miserijs lib. I. Tragoedia Dauidis Beton lib. I. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. I. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinall be not all one) Testamentum psitaci lib. I. Dialogus aulici & experientiae lib. I. Somnium Dauidis Lindsei lib. I. Deploratio mortis reginae Magdalenae lib. I. Of most of which his works Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he florished in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and fortie, in the time of James the fift king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindseie was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court."

Robertson. Dialogus. 1591.

Dedication. See Introduction, pp. xxx.-xxxi. For a fuller account see Laing, Lyndsay, III. 249-55.

A Praise Of | Poetrie. [By Thomas Churchyard.] | Imprinted at London, by | Ar. Hatfield, for William | Holme. | 1595.

4to.

P. 29 (stanza 14),

"In Scotland finde we other twaine Were writers of good woorth Whose studies through their Poets vaine Brought many verses foorth."

Side-note----

" Dauy Lindzey and Buckananus."

Heroes | Ex Omni | Historia Scotica | lectissimi. | Avctore | Johan. Jonstono | Abredonense Scoto. | [Device.] | Lvgdvni Batavorum, | Excudebat Christophorus Guyotius, sumptibus | Andreae Hartii 'Bibliopolae Edinburgensis. | cIo. Io. c. III. | 4to.

Pp. 27-8,

"DAVID LYNDESIVS

"Montanus Eques, Faecialium Princeps, quem Regem armorum vocant, Poësi Scoticanâ, variâ eruditione, & verae Religionis laude clarus, IACOBO \overline{IV} . & JACOBO \overline{V} . Regg. familiaris, iisdem temporibus floruit, A^o Christi 1540.

 MELLIFLVI cantus Siren dulcissima, qualem Scotigenae Aonides & recinunt, & amant.
 Deliciae Regum, tituloque ac nomine Regis. Hoc fuerat Nato, quod fuit ante Patri.
 Quàm Musis charus, quàm diis quoque Regibus olim, Tam verâ placuit Relligione DEO."

Gray. 1611*. See under 1623.

Cornv-copiae, Pasquils Night-cap: Or, Antidot for the Headache. London, Printed for Thomas Thorp. 1612*.

Ed. Grosart, 1877. The poem is attributed to one William F. Ll. 3257-64,

"Thrice famous Dauid Lindsey of the North, Thou hadst great conference with a Popingay, Which erst did tell thee many things of worth, As they in print are extant at this day : Yet greater matters might thy pen have painted, If with the Cuckoe thou hadst beene acquainted : For deeper mysteries doth she bewray, Then euer was reueal'd by Popingay."

This stanza forms part of a passage in which the author praises the cuckoo at the expense of other birds which have been celebrated by poets. The poets referred to are Ovid, Catullus, Chaucer, Skelton, and Lyndsay.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 14, "Da. Lindsay. H[aereticus]. 1540."

Dempster. Apparatus ad Historiam Scoticam. 1622. P. 9 (List of historians), "Dauid Lindsay MDXL."

Gilbert Gray. Oratio. 1623*.

Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. I. 1708. Pp. xxx.-xxxi.

"Quin & masculè se in Virtutis causa hostibus opposuit David Lindesius Eques, animi & Judicii Bonis praestans, cujus teruntur jam omnium manibus Acta sui temporis Liber; De Mundi miseriis Liber; Tragoedia Davidis Betonii; Testamentum Psittaci; Dialogus Aulici & Experientiae; Deploratio mortis Reginae Magdalenae, &c. cujus de Quatuor Monarchiis Librum, dum Latino carmine venustissimo David Carnegius noster Abredonensis redderet, immatura Authoris mors hoc nobis Opus invidit; vixit fideli obsequio servus gratissimus Jacobo Quinto, Anno Gratiae 1540." D. Buchanan. De Scriptoribus Scotis.

Pp. 99-100, "David Lindesius, Rex Armorum, vel Leo Fecialium, genere et natione Scotus, ex nobili Lindesiorum familia in Fifa oriundus, a puerili aetate ac pene ab incunabulis ipsis animum erga literas mire propensum habuit. Hanc in puero indolem, ceu futurae probitatis effigiem, parentes ejus ita exosculati sunt, ut illum eruditis praeceptoribus educandum et docendum committerent, et in studiis pietatis ac bonarum literarum solicite nutriri fecerint. Oui postquam literis humanioribus in scholis trivialibus operam dedisset, ad majora studia promotus Andreapolitanae Academiae alumnus factus est, ubi et philosophicas disciplinas inchoavit. Denique, post studia bonarum artium et disciplinarum, heraldicae arti . . . accepit. Heraldos ab heroibus . . . habuisse dicuntur. Heraldica ars et heroica philosophia in censendis et distribuendis . . , occupata est. David igitur hic cum aulicis omnibus, imo et ipso rege Jacobo Quinto, ob ingenii varii dotes, non vulgarem contraxit amicitiam et familiaritatem : hinc a rege armorum rex et eques de Mont creatur; quod quidem munus adeo scite et prudenter postea obibat, nobilium et plebeiorum summo applausu, ut non minimam laudem inde acquisiverit. Vir erat lepidi et faceti ingenii, judicio tamen solidus, mirae urbanitatis, consilio nihilominus prudens et corde pius, sermonis politi, linguae expeditae, eminentissimae tam in sacris quam in profanis literis scientiae. Poesin praecipue coluit; unde, dum studiis aliquando vacaret, composuit inter caetera, vulgari sermone.

Psittaci Testamentum, lib.

Acta sui Temporis, lib.

De Mundi Miseriis, lib.

Testamentum Cardinalis Betoni.

Certamen inter Jacobum Vatsonum et Joannem Tonsorem. Somnium Davidis Lindesii, ad Regem Jacobum Quintum.

Exhortationem ad eundem Regem.

Deplorationem Mortis Reginae Magdalenae.

Descriptionem Paradisi, et alia etiam contexuit.

"Claruit anno postquam Verbum caro factum est 1540, sub

Jacobo Quinto Scotorum." The passages omitted are taken from Bale.

Colville. Whiggs Supplication. 1681. P. 8. See p. 17.

Catalogues. Ed. Maidment. 1833.

P. 94 (General Catalogue), "Lindsay (Sir David) of the Mount wrote a book of Poems about the year 1540."

Mackenzie. Scottish Writers. Vol. III. 1722. Pp. 35-40.

Pennecuik. Streams from Helicon. 1722. P. 75. See p. 20.

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Stanza 10,

> "Lindsay the Lyon, hardly here is sene, But in the third Apartment of the Grene, He sall appeir as on the verdant Stage; He towind the vyces of a corrupt aige." —Sempill Ballates, p. 256.

The History Of the Affairs of Church and State In Scotland, From the Beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of King James V. To The Retreat of Queen Mary into England, Anno 1568. Taken from the publick Records, and other authentick Vouchers. [By Robert Keith.] Volume I. Edinburgh, Printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer Undertakers, and sold by them and Gavin Hamilton Booksellers. MDCCXXXIV.

Fo.

P. 42, "And it has even its own Weight, that Sir David Lindsay, who lived at that Time, and wrote a Poem called The Tragedy of Cardinal Beton, in which he rakes together all the worst Things that could be suggested against this Prelate; yet makes no mention, either of his glutting himself inhumanely with the Spectacle of Mr. *Wishart*'s Death, nor of any prophetical Intermination made by Mr. *Wishart* concerning the Cardinal," etc.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748. P. 495.

Thomas Gray. Letters. Vol. III. 1912.

P. 278, Letter from Gray to Thomas Warton, 15th April, 1770, mentions Lyndsay among the poets he had proposed to notice in his projected history of poetry.

Gray. Metrum.

The metres of Lyndsay's poems are classified. Works, ed. Mitford, Vol. V. Pp. 246, 248, 254.

Warton. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1778.

Pp. 295-326. A long account of the Dreme, and shorter accounts of other poems. Ed. Hazlitt. 1871. III. 229-51.

Pinkerton. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. ci.-cvii. (List of the Scotish Poets), Life founded upon Mackenzie, with bibliography. P. l. (Essay), Pinkerton believes The Droichis Part of the Play to be Lyndsay's.

A. de Cardonnel, John Davidson. Pinkerton's Correspondence. 1830.

Vol. I. Pp. 147-9, Letter dated March 5th 1787, A. de Cardonnel to Pinkerton, answering enquiries about the Satire of Three Estates. P. 122, Letter, April 2nd 1786, John Davidson to Pinkerton.

Pinkerton. Poems from Scarce Editions. 1792.

Vol. I. Pp. xv.-xx., Chronology etc. of 13, Lyndsay's letter Cotton Cal. B. I., and some notes on editions.

M. Laing. Henry's History of Great Britain. Vol. VI. 1793. P. 609 and note. "A Scottish poet, whose laurels are faded." "Lindsay's remains are in the Bannatyne Manuscript. I have not found that they are of much value."

Campbell. History of Poetry in Scotland. 1798. Pp. 57-61, 361. Very little of this is really about Lyndsay.

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1790. Pp. 205-23.

Leyden. Complaynt of Scotland. 1801.

Preliminary Dissertation, Pp. 16-54, Internal evidence for Lyndsay's authorship of the Complaint, with possible objections. Extracts from his heraldic writings follow.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801.

Vol. II. Pp. 20-31. Life from Pinkerton; some short modernised extracts; and criticism.

Sibbald. Chronicle of Scottish Poetry. 1802.

Vols. II. and III. Notes before and after each piece, in Sibbald's usual manner.

Philo Dramaticus. The Dramatic Works of Sir David Lindsay. The Scots Magazine. Vol. LXIV. March 1802.

P. 236. An inquiry as to whether the Bannatyne Interludes had been printed.

D. H[erd]. J. L[eyden]. The Scots Magazine ; January, July, 1802.

Pp. 51, 566-73. Herd on the authorship of The Complaynt of Scotland, with Leyden's reply to Pinkerton's review in the Critical Review, June 1802. Reprinted in Critiques by Mr David Herd and others, upon the new edition of "The Complaynt of Scotland"; with Observations in Answer; by the Editor, the late Dr. John Leyden. Edinburgh: 1829. Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804.

Vol. II. Pp. 71-86, Life and character. Pp. 86-93, Bibliography, etc. Pp. 93-116, Criticism, mainly in the form of accounts.

Chalmers. Lyndsay. 1806.

Pp. v.-viii., Advertisement. Pp. 1-52, The Life of Sir David Lyndsay. Pp. 53-82, The Chronology of his several Poems. Pp. 83-91, An Account of the Successive Editions of his Poems. Pp. 92-3, Of the Licensers of the Press. Pp. 93-8, What were the Writings of Lyndsay. Pp. 98-114, An Historical View of his Character as a Writer. Pp. 114 - 7, Of the Epochs of the different People, who successively settled, in Scotland. Pp. 118-47, A Philological View of the Teutonic Language of Scotland, from the Demise of Malcolm Ceanmore, to the Age of Lyndsay. Pp. 147-84, An Examination of the Language of Lyndsay. Vol. III. Pp. 181-233, The Introduction to the Glossary. Pp. 234-524, Glossary. There are introductions and foot-notes to the several poems.

Scots Magazine. Vol. LXVIII. July-August 1806.

Pp. 522-9, 609-13, A review of Chalmers, with an account of Lyndsay's poems.

J. H[aslewood]. Censura Literaria. Vol. VII. 1808.

Pp. 113-21, Purfoote's Experience and Courtier, 1566 (title, description, preface, and the Exclamation to the Reader, Gentill reader haue no despite).

Scott. Marmion. 1808*.

Tennant. Anster Fair. 1812*. Canto II., St. LXV., ll. 1-2,

> "Others upon the green, in open air, Enact the best of Davie Lindsay's plays."

Edit. 1871, P. 42.

- D. L. E. Catalogue of Early Scotish Poets to the End of the Sixteenth Century. British Bibliographer. Vol. IV. 1814. List of early editions.
- Campbell. Specimens. 1819. Vol. II. Pp. 92-4.

J. L. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. I. Part II. 1821. Pp. 61-73. Life and criticism. Footnotes by A. S. (Arthur Sempil). Founded on Chalmers: insignificant.

- Tytler. Worthies. Vol. III. 1833. Pp. 191-296.
- Laing. Dunbar. 1834. Vol. I. Pp. 51-2.
- Chambers. Eminent Scotsmen. 1835. Vol. III. Pp. 440-4.
- Irving. Encyclopædia Britannica. Seventh Edition. Vol. XIII. 1836.

Pp. 353-8. Much altered from the Lives, 1804.

Hallam. Literature of Europe. 1837. Vol. I. P. 587.

Lives of the Lindsays; Or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres, By Lord Lindsay. To which are added, Extracts from the Official Correspondence of Alex. Sixth Earl of Balcarres, during the Maroon War; Together with Personal Narratives by his Brothers the Hon. Robert, Colin, James, John, and Hugh Lindsay. Wigan: Printed by C. S. Sims. 1840.

Vol. I. Pp. 107-65. Mostly from Tytler. Edit. 1849, Vol. I. Pp. 207-62. Privately printed 1835*.

Bruce. Eminent Men of Fife. 1846. Pp. 173-221. Satire and Satirists. Six Lectures. By James Hannay. London: David Bogue, Fleet Street. 1854. Pp. 84-96. Unimportant.

Paterson. Gudeman of Ballangeich. 1861. Passim, especially Chap. VI. Extracts.

Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861.

Pp. 329-81, Life and criticism. Founded on the Encyclopædia Britannica article, 1836, and ultimately upon the Lives, 1804, but much amended and expanded.

Conolly. Eminent Men of Fife. 1866. Unimportant.

The Satirists of the Reformation. The Cornhill Magazine. Vol. XVI. November 1867. Pp. 622-4. Unimportant.

- J. A. H. Murray. Hawick Archæological Society. Annual Report. 1871*.
- Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. Lyndsay's Minor Poems. 1871.

Pp. xxxvi.-liv. Mainly accounts of his longer poems, with criticism.

Laing. Works of Lyndsay. 1871.

Vol. I. Pp. vii.-lii., Memoirs. Notes at end of each volume. Glossary in Vol. II.

Murray. Complaynt of Scotland. 1872.

Introduction, Pp. cxiii.-cxvi., Lyndsay not the author of the Complaynt.

Alexander Falconer. Laing's Sir David Lyndsay. Fraser's Magazine. Vol. V. No. XXV. January 1872.

Pp. 92-104. Shows how his age lives again in Lyndsay. Same article in Littell's Living Age. February 1872. Pp. 502-11.

- Minto. Characteristics of English Poets. 1874. Pp. 143-7.
- Studies in Scottish Literature. No. I. Sir David Lyndsay.
 Dublin University Magazine. Vol. LXXXVIII. No.
 DXXIII. July 1876.
 Pp. 76-88. Somewhat absurd.
- Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Pp. 34-5. Unimportant. Scraps from poems, pp. 35-8.
- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Pp. 265-72. Chiefly on life. Unimportant.
- Laing. Works of Lyndsay. 1879. Vol. I. Pp. iii.-liii., Memoir as in 1871. Fuller Notes and Glossary. Vol. III. Pp. 219-302, Bibliography.
- J. Nichol. Ward's Poets. I. 1880. Pp. 192-5.
- Mackintosh. Civilisation. Vol. II. 1880. Pp. 380-91.
- Schipper. Englische Metrik. I. 1881. Pp. 522-37, &c.
- J. Taylor Brown. Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth Edition.
 Vol. XV. 1883.
 Pp. 106-8, Lyndsay as reformer and poet.
- Ross. Scottish History and Literature. 1884. Pp. 375-414.
- Schipper. William Dunbar. 1884. Pp. 387-410, Dunbars Bedeutung für seine Zeit und sein Einfluss auf Lyndesay.

Studien über Sir David Lyndsay. I. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde von der philosophischen Facultät der Friedrich - Wilhelms - Universität zu Berlin genehmigt und zugleich mit den angehängten Thesen öffentlich zu verteidigen am 7. März 1885 von Gustav Knauff aus Düsseldorf. Opponenten : Herr Hans Krause, Cand. phil. [Herr] Max Hilgenfeldt, Stud. Phil. [Herr] Hermann Dunkelberg, Dr. med. Berlin. Buchdruckerei von Gustav Schade (Otto Francke). Linienstr. 158.

I. Sir David Lyndsay über die politischen Verhältnisse Schottlands. II. Lyndsay über die kirchlichen Verhältnisse Schottlands.

- Shairp. Sketches in History and Poetry. 1887. Pp. 212-5.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 283-306, With considerable extracts.
- Skelton. Maitland of Lethington. Vol. I. 1887. Pp. 115-7.
- Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. 1887-8-9.
- James Cockburn. Sir David Lyndsay's Geography. Scottish Notes and Queries. Vol. III. No. 10. March 1890.

P. 159, A note on the fact that Lyndsay does not mention America.

Sir David Lyndsays Leben und Werke. I. Sein Leben.
Von H. Aschenberg, ord. Lehrer der höh. Bürgerschule
zu M. Gladbach. 1891. Progr. Nr. 490. M. Gladbach: Druck von Emil Schellmann.

Life and characterisation (pp. 3-35), founded on Laing, Tytler, etc.

Morley. English Writers. Vols. VII.-VIII. 1891-2.

Vol. VII. Pp. 239-62. Vol. VIII. Pp. 130-1, 134-8. Bibliography at end of Vol. VII.

- Das Sprichwort bei dem mittelschottischen Dichter Sir David Lyndsay. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sprichwörterkunde. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doktorwürde an der Kgl. Universität Erlangen von J. Kissel. Nürnberg Druck von. Fr. Monninger. 1892.
- Eyre-Todd. Scottish Foetry of the Sixteenth Century, 1892. Pp. 11-28.
- Æneas Mackay. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol.
 XXXIII. 1893.
 Pp. 289-95. Chiefly biographical.
- Horneber. Über King Hart und Testament of the Papyngo. 1893. Pp. 26-38.
- Walker. Three Centuries. 1893. Vol. I. Pp. 3-40.
- William Berry. Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. The Scots Magazine. New Series. Vol. XVI. July 1895.Pp. 103-11. Thin and ill-informed.

Courthope. English Poetry. Vol. II. 1897.

Pp. 103-26, Lyndsay and the Mirror for Magistrates compared.

Harvey. Harp of Stirlingshire. 1897.

Pp. 27-9. An unimportant introduction to some modernised scraps.

Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898. Pp. 201-31.

- Æ. J. G. Mackay. Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles of Scotland. 1899.
 Vol. I. Pp. cxiv.-cxvii.
- Oliphant Smeaton. English Satires. 1899. Pp. xxiv.-xxv.
- Gregory Smith. The Transition Period. 1900. Pp. 63-8, 294-6.
- Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature. New Edition. Vol. I. 1901. Pp. 204-8. Short Life: works characterised, with extracts.
- E. Koeppel. Sir David Lyndsays Anspielung auf mittelenglische Dichtungen. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen. CVIII. Band. N.S. VIII. Band. 1902. Pp. 60-3.

Millar. Literary History. 1903.

Pp. 86-111, Long analysis of the Satyre, with critical notices of other works.

Jusserand. Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais. II. 1904. Pp. 105-111. English Edition I. I. (1906), Pp. 117-24.

Albrecht Lange. Lyndesay's Monarche und die Chronica Carionis. (Eine Quellenstudie). Anglia. Band XXVIII. N.F. XVI. Erster Heft. 1905.

(Ausgegeben den 31 Dezember 1904). Pp. 81-126. I. Entstehung, überlieferung, inhalt und tendenz der Monarche. II. Lindesay's eigene angaben über benutzte quellen. III. Abhängigkeit der Monarche von des Chronica Carionis nach anlage und hauptgedanken. IV. Uebereinstimmung beider werke in bedeutsamen einzelheiten. V. Würdigung der übrigen von Lyndesay benutzten quellen.

Snell. Age of Transition. 1905. Pp. 100-11.

- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 277-8. Short.
- Henderson. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. III. 1909. Pp. 115-30, 498-9.
- Gregory Smith. Encyclopædia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. 1911. Vol. XVII. Pp. 170-1.

ALEXANDER SCOTT.

EDITIONS.

For 28 see also the various editions of Wyatt's poems. The titles are arranged in the order of the E.E.T.S. edition. Their numbers in the S.T.S. edition follow.

I.	Ane New 3eir Gift to the Quene Mary .		I
2,	The justing and debait vp at the Drum betuix W	7ā	
	Adamsone and Johine Sym .		2
3.	Of May (May is the moneth maist amene)		5
4.	O lusty May, with Flora Quene		
5.	Luve preysis but comparesone	٠	6
6.	Haif hairt in hairt, 3e hairt of hairtis haill (" Anon	. 22	
	E.E.T.S.)	•	8
7.	The anschir to the ballat of hairtis .		9
8.	Hence, hairt, with hir that most departe .		7
9.	Quha is perfyte to put in wryt		10
10.	I wilbe plane, and lufe affane		12
II.	Only to 30w in erd that I lufe best .	•	13
I2.	Rycht as the glass bene thirlit thrucht with bemis	5.	I4
13.	Vp, helsum hairt ! thy rutis raise, and lowp		15
14.	How suld my febill body fure?	•	16
15.	Marvilling in mynd, quhat ailis fortoun at me?		17
16.	Departe, departe		18
17.	That evir I luvit, allace thairfoir	•	19
18.	Oppressit hairt, indure		20
19.	Leif luve, and lat me leif allone	•	2 I
20.	Thocht I in grit distress	•	22

21.	Langour to leive, allace			23
22.	Favour is fair in luvis lair .	٠		24
23.	Returne the, hairt, hamewart agane			25
24.	In June the jem of joy and geme			27
25.	Thair is nocht ane winche that I se	•		
26.	Quod Scott quhen his wyfe left him	•		28
27.	Quha lykis to luve, or that law pruve			31
28.	Lo! quhat it is to luve			32
29.	Quhome sould I wyt of my mischance			33
30.	It cumis 30w luvaris to be laill .	•		II
31.	Fra raige of 30wth the rynk hes rune	•		30
	· · · · · ·		٠	
32.	The slicht remeid of luve			3
33.	Ane ballat maid to the derisioun and	scorne	of	
	wantoun wemen			4
34.	I myse and mervillis in my mind.			26
35.	Ladies be war that plesand ar .	•		29
36.	3e blindit luvaris, luke	•	a	34
	• • • • • •			
37.	The first Psalme			35
38.	The fyifty Psalme			36
	• • • • •			-

Attributed by some :

O Lusty May (No. 4 above). Cr. App. A. My hairt repoiss the and the rest. Thair is nocht ane winche that I se (No. 25 above). Quhen Flora had ourfret þe firth. Cr. App. C. The well of wertew and flour of womākind. Cr. App. C. Quhair luve is kendlit confortles. Cr. App. C. Ane laid may lufe ane leddy of estait. My hairt is heich aboif. Be glaid al ye that luvaris bene.

Aberdeen Cantus. 1662*.

Edit. 1666, Sign. A1b-2, 4. C1b-2, 14. Text somewhat corrupted, but complete. 4 has an additional stanza (the last).

Ramsay, Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. I. [Pp. 108-11, Quhair luve is kendlit.] Pp. 112-4, 29. Pp. 123-8, 33. [Pp. 256-7, Quhen Flora had.] Vol. II. Pp. 1-15, I. Pp. 15-7, 23 (with two additional stanzas— Nos. 4 and 6). Pp. 175-85, 2. Pp. 186-9, 3. Pp. 205-6, 5 (4 stanzas). [Pp. 207-8, Thou well of vertew.] Ramsay attributes Quhair luve is kendlit to King Henry Stewart, Quhen Flora had to Stewart.

Ramsay. Tea-Table Miscellany. 1724*.

Edit. 1876, Vol. I. Pp. 94-5, 23. The Evergreen version in modernised form.

The Ancient And Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c. Now first Collected into one Body, From the various Miscellanies wherein they formerly lay dispersed. Containing Likewise, A Great Number of Original Songs, from Manuscripts never before published. [Edited by David Herd.] The Garb our Muses wore in former Years. Hamilton. Edinburgh: Printed by and for Martin & Wotherspoon. MDCCLXIX. 12mo.

Pp. 76-7, 23. Edit. 1776, Vol. II. Pp. 43-5. Edit. 1776 adds 4, Vol. II. Pp. 212-3. Edit. 1791* includes 28 (Edit. 1869, Appendix "pieces substituted in the 1791 reprint for those omitted of the 1776 edition," pp. 32-3). 4 is also in Songs from David Herd's Manuscripts. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Hans Hecht, Ph.D. Edinburgh : William J. Hay. London : Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Limited. 1904. Pp. 91-2.

Hailes. Bannatyne Poems. 1770.

Pp. 191(192)-211. [Quhen Flora had ourfret the firth,] 5 (4 stanzas), 1, 16, 23, 26, 34, 28. Notes, pp. 307-15.

Pinkerton. Select Scotish Ballads. 1783.

Vol. II. Pp. 89-96, [Quhen Flora had,] 5, 23, 28. Pp. 106-7, 4. Notes, pp. 186-7, 187-8.

Ellis. Specimens. 1801. Vol. II. Pp. 95-8, **26**, **34** (7 stanzas). Modernised.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. III. Pp. 115-78, **I**, **2**, **36**, **33**, **31**, **34**, **5**, **3**, **8**, **9**, **26**, **29**, **28**, **23**; also Quhen Flora had, Thow well of vertew, and Quhair luve is kendlit comfortles.

Johnson. Scots Musical Museum. Vol. VI. 1803.

P. 572, 23, with Ramsay's interpolations. Music. Edit. 1853, Vol. III. P. 572. Noticed by Stenhouse (who says the author is unknown) and Laing, edit. 1853, Vol. IV. Pp. 484, 527.

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804.

Pp. 161-6, **34** (3 stanzas), [Thow well of vertew,] **28, 23, 2** (4 stanzas).

O. G[ilchrist]. Ancient Scottish Poems. Censura Literaria. Vol. V. 1807.

Pp. 245-7, "Singularly elegant and correct." Text of 23 and 26. Second ed., 1815, Vol. III. Pp. 370-3.

H. W[eber]. British Bibliographer. Vol. IV. 1814.13, and My hairt is hech aboif, conjectured to be Scott's. In an article on the Bannatyne MS.

- Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821. P. 35, 23 from Hailes.
- Poems by Alexander Scott From a Manuscript Written in the Year MDLXVIII. [Edited by David Laing. Edinburgh: Printed by Balfour and Clarke. 1821.] 8vo.

37, 38, I, 32, 5, 2, 33, 3, 8, 6, 7, 9, I0, 30, II, I2, I3, I5, I4, I6, I7, I9, I8, 23, 24, 20, 2I, 22, 34, 26, 35, 3I, 28, 27, 29, 36. Among the notes are printed My hairt is heich aboif (pp. 93-4), I4 (Aberdeen Cantus text with music, p. 95 and plate), 4 (Bannatyne text, with music and additional stanza from the Aberdeen Cantus, etc., pp. 98-9 and plate).

"It may perhaps be thought that in printing these poems, the manuscript has been too servilely copied, in retaining the unsettled state of orthography, and in preserving so many contractions: but from their not being found in any other collection, whereby some apparent errors and obscurities might have been rectified, such fidelity was judged the more expedient."—P. vii. Nevertheless Laing did not always venture to print the MS. text. Of 33 he says (p. 87), "It is here printed entire, although in doing so, it was thought proper, in a very few instances, to adhere to the text adopted by its first Editor," *i.e.*, Ramsay.

- E. B. Lives of Scottish Poets. Part II. 1821. Pp. 48-51, 4. Modernised.
- Lyle. Ancient Ballads and Songs. 1827. Pp. 94-5, 4. From the Cantus. Modernised.
- John Holland. Psalmists of Britain. 1843. Vol. I. Pp. 176-8, **38**.
- Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 418-24, 34, 8, 23, 28, 26, 2 (6 stanzas).

Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. 1873-75-77-78-80.

Vol. II. Pp. 39-40, 37; 40-3, 38; 255-62, 1; 346-8, 32; 361-4, 33. Vol. III. Pp. 365-71, 2; 443-6, 3; 605-7, 5; [621-2, Quhen Flora had; 622-3, The well of vertew;] 655-6, 6; 664, 4; [Pp. 665-7, Be glaid al ye that luvaris bene; 671-2, My hairt is heich aboif;] 678-84, 8, 7, 9, 30; 686-8, IO, II; [691-3, My hairt repoiss the;] 693-4, I2; 702-3, I3; [703-5, Quhair luve is kendlit confortles;] 707-9, I4; [709, Ane laid may lufe ane leddy of estait;] 710-1, I5; 713-6, I6, I7; 718-21, I8, I9. Vol. IV. Pp. 722-3, 20; 733-5, 2I, 22; 737-8, 23; 741-4, 34; 746-9, 24, 25, 26; 804-5, 35; 814-5, 3I; 829-35, 27, 28, 29; 839-44, 36.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876.

Vol. I. Pp. 45-8, [Thou well of virtue,] 28, 8, 5, 26. Modernised. Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878.

Vol. I. Pp. 314-8, 37, 12, 8, 14, 18, 26, 28, 4. Modernised except the first.

The Poems of Alexander Scott From George Bannatyne's Manuscript Compiled A.D. 1568. [Edited by Alexander Smith. Glasgow:] Printed for Private Circulation. 1882. 8vo.

Prefatory Note (extracts from Laing and others, Text, Notes (from Laing and Hailes).

37, 38, 1, 32, 33, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 7, 9, 30, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34, 24, 26, 35, 31, 27, 28, 29, 36, Appendix: 4, My hairt repoiss the and the rest, 25. The last two are included "on account of their striking resemblance" to his style and versification. "The text has been most carefully collated with the original Manuscript." 50 copies printed.

Poems by Alexander Scott. Modernised by William Mackean. Alexander Gardner, Paisley; and 12 Paternoster Row, London. 1887. 8vo. Omits 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887.

Vol. I. Pp. 321-2, 323-5, 4, Be gled al ye that luvaris bene ("very like the production of Alexander Scott").

- Fitzgibbon. Early English Poetry. 1887. Pp. 185-90, 8, 28, 26. Modernised.
- Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 221-36, 2, 8, 18, 26, 28.
- The Poems of Alexander Scott. Edited by James Cranstoun, LL.D. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1896. 8vo.

Cranstoun includes, in his Appendix, the text of O lusty May (Bannatyne and Aberdeen); How suld my febill body fure (Panmure MS.); Quhen Flora had ourfret, The well of vertew, and Quhair luve is kendlit confortles (Bannatyne); and the music of various songs.

Henley. English Lyrics. 1897.

Pp. 19-23, 8, 13, 16, 28. Pp. 27-8, 4, My heart is high above. "More or less modernised."

Harvey. Harp of Stirlingshire. 1897. Pp. 47-51, **8**, **4**, **26**, **14**. Modernised.

Henderson. Little Book. 1899.

Pp. 79-80, 25. Pp. 83-101, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 22, 26, 28, 29, My heart is heich aboif. Pp. 34-5, 4 ("has been wrongly assigned to Alexander Scott"), When Flora had ("no doubt much earlier" than Scott).

The Poems of Alexander Scott. Edited from the Bannatyne Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the Maitland Manuscript in the Library of Magdalen College, Cambridge, By Alexander Karley Donald. London: Published for the Early English Text Society By Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1902. 8vo. Extra Series, LXXXV.

Introduction, Index to First Lines, Text, Notes and Illustrations, Glossary, Index of Proper Names. The notes include The well of vertew, and second versions of other poems.

Gregory Smith. Specimens. 1902.

Pp. 42-6, 22 and 38. From the Bannatyne MS. Notes, pp. 280-1.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910.

Pp. 79-80, 4 (anonymous). Pp. 253-7, 32, 7, 28.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 200-6, Nos. 5 (incomplete), **32**, **13**, **18**.

ALEXANDER SCOTT.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

O Lusty May and some other pieces which have been attributed to Scott are included.

Complaint of Scotland. 1549?*

Ed. Leyden, 1801. P. 100, "o lusty maye vitht flora quene" mentioned; also "allace i vyit 30ur tua fayr ene," "lady help 30ur presoneir" (possibly Scott's). Ed. Murray, pp. 65, 64.

Montgomerie. Poems.

Sonnet XXV., "Jourself and I, old Scot and Robert Semple." May possibly mean Alexander Scott.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 20, "Alex. Scot. 1614."

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Stanza 7,

> "Licht skirtit lasses, and the girnand wyfe, Fleming and Scot haif painted to the lyfe. Scot, sweit tungd Scot, quha sings the Welcum hame To Mary, our maist bony Soverane Dame; How lyflie he and amorous Stuart sing ! Quhen lufe and bewtie bid them spred the wing." —Sempill Ballates, P. 256.

Langhorne. Genius and Valour. 1763*.

Works. 1766. Vol. I. P. 22. See p. 265 for text. Footnote—"Mr. Archibald Scott, in the year 1524, translated the Vision, a poem, said to have been written in the year 1360. He was Author of the Eagle and the Redbreast also, and several other pieces written with uncommon elegance for their day."

Beattie. To Alexander Ross. 1768*. See under General Works, p. 22.

- Hailes. Ancient Scotish Poems. 1770. P. 315.
- Pinkerton. Maitland Poems. 1786. Vol. I. List of the Scotish Poets, P. cxii. Very short.
- Ritson. Scotish Song. 1794. Vol. I. Essay on Scotish Song. P. xlix. See p. 178.
- Campbell. Scottish Poetry. 1798. Pp. 65, A short note only.
- Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. II. Pp. 159-66.
- Laing. Poems by Alexander Scott. 1821. Pp. vi.-xvi., Introductory Notice. Pp. 75-103, Notes.
- E. N. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. III. 1822. Part V. Pp. 13-8. Part VI. Appendix, P. 87.

Cunningham. Songs of Scotland. 1825.

Vol. I. Pp. 169-70, Vol. II. P. 41. Cunningham prints 5 in modern orthography, omitting the last stanza, Vol. II. pp. 40-1.

John Holland. Psalmists of Britain. 1843. Vol. I. Pp. 175, 178.

- Irving. Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 417-24.
- Variorum Warton. Vol. III. 1871. Pp. 265-6.
- Nichol. Sketch of Scottish Poetry. 1871. Pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.
- Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Vol. I. P. 45. Unimportant.

- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. Pp. 312-4. Unimportant.
- A. S., W. W. Skeat, W. E. Buckley. Notes and Queries. Sixth Series. Volume V. 8th and 29th April, 1882.

Pp. 267-8, 333-4, Correspondence on line "Sic Christianis to kis with Chauceris kuikis," in A New Yeir Gift.

- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 320-6.
- Mackean. Poems by Alexander Scott. 1887. Pp. iii.-v., 9, 17, 43-4.
- Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 217-20.

Cranstoun. The Poems of Alexander Scott. 1896.

Pp. vii.-xxii., Introduction : 1. Parentage and Abode of Alexander Scott, 2. Profession, 3. Married Life, 4. His Period, 5. Scott as a Poet, 6. Opinions of earlier Writers on Scott as a Poet, 7. Scott's Place among Scottish Poets, 8. Editions of his Poems. Pp. 99-218, Notes, Appendix, Glossary.

- J. Cranstoun. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. LI. 1897.
 P. 10. A very short article.
- Henley. English Lyrics. 1897. Pp. 375-6.
- Henderson. Scottish Literature. 1898. Pp. 240-51, Chiefly on his staves.
- Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature. New Edition. I. 1901. Pp. 231-2.

- Donald. Poems of Alexander Scott. 1902. Pp. vii.-x., Introduction.
- Millar. Literary History. 1903. Pp. 208-12.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 279-82.
- Henderson. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. III. 1909. Pp. 134-5, 499.
- Gregory Smith. Encyclopædia Britannica. Eleventh edition. 1911. Vol. XXIV. P. 468

ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE.

(WITH SIR PATRICK HUME.)

Editions of The Cherrie and the Slae, with the poems that often accompany it, are in general omitted, as Dr. Brotanek proposes to publish a bibliography of them.

The order of the poems in the following list is that of the Scottish Text Society's edition. Inclusion in the list does not imply any opinion as to authorship. In addition to these some poems discovered in 1906 among the Laing MSS. in Edinburgh University Library will be found in the S.T.S. volume 1910. D 7 has been assigned to Lady Culross (see the various editions of her Godly Dream); S 40 to Constable.

CS. The Cherrie and the Slae. (About ane bank, quhair birdis on bewis).

F.

- Polwart and Montgomeries Flyting. (Polwart, 3ee peip).
- S. 1. To the Blessed Trinity. (Svpreme Essence, beginning, vnbegun).
 - 2. Of the Works of God. (High architectur, vondrousvautit-rounds).
 - 3. Of the Iniquitie of Man. (Iniquitie on eirth is so increst).
 - 4. To M. Dauid Drummond. (As curious Dido Ænee did demand).
 - 5. To the Same. (The hevinly furie that inspyrd my spreit).

- 6. To M. P. Galloway. (Sound, Gallovay, the trompet of the Lord).
- 7. To his Majestie. (Shir, clenge 30ur cuntrie of thir cruell crymis).
- 8. In Praise of his Majestie. (Support me, sacred Sisters, for to sing).
- 9. In Praise of M. J. M., Chanceller. (Of Mars, Minerva, Mercure, and the Musis).
- 10. In Prais of the Kings Vranie. (Bellonas sone, of Mars the chosen chyld).
- 11. Of the Same. (Of Titans harp, sith thou intones the strings).
- 12. Of the Same. (Can goldin Titan shyning bright at morne).
- 13. Of the Same. (As bright Apollo staineth euiry star).
- 14. To his Majestie, for his Pensioun. (Help, Prince, to vhom, on vhom not I complene).
- 15. To the Same. (If lose of guids, if gritest grudge or grief).
- 16. To the Same (If I must begge, it sall be far fra hame).
- 17. To the Same. (Adeu, my King, court, cuntrey, and my kin).
- 18. To the Lords of the Session. (Quhare bene 3e, brave and pregnant sprits, becum).
- 19. To the Same. (Alace! my Lords, hou long will 3e delay).
- 20. To the Same. (How long will 3e the poets patience prove).
- 21. To the Same. (My Lords, late lads, nou leidars of our lauis).
- 22. To his Aduersars Lauyers. (Presume not, Prestone, Stirling is no strenth).
- 23. Of M. J. Sharpe. (If gentle blude ingendrit be by baggis).
- 24. Of the Same. (A Baxters bird, a bluiter beggar borne).
- 25. To R. Hudsone. (My best belouit brother of the band).

- 26. To the Same. (With mightie maters mynd I not to mell).
- 27. To the Same. (I feid affectione vhen I sie his Grace).
- 28. To the Same. (Remembers thou in Æsope of a taill).

29. To the Same. (Bot sen I sie this proverbe to be true).

- 30. Christen Lyndesay to Ro. Hudsone. (Oft haive I hard, bot ofter fund it treu).
- 31. To M. J. Murray. (Flie louer, Phœnix. Feirs thou not to fyre).
- 32. To M. L. Ruthuen, Duches of Lennox. (I love the lillie as the first of flours).
- 33. A Ladyis Lamentatione. (Vhom suld I warie bot my wicked weard).
- 34. The Same. (Melpomene, my mirthles murning Muse).
- 35. The Same. (Lord, for my missis micht I mak a mends).
- 36. The Same. (Fane wald I speir vhat spreit doth me inspyre).
- 37. The Same. (My plesuris past procures my present pain).
- 38. The Same. (I wyt myne ee for vieuing of my wo).
- 39. To his Maistres. (Bright amorous ee vhare Love in ambush lyes).
- 40. To the Same. (Thyne ee the glasse vhare I beheld my hairt).
- 41. To the Same. (So suete a kis zistrene fra thee I reft).
- 42. James Lauder. (I wald se mare nor ony thing I sie).
- 43. Issobell Young. (I trou 3our love by loving so vnsene).
- 44. Eufame Wemis. (Treu fame we mis thy trumpet for to tune).
- 45. John Jhonsone—Jane Maxwell. (Sueit soull, perceive hou secreit I conceill).
- 46. His Maistres Name. (Quhat pregnant sprit the letters can espy).
- 47. To his Maistres Messane. (Ha! lytill dog, in happy pairt thou crap).
- 48. To M. D. For Skelmurley. (Sweet Philomene, with cheiping chyrris and charris).

- 49. To the Same. (Thoght peirlis give pryce, and diamonds be deir).
- 50. Of my Lady Seyton. M. M. (O happy star, at evning and at morne).
- 51. To the for me. (Suete Nichtingale! in holene grene that hants).
- 52. To the Same. (Love lent me wings of hope and high desyre).
- 53. To the Same. (Go, Pen and Paper! publish my complantis).
- 54. On his Maistres. (Vhat subject, sacred Sisters, sall I sing).
- 55. On the Same. (Hir brouis, tuo bouis of ebane ever bent).
- 56. On the Same. (Excuse me, Plato, if I suld suppone).
- 57. On the Same. (Vha wald behold him vhom a god so grievis).
- 58. On the Same. (Hou long sall I in languishing lament).
- 59. Of the Duleweid. (The burning sparkis of Helens angells ee).
- 60. Of the Same. (Had I a foe that hated me to dead).
- 61. Of the Same. (Quhat suld I wish, if wishing war not vane).
- 62. The Poets Apologie to the Kirk of Edinburgh. (I wonder of 30ur Wisdomes, that ar wyse).
- 63. That he wrot not aganste the Madins of Edinburgh. (Quhat reckles rage hes armde thy tygirs tung).
- 64. To his Majestie. That he wrote not against vmqu^{ll} M. Jane Cuninghame. (Sir, I am sorie that 3e suld suppone).
- 65. From London. To W. Murray. (Belouit brother, I commend me to 30u).
- [66. Ladyland to Cap. A. Montgomerie. (My best belouit brother of the craft).]
- 67. E3echiel Montg. Ansueir to Ladyland. (Beloued brother, I haif sene 30ur bill).
- 68. Ladyland to Ezech. Montg. (Sir Icarus, zour sonet I haiv sene).

- 69. To my old Maister, and his 30ng disciple; Tua bairnis of Beath, by Natur taught to tipple. The Old Maister. (The Lesbian Lad, that weirs the wodbind wreath).
- 70. Against the God of Love. (Blind brutal Boy, that with thy bou abuses).
- M. 1. A Description of Time. (Tak tyme in tym, or tym will not be tane).
 - 2. The Oppositione of the Court to Conscience. (The Court and Conscience wallis not weill).
 - Ane Invectione against Fortun; Conteining ane Admonitione to his Friends at Court. (Not Clio nor Calliope I chuse).
 - 4. The Poets Complaint of his Nativitie. (Since that the Hevins are hinderers of my hap).
 - 5. The Poets Complante against the Wnkyndnes of his Companions vhen he wes in Prisone. (No wonder thoght I waill and weip).
 - 6. A late Regrate of Leirning to Love. (Quhat mightie motione so my mynd mischeivis).
 - 7. A Counsell aganst Dispair in Love. (Drie furth the inch as thou hes done the span).
 - 8. Echo. (To the, Echo, and thou to me agane).
 - 9. Address to Love. (Blind Love! if euer thou made bitter sueet).
 - A Descriptione of Vane Lovers. (Nane lovis bot fools vnlovd agane).
 - 11. The Well of Love. (Among the gods that sittis above).
 - 12. Of the same Well. (To the, O Cupid! king of love).
 - 13. The Commendatione of Love. (I rather far be fast nor frie).
 - 14. Against Love. (I rather far be frie nor fast).
 - 15. The Solsequium. (Lyk as the dum).
 - 16. A Regrate of hard Luck in Love. (O vhat a martyrd man am I).
 - 17. Ane Example for his Lady. (Quhen first Apollo Python sleu).

- 18. Natur passis Nuriture. (As Nature passis Nuriture).
- 19. Address to the Sun. (Quhill as with vhyt and nimble hand).
- 20. Even dead behold I breath. (Evin dead behold I breath).
- 21. Love, if thou list. (Love, if thou list, I pray the let me leiv).
- 22. In throu the Windoes of myn ees. (In throu the windoes of myn ees).
- 23. If faithfulnes suld friendship find.
- 24. Lyk as Aglauros, curious to knau.
- 25. The Sacrifice of Cupid. (How oft throu compass of the christall skyis).
- 26. The Secreit Prais of Love. (As evirie object to the outuard ee).
- 27. The Poet's Legacie. (Ressave this harte, vhois constancie was sik).
- 28. Melancholie, grit deput of Dispair.
- 29. That his Hairt is Woundit. (The cruell pane and grevous smart).
- 30. The Poet Complenes on Love and Fortun. (On Love and Fortun I complene).
- 31. The Perversitie of his Inclinationes throu Love. (My fansie feeds vpon the sugred gall).
- 32. The Poet reasons with his Maistres. (30ng tender plante! in spring tym of 30ur 3eirs).
- 33. The Poets Dreme. (Quhen folish Phaeton had his course outrun).
- 34. To his Maistres. (O cleir, most deir, give eir unto my cry).
- 35. In Prais of his Maistres. (Quhy bene 3e, Musis, all so long).
- 36. Sen Fortun is my Fo. (O lovesome Lady, lamp of licht).
- 37. To his Maistres. (O plesand plant, passing in pulchritude).
- 38. He rejoises, as did formerly the Greeks. (Before the Greeks durst enterpryse).

- 39. He bids adeu to his Maistres. (Adeu, O desie of delyt).
- 40. He bewailes his wofull Estait. (Quha wareis all the wicked weirds, bot I).
- 41. The Night is neir gone. (Hay! nou the day dauis).
- 42. An Admonitioun to 30ung Lassis. (A bony "No," with smyling looks agane).
- 43. Montgomeries Welcome to Lord Semple, on his Returne from France. (Aualk, Montgomerie's Muse).
- 44. He prayis to his Maistres for Pitie. (Remember rightly, vhen 3e reid).
- 45. He calls on Death to relieve him. (The wofull working of my woundit hairt).
- 46. Displeasur, with his deadly dairt.
- 47. The Elegie. (Now, since the day of our depairt appeirs).
- 48. The Navigatiovn. (Haill ! bravest burgeoun brekking to the rose).
- 49. A Cartell of the Thre Ventrous Knichts. (As Ydilnes is mother of all vyce).
- 50. Sang on the Lady Margaret Montgomerie. (Luiffaris, leif of to loif so hie).
- 51. A Poeme on the Same Lady. (3e hevinis abone, with heavinlie ornamentis).
- 52. A Regrate of his vnhappie Luve. (Irkit I am with langsum luvis lair).
- 53. Ane Ansuer to ane Ingliss Railar praysing his awin Genalogy. (3e, Inglische hursone! sumtyme will avant).
- 54. Ane Answer to ane Helandmanis Invectiue. (Fyndlay M'Connoquhy, fuf M°Fad3an).
- 55. Epitaph of R. Scot. (Good Robert Scot, sen thou art gone to God).
- 56. Epitaph of the Maister of Work, Sir Robert Drummond of Carnok, Knight. (Stay, passinger, thy mynd, thy fut, thy ee).
- 57. Epitaph of Johne and Patrick Shaues. (If ethnik ald by superstitious stylis).

MIDDLE SCOTS POETRY.

- 58. Epitaph of Robert, Lord Boyd. (Heir lyis that godly, noble, wyse, Lord Boyd).
- **D.** 1. The First Psalme. (Weill is the man).
 - 2. The Seconde Psalme. (Quhy doth the Heathin rage and rampe).
 - 3. The Poets Dreme. (God give me grace for to begin).
 - 4. A Godly Prayer. (Peccavi Pater, miserere mei).
 - 5. A Walkning from sin. (Think on the end and thou sall seindle sin).
 - 6. A Lesone hou to leirne to die. (Be war, be war, leist it be war).
 - Away! Vane World. (Auay! vane world, bewitcher of my hairt).
 - 8. Come, my Childrene dere, drau neir me.
 - 9. His Morning Muse. (Let dread of pain for sin in aftertime).
 - 10. Psalme xxxvi. (Leave sin, ere sin leave thee ; do good).

[THE MINDES MELODRE.]

Ρ.	I.	Psalme	1. (Blest is the man).
	4.	33	IIII. (To thee I call).
	6.	33	vi. (Lord, I requyre).
	8.	33	viii. (Iehova, Lord).
	I 5.	33	xv. (O Lord, who shall).
	19.	33	x1x. (The firmament).
	23.	22	xxIII. (The Lord most hie).
	43.	3.2	XLIII. (O Lord of grace).
	57.	33	LVII. (Have reuth on me).
	91.	22	xci. (Who doth confyde).
	101.	2.2	CI. (Now will I sing).
	117.	2.2	cxvII. (O nations all).
	121.	2.2	CXXI. (When I behold).
	125.	3.3	cxxv. (As Sion Hill).
	1 28.	33	cxxvIII. (O blest is hee).
SS.		The Sou	ng of Simeon. (Since that mine eye).
GP.	,	Gloria I	Patri. (O King of Kings).

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO MONTGOMERIE.

- A. 1. The Bankis of Helicon. (Declair, 3e bankis of Helicon).
 - 2. My ladyis pulchritud.
 - 3. Quhen 3e wer plesit to pleiss me hertfully.
 - 4. Quhy sowld I luve bot gif I war luvit.
 - 5. How the first Helandman, of God was maid Of ane horss turd, in Argylle, as is said. (God and Sanct Petir was gangand be the way).

EDITIONS.

Patrick Hume. The Promine to King James the Sext. Edinburgh. J. Ros for Henrie Charteris. 1580*.See Laing, Select Remains, for facsimile of title-page.

Aberdeen Cantus. 1662*.

Songs V., XVIII., XXIV., and XXXV., M. 38, 15, 20, D. 7. Edit. 1666. Text corrupt.

Watson. Choice Collection. 1706-11*.

Part I. Pp. 71-128, S. I, CS., D. 4, M. 15, D. 10, 9. Part III. Pp. 1-32, F. Modernised. Reprint 1869.

Ramsay. Evergreen. 1724.

Vol. II. Pp. 98-174, CS. Pp. 212-8, M. 15, D. 1, P. 23 (Bannatyne text). Of CS. Ramsay says: "This Edition is taken from two curious old ones, the first printed by *Robert Walgrave*, the King's Printer, in 1597, according to a Copy corrected by the Author himself, the other by *Andro Hart*, printed 1615, said on the Title Page to be newly altered, perfyted, and divided into 114 Quatorzeims, not long before the Author's Death."

Pinkerton. Maitland Poems. 1786.

Vol. I. Pp. 165-70, M. 50, 51. Vol. II. Pp. 237-44, A. I. Pp. 263-4, A. 2.

The Scots Musical Museum. Humbly Dedicated to The Catch Club Instituted at Edin^{r.} June 1771. By James Johnson. Vol. V. Price 6s. Edin^{r.} Printed & Sold by Johnson & Co, Music Sellers, head of Lady Stair's Close, Lawn Market; where may be had variety of Music, and Musical Instruments. Instruments Lent out, Tun'd & Repair'd. [1796.] Pp. 478-9, CS. (4 stanzas) with music: not the usual tune.

Edit. 1853, Vol. III. Pp. 478-9. Stenhouse in edit. 1839* added M. 41 with music. Edit. 1853, Vol. III. Pp. 163-4. Also A. I, *edit. cit.* Vol. IV.

Leyden. Complaint of Scotland. 1801. Pp. 201-2, M. 53 (Bannatyne).

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. III. Pp. 184-91, A. I. Pp. 343-66, CS. (abridged), M. 50, 51, 15, D. 10. Pp. 392-6, F. (extracts), A. 5. Pp. 493-506, S. 13, 7, 50, 51, 52, 53, M. 8, 3, S. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, M. 5, S. 30, 4, 5, 33, 34.

"Having been favoured, since the preceding sheets were printed off, with a sight of a large MS. collection of unpublished poems by Captain Alexander Montgomery, author of the Cherry and Slae, it is not yet too late to insert such of them as appear worthy of preservation."—Vol. III. p. 493.

- The Cherry and the Slae. By Captain Alexander Montgomery. To which are added, His Lamentation and Last Good-Night &c. Aberdeen: Printed & Sold by Imlay & Keith, Long Acre. Sold also by the Booksellers in Town and Country. 1805. Price 4d stitched.
- "The Poems of Alexander Montgomery [Edited by David Laing]: With Biographical Notices, by David Irving, LL.D. Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. For W. and C. Tait, Prince's Street. 1821.

Memoir (by Irving), bibliography, text, notes, including text and music of The Banks of Helicon (Laing). CS. from 1597, second impression, with additional stanzas from Ramsay; S. from the Drummond MS.; F. from Hart 1629; M. chiefly from the Drummond MS.; MM., 1605; D. from various sources. Laing includes Quhy sowld I luve and Quhen ze wer plesit among M.

Ritson. Caledonian Muse. 1821. Pp. 36 ff., C.S., from the Evergreen.

Laing. Select Remains. 1822. Patrick Hume. The Promine. Edit. 1885, pp. 379-86.

Stenhouse. Johnson's Scots Musical Museum. 1839*.
Edit. 1853. Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland. Pp. 163-4, M. 41. Pp. 408-9, A. I (part). With tunes.

Holland. Psalmists of Britain. 1843. Vol. I. Pp. 242-3, **P. 43**.

Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Vol. I. Pp. 55-6, CS. (a few stanzas), M. 41, 19, 10. Modernised.

Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. Pp. 322-3, S. 10, 11, 13, 26, 51. Pp. 325-32, CS.

(28 stanzas), M. 41, 42. Modernised except M. 41.

Murdoch. Bannatyne MS. 1878-79-81.
Vol. III. Pp. 461-2, A. 5, M. 54, 53. Vol. IV. Pp. 739-41,
A. 3, 4, M. 52. Pp. 1088-94, D. 4, I, P. 23, M. 15.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 309-15, 318-20, CS (11 stanzas), M. 41.

The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie. Edited by James Cranstoun, LL.D. Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London 1887. 8vo. See also 1910. Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 245-69, CS. (lines 1-462). M. 41 and 42, S. 39, 41, 51. From Cranstoun.

Henderson. Little Book. 1899. Pp. 115-26, A. I, M. 39, 41, S. 39, 41.

Lawson. Poems of Alexander Hume. 1902. Appendix F. Pp. 204-10, Patrick Hume's Promine.

Poems of Alexander Montgomerie And Other Pieces from Laing MS. No. 447. Supplementary Volume. Edited with Introduction, Appendices, Notes, and Glossary by George Stevenson, M.A. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1910.

Contains, besides the new poems from the Laing MS., the Laing, Waldegrave and Wreittoun texts of the Cherrie and the Slae, and the Tullibardine and Harleian texts of the Flyting.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910. Pp. 257-75, A. I, M. 4I, S. 39, M. 42, CS. (stanzas 1-14).

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 189-99, M. 41, CS. (stanzas 1-14), M. 8.

TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

Cerasvm Et | Sylvestre | Prvnvm. | Opvs Poematicvm. | De virtutum & vitiorum pugna. | Siue electio status in adolescentia. | Avthore Primo | Nobili Domino Alexandro | Montgomrio Scoto Poeta | Regio, Idiomatis materni | Laureato. | Nunc rursus auctum & in latinos versus | translatum. | Per | T. D. S. P. M. B. P. P. | In gratiam | Illvstris Et Generosi Herois | D. Alexandri | Brvssii Capitanei | Cohortis Peditvm | Scotorvm, Domini | De

Kinkawil. | Arctauni Francorum Typis Fleischmannicis. | Anno M. DC. XXXI. | 8vo.

Translated by Thomas Dempster. Specimen-

Rvpe sub arboreà, viridantibus inclyta syluã Flora comis, & mellitis noua gramina stillis Imbuerat, molli recubans vbi lentus in herba Delitui, cupiens auram captare salubrem.

At the end—Sanctissimae Et Individvae Triados. Begins: Sacra Monas Triados suprema essentia, simplex. Idem aliter expressum. Begins: Principium sinè principio super entia cuncta.

Cerasum | Et | Sylvestre | Prunum. | Opvs Poematicvm. | De Virtutum & Vitiorum pugna. Sive | Electio status in Adolescentia. | Authore Primo | Nobili Domino Alexandro | Montgomrio Scoto Poeta | Regio, Idiomatis materni | Laureato. | Nunc rursus auctum & in latinos versus translatum : | Per T. D. S. P. M. B. P. P. | In gratiam | Illvstris Et Generosi Herois | D. Alexandri Brussii | Capitanei Cohortis Peditum | Scotorum, Domini De | Kinkawil. | Juxta Exemplar impressum Arctauni Francorum, Typis | Fleschmannicis, Anno Dom. 1631. | Edinburgi, Excudebant Haeredes & Successores Andreae Anderson, | Regiae Majestatis Typographi, Anno Dom. 1696. | Et Vaenales prostant ex Officinâ M. Hen. Knox (in vico vulgo | dicto the Lucken-Booths) è Regione In- | signiorum Domini Ross. | 8vo.

Contents as in 1631.

Dempster. Another Edition. N.D.*

A Facetious Poem In Imitation of the Cherry and Slae, Giving account of the Entertainment, Love and Despair got in the Highlands of Scotland; Revealed in a Dream to one in pursuit of his stolen Cows. By G. G. of S. Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare Poëtae. Horat. Edinbvrgh, Printed in the Year M.DCC.I. 8vo.

A very poor imitation.

34I

Alexander Ross. A Dream.*

Supposed to have been written c. 1753. Imitates and apostrophises Montgomerie.

Cunningham. Songs of Scotland. 1825.

Vol. I. Pp. 274-5, Vol. II. Pp. 1-2, 42, 43-4. Paraphrases of M. 41, 35, 19, 10.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill, Minister of Kilrenny, in Fife, and Professor of Theology in the University of St. Andrews. With a Continuation of the Diary. Edited from Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Faculty of Advocates and University of Edinburgh, by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society. 1842.

P. 57, An anecdote of "Captan Mongumerie, a guid honest man, the Regent's domestic," probably another Montgomerie.

Robert Semple. The Legend of the Bischop of St Androis Lyfe, callit Mr Patrick Adamsone, alias Cousteane.

The Sempill Ballates. 1872. Pp. 204-5, The same anecdote as in Melville, told of "Auld Captane Kirkburne."

"When he that sermone celebrat, He had a word accustomat; The propheit meinis this, gif ye mark it, Auld Captane Kirkburne to him harkit; Perceaving weill S^t Androis vaikit, And syne how sone the knave was staikit, To all men levand he compleinis, I watt now what the propheit menis."

According to the D.N.B. Captain Kirkburne is Montgomerie. See Melville's Diary.

James VI. Revlis and Cavtelis. 1584.

Chapters II. and VIII. Examples of "indifferent" syllables and of "Kyndis of Versis" from Echo, the Flyting, and the Cherrie and the Slae.

Westcott. New Poems By James I. Of England. 1912. Pp. 31-2, An Epitaphe on Montgomrie :---

> "What drousie sleepe doth syle¹ your eyes allace Ye sacred brethren of Castalian band And shall the prince of Poëts in our land Goe thus to grave unmurned in anie cace Noe; whett your pens ye imps of heavenlie grace And toone me up your sweete resounding strings And mounte him so on your immortall wings That ever he may live in everie place Remember on Montgomries flowand grace His suggred stile his weightie words divine And how he made the sacred Sisters nine There montaine quitte to followe on his trace

Though to his buriall was refused the bell The bell of fame, shall aye his praises knell."

P. 37, [Sonnet to Bacchus] lines 10-4,

"our maistre poëte now Is warde by the; we smaller then sall leave it To strive with the. Then on his tombe I vowe Shall be, Here lyis whome Bacchus by his wyne Hath trapped first, and made him render sine."

Also in Rait, Lusus Regius, from another MS., and in Stevenson, P. 267.

Pp. 40-4, "An admonition to the Master poët to be warr of great bragging hereafter, lest he not onlie slander him selfe; bot also the whole professours of the art." This poem, too long to give here, contains an obscure narrative with some kindly counsel to "Beloved Sanders maistre of our art." Also in Rait, Lusus Regius, Pp. 14-9, from another MS. Rob Stene's Dream, A Poem. Printed from A Manuscript In The Leightonian Library, Dunblane. Glasgow: Printed for The Maitland Club. 1836. 4to.
P. 19 [P. 23],

> "Heir I present the weidois myt, Howping to heir, w^t in schort quhyle, Montgūry, w^t his ornat style, Ane cūnīg, Quhilk nane can reherss, Jo^r wit and vallour put in verss. For quhy, 30wr poyet laureat, Jour giftis sowld only registrat. Montgūry, quhome sacred nymphis, In Helecon, w^t hallowit lymphis, And in Rnase, the mvsis myld, Did foster, as thair prop chyld, Pallas þe pedagog preclair, For the this subiett did prepair. Quha bot Apelles w^t out sklandir, Sould paint a nobill Alexander?"

For the possible identity of Rob Stene with Montgomerie, see the Preliminary Notice, p. xix., The Scottish Historical Review, April 1909, and Westcott, 1912.

Topographical Account of the District of Cunningham, Ayrshire. Compiled about the year 1600, By Mr. Timothy Pont. With Notes and an Appendix. Glasgow: [Maitland Club.] 1858.

P. 19, "Hasilhead castell, a stronge old bulding, enuironed vith lairge ditches, seatted one a loch, veill planted and comodiously beutified; the heritage of Robert Montgomery, laird therof. Famous it is for the birth of that renoned Poet, Alexander Montgomery." Stevenson dates the MS. c. 1604.

- A. S. Sonnet. [Probably written about 1617.] See below under Mure of Rowallan.
- Sir William Mure of Rowallan. Works. Scottish Text Society. 1898.

Vol. I. P. 40, To the Most Hopeful and High-born Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, Lines 1-10,

> "Machles Montgomery in his native tounge, In former tymes to thy Great Syre hath sung, And often ravischt his harmonious ear W^{t.} straynes fitt only for a prince to heir.

My muse, q^{ch} noght doth challenge worthy fame, Saue from Montgomery sche her birth doth clayme, (Altho his Phoenix ashes have sent forth Pan for Apollo, if compaird in worth), Pretending tytyls to supply his place By ryt hereditar to serve thy grace."

Also in Lyle's Ancient Ballads and Songs, 1827, pp. 115-6. See also Mr W. Tough's Introduction, p. xi., for an allusion to Mure's relationship to Montgomerie in a sonnet addressed to him "by my freind A. S.," probably about 1617:

> "Sprang thou from Maxwell and Montgomerie's muse, To let o^r poets perisch in the West? No, no ! (brave 30uth) continow in thy kynd. No sweeter subject sall thy muses fynd."

See Stevenson, 1910, p. 261, for a correction. The sonnet is printed in Lyle's Ancient Ballads and Songs, p. 129.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622.

P. 16, "Alex. Montgomeri Homerus Scoticus. 1591."

P. 12, "Patric. Humaeus. Pulvvartius dictus Scoticus Pindarus. 1612."

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica. 1627.

P. 496, "Alexander Montgomeri. 943.

"Alexander Montgomeri eques Montanus vulgo vocatus, nobilissimo sanguine Pindarus Scoticus ingenij elegantia, & Carminis venustate nulli veterum secundus, Regi charissimus, Jacobo, qui poeticem mirificè eo aeuo amplexabatur, quique Poetas claros sodales suos vulgo vocari voluit, multis ingenij sui monimentis patriam linguam ditauit & exornavit ; ad me qui impubes patriam reliqui paucorum notitia peruenit. In his. Cerasus, & Vaccinium. lib. I. poema diuinum quo amores suos descripserat, per Cerasum amicae sublimis dignitatem : per vacinium contemnendos inferioris, et fastiditae amasiae amplexus intelligens.

Satyra in Poulartum. lib. I. qua nihil virulentius, aut ingeniosius musae comminiscuntur aetas certe nostra non vidit.

Epigramata vernacula. lib. I.

Cantiones amatorie. lib. I.

"Obiit magno Regis dolore, qui ingenij ipsius festiua comitate non vulgariter oblectabatur Anno MDXCI."

P. 358, "Patritivs Hvmaevs. 677.

"Patritivs Humeas (sic) equestri dignitate à gentilicio patrimonio Pouluartius vocatus magno ingenio, preclaro euentu Poeticen Scoticam adornauit, Regi non magis claritudine familiae, quàm moribus suauissimis & rara eruditione, charur (sic). Scripsit.

Cantiones Scoticas.	lib. I.
Carmina amatoria.	lib. I
Odas Regem (sic).	lib. I
Satyram in Alexandrum Montgomerium.	<i>lib.</i> I. &

alia quae ad manus meas non venerunt.

"Obiit anno MDCXI."

Calderwood? Reasons against the Reception of King James's Metaphrase of the Psalms. MDCXXXI. Bannatyne Miscellany. Vol. I. 1827.

Pp. 235-6, "If it had bene found expedient to alter these psalmes, Montgomrie and som others, principalls of English poesie in ther tymes, as they gave ther assays of som psalmes yet extant, so they offered to translate the whole book frielie without anie pryce for ther paines, ather fra the public state or privat mens purses."

Pp. 237-8, "Alex^r Montgomrie had a singular vaine of poesie, yit he tuik a more modest courss, for he translated bot a few for a proofe, and offered his travells in that kynde to the kirk."

P. 243, "Howbeit that excellent poet, Mr Montgomerie, gave

a proofe of his skill in some, yet the Generall Assemblie holdin at Brunteland, anno 1601, wold not admit a chang."

The first of these extracts is also printed in Blackwood's Magazine, May 1818, Vol. III., No. XIV. p. 181.

A Large Description of Galloway, By Andrew Symson, Minister of Kirkinner, M.DC.LXXX.IV. With an Appendix, Containing Original Papers from the Sibbald and Macfarlane MSS. [Edited by Thomas Maitland, Lord Dundrennan.] Edinburgh : Printed for W. and C. Tait. 1823. 8vo.

P. 83, "Two miles above the said town of Kirkcudburgh, at the Abbacy of Tongueland, just where a rivulet, called the water of Tarffe, empties itselfe into the river of Dee, are great rocks and craigs, that, in a dry summer, do hinder the salmon from going higher up; . . .

"At this place, upon the rocks, on the river side, are a great variety of very good herbs growing. I have heard it reported, how true I know not, that it was this place, and the situation thereof, which contributed towards the quickning of Captain Alexander Montgomerie his fancie, when he compos'd the poem, intituled *The Cherie and the Slae.*" The omitted passage describes the catching of salmon in a dry season by "Vicecount of Kenmuir." Printed also, from a transcript, in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections II. Scottish History Society, 1907, p. 109.

Catalogues of Scottish Writers. 1833.

P. 100, "Montgomery (Alexander) wrote the Cherry and the Slae."

G. G. of S. A Facetious Poem. 1701.

Pp. 2-5, The poet falls asleep near Badenyon, and dreams.

"With countenance both meek & mild, Above me on the brae. Appeared *Montgomrie* who compyl'd. The *Cherie* and the *Slae.*"

He addresses Montgomerie:

"Tell me Montgomrie was it here, To thee Apollo did appear. When he gave thee a gift, Of pening Poems at thy will. And mask the matter with such skil, As few perceave thy drift? Was't here, that ne gave thee a Muse, Such as he thought most fit. Or did he suffer thee to chuse, Out of the nyne, to wit, The fairest and dearest. From him thou surely got, It's knowen and showen. Well by thy mirthful note."

He asks whether Badenyon is the scene of CS., pointing out the presence there of the animals named. Montgomerie is silently dropped as the piece wanders on. See above, p. 341.

The Montgomery Manuscripts: (1603-1706) Compiled from Family Papers By William Montgomery Of Rosemount, Esquire; And Edited, with Notes, By Rev. George Hill. Vol. I. Belfast: Archer And Sons, 10, Wellington Place. 1869.

Pp. 400-2, "I shall therefore mention onely a few of our Family who were endowed with that Accomplishment¹.

"Imprimis $\operatorname{Cap}_{\iota}$ Alex_r Montgomery, mother brother to our 6^t Laird.

"This Gentl man was an Excellent Poet, Witness his Poesy called the cherry & y^e Slae (that magazine of pithy witt) and his Sett matches of flyteing in verse (ag^t the Laird of Polwart) before King James the 6^t & his Scotish Court) out of w^{ch} two Poems of few Sheets The Advocates in Edinbrugh take many Oratorious and Satyricall Apothegems. Also his Dumb Solsequium : and his confession of a Sinner; (entituled his Lamentation) haveing for a Chorus (as it were at y^e end of every

¹ Poetry.

Stanza those words viz Peccavi Pater ! miserere mei . then you may read his Non ardes ad Deum converti, it being his morning Muse : also See his Declina a malo & fac bonum . w^{ch} smal remainders of his elegant writeings have had (as I verily beleive) above a thousand impressions in London, Edinbrugh, Glasgow and Aberdeen (if alltogether be reconed) & will never faile to be reprinted again & again in Scotland, I do not think they have as yet been out done, tho paralelled : The first named of them is lyrical, & is Sung to an harmonious musical tune, & were turned into Latin Verses, with the Same number of foot and unisons as in the Original; A stupendious work indeed ! fitt for the acute witts, of that Scottish friary (beyond our Seas) w^{ch} undertook it : "¹ Footnotes by the editor.

 A Complete Collection Of Scotish Proverbs Explained and made Intelligible To The English Reader. By James Kelly, M.A. The Genius, Wit, and Spirit of a Nation are discovered by their Proverbs. L^{d.} Bacon. London: Printed for William and John Innys at the West End of St. Paul's and John Osborn in Lombard Street. 1721. 8vo.

P. 167, "These three last (as several others in this Book) are taken out of an ingenious *Scottish* Book, call'd, *The Cherry and the Slae*; a Book so commonly known to *Scottish* Men, that a great Share of it passes for Proverbs. It is written in native genuine *Scotch*, and, to them who understand it, very fine and taking."

Ramsay. Poem on Some of the Auld Makars. 1724*. Stanza 9,

> "Amangst these starnis of ane immortal bleis, Montgomery's quatorsimes sall evir pleis; His eisy sangs, his Cherry and the Slae, Sall be esteimd quhyle sichs saft lufe betray." —Sempill Ballates, P. 256.

Tanner. Bibliotheca. 1748.

P. 531, "Montgomeri [Alexander] eques Montanus, Scotus;

¹ Written between 1696 and 1706.

poëta suae aetatis nemini secundus, Pindarus Scoticus dictus. Scripsit vernaculo sermone, *Carasus et vaccinium*, lib. i. *Satyras in Poulartum*, lib. i. *Epigrammata*, lib. i. *Cantiones amatorias*, lib. i. Obiit anno MDXCI. Dempster xii. 943.

Alexander Ross. A Dream*. See p. 342.

John Wilson. Clyde. 1764*. Canto II. Lines 399 ff. Ed. Leyden, n.d., p. 108.

Beattie. To Alexander Ross. 1768*. See p. 22.

Pinkerton. Maitland Poems. 1786.Vol. I. List of the Scotish Poets, Pp. cxviii.-cxix.

Heron. Journey through the Western Counties. 1793. Vol. II. Pp. 226-7. See p. 23.

Campbell. Scottish Poetry. 1798.

P. 67. Short. Pinkerton's criticism set aside. Ample gratification promised to readers who are "inclined to judge for themselves."

Heron. History of Scotland. Vol. V. 1799. Pp. 204-5.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. III. Pp. 342-3, etc. Sibbald supposes Polwart of the Flyting to be Alexander Hume (p. 367), but quotes Dempster's notice (p. 396) which he has seen "Since the preceding sheet was printed."

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804. Pp. 183-205.

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Select Scotish Songs, Ancient and Modern; with Critical Observations and Biographical Notices, By Robert Burns. Edited by R. H. Cromek, F.A.S. Ed. Vol. II. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand. By J. M'Creery, Black-Horse-Court, Fleet-Street. 1810. 8vo.

P. 25 n., Extract from "an *unpublished* work by the late Mr. Ritson;" on Waldegrave's 1597 edition of **CS**., the invention of the stanza, and the tune. The note is on Burns's statement concerning David Sillar: "*He is the* Davie *to whom I address my printed poetical epistle in the measure of the* Cherry and the Slae." —Pp. 24-5.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Vol. III. No. XIV. May, 1818.

P. 185, Montgomerie's translation of the Psalms. Pp. 180-1, "Reasons," etc. 1632. See also Bannatyne Miscellany.

- Irving. The Poems of Alexander Montgomery. 1821. Pp. v.-xxvi., Biographical Notices of Alexander Montgomery. Pp. xxvii.-xxix., Editions of Montgomery's Poems.
- W. M. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. I. 1821. Part I. Pp. 86-97.
- Cunningham. Songs of Scotland. 1825. Vol. I. Pp. 170-3, 275-6. Vol. II. Pp. 2-3, 42-3, 44-5.
- Ancient Ballads and Songs, Chiefly from Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce Works; with biographical and illustrative notices, including Original Poetry. By Thomas Lyle. London: Printed for L. Relfe, 13, Cornhill; Westley and Tyrrel, Dublin; and Constable and Co. Edinburgh. 1827. 12mo.

Section II. Miscellaneous Poems, By Sir William Mure, Knight, of Rowallan, Author of "The Trve Crvcifixe." With Biographical & Relative Notices. By John Fullarton, Esq.

P. 102, Relationship between Mure and Montgomerie. See

Stevenson 1910 for correction (P. 261). For other matter relating to Montgomerie in this volume see above, p. 345.

Rob Stene's Dream. Bannatyne Club. 1836.

P. xix. (Preliminary Notice), Rob Stene in relation to Montgomerie.

Guest. English Rhythms. 1838. Vol. II. P. 353.

Stenhouse. Johnson's Scots Musical Museum. 1839*. Edit. 1853, Pp. 162-6, M. 41. Pp. 406-9, CS. and A. I. Chiefly on the music.

- Holland. Psalmists of Britain. 1843. Vol. I. Pp. 241-2.
- James Paterson. History of the County of Ayr. 1847*. See also 1868.

Laing. Johnson's Scots Musical Museum. Edit. 1853. Pp. *215-6, *453-4, Notes supplementary to Stenhouse.

- A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery. By J. H. Montgomery. Philadelphia. 1863*.
 Based on Paterson (auct. Stevenson, 1910, p. 252).
- J. P[aterso]n. The Author of "The Cherrie and the Slae," and his Descendants. Notes and Queries, 4th S. Vol. I. Jan. 4, 1868.

Pp. 4-7. See Stevenson, 1910, p. 259 for correction.

- Variorum Warton. Vol. III. 1871. Pp. 266-7.
- Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876. Vol. I. Pp. 54-5. Quite unimportant.

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- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Vol. I. Pp. 321-5.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Vol. I. Pp. 308-20.

Cranstoun. The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie. 1887.
Pp. xi.-lvii., Introduction: 1. Biographical Sketch, 2. The Poems, 3. Manuscripts and Editions of Montgomerie's Poems.
Pp. 285-432, Notes and Glossary.

A History of Montgomerie of Ballyleck. By Lieut: General George S. Montgomery, Companion of the Star of India, A Cadet of the House. [Belfast, 1887 or 1891.]

Pp. 115-7, "From the MS. by Mr. James Paterson, in the writer's possession."

Hahn. Zur Verbal- und Nominal-Flexion. II.-III. 1888-9.

Henry Bradshaw. Collected Papers. 1889.

Pp. 64-8, On MS. Kk. v. 30 (Camb. Univ. Lib.), which contains some of Montgomerie's poems.

Eyre-Todd. Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century. 1892. Pp. 239-44.

- J. Cranstoun. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXXVIII. 1894. Pp. 297-8.
- Oscar Hoffmann. Studien zu Alexander Montgomerie. Englische Studien. XX. Band. 1895 (1894).
 Pp. 24-69, I. Leben und dichtungen. II. Strophenbau.
 Published also separately, Breslau Diss. Altenburg. 1894*.
- The Poetry of Robert Burns. Edited by William Ernest Henley and Thomas F. Henderson. Volume I. Poems published at Kilmarnock. 1786. Additional Poems, Edinburgh.

1787: 1793. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack. 1896. 8vo.

Pp. 366-8, Notes to "Epistle to Davie"; on the stave of CS. and the Banks of Helicon.

Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomeries von Rudolf Brotanek Dr. Phil. (Wien). Wien und Leipzig. Wilhelm Braumüller K.U.K. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler. 1896. 8vo.

Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie. III. Band.

The Works of Sir William Mure of Rowallan. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by William Tough, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1898. 8vo.

Vol. I. P. xxi. Vol. II. P. 261. Montgomerie's influence on Mure. See Stevenson, 1910, p. 260, for correction.

- Henderson. Scottish Literature. 1898. Pp. 251-62.
- Ritter. Quellenstudien zu Robert Burns. 1901. Pp. 74-5, 91.
- Lvsvs Regivs Being Poems and Other Pieces by King Iames y^e First Now first set forth and Edited by Robert S. Rait, Fellow of New College, Oxford. Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. [1901.] Fol.

Pp. 12-3, Conjectures as to Montgomerie's fall. For James's verses on Montgomery, see above, p. 343.

Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. New Edition. I. 1901. Pp. 233-4.

Lawson. Poems of Alexander Hume. 1902.

Appendix F. Pp. 202-4, The "Polwart" of Montgomerie's 'Flyting.'

- Millar. Literary History. 1903. Pp. 212-9.
- Geo. Neilson. Rob Stene: a Court Satirist under James VI. Scottish Historical Review. No. 7. April, 1905.Pp. 253-9.
- Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. Pp. 282-5.
- Henderson. Cambridge History of English Literature. Vol. III. 1909. Pp. 135-7, 499.

Stevenson. Poems of Alexander Montgomerie. 1910.

Pp. vii.-lxv., Introduction. Pp. 249-335, Appendices : A. The Genealogy of Alexander Montgomerie ; B. Montgomerie in the Scottish Law Courts ; C. New Sources of Montgomerie's Poetry ; D. Life-Records of Montgomerie. Mr. Stevenson throws much light on Montgomerie's life, and corrects some errors.

Allan F. Westcott. Alexander Montgomerie. Modern Language Review. Vol. VI. No. 1. Jan. 1911.

Pp. 1-8. On biographical points. Requires correction in the light of Mr Stevenson's new material.

Gregory Smith. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Eleventh Edition. 1911. Vol. XVIII. P. 783.

New Poems By James I Of England From A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript (Add. 24195) In The British Museum. Edited With Introduction And Notes By Allan F. Westcott, Ph.D. Instructor In English In Columbia University. New York : The Columbia University Press. 1911 [1912]. 8vo.

Introduction, Pp. xxv.-xxxiii., The Study of Poetry under Montgomerie. Pp. xlv.-xlvi., The King's Verse and Criticism (passages referring to Montgomerie). Pp. 34, 95-6, 100-5, Notes (including a discussion of the Rob Stene problem) on James's poems relating to Montgomerie, for which see above, p. 343.

ALEXANDER HUME.

EDITIONS AND EXTRACTS.

Hymnes, | Or Sacred Songs, | wherein the right vse of Poësie | may be espied.| Be Alexander Hume. | Wherevnto Are Added, | the experience of the Authors youth, | and certaine precepts seruing to the | practise of Sanctification. | The table followes [in] the next page. | Ephes. 5. 18. | But be ful filled with the Spirit, speaking vnto your | selues in Psalmes, and Hymnes, and spirituall | songs singing and making melodie to the Lord | in your hearts. | Edinbvrgh. | Printed by Robert Walde-graue, | Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599. | Cum privilegio regio. | 4to. B.L. [A]-I⁴, K¹.

Pp. [8]+[1]-66.

A1, Title. Verso, Contents. A2-3, To The Faith - | fvll And Vertvovs | Ladie, Elizabeth Mal-vill, A3 verso-4 verso, To The Scottish Youth. B1, A Sonnet of Loue. Verso, The Hymnes, And | sacred songs, of Alexander Hume. | B1 verso-3 verso, His Recantation. I. B3 verso-C3, Of God's benefites bestowed | vpon man. II. C3-D2 verso, Of the day Estivall. III. D2 verso-E1 verso, To his sorrowfull saull, conso- | lation. IIII. E1 verso-3 verso, Thankes for the deliverance of | the sicke. V. E3 verso-F1 verso, Of Gods omnipotencie. VI. F1 verso-G3, The triumph of the Lord, after the | manner of men. VII. | Alluding to the defait of the Spanish nauie | in the yeare, 1588. G3-4 verso, The humiliation of a sinner. VIII. G4 verso, Heere endes the Hymnes. G4 verso-I2, Ane Epistle To | Maister Gilbert Mont-creif me- | diciner to the Kings Majestie, wherein | is set downe the experience of the | Authors youth. I2-K1 verso, Christian precepts seruing to the prac- | tise of Sanctification. [Prose.] Edin. Univ. Lib. De. 3. 103 (Drummond Collection).

Leyden. Complaynt of Scotland. 1801.

Pp. 125-7, The Triumphe of the Lord after the maner of men, lines 49-128, from the MS.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. III. Pp. 367-92, Epistle to Montcreif, Triumph of the Lord, Day Estivall. For the source of Sibbald's text, see S.T.S. Introduction.

Leyden. Scotish Descriptive Poems. 1803.

Pp. 195-6, Epistle to Moncrieff (extracts). P. 199, Sonnet On Love. Pp. 203-13, The Day Estivall. All modernised. The original edition "has been collated with a MS. of the Wodrow collection."

J. H[aslewood]. British Bibliographer. Vol. IV. 1814. Pp. 297-300, A Sonnet of Love, Of God's Omnipotencie.

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. Pp. 240-7, The Day Estivall. Abridged and modernised.

Hymns and Sacred Songs, By Alexander Hume. Reprinted from the Edition of Waldegrave, 1599. Edinburgh, 1832. 4to. B.L.

Presented to the Bannatyne Club by John Gardiner Kinnear.

Contains also the chief variants from the MS., and Ane Afold Admonitioun.

Grant Wilson. Poets and Poetry. 1876.

Vol. I. Pp. 60-3, The Day Estivall, and four stanzas of Recantation.

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Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Pp. 337-41, The Day Estivall. Modernised.

Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Pp. 327-36, The Day Estivall. Modernised.

Harvey. Harp of Stirlingshire. 1897. Pp. 58-65. The Day Estivall. Modernised.

Fergusson. Alexander Hume and his Intimates. 1899.

Pp. 53-61, The Day Estivall. Modernised. P. 78, A Sonnet of Love. Extracts from other poems.

The Poems of Alexander Hume (? 1557-1609). Edited from the Text of Waldegrave (1599) with Notes, Appendices, and Glossary, by Alexander Lawson, B.D., Berry Professor of English Literature in the University of St Andrews. Printed for the [Scottish Text] Society by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1902. 8vo.

Variants from the MS. are given. Appendices A., B., and C. contain Ane Briefe Treatise of Conscience, Of the Felicitie of the Life to Come, and Ane Afold Admonitioun to the Ministerie of Scotland.

Fergusson. Logie. Vol. I. 1905.

Pp. 52-6, The Day Estivall. Modernised and abridged. Extracts from other poems.

Dixon. Edinburgh Book. 1910.

Pp. 286-93, Of The Day Estivall, lines 1-16, 25-52, 57-64, 69-92, 97-108, 113-6, 121-4, 133-68, 177-84, 189-96, 201-8, 213-6, 229-32.

Douglas. Book of Scottish Poetry. 1911. Pp. 269-77, The Day Estivall (complete).

Stevenson. Montgomerie. 1910.

Pp. 243-6, The weicht of Sin is wondir greitt. Other poems in this volume may be Hume's.

BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, ETC.

Dempster. Nomenclatura. 1622. P. 12, "Alex. Humaeus."

Leyden. Complaynt of Scotland. 1801. Pp. 124-5, 220.

Sibbald. Chronicle. 1802.

Vol. III. P. 367. Sibbald suspects Alexander Hume to be the Polwart of the Flyting.

Leyden. Scotish Descriptive Poems. 1803.

Pp. 195-202. The "Notes," pp. 214-28, have little connection with Hume.

Irving. Scotish Poets. 1804. Vol. II. Pp. 297-300.

J. Haslewood, David Laing (?) British Bibliographer. Vol. IV. 1814.

Pp. 294-300, An article on the 1599 edition by J. H[aslewood]. Pp. 305-6, Catalogue of Early Scottish Poets by D.L.E., "Besides some other works in prose he is esteemed to be the author of the Flyting betwixt Montgomery and Polwart."

Campbell. Specimens. 1819.

Vol. II. P. 238-40, Reprinted in Essay on English Poetry. P. 166.

J. H. Lives of Scottish Poets. Vol. II. 1821, Part IV. Pp. 1-18.

Cunningham. Songs of Scotland. 1825. Vol. I. Pp. 102-4.

Hymns and Sacred Songs by Alexander Hume. 1832. Pp. i.-vii.

- The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society : Containing Tracts and Original Letters, Chiefly relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Selected and Edited by David Laing, Esq. Volume First. Edinburgh : Printed for the Wodrow Society. 1844. 8vo. Pp. 567-8, Introductory note to Ane Afold Admonitioun.
- Irving. History of Scotish Poetry. 1861. Pp. 473-7.
- Ross. Book of Scottish Poems. 1878. Pp. 335-7.
- Veitch. Feeling for Nature. 1887. Pp. 326, 337-9.
- Henry Bradshaw. Collected Papers. 1889. P. 67, On MS. Kk. v. 30 (Cambr. Univ. Lib.).
- Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature. 1898. P. 274, "The Day Estivall, if absurdly prosaic, is occasionally picturesque."
- Menzies Fergusson. Stirling Archæological Society. 1898-9 (1899)*.
- Alexander Hume, An Early Poet-Pastor of Logie And His Intimates. Alexander Hume, 1560-1609. Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, 1567-1640. John Shearer, Provost of Stirling, circa 1565-1647. By R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., Minister of Logie. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1899. 8vo. Especially Chapters II. and III.
- Chambers's Cyclopaedia of English Literature. New Edition. I. 1901. Pp. 507-8.

Lawson. Poems of Alexander Hume. 1902.

Pp. ix.-lxxiii., Introduction (ix.-xliv., Life; xliv.-lviii., Hume as a poet; lix.-lxvi., Hume as a churchman; lxvi.-lxx., The Language of Hume; lxx.-lxxii., Manuscripts; lxxii.-lxxiii., Printed Editions). Pp. 184-98, Appendix D. Elizabeth Malvill, Lady Cumrie. Pp. 199-201, Appendix E. The Several Alexander Humes (1554-1609). Pp. 202-10, Appendix F. The "Polwart" of Montgomerie's 'Flyting.' P. 211, Appendix G. Gilbert Moncrieff. Pp. 212-3, Appendix H. Hume's Will, as given in the Fourteenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix, Part III.

Millar. Literary History. 1903. Pp. 228-30.

Logie. A Parish History. By R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., Minister of Logie. With Illustrations. Volume I. Paisley : Alexander Gardner. 1905. 4to.

Pp. 47-69. Abridged from Alexander Hume and his Intimates, 1899.

Saintsbury. English Prosody. I. 1906. P. 286, "One of the dullest dogs in Scottish poetry."

Stevenson. Montgomerie. 1910. Pp. xxxviii., xxxix.-xl.

ADDENDA.

GENERAL WORKS: COLLECTIONS.

Stevenson. Montgomerie. 1910.

GENERAL WORKS: HISTORICAL, ETC.

Stevenson. Montgomerie. 1910.

Westcott. New Poems By James I. of England. 1912.

Columbia University Studies in English. See pp. 355-6 for title. The Introduction deals with James in relation to Scottish and English poets.

HUCHOWN, ETC.: CRITICISM, ETC.

Lives of Scottish Poets. 1821. Vol. III. (Part VI.) Appendix, Clerk of Tranent.

BARBOUR: TRANSLATION, ETC.

John Harvey. The Life of Robert Bruce. 1729*.

Remodelled as:

The Bruciad, An Epic Poem, In Six Books. London: Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall; and J. Murray (Successor to Mr. Sandby) No. 32, Fleet-street; T. and J. Merril, at Cambridge; and A. Kincaid and J. Bell, at Edinburgh. MDCCLXIX. 8vo. For a paraphrase of James VI.'s time, in manuscript, see Jamieson's Memoir (ed. 1869, pp. xxvii.-xxix., with specimen).

JAMES I.

For the entry on p. 113, line 8, substitute :

A Praise Of | Poetrie. | [By Thomas Churchyard.] Imprinted at London, by | Ar. Hatfield, for William | Holme. | 1595. 4to.

P. 32 (stanza 37),

"If aunshent authors and great kings No credit gets herein Darke-sight sees not no stately things That doth great glory win."

Side-note: "Iames the first that was king of Scotland, and K. Iames the sixt now raigning, great poets." This piece seems to be a sort of descant upon Sidney's Defence: cf. the passage therefrom on p. 113.

HARRY: EDITIONS.

Glasgow. Printed by Alex. Carmichael and Alex. Miller. 1736*. 12mo.

Copy in possession of Mr. J. F. Miller.

Glasgow. Printed by John Robertson and Mrs. M'Lean. 1747*. 12mo.

Copy in possession of Mr. J. F. Miller.

HARRY: BIOGRAPHY, ETC.

Henry Bradshaw. Collected Papers. 1889. P. 65. On MS. Kk. v. 30 (Cambridge University Library).

DOUGLAS: BIOGRAPHY, ETC.

Athenian Mercury. 24 October 1693*.

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