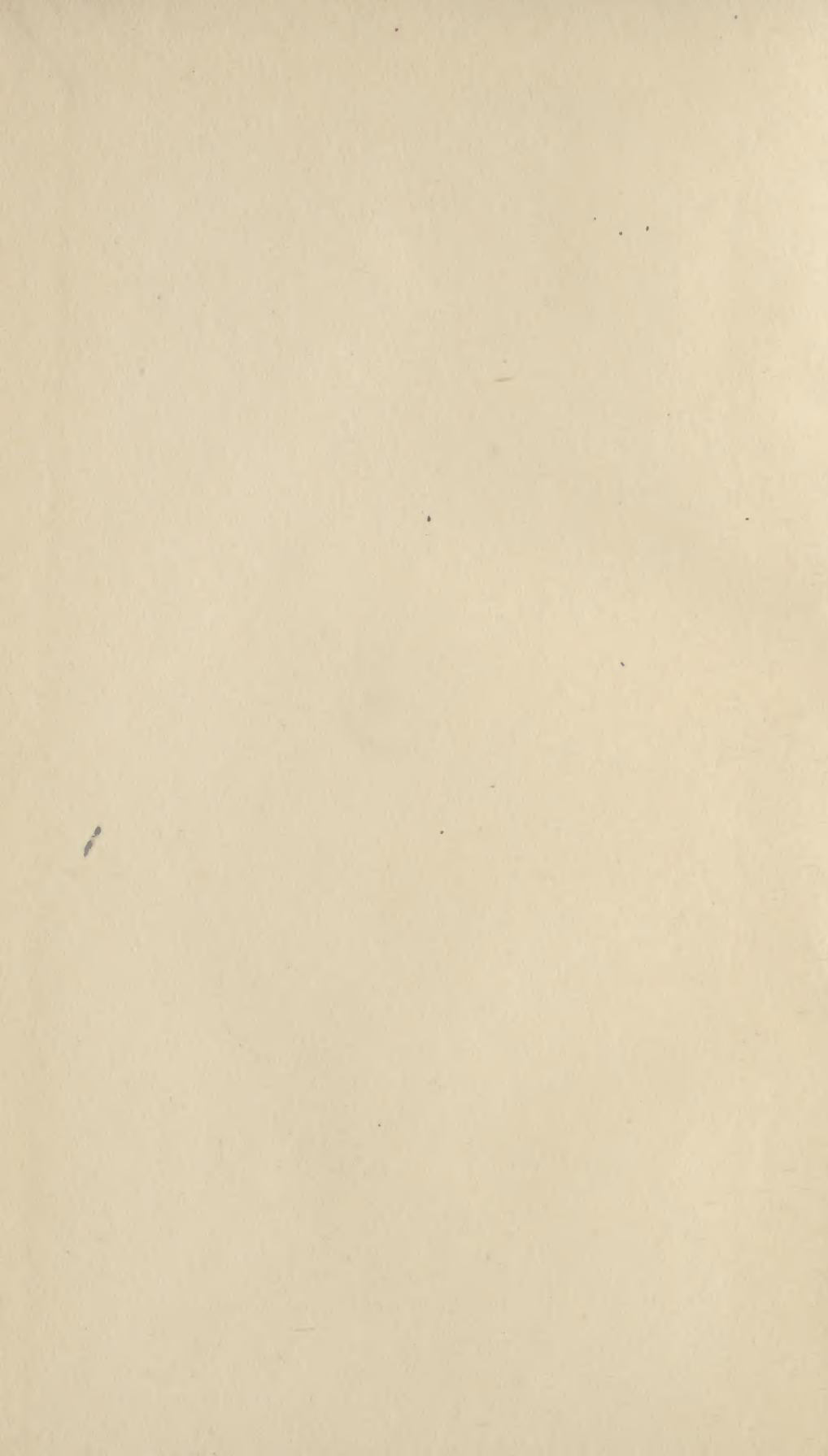
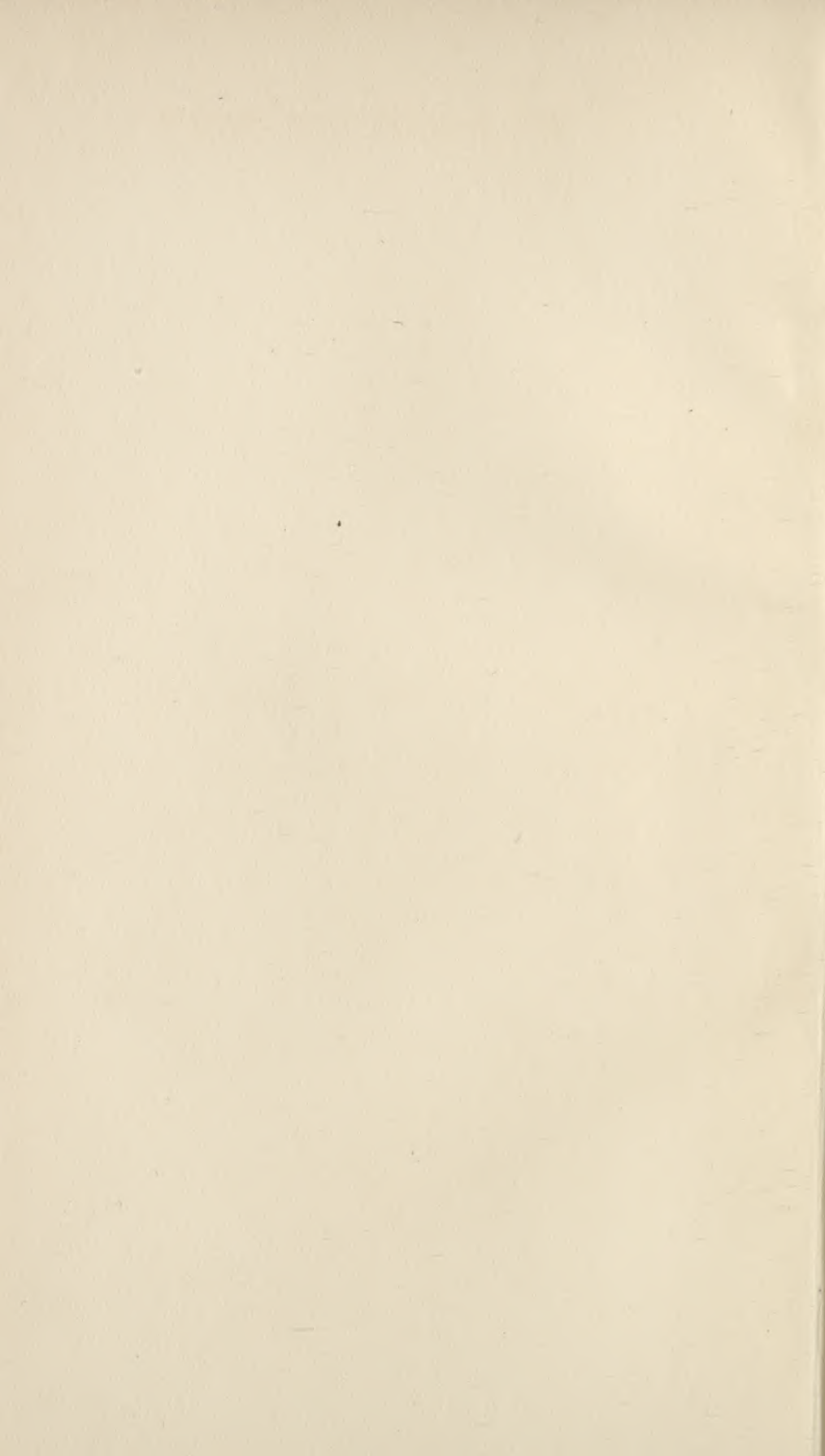


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The Scottish Text Society

THE WORKS

OF

WILLIAM FOWLER

Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of James VI.

THE WORKS
OF
WILLIAM FOWLER

Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of
James VI.

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX, NOTES,
AND GLOSSARY*

BY

HENRY W. MEIKLE, M.A., D.LITT.

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MY WORKS

(From the Hawthornden MSS., Vol. XI.)

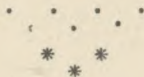
AN ANSWER TO HAMMILTOUN



P. i.] AN ANSVVER
TO THE CALVMNI-
OVS LETTER AND ER-
roneous propositiouns of an apo-

stat named M. Io. Hammiltoun

Composed by M. VVIL-
LIAM FOVLER.



¶ ROM. I. 16.

¶ I am not ashamed of the Euangel of IESVS CHRIST
For it is the power of God vnto Saluatioun, to euerie
ane that beleueth.

¶ Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekprewick
dwelling at the Netherbow. 1581.



TO THE RICHT HONORABLE

FRANCES Earle BOTHVEL, Lord

HAELS, CHRYCHTOVN, LID-

DISDAILL &c. and grit Ad-

miral of Scotland. M. WIL-

LIAME FOVLER

wissheth incres of honour

& perpetuall felicitie.

It is not without good reasoun, nather contrair commendable example RICHT HONORABLE, that I presume to dedicat this present treatise, being the first fruitis of my ingyne vnto zour Lordschip. For this hes bene ane daylie practise and an old custome at all tymes be thame obseruit, quha with grit trauel & eirnest diligence hes profited in letters: that quhensoeuer at any tyme thay ar myndit to commit their laubours vnto licht, they do harbour them vnder the countenance & couer them vnder the authority of sum noble personage mouit theirto be dyuers considerations, pairtly to procure sum defence and protectioun to thair works: Pairtly to purches sum commendatioun to them selfis.

This being throughly weyit and dewly be me considerit I haue takin the boldnes through example, by the dedica-

Note.—The punctuation of the original has been preserved: ‘f’ has been replaced by ‘s,’ and contractions have been extended and shown by italics. ‘Corr.’ indicates that effect has been given to the *Corrigenda* on p. 17 [p. vii. of the original]. A large number of purely typographical errors—*e.g.*, ‘n’ for ‘u’—have been corrected *sub silentio*.

tioun heirof to acknowledge zour Lordschip as an maist worthie patroun of my good and Godly meanings.

And as I am encouragit sumquhat be example, so I am not a lytill heirto inforcit by ressoun. For seing my self to be wholie addicted vnto zour Lordship, al yat then quhilk ather I am willing to accomplisch or able to performe, dois iustlie appertene zow. My dewtie crauis na les althoght zour commendable vertewis deserueth mair, quhilks if I war of any habilitie to frame them so decently by tounge, as zour Lordschip practises them 10 commendable be work, I wald think my selfe contentit in my concait. Bot sa it is, that I rather confesse my imbecillitie heirin by schamefast silence, then to impair zour Lordschippis praises by scarcitie of words. Thairfoir leuand the rehearsel of thais vertewis quhair with zour Lordship is a /dornit, to be decorit with glitter [P. iv.] eloquence, I will not cease continually to meruell at thame quhilkis now I can not sufficiently commend.

My houpe mekill inccressis that thir my laubours salbe mair freindly acceptit be zour Lordschip, then any wayis 20 disdainfully mislykit. For hauing vnderstand baith be zour Lordschips letters, and be the report of vther gentlemen, quhat grit remembrance zow haue dayly of me, conioynit with a singuler fauour and a maist eirnist loue : of the quhilk I haue na small assurance, I may be certen, that zour Lordschip will als courteously raceaue this present (being the significatioun of my guid mind & plege of my effectonat seruice) as I offer it willinglie. And so vpon the consideratioun of my dewtie, and vpon the confidence of zour Lordschips accustomit courtesie, I haue 30 takin the boldnes to decore this treatise with zour Lordschips noble Name. This leauing to trouble zour Lord-32

schip any longer, I *commit* zow to God, who send zow
a goodly encrease in vertew & a prosperous returne to
zour countrie. From EDINBURGH
the secound day of IVNIE.

Zour Lordschippis maist
affectionat to command.

M. WILLIAME FOVLER. 7

[P. v.] THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

Being compelled to leaue france, be y^e cruel persuit of papists after my arryuing to this countrey, thair did cum into my hands an letter derved to our Ministers, replenished *with* calumnies quhilk quhan thay had perused, thay thocht it expedient that I suld answer thairto, for that the argument of that letter did concerne my selfe. I not willing to deny thair requeist, quhom in euerie way I suld reuerence: and being mair cairfull to satisfie thair desire, then affrayit of vther menis reports, haue vndertakin that quhilk I haue done. 10

Bot that zow may vnderstand with quhat ordour we haue procedit in this apologie. Ze sall know that we haue in his calumnious letter sum things as being maist false, suppressit with silence: vther things as hauing sum probabilitie, bot zit na treuth we haue so confuted *yat* nothing remanis quhairin this Godles apostat may iustifie him selfe against me, or falslie alledge for farder defence. And seing that with his calumnious letter thair ar certen erroneous propositions conioynit. I haue refellit *them* be this method. In placing first his propositioun, to the 20 quhilk drectly I oppone a contrair plat, thairefter I do come to the probations of his propositions, quhilks are ather for the maist pairt impertinently brocht furth of the scripture, or falsly wrastit out of the docteurs. Lykeways I haue adducit the citation of the authorities as he 25

hes placit them, that his errour & ignorance may the mair appeir. In end I conclude confirming my awin plat.

Now thairfor freindly Reader I beseik zow effecteously that ze wald not miscon[s]trew my guid mening nor mislyke my labours heirin, bot to accept them in guid pairt. I craue for my dilygence bot a freindlie acceptance: of zour courtesy ze can geue me na lesse.

I confes in deid yat an Scoller of tender zeirs, of waik discretion, of raw iudgement, of small countenance, and litil vnderstanding can not pyke mekill praise for his 10 trauel.

[P. vi.]

Bot gud mettels ar not to be mislykit, thocht they be takin out / from the dustie earth. The things quhilks I haue weill spokkin ar not to be reiectit althocht I want an exteriour grauite. If any for my newnes thinks worser of me then I was willing to deserue & if yair be sum yat for my youth wil contem me, & zit thay not being ignorant that nemo repente summus extitit. I am content (thay being abusit ather by malice in detracting, or by lake of discretioun in discerning) to abyde thair censeur. Bot 20 as manye things cums to passe contrair the houp and beyond the expectatioun of man, so it may happin heirin against my feare. My aduersar steared vp with enragit affectioun, & be the malicious mynds of vthers, thocht to bereaue me of my lyf, bot prased be God the successe was better. Through his calumnious and maist sclanderous wryting, he purposed to haue drownit me in perpetual ignominie: Bot it hes fallin out vther ways. The mair yat his malice appeareth: my honour farder (Louit be the Lord) is aduancit. For as he that straik IASON on 30 the stomak thinking to slay him, brak his impostume with the straik, quhairby he recouered his helth: euin 32

sa it hes hapnit with my aduersare. His horrible cruelty & detestabil wickednes hes purchest me no small commendatioun. ANTISTHENES sentence cums weil into mynd, for he said that al persons had ather great necessitie of good freinds or enuyous enemies : for freindis in admonishing, and enemies in blaming, ar the cause that men withdrawe them from vice. And suirlye in my awin persoun I haue found this prouerb trew, *Virescit vulnere virtus*. For had not the occasion bene offred be this apostat peraduenteur I had not profited sa weil in this studie, nor bene sa weill occupyit in this subiect, nather had I procurit sa grit praise of sum, as he is dishonorit of all. Bot I knawe yat he was desyrous that his fame might be spred, and name knawin in doing euil.

as *HEROSTRATVS* in burning the Temple of *DIANA*. And zit it may fair
with him as with *TRASIMACHVS*,
baith to be put to shame
& silence.

[P. vii.]
q. iiii.

Faultis in the answer to his epistle, escaped in
Prenting to be correctit efter this sort.

Page 1. lyne 22. grit grit greif, reid grit greif. ly. 29, is reid hes.

Pa. 1. ly. 5. their. R ather page 2. lyne. 26. rote. reid Roote.

Page. 6, ly. 3. in quhatsumeuer. reid in quhatsumeuer com-
panie, Lyne 32. accomplices, reid complices.

Pag. 8. ly. 35. amends, reid amends be word.

Page, 10. ly. 16. preguant, reid pregnant. ly. 17. thogh. R.
through.

Pag. 13, ly. 35, associat, reid associat.

10

Pag. 16, ly, 2. ignonie, reid ignominie.

Faults in the propositions.

Page 1. lyne. 9. fermons. reid sermons.

Page 3. anticedent, reid antecedent.

Page 7. ly. 23. benefeits, reid benefeit,

Page 8. lyne 22. thir, reid this.

Page 12. lyne 22. propositioun, reid propositioun.

Page 14. lyne 7. proposion. reid propositioun.

Page 18. lyne 9. secta. reid stella.

Page 19. lyne 15. teuds. reid tends. deuoaioun reid deuotioun. 20

page 22. ly. 17. follouit, reid flouit. ly. 22 increditeurs, reid
incredulus. Page 23. ly. 30. also laitly. reid absolutelie.

Page 24. in the margen in his 13. quest. & 2. chap. ly. 32.
we can not be helpit, reid we may be helpit.

Page 25. ly. 16. this, reid thir. Page 28. ly. 5. veritie now,
reid veritie. Pag. 29. ly. 7. approbre, reid. opprobre 26

ANE ANSWER

VNTO THE EPISTLE.

[P. 1.] It is a saying na les commoun then commonly prouit trew: he quha passes the bounds of schamefastnes, and brekes the borders of modestie, may euer afterwart lafully be impudent. For the nature of vngodly men, be raschful temeritie and insupportabill audacitie, destitute of the feare of God, not retening in thair actions ather¹ honestie or iust measure, but willingly despysing reasoun, searches vitious extrimities, quhairby they endeuoir thame selues not only to put to executioun be violent force, all vice and beastly crueltye, quhilk ather yairto be peruerse mens counsal are persuadit, 10 or be thair awin cankred effectionis preassit. Bot also fostering their foolishe foly with yair furious fantasies, employes yair haill power, trauel & diligence, calumniously to sclander, & sclanderously to blaspheme partly thame, aganist quhome iniustly sic violent beastlines yai haif wrocht, partly vthers be ye lyke schameles impudencie to quhome sic outragious mischeif, & inhumane cruelty, iustly is displesant. quhilk of lait be example mair nor manifest is ratifeit, And in experience be an vngodlie apostat, an filthy & impure pest of man confirmit. Sua it is (louing Reader) I being in Paris inhumanlie 20 inuadit, & be this bouchour (with vthairs accompaneit) cruelly persecut, quhilk vnto yame, quha did behald sic outragious dealing gaue ane large mater of sorrow: & to vthair godly men in Scotland, an ampill occasion of grit greif,¹ quhair of freindly being admonishit, & be sum sharpely reprouit, despysing ye ane, & contemning ye vthair, reiecting all admonitions quhairby to repentance he nicht bene brocht, now laitly 27

¹ Corr.

agane his euil wil not being changit, nor his malicious mynd appaisit be a doggishe rage & enraged dispite, as for his last dispair geuin a fairweil to al godlines & honestie, nocht only my fame & honour (quhilk I nicht sufferit with pacience) bot Gods seruants blasphemously hes¹ defamit, & his trew religioun sacrilegiously impugnit.

[P. 2.] This euidentialie may apeir by his treatise an notabil act of apostasy & ye maist calumnious that euer was red, the iniurious superscription quhairof gaue me not samekil the occasioun of lauchter (being mair superstitious nor religious) 10 then the contents yairof ministred vnto me the mater of meruel, quhilk men wald beleif, him for to haue it written be an ardent desyre and zele of veritie, then through ostentatioun or arrogancy, les nor his vitious life, & vnbridelit behaiour war mair knawin, nor his deuot affection manifest. Be ye quhilk proudly puft vp, & arrogantly inspyrit, mair abundant he is in detracting nor in honoring: & in defaming mair copious, then in deuly praying. Althocht in it nathing he can craue, or iustly to him vendicat yairin That is his, Iniuries, Lies, calunnies, periuries, and dispytefull inuectiues being 20 exceptit (as rasche railars, Seditious doctrene, Vennom of intoxicat breists, Flattring lysis, teuthles dogs, calumnious impostures foolish, mischeauous, dangerous errors, impoysonit breastis, hideous trumpeters of Seditioun, affectionat ministers of Lyes, Rauing headis Abominabill, Damnabill, detestabill, condemnabill heresies, Theaues, reuars, and Stealers) with vyair infinite blasphemous wordis almaist the hail contents of his treatise, vnwordy to be written, & vncumly to be rehearsit, gatherit out of the bordel, quhairin he euer maist hantit, to defame Christis seruants, & to blaspheme his kirk. 30 O iniquitie of tymes! O corruptioun of maners! O shameles malice that passis measure! Are thir ye frutes of Philosophie? Is this rauing railing decent for an maister, quhais lyfe sould be ane example of modestie & grautie, zit makes him selfe the mirrour of lyes, the Trumpet of calunnies, & ye roote¹ of vanitie. shameles roole, whair doth foly force thee yat thou sould be so immoderat in displaying filthely ye force of 37

¹ Corr.

thy venomful toung? miserabil ar tha discipillis (monstrous heid) quha by thee are reuled & instructed, for quhat may thay els learne of the yan yat quhilk yai heare? or how canst thou instruct yame verteously, quha sa vitiously dois lyue? bot quhair honesty can haue na suey: modestie can haue na strenth. This thy writing ye vmbre & shaddow of thy actionis is voyd of wit, and thy railing without ressoun, yat gif be iudgement punishment sould be decernit, with torments rather thou art to be confoundit, then *with* arguments confuted. / Treuth it is indeid that from all replying 10
 [P. 3.] my wil did mekil abhorre, willing to quenche ye remembrance of sa immoderat iniuries, be forgetfulnes, and to burie ye memorie of sa grit offences be obliuion. zit les, nor through my silence, his lyes perhappis sould haue sic aduantage of ye treuth, yat, yat quhilk maliciously be writ and deade in effect he hes performit, as rycht sould be receauit. I am forced to enter in defence, to satesfie be iuste report thais quhais heartis are not preocupat be his false narratioun, nor myndes preuentit be his feinzeid falshoode.

How hard & difficil a thing it is vnto yame, quha be ye 20
 singulare mercy of yair God, hes engrauit in yair harts, an detestatioun of erroneus doctrine, & superstitious idolatrie, quyetly *without* dissembling grit cummer & perrelous danger, to remaine in Paris ye tresonabill treasons, ye bloody massacars, the vnnaturall slaughters, & horribill murders yair committit wil testifie, & ma ages yan yis wil beir record. for Satan *with* sic cruel rage, hes swa enragit & enflamit his seruantis aganist ye members of Christ, yat nayer yair vntowardenes can be assuagit by ye feare of Gods punishments, nor malicious mindes repressit, be his fearfull threatnings, nor yair wickednes 30
 coolit be his terribill iudgements, zea yair vngodlynes hes sa far increassit, yat ye hope of saluatioun can not alure yame from it, for sa grit hes bene yair vnbridelit feruencie to pleis yair maister, & sa lytil yair thochtles cair to pleis our God. Sa vehement hes bene yair thirst efter ye blood of Christs people, and zit not quencht: sa grit is yair drouth, but zit neuer slokned: seing yat dayly ye deuell mouis ye myndes of his awin to all horrible impietie, and ye harts of sic wood 38

tygers to commit al wyld cruelty. Paris, Rouen, Tholouse, Orleane, Burdeaux *with* vyair innumerabill touns in france, may (allace) serue for ouercertane prooffe in yis mater, & my selfe for a witnessse. Sua ye case is (gentill Reader) & so ye mater standeth.

That feruent zeale in professing Christs Euangel, & contemtion of Idolatrie, quhair *with* God of his mercy from my zouthheid endeued me, procurit aganis me ye enuy, & indignation of idolatrous Papists quha perceuing yat nather yair friuole arguments, nor alluring promeissis, nicht perswade 10
 [P. 4.] me to abiure Christes trewe religioun, and embrace / yair feinzeit fantasyes, & forgit inuentions, tooke at lenth counsall to follow yair accustomit course, and in place of christiane admonitioun to lat me fele sic stripes, as of their foirfathers the people of God rasauit of before, quha seikand the occasioun how vnder pretence of particularities they nicht colour thair cruelty, & couer thair hatred kendled against me for the cause of religion, The whisperings wherof not being vnto me secret, nather the takins obscure, I auoidit warly, & from sic maters willingly absteanit, as might haue mouit thame to 20 execute yair enterprise. quhairthrough thair rage being for a space deferrit mair then degestit, at last an Hammiltoun (a modest man) be sum Scottis papeists *commandit*, & be others requeistit, following yair aduise to accomplish thair desire, & persewing his awin determinatioun to execute his tyranie, be thir menis fulfillit it.

To my Lord ARBROITH maister IOHNE HAY a Iesuist presented an buik composed be him contening certaine questions proponit to our ministers. I entring in my Lords Chalmer (quhairin also this apostat was present) raceauit of maister 30 Iohne Hay another likewise, and sum of the articles thair of being disputed betuix vs, and be him mair querrelously discussit nor modestly rasonit, We fel after this prolixit disputatioun, into that article quhairby the autour of the Buik affermes the making of Images not to be contrair vnto the *command* of God. my Lord (mouit be ane constant zeale of religioun) replyit, that not onely it was drectly against the *command* of God, but also the making of them was expresly 38

contrair his Maiestie. he sophisticatedly be a vaine distinctioun
 of representatioun & adoratioun, confuslie confounding alto-
 gether, eludit Gods commandiment. my Lord desiring me to
 ansuer: be a familiar argument I insistit in the contrair,
 that cumming from S. Germaines port, I did sie blind men
 praying *with* reuerent prostratioun of their bodeis, & dis-
 couerit headis vnto the Image thair placeit. And thairfoir
 bene inforcit freindlye to demand of him, I did require if
 any thing could be represented to the blind men? na thing,
 in respect that nather the sensles Image did thame behald, 10
 before quhilk thay war prostrat, nather thair eies being blinde
 & destitute of sight, could regard it. Restis then yat quhilk
 conueniently of this argument insewis, that this thair actioun
 can / not be callit representatioun, bot adoratioun & wor-
 shipping, expresly & drectly contrair to the command. My
 Lord glaidly considerit the force of the argument, & seing
 thairby our blind rabbi, so suddenly ouercome, that to vex
 his lordship with farther disputation he nicht not, nather be
 ansuer to molest me, courteously rais out of his Chyre, and
 as I had triumphit, embraced me: quhairat our maister 20
 apostat haelie commouit, & raging within him selfe, imme-
 diatly cam running from the otherside of the Chalmer, desir-
 ing me againe to receit my argument. I in place of praise
 & victorie, desiring only the treuth to haif place, fulfillit his
 desire, he then in this priuie conference, thinking that he
 might boldly iniury me, nane being present to beir record
 yairto, na vtherwise answerit to the consequence (then away
 damnable heretique, I sal pluk zour Luggs, I sal ding out
 zour harnes,) to ye quhilk brauling quyetlie I replyit, that
 he wald offend in performing his promises, nather wald I 30
 with pacience suffer sic bragful bosting if he alane wald dis-
 charge him self of the same. This querrulous conference thus
 being endit, I taking my leaue of the companie, departit.
 And thair efter did conuene with him, and as he couartlie
 performit, that quhilk with baldnes he promised: I on ye
 vther part sumquhat commouit tuik leue at my awin hand
 of acquaintance to visite his eare. Quhairof our countrey men
 (I mene thais yat ather wilfully hes abiurit thair faith, or be 38

[P. 5.]

A. iij.

a blind zeale impugnis the saming) being aduertised, & grittumlie reioysing, that heirby occasion commodiously was offred, to performe that quhilk befor was deuisit, neglectit na tyme, bot thair hail wittis spedely imploiiit, to caus this apostat to put thair counsel to execution. To yat end diuers conuentionis wer halden, declaring how I contemnit thair religioun, & micht not by ony moyen persuade me to embrace it. And how they micht peraduenture brokin my Lord Arbroith of his constancie, & sindrie times easily persuadit him to their faction, if yat I had not by insisting in the contrair with-stand thair purposis, and to agrauat the caus, & to mak me ye mair odius, yai forgit infinit leis & fals accusations aganist me. finaly to persuade this burrio to tak the mater in hand thair laid befor his eies how grittumly al Catholikkis suld be obleist vnto him, & how far his auin name yairby sould be aduancit.

[P. 6.] Bot it was not hard to consel him, quha in yat mater was redier to obey then yai ayer to command or request: quhair of he gaue eident signes in quhatsumeuer companie¹ he come in, of ye quhilk I not being ignorant, & thinking yat Dogs rather barquet throuch custome then throch cruelty mair of vse than of wildnes, securily I contemnit his brauling & lichtlye regardit his boosting, seing gif yat querrell war to be debaitit (In ye quhilk al men if occasion requyre, sould spend yair lyues) or yat controuersy decydit, betuixt me & him onlye, ayer be disputatioun or vthar extraordinar meanes: nather suld he find me fant in ye last, nor sluggishe in ye former. neueryeles his malice encressing, diuers times be deceat he awaitit on me, accompaneit with a grit number of young men, of ye quhilk sum gentil men hauing knowlege, socht ye way to stay his enterprise (wisely considering yat it was easy to him with grit force to ouercome me in Paris, quhilk in frier places and alane had perhappis not bene so facill) & purchessit ten dayis abstinence, zit he obseruing the reul approuit amongs yame, yat na faith sould be kept vnto yame quhome yai esteme as heretiques. The thrid day after quhilk was ye 18 day of Marche. 1580. I not weil instructed in yat point, yat mistrust was ye Mother of Securitie, suddenly

¹ Corr.

was onbeset & at vnwaris inuadit be him & 13 debauchit scollers : quha violen[t]ly casting yair hands all *with* one preis vpon my body & thraving me to ye ground, tred me vnder yair feite. The pepill astoniyt at sic lawles outrage, be sa mony persounis aganist me alane execute. demandit Whisperingly, quhat menit sic horribill *handling* & cruel demaning of me ? quhat was ye occasion yairof ? yai esteming yat ye pepill wald haue succourit me to hinder yair helpe, cryit out yat I was a huguenot, a heretique, a contemnar of ye Saints & a blasphemmer of ye virgen marie. quhairat yai war sa 10 commouit, yat enragitly yai conioynit yair force *with* yair fury, presing fordwart euery on to strike me, & to plague me mair yan to release me of my pane. But wald God yis had bene all, quhilk was ouer mekill, or ye rest a lye, quhilk is to monstrous. For yis Butchour *with* his complices¹ backward trailit me through ye rewes, *with* thair feit & edges of thair muiles batit on my face, with penner[s] inkhornes & batons vpon my head, to the effusion of my blood in grit quantaty, [P. 7.] diffiguring of my visage / & wounding of my bodie. And 20 A. iij. albeit that from the college of Forteret through the rew d'amandeis be the head of the place maubert shamefullie thai trailit me, euerie man & woman running from the market places to behald sic a spektakil, zit thai neuer desistit in raling fra iniuries, nor in persewing fra crueltie. For be oppin force they drew me in the colledge of Nauer, & thair shamefullye in the presence of sax hundreth dischargit thair beistlines. Zea his cruelty with his complices tyrannie, sa far extendit, yat my breist was na mair sparit nor my bak, my craig nor my face, & being by my bluid quhilk fel in my throt, almaist wirried, the power of my bodie rather ouercome 30 and strenth tyrit, then my courage failzeing, how I dispysit his crueltie sa far as my voyce nicht extend. (Composito ad hilaritatem vultu subridens dixi, execute execute² tyrannidem apostata, corpus habes in hoc sæuito animum tamen inuictum gero, nec me vnquam huius supplicij ob Christi euangelium pudebit.) To compt the sorows quhilk I sustenit, and reakning the pleagues quhilk I receuit, I am certane 37

¹ Corr.² Sic.

wald rather breid an admiratioun, then an beleif. But I mene not (gentle reders) to offend zour guid & modest minds with the rehersall of sic immoderat iniuries, quhose eares I am assured dois glow, and haertis alreddy greuin at that quhilk I haue vterit, And zit I knaw that sic horrible and monstrous beistlynes is hard to be credeit of thame quha knawes not the nature of thir cruell tygers. But the Lord is my witnes befor quhais iustice sait I most compeir, that in this hail discourse I haif not excedit the bounds of treuth. Nather I think yat anie manis tounge is abill to atteine to the hundreth pairt of the 10 particularis, quhilk at that present this poore carcage suffered.

I haue lykewise many noble, leirnit, wise, & godly cuntrymen to beir me recorde heirin. Sic as The Lord of ARBROITH, The Earle of CRAVFVRD, The maister of MARCHAL, The Lord of LENDORS, and Syr JAMES BALFOVR, quhome I name all to thair grit honour, quhairof for thair courtesie, christian loue, and freindly confort shawin vnto to¹ me in my haue distres I am *compellit* of deutie to be cairful sa lang as my lyfe sal lest. Quhairfoir referring this mater to thair testimonie I [P. 8.] will be shorte, seing / they are worthie of credit in a gritter 20 matter nor this alreddy beleuit. It is not my purpose cairfully to refell, quhatsoeuar this filthy apostat falsly in his vennemous & godles letter, hes writtin, seing the honorable gentilmen befor namit haue alredie conuictit him to be a shamful lyer.

Now I can not sufficiently meruel how this feinzit Wofe, dar be so bauld as to couer sic cruel dealing with the Gabart of the Rectoris command. Truly if the mater war weil tryit in ye maturinis, he wald be found an vnthankfull suppost to staene the honnour of his chief magistrat, with sic outrageous tyranie. This I am able to proue, how boldly I can not tel, 30 how truelie I knaw, that the executioun of this beistlie fact came soner vnto the Rectors eares: then anie complaint maid aganist me. Bot geuin at the requeist of this vnnaturall Dog, a vndiscreit rector wald sa far haue extendit his autoritie, I wald knaw of this impudent lier, quhat coulour the rector could pretend to sic suddane commands. In maters of Religion he is na ordinar iudge: for sic cases are referrit vnto the 37

¹ Sic.

court of Parliament, befoir the quhilk willinglie I wald haue comperit, knawing assuredly that be the king his edict of pacificatioun, quhilk sic vnbrydelit and debordit Brigans dois contem, and by the cleirnes of my conscience void of crime, I wald esilie bene absolut : If he wil alledge that in particular iniureis the rectors autoritie was iustly interponit. zit be na Law he can mak it iust to condem a man befoir he be ather hard or sene.

As concerning tha iniuries quhilk fa[^l]slie he aledgis to be done vnto him be that maist modest godlie and leirnit man Maister 10
NICOLL DALGLEISCH. in that point he hes als leudly & lounlie lyit, as in all ye rest. For as this apostats debordit and vicious life, bent to contentioun & stryfe, euer farther from modestie, then from vanitie did abhor : sua the maners & good conuersatioun of maister NICOL DALGLEISCH war adornit with sobriety & wisdome. Zea be the contrair it is not vnknawin to many in PARIS how proudly this vnnaturall scoffing foole, iniuryit yat godly man, & how impudentlie his arguments being in a lauful forme proponit, admittit the twa former sumptionis, and the conclusion ansuerit, Ergo glaikis, *with v[t]her iniurious* 20
words, quhairof he was compellit be his chief to make amen /
[P. 9.] dis be word ¹ altho[g]ht in hart he retenit stil his auld venome.

B. j.

I pas of purpose many rayling words, quhilk be his vntamit toung he blastis out against Gods seruants *with* out occasion, for sic an obscure Harlot yai neuer thocht worthy to be namit from that place, And returning vnto those, quhilks zit with blawen cheakis, riftingly he speuis forth against me. specialy in braiding vnto me vnthankfulnes : as if yat I had maid guid cheir with him, in his house. thairby geuing to vnderstand how familiarly he leuith with them, quaha hes zelously 30
professed the treuth. I beseik zow (gentil reader) to haue me in this point appardonit, quhilk he wald haue importen sum misterie, seing for ye iustification of my cause, & for ye discharging of my honour, I am forcit to discouer yat quhilk glaidly vtherwise I wald conceal : & vrgit to reuele mair than my modesty wald permit, or my honestye allow. It chanset me indeid at my first arryuing to Paris, for certen 37

¹ Corr.

priuat busines, to seke a cousing of his in his chalmer. at quhat tyme he being at his parisien brekfast, offred vnto me sic coursly common courtesie, as na man almaist without ruid & vngentle churlishnes, can neglect. I being inforcit be his inportune requeist, dranke with him in deid, bot sa far from ryatous surfetting and grit gluttonie, as I nicht weil haue receauit my part of an vther disione. now seing he is not aschamed to obiet vnto me sic smal triffls, vnwordy to be rehearsit not sa mekil proceading of loue, as of common custome, thou may easily (gentle reader) consider the mans nature. 10

As touching the familiarity betuix him & others of our religioun: I wald knaw quhither it wer of loue, or of hypocrisie? of loue he can not say, seing he professis him selfe a deadly ennemie to al them that steadfastly mainteanis the cause of God. And thairfor promisis to prouide new mater to our Ministers, meaning thairby, to slaye hurte or persicute sum man. Besides that commonly in his drukkin lawings, he brags bosts & threatnis, that I sal be the last protestant, that euer sal lycht a candil in Paris. And thairfoir by necessarie consequence we may conclud yat it is by plain dis- 20 simulation, that this suppost of satan lniyres¹ him selfe in the companie of them that feareth God, wating thairby the occasion to cut thair throttis.

[P. 10.] It is sumquhat of veritie, that I haue sene sum, & heard vthers quha / hes bene familiar with him, bot only for this and siclyke occasioun. namely to marcke his vanity in his words, his pryde in his actions, & his ostentation in his learning connexit with extreme folie (sic as my Prince & my goun lynit with Veluot) thairby seikand sum pastyme mirrily to mock his folie. For I knaw my selfe that his scabrous com- 30 pend for ye space of halfe a zeir, did in weary affternoins refresch vs meruelling that ambitiously he causit his discipil Hiraquene, to compose sum epigramms in the commendatioun of him in philosophye, that they might bene put in the first leif of his compend. bot the discipil being als lital versit in poesie, as the master yairof is altogether ignorant, gatherit vther mens epigramins¹ in praise of poesie. The 20. zeir maister 37

¹ Sic.

thinking the verse to haue a good trot, & sopping them rather by thair sounding, nor scansing them be iust measure, approuit them althocht impertinent to the purpose. and thocht thay war agreable to be placit befor his buik. vntil my brother master IOHNE GEDDIE (quhome for our tender loue & for the good expectatioun of his pregnant¹ spirit, I name) reiding the verses be ye master through¹: ostentatioun to him offred, did admonische him, that thay war not congruant vnto the mater, nor agreable vnto the subiect. For the discipils intentioun being to prease his master Hammiltoun in philosophy 10 gaue him the commendation of a poet: sa far yat he did say in him numina quinque latent. quhen rather decem furia.

Thairfoir Hammiltoun vnto quhome my pen now I derect, vant nocht insolently, fauour not thy selfe vanely, bot consider that nane for thy good conditions, gentle qualities, or grit wisdome hants thy societie, or do embrace thy companie. quhen sum only to remarque thy shameles vanitie & vthers if possible be, to win the agane & delyuer thee from the deuils clawes, ar bot with the familiar. desist then from thy calumnious railing & leue of Hammiltoun thy sclandrous calumnies. 20 make an end at last of thy folie, and measure thy selfe by thy awin foote. It is ambitiou that gydes thee, and vaine gloir that blinds thee. Amend by correctioun rather, then fail be perseuerand malice, estemit not solid leuing or cumly commendatioun, that yairto thou may espyre by the detracting of my learing. For albeit far from any on the an part, [P. 11.] my youthful age through hir course for a /season hes me B.² ij. remouit, (the, 21, zeir of my birth not zit expyrit) sua on the vther, thou grosse creature, of gritter age then of spreit, of zeirs then of knowledg, hes bene in the Scholes of philosophie 30 befor my natiuitie. zit praisit be God we are not of sa abiect mynde, (without arrogancie be it spokin) sluggish, simple, or sa ignorant that will be deceaut by thy sophistrie, or stainzit by thy calumnies.

As concerning my predicesseurs. Quhat may thou charge them with quhairof canst thou accuis them? haif thay bene traitours vnto thair Kings? conspyrit thai yair slaughters? 37

¹ Corr.² Misprinted A. ij.

or haue thay slaine the Kingis Maiesties Regents? not. For vtherwayis al Scotland wald conuict the of a lie. My Grandfather, Guidshir & Father : ze & befor them thair proginitours on baith the sides, sa lang as thay had the vsury of this life hes bene obedient subiects vnto thair Kings, & borne offices as magistrats in the Toun of Edinburgh. thair honestie & guid behaiour towards all men, wer alsueil knawin togidder with thair faithfulness towards thair Superiours as the treasone crueltie & murders of thy nerrest blood is manifest. culd thy brother (the Chappelier) absolue him from the cruel murder of the Kings Gudschir quhen he being at his cruell slaughter in Striuiling lay stikkit in a gutter? but allace the death was ouer honorabil that suld preuentit the gallous. yairfor *Parcius ista viris tamen obiectare memento.* To retorne to the purpose, Amangs my forbears, thou art not able to name any, that euer was attemptit *with* sic crymes as thou falslie layis vnto thair charge. If I wald giue place vnto my affections, or in referring euill woordes wald *with* thee contend, from the quhilk debait my wil dois mekil abhorre, I might ius[t]ly paint thee in thy awin couleours, & 20 mak thy awin maners odious vnto thy self: les nor in so doing I wald peraduentur offend the eares of the Godly, being yairto enforcit by thy sclanderus railing. For if ather honesty might mouit the, or ressoun had possessit thee, besidis the tinsal of thy estimatioun, thou suld not causit vther mens honours to cum in hazard, nather by irreuerent scuffing & iesting tants by malice speuit furth against Gods predestinatioun, maid it als foolishhelie, as ignorantly, a defence for thy mischief ignorantly I say, becaus to quhome significations [P. 12.] of words are not knawin, things / be them signified are not 30 weil vnderstand. For in place of prescience and foreknowledge, scoffingly thou vsis predestination, being of the significatioun maist ignorant. To the quhilk I ansuer (correcting the in the word quhairin lourdly thou hes errit) yat God did not compell thee to execut sic outrage against me, nather by fatall destinie driuen the (as thou ieasts) to sclander his Ministers, & to impugne his treuth (for thairunto thy wicked wil and cankred affectioun was bent) Zit because God did 38

foirknaw & hath fortald, that his seruants sulde be persecut be trubles and suffer ignomie for his saik : It was not contrar vnto his wil that thou suld sua haue done. Albeit heirfoir thou is not frie from cryme, seing sic excusis Iudas nicht haue vsit in betraying Christ. For wicked men do not obey God, how soeuer thay put to executioun tha things quhilk the Lord our God him self hes appointed. For obedience proceadeth of a voluntier affectioun trusting to please him. And zit thou persistand in thy foolishnes, fearing to forget thy vanitie vnaduyslie maks thy selfe guilty of trasoun, in 10 ratefing and approuing the murther of the first Regent. For in scorning me, thus wayis thou writes. that I rather demereit to be put in the Kalender of our Bybill, seing that I was persecut be thee as an enemie to Religioun, nor vthers quaha war slaine for particulare feid, & not for Religioun. We are not ignorant of quhome thou wrytis : defame him baldly, Inuy his honour, desist not from thy railing, approue mair nor regret his murther, the dome is decernit, the sentence is pronuncit : the gallous is abyding thee.

Always as it is the leist portioun of my wil to ansuer to 20 sic scuffings : sua it is not ye maist part of my deutie to repres thy scandaleux tong. For as thairin na end culd be had : sua yis writing thairby suld excres to an grit volume. zit for eschewing of prolixity quhilk may procure tidiousnes, and for the pretermission of thy calumnious railing, quhilk may breid offence, I wil end. Protesting always we be hard concerning the ancient Docteurs. quhais autorities nather we contemne nor dois reiect, bot willingly thame imbraces. prouyding that thai be conformable to the word of God, agreabil euery an 30 with vther, and not dissenting from them selves.

[P. 13.] Attour quhair matrimonie thou improuis, & chastitie wald
B. iij. persuad / because that thou hes set doun dissimulatioun as
a setled sentence, esilie I can not be persuadit, that thou hes
discommendit in the Ministers that honorable band of matri-
monie, be God autorisit, be Christ decorit, and by the haly
Gaist in the mouth of the Apostle honorit. For as it war a
world to credit that Clodius earnestlye reasonit of pudicitie :
sua it is a wounderful thing to heare Hammiltoun a common 38

harlot commend Chastitie. Thy harlatrie is als oppinly knawin to vs in Scotland & in France: as thou art thairof in thy awin conscience priuie. Zea mair assuredly I affeirme that our Ministers als modestly vsis thair awin Wyffes, as thou hast filthely abusit vthers. Looke, inqyre and searche the hail estait of the Ministrie of Scotland, nane sal thou find quhais lyfe & conuersatioun is not als mekil to be commendit, as thine with the hail pasturs of zour Cacolyke¹ kirk is to be dispraisit. In this mater na vther prooffe I wil vse than bring zour awin Writars for confirming of the same. Quha¹⁰ testifies that zour Kirks was as bordels, zour Altars as beds for Whordome, and the Priests *with* Freiris vnder pretence of confessing, ather seruit as Panderoussis to corrupt Wemen; or as Adulterars to abuse them. This halynes (I wil not say opin wickednes) was not in priuat pasturs onlie, bot also in Abbots Byschops, Cardinals & Paps, the fauorisiers,¹ permitters & defendars of sic enormities. For Pape sixtus gaue full dispensatioun for fornications & adulteries that was filthely vsit in Italy in his tyme: sua thay fel not in the horrible cryme of Sodomie. all Hoores for the tollerance of²⁰ thair bordellis as lauffull tributairs payit him monethlye in gold. The epitaphes of thair libidinous lust and lycherous lyues ar zit extant as a monument of thair commendable chastetie. As of Pape Sixtus.

Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua busta cynœdi,
Scortaque Lenones, alea, vina, venus.

And of the innatural incest of Pape Alexander.

Hoc iacet in tumulo, lucretia nomine, Sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, Sponsa, nurus.

Thir ar the signs of the chastitie of the Romane Prelats quha³⁰ thinks it les sin to enterteine harlots than to associat² them selfs in the band of matrimonie. Thir ar the takens of thair [P. 14.] grit continencie, and the / fruits of thair empoysoned doctrine. quhilk being but a mas of erors & abusis, hes the vogue of christian Religioun. Zit nane thair is of sa lytle iudgement,³⁵

¹ Sic.

² Corr.

that wil thair eyes open : or sa expert of knauledge, that can not perceauē it to be only an heip of trumperies, deceits, & superstitious abuis. In confirmatioun quhairof, as our ministers couragiously raceauis thy vnaduisit offer : sua thay being assured of victorie, cryis prouokes and appels zou all to disputatioun. And for yat effect I on thair behalf, desyres thee (if be thy behaiour thou maye come in sic credit) that thou requeist thy Prince, that licence may be impetrat fra the King of France and his counsel to our ministeris to cum to France, quhairthrough sall ensew tua grit commoditeis 10 besides many vthers, the an in sauing of expensis, the vther in releauing of zour bodies from trauel. Prouiding alwayes that *with* saife conduit pledges be grantit for the securitie of thair bodies and preseruatioun of thair lyues, because thay haue plaine prooffe & dayly experience of zour fals promises & deceatfull treasons ; that without grit danger vpon naked promisis and ane bair letter, thay can not hazard thame selves. For the grit malice ze haif conceaued against thame : & the cruel murther of IOHNE HVS and IEROME of PRAGA shamefully betr[a]yit at the counsall of Constance, with the 20 tressonable and horrible massacars dayly committit with the violatioun of zour faith contrair the seruands of Christ ; makis thame at last to become mair wise and mair circumspect than of before. Neuertheles, I think that this offer of disputatioun be not be the rest of our Scottis papists proponit, bot vanely & vousteously¹ be zow offred. For then diffidently and maist dispairitly thay wald do, if thay wald commit to sic an ignorant asne the maist vnlearnit amangs thame all anie argument yairof. Delyte not Hammiltoun in thy pregnant wit I wil not say thy fo[o]llishe vauitie ? bot a smal 30 prick of a preine may scail the wind in blawin bleedars.

In end, as voyd and emptie vessels rings maist and rattels loudest : euen so thou of gritter ostentatioun then of doctrine, of arrogancie then of knowledge, of rasher railing then of solid reason, bosteously after thy blasphemies thus wayis concludes, if thou proue not Christs euangel, or our trew Religioun quhilk truely we profes, ane heip of /auld con- 37

[P. 15.]
B. iij.

¹ Sic.

demnit heresies thou with the rest sal be content (iudgement without mercy being execut) to suffer the fyre. Facil men wald peradventure think, that zelously thou hes this offred. Bot surely we of thy dissimulatioun and conscience in Religioun by thy intercepted letter weil instructed . can zeild na vther faith vnto thy words, or credence vnto thy promisis then thy dissembling deserueth. Thy zeale in Religioun was neuer besides thee in sa grit price, that thou preferrit not thy particulare vtilitie befor Gods seruice, & thy priuate commoditie before his worshipping. Bot if it may be demed be 10 thee, and iudged by vthers, that mair by accusatioun, then through iust reason I sa suspect thee. let thy awin settled iudgement giue prooffe heirin . & that thou sould haue na cause ayther to accuse me in depriuing thy dytement, or in wraisting thy words: I haue set downe a portioun of thy letter directed vnto ane. quhais name for sindry respectis I haue conceald.

I pray zow heir the saying of a foole. Ze know the answer of the wise King of France, (qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare). And Cicero sayis, mens cuiusque est quisque. ze 20 haue anewe of paragraphis of the tit. De dolo malo . and how it differs fra the contrair Nouella. To win a Baronie of land ze wil find out ma goleinzeis then a poke wil had. that is zour craft. vse it to the preseruatioun of zour saul. My heid raues efter seiknes. &c.¹

How canst you defend thy impiety masquet hypocreit? how canst you remoue from vs that persuasioun that thou art not an atheist & epicurien? is thair any sa far from knowledge, or sa dotish? sa sensles, or sa ignorant, that may not manifestly and by plaine confessioun, decerne thy 30 godles conscience? Whether if I suspect the wrangfully or nocht: let thy awin words beir recorde and the indifferent reader Iudge.

I will not vse farder writing, ether in reprouing thy foolishnes, refelling thy calumnies, or in brydling thy venomous toung. bot ending, returne vnto that, from the quhilk the grounde of this apologie hes flowit. That albeit the wicked 37

¹ This paragraph is in small type in the original.

nature of godles men, enemies to all trew Religioun, trauels
 be al moyen to oppres the professours of the same. Zit
 earnestly we call vnto God that thairby we may nocht be
 discouragit . calling to remembrance, we are aduertisit our
 condition to be, for to awake by approbris, zea in doing
 good calumniously to be accusit. And that God hes
 [P. 16.] this Law imposit and inioynit vnto his / Kirk, that tha
 quha beleues in him, sal not only be molestit, troublit,
 and cruelly persecut, bot also with ignominie,¹ & infamie
 condemnit to the death. And seing our conditioun is 10
 not better then the Apostles, quha war estemit as super-
 fluities of the warld, we thinke it na shame howsoeuer for
 the testimonie of the Euangell we be persecut, or to
 be configurat with our Maister and Sauour CHRIST IESVS :
 quha was crucified for vs, & to that end resuscitat in gloir,
 that in his persoun, all quhilk we for the testimonie
 of the treuth indure, sal be turnit to our ioy,
 and conuertit to our comfort.

To whome be euerla-
 sting gloir, *with*
 all honour, and
 praise,
 for euer,

20

S. LVKE. XVII.

It can not be auoydit bot that offences wil come, but wo
 be to him through whome they come. It war better for him
 yat a grit milstone war hangit about his neck, & that he war 27
 cast into the Sea. &c.

¹ Corr.

[P. 1.]
C. j.

HEIR FOLLOWIS YE CONFVTATIOVN OF HIS ERRO

NEOVS CONCLVSIONS WHAIROF

This is the first.

Thair is only an haly and Catholik Kirk dispersit on the face of the hail earth, out of the quhilk thair can nane be sauit.

SEING thy purpose and intentioun is : partly to acquerit vaine gloir, and to be reputed leirnit amangs the ignorants ; and partely by opponing thy selfe maliciously contrair the veritie, to impugne impudently Christs euangel. I meruel not a lytill quhat spreit sould haue mouit thee, that iniustly thou sould haue traducit our Ministers, and be sic propositionis traualit (if thou nicht) to conuict thame : as if thay ather in thair sermons ¹ hath teachit, or in their doctrine denyit, to be ane holy & Catholik Kirk. through the warld dispersit, out of the quhilk, thair is na saluatioun. Bot euer constantlye to 10 haif affirmit, that they quha wald be heritours of the Father, behouit to be in the fameil & housald of the mother. In the quhilk it hes pleasit God to regenerat thame whome he hath designed to be coheritours with his sonne Christ Iesus. Bot let vs expend the consequence quhilk of this proposition thou dois attex, and of the places impertinently broght furth of ye scriptures and confusly out of the doctours for probatioun.

ADVERSAR. Then if thair is na saluatioun out of the Catholik Kirk necessarily it dois follow that ather the Kirk of Scotland, laitlie erectit be Knox and Paul Methuen, & vthers of thair sect is not the trew 20 kirk or els all our forfathers quha dyit in the Romaine Kirk ar condemnit in saull & body to the eternal fyre of hel, because they neuer embraced sic a religioun as this caluenisme. 23

¹ Corr.

ANSWER. I answer vnto this desperat conclusioun, that our forbears wer in the same Kirk that we ar now. And albeit they vnderstuid not sa weil sindry heads of Religioun as was requyrit : Zit with S. Ciprian I say, that although they by ignorance and simplicitie offendit ; zit the clemencie and mercy of the Lord may haue them appardonit. Quhair-
 [P. 2.] vnto / we thair Children can not aspyre. seing we may not pretend ignorance for our defence, being of sic superstition and abuisis admonished, and at this time faithfully in the veritie instructed. Zit thairto nocht the les resisting by a 10 deliberat malice.

THE SECOVND.

The Kirk of Christ is the sure rock of veritie, Sa it is impossible Scho can erre in ony thing pertenant to mens Saluatioun.

Quhat is the meaning of this apostat I sal schortly expone. The papists affirms that the Kirk of Christ, euin in sic things as it decreits or decernis without the word of God, can not erre. Our assertioun vpon this head is this, In admitting sa far the Kirk dois not erre, quhen hir awin wisdome being remouit, sho suffers her self through the haly spirit, be ye 20 word of God to be gouernit. the controuersie remains in this point we wil haue the autoritie of the Kirk annexit to the word of God, and subiect to the voyce of her Spouse : thay will haue it aboue the word, and consequently aboute the halye Gaist : because inseperable thay ar conioynit. Bot to zour probations.

Iohn 14.
Mat. 16.

ADV. This conclusioun is confirmit in S. Mathew. quhair Christ promisit to Peter that the gates of hel sal not preuail against his Kirk.

ANS. We confes that Christ hes promised that the ports and gaits of hel sal not preuail against the elect. That is, 30 that thay sall not alluterly ouerthrowe them, albeit in sum things and for a tyme thay may fall.

Ioh. 14. AD. And S. Iohne sayis I sall pray the Father and he sal giue them the haly Spreit to remaine with them for euer.

AN. I answer that this promeis of Christ is maid vnto the 35

elect & chosin children. nether zit so to them, but they leaning vpoun thair awin iudgement ar oft tymes suffred to fal, baith in doctrine and maners. quhilk infirmityes notwithstanding sal na way preiudge thair saluatioun. As by monye hundereth examples of the seruands of God is prouin. Sa yat the Spreit of God is neuer alluterly remouit from them. Bot zit sumtyme thay feil the weight of thair imperfections wherin neuertheles that Heuinly seid of regeneratioun do tharefter vtter the selfe.

AD. And be S. Paul to Tim. calling the Kirk the Pillar and sure IO ground of veritie./

[P. 3.] AN. I answer that it is not so called absolutly, & without
C. ij. all respect so pronuncit by the Apostle, for then Christe war not the sure grund & corner stane thairof, quhilk is not only maist absurd to affirme: bot contrair the Epistle to Corinth. and Ephesi. thairfore to ansuer directly: in this respect ye kirk is the sure ground of veritie. Because Gods word, & haly scripture quhilks are the veritie, vphalds the Kirk.

AD. Of this conclusioun it is notoriously knawin to al vneffectiounat 20 men, that the ministers of Scotland ar blasphemous against Gods promeis, quhen they teache & preiche that the Kirk of God may erre in ony head of Saluatioun.

AN. Blasphemous mouth, thy foolish iudgement & blindnes conioynit with extreme malice heirby mair sufficiently is discouered. Our myndes we haue declarit vpon this mater, vnto the quhilk we adioyne, that Christ hes left his word vnto his Kirk, euen as an compas in an Schip. quhairunto if the Mariners haue regard, the Schip dois not erre nor go astray. Let in lykewise the woord of God suffice for an 30 Compasse quhairby the Kirk may be reulit that sho erre not.

THE .III. PROPOSITIOVN.

The members of Christs Kirk in the earth ar not only the guid quha ar inheriteurs of Christs Kingdome in heauen, bot also the euill sa lang as thay keip vntie with the rest of Christs flock.

I confesse that the visible Kirk of God dois consist of good and euil men. quha be Christ ar comparit to cauff and corne 37

heipit in a barne together. bot a maist absurd opinioun it is, & damnable in the self, for to affirme the wicked to keip vnitie of faith with the Godly, or that thay ar the members of Christ. For seing Christs flock be faith ar sauit: the wicked retaining with them (as thou hes written) the vnitie of faith: most necessarlie be sauit.

AD. Of this the craft of the Ministers may be discoverit, quha perceauing themselues condemnit by the vesible Kirk, feinzeis to them selfs an inuisible

AN. Be quhat kind of argumentatioun is this consequent 10 inferrit? I requyrit better iudgement of a xx zeirs dialectatiner then in his antecedent ¹ he suld haue repugnantia in adiecto and of the saming scoffing calumnyis broght in, rather then /
[P. 4.] a formell conclusioun. I afferme that our Kirkes are veseble, thair doctreine hard, and obedience sa far as our corruptit natures may suffer geuin thairto, and themselues are sene.

THE IIII PROPO.

The Kirk of God on the earth of necessitie man be veseble & knawin through ye world.

I sall conuince be iuste and forcebill arguments that quhilk 20 thou wald obtrud vnto vs to wit, visibelitie to be an trew & essentiall note of the Kirk of God. For be dyuers waies the visible kirk may be obscured. of ye quhilk we laik not sufficient examples baith in haly scripturs & prophane histories. Quha knawes not that vnder the dayes of King Achab, the Kirk of God wes so obscurit, that the Propheit Elias heauely complainit, nane was left on lyfe except him that did honour God? And quha is ignorant of that cruelty in the dayis of Nero (Domitian, Dece, Diocletian, Maximilian, Valetian, Aurelian, Valentian, Rhedaguse, Gersorich, Attile), 30 quhairby the persecutioun of the faithfull was so feirfull, that the haille number of the Christians being almaist deuourit by the sword, the remanent had na Kirkis to assemble themselues to the seruice of thair God? In constantinus age the 34

¹ Corr.

resident of the faithfull was so small: that the Empriour mokking Athanasius and Liberius said, that thay only per-turbit the peace & tranquillitie of the hail earth. Vnto whome Liberius ansuered, not because O Empriour we are fewe in number and alane, the worsor is our faith. Moreouer as the Kirk of God may be oppressed be persecution: sua it may be obscured by the darknes and clouds of superstitious errours, broght in be corrupted pasteurs, subiect vnto ignorance and malice, quhairthrow the Euangel of Christ truely may nocht appeir. For S. Paull him selfe testifyis that in the latter 10 dayes the Antichrist sall sit in the middes of hir.

I nicht vse in this argument mony authorities of ancient writers for probatioun, les nor I sould seeme to be tedious. Thairfoir I retorne vnto the rest of his reasones. and to that / of Isaias, quhilk he abusis, restoring that place corrupted be him to the awin puretie.

[P. 5.]
C. iij.
Isai. 2.

In the last dayes the mountaine of the house of the Lord salbe preparit in the top of ye Montains and exalted aboue all hils, and all nations sall come vnto it.

I answer that the excellencie of the mount Sion, quhairof 20 the Prophet speiks, pertains lytle or nothing vnto the perpetuall visibilitie of the Kirk. Bot that, in this respect it was preferrit befor all vthair mountains. Because that thair christ was first preichit be his Apostles. To quhais doctreine efterwart the hail warld gaue obedience. And thairfoir it is said, that all nations sall flow thairunto. Not that al men come rinning to Ierusalem; bot that forsaking thair errours, returned vnto the trueth, quhilk at Ierusalem first was preichit.

Mat. 5.

AD. And S. Mathew saying that an cytie buildit vpon an montaine can not be hid. 30

AN. This place nathing establisseth thy error. For he yat hes a spoink of iudgement may perceauie, that Christ onelie speakes in that place of the maners and conuersatioun of the Apostils.

Mat. 13.

AD. Christ commands also to haue recours vnto the Kirk and schaw vnto it (quhilk war impossible, les nor it war visible) if that he quha hes offendit the mak na satisfaction for priuat admonitioun.

AN. Demanding of the, I answer with that Godly & leirnit man Maister THOMAS SMETOVN, whether heirfoir suld we haue 39

recourse to an vniuersall or particular Kirk? To an vniuersall we may nocht, because nather it nor the members thair of can be conuenit togidder in an place. And a particulare be the proces of tyme may decay and be obscurit, And thairfor not visible, sa be this argument thou may proue lytle, seing Christ in that place alludis vnto the Senat of the Iewis, quha Inqyrit of the maners of euerie man.

S. Augu.
de vnit
eccle.

AD. S. Augustene prouis this cleirly saying, it is against the promeis of Christ that ather his Kirk be vnuesible or only knawin as zours in Geneva & in Scotland in certen corners of the warld.

10

AN. I grant that in S. August. age the Kirk of God verye much did flourish. And iustly he reprovys the donatists, quha did reioyce in their fewnes, afferming that the Kirk of God be onlie in a corner of Aphrica, & that they for the sinnis of vthers, war separat from the communioun of the warld.

[P. 6.] Zit if /thou speaks of our age, without grit shame thou can not defend the Kirk of God to be visible all whair, for smal & lytill is the part of the warld, few ar the regions of the earth, in ye quhilk Christ is visible proffessit, his words preachit, and his Sacraments deuly administratit. And gritter is the number of hethens, Iewes and Turks, than of Christians.

Christ.
4 in Isai-
am.

AD. S. Chrisostome sayis that it is als impossible that the Kirk of God be hid, as the Sune to be destitute of his lyght.

AN. Bot quha dayly dois not see Apostat that the light of the Sune is obscurit & darknit be the thiknes of trublit cluds and heirof thairfoir a better consequence, with gritter reason may be collected: Euin as the brichtness of the Sone by troublit motions in the air may be hinderit & darknit: sa the kirk of God ether be externall persecutioun of ennemyis, or by the inwart corruptioun of pasteurs for sum space appeir not, vntil God of his grace repress the fury of his enemies, and abolische by the brichtnes of his Word the ignorance & corruptioun of pasteurs.

AD. Of this we gather that since the Ministers are constranit to confesse thair Synagog to bene vnuesible at the leist mair nor an 1000, zeir it is impossible it can be the trew Kirk.

AN. I wil answer thy blasphemiyis with silence, refraning from replying euil words, les vnwittingly I be conuincit of 38

that quhilk I haue alreddy condemnit in thee. to the matter I affirme our doctrine not to be new, for it is als ancient as ye faith quhilk we professe. nor our Kirks vnuisible this 1000. zeir. For we baldly defend, that in na age sence the Pape (the sone of perdition) hes vsurped sic tyrannicall power, that thair hes not bene sum, quhome God steare vp in opponing thame against his tyrannie. And althocht this lang time as S. Paull hes forespokin, he hes sittin in the middest of the tempill. His antiquitie of possessioun, sould not turne the verytie in abuse. Seing ane hours prescriptioun, may suffice 10 to anull his papedome.

THE V. PRO.

In the trew and Catholik Kirk thair hes bene and sal be euer an continuall successioun of faithfull Docteurs & Pasteurs.

[P. 7.] That the confutatioun of this conclusioun the mair easily
C. iiii. may be concaued, & for eschewing of tha things, quhilks may reteine the lecteur in suspence, we mynd shortely to intreat of the mater it selfe. We planely deny (quhairof we sall assigne guid reasons) that the Kirk of God is decernit by personal successioun, a note conuenient to al Kirks, Grecians 20 Assyrians, Armenians, and Ethiopians: quhilkis the Pape hes condemnit in mony heads of heresie. And mair proper, to iudaisme, and turcisme: then to the Kirk of Christ, as afterwart salbe breifly declarit.

AD. This is prouit by S. Paul to the ephesi. 4. chap. that Christe gauē to his Kirkis sum Apostlis, sum prophets, Euangelists, Pasteurs and docteurs.

AN. We acknowlege Hammiltoun Christs gifts, & benefeit,¹ be the quhilks cairfully and beneficially he hes indeuit his Kirk. Bot it is far socht to collect heirof, an continual suc- 30 cessioun from Pape, to Pape.

AD. And in S. Math. quhair Christ sayis to his Apostles I salbe with zou to the end of the world. of the quhilk this thou inferis. Sua that gif the Apostlis did not remaine in thair awin persons as thay did not: it is necessare that thay ramanit in thair successeurs vnto the 35 latter day.

¹ Corr.

AN. O profound iudgement! Bot seing I will not tak vpon me, to alter thy words, I leaue them by thy selfe to be corrected, and thy mynd farther to be explained, quhilk of it self is vaine, dark and obscure. For I wald thou satisfie my petition quhilk is necessar. Whither did the Apostles remaine in their successours bodily or spiritually? spiritually they might not: Seing it is the Spreit of God, & not of the Apostles, that suld remaine: rests then that bodely and substantialie, quhilke is fals.

S. Augu: AD. August, prouis be this argument the Dona[tis]tis to be Schis- IO
epist. 165. matiques because they could shaw na successioun of lafull pasteurs
sen Christs dayis.

AN. Treuth it is that augusteine esteames it to be ane grit benefites of God and solid praise and commendatioun to the Kirk, that from Peters dayes, and the Apostles, they war vnto his age, a successioun of lafull pasteurs. but he neuer reputit personall successioun, to be an maist proper, necessare, and infallabill note of the kirk, for he him self affirmes the
[P. 8.] contrair / saying we will not proue our Kirks, ather by suc-
cessioun of Byshops, autorities of counceles, or be the number 20
of miracles and visions, but be the prescriuit words of the euangel. For if it war an necessar and maist propre not of the kirk, whair lyneall successioun war, thair also suld be the Kirk of God. This reciprocation most be, for thou esteamis it to be proprium quarto modo. The Scribes then and Pharisies personallie & lynealie descending from Aaron and Moyses (in quhais chyre ordinarily & successiuelie they sat) quha crucefyit Christ suld be the trew Kirk. I do not approue this reasoun but zour for-argument standing trew, it is inuincibill. in end, if euer the autoritie of ony kirk might bene aduancit 30 by personall successioun, it was Ierusalem: seing it was promisit, that the Lord for euer suld inhabit yat tempil. & thairfor be this word the tempil the Temple of the Lord, they opponit them vnto the Prophets. bot we read in the 7 chap. of Ieremie quhat was answerit. Finallie granting (without preiudice to the veritie) lyneal successioun to be an trew note to the kirk, we acknowledge it to mak mair for our defence, then for zour poursuit considering that our pasteurs succeadis 38

[P. 8.]
De vnit
Eccl. 16.

personallie to quhatsumeuer hes borne office in Christs Kirk : and in doctrine, vnto Christ & his Apostels, and vnto all vthairs, that after thame treulie hes professed the samè word.

THE VI. PRO.

Amangs all the pasteurs of the Kirk the prencipall hes bene the Bischops, sence Christes dayes.

6.

This proposition dois vtter thy shameles ignorance, vnderstanding not quhat the names of BYSCHOPS & ELDARS meanes. quhilk sumtymes baith by the Scribeur of God, & ancient 10 Wrytars, war sa confundit, as the ane was indifferentlie takin for the vther. as leirnitlie prouis Hierome vpoun the first to Titus Efterwart the names war so deuydit, that be the word BYSCHOP they onlie vnderstuid tha quha lauborit in preaching the Word. And by the ELDARS tha, quha had / the Censure [P. 9.] of maners. In this last sence if the word be takin It is trew, D. j. that the BYSCHOPS ar cheif amangs all Pasturs and that the Elders ar subiect vnto them. and sua vnderstands Ignatius ad Philad. and Augusteine wryting of Aerius. but I pray thee good master Hammiltoun, quhair red thou that by the 20 scribeur of God they [*sic*] suld be inequalitie amangs trew Byshops, that is, the faithful preachers of Gods word? read ouer, consider the mater a litill better, and yairefter giue me an degest answer.

THE .VII. PROPOSITIOVN.

Amongs all Byshops the Byshop of Rome hes had ewer sen the Apostles dayis, supreme autoritie and iurisdiction.

This proposition verry of[t] be Godlie men hes bene discussit and now laitlie by that singular leirnit man Maister THOMAS SMETOVN leirnitlie refuted: that to trauell in this treatise 30 in the desolving of the same, wald appeare almaist superflous, if his malicious mynde war satisfyit and calunnies repressit. Quhilk althocht it be hard to do, seing by reasoun it can not be contentit: Zit sa far as in writ, by sum obiections it is 34

declarit, with gritter modestie I wil answer, then he with iniurious words hes obiectit. Bot of a thing I wald admo[n]ishe the Reder or I proceadit farther, seing the probations of this propositioun ar sa confuslie patchit together, that scarcelie distinctlie they can be confuted. for tha places quhilk sould bene befoir, this apostat hes placit behind: and tha quhilk sould haue bene placit behind, ar placit out of all ordour befoir: and making that for the secound member of his probatioun, quhilk is the next conclusioun following. Zit I sal indeuour my selfe derectlie to answer to all, and first vnto 10 that place of the euangel misconstrued be him, and wrangfullie thrawin for the supremacy of Peter. For Peter in that place confessed Christ to be the sonne of the leuing God, Matt. 16. vnto whome Christ promised that he was Peter, and vpon that rock quhilk he confessit he wald buyld his Kirk. that is, [P. 10.] that confessioun quhilk Peter / maid, or Christ be Peter confessed. was the onlie fundatioun and sure rock quhairvpon 1 Cor. 3. the kirk suld be buyldit. as S Paull witnesseth saying, na man can lay an vther fundatioun then that quhilk is alreddy laid, IESVS CHRIST. Vnto this expositioun the Ancient fathers 20 nocht onlie accords, bot also they approue it vniformaly, Chrisost. Ambrois Hierom, and August. quha affirmis that Peter was callit from Petra the rok and nocht Petra from Christ. Peter: as Christ is not namit fra an christiane, bot an christiane from Christ, vnder the name of the Rock, Christ is signified: and vnder Peter, all christiane pepil. and mair planely this reuerend father wryts, that Christ wald say be tha words. I will build zou Peter vpon me, and not me vpon zou. For if the kirk war buildit vpon Peter, it wald haue a waik fundatioun, and the ports of hel suld preuail against 30 it. in respect the voyce of a woman maid him to abiure & deny Christ.

Christ. 55. super Hiero in Mat. S. Augu. tractat 124, sup. Ioha.

AD. Secoundly Christ promised at that tyme quhilk befoir was permit, bot the Kirk at that tyme, was biggit vpon Christ him selfe. Heirfoir he meaneth: not the buylding of the Kirk vpon him self bot vpon Peter and his successeurs.

AN. I regret mair thy ignorance, nor thy foolishe vanitie. for a thing that is permit, neids not againe after the per-38

forming, to be promised. Bot when it is promisit, it is requisite to be performit. Christ then Hammiltoun, performit rather that thing quhilk befor he had promisit, then promisit that quhilk before was performit.

AD. Thirdlie Christs promeis was that he sould confirme the rest of his bretheren quhen euer thay suld fall in ony doubt.

AN. Treuth it is, Christ commandit Peter to confirme his bretheren, and sa suld al trew pasteurs. Bot quhat of this? Nothing.

AD. Last of all it is notoriously knawin to all quha reids the Euan- **IO** gelists, that Peter was called *πρωτος*¹ first of the Apostles.

Mat. 10.

AN. Asinus portat misteria. & it is a grit pitie Hammiltoun thou want a pulpet, hauing sa weil preachit ouer the Pot. I think this reason was maid in the MARMET zour head being weill a gait in the west. In the rehearsal of the Apostles namis beginning is maid from Peter. Ergo sayis our 20. zeirs [P. 11.] dialec/ticiner. Peter is the head of the Apostles, I answer D. ij. that the consequence is not good, quhairvpon sic vsurped tyrannie suld be establishit. for the spreit of God is not scrupulus in placing of words before, or efter. seing the names 20 of the Apostles ar rehearsal in Mark, & Luk, bot the saming ordour is not obseruit. And in the 2 chap. to the Galla. Iames is preponit before Peter, the sonne also before the Father, Gal. 1. rather then it is to be estemit that as the Apostles war chosin & callit. Sua in the 10. chap. they war rehearsal.

AD. The vther part is that the Byshop of Rome hes succedit with lyke autoritie & Iurisdiction abone all Byshops becaus the order that Christ institut sould remaine for euer.

AN. An perplex method and confused ordour in disputatioun, for this is nathing different from the nixt proposition 30 to the quhilk mair conuenientlie I sall answer then I wald in this place.

32

¹ Space left in the original and the word written in.

THE VIII. PRO.

Euse. lib. The Pape of Rome in the primitiue Kirk hes euer sensyne exercysit
5. cap. 4. his iurisdictione abone all vther Byshops.

AD. Vve proue this by Victor quha being neare the Apostils dayis
excommunica[t] the hail Kirks of Asia because they wald not agrie
with the Kirk of Rome concerning the obseruatioun of pasche day.

AN. Thou art far ouerschot in geuing ouermekill credit to
the reporte of vthers, or to muche libertie to thy awin iudge-
ment. for nathing is writtin of Pape Victor in Eusebius 4,
5 6. or 7. chap. of his 5 buik, alwayes I with mair trauell and 10
diligence, hes searchit Eusebius volums and hes red in his 22.
and 23. chap. of sum litill controuersie amangs the Kirks of
Rome and Asia ; bot so indifferent, that he testifies that by
the discrepant and various obseruation of the maner of fasting,
the concord of the efficacie in professing the Euangell, & the
vnitie of the faith, was verie mekil commendit. Bot Victor
(sayis our apostat) excommunicat the hail Kirk of Asia ?
treuth. bot by quhat autoritie ? for rather it was by proude
ambicioun, then by lafull reasoun. For Policrates referrit
the custome of the Apostles and Martyrs to quhome he suc- 20
[P. 12.] cedeth anents the ob/seruatioun of Pasch day. And wald
in na wayis submit him self to the Byshop of Rome ; quhairfoir
Victor mouit be an ambitious spreit excommunicat him. Bot
Eusebius Adio[y]nis verum ista ceteris omnibus parum placebant
Episcopis. in sa far that IRENEVS heuely inuehit against him.

Cyp lib. AD. And be S Cyp quha writs to Stephanus Pape of Rome to depose
2. epist. Martianus because he was an Nouatian.
13.

AN. Ze schaw weil baith by the citatioun and euilgatherit
sentence that thou neuer saw S. Cip. work, for he in the 13.
epist. of his 3 buik wrytes to Steph. that he drect letters to 30
the prouince and people of Arles, desyryng them to depose
Martianus and place another in his roume. Quhairin he
plainlie declairis that it perteins na mair to Stephanus nor
to any vther Byshop saying, Si quis ex Collegio nostro heresin
facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentauerit : sub-
uenient ceteri, & quasi pastores vtiles, oues dominicas in
gregem colligant. whairby we may planlie vnderstand yat 37

quhen an Minister of God dois fail, al the rest hes power to depose him, & to prouyde for that flock. This far faithfully of Cyprians letter, quhairin if thair be anie iurisdiction, rather it is Cyprian that vsurps the saming, commanding and inioyning to Stephanus to wryte, then Stepha. quha did obey. Moreouer it was not Cyprian nor Stephanus quha did depose Martianus : bot the vther Byschops in the prouence, at thair requeist. Bot all is good aneugh that maye serue for zour Papis power.

AD. And also by the Fathers of the council of Carthage and Miluetian 10

AN. In this confusd proposition¹ thou hes neuer zit broght a richt autoritie for the confirmation yairof. & in this thou lyes impudentlie. for the councill of Carthage resisted oppinlie to the Paps leigats, quha affirmit that supreme iurisdiction was grantit to the Pape of Rome by the Synod of Nice. And producit the acts thairof, quhilks war feinzeit. the concell resisted thairto, thinking that the Pape of Rome suld not haue credence in his awin cause, quhairof they sent to Constantinopil and to vther Touns of Græcia, that they nicht acquere mair veritabil examples of sic priuilegis. In 20 the quhilkes na vther thing / was fund, bot that quhilck did abrogat the hail autority of the Romaine byshop. quhairby he was deprehendit to haue lyit impudentlie, in supposing the council of Sardice, for the concel of Nice. Moreouer by that saming councill thay war excommunicat that appellit to the pape of Rome. For in the sixt canon of that samin council is expreslie commandit : that the Byshop of Alexandria sal haue the reul ouer certen kirks and the Byshop of Rome ouer certen, & the Byshop of Antiochia lykwayis ouer certen. And that it be not lafull for any one of them to inuaide 30 anothers iurisdiction : and if any an be not contentit with his awin, craue dominion ouer vthers he aucht of richt to be callit a brekkar of the customes, & also of the haly canons. GREGORIE wil haue him repute to be the verry Antichrist, quha styles him self supreme pasteur of pasteurs, & vniuersal Byshop. saying. I speak it with baldnes, whosoeuer caletth him self the vniuersal Byshop, or desiris so to be called, he 37

¹ Corr.

Greg. In his 4 bu & 30 .ep. is in his pryde the forerunner of Antichrist : because in his pryde he setleth him self aboue vthers. And in ane vther epistle thus wayis wryting to Eulogius. Behold euin the tytle of zour letter. ze haue writin the proud poesy, naming me the vniuersall Pape, notwithstanding I haue forbiddin it. I beseik zour halynes to do so na mair, for whatsoeuer is geuin to anie abone reasoun, the same is takin from zour selves.

Greg. in his 7 bu & 30 .ep.

THE IX. PRO.

Na man ought to be estemit ; or haldin an trew Minister or pasteur in Christs Kirk excep[t] he raseue the Sacrament of ordour be imposi- IO
tioniou of hands.

I confes indeid that thay ar not to be estemit lauffull Ministers in an weill reformit kirk, quha ar not ordinarily callit. ordinaire vocatioun consisteth first in the inuart working of the halie spreit in the hart of him, quha is to raceaue that burdene, quhairby he may be assurit of an vpricht zealous meaning, and that also God hath indewit him with sum gifts for the discharge of the office quhairinto he is appoyntit. Secoundlie besydes the motioun of Gods Spreit, the Kirk of God ought to take tryall baith of his maneris 20
[P. 14.] and qualyties. / sufficient¹ to discharge a good conscience, to the edificatioun of the flock. quhilks being found, we deny not, bot the impositioun of hands with solemne prayers was ane ceremonie vsit in ordaning of pasteurs, baith since Christs dayis, and long off befor, and zit be vs is maist diligently obseruit. Sua that na pairt of this propositioun² being weil vnderstand, maks any thing against vs, except only the name of Sacrament quhilk improperly is heir vsit, without warrand of Godis worde or anie guid reasoun.

AD Of this we euidently may infer that Caluin and Beza, with 30
Tailzeours & Skinners and vther mechanics quha hes intrudit them selfs in the office of Ministrie neuer rasauid sic ordours ar not to be haldin lauffull Pasteurs bot as theauis and reuars quha hes entirt in amangs Christs flock not by the dur bot by the window.

AN. Sententias loquitur carnifex. And a fearfull sentence without all reasoun pronuncit. And althocht condemnit 36

¹ ' Sufficiently ' is the catchword.

² Corr.

apostat they fere not the force of it, zit they man appele to ane mair indifferent Iudge. Quhairfoir suld they be reput as theauis and halden as reuars? Is it because thair heads are not shauin? Is it because they are not ordanit be the vsurpit papisticall power. If sa be, nather ware the Apostles Euangelistis &c. to be reputit laful becaus they war not ordaned by the hie Preasts quha had the ordinar ecclesiastical power. zea by the like reasons and saming arguments, they did exagitat the ministerie of S. Iohn the Baptist together with Christs doctrine, saying who gaue the this authority. 10 Bot as to Caluin & Beza & vther godly learnit men, quhome ze comprehend vnder the name of Tailzours and Skinners, thay had a lafull & ordinar calling in the flocke vnto the quhilk thay preachit. As at mair lenth may be declarit, and is writtin be many vthers.

THE X. PROPO.

The intercessioun and inuocatioun of the Saints and Angels derogats nathing nor is not contrarious to Christs mediatioun.

I pas the contradictioun in the propositioun, with the friuol distinctioun of mediatioun brocht in by zow for profe 20 of the saming to cut of many words quhilk I moist neadis haue vsit, / gif I wald accurratlie examine all the points thairof, [P. 15.] for I am certen thou canst not tell quhat thou meanes by the D. iij. distinctioun of mediatioun, thy purpose being mair to conuince the trueth, and obscure the veritie: then anie wayes to establische the saming. For Christe is our Mediatour in baith the natures, that is, as he is God and man in one persoun. and not acording to his humane nature only, as S. Ihon 14. 16. witnesseth, I am the waye, the treuth, and the lyfe. No man cummeth to the Father bot by me. And quhatsoever 30 ze aske the Father in my name he will giue it zou.

AD, we reid in the 1. of Zach. that the Angel prayit vnto the Lord desyring him to haue pitie on Ierusalem & the Touns of Iudah and Iykewise in the 12. chap. of Tobias.

AN. Vnto the former obiectioun I answer, that scendrouslie thou hes red that place, for vnder the name of Iuda & Ierusalem 36

is vnderstand the Kirk of Christ, for the quhilk christ the Angel of Angels makis intercessioun. Vnto the Secound I say, that the buik of Tobias is not sufficient to proue any head of doctreine. Thridlie althoght the Angell pray for vs, zit it followis not be na guid Logik : that we sould pray vnto the Angell.

AD. And be S. Ioh. 6. Reuela. saying the reik of the incense of the oraisons of the Sancts ascendit out of the hands of the Angel befor the Lord.

AN. Howesoeuer thou wreast this place, it hes the lyke 10 Ergo with the former.

AD. Quhan the pepil of Israel war plagued for thair rebelloun God wald not racaue thair prayars bot said let Moyses pray for thie pepill and I will heare him.

AN. Treuth it is that moyses was thair principall pasteur and Propheit, familiar with God, be quhais voyce God spake vnto his people. Bot it followis not that Moyses suld bene inuocat or worshipped, and to be haldin as thair refuge, or that he was intercessour, bot only Minister.

Iob. 42. AD. Lykewayis God luikit to the penitencie of Iob quhan he prayit 20
Iob. 5. for his freind. and in an vther place it is said. call if thair be anie that will answer the, and turne to sum of the Sancts.

AN. Na questioun is bot an faithfull man may pray for another, bot not be called his intercessour.

ADVERSAR. Also men in earth praying the an for the vther, as the Corinthians did for S. Paul, derogats nathing to Christs mediatioun, as Gene. 48. lykwayis testifies Iakobs benedictioun./

[P. 16.] AN. I answer vnto the former place with S. August. that Christien men in thair prayers do pray ane for another, and so we ar commandit : bot he for whome no man dois pray, bot 30 he for all men, is onlie our Mediatour. To the secound lykewayis I answer, that the children of Ioseph sould not pray to Abraham Isaak and Iakob, for the blissing in this maner is pronuncit. God before quhome my fathers Abraham & Isak did walke, God quhilk fed me al my lyfe long vnto this day. And the Angel quhilk hes delyuerit me from all euill, blisse the bairnes and let the names of my forfathers Abram and Isak be namit in them. quhairby Ephraim and Manasseh Iosephs sonnes and Iakobs nepheus sould be accountit in the 39

Aug. lib.
2 cap. 8.
contra
Par.

familie of Iakob, and rekned to be the sonnes of Isreell, and to reteine ether of thame equall portioun with the rest of the sonnes of Iakob, as gif he had begottin thame him selfe. This expositioun agreeth properly with that place quhilk is conteanit in the 4 cha. of Isai, prophecie, quhair the wemen requyrit that the mens names nicht bene callit vpon them, that is, according to the Hebrew phrase yat thay nicht be called the Wiffes of an man, & namit efter thair Husbands. So if this phrase in this place imports na misterie, nather suld the former. now seing it war tedious to dilate lang answers ¹⁰ vpon friuol reasons, we minde to contract zour arguments in schortar forme. Of the quhilks tua ar brocht furth out of the reuela of S. Iohne the 1. and 6, ch. thair of. Vnto the quhilk I answer, that y^e sancts are said to desire God to reuenge thair blood: euen as the blood of Abell, cryit for vengence from the earth. And so dois the murther of PARIS cry for the lyke reward, with the death of many vthair Saincts of God.

Pet. 2. ep.
4. chap.

AD. S. Peter said to his flock that he suld not only admonisch them sa lang as he was on lyf to imbrace al godlines and vertew. Bot also wald labour that aftar his daith thay suld haue the memory of ²⁰ tha things quhilk he could not do being dead. bot only by his intercessioun for thame.

AN. Peruerslie sophist. for that quhilk he hes promisit tua maner of waies he hes performit. First be his Epistles, quhilk after his death dois remaine, be the quhilk [h]is flock was put in /remembrance and the posteritie after them in memorie, that he followit not dissaitfull fabils, when he openit vnto thame the cumming of our Lord. Secoundlie that he hes tane paine and trauel in prouyding to his flock faithful Ministers in the Kirk after his death, yat his memorie & the ³⁰ remembrance of tha things quhilk he teachit vnto them, nicht be refreschit in thair harts. For vtherwayis if Peter war leuand or Paul, I dout not bot they wald ryfe thair claithis in geuin them yat worshiping & assigning vnto thame that office quhilk is proper vnto our Saluiour, as BARNABAS did with S. PAUL in the Toun of Lystre.

[P. 17.]
E. j.

Act, 14,
S. Au. lib
22. de ci-
uit dei.
cap. 8.

AD. And God hes confirmit the same with miracles as S. August, wrytes of an woman namit palladid, quha prayit vnto S. Steuin was hailed of the parlesie.

AN. Put on thy spectacils. For by miracles onlie without the testimonie of the scripture, the inuocatioun of Sancts can not be rasauit. nather dois S. Aug. words any wayis confirme the saming. For he wrytis so, *Illa de gradu descendit et ad sancti martyris memoriam orare perrexerat.* It is not said be S Augusten, *orabat sancti martyris memoriam.* Na mair nor he wald say *orabat Templum,* quhilk war verry improperly spokin. I oppin thy errour then. thou ignorantlie refers the word *orare* to *ad martyris memoriam,* quhilk onelye sould be *perrexerat.*

10

Basil AD. This also is confirmit be Basil, Hieram, Origines, Chrisostome, Nazianzen with Ciprian.

h[?]o. de
40. Mart.
S. Ihero,
con. vigi.

AN. To al thir forgit authorities I answer with hierom yat quhilk of the scripture hes na autoritie with the lyke facility it may be reiectit as it is adducit. quhilk Aug. plainly dois confirme wryting to Hier. in 48. epist. heare not this, Donatus saith, Rogatus saith, Vincensius saith, Ambrose saith. Au. saith Bot hearken and giue eare vnto this the Lorde saith. For instead of all thais learned fathers, or rather abone them al, cums vnto my minde the scripture of 20 God quhairin is an exclusiue sentence pronuncit, na man cummeth to the Father but by me. To it I appele from all maner of wrytaris that thinkes vther waies. For the docteurs of the Kirk, as men are oft de/ceaued. Althocht thair authorities thou hes rather brocht for ostentatioun, then substanciallie to proue zour purpose. for na man of sound iudgement will thinke that Basil & Nazianzen wald call vpon the sancts. althocht they playit sumquhat with gritter libertie, then ether became the grauitie of the persons, or sinceritie of Christiane Religioun. Origines buik is falslie supposit in 30 his name, for he dois planelie deny this consequence, the blissit in the heauins prayis for vs, thairfore thay suld be inuocat. Cyprians buik de stella² & magis is adierterous,³ & Chrisost messe is attributed wrangfully vnto him for amangs the Sancts their mentioned, Chrisosto[m] is countit him selfe, quha expreslie in all his warks reiects the inuocation of sancts. As in his 12 homelie vpon the woman of CANAN, tel me O 37

lib, 2.
21 . . .¹
[P. 18.]

Orige.
lib. 8.
con tr
sen.

NOTE.

¹ Indecipherable.

² Corr.

³ Sic.

Woman, since thou art a wicked and sinfull woman. How durst thou go into God? I knaw, saith scho, quhat I do. Behold the wisdome of the woman, she praieth not to IAMES she entreateth not IOHN, she goeth not to PETER, she did not get her self to the companie of the Apostles: she soght for na intecessour: bot for al thais things she toke repentance for hir companioun, quhilk did fulfill the roume & place of an Aduocat, so she did go to the hyche fountaine. Let this authority suffice to confute thy error, and for an strenthie [*sic*] Bulwarke and Fortresse to subuert the inuocatioun of Sancts. 10

NOTE.

THE XI, PROPO.

It is not against the command of God to mak the Imagis of our Saluioir Christ and of his Apostles.

As the inuocatioun of Sanctes is to be banischit out of the heart. sa Imagis quhais vse tending to deuotioun ar to be abolischt from the eyes of men in the Tempil. for as weil sais Aug. althocht they be sensles, zit for that the verie proportioun of men set a loft and in honorable hicht after they once beginneth to be adored and honored of the multitude breadeth and ingendreth in euerie man that most vyle affectioun / of errour that althocht thair he find na naturall mouing or takone of life, zit he thinketh sum God or Godly thing is within it, and so being deceaued, partlie by the forme that he seth and partlie by the example & deuotion of the pepill quhome they sie obedient to the saming he thinketh that the Images being so lyke lyuing bodeis, can not be without sum lyuinge thing vnderneath them. 20

S. Augu.
in his bu
vpon 113
Psalmes.

[P. 19.]
E. ij.

NOTE.

AD. This conclusion is prouin because na place of the scripture can be productit whe[re] it is forbiddin.

[AN.] First I answer be the contrarie seing it is na way 30 commandit by the scripture of God: it can not be na wayis lauffully vsit.

AD. And gif it had bene forbiddin in the 20. chap. of Exodus without al distinction as the Ministers falslie allegis he had bene contrarious vnto him self because in the 25. chap. he commands to mak the Image of the Cherubims. 36

AN. I answer vnto this quhilk is mair an calummie then obiectioun. That they condemne not all Images without distinctioun. for they know that Christe him selfe did not condemne Cæsars Image in the money. For painting & grauing ar things indifferent nather guid nor euil, in sa far, that quhen thair vse tends¹ not to deuotioun¹ bot to decoration and ornament Bot euin sua, that God can not be representit be na Image. As to the Cherubims they war set vp to couer the Arke or the Mercie seate, to the end that the pepill nicht vnderstand that the nature & Maiestie of God¹⁰ quhome they worshipped was altogether hid and couered from them, and na wayis culd be sene, nor be any visible Num. 21. thing represented. As for the brasin Serpent it was set vp for the present necessitie, as a sacrament only for a tyme to indure, as by the fact of Ezechias was manifest. 4. reg 18. Bot thir examples can na wayis serue for your Images, vnles thou find me a sure warrand out of Gods worde, commanding them, as we sie of the Cherubims and Serpent.

AD. It is prouin also by Christs awin exampill quha as testifies Eusebius in his 7. buik of his ecclesiast. history sent his awin Image²⁰ vnto the King Abagatus.

AN. Read quha will Eusebius 7. buik, they sall deprehend thee to haue falslie lyit.

[P. 20.] AD. Also in the premitiue Kirk hemorrhisse quha was hailit by Christ did erect an Image to him quhilk na Christian did repruif as contrair the command of God.

AN. It appeareth weill how zour cause stendeth, quhen it is confirmit by sic futill probations. That Image was onlye historical maid for an declaratioun and monument of the hailing of the woman by Christ. And that it sould not be³⁰ thought that Iesus Christe or his Apostiles did commande the same Eusebius subiounds. It is na meruell that the heathens receauing sic benefites of our Saluour did these things, for, we haue sene the Image of Peter, of Paul, & of Christ drawin in colours & preserued. And it may weill be thocht that men in olde tymes being not zit remoued from thair super-36

¹ Corr.

stitioun vsit after this sort to worship thame by an eathnisch custome as thair sauieurs, &c.

S. Aug. lib. 1. de con. ioan. AD. S. August. declaris it was the custome in his dayis to haue the Images of Peter and Paul with Christ.

AN. Contrarie waies it is plaine that he alluterly reiects them as it is euident in his 49. epist. & in his Catalog heresi, 7 amangs the rest of the carpocratians errors, he notis a certen woman namit Marcellina quha being of that saming sect, worshipped the Image of Iesus and Paul, Homeir and Pythagoras In the place be zow cytit, he approuis na Imagis 10 speciallye maid for Religious saik, Bot declares be quhat occasion the enemies of Christ feinzeit certen buiks in his name, written to Peter and Paul of magik and witchcraft, because sayeth he they saw in sindrie places peter & paul paintit vpon the walis with Christ. nather dois heir August. approue sic paintrie, nather deny we for beautie and knoweledge picteurs maye be maid.

AD. And the vniuersall tradioun of all agis keipit in the Kirk to haue the signe of the crosse as Tertulian witnesseth de corona militis.

AN Bot sic an signe was not as now is vsit, in his tyme 20 the Christians held vp thair hands in the air, and by thair fingars transuersly puttin, formit a figure of the crosse, quhairby they declared thair professioun that they beleuit in our Saluour crucefyit. and zit thair is a grit difference of the signe of the Crosse that incontinent euanishis away, and a material Image substancially existin. The signe is ancient, bot the figure laite. / By the quhilk Christe is abominable fixit to ane galow 30 trie, quhilk ze honour with reuerence, and worschippis with prostratioun of zour bodies, as it is euident by the words of zour Masse buik. O crux aue spes vnica, Blissed be thou O cros our only esperance. Auge piis iustitiam reisq; dona veniam. Incesse iustice to the Godly, & schaw mercy to the culpabil Heirby zour impietie mair nor beastly is discoverd : for nab. in his 2. cha. pronuncis this sentence, malediction aboue ¹ him that sayis to tree, stok, or stane, awalke and teache me, and ze esteme them as books of the Laics & com- 37 moun pepill, be the quhilks they are callit to remembrance

[P. 21.]
E. iij.

¹ Sic.

to serue Christ. Bot an vnhappie memorie is that quhilk stands in nead of a sightfull conceat, and miserabill is that man quhilk na vtherwayis can haue the presence of Christ with him vnles he haue his Image paintit on the wall, or expressit in sum vther mater, for sic a memorie that is nourished by Images procedeth not of harty loue: bot of necessitie of eye sight.

NOTE.

AD. Of this we sie the fraudfull interpritiouns of the command of God be the ministers, and how they follow the futsteps of Iulianus apostata in distroying the images of Christ, as the Turks causes the IO renegat Christians to spit vpon the crucifix quhilk the trew Christians hes for an ensigne and baner.

AN. Quhen sall we haue an end of thy calumnies? I think neuer, bot I leaue them vnto thy self; and the vnto thy awin wickednes. Quhat Iulianus the apostat hes done against the Christians, quhat the Turks lykewayis we knawe, all that to haue procedit of plaine malice against Christ. Bot that quhilk our Ministeres hes done in destroying the Imagis placit for Gods in zour kirks, that I say hes followit from a good zeall to praise God, for the quhilk they haue sufficient 20 assuraunce by the command of God and example lykewayis of the ancient fathers. For EPIPHANIUS wrytis to Iohn Patriark of Ierusalem in the 2. tome of Hierome. In that I hard certaine did grudg aganist me, for that when we went together to the holy place, quhilk is caled Bethel, to mak a gathering thair *with* me according to the maner of the Kirk; and come to a village caled ANABLATHA, & as I passed

[P. 22.]

I sawe a candil burning, & /asked quhat place it was, and quhen I learned it was an Kirk and had entred into it to mak my prayers, I founde thair ane vaile hinging at the 30 entrie of the Kirk paynted hauing the Image as it war of Christ or of sum Sanct, for quhose picteur it was in deid I do not remember, thairfoir quhan I sawe the Image to hing in the Kirk of Christ, contrarie to the *commandiment* of the scripture, I rent it in sondre, and gae counsell to the kepars of the Kirk to burie sum poore bodie in it. I beseik zow charge the preists of that place, that they *command* that sic painted claihs as be contrary vnto our Religioun, be no more hanged vp into the Kirk of Christ, It behouis zour reuerence 39

NOTE.

to haue cair heirof, this is superstitioun vnmeit for the Kirk of Christ, and dangerous for the pepole, and thairfore oght to be remoued.

THE XII. PRO.

It is consonant to Gods word to pray for the dead.

12

If that be consonant vnto Gods word or conuenient vnto the Scripteur, quhilk ather from ignorance of the benefites of Christ hes flouit,¹ or fra vnbeleef or incredulitie hes procedit : or fra an humane affectioun hes cumit halelie disreulit 10 hauing but the name of charitie, the prayers for the deade ar then to be halden agreeable to Gods word. Bot seing in the blood of Christ our sinnes ar waschin away. Be it far from vs, that so ignorant of this benefeit we suld be or sa incredulus¹ in esteming that the prayers of men may mair awail then the mereits of Christ, or that we sould think God to be so inhumane that he wald haue payment efter the obligatioun is rent I mene, that he hes forgeuin vs in Christ our debt & not the punischemen[t] thairof, quhilk rather the Papeists teaches sould be remouit be prayers of men, ringing of Bellis, 20 offering of siluer, and to be extenuat through passing vnto pilgramagis.

AD. This is prouin by the 2. buik of the Macab. the 12. chap, quhairin it is said yat it is an haly and hailsome prayer to pray for the deid that they may be delyuerit from thair sinnes, /

[P. 23.]
E.² iiij.

AN. Bot quhat autoritie suld be geuin to that buik, it is euident by the hinmest verse of the saming, quhairin the autor cravis pardoun quhair he failleth, nather is the haly spreit to be ascryuit vnto it, quhilk the authour ascryuis vnto his awin diligence, for in it thair are many contrarieties. First 30 as concerning the death of Antiochus. Seing in the I. buik, & 6. cha It is writtin that he dyit of a fewer. In the 2. & I ch. it is said that he was slaine in spuylzeing the Kirk of Nanea. & in the 9 chap. of that same buik, it is writtin he was strukkin 34

¹ Corr.

² Misprinted A.

miraculouslie be the hand of God in the mountains. Bot in the I. buk it is said he dyit in Babylon. the zeir of his death in the I. buk & 6. chap. after the grecian calculatioun is. 149. In the 2. & I. chap. 148. Lykewayis Lysias gouernour of Eupators armie maid peace with Iudas Machabeus, vnto quhome Antiochus Eupator (sone to antiochus the tyran abone specifit.) wrytes concerning that mater. the zeirs of the dait of the letters are 148, ather then most Eupator be haldin King before his fathers death, quhilk is maist fals, as in the 9. chap. it may apear or els Antiochus dyit not the 149, 10
zeir of the Grecians, quhilk is contrair vnto the 6. chap. of the I. buk.

Aug. lib.
18. ca. 36
de ciuit.
dei.

AD. Albeit perchance the books of the Mach. war not rasauit in the Synagog of the Iewes as canons zit S, Aug witnesseth that the Kirk of God rasauit them as canonis.

AN. I deny not Hammiltoun that in them ar not thingis contened profitabill for edificatioun, Bot I affyrme that they war not writtin, that our faith suld be established vpon them or that thay may serue for confirmatioun of doctreine, or to haue flowit from the haly spreit. For the Spreit of God neuer 20
vvis in the scripture to be suppliant vnto men, and for his imperfectioun to beg pardoun at thair hand., for nathing ought to be impute to the halie Gaist, quhilk becommeth not the grit Maiestie of God. And althoght that S. Augu. approueth them zit he dois not also absolutelie,¹ bot rather with twa prouisions admits them. First if that thay be soberlie red, nixt warlie hard. Bot sa conditionarlie he pronounces not of the rest of the canonicall scripture. Zea GREGORIE him selfe in the / 19. booke,² vpon the 17, chap. of Iob, testifies that they ware not canonicall. 30

[P. 24.]

AD. S Paul also affirms this, that quhair he sayis they that buy[]ds vpon Christ treyis hay or stubbill salbe sauit bot as by the fyre quhilk place can not be vnderstande of the fyre of hell because fra it thair is na redemptioun.

AN. A far soght, obscure, and confusd probatioun. and nathing pertinent to the purpose. For rather he confirmes purgatorie, that is ignotum per ignotius : then directlie prouis 37

¹ Corr.

² Catchword ' buik.'

the prayers for the dead. Neuertheles I sall endeuour my selfe to answer vnto that quhilk inderecltie is obiectit. Be the fyre is vnderstand the tryall of the halie Gaist, be the Stubil & Hay courious and vnprofitabill doctreine, quhilk be the fyre, that is, be the halie Spreit salbe tryit, be the quhilks mens inuentions and traditions with vnprofitabill doctreine not groundit vpon the word of God salbe consumed. Bot seing vpon this place he falslie builds Purgatorie, I am gled that it is bigged vpon hay and stubbil, that in our age now the fyre of God being kindlit, it is all burnt away, 10

AD. And Tertulian counts the prayers for the dead amangs the traditions obseruit in the Kirk in his age

AN. If this autoritie of Tertulian be thee alledged be trew thou dois maliciouslie, falslie, and wickedlie, wraist the Scriptor of God in confirmation of that quhilk is not writtin, bot as an vncerten traditioun rasaut. Vnto S. Aug. thou dois ane grit iniurie, that wald haue him establish thy errour, althocht he prayit for his Mother MONICA. quhairin he erred by ane luifing affectioun and humane compassioun towards hir. for he him self in his euch. ad laurent. 67. chap. in an 20 worde he slokkins purgatorie and condemns the prayers for the deade. saying, Qui hoc credunt sunt et catholici qui humana quadam beneuolentia mihi falli videntur. tha quha beleuis Purgatory for to be, ar not only Herityks bot also catholyks, quha be an humaine beneuolence appeirs vnto me, to be deceaut. and after he subioynes, post enim hanc vitam, nullus est penitentiae locus. Efter our Sauls be desoluit from our bodyes, thair is na place of repentance. This also is confirmit by Ierom saying we knawe that in this world we may 1 be helpit an of a/nother ather with prayars or with counsall : 30 bot efter we be once befoir the iudgeme[n]t sait of Christ, nather IOB DANIEL nor NOACH, be abil to pray for any bodie, but euerie man sall beir his awin burden. I might vse many vther autorities for the confirmatioun of this mater, but thir 34 I thinke are sufficient.

Hiero, In
his, 13.
quest, & 2
chap.¹

[P. 25.]
F. j.

¹ Corr.

THE XIII, PROPOSITIOVN.

In the Sacrament of the Altar vnder the forme of bread and wine the bodie and blood of Christ is reallie and substancially conteaned.

AD. This conclusioun is confirmit be thrie Euangelists, quha testifies that Christ in his latter supper said tak eat this is my bodie quhilk sall be geuin for zow. the quhilk words are so cleir and euident that no man can doubt vnles he wald giue mair credence vnto his awin sense and iudgement nor to Christs infallabil words.

Ier. vpon
I. Galla.

AN. I answer with S Hierome that the Euangell standeth not in the words of the scripture but in the meaning, for gif 10
in sic wechtie maters, we wald pretex the simplicitie of words Christ then suld be ane Lambe, an Porte, an Way, the trewe Wine, and an husband man. quhilk forme of speaking only is figuratyue.

AD. Iustinus the martyre to Antoninus saith that euin as we beleieue Christ had flesch and blood so we oght to beleue that bread and wine quhilk he consecrat was changed in his fleshe and blood.

AN. I answer that thir words are misticallie and sacramentallie to be vnderstand, for in that secound apologie, he proueth against y^e heretiks be y^e sacrament of the eucharist 20
Christ for to haue had verry body and verry fleshe, and not phantastik as they did think. in this maner. if Christ had neuer trewe flesh thir¹ sacraments suld be false, seing they neuer culd represent nor signifie that thing quhilk was neuer extant. Bot I wald not thou assumed him for ane patroun of zour transubstantiatioun, quhen he teachis in that saming apologie the bread and wine efter consecratioun to be changed in our bodie and nurisch the saming. quhilk plainelie Ireneus aprouis saying by the bread and Cup quhilk ar the sacraments of the bodie and blood of Christ, ex quibus augetur 30
et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. of the quhilk the substance of our flesh / is augmentit.

[P. 26.]

lib. 3. de
sacred.

AD. Chrisost. also afirmes that Christ in ane moment is baith in heuin & on the altar.

AN. I answer that Chris. in that place is sumquhat hyperbolicall. and I doubt not bot with a good zeale, but as Petrus Martyre wrytis, not verrie consideratlie, for in making the sacraments hightlie be sic figurs decorit and extollit the pepill 38

¹ Corr.

micht haue fallin in Idolatrie, the tenour of his words is this O grit miracle? O grit benignitie of God? that the Sone quha sits in the heauens with the Father, in an moment of tyme is on the tabill and touched be the hands of the communicants and thair is also present the Priest not bearing the fyre but ye halie Gaist. Chreso. meaneth not heir of Christs real presence bot onlie he wrytes figuratiuely, for the halie Gaist realy can not be borne. Zea him self mair plainlie testifies in his XI. homilie vpon S, Mat. saying, In the sanctifiet vessels Christs bodie is not thair in dead: bot a misterie of 10 that bodie is contenit and vpon the 22. psal. Christ ordayned the tabill of his halye Supper for this purpose, that in the sacraments he suld dayly schawe vnto vs bread and Wyne, for ane similitude of his bodie.

NOTE.

cap 9, de AD. Lykwayis Aug testifies that the bread is changit in Christs bodie & the wine in his blood abone the ordour of nature be the Word of Christ this is my bodie.

AN. Recognose thy errour, and confesse thy ignorance, in aledging false autorities, for thair is not an worke of S. Au. extant with sic an inscriptioun. Bot we reid in Ambro. indeed 20 of sic a place, saing if that in so much Elias speiking did awail that the fyre thairby came down from the heauens, how mekil mair sulde Christs saying awaill to make mutatioun in the forme of the elements . thir ar his words, quhilks subuerts zour errour, for ze affirme yat the forme remanis, bot the substance perisheth, contrair vnto his assertioun, quhilk appeareth by this place and many vthers. as in his 4. buik of Sacra. & 4 ch. As thou hes raceaued in Baptisme the similitude of his deith: so lykewayis in this sacrament thou dois drinke the similitud of Christs blood. 30

NOTE.

In psal. ADVERSAR S. August. saith suppose it be impossibill that Dauid or sic any vther man berit him self in his awin hands zit Christ in his laitar Supper berit himself. / quhan he said this is my body!

[P. 27.]
F. ij.

AN. That quhilk Aug. conditionarlie did speik thou affirmes it as if it war absolutlie spokin, for he him self in the second sermon vpon the 33. psal. exponis how he spake in the former, Christ was borne sayis he in his awin hands, because in commending his body he did tak his flesh and bluid in his hands quhilk the faithfull knawis & did beare himself. QVODAMODO. efter a certen maner in making that bread & wine a sacrament 40

of his body. for vtherwise Christs body behuifit to bene congeminat, quhairby the an suld haif borne the vther.

AD. Hilarius & vther ancient fathers writing aganis the Arreans shawis that be this sacrament we ar conio[y]nit with Christ not only be faith and charitie bot also corporally.

AN. Thir words incluids in them an answer, for by that we are conio[y]nit with Christ, be the quhilk his body is takin be vs. bot by faith S. Hilare affyrmis he is takin, thairfor by faith we ar conioynit. & Cyrillus affyrmis the saming, saying,

Cyril lib. Christ is the beginning and foundatioun vnto holines, I meine ¹⁰
^{4 cap.} by faith & na vtherwayis dwelleth in vs. quhilk planelie S. Au.
^{32[?]} aprouis saying, how sall I hold Christe being absent, how,
^{supr. 102} sal I thrust my hands into Heauin that I may hald him sitting
^{Au[?] 50} thair? send vp thy faith & thou haldest him, thy fathers
^{su 105[?]} held him in flesh hald thou him in thy hart : for Christ being
 absent is also present. vnles he war present we culd not hald

NOTE.

him : Bot for sa mekill as it is treuth that he saith behald I
 am with zow vnto the end of the warld, thairfor he is going
 and zit heir, he cummith againe & hes not forsakin vs, for he
 hes aduancit his body vnto y^e heauin : bot he hes not with-²⁰
 drawin his maiesty fra y^e earth

THE XIII. PROPOSITIOVN.

This sacrifice of the Mes is an trew worshipping of God institut be Christ in the latter supper to be keipit and obseruit in his Kirk to the end of the world.

If I had not fullely and sufficiently in y^e former artikle declarit as also *with* weichty reasons co[n]quincit the sacrament or sacrifice of zour mes not to be the verie bodie of Christ, or that self same substance that was offred on the Crosse. then in this place I oght to be occupyit. Thairfore conuert ³⁰
 this propositioun and frame it in ane other forme, confessing
 the sacrifice of the Messe to be ane horrible prophanatioun
 of Christes bodie / and of his precious blood neuer institute
 be him nor obseruit in his kirk, les nor thou wald willingly
 close the eyes of thy conscience against the treuth. Bot I
 know thy stubbernes, that although good reasons may mak
 the acknowledge the veritie, zit thou rather will consent with

Gen. 14. zour superstitious mesmongars, nor say treuth with the veritie.¹ 38

¹ Corr.

AD. This conclusioun is prouin because Christ hes callit himself a Priest for euer after the ordour of Melchisadek: we reid in the book of Genesies that Melchisadek offred bread and wine thairfor Christ being prefigurat be Melchisadek of necessitie man hau ane lyke maner of sacrifice to witt vnbludie.

AN This confusd reasoun is saxtyemes repeted be zow, bot sa oft to answer, it wald be countit superfluous, thairfoir I wil contract the sume of all in an forme that I may derectlie answer thair vnto. The figure of Melchisadek behouit in veritie to be accomplished in Christs preisthood. Bot mel-¹⁰ chisadek offred to God the Father bread and Wyne. Thairfoir it behouit Christ not onlie to offer that, bot that the veritie of the figure might be performit in his body and blood also. I admit the propositioun, and denyis the assumptioun. because that in the Epistle to the Ebrewes many conferences and dyuers collations ar maid of Melchisadeks preisthod & of christ quhairin na mention is maid of bread and Wine. To be short y^e figure of Melchisadeks preisthood dois consist in tha things quhilks ar not comon with Arons preisthood: bot the offering of bread and wine, was dayly in the sacrifice of ²⁰ Aaron, thairfoir Christs preisthood rather suld be after the ordour of Aron nor Melchisadeks, if the offering of bread and Wine ware the principall things in Christs preisthood. Bot all this controuersy floweth from the ignorance of the Ebrew word. for in the 14. of Gene. it is writin, that after Abraham returnit from the battel with his souldiers being werie, Melchisadek quha was King causit bread & wine be broght furth quhairby Abraham and his armie nicht bene refreschit. The same King also being hie Priest blissit him. the error of our aduersar consisteth in this word (broght furth) quhilk be sum ³⁰ is exposit obtulit, bot wrang. and be vthers as be Iero. protulit, and be /vthers, educi fecit, causeth bread & wine to be brocht fur[t]h to refresche the stomaks of the wearie souldiers, quhilk he did lyberallie being King. and being hie Priest deutotie he gaue him his benedictioun.

AD. Of this we collect that tha quha laubours to abolich ¹ the sacrifice of Christs body and blood in the messe ar blasphemous against Christ and his eternall preisthood after the ordour of Melchisadek

AN, I affirme boldly that thai quha imbraces sic horrible prophanatioun of Gods glorie, dois defile their soule with ⁴⁰

¹ Sic.

OBIEC
TIOVN.

ANS.

NOTE.

P. 29.]
. iii.

Idolatrie, and sa far as thay may, not only puts Christ to shame & opprobre,¹ bot also dois him crucefie. For in respect if the sacrifice be iterat, Christ must be crucifyet, quhilk was bot on & singulair sacrifice. For S. Paul writing to the Ebrews 6 ch. witnesseth, that nane can be offrit except him that dieth.

THE XV. PRO.

It is contrarius & repugnant to the custom of the primitiue Kirk of the Kirk, saying we hald it as a sacriledge to command any fasting on Fryday.

AD. This is prouin be Tertulian quhan he wrytis of the constitution **10** of the Kirk, saying we hald it as a sacriledge to command any fasting on Sunday.

Tert.
psych.

AN. Since by the scriptur you are not able to confirme this, we are not constranit to obey mens inuentions, for Tertulian in that same place saith, it is altogether vnlauffull that vpon y^e Sunday in worshipping God, to fal vpon our knees the contrair quhair of notwithstanding his autoritie, is rasauit be al christians, & thairfor we may als easily reiect this superstitioun in fasting vpon the Fryday, as not kneling vpon the Sunday. & zit he wryts vtherwais in his buik contra PSYC . **20** saying we *man* hencefurth fast *without compulsion*, of fre will not be *commandiment* of this new disceplin, acording as euery *man* sal se time & place

AD. Epipha. shaws that Aerius was condemnit as a herityk becaus he eats flesh on fryday

NOTE.

AN. I think that the probation of this, is, that thy assertion most suffice for autoritie, shaw me the place, & I will prepare the an ansuer, alwaies to satisfy y^e present I ask of the as S. cy. writing to Pomp, against the epistle of Ste. from whence haue we this tradition? whither cumith it from the authority **30** of y^e Lord or of the Euangel, or els fra the *commandiments* & *epistilles* of the Apostles? yairfor if it ather be *commandit* in y^e Euangel or *contentit* in the acts or epi. of y^e Apostils, [P. 30.] let vs keip y^e same *tradition* /

Epist. 86. AD. S, Aug, saith quhosoeuer fasteth vpon the Sunday sclanders the hail Kirk.

¹ Corr.

men sould haue fallin in the Manicheans errour, Bot now that cause is remouit, and the errour als weill by our fathers as by vs presently condemned, & altogether the memorie thair of buryit. Nather do we appoint our fasting vpon the Sounday as anye way agreable with them, bot as a maner indifferent of it self, and maist conuenient for the estait and necessitie of our time, seing na vther day the people can be sa commodiously gathered to ioyne thair prayers with fasting. Nather do we mak anylaw of it. bot quhen sic extraordinar dangers appeares, as requyris extraordinar humiliatioun. And to conclud the ro

NOTE.

we may pray : thair is na cause then quhy we may not vse that, and vpon the Sounday, to steare vs vp to mair feruent prayer. The Lord of his mercie geue vs his grace, that baith vpon Soundaye and vther dayis, we may so fast & praye, that our flesche being humbilit befor God by vnfeinzeit faith & earnest prayer, We may obtene mercie at the hand of our God, through IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Saluour. To quhome be al honour Praise and glory world *without* end
AMEN.

20



Imprentit at EDINBURGH be ROBERT
LEKPREVVICK, dwelling at the
NETHERBOVV.

30

THE PRINCE
OF
MACHIAVELLI

(From the HAWTHORNDEN MSS., vol. xii.)

In dei nomine

F. 144a. The Prince off Nicolas machiaueli / secretaire and citisen
of florence / translated furth of the italian tongu be /
M. W. foul[er] S. to th[e]
Hou manye sorts of gouernments they be / and be
quhat moyens they ar procured / and increased.
Chapter I.*

QUHAT sumeuer government or estate that hes or hes had
commandiment ouer men hes bene and ar ather Commoun
welths or monarcheis. now Monarchies ather ar hereditaire ¹ 10
or newe, vncouthe, and quhilk haith not bene sene afore.²
Hereditaire I call these quha from all antiquitie and discent
ar possessed be him that is present lord and souveraine. The
newe againe ar ather whollye and altogeather newe and
vncouthe, as the duikdome of milan to francis forze, Or ar as
members and limms adioned and coupled to the heritable ³
estate off the prince that hes conquesed and obtened theme,
as this day we do see Naples to the king of spaine. Yet ⁴ sic
gouernments so ⁵ purchessed ⁶ wer wount and accustomed
afore ⁷ to be vnder the subiectioun and obedience of a prence ²⁰
or to liue in libertie, the reule and commandement whairoff
was obtened ather be the ayde and armyes of some other or
by his auen forces ⁸ fortune or vertew. 23

* The MS. is full of corrections and emendations. The footnotes
give the principal original readings before correction by Fowler. The
punctuation is editorial.

¹ That is to say.

² before.

³ heratiballe.

⁴ so that.

⁵ encreased and.

⁶ and obtened, wer accustomed.

⁷ ather.

⁸ pouer.

Chapter 2.

off monarchyes and heretable governments.

I purpose to liue vntouched att this tyme that quhilk concerns¹ the goverment of comoun welths, be reason that at lenght and leasure In some other place I haue fullye discoursed thervpon, / Intending onlye to wryte off monarchyeis and soveraignetyeis, following the proiect of my first diu[ision],² setting dovne the reules and Instructions by the quhilk monarchyeis and the reule of one alone may be governed, vphalden, and conteneued. I say, therefore, that there re-¹⁰ sulteth few[er]² and less difficultyes to maintaine the dominion and soveraingetie, the crowne and countryses, that descendeth [in]² heritage and ar accustomed by a tenour³ of obedienc[e]² to obey the naturell blood of there prence then in these that ar laitlye and newlye conquesched, be reason⁴ that the natiue and borne lo[rd]² is sufficientlye and abundantlye able to vphold⁵ his estate while he ouerpassis not the lawes and ordinances off his predicessars and in the rest as fortoun dois occure so . . .² to temporise. So it wer ease to sic a prence, alb[eit]² of a meane courage and capacitie, to²⁰ conteneue in a peaceble possessioun of his estate gif he be not by some extraordinarye and excessiue forrane pouar displaced. And albeit he wer dispossessed theroff, the chance culd not be so favorable and permanent *with* the new vsurper but that he may *with* ease returne agane to his ancient possessioun and reconquesh it. We haue in italie, for example, the duik of ferara, quha be no greter meanes⁶ ²⁷

¹ dois [concern].

² MS. torn.

³ and orde[r].

⁴ it sufficeth.

⁵ mantane.

⁶ no otherwyse.

resisted the attempts and forces of the Venetians ¹ the yere M. iij. c. iij^{xx}. iiii, and ² the wereis also of pape Julius 1510,³ then be the antequitie and great accompte that his house had in that duikdome : for a natiue prence hes not offere[d] ⁴ to him sa mony occasions, nather nedeth he sa rigorouslie to entreate his ⁵ subiects,⁶ of quhome be all consequence he must necessarlye be beloued, as the new and stranger ; / and if his deborded ⁷ vyces and euill conditiou[n and] complexione bringeth him not to over great hatred and contempt, he salbe naturallye alwayes weillwilled and borne *with* be his pepill.⁸ ¹⁰ So that be this ald rooted commandement and contin[u]atioun of his soverangetie all ⁹ causes and remembrances ¹⁰ of chainges¹¹ and rebellions ar extinguished, be reason ¹² a fresh and new alteratioun Liuth alwayes ground to the building and interpryse of ane other. 15

Lit.
Mascul.

* Folios 145 and 146 do not relate to this MS.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| ¹ quha Invading his dominioun. | ² and off. |
| ³ no oth[er] opponed him self bot then. | ⁴ MS. torn. |
| ⁵ deale <i>with</i> his. | ⁶ as the new and stranger. |
| ⁸ subiects. | ⁹ the. |
| ¹¹ and alte[rations]. | ¹² bycaus. |
| | ⁷ extraordnarye. |
| | ¹⁰ memories. |

Chapter 3.

off mixed governments.

Bot the difficulteis ar mair apparant in a vncouth¹ dominion, and speciallye in that qu[hil]k is not altogeather newe, bot is, as it wer, a membre and Limme coupled and conjoined *with* the ancient countrieis of the vsurpeur, and may be called a mixt principallitie.² the changes and variations of sic sort of monarchie arryseth first of a natural difficultye and weywardnes that is in all countrieis newlye conquered: sua that Men changeth very willinglye there Lords and maisters 10 hoping to better there condition,³ and commo[n]lye throug this conceate they disclay[m]e there obedience and revolteth aganst thame quha before commanded thame. Quhairin for the maist part they deceve theme selfs quhills as they behald be experience the[m]e [?] baith damnefyed and destroyed: ⁴ quhilk dependeth vpon a natural and ordinarye necessetie quhilk forces euer the conquerer to straipe and distresß these ouer quhome he is becommed new lord and soveraine, whether it be by great cumpanyes of men of armes or garrisons or be what sort of oppressions resulting commonlye vpon a new 20

F. 147 b. conquest. / So that in this case thow sal have these for enemyes quhome thow hes vexed and oppressed in the attempting⁵ and obtaning of this thy new monarchye. Nather yet sal thow retene⁶ or keip these for freinds by quhase help thow hes clymmed to this degre of state, as not being able to recompence theme sa condinglye as they expected off, the nather yet can thow vse rigourous remeids *against* theme to quhome 27

¹ a newe.² government.³ estate.⁴ Indangered.⁵ obtaning.⁶ conserve.

thow is so far obleshed. Yet ¹ howsoever it be that sic a inter-
 pryser be mervellouslye strong and vppropped be the number
 of his armie, whether mistars he or is [?], it [is] requeseit for
 him to seik the pepills favour quhome he hes subdewed: ²
 the default quharoff maid Louyes the 12 king of france within
 short tyme to tyne the duikdome of milan quhilk a litil afore
 he conquested, and at the first ³ was no soner expelled then
 be his auen forces, ⁴ be reasoun that the milaneses, quha in
 the begining receaved him, seing efterward theme altogether
 deceived in there opinioun and frustrated of these advantages ¹⁰
 and commodities that they expected off him, culd not longer
 suffer this disdanfull and proud behaviour of there newe prence.
 It is very treue Indeid that that rebelling countrie being agane
 recovered and reconquested was lost agane mair hardlye:
 in so far that the king returning agane and taking colour and
 coverterye vpon there last rebelloun giue lousse *with* les
 respect the brydill to his crueltie, to the end he might bene
 the mair assured of that estate, thereafter punishing the
 culpable, discovering the suspected, and renforsing the wakest
 places of the duikdome. So att the first, a erle ⁵ ludouik being ²⁰
 able enough to mak the frensh to lose Milan, he mutening and ⁶
 seducing the states on ⁷ the borders of the duikdome, yet at
 the second tyme he was constraned to trouble all the world
 and crave there ayde aganst the King or euer the frenshe
 forces wer defait and chast out off italye. /all quhilk things
 hapned be the help and occasions for said. And so war the
 frensh at tua several tymes displaced.

F. 148 a.

Now the generall causes [quhilk] concerne the first loss of
 milan being discussed, it followeth that we subione these off
 the secound, and discover the remeideis quhilk king luyois ³⁰
 might haue had, or any ⁸ other having the lyke occasioun may
 use for the better maintenance and langar contenuing off his
 conq[u]esed estate quhilk the other left vndone. ⁹ I say, therefore,
 that the cuntryes newlye and, as it wer, freschlye conquested
 and conjoined to a mair ancien[t] estate ar ather of ane province ³⁵

¹ sua.⁴ moyens.⁷ off.² conquested.⁵ count.⁸ some.³ in the begining.⁶ sewing sedition.⁹ that he not done.

Crudele
turcorum
concilium

and speache *with* the *patrimonial* lands of the conqereour or no. Incace they be, there is na thing mair esie then to keip theme, specially if the pepill haue not bene accustomed to liue in libertie, and it is auailable enough in the suir possessing off theme, to extinguish and roote furth the race onlye of the prence and lord that afore was there maister and superiour. Becaus in other things the *conquerour* keiping vnto theme there ancient laues, liberties, and priu[i]lidges,¹ and not disauouing nor abrogating there auld customes, the pepill be thir meanes easelye reposit: as we haue sene be experience 10 In burgongne, bretaigne, gascongne, and normandie that sa peaceble in peace hes liued vnder the crowne and subiectioun of france; and yet albeit ther be some litil difference of speache amangs theme, yet there forme of lyfe and fashions ar a lyk and liueth in compatabilitie and agrement weill enough together. He then that uald keip theme² quh[o]me he hes conq[u]eshed as his awen necessarlye must do tua things—ane to abolish and extinguish inteirlye the whole blood, race, & memorie off there *precedent* lord and former maister³—
F. 148 b. the second / not to violat, alter, nor abrogat there liberties be 20 new impositions & taxations, to the end that the new lord with short proces of tyme may mak his new estate one *with* the same bodye of his ancient.

Bot quhen it happneth that thow mak the conquest ouer a natioun of different langage and behaviour and of other maners then thy auen, at that tyme great and panfull impediments must aryse. And it is requeseit in sic occuirences thow be furneshed *with* mair then extraordinarye hap and a wonderfull foresight & convoy⁴ to retene sic pepill the langar In subiectioun.⁵ And yet in such a cace I espy no⁶ mair 30 effectuall nor gretar remedie then that the prence sal pass to these parts in persoun and mak his residence amangs theme: for this is the onlye moyen that may mak the possessioun of that cuntrye of langar contenance and mair assured: as the great turc hes done of grece, quha besyds the gud ordinances introduced be him for the retentioun & conservatioun of his 36

¹ and customes.

⁴ of thy actions.

² as his awen.

⁵ In sic sort that.

³ prede[cessour].

⁶ not a.

impyre, yet if that he had not transported his throne and placed his seate amangs theme, it had bene a thing impossible for him so lang to haue preserved it. Becaus the prence being present in these parts, he may promptlye and quicqlie [*sic*] provyde aganst these abuses and disordours and secreit conspiraceis that may aryse: bot being absent and far off, he is not so sone certefyed of theme, rather hes he soner intelligence bot then quhen they grow to that greatnes as¹ they can not be quesched nor remedied. Morover that province sa conquered is not so subiectly to be impovereshed and piled be 10 the officers that thow hes theirin placed, in respect of the neire help² and recours the pepill may have to there master, quaha in consideration hereoff is both / beloved of the best and feared off the warst. And quhatsumeuer of the nighbour nations wald attempt to assailye or invade that province, he sal be forced to think tuyse or he interpryse anis, be reasoun it will be a purpose full of hardnes to bereave him off it sa lang as he is there resident.

F. 151 a.

There is yet another better remeide, and that is to erect coloneis and to transport a certene number of your naturell 20 pepill in ane or tua pairts of your new conquered lands to inhabite and duell therein, quaha will serve as keis to that estate, considdering that it behoveth yow ather to do so or otherwyse to entertenye bands & cumpanyes of hors and fit men. Bot coloneis ar not so chargebill nor of sic infinit expensis, and they may be baith sent and intertened with litill cost, doing bot wrang and violence onlye vnto these quaha ar chased and displaced furth off there auen rovmes to giue place vnto the newe Inhabitants: for these that so are dispossessed³ ar bot a litill number and part of the province, 30 quaha In regard of⁴ there povertie and banishment ar disabled baith of moyens and force to disq[u]yet and displese yow. And these also that resteth vndisplaced and liues peaceblye in there former conditioun, it is a thing ful of liklihoode that they sal attempt nothing, allwyes fearing that be there rebelioun they might be brought to the sa[m]e miserie and fortoun 36

¹ that.² that.³ and in regard off the dispossessed.⁴ for.

with the former. I conclud then that seinge the coloneis ar not of great cost nor charges, they ar mekill mair suirer and les hurtfull, and they also quho ¹ feling the greatnes of there losses remaines poore and exyled ar not able to ² Indommage you: off the quhilk this is to be observed, that the prence suld mak tame the conquered *with* a certane soft and myld procedings, or other[w]yse destroy or terrefie theme at least altogether; / becauſ they wald revenge light wrangs that wer offered theme very easelie incace they remaned vndispersed or unexyled, bot ³ they culd not resent the great Iniuryes ¹⁰ whils as the moyens wer takken from theme. So that the ⁴ offences *yat* ar to be offered ⁵ vnto man suld be off that kynde ⁶ that, not being subiect to vengeance nor punishment, the doer may be vncontrolled.

F. 151 b.

Nota

Bot if in place of colonyeis [*sic*] the prence vald entertenye troupes ⁷ of horſs and bands of fit men, he suld spend mair, and the charges being so great he suld vpon his suldarts conse[u]me the hail renew of his new conquest in sic sort that his gaine suld be his loſs and the pepill mair greved also: bycaus vndoubtedlye they suld be mair destroyed and impovereshed ²⁰ be the ordinarye troupes of his men of were ⁸ then be recent inhabitants, quhilk is a fasherye and trouble that wald redond to euerye ane, and be consequence [mak] euerye ane ⁹ to be thyne enmeye, quha being so outraged, extorted, and oppressed in there guds, and yet not altogether bereft off theme, resenting there Iniuryes hes pouer to annoy yow. So that it appereth evidentlye that this sort of garde is very vnprofitable quhair be the *contrare* colonoyeis and the transporti[n]g of your auen pepill in the new conqeshed lands ar mair commodious and helpfull. 30

Morover he that beholding him self lord and maister over a new province unlyke ¹⁰ to his ancient ¹¹ dominioun, efter that forme that I haue reported, suld pretend to mak him heid and protectour of his nighbours quhome he sal perceave to be more weaker and les powerfull then him self, and be ³⁵

¹ these that.² can not do nor ar able to.³ greter Iniuryes.⁴ quhat.⁵ done.⁶ sort.⁷ bands.⁸ armye.⁹ euerye ane all they.¹⁰ dislyke an.¹¹ principalitie.

bent alwayes¹ to purches the weakening and decay of the mightier. Bot above all things he ought to be sa circumspect that he suffer In na maner of sort a stranger to haue entrie *with* In these new lands quhase forces may be als great as his auen.

F. 152 a. Quhilk thing may fall out very weil whils the strangers may be brought in by theme that being discontented with this new government and they also extreme ambitious or stricken *with* a great feare off the excessive pouar off this new vsurper there nighbour; as we reid of the etholiens that brought in 10 the romans first in grece: and in effect these worthy men never put fit in any contrie of the warld whils as they wer not first baith convoyed and conducted be these of the province.

This is the reason of this discourse that incontinent quhen a pouerfull stranger entreth in a countrie all the maist feblest theroff runneth from all parts and assembleth to his partye, prriked [*sic*] and spurred *with* envy quhilk they beare to there nighbours mair stranger then they be: in sic sort that in consideration of thir meanest lords the new attempter may *with* 20 facilitie alleure theme vnto him and incorporat theme with these parts that he conquested of there nighbour: quhilk cumming² to pass, he hes no more to care for then to empesche agane the growth and encreasing of there forces. And this thing³ being provyded and remedied, he may thereafter easelie *with* his auen⁴ pouer and there assistance humble and bring lowe greatnes of others, that he may thereafter whollie submitt the province to his discretioun. Quhat euer conquerour haith not his eys opned in this consideration he sal not with great⁵ assurance or continance keip that that 30 he hes conquested; yea, in that litill that he sal retene he salbe assured to receave an endles mess of hardneß and difficulteis.

The romans vnderstood very weil how to keip this maxime in all the provinces they conquested and subdeued, sending amangs theme colonnies [and] inhabitants,⁶ enterteining the 36

¹ also.

² being.

³ quhilk.

⁴ propre.

⁵ lang.

⁶ and Induellers.

weakest yet neuer permitting theme to be mair stranger then they fand theme, and abbaissing and infebbling the fercest of
 F. 152 b. the mightier, neuer suffering / that a strangers armie might purchess authoritie, credit, or reputatioun, for prooffe quharoff I will only produ[ce] ¹ the greeks for example.

The achees and etholiens wer entertened and vppropped be theme and the kingdome of macedonia abbaissed and brought vnder. They did cast out and excluded the king antiochus, nather ² p[er]mitted they that the acheians nor etholians for all their best seruices euer culd extend ³ there bonds or better 10 there estate. Nather the admonitions nor messages of king philip culd ⁴ euer persuade theme to his frendship vntill they had reduced him to nothing. Nather consented they ⁵ euer to mak peace whow [*sic*] euer puissant was antiochus ⁶ *with* him sa lang as he had pouar of an Inche of earthe in grece. And in this cace they did all that quhilk wyse and provident prences ⁷ suld doe quha, not onlye respecting the present occurences ⁸ bot also these that may aryse, dois by a forseing cais warlye provyde and giue ordour In dewe tyme. Be reason it wer easie to giue remedie & devert these dangers that ar sene to 20 approche far off, bot be the contrair, quhen they ar discovered to draw neire, the miecicine is vntymlye and na mair *in* season, becaus the disease ⁹ is becummmed incurable. And it falleth out in this cace very conformablye to that quhilk the medeciners speiketh of the ethik feueur, quhilk in the first cumming is ease to be healed ¹⁰ bot not easee ¹¹ to be discerned; bot in the course of tyme, not being at the first knauen nor cured, ¹² it becummeth easele to be perceaved bot impossible to be remeded.

So it goeth in principalities quha forseing a far off (quhilk 30 thing onlye falleth in a wise prence) the euils and Inconueniences that daylye may aryse *with* dexteritie may amend or devert theme: bot Incace the knauledge of thir things ouer late cummeth vnto theme, these dangers ar suffered to receive
 F. 153 a. over great encrease / in sic sort that they may be [be] the ees 35

¹ MS. torn.² euer.³ inlarge.⁴ might.⁵ wald they.⁶ *with* antiochus albeit.⁷ men.⁸ occasions.⁹ seik.¹⁰ cured.¹¹ hard.¹² haled.

of all men discerned and yet the amendment and remedies dispared.

And for this cause the romans very tymlye gaue ordeur for sic insewing perrells, and discovering theme afar off never suffered theme so to insewe then by the vndertakking of a new were for any feare on hasard of a battell: for they vnderstood weill enough that by sic sufferance the occasioun of weir was not removed bot diffeired, *with* the enmeyes advantage and surplus of ma Inconveniencies.

And for this cause they began very *pertinentlye* in grece 10 aganst king philipp and Antiochus, suspecting and fearing that at another tyme they suld haue to combatt *with* them *within* italye. And they might weill, if they had pleseid,¹ haue abstaened baith fra the ane and the other, whilk they thought not gud, nather did choose it for the best advyse; nather euer did that prouerb please theme that is euerye day in the mouth of the wyse men of this age,² to witt, that it behoveth men to tak the commoditie of tyme as it *cums*; bot be the contraire they fallowed a sentence worthye baith of there wisdom and vertew, that tyme leades³ all things 20 *with* it, and may bring alsone the gud as the euill and the euil as the good.

Now lat vs retourne and speik of france, and lat vs consider by parcells iff shee fallowed any of thir forspokken purposes.⁴ And for this cause I sal hold peace of Charles the 8 and report off loueis the 12, as of ane quhase maner of proceeding is mair clerlye knawen, in respect of his lang possession quhilk he retened In italye. And there ze sal discover 30 / that he hes altogeather oppositlye proceded to thir maxims and to that quhilk he suld haue done for the constitution of a forrane and conquested estate. King lowyes was introduced In italye be the ambitioun of the venetians, quha pretended vpon hope off his arryvell to winning⁵ the half of Lumbardie. I discommend not the kings interpryse quha, intending to pass beyond the Alpes, and being vnprovyded of freinds, yea, having all the portes of italye closed aganst him (be the fresh 36

¹ to.² tyme.³ brings,⁴ things.⁵ of.

memoire of the vndiscreit handlings & actions¹ off his predecessour) was constrained to help him *with* the assistance and *confederaceis* of these that he culd haue at that seasoun. And treulye he had commed very weill to his drifts and obtened the end off his desyrs gif he [had] not failed in the meanes² of his procedings. For he having subdewed Lumbardie, he *with* the same recovered this whole reputation that kings [*sic*] Charles before had lossed, and forcing³ Genua to rander maid the florentins to become his frends, so yat the Marqis of mantwa, the duk of ferrar, the bentiuolles off bullongne, the contesse off 10 furelye, the Lords off faense, of pesare, off arimin, off camerin, of plombin, these of luca, of Siena⁴ and of pisa, euerye ane and all off these former suddenlye sought his favour and freindship. And therefore the Venetians might have remarqued very weill there erreur and vnadvysed consells quha for the ganing of tua tounes of Lumbardie at ane instant maid a king maister of tua thrids of italye.

And it may be sene be the estate off thir tymes present with quhat litill paine king Louyes might haue maintained his greatnes in this province gif he had sollistfullye and cairfullie 20 keiped these rules that we haue prescryved, and had putten under his protectioun all these friends and confederats above⁵ rehersed.

F. 154 a. / Quha seing theme selfs sa far weakened and stricken with feare of the papes⁶ great pouer and off the forces of the venetiens wer constraned perpetuallye to keip the league and confederacye betuix him and theme, and by there help and ayde⁷ might haue had the advantages above the gretest potentates quhase pouer might bene sonest supported. Bot he was na soner in Milan quhils he began to forgett him self, 30 sending succourse to pape Alex. for the subdeuing of romagne. And the gud king was not weill advysed herin, nor yet did he see how that in the executioun of the papes desyre he weakened his auen conq[ue]sts, lossing therby his best frends and confederats and these quha, haldin theme selfs in the rok of safty, thought theme suir under the shaddow off his wings. Bot he randring 36

¹ intertenuement.

⁵ before.

² other parts,

⁶ kings.

³ brought.

⁷ succourse.

⁴ Sienna.

the kirks & papes pouer ouer pouerfull and adionying unto the spirituell parts thereof (by which it hes maist commandments) sic great rithces [*sic*] and respect be temporell, sa that as at his ¹ entrie he maid a gross ² and a loutish fault.³ In the progress off necessitie, he was enforced of necessite to fallow the seq[ue]ll of his errour in such wayes that he was agane preased and constrened, for the restraint and brydeling of the Insatiabie desyre of the pape alex ⁴ seiking and determ[in]ing the subiectioun of whole toscainge, to returne agane to italye. And being not contented to haue maid great and inlarge the 10 dominion of the pape, and be that help and moyens geuen in favours off the kirk to haue forsaken and destroyed his confederats, through that vehement desyre he had to subdew Naples he did associat and marroued vnto him in the conquest off the same the king of spaine; so ⁵ that as afore he was the first arbiter and maister in italye he toke him *vairreter* for assistar and a compannon, to that end that the /delyters In noveltyes, and these off the contrye that favored not his factioun, might easele have rec[ours]⁶ vnto a protectour aganst him; and quhome he might very weill left and con- 20 stitut a tributarye king ⁷ in the cuntrie and might bene his pensioner, he displaced sic a ane and substituted in his place ane of sic abilitie and autoritie that had moyens sufficient to chase him out of his conquest and kingdome.

Treulye it is a thing very naturel and ordinaire to a ki[ng]⁸ to haue a desyre to inlarge and extend his bordours and limitts, and quhen they may and dois effectuate the same they ar gretlye to be commended, or, at least, very litill to be blamed: bot gif the success of this ⁹ be impossebill for them to accomplish, and yet not theles at all houers they 30 attempt and busyeis theme selfs in sic interpryses, there is there errour and reproche of there temeritie.¹⁰ Sua that incace france might have *with* her awen forces subdeued Naples, shee suld have so done, bot being vnable shee suld not have called nor brought in the ¹¹ assistance and forces of another. 35

¹ the.² fault.³ errour.⁴ to returne.⁵ in sic maner.⁶ MS. torn.⁷ viceroy.⁸ MS. torn.⁹ thing.¹⁰ rashenes.¹¹ these.

Now as concerning the leage that it had *with* the Venetians for the conquest of Lombardie shee is to be excused, be reasoun that vnder this pretext very softlye entred baith her feit in italye. Bot as touching that confederacie quihilk she established *with* spaine for the overthrow of naples she is far to be blamed and dispresed, having na thing to mak her vnexcusable through the forward necessetie.

The king then hes committed in this his Interpryse fyfe great faultes to witt : ane In debaising and bringing to nothing the litill potentates ; the secound in augmentinge and In-¹⁰ larging in italye the pouar of a puissant pape ; the thrid to have brought and called in to be compartner *with* him a overmightie stranger ; the 4 not resolving to mak residence langar amangs theme ; and the 5 in not sending coloneis, and in not transporting some off his auen natiue pepill to Inhabit the new conquest.

F. 149 a. / All which faultes notheles during his lyfe might [have] bene remedied or att least not indomnaged him over much Incace he had not committed the sax in spuylzin and be-reaving the venetians off there estate. And yet it is of veretie ²⁰ that, gif he had not sa far advantaged and advanced the affairs of the roma[n]e kirk and also introduced the spanzarts in Italye, it might have stand *with* reason that he had maid louar the hornes off the venetians and weakned there greatnes. Bot he being at the begining confederat *with* theme, he suld never have Indured that other adversaryes suld have vsurped vpon theme. For incace the venetians had remaned whole and sou[n]d in ther first pouar, they wald have euer empeshed the enmee of thame baith to have entred in Lombardie, be reasoun that they wald never have consented and condiscended to ³⁰ any others entrie therin bot *with* conditioun that they might have themeself remaned onlye superiours and masters.¹ And the adversaryes culd be na lyklihoode displace of ther part the frenshmen to have consigned it in the hands of the venetians. And the hardines ² of the whole world culd not have availed to have assailzed thame both togeather.

Bot incace some will obiet that king loyes quytet romanye ³⁷

¹ Sua as the others.

² baldness.

to pape alexander and the kingdome of naples to spane for escheueing of the weirs, I sal ansuer be the same reasons before deduced be me that nane suld give place to ane Inconvenient for the euiting the occasioun ¹ of a weir, quhilk wholye and altogether is not be this meane euited bot differred onlye for a tyme to thy greter disadvantage thereafter: and gif some others will alledge vnto me that fals promeis that the king did ² mak to the pape in furneshing him *with* forces to the subdeuing of al romagne, for that recompence he obtaned at the papes hands in the dispensation of his mariage and for 10
F. 149 b. the obtening of the rid hatt to the Legat of amboyse, / I will remitt theme to that ansuer that sal be set doune herefter in that place quhairin I entreat of the promeis of prences and how far there faith suld be keped.

Sa be these things we see that king loyes lossed Lumbardie as not having the fassons ³ nor prattik in observing and conforming them to these maximes and grondes quhilk other conquerours very hapelye falloued in the conquest of these provinces quharoff they wer desyrous to reteane longar possessioun. And this ⁴ proceding is not strange bot very reason- 20
 able and ordinarlye experienced. Off the which I remember that somety[m]es [I] discoursed *with* the cardinall of amboyse in nantes, about that tyme that romagnye was occupied by the duik of valentines, for so was cesar borgia the papes sone named; In so far that confering ⁵ *with* the cardinal on this purpose he spak agane vnto me, saying that the Italiens vnderstood nathing in the acts of weire: to quh[o]me I replyed that the frenshmen vnderstood nathing in maters of estate, be reasoun gif that they had any knowlege in the same they wald never have *permitted* that the romane kirk suld have 30
 suelled to that greatnes. And in effect it is sene by experience that quhat pouer and autoritie aither the pape or the spanzarts hes in italie was occasioned by france ⁶ quha in place of recompence wer the ruyne and extrusioun of the whole frenshmen. So that off all thir things this general reule and maxime may be gathered that very sendle suffereth 36

¹ of the causes.² gave and did.³ maner.⁴ quhilk.⁵ discoursing.⁶ the frenshmen.

exception, to witt, that gif thow euer vprop that pouar of ane other thow empareth¹ the greatnes of thy auen, be reason that this thy greatnes is purchessed by the ayde of thy auen witt or of thy auen forces, quhilk ar both suspected be him quhase pouar thow hes advanced. 5

¹ diminishes.

Chapter 4.

Quharfore the kingdome of Darius vsurped / by
Alexander maid no defectioun fra his / successours.

Caput 4.

SOME may Iustlye wonder, efter consideratioun of thir diffi-
cultyeis that resulteth vpon a new conquered estate, quhairfor
it proceded that alexander the great within the space of feue
yeres subdewing all asia and yet dying or he sharlye possessed
it, quhilk might ministred mater of rebeilioun to the whole
nations conquered incace the fore named reasons hes place, 10
yet notheles his successours peaceblye possessed thame, na ¹
[. . .] was there vther impediment to mantane the sa[me] ¹
then that quhilk floued fra there auen desyres, discord, and
ambition. To this I ansuer that all principalities and empyres
of which any memorie is extant by tua dyvers maner of wayes
ar governed, ather by the will ² of ane king and his subiects
as servants and slaves, quha be his licence, grace, and per-
missioun assisteth him in the purchessing of his conquests or
In the defense of the conquered, or be a prence and his nobilitie
that are vnto him coadjuteurs in the government of these 20
dominions, not sa meikill for the respect of yair soverane and
his autoritie as for the antiquitie of there house and nobilitie
of thair race and bloode that autorise theme of themselves in
this handling. And these noble men and barons haith there
auen propre lordships and vassalls ³ that dependeth im-
mediatlye vpon thame and beareth thame fra there birth a
natural affectioun. Now the prence off these monarchyes that 27

¹ MS. torn.² appetite.³ pepill.

ar ruled by his auen appetit and conquered and retened by the service of his subiects ¹ as slaves ar mair reverenced be reasoun that in all these provinces they acknowledge none other for superiour bot him only ; / and incace they obey ane other it is for no other regard then ² that they see him to be the prences officer to quhome otherwyse they beare no ³ particuler affectioun. In these our dayes we may perceave the examples off thir tua dyvers wyes of governement, baith in that of the great turk and the king of france. For all the whole dominioun of the turk is by the will and comma[n]dment of ¹⁰ ane man reuled, and all the rest of his subiects ar his captiues and led slaves, quha devyding his lordships by governments quhilk they cal *Sangiacques* prefeireth these slaves and captiues to the charge off the same, quhome he changeth, promoteth, places, and displaces at his plesur. Bot the king of france is placed as it wer in the midst of ane multitud of lords, quha having there auen vassalls sa far and lovinglye affected vnto thame reteneth that autoritie quhilk the king can not *with* draw fra thame nor diminsh without perell and s . . . ⁴ Quha euer then sal consider these tua different governments of ²⁰ estate must ⁵ be of this opinioun, that it is very hard to displace the turk, bot being ans casten out be a new vsurper, quha with great facilitie may reteane his conquest, it wil be hardlye fra the turk recoverit. ⁶ The causes of these difficulteis In dispossessing the turk procedeth fra this, becaus the vsurper or interpryser can not be Invited nor introduced be the gretest lords of the countrie, nather can he have any possoble hoip to facilitate his enterpryse be the rebellion of thame that ar about the great turks *person* for the reasouns forsaid. And seing that all his subiects ar his captiu[e]s and ³⁰ slaves so far obleshed in lyfe and libertie vnto there great lord, they can not without ⁷ great difficultie be corrupted, and gif they wer seduced and Intysed to rebellion, the advantages wer smal quhen as they, as we have proved before, might ³⁴

¹ men.² bot, then.³ nather.⁴ Indecipherable.⁵ he sal judge and.⁶ the turk sal not sa sone recovere it.⁷ bot.

not draw ¹ the rest of the pepill to fallow there revolt & defectioun.

[The remainder of this chapter, chapters 5-9, and the beginning of chapter 10, wanting.]

[Chapter 10]

F. 156 a. It is almaist imposseble that a chiftane ² assaulte with his awen forces may ydelye abyde and campt himself a whole yere about a cytie asseged. And gif any will replie that incace the pepill haue there possessions *without* there cytie, and behalding ³ thame brint and wasted before there eyes sal not ¹⁰ haue so much patience, bot through the straitnes off the sege and by the love off there auen things salbe constraed to forgett the respects that they boore vnto there prence: all to which I ansuer that a potent, prudent, and courageois prence may ouercome all these difficultyes, geving new hope to there subiects off the outgait of there euills and releif of there perplexiteis, and then agane reporting the crueltye of there common enmeye giue to thame gretar terroure ⁴ of the same, and takking ordour, great dexteretie, and foresight *with* thame quhase bald actions might tend to mutene or rebellion. ²⁰ And besyds all this the custome of the enmeyes is to burne and waist the whole countrie att there first approaching, and euen at that tyme quhen the myndes of men ar maist incensed and kendled to resistance: and for ther consideratioun of thir violent beginings the prence may doubt the leß of his securetie or there desertioun; bycas the losses and dommages ar alreddie done and receaved, so that no more remidie resting, then concereneth the pepill to be mair coupled *with* there prence, supponing that he Is the mare obleshed vnto thame and they to have more Interest over him whills that for his ³⁰ defense ⁵ and quarrell there houses and possessions ar brint, waisted, and destroyed; and the nature and conditioun of men is ³²

¹ mak.

² invader.

³ seing.

⁴ feare.

⁵ cause.

suchte ¹ to oblesish thame selfs als far vnto these on whome they have bestowed favour and bennefeits as to be bound to those ² of quhome they have receaved great benefeits. So considdering this mater rightlye It sal be a mater of sma travell to a vyse and courageous prence baith at the begining and efterward to entertayne the courage of his subiects to the leng[t]h and contenance of the defense of the beseged cytie, provyding that they be not disprovyded ³ of such [moyens ⁴ that ⁵ ar requeiseit baith for viuers and defense. 9

¹ ar so to love theme als.

² weill quhone they have obleshed by services as these.

³ provyded baith.

⁴ things.

⁵ as.

F. 156 b.

Chapter II.

off the principalyteis ecclesiastics.

Chapter II.

IT falloweth and resteth only for this present to discurse off the ecclesiastic principalyteis, whairin¹ there ar no other difficulteis then these that aryses before they be erected and possessed; which ather ar acq[u]yred by vertew or by the favour of fortoun, and yet *without* the help ather of the ane or of the other ar conserved, being weill eneugh susteained by the auld and ancient ordinances and constitutions of religioun, which 10 ar all of sic pouer and autoritie that they uphold² there prelatz efter quhat sort so euer they behave theme selfs in a peaceble possessioun of there estates. This only sort of men hes principalyteis which they defend not, they have subiects³ in the government of quhome they ar cairles. Notwithstanding there prelacyeis nor principalytes, albeit vndefended, ar never by any takken from theme; nather yet there subiects regardeth, nor yet, gif they might, wald they allienat and declyne there superiours autoritie. Thir principalyteis then ar only happie and asseurd: yet seing they ar by a celestiall 20 cair mantened and by a houlye providence⁴ reuled, susteained, to the which na mortal mans spreit and senses can attaine vnto, I sal desist fra insistinge heirin, becaus they, beinge vppropped⁵ and exalted by god, it war a part of an vnadvyssed and presumptionous man to waid farder thairin.

Notheles gif any man suld ask of me quhy the kirk in the 26

¹ about.⁴ sollicitud.² by thameselfs.⁵ by the.³ and they governe thame.

temporaltie ¹ hes clymed to this greatnes & becummmed sa pouerfull, quihils as before the tyme of pape alexander the potentates of italye, nether others that uer not called by this name, bot the least barron and lord that was for the tyme, maid na accont of theme in things temporall, and yet since hes growen so mightie that the churche hes casten a king of france out of italye with all his forces, and hes also abbaised the reputatioun of the Venetians: which things, albeit they be notorious of thame selfs, yet it semeth vnto me not to be a superfluous point to recall ² the same agane to our remem- 10
brance.

F. 157 a. Affore ³ that charles the 8 past into italye, all that province was devyded and reduced vnder ⁴ the subiection of the papes, off the Venetians, of the king of naples, off the duik of milan, and off the florentins. These fyfe potentats suld have had tua cheif considerations, the one that one stranger suld have never entred *with* his armye *within* italye, the other that none of thame suld have amplefyed and extended the bonds of his possessions ⁵ and estate. These in quhome the gretest cair of thir things suld have fallen wer the pape and 20 the Venetians. And to have hald bak the venetians from the inlarging of there estate, the vnion and confederacye of the remanent was sufficient, as it appered by thair procedings in the defense of ferrara. And lykwyse to have hemmed in the papes pouer they might have vsed very weill the force of the romane barons quho, being devyded into tua dyvers factions, the orsins and colinneses, nurished alwayes maters of dissentions, causes, and altercations perpetuallye amangs thame, and having ever there uapons in there hand euen in the sight and eyes off the pape, they infebled g[r]ettumlye his greatnes. And albeit 30 sometymes some pape of great forwardnes and courage did arise, as Sixtus 4, yet nather the favour of fortoun nather yet his ⁶ wisdomme culd avayle to rid him out and disobleish him out of these troubles and incommodyties. The causes heroff proceded from the shortnes of the papes lyves, be reasoun 35

¹ in these estates that caled I temporell estates hes becummmed sa pouerful.

² reduce.

³ Beffore.

⁴ into.

⁵ principalyteis *deleted*.

⁶ ther.

that ten yeres wer the longest terme of there lyfes, which wer not sufficient to destroy the adversarye factioun, and which off theme wald¹ preased euer to overthrow² the coloneses an other efter him successevlye succeded, quha being enemie to the vrsins restored the coloneses and resuscitated³ there estate; to the which attempts the schortnes of ther lyfe⁴ was by experience ouer short to have extinguished and subverted the orsine faction. From these dissensions⁵ and causes flowed that the temporal estate & forces of the papes was litill respected and feired in Italye for that tyme.

10

Then arise pape alexander the 6 quha by his proceidings above all his predecessours did shaw quhat a pape might achtehefe by his money⁶ and men and by these meanes prevail, which things he compassed by the hands and Industrie of his sone duk Valentine as also by / the ayde and arryvall of the frenshemen, as before we have mentioned in the discourse of the duik his sone. And albeit the proiects of alexander wer not to the advancement of the Jurisdiction⁷ of the roman kirk, notwithstanding what euer was executed by his sone it wholye redu[n]ded to the gretnes and augmentation of the 20 saming,⁸ which after the death of the pape and ruyne of his sone became heretrice of all there panes and conquests.

Efter this Julyis secundis succeded in the papedome, quha findinge the Jurisdiction and pouar of rome hig[h]lye advanced by the subiECTION of romainge and the subiECTION⁹ of the romane barons, and by his punishment and persecution, all these factions brought vnder fuit; and lykwyse perceaving the port to be oppned to all new platts¹⁰ & courses by which he might gather treasure never purchessed afore alexanders tyme, this Jul[i]us followed not onlye these proiects bot also 30 inlarged and extended thame greatlye, as by his purposes in the subdeuing of bolonga, and In the clipping of the wings of the Venetians and chaising the frenshe out of italye is manifest; all which interpryses he so happelye compassed¹¹ with such comendation and glorie as his whole conquests, redounding not 35

¹ did. ² destroy.

³ repared.

⁴ the tyme.

⁵ factions.

⁶ silver.

⁷ autoritie.

⁸ roman churche, papes autoritie.

⁹ extirtpation.

¹⁰ intention.

¹¹ purchessed.

to the benefeit of his particulers, enriched and Inhanced the public pouar of the papedome. And besyds this he mantened alwayes these factions of the vrsins and colonneses in that same estate quhairin he fand theme.

And albeit amangst theme some had rissen to bene a chif-tene of there factions yet tua things retened theme¹ In ordour and subiexion: ane the greatnes of the churches pouar by² which they wer terrefyed, the other the scarsetye, yea nuilletie, of cardnalls partakers³ which wer and ar the fontane,⁴ yea and begining, of al altercations amangs theme. 10 Nather sal they euer be at concord nor appeased⁵ sa lang as ther salbe a cardinal in the ane of these factions; bycaus they enterteyten baith *with*in and without rome there partyeis and factioners, and these⁶ ar forced to accompanye and con-
 F. 158 a. joyne *with* thame. / And sua from the prelats ambitions floweth all these trobles and tu[mu]lts that ar fostered and sustened ama[n]gs the barrons, and therfore pape leo the 10 hes fand⁷ this papedome pouerfull; off quhome we hope that as his predicessours hes it Inlarged and a[m]plefyed by armes he sal also by the gudnes of his lyfe and the multitud 20 off his vertues mak great and worshipfull.

¹ in there.² off.³ partisans.⁴ and source.⁵ or at rest.⁶ barrons which.⁷ obtened.

Parte 2^d. Chapter 12.

hou manye sorts and kyndes ar they of militarye discipline and of mercenarye and waged ¹ suddarts.

Chapter 12.

Now having discoursed and deduced particularlye all these qualyties of pryncedomes ² off which in the beg[in]ing I purposed to reason, And having layed oppen in a apart from whense ³ procedeth the occasions off there euil and gud estate, and having also declared the meanes by which ma[n]y hes atte[m]pted In the obtening and conserving off the same, It ¹⁰ resteth now to entreate ⁴ generallye of the offences and defenses that may happen and chanse to euerye ane off thame.

We have sayd afore how that it is necessar to a prence to have his foundations and gronds sure and solid, vtherwysse off necessetie to fall in ruyne and decay. The principall new antient or mixt gronds which any soverenteye must have ar good lawes and strong forces. Nather can there be good lawes where gud armes ar not, and where gud armes ar, there also must be Iust lawes. I sal leave off purpose to speik of lawes and discourse onlye of armes a[n]d forces. 20

I say, therfor, that the forces by which a prence defends his state ar ather hyred or his awen or his confederats or ells mixt. The hyred and helpfull which ar furneshed and sent by his confederats ar maist dangerous and les proffitable.⁵ And gif a prence hes his state vppropped upon the mercenarye armes, he sal never be suir nor firme in the same, be reason ²⁶

¹ hyr[ed].⁴ discourse.² such principalyteis.⁵ for the hyred.³ quhat respe[ct].

that they ar devyded, seditious, ambitious, but ordour and discipline, and of na trust, vnsupportable amangs freinds, and aganst the enmeyes shaw feble : they have no feare of god nor
 F. 158 b. keip they faith with¹ men. And sa lang /is diffeirred the ruyne and destruction of him that is served by thame as the assault and service of tha[m]e is prolonged.² In tyme of peace thow is eaten up by tha[m]e, and in tyme of weire by thyne enmeyeis thow is spoyled and consumed. And the cause off this is for that they ar not³ mynded nor affected to the by love, nor *with* any other respect retened in thy camp then by a litill 10 some and wages, which is not forceable to mak thame to ventur there lyves or to die in thy atte[m]pts. treuth it is *yat* they wald be thy pensionares and suddarts sa lang as thow hes⁴ no wairs in hand, bot how sone thow sal have to do *with* thyne ennmie then they will ather flie or ells retorne homeward.

Which thing is very easelye to be beleued. For the destruction of italye was no otherwyse occasioned then by the lang trust they reposed in hyred forces : which att other tymes might posseble geven gud prooffe of there manhoode and valiancye in the service of some prence and apperet[h] to be 20 Invinc[ce]ble ; bot sa sone as the forrane pouar reuled the mountans, then shew they how litill confidence suld men have off thame, and quhat smal hope must hereefterward be conceaved off thame. & so it was ease for Charles the 8 to subdew all italye *with* his boucler but a sword. And these quha sais the causes of this subiECTION floued fra the Sinns of the princes they sayd treuthe : bot yet these wer not the causes which wer beleued bot these which⁵ alreddie we have reported, which being the errors and faults euen of the princes so Justlyeie have they smarted for thame. 30

Now will I more amplye discover vnto you the vnhappines and inconveniences of sic mercenarye forces. And *yair*for ye must vnderstand that mercenarye captains ar ather men of valeur or persons of litill vertew. If they be of valeure and of interpryse, thow hes not great cause to confyde or repose on thame, be reasoun they will aspyre always to there auen great- 36

¹ amangs.² diffeired.³ otherwyse.⁴ maks.⁵ ells we.

nes, ather in oppressing the that is there maister or in oppressing others aga[n]st thy intention and drectioun. And if they be of baise courage, thow can not escape to fall in r[u]yne by there couardise. And incace some will mak ansuer¹ that euen any other that hes pouar in his hands may attempt the lyke, whether he be a mercenarye capten or not, to him I will repleye that the weirs ar maid ather by a king /or by comoun well. The prence in his weirs suld be present in person and be principall chiftene of his armye. The republics dois send there burgessis ; and quhen they give charge to ane 10 that proveth not a man of conduct or manheild [*sic*], then suld they depryve him ;² And gif he be valiant, then to reule him sua straitlye and hem him in his comission that he may not overpass the bonds that ar prescribed to him.

And it is sene³ by experience that prences and republicis furnished and armed *with* there propre forces to (*sic, lege do*) achcheive great interpryses, and by the contrair that hyred armeis bringeth great losse and perell unto thame. And *with* mair difficultie is a republic brought in subiectioun vnder the obedience and ambitioun of a citisen beinge armed 20 by ther auen forces then that which is vpholden by succouris and support of a hyred stranger. Rome and Sparta many ages mantened there libertie by the meanes of there auen ar[m]yeis. And the suisses be the lyke moyen ar very weill armed and⁴ liues in a ful libertie.

Bot we have the carthageens for ane ancient example of hyred forces, quha after the first weres betuix thame and the romans wer almaist oppressed by there mercenarye suddarts, albeit they had there auen citisens there chiftains. Philp King of Macedonia was maid efter the death of epanimondas 30 capten to the thebanes, quha efter the overthrow of there enmeyes overthrew there libertie also. And the milanese efter the death of there duk philip waged francis forza aga[n]st the venetians, quhome he ouercomming about caravagio, yet incontinent⁵ efter the obtened victorie conioyned his forces *with* the conquesched enmie for the oppression of his former 36

¹ repleye.² or at leist in suffering him to have charge.³ marked.⁴ maist frei.⁵ presentlye.

maisters. And his father Sforza being vnder the wages of
 quene Jeane of naples Left her at ane instant disarmed that
 shee was constrained for the safty of hir realme to cast herself
 in the armes and forces of the king of arrogane. Gif any will
 obiect that the Venetians and florentins hes in tymes passed
 augmented and enlarged there estate by hyred forces, and
 there captains never aspyring to be there maisters served
 F. 159 b. theame / faithfullye and defended thame, I answer that in this
 cace the florentins wer very far favored of fortoun, be reason
 that of all these excellent captains which they preferred to
 there service, and of quhome they might bene asaged, some of
 thame wer not alwyes victorious & some hes fond obstacles
 and oppositions to there Interprises, and some agane hes
 elsewhere turned thair ambition. Of these quaha vnluklye
 and Invictourouslye travelled in ther conduct of there wers
 and overcam not was Iohne scharpe, quhase faithfulness culd
 not be discerned be reason of his contrair fortoun. Yet euery
 man will confess that incace he had had better luk and had
 overcome the enmeie that the florentins his maisters had bene
 ineuitablye under his discretioun. To Sfporsa [*sic*] was always 20
 opposite the bracceschie quhase contrair courses wer mutuall
 Impediments ¹ to other. And frances his sone applyed his
 ambitioun to lombardy, and nicolas picenine aga[n]st the kirk
 and the kingdome of naples.

Bot let vs come to this which hes hapned not long ago.
 The florentins gaue the charge of there forces to Paule Vitelli
 and choosed him for there captane, quaha from a basse degre
 was mounted to a great reputatioun. Incace he had extingued
 and takken the tovn of pisa, there is nane that ther wald have
 denyed bot Infalleblye the florentins had remained perpetuallye 30
 with him ; ² for gif he had bene yairefter dismissed and served
 there enmeie, they had bene suddenlye ouerthrauen, and In
 retening him *with* thame ineuitablye he had compelled him
 [*sic* : thame] to receive his commandments.

Gif the venetians proceidings be pondered, easele we sal
 obserue that they vertououslye, suiredlye, and gloriouslie have
 maid weirs *with* gud success by there auen natural and proper 37

¹ empesh[ments].

² vnder his subiectioun.

citizens: Which cam to pass afore they interprysed to advance there conquests in the subdewing of the firme land, quhils as there nobles and burgesses¹ and armed pepill employed there forces² in all glorious exploitts.

F. 160 a. / bot sa sone as they began to combatt vpon the mane Land, and fallowing the fashons of the rest of italye for the tyme, then began there wounted vertew and gudhap to decay. And yet in the begining of there conquests in the continent, be reasonn off there litill dominion therin and there great reputation el[se]wheare, it was not to be gretumlye feared that there 10 captens and conductours suld interpryse vpon thame. Bot sa sone as there estate in the firme Land was amplefyed and enlarged, which was about that tyme that Carmignolla was there chiftane, they than had a taist and an assay of there error: for he being a man of excellent vertew and resolution, and they, having vnder his conduct dantonned the duik of milans forces, perceaved him to be mair remiss In his charge and waxen colder in the same, Lenghtened ther weirs beyond there Intention,³ thought weill and very wyslye that they 20 the gowernmen[t] of sic a bold captane; and seing that they nather culd retene nor yet *with* the saftye off there estate and conquest dismisse him, resolved finallye for the preservation of the same to behede him. efter him they had for there captene of war Bartholome of bergamo, Robert of sant severine, & the erle of petiglian and others lyke, by whose help it was to be feared rather of there losses then advantages: as it fell out a litil efter quhils at Vaila, quhair in a batell⁴ they lossed that which in 800 yeres with such infinit hasard, pains, expenses, and deathes, they had purcessed; and the reason is for that 30 off hyred forces groweth slaw and febill conquesches bot suddane, wonderous, and vnlooked for losses.

And seing by thir examples we have so far commed on that we have drawn the mentioun of italye *within* the same, which hes bene governed many yeres *with* mercenarye forces, we will mair hig[h]lye and larglye discourse herupon, to the end 36

¹ cyti[sens].

² wer employed to orders [?] of there armyeis.

³ exspe[ctation].

⁴ Jou[st].

that seing the beginings and progress of thir sort of forces they may the better be amended.

F. 160 b. / And first I wald yow vnderstoode that sone efter the empire was transferred out of italye that the pape in temporell things began to wax great. Italye *yairefter* was devyded in sondrye states and dominions, be reasoun that many of the grettest cyteis tooke armes and rebelled aga[n]st there noblete, wha first being favored off the empreour oppressed the pepill, to the whome the roman Church¹ being adversare by sic diuision pretended to mak theme selfs In the temporaltie mair great and mightier. Many other cyties wer by there auen cytisens brought into subiectioun, and they erected *prences*, so that whole Italye almost fell in the papes servitud and obedience, or In some other particular republics. And the former sort being bot preists, the last simple burgesses not acquainted *with* nor traned vp in the discipline of weres, it was necessar² for thame to hyre forrane forces.

The first quha gave reputatioun to this sort of weirfair was albert erle of romainye, and furth of his schoole brachius and Sforza amangs others hes proceided, which in there tymes wer arbitres of³ all italye. Efter quhome hes succeeded all the rest that to our dayes governed the same by there armes and forces; and the end and effect off all there valliantnes was that italye lay spoyled of charles, sacked by Ludovic, forced by ferdinand, diffamed and disgraced by the suissers.

The maner and ordour which they vsed in this sort off weirfair was to bring reputatioun to there forces at the first entrie to tak all credit fra the footmen. This they did In respect they had na lands nor reueneues except there auen diligence and Industrie, so that a litill troupe of fit forces culd not proceure there great advancement or commendatioun and a gretar number of thame culd not be payed nor Intertey[n]ed vpon there sua smal moyens; in consideration quheroff they applyed thame selfs to the forces off horsmen, by the ayde quheroff, being honorablye Intertened and *with* competent provisioun there fallowers provyded for, all things fel out so

¹ kirk.

² behofull.

far furth that in a armye of 2000 thousand [*sic*] combattars ye suld not have marked a 2000 fuitmen.

F. 161 a. / And besyds all this they employed *with* all cair there hail courage and counsell to banish from theme selfs and sud-darts baith travell and terrour,¹ not slaying others in battell bot makking other *presoners* quhome they dismissed agane vnransomed. In the night they Invaded nather tounes nor trenches of there ennemyeis nor gaue to thame allarmes; nather they that wer asseaged did sortye out to assalze the assegers pallions, nather was there forts² environed nor 10 compassed *with* barriers, tranches, nor fousseis, nather yet in the wintar seasoun did they pitch a camp. All which ordours of sic tyme discepline wer brought in by thame and tollerated, yea, Invented, for the avoyding and declyning baith of paine and perrell, sa as they have brought *pair*by whole italye In servitud and Infamye. 16

¹ paine and feare.

² camp.



Chap. 13.

off assisting suddarts mixtes and ¹ of these that ar borne
or duelling / within the precnis dominioun.

Chap. 13.

The assisting and helping forces (which ar an other sort of vnprofitable armes), ar quhen thow calleth into the succourse a pouerfull persoun that *with* his armes he might help and defend the, as pape Juley hes done not long ago : quha observing ² at the seage of ferrara the slak event and vnhappie yssew of his mercenarye armye, turned his thoughts to the assisting forces, and therefore maid paction *with* king Ferdinand of spaine that by his cumpa[n]yeis he might be assisted. This sort of forces may be of thame selfs baith gud and helpfull,³ bot they ar alwayes hurtfull vnto thame that serveth for thame and ar served by thame. Becaus gif they be defait, the imbringer also resteth vainqueshed *with* thame, thou is there *presoneir* ; and having by there assistance the vppherhand [*sic*], remaneth not the les baith vnder there mercye and discretioun.

F. 161 b. / And albeit the ancient historyes be filled *with* such examples, ²⁰ yet I will not from this example of pape Juley the 2 depart becaus it is so recent : whose consell being so inconsiderat in the occupying of ferrara, they [*sic*] culd no worser be devysed then therby to committ him self to the appetit of ane ambitious stranger. Bot his gud fortoun maid a thrid accident to aryse wharby he suld not have gathered the fruit of his euil eicctioun and vnavdysdnes, be reasoun that efter *pat* his help- 27

¹ native.² remarking.³ advantagfull.

ing forces wer vanquished at Ravenna, and the survenew and oncumming of the suisser armye had suddenlye, contrair the exspectatioun of all the uarld and his auen hope, also putten in flight the frenshemen, he escaped be there meanes captivetie¹ and so fell not in the hands nather of his enmeyes being chased nor yet of his assisting armye and confederats, he being victorious² by other forces³ then *with* theres.

The florentins being naked, disarmed, and destitut of *companyes* of suddarts, borrowed and conducted 10000 frenshemen for the beseaging of pisa, by which advyse gretar perrell and 10 dangers inseed thereafter vnto there estate then euer afore at any tyme they sustened. The emproeir [*sic*] of constant[i]nople for the resisting of his nighbours called in into grece 20000 turkes quhairout off they wald never depart notwithstanding the wairs wer ended: which was the begining off the captiuitie and servitud whairto sic infidells hes redacted that countrie.

Quha will then have this conceate and desyre not to be victorious, lat him serve him selfs [*sic*] be this sort of armes which ar yet mair hurtfull and perelous for thy estate then 20 the hyred and mercenarye, be reason that thy ruine in thame appereth mair reddie and sudden: for they ar all vnited and off ane mynde inclyned to the obedience of him that is there conductor and not to the that is thair incaller.

Bot incace the mercenarye forces wald attempt any thing aga[n]st the, it is necessar for⁴ thame, gif they have win thyne enne[m]ie and relived thy estate, to have long tyme and gretar occasioun thertoe, / considdering they ar not all of ane bodye and natioun bot a medley gathered together and waged fra sondrye places, over quhome incace thou prefeir a thrid *persoun* 30 to be there chiftane they can not sa suddenlye be sa pouerfull, nor purches him that autoritie amangs his suddarts that he may hurt the, or that thou nedeth to feare him. In conclusioun thow sal find in the mercenarye mair cowardlines and negligence,⁵ In the assisting forces mair promptitud and militarye vertew.

36

¹ delyverye.² having vanquished.³ company.⁴ vnto.⁵ faintheartnes, sluggishnes.

Quhairfor a wyse and forseing prence will alwyes refuse thir tua sort of forces and serve him self of his awen, amangs which he will rather choyse to lose then to win by the help of the borroued, and demeth it to be no Iust victorie that is purchessed be the ayde of other armes. I will never feare nor mak doubt off to alledge and Induce Cesar borgia and his actions for example, quha entring in romania with his assisting forces, and conducting his sulddarts quha wer al fre[n]shmen, tooke in imola and furly; bot efterhend perceaving that sic a armye and forces wer not for his securetie, he licenced thame 10 and did cast his thoughts to the waging of mercenarye, trusting that in thame they wer his perrell and danger; so that he hyred for his supplye the orsins and Vitelliens, quhich efterward in the handling of his affairs discovering there subtilityteis [*sic*] and double faith, he destroyed thame ¹ Incontinent, and converted his mynde to his awen and naturell; ² by which he maid it cleirlye to be knawen quhat diuersitie ³ was betuix thir sorts of forces be the gret different reputatioun he obtened at that tyme that he had served him of the assisting frenshmen and the hyred vrsins and vitelliens, and quhen, nather trusting 20 to the ane nor the other, did repose on himself, leined to him self and to his auen naturell and propre moyens. By these meanes his reputatioun uaxed gretar, nather was he so worthe-lye estemed nor was his name so ⁴ renoued and redoubte afore yat first he was sene to be whole possessour and maister ⁵ off his auen forces. I purposed / not to go forthe out of italien examples that ar so recent. Notheles I will not liue vnremem- bred hiero of syracuse quhome I above named. This man, as I have said afore, behalding him to be maid general of the syracuse armye, and perceaving the couardlines and negli- 30 gence of the mercenarye forces, seing there whole captains being lyke vnto our italiens, and considdering *with* himself that he culd not *with* his advantage retene thame nor yet *with* suirtie dismiss thame, in one day put thame all to the sword. Therefter he proceded in the were *with* his awen forces *without* the service or succourse of any others. I will 36

¹ he dismissed and brak thame Incontinent.

² propre.

³ and difference.

⁴ famous.

⁵ and comander.

besyds this recal to memorie an example called furth of the auld testament agreeable to our purpose. Daudid presenting him self to king saul to fight ag[an]st the provocar goliath the philisting [*sic*], saul to encourage him the fordurder [*sic*] furnished him *with* his awen armour, who puttin thame on vpon his shoulders fand thame vnfit ¹ for him and so refused to tak thame, saying that with his sling and sword he wald go aga[n]st his adversarye: of which allegoricallye we ma infer ² that the armes and armour of any other ar ouer large, over strait, or over weghtie for the.

10

After y^{at} Charles the 7, the father of king Loyes the ii, had by the meanes of fortoun and his auen vertew delyvered france from inglishmen, [he] vnderstood very weill this necessitie in arming and strenghtening him self by his awen forces, and establyshed in his kingdome the ordnances of all the bands off hors and fut men; quhose sone, king loyes, abolishing the bands off fut men, began to wage and hire the suissars, which errorr being fallowed by the rest of his successours hes bene and is in effect the cause of the frenshmens ruyne, and of all these dangerous Inconuenients whairvnto that realme hes ²⁰ fallen.

For thus wyes bringing the suissars in reputatioun he maid estimatioun of his auen forces to pyne away: for having brokken all his fut men, he obleshed his horsmen to the armes and valiancye of a forrener, which being accustomed and /
 F. 163 a. traned to fecht *with* the suissis they dispair otherwyse to win bot *with* thame. Of which dois *proceid* that the frenshmen of the[m]selfs can not orthraw the suisses and *without* there assist-
 ance they can not do any exployte aga[n]st any other ene[m]ye. So that the ar[m]yes ³ of france ar mixed, consisting *partlye* ³⁰ of waged and *partlye* of there naturell pepill, which being conjoyned together ar far better *then* these that ar onlye of *mercenarye* or alenarlye assisting and far inferiour to these that ar naturell. In the prooffe wharoff is sufficient that example which before we have rehersed: for gif the kingdome of france increased or at leist had followed king charles the 7 ordnances in warfeir it had bene Invincible. Bot the smal ⁴ wisdome of ³⁷

¹ vnmeit.² gather.³ forces.⁴ litill.

men beginneth a thing which, having the lyklihoode and appeirance of gudnes and vertew, discovereth not the poison that lurketh vnder it, as we have above spokken of the fever eticqve; of which I gather that a *prence* can not Justlye be called wyse and forseing that can not know¹ the euil bot quhen it cummeth² nor the inseuing dangers before they begin. And yet god hes not geven this foresight to manye.

And incace men wald consider the first ruynes of the roman impyre, they sal easelye discerne all ther diuersion³ to have proceded from the wagen and hyring of the gotts; 10 becaus through this entrie and from this begining the romane forces *yairefter* wer infebled, and what vertew and valiancie was takken from the romans was attributed vnto the gotes.

Our conclusioun then salbe that na *princdome* nor soveranetie not propped vp and vpholden by ther *auen* forces can be stable or assured, bot contrarywyse subiect vnto fortoun, having na vertew nor valleur in them selfs to sustane theme. And this was alwyse the opinion and Iudgment off the wysest, that nathing is mair weake nor vnstable then the fame of pouar not fonded vpon her *auen* forces and valiancye. These 20 then I call thy propre and naturell forces which dois consist of the [*sic*] / that ar vnder thy obedience, whether they be citisens, vassalls, or pepill nurished and brought vp vnder the, and all the rest ar ather hyred or helping; and the maner to governe and ordour theme In disceplen sall be of an ese invent[e]d, gif the ordour that before we have set down and designed be fallowed and observed, and as philippe alexander father with many other *prences* and republics hes sen followed, and fortefyed thame in there attempts, to whose procedings I remitt the reder.

30

¹ discernē.² arryveth.³ destruction.

Chap. 14.

Quhat behoveth a *prence* to do or behave himself in / the handling and vsing off his weres, / or, quhat belangeth to a *prence* concerning his weres.

A *prence* suld have no other obiect nor thing before his eyes nor other thoughts nor apply him self to any other office bot vnto the weres and to the reules, ordour, and discepline *yairoff*, by caus It is the only science belanging vnto him and the art that he suld exercise quha wald *pretend* or hes *pretended* to soverantye, & *with* it caryeis such vertew that by it not 10 only ar they mantened that [ar] borne *prences*, bot very oft is the meanes wharby privat men and of base qualyte ¹ *commeth* and *climmeth* to such *prenclye* degreis.² And we se ewen the contrarye quhen *prences* busien the[m]self about his pastimes and plesurs, ar cairles of militarye exercises, hes lossed there estate: for the first reason which may mak theme ather to win or losse the same is ather to condem this art or ells by profession of it to honour it. Francishus forza by the fallowing of armes becam of a privat man duk off milan, and his sones for the eschewing of travells and weresomneß of weres of duces 20 and *prences* hes becumed priuat *persones*. For besyds al the rest of these inconvenences that may fall into the being disarmed, there falleth in this that thow is maid *yairby* contemtebell, which is ane of these Infamyeyes and ignomenyeyes that a *prence* suld be very awar off as we sal shaw herefter: be reason there is na *proportioun* nor *comparaison* betuix the armed and vnarmed, nather dois ³ reason *permitt* that he that is *armd* suld obey him quha is vnarmd, or the valiant the effem- 28

¹ degre.² *prencipalytes*.³ will.

F. 164 a. [in]at, or that he who is disarmed suld be in saftye or in quietnes ama[n]gs his armed servants. / Considering that contempt and disdane being on the one part and distrust in the other, it wer impossible to mak a gud u[e]rke & busines together. And besyds all this, to a prence not practised in werfair falleth this vnhappnes, that he sal not be esteemed of his suddarts nor be belived of them nor they beleued off him: for which consideration he suld never subduce his thoghts from this exercise and in tyme of peace practise this art mair¹ freq[ue]ntlye then in tyme of trouble, which he may do in² 10 tua wayes: the ane in effect []⁵ and bodelye excerse, and the other by his mynde and thoughts and spreit.³ Now as concerning the corporall excercise, it is requeseit that, besyds the gud ordour and continuell tray[n]ing vp of his suddarts, he fallow the pastymes of hunting, be the meanes wharoff he sal harden his bodye to travell, and in a part sal learne the situation of the contrie, know the highnes of the hills, vnderstand the entrie and yssew of the valleyes, the largenes of the plaines, the course of the floodes, and have experience of there passages,⁴ fennes, and marris: and in²⁰ this lat him employ all his cair, the knauledge wheroff is proffitable in tua sorts. First he sal learne therby to know his auen contrie that he may the better defend it at all occasioun. Nixt of the knowledg theroff and experience of these places he may with facilitie comprehende and conceave the situatioun of other parts which may be necessarlye offered vnto him to consider: for example, []⁵ the hills, and knowes, the valyeis, the plains, and rivers, the foordes, and fennes of etruria hes some resemblance and proportion with other provinces, in such maner that the practique and Intelligence of³⁰ a contrie bringeth⁶ a knowledg with it of the situatioun of an other. And that prence which sal want this knauledge inlaketh that part quhairwith a chiftene suld be indewed, be reason that the same Instructeth the⁷ how and whair to find thyne ennemie, how to pi[t]chte thy campt, how to conduct thy³⁵

¹ maist.² efter.³ by conceate.⁴ of the foordes, and.⁵ indecipherable.⁶ giueth.⁷ teachis the.

armye, how to dresse thy batells, and beseege the tovnes to thy advantage.

F. 164 b. Philopœmenis, prince of achaia, reporteth this prayse
 ama[n]gs ma[n]y other by the historiographers, / that in the
 tyme of peace all his thoughts wer fixed on the contemplatioun
 of the ordour and maner of the weres ; and sometymes ryding
 or promening *with* his familiars on the feilds wald stand¹ stil
 very aft devysing and disceursing *with* him [*sic* : thame] in sic
 lyke wordes : " Gif the enmeye wer incamped vpon yonder hill,
 and we heir *with* our armye, which of vs think 3e suld have the 10
 better ? Quhow suld we *with* saftye and na losß assayll 3e
 thame, and how suld we come vnto thame and keip our
 rankes ? And gif we wald reteir aga[n]e, *with* what ordour
 might we returne ? And gif they returned, in quhat sort
 might we *persew* thame ? And proponed vnto thame in his
 promening all the chausés and accidents that might occur
 vnto an armye ; and demanding there opinioun he shew furth
 his awen which he fortifyed *with* reasouns, so that by these
 continuell cogitations in the conducting of his arme there never
 culd aryse that accident to the which he had not provyded a 20
 present remedy.

As touching the exercise of the spreit a *prince yairfor* suld
 be weill versed in historyes and in thame contemplat the
 actions of excellent men, observing how they have proceded
 in the affairs of the weire, examine and *consider* the causes
 of there victorie and losses for the avoyding of the ane and
 fallowinge of the other, and, above all, to prease to imitat
 that great *persons* actions which he hes proponed for paterne
 to fallow, and quho in tymes past by his procedings hes
 procured the greatest glorie and reputatioun, studying to 30
 represent alwyes in all occurrences his notablist actions sa
 far and neir as he can, as alexander did in following achilles,
 cesar of alexander, and scipio of Cyrus. And, in effect, quha
 sal reid the lyfe of Cyrus writtin by Zenophon he sal observe
 how far scipio enlarged his renoune by this imitation of Cyrus,
 and sal remarq[u]e the conformetie and resemblance² of the 36

¹ tarye.

² similitud.

chastetie, off the affabilitie, hartie liberalitie, and continencie
F. 165 a. off the ane *with* the other. / A verteous *prince* suld practise
such lyke things and never to be ydile occupied in tyme of
peace, bot *with* cair travell to the excersi[s]e of such things
as we have set dovne, whairbye he may be the mair inabled
and reddie in tyme of trouble and adversarye fortoun to *with-*
stand sic dangers and repress thame.

Chap. 15.

of such things that maketh *men* and especialye /
 prences to be prayed or reproiched.

It resteth now to entreat how¹ a *prince* suld governe him
 self in the behalfe of his subiects and regard of his freinds.
 And bycas I vnderstand that sondrie hes writtin of this subiect,
 I feare *gat* in wryting also of the same I be fond presumptuous
 and Judged arrogant be thame, especialye quhils in the deduc-
 tioun of this argument I proced *with* an other ordour and
 different fassion then they have vsed. Bot my purpose being 10
 to wryte proffitable instructions for these that sal conceave
 thame, it appereth vnto me mair *pertinent* to conforme and
 applye me to the effectuell² veretie of things then to the
imaginatioun of the same. Many hes figured republics and
 monarcheis which never was sene by the eyes of any, far les
 had they any grond or essentiall being. For the difference is
 sa great betuix how we liue and how we suld liue, that he who
 leaveth that which he dois for fallowing of that which becum-
 meth him to do, he learneth rather his ruyne then his *pre-*
servatioun, be reason a *person* that in all things wald walk 20
 sa vprightlye and mak sic precise profession to be a honest³
 man, he must inevitable come to destructioun amangs such a
 great number that ar euil & vn honest. So that it is necessar
 for a *prince* that wald maintane his estate to learne to be
 not gud, and to vse the same and disvse it according to the
 necessetie and extremetie of the tyme. Leaving therfor behind
 al these things that ar imagined in the *perfection* of [a.] *prince*,

F. 165 b. and discoursing purposlye and *particularlye* of that / which 28

¹ vpon.

² real.

³ gud.

falls furth in effect and subiect to example and experience, I say then that all men of quhome we speik, and specially *prences* be reason of there high places and preeminences, ar marked to be of sic conditions and qualyteis that procureth vnto thame ather pryse or reproche. And of this¹ cummeth that some ar reput liberall, some pinch penyeis and niggards, some great gift gevars, some robbars and spoylers, some cruel, some *mercyfull*, some faithles, some faithfull, some effemat, some manlye, some of weake courage, some courageois, some courteous, some intollerable,² some chaste, some leacherous, 10 some sound and vpright, others double and deceatfull, some ease,³ some bruske and hard, some grave, some other inconstant, some religious, others vnfaithfull, and so furth.⁴

And I know yat none will deny bot it wer a thing maist comendable that a prence wer to be fou[n]d furnished *with* all thir gud qualyteis above rehersed, bot be reason they can not be had nor interlye possessed by any *prence* altogether, through the frayltie of mans conditioun, it is requeseit that he have so much foresight, wisdom, and discretioun that at leist he may avoyde the infamy of thir vyces, and speciallye of 20 such as may perell or putt him from his estate, and to absteane from these that Indangers not the same, if it be posseble, otherwyes to lat thame pass *with* les respect. And besyds this I wald not that he paines and tormented himself from avoyding the ignomyne of these crymes⁵ *without* the committing of the which he can *nocht* preserve his *prencedome*, be reason if a man wald rightlye consider the whole, he sal find some thing that hes the apparence of vertew, and fallowing it salbe his ruyne and destructioun, and lyk[w]yse find some other thing to have the shaw of vyce, and fallowing it salbe 30 thy safty and assurance.

¹ floueth.² arroga[nt].³ grave.⁴ such lyke.⁵ Infamy of these faults and vyces.

Caput 16. Chapter.

of the liberalyte and niggardnes of / a *prence*.

Beginning then from the first of the above named qualyteis, my opinon is that it is gud for [*a*] *prence* to be esteemed liberall; yet notwithstanding liberaletie exercised efter sic a maner that therby a *prence* sal mak him to be feired mair
 F. 166 a. then neideth is very dangerous and hurtfull vnto the. / For if verteuoslye, as reason wald req[ui]re, thow wald vse the same and gratefie any, thy liberalitie sal ly obscured, nather sal thou be exempt from the infamy of her contrair. For a *prence* that wald mantiene amangs men the reputatioun of a liberal, he must necessarlye studie not to omitt any sort or kynd of sumptuousnes : so that contenuinge efter this fastion, he sal se him sone at the bottome of his coffers and forced in end for the mant[en]ence of his reputation¹ to burden his pepill excessiulye, to confisque there guds, and to employ his hale spreits efter sic moyens wharby mair money may be obtened, which sal suddenlye proceur to him the hatred and indignatioun of his pepill and mak him to be les respected and mair contemned off euery ane, 20 whills as they sal perceave him to have fallen in povertie; sua that he having wranged and offended many in purchessing the meanes wharwith to be liberall, and benefeiting bot few be the same, at the first hard occurence he sal see his fall and ruyne, which, if by his foresight he wald prevent, then sal he Incurr the infame and bruit of a sparing niggard. Incase therfor a *prence* can not vse this verteuos qualytie convenientlye, gif he be of wisdomes lat him not feare to be reput a sparer² and 28

¹ liber[alitie].

² niggard.

illiberall. For *with* tyme he may be estemed oppen handed enough, considering that, *with* his thrifteous goverment ¹ & sparing, his renews ar sufficient and able to defend him aganst tha[m]e that sal assal him, and may conteneue or vndertak the weres *with*out the charging and extorting of his pepill. And in so doing he dois notheles vse his liberalitie towards all these that he takketh no thing from, wheroff the number is infinit, and exerciseth bot his niggardnes on tha[m]e quha ar his mignons and favorites, that ar noe more enriched by his presents and wasterye, quha ar bot a few courteours ; nather ¹⁰ in our age hes there any thing bene worthelye done bot be these quho wer sparers and the spenders to have perished. pape Julius the 2, perceaving how that the reputatioun of his liberalitie was the meanes by which he cam to the papedome, thought it not the meanes to conserve him in the same, nather in all these weres which he had *with* the king of france, nor in other his great and glorious exploitts preased euer to ouerburden his subiects by any extraordnarye taxatioun, be
 F. 166 b. reasoun that vnto the superfl[u]yte and / sumptuousnes of these great charges he provyded by his sparingnes. Gif the king of ²⁰ spaine for the present had affected the reputation of liberalitie nather might nether suld he have executed sa great employtes ² and Interpreses. Quharfor a prince suld mak litill count (provyding that therby and through that occasioun he fleish ³ not nor extort his pepill, he spoyle not nor pyllie his subiects, he have sufficient force to resist his en[m]eyes and keeping him from povertie rin not in contempt of eurye ane,) incace he fall ⁴ in the bruit of a myser and niggard, becauð these be ane of these vyces that maks him suire off his estate.

Bot gif any will reply that ⁵ Cesar prepared the way to the ³⁰ romane empyre by his liberalitie, and many other doing the lyke hes clymed to great digneteis and advancementts, to this I will answer by distinctioun : ather thow is alreddie a *prence* of state or in the conceate to be. In the first point thy liberalitie is hurtfull vnto the, In the second helpfull. Cesar also pretended to mak him self empreour of rome ; bot gif that he had liued longar and obtened the same, conteneuing also in that excessiue ³⁷

¹ spending.² things.³ eate.⁴ run not.⁵ Julis.

largesse¹ and not moderating his liberalitie, quha doubteth bot his monarchy had bene baith sone consumed and destroyed. And vnto him that wald repley that many *prences* and vthers hes executed in the faits of were many notable and brave Interpryses, notwithstanding they wer great and prodigall spenders, I answer that sic a *prence* ather spendeth *yat* which is [his] auen and his subiects or some others. Touching the formar, he suld be sparing, touching the last, extreme liberall, lavish, yea, and spend *with* profusioun. And that *prence* chiftane that goeth *with* his armye entertenyng and vpholding the same be no other meanes then by spoyling and sackings, butings and *vantons*[?], waisting be this meanes the moyens² of his nighbour, I say that *prence* must vse all liberaltie or otherwyse he sal not be fallowed by his suddarts. And he may *with* litill interesses to him self be prodigal of that which belangeth to another, and a great gevar off that which is not his auen, as was Cesar and alexander the great: for the wasting of other mens moyens taks na reputatioun
 F. 167 a. from the bot *advanceth* / and *Inlargeth* thy renoune. Onlye the consuming and spending of thyne awen distresseth²⁰ the, and there is nothing that mair dois destroy it self then liberalitie, in the vsage quharoff it loseth the pouar and meanes to be vsed, and in the meane tyme thow becumms poore, scorned, and contemtebill, or at leist for eshewing of povertie thow becummeth a pyratt, and a spoylar,³ and *conseq*[u]entlye hated,⁴ sua that by liberalitie thow Is brought ather to the ane or the other of these disgraces. Quharfor it is mair wisdome to keip the name of a niggard, that procureth vnto the shame *without* hatred, then to be liberall, which sal force on the the infame of a spoylar, & which sal bring the dishonour³⁰ accompanyed *with* illwillingnes.

¹ charges of liberalitie.² guds.³ pillar.⁴ baith odious and envyed.

Chap. 17.

of Crueltie and clemencye, and whether it is better
to be fered ¹ then beloved.

Now discending to a more *particuler* discourse of these
qualyties ² that above wer recyted, I say that a prence above
all things suld mak him self to be estemed clement and not
cruell. Notwithstanding he suld be weill advysed that he use ³
not pitie vnpurposlye. Cesar borgia was reputed very vnmercy-
full, yet his crueltie recovered, reionyed, restored, and reviued,
and reduced whole romainie baith to peace and obedience. 10
And if men will consider this aright he sal be sene mair piti-
full then the florentins who, for feare to bene estemed cruell,
suffered pistoia to be destroyed. A prence therefore suld
panse litill to be noted ⁴ *with* the Infame of crueltie sua that by
that meane he maintane his subiects in vnion, faith, and
obedience : for he vsing fyve or six examples of his rigour and
crueltie quhen it behoveth him to execut the same, he sal be
notwithstanding Iudged and reputed as mercifull and mair
clement then these quha be there euil measured and Incon-
siderat mercye suffers a thousand disordours to bud out *within* 20
there dominions, which geveth mater and grond to infinit
murders and robberyeis, quharby the whole province and
vniversetie is interessed and damnefyed, and the rigorous
executions of the prence commeth upon the heades and
persons of some few *particulers* who ar offended. And amangs
all other *prences* a new arysing prence suld speciallye be cair-
full off this, that he must consider how so ever myldlye he 27

¹ hated.² things.³ in the vsing exercesing of his clemencye.⁴ reputed.

behave him self he *can* not escape the reput to be named cruell ;
 F. 167 b. becaus all new states ar / subiect to sa many inconven[ien]ces,
 as virgil, in this same purpose, excusing by the words of dido
 the Inhumanite of her realme¹ freshlye and recentlye estab-
 lished, Introduces her to speik in this forme :

res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
 moliri, et late fines custode tueri :

hard things and newnes of my crowne compells me so to rewle
 and limits to defend about *with* garde² and wat[c]hfull
 kepars strong. 10

Yet, notheles, he sud not be haistye in beleving nor sudden
 in moving nor stand in feare off his auen shaddow but occa-
 sion, and suld *proceid with* sic a moderation of wisdom and
 myldnes that the great trust and *confidence* therto mak him
 not³ cairles, and the to much distrust rander him intollerable.

Of this, this question dois aryse : whether it is mair ex-
 pedient for a prence to be beloved or feared or mair feired then
 beloved. I will *ansuer* to that : it wer expedient and a thing
 full of surtye and adwantage to be bothe ; bot yet, seing it is
 a thing imposseble that they *can* fal togeather, it is mair suretye 20
 for a prence to be feared then loved. For considdering that
 men *universallye* ar for the maist *part* ingrait, variable, dis-
 semblers, flyers⁴ from hasards, and follouers of gaine and
 comoditie, and whils as they do there auen turnes they ar to be
 disposed be the, and will offer to shed there blood, spend there
 guds, hasard there lyfe and there children for thy saik whils
 thow hes no *occsioun* to try or employ thame, bot quhen thy
 affairs craveth there continuence, thou sal see thame turne
 there klok another way ; so that the prence that leneth
 altogether to thair words & faith, finding him naked and 30
 destitut of all other preparations, expecting there succours
 sal ruyne him self suddenly, be reasoun that these frendships
 that ar conquested and soudart⁵ *with* silver & not be the
 greatnes and sterknes of hart and curage ar bot deserved and 34

¹ *contrie.*

² *by saver.*

³ *to to be drouisie and lulled in sleip yairby.*

⁴ *fallo[uers].*

⁵ *win.*

bought, and so can not be keped nor contened nor employed in thy necessitie. Morover men makketh les difficultie in offending theme quhome they love then these off quhome they stand / In feare: becaus love is tyed and bond bot *with* a knott of obligatioun which euil and weked men will dissunder at the first occasioun of there comoditie; bot feare is linked *with* a terrour off punishments which alwyes is before thy eyes, and the consideratioun of the same never levethe the. Notheles, the prence suld efter such a sort mak him to be feared that therthrough gif he be not beloved yet at leist eschew 10 the hated: bycaus it may very weill stand togeather to be feared and not hated, which sal easelye happen vnto him gif he abstene fra the guds & wyffes of his cytisens and subiects, and quhen he wald proceur the death of any cytisen, he man abyd¹ heirin some iust couleur and manifest and convenient Justifications & causes of the same. And in proceeding so, above all things he suld have in mynde to desist from the confiscing of there guds, bycaus the childrene and frends that remaneth forgetteth soner the death of there parents then the loss of there patrimonie: besyds this there never laketh 20 couleur nor occasioun to medle *with* the geir of thy subiects. For he that be rubberie and extorsion susteneth his estate hes inventions aneugh and In reddines to come by the gud of other men, bot he that wald compass the death of ane of his pepill sal not sa easelie find causes theroff. Yet a prence that wer in the feilds *with* his armie, and having a multitude of suddart[s] vnder his comandment, he might not michle[?] to feare to be reputed cruel and bloodie; bycas *without* sic examples and *with*[out] comitting such executioun his armye sal never be in vnion, nor can they be disposed to [do] him 30 any gud service or exployt. Amangs the wonderfull actions of Aniball this is rekned ane maist admirable, that having sic a great and mightie armye mixed *with* an infinit number of men of many nations and conducted² to fecht into a stranger contrie, there was never any sedition in his camp, nor mutenye amangst his suddarts nor revolting aganst there captane, nather in his gud nor in his declyning fortoun: which 37

¹ proceid.² brought.

thing could not have proceeded from any other cause then from his inhumane crueltie, which, conIoyed *with* the rest of his infinit vertues, caused him to be reverenced in the sight of his suddarts and in there eyse to appere terreble, *without* the which al his vertues wer pouerles to the effectuating of the same.

F. 168 b. / Sua it is that the historiogra[p]hers, comending the happie conduct and actions of this valiant *personage*,¹ and [*sic*] yet hes condemned the *prencipall* causes of the same; and that it may be sene to be trew that all the rest of his vertues wer 10
Insufficient for the effectuating of his interpryses *without* his crueltie, it may easele be *proven* by the *consideratioun* of Scipio africans actions, a *personage* mair worthy and rare² then ever was in nature or of quhome any mention is maid. Notheles, his armye mutin[e]d and rebelled aganst him in spane; of the which revolting na other cause wer bot his ouer much gudnes and lenitie, which gave more libertie to his armye then the discipline of wers *permitted*: which thing was vp-brayded and exprobrated vnto him in the senat by fabius maximus, callen him the curuptur of the romane militarye 20
discipline. The Locrensiens being by the lieutenant³ of scipio destroyed and spoyled wer not repaired nor satisfied of such insolences, Iniuries, nor exactions only through the facilitie of his nature. So that thereafter one preasing to excuse him *yairfor* in the senat sayde, that it wes aft sene that they wer manye men of sic complexion quho vnderstode better how not to offend then how to correct the errours and faults of an other comitted; which condition and humeur of scipio *with* process of tyme had blekked the whytnes of his fame and glorie gif he had conteneued langar empriour and comandour off that 30
armie. Bot he being vnder the commandiment and discretioun of the senat, this hurtfull & damageble humeur of his was not onlye obscured and vndiscovered⁴ but did turne also to his credit⁵ and commendatioun. I conclud then, returning vnto my former purpos of feare and love, that since men ar disposed and Inclyned to affect and love any man as it plesis 36

¹ man.² singular.³ legat.⁴ conceled.⁵ glorie.

thame and fereth any so as plesis the prence, gif he be uyse, lat him grond him self vpon that that dependeth on him self and not hingeth on the will and dispositi^on of another, and onlye to forse¹ that he be not hated nor rin in the extreme disconceat and offence of his subiects as we have reported. 5

¹ provyde.

Chapter 18.

after and in what maner prences suld keip there faith.

Chapter 18.

It is notorious to al men how comendable a thing it is for a prence to keip his faith and liue sondlye *with* Intergitie [*sic*] and vprigh[t]nes and not *with* deceate nor subtilltie. Noch[t]with-
 F. 169 a. standing in our tyme these prences hes / by experience execut and compassed great maters¹ that hes dispensed *with* there promisees, and, not caring for the violating off there credit, hes *with* policeye and deceate turned and converted the humeurs 10 and spreits of men, and In end hes surpassed far in the interprises of grat things all these that simplie hes trusted and lened vnto loyaultie. And to speik senseble off this subiect, ye must vnderstand that they ar tua sorts of contentions, ane by law, another by force; and seinge that the former is propre vnto man the second vnto beastes, and the former aftentymes suppleith not the turnes of man nor is sufficient for the ebbing of his desyre, it is necessar to fallow the second. So that it is requeseit that a prence play baith the beaste and the man together. And the ancient wryters hes covertlye discovered 20 the same to *prences*, affirming that achilles and many other ancient prences and gentlemen wer delyvered to the education of chiron, the centaure, to have bene brought up in his disceplin and Instructions, not meaning vnder sic fabulous reports any other thing but that half beaste and half man suld be a lesson to *prences* and instruction to practise baith the ane and the other nature: for the ane *with* out the other is of na 27

¹ things.

contenency, and therefore whils as a prence is necessecitat to play the beast, he suld applye his humeur to the complexions¹ baith off the tod and lyon. Becaus the lyon cannot keip him self fra the netts, girms, and cords that ar to Intrap him, and the fox ouer feble to *withstand* the teith off the wolf, it is convenient *yairfor* to be ye fox to discover the tranes and deceates of the huntar and the lyon to terrefie and to draw the wolf in dreadour.

Now these then who folloueth the condition of the lyon allenerley² and simpley, they vnderstand not how to proceid¹⁰ in there actions. And therfor a vyse prence suld not keip his faith nor *promeis* whills the observing of the same sal be over hurtfull and prejudiciable vnto him, and quhen the occasions ar passed that presed him to the makking³ *yairoff*. And yet I wil confesß gif men wer all alyke honest and gud that this precept and Instructionun wer unprofitable, bot be reason they ar ordnarlye euill and vnthankful, it is na reason that thow suld keip *promeis* vnto thame which they wald brek vnto the. Nather wer ther euer coulourable[?] excuses inlaking vnto a wyse prence to conteneu the not observing off the same. 20

F. 169 b.

/ I might Induce many notable proofes and examples off this purpose, and shaw vnto yow how many treues and treatises of peace and *promises* have bene of na effect through the faithlesnes of *prences*, and vnto him quha cuninglyest culd have played the fox the best succesß and euent hes happned. Bot to sic *person* off sic nature and qualetie it is necessar that they vse the sa[m]e coulerable and to be a great dissembler and disgyser off his actions, becaus men, ordnarlye men, ar sua simple, and boweth and bendeth to the *present* and vrgent necessetie, that he that studeith to abuse and deceave sal³⁰ find some *person* to be abused and deceived.

And for to alledge a fresh example of pape Alexander the 6, quha never practesed any other thing but to abuse these quho confidentlye reposed on his *promeis*, and to no other subiect he applyed mair his hail cair, studie, and travell, then to this. And they wer never many that *with* mair attestation wald affirm a thing and *with* ma multitud of aiths *promeis* it 37

¹ conditions.

² onlye.

³ perform[ing].

then he, and *with* les respect of theme observe the same. Notheles all his traperyeis and perjuries had a wished event, knoweing weill enough how to handle the warld of that sort.

It is not necessar *yairfor* that a prence suld have all thir above specefyed qualeties solidlye in him but in apperance. And I dare baldlye affirme which is more, that incace he wald practise and observe thir vertues and gud qualyetes at al tymes he suld be allwyes in a euil cace, bot appering bot to have thame suld be mair for his advantage. And it is sufficient enough to appere to be *mercyfull*,¹ faithfull, gentle, vpright,¹⁰ and religious, provyding that thy mynde be sa framed and thoughts sua disposed, sua tractable, that thow *can* fasson theme and thy self to the contrair as occasioun presenteth the subiect.

F. 170 a. Sua that this must be weill considered,² that a prence, and speciallye such a one as newlye hes / clymmed to the degre of a *prencdome*, can not exactlye and precislye keip all these points that maketh a man to be named verteous, being forced for the *maintenance* off his estate and preased by necessetie to conterevin his aith, brek his promeis, violat charitie, worke²⁰ aganst humanitie and religioun. Sua that it is requeseit for him to have a mynde disposed to turne according to the wynds and season, and that which the change and variatioun of accidents dois command him to fallow, and iff it be posseble not to *departe* nor to suerve from vertew bot where necessetie otherwyse dois force him to know how to serve and advance his affairs by vyces. Sua that a prence suld have great *consideratioun* of this, that na thing happen out of his mouthe that is not ful and furneshed *with* thir fyve abone mentioned qualyties, and that he appeire to thame that sees and dois heare³⁰ him speik to be al and wholeye *mercyfull*, faithful, upright, humane, and religious; and speciallye he suld have nothing mair in regard then this last qualetie, becaus ordinarlye it is³³

¹ petifull.

² sua that a prence suld have great *consideratioun* of this, that nothing suld ever slyde out of his lipps which suld not allwyes be ful and furneshed with thir 5 abone named qualyteis, and have no other thing more In regaird then to be sene and hard to speik of pitie, of faith, of vprightnes, humanitie, and religioun.

mair reddie for men to Judge be the eye then be the hands, be reason that it falleth comonlye to all men to see bot to few to sent. For al men seeth quhat thow appereth bot very few ar that can discerne quhat thow art ; and these few dar not oppone theme selfs to the opinion of manye quha be the maiestie of the prence ar authorised ; and in all actions, and especiallye in prences proceids where there is no appellatioun nor Iustice seate to reclame vnto, men alwyes remitts theme vnto the end and suspends there Iudgments vntil tyme and euent of things trye thame. A prence then that wald liue and maintane his estate suld fasson him self this wayes, not doubting bot the midds and meanes colored *with* the apperence of honestie salbe alweyes conted honorable and commendable ; becaus the vulgar witts persis no farder bot in things that appereth, and remarketh bot the euent of thame, and in the warld there is nothing more then the vulgar of the which it is comprysed, and wyser bot fewer number hes bot the place quhen the multitud hes no stay to vppropp thame. I knaw

F. 170 b. some prence of / our tyme quhome I will not name, that in all his discourses boulted noe other words nor preacheth bot peace and faithfulness, notheles baith the ane and the other had brough[t] him the tinsal of his estate and reputatioun incace he had conformed his actions to these verteues and observed thame.

Chapter 19.

how that a prence suld avoyde to be contempned
and haited.

Chapter 19.

Since we have discoursed vpon the maist requeseit and important qualeties of a prence, we sal brieflye vnder this generalitie of contempt and hatred set dovne these things which he suld eshew that may mak him contempble or odious, the declyning wharoff sal devert all other dangers and Inconveniencies that the rest of his euil qualeties and vyces might *io* *with* Infame draw him vnto.

The thing that above all things dois rander him, as we have said before, mast hated Is the reveshment and defloring of other men's wyffes and of the guds of his pepill, from the vsurpation quharoff above all things he suld abstaine, be reason men leueth contentedlye and peaceblye enough provyding that there honour be not touched nor there riches, guds, nor substance; and he hes not to do more then to resist ¹ a fewe mens ambition, which in many wayes and with facilitie may be repressed. bot then is he contemnetable, being *20* changeble and Inconstant, light humuered and effeminat, faintherted and irresolved; from the which a prence sall preserve him as from a rok and sea crage and endeavour him self that men reid and remarke in all his actions a certane gretnes, a majestie, gravitie, fortitud, and constancye, that in the prime affairs of his subiects travel that his will and sentence may be Irrevocable, and studie to maintane that conceate in *27*

¹ and repress.

there harts and keip himself in that reputatioun that men be afrayed to adress thame vnto him for to deceave and circumvene him.¹ The prence, therefore, that in this sort dois mak him self estemed can not fail bot to be gretumlye respected and redoubted; and so *with* great / difficultie can there any conspyrancie be Intended aganst him, nather can he be easely assaulted be any man of actioun whils as he is sa reuerenced and obeyed be his pepill. And for this cause sic a prence suld be endeued and provyded with double feare,² ane *within* in regard of his subiects and another *without* in respect of the powerfull 10 stranger, from the which he may be defended be his gud armes and his confederat freinds, which will never fail him quhen he hes to do, iff he be weill reuled and disciplined in his auen forces. And quhen maters *without* ar weill settled, the things that ar *within* will allwyes remane in a gud estate, gif a interiour conspyrance disturbe not thame. And albeit that maters *without* wer in moving be the stranger, yet if he be sa Instructed and *prepared* as we have discoursed, and not forsaking him self, he may weill enough sustane all sic Invasioun as salbe offered, as nabis the lacedomenian. 20

Bot supposing that al maters *without* ar *without* moving and ar peaceble, yet his principall cair suld be to forse that his subiects secretlye conspyre not aganst him: to which he can not giue better ordour then be avoyding to rin in contempt and euil will of his subiects, alluring and satisfying thame be sic moyens as before we have deduced. And ane of the maist forceble remedies that a prence can have aganst sic conIurations is the eschewing of contempt and the pepil's hatred. For the conspyrer euer more chuseth to plesse the pepill and multitud be the death of his prence whils as he is hated and 30 despyred; bot whils as the pepill ar not displesed *with* the proceedings of there prence, the conIurer feareth to attempt any sic thing, be reason the difficulteis in the effectuating of the same are Infinit.

And by experience men may see that there heth bene many 35

¹ hearts that nane hes pouar to alter him nor any purpose ather to deceave or to devert him.

² twa feares.

tymes many conspyraceis which never had the uished euent nor intended succesß. For he that conspyreth can not be alone, nather can he tak for companions in his conspyracie any other bot suche as bene offended or damnefyed be the prence aganst quh[om]e they uald conspyre. And sua soun as thow hes discovered thy self to a discontented compaignon thow geveth him the moyen to be contented and appesed presentlye, for theirbye in the discovery of thy secret / he houpeth for great commoditie and reward. Sua that on the ane part behalding a solid and Infallable proffit, and in the other a certene perrell and Incertene gaine, it is very lyklye, except he be a very rare and faithful freind or a obstinat and implacable humeured persoun ag[ain]st the prence that thow conspyreth ag[ain]st, bot he will betray the. And to draw this discourse in short termes, I say that vpon the part of the conspyrers there is no thing ells bot feare, Ielousie, distrust, suspicioun, and terrour of punishment to slay and terrefie thame, on the prences, agane, Maiestie, lawes, the pouar of confederats, and defense of his subiects ; to the which gif the popular favour be conjoyned, it is imposible for any man to be so rashe and desperat as to conspyre aganst him : be reasoun that it falleth out ordinarilye that quhair as the conspyrer suld be terrefyed and afr[a]yed before the executioun, so in sic a cace he must be strekken in feare euen efter the attempt, whills as the pepill disavowing this fact and condemning it persueth him quaha suld be his refuge. Of this mater I may produce Infinit examples, bot I will content me with ane alennerlye which hes fallen furth in our fathers tyme. Lord anniball bentiuoli,¹ the gudshir of this ann[i]ball quho now liueth, was prence in Cologne, and being by the Canneschi killed, and having no other posteretie left behind him but lord Johne bentiuolgi, who then was in his suedlen clouts, yet the hole multitud of Cologna abhorring sic a massacre raise vp and gathered thame together and vtterlye destroyed and killed the hale famelie of the Cannescheis : which onlye proceded from the pepills favour wha so lovinglye entrated the bentiulgeis,² which was in such greatnes that they, efter the death of anniball, having none to governe there estate, 37

¹ bentiuligo.

² famelye.

and vnderstanding that ther wes ane In florence begotten of bentiuolien who til that tyme was repute bot to be the sone of a ioyner,¹ they sent for him and gaue to him the charge of there commoun welth, whairin he conteneued vntil that the forsaid Iohne was In competent age to vndertak the reule of there cytie. I conclud *yairfor* that a prence hes not to cair mekill for any conspyrance, provyding that he be beloved of
 F. 172 a. the pepill ; bot iff he perceave him / to be extremlye hated by thame off euerye thing & off euerye person he suld be afrayed.

The weil governed monarchyeis and the wysest *prences* hes **10** allwyes had great and diligent cair not to dryve ² the gretest sort In despair nor the vulgar to displesour, which is the cheifest *consideratioun* that a prence ought to have.

Amangs all the kingdomes of our tyme which ar weill established and governed france is the cheifest, in the which many gud ordnances and lawes ar constitut by which the securetie and Libertie off the king dependeth. The principall constitution quhairoff and the chefest is the court of parlement and the autoritie *yairoff*, be reason that the antient fondations of that kingdome, perceaving the *ambitioun* and Insolencye off **20** the nobilitie to be great which was necessarlye to be brydeled and restraned, and seing on the other syde the hatred of the vulgar sort aganst the nobles proceiding off a feare which naturallye they have allwyes of thame, of the which purposing ³ to discharge the weakest and litill ones and yet not to cast that cair on the king, and to exeme from the hatred that the gretar and nobler sort might conceive aganst him, quhils as he wer disposed to favour the populace, as also for the avoyding the displeasour of thame by favoring the gretar, very wyslye hes provyded be establishing a thrid and **30** newtrall meane by which *without* the blame and burden ⁴ of the king, they might abbait the great anes and defend the mener. There can be nothing mair wyslye forsene nor established *then* this ordinance, nather to the king nor crowne of that realme a thing of mair securetie, by which the tranquillitie of the kingdome is sa lang maintained: off the which this notable lesson may be marked, that *prences* suld give the **37**

¹ a craftman's sone.

² fall, force.

³ intending.

⁴ reproche.

expedition off such things in charge to there Iudges which may procure thame hatred, and reserve vnto thame selfs these things that dependeth vpon there grace and favour. I conclud agane *yat* It is gud reason that he mak a court of the nobilitie ; yet he suld have cair also not to fal in the euil conceate of the pepill.

F. 172 b. / It may appeire to many considdering the lyfe and death of sondrye¹ empreours, that many examples may be found contrair vnto my opinioun, especiallye behal ding that some of thame quha hes liued verteuslye and valiantlye and [?] 10 *with* great and magnanime courage notwithstanding hes lost there empyre or lyfe be these that hes conspyred aganst theme. To all this preparing me to ansuer I will discourse off the complexiounes and qualeteis off some empreours, shawing the causes of there ruyne not disconformable fra that which alreddie I have discoursed, and sal sett dovne In a *part* such things as ar to be notablye observed be these that reids the historye and actions of this age and tyme. And it sal suffice me in this subiect to recont bot such empreours that hes succeeded fra marcus aurelius the philosophour to maximinus, 20 which ar thir : Marcus, & his sone commodus, pertinax, Julianus, severus, antonius, caracalla his sone, macrinus, heliogabalus, alexander, maximinus. And it is first to be marqued that, whair as the prences moderne and off this tyme hes no farder cair bot to resist² the ambitioun of the greatest and repress the insolenceye of the commoun, the romane empreours had a thrid difficultie, which was to accomodat and apply there selfs to the anarchie and crueltye off there sulddarts, a thing of such paine and hasard which occasioned oftentimes the ruy[n]e and destructioun of many of thame, being a mater³ 30 maist imposible to satisfye the suddarts and content the pepill at ones : becas the pepill affecteth and loveth peace and tranquillytie, and be consequence favoereth a peaceble and modest prence ; bot the suddarts loveth a prence that is of a militarye and bloodie mynde and quho is insolent, cruel, and an extortioner, which qualeteis they crave he suld vse in the pepills behalf, that therby they might have there 37

¹ many.² repress.³ thin[g].

wages doubled and there auar[i]ce and crueltie filled and refreshed.

Whairby it cam to pasß that some empreours, quha nather be natur nor art had not sic dexteritie nor reputioun that be the same they might have brydeled baith the ane and the other, cam, I say, suddenlye to ruyne, specialye these who as new men cam to sic soverangteis, and, knawing the difference and Incompatibilitie of these different factions, cuist there care to gratefie there suddarts with In[iu]rye and displesour of
 F. 173 a. the pepill,¹ / which indeid they behoved to do. For considdering 10
 that sic a prence was necessarlye subiect to the hatred of some which he culd not avoyde, so it was als necessar to forsie that he suld not have fallen in the hatred of the vniversall multitud, which incace he culd not obtane, he suld have studyed to declyne that part of factioun that was mast gretest and dangerous. And for this causß such empreours, quha for there newnes had ned of vppropping and ane extraordinarie stay and favour to vphald there empyre, enclyned mair willinglye to the suddarts then to the pepill, which thing was baith hurtfull and helpfull vnto thame as they had the grace, conduct, and 20
 reputioun to governe theme selfs amangs theme. Off this it hes proceded that marcus, pertinax, and alexander, modest and gentle prences, lovers off Justice, enmeies of crueltie, yet notwithstanding al these gudl[ie] verteues dyed vnhappelye, saving marcus quha liued and left the world in great honour ; and so it was that he attaned to the empyre by right of succession and hereditarye, by the meanes wheroff he nather held it by the pepill nor yet be the suddarts favour.

Besyds all this, being accompanied and adorned with sa many singuler verteues which maid him revered, venerable,² 30
 and redoubted, he alwayes during his lyfetye closed and schut vp thir tua different partyeis within the bounds of there dewtye, sua that being fre from all hatred and contempt nather was he despysed nor perseued be theme. Bot pertinax being creat empreour contrair to the suddarts will and Inclination who, being accustomed to liue dissolutelye, licensiouslye, and at ryott vnder commodus conduct, culd not nor wald not 37

¹ and cared not to content the pepill.

² and redevable.

beare and conport *with* that honest and civil maner of liuing
 to the which pertinax wald have reduced theme ; so having
 therbye purchessed to him self ¹ there hatred and *with* hatred
 procured there contempt, which growing from his age and
 Inabilitie hasted to him his ruine and ouerthrow in the first
 beginings of his government.² Off the which it is to be noted
 and dewlye observed that the euill will and hatred of men is
 alsone purchessed by verteous actions as by euill and vicious
 F. 173 b. customes. Quharfor, as I have / afore [said], gif a prence wald
 keip him self *with* surtye in his estate it is requeseit that som- 10
 tymes he be not gud nor disposed verteouslye, be reason
 that if that vniversitytie and multitud, whether they be of the
 gretest, the richesest sort, or suddarts of quhome thow judges
 to be mast apt for the maintenance of thy estate, be corrupted
 and viciouslye inclyned of force, thow most be compelled to
 yeild to there heumeur and apply thy self to there behaviour,
 at which tyme thy verteous Intentions and resolutions wer
 pernicious enmeyes to thy attempts and conquest gif thow suld
 fallow theme.

Bot now lat us come to alexander who was of such myldnes 20
 and in whome was such store of gudnes that amangs all the
 rest off his deserved prayses this was one of the chefest, that in
 14 yeres reigne and government there was not ane man vncond-
 demed and, bot tryell of his fault, put to death ; notheles,
 being holden for effeminat, and a man that suffered himself
 to be led and reuled be his mother consells, and consequentlye
 fallen in the suddart[s] contempt and dispryse, was by his con-
 spyring armye slane and destroyed.

Yet be the contrair, agane if we will consider the con-
 ditions and proceidings of commodus, severus, anton[i]us, cara- 30
 calla, and maximinus, we sal find theme to bene cruell, scharpe,
 tyranous, and robeurs and extortioners of the pepill, quho
 for satisfying there suddarts humeurs did exercise maist out-
 rageouslye all violences, wrangs, and Iniuryes which might be
 brought vpon there pepill. And sua hadd they euerye ane
 of theme a shamfull and miserable death, except severus, who
 being garyshed *with* sic valeure, courage, and dexteritie, quaha 37

¹ and procured.

² empyre.

enterteyning¹ him self in the love and gud liking of his suddarts albeit he gretumlye did done tred the pepill, it was esie for him to reнге happelye, becauſ his verteues and worthines maid him sa redoubted in the face of his subiects and admyred also with his suddarts, that the last remayned revished and astoneshed be the consideratioun of his verte[ue]s, and the former quyet, contented, and reverentlye obedient.

And bycaus the actions of this *personage* wer so great in a new prence, I will shortlye sett doune how well he culd vse
 F. 174 a. the fashons off a fox and off a lyon, which conditions, as / I 10
 have sayd afore, ar necessarlye to be followed and practised be a new prence. Severus, therefore, perceaving the vnworthines and litill account of the empreour Iulian, did persuade his armye (of the which he was captane in sclavonia) to pass to rome and to revenge the death of pertinax, slane be his awen guards; and vnder this couleur, without discovering him to have a mynde to aspyre vnto the empyre, maid his armye marche aganst rome, and so it was that he first cam into italye or his *departeur* was knawen furth of sclavonie. Being then arryved in the cytie, immediatlye he was be the senat elected 20
 emperour of very feare, and then destroyed Julian. Yet there rested efter sic beginings tua difficulteys which might have impesched him In his possessioun of the empyre: ane of which was in asia, where ane niger, heade of the armye which was in the orient, caused him to be proclaymed be his suddart emprour of the romans; the other in the occident, be albinus, quho lykwyse aspyred to the empyre. And be reason he thought it a thing very perellous to discover him an ennemie to theme bothe, he did craftelie devyse to destroy niger and to deceave albinus; to quhome he wrett that, he being be the 30
 senat preferred to that high dignitie, he wald participat the same *with* him and send to him the titill of cesar, and be the advyse of the senat adioned him to be his colleg and companjon *with* him of the empyre, all which albinus gladlye and contentedlye received as a thing maist desyred and treulye intended. Bot after that Seuerus had overthrawen the armie of niger and killed him, and pacyfyed all trouble in asia, [he] 37

¹ preserving.

returned efterwart to rome and complay[n]ed in the senat of albinis ingratitude, as ane quho, vngretfullye recompensing the great favours receaved off him, did seik be treason to spoyle of his life and state, and for this cause he was off necessitie enforced to pass aganst [him] to punish his ingratitude: so that rancontring *with* him in france he bereft [him] baith off his lyfe and the empyre.

quha will then rightly examine the actions of this man sal find him in theme a maist fearse and furious lyon and a subtill fox, and sal see him also baith feared and reverenced 10 of al men, and off his armye not contemned nor hated; so that it is not to be mervelled that he, being bot a new prence, culd have conserved sic a great empyre, be reason / his high and great reputation defended him allwyes from that hatred which the pepill be his exactions and violences might have conceaved aganst him. His sone Antonius was also a worthie and excellent prence, in quhome they wer parts and quaeties maist commendable which maid him to be redoubted of the pepill and aggreable to the suddart. For he was a man warlyke and valiant, hardened, and supporting all pane and travell, 20 a despyser of all delicaces, a contemner of all softnes and easie pleasours, which things caused him to be excedinglye respected by his armye: not *with* standing, his crueltie and fearsenes was sa great and sa outragous, having for particular and privat occasions killed the maist part of the romane pepill and wholie all theme¹ of alexandria, that in end he stayde in the disfavour & hatred of all the world, that euen these of his mast inuard and mast familiar frends began to be afreyd of him, in sic sort that a centurion of his companyeis² slew him in the midst of his armie. Quhair off it is to be marked 30 and observed that sic sort of deathes and slaughter which enseuweth vpon the deliberat and resolved advyse of a desperat and obstinat courage can not be be a prence eschewed, be reason that euerye man quha despyis his death may put his purpose sounne to execution. Bot yet sic deathes ar not much to be thought vpon be a prence, becaus they fall out bot seildome. For he ought onlye to be cairfull that he committ 37

¹ that ar.

² armie.

not great and havie Iniuryes aga[n]st these that serveth him and remaneth about his *persoun*. In which fault antonius fell to his *auen destruction*, quha efter the cruel execution of this centurion[s] brother threatned him euerye day *with* the lyke danger, keiping him alwyes still in his *cumpanye* to the defence of his bodye, which was a verye pernicious rashnes and dangerous indiscretion, as it fell out by prooffe in his *person* a litill efter.

bot lat us returne to commodus, to quhome it was very easie to maintaine him in the possessioun of the ympyre, be¹⁰ reason it was his heritage, being the sun [*sic*] of Marcus, and quha had no other thing to do bot to insist in the tred and fallow the futstepps of his father, and therefore might very weill baith haue satisfyed the pepill and contented the suddarts.

F. 175 a. / Bot being off a beastlye and a cruell mynde, and for the better bringing to pasß his extorsions and exactions of the pepill, he applyed his thoughts to the interteinment off his armie *with* all libertie, Insolencye, and licensiousnes. And on the other part, not mantaning his dignitie *with* dewe respect nor defending it, bot schawing him self vpon the oppen stages²⁰ and theatre oftentymes to combatt before the pepill with the fensers, and vyldlie doing and committing a thousand base parts inferiour to the maiestie & dignetie of the impyre, he becam at last hated in the sight off his suddarts and contemnebill amang the p[ep]ill. And so being dispeysed¹ vpon the ane *part* and despysed on the other, it was not great wonder that by sic occasioned conspyracies his state was orthrawn and he killed.

It resteth to discourse vpon the qualetie of maximenus, quho was a man of great forduardnes and fearcenesß, and the³⁰ armie being overweryed *with* the soft and faint² proceidings of alexander, efter his deathe was elected to that dignetie, which notwithstanding he did not *with* lang tyme mantaine it. For two faults³ maid him baith hated and ane abiect: the ane be reason he was of a vyle and contemptebill conditioun, being bot a sheip⁴ keper in thracia, and, as it was notoriouslye knawen, sa did it engendre and purches to him a mervellous³⁷

¹ hated.² peaceble.³ things.⁴ beast.

disdane and dispeyse ; the other becaus in his entrie to the empyre he diffeired his v[oy]age to rome and *yair*bye the possession of the imperial seate, and spred lykwyse na other bot a bruit of crueltie through the rigourous and oultrageous inhumanities of his leutenants and commissionars in rome and other places of the empyre. In sic sort that the warld disdaning him be the basnes of his blood on the ane *part*, and on the other being hated for feare of his ferceneß, first *afric*,¹ then rome, the senat, and the whole pepill of italye conspyred aganst him, to the which rebellings and sedition his *auen* 10 armye did associat themselves ; whilk seing the intakking and assegeing of aquilea difficill, being weryed *with* his cruel conditions and complexions, and casting away all feare and respect of him, seing him so far spoyled of al mens favour, put him gallantlye to death.

I will not reason of heliogabale nor macrinus nor of Julian, quho being lightlyed of all men perreshed als lightlye. Bot
 F. 175 b. I will come to the conclusion off / this discourse, and dois affirme² that the prences of our tyme ar leß presed *with* sic difficultes, nor ar subiect to applaude or flatter there suddarts 20 by sic extraordinarye meanes : for albeit it behoveth theme to have some consideratioun of theme, yet sa it is *yat* in sic occurrences the remedeis ar reddie, be reason that thir moderne prences mainteneth na *cumpanyes* and suddarts that ar traned up, inveteretated [*sic*], and annexed to these estates and administratioun of these provinces as the romanes wer. And *yair*for gif at that tyme it was mair behovfull to satisfie and content the suddarts then the pepill, it hapned be reason that the suddarts had mair pouar *then* the cytisens ; bot now all prences except the sultan and the great turk suld rather be 30 inclyned to satisfie the pepill then the suddarts, quha contentuallie menteineth besyds him tuelf thousand fut/men and 15 thosand horsmen, of quhome dependeth the suretie off his estate and strenght off his empyre. Sua that for the contenance of the same he is constryaned to quyte all conceate in satisfying the pepill, and to embrace these thoughts that may establish the gud will and favour of his armye. The lyke 37

¹ africa.² sayes.

conformetie is in the sultans kingdome, which being wholye in the hands and favour off his suddarts, he is of necessetie forced to cairress theme *without* any respect to his pepill. And we have here to be noted that the state of this soudan is disconformable from all other prences, estate, and gouernement, which for the maist *part* is verye lyke to the papedome, which nather can be called a prencedome hereditare nor yet newe, be reasoun that the sones of the deid prence succedeth not in the estate, bot these that ar elected to that dignetie be these that hes autoritie ; and lykwise it *can* not be called newe 10 considdering it hes from all anteq[ue]etie bene established, as also the difficultyeis that occurreth in new princepalytes ar not found in that. For albeit the prence be newe, the ordinances and constitutions of that pr[e]ncedome ar ancient, and the *prence* disposed to receave theme na les then gif he wer a prence be heritage and succession. Bot lat vs return to our former purpose. I say that quha will examine this present discourse he sal easelye perceave that ather hatred or contempt hes occasioned the ruynes of thir forenamed empreours, and sal 20 lykwise see that a pairt / of theme proceeding after a sort, and another *partye* efter another contrarie vnto the same, have had in euerye ane of thir fascons a happie or vnhappye end, be reasoun that it was altogether vnproffitable, yea damageble, to pertinax and alexander, being bot new princes, to have followed the government and proceedinges of marcus who *can* to the impyre by the right of successioun : and lykwyse to caracalla, commodus, maximinus, it was verye *pernicious* to imitat Seuerus actions, having not sa mekill vertew nor dexteritie to have sustened them to haue falloued in his futstepps. So that a new prence or a new princdome *can* not fascon 30 nor reul him self efter marcus actions nather yet altogether follow severus proceedinges ; bot he behoveth to tak of severus sic formes of government as may be thought necessar to the establishing and fondation of his estate, and of marcus sic verteues which sal seme to him proper and comendable for the contenuing of this estate which alreddie he hes fonded. 36

¹ follow.

Caput 20.

Wether fortresses and many other things that / prences
ar accustomed to erect ar profitable / or hurtfull.

Some prences for the better maintening there estate heth
disarmed there subiects ; others hes entertened there cuntryes
and cyteis In factions, diuisions, and partialitie ; some others
hes fostered inmitie and discord aganst theme selfs ; and some
may be found also who hes win the harts of these that wer
at the first suspected and opposit to there conquests. Some
hes builded cytadells ; some hes demolished theme : and 10
albeit there can be na certane reule set doune nor determinat
sentence in sic maters, incace we condiscend not to the con-
sideratioun of the particulars of sic estates to the which we
must applye the lyke similitudes and deliberations, *nochtwith-*
standing I sal speik sa generallye in this mater as the subiect
theroff sal suffer.

F. 176 b. / I say, then, that it was never sene that a new prence dis-
armed his subiects ; bot finding theme but armes and vnexcer-
sed in weirfair, provyded theme off armour and faschond
theme to militarye excercises. For be this all there forces 20
becum^mmeth thyne awen, and they lykwyse faithfull that wer
before suspected, and they which wer first faithfull be the
same meanes mair faithfull conteneu[e]th and remaneth. So
that all thy subiects becum^mmeth of thy partye and wilbe thy
assistars.¹

Bot be reasonn the whole pepill and multitud can not be
employed in this werfair vocation, yet quhensoeuer thow sall 27

¹ and these also that wer thy assisters and thy subiects becum^mmeth
thy assistars.

benefeit these quhome thow hes armed and dois serve the, thow may proceed *with* secreteie with the rest. And this diuersetie of proceeding quhilk thow vses amangs theme will serve the meikill. For this advantage and preeminence which thy werlyke pepill receaves of the maketh theme the mair obleshed, and the rest not gevin to the excerse of armes will excuse the, seing it aggreth *with* reasoun that they suld be best recompensed wha ar maist and ofttest exposed to perrell. Bot incace thow forbid theme the vse of there armes, thow begineth be the same meanes to provoke¹ and offend 10 theme, and schaueth that thow distrusteth theme ather by the want of there courage or by there lake of fidelitie. And the ane and the other off thir opinions kendleth vp and stirreth causes of hatred aganst the; and becaus it wer imposible for the to conteneue and mantane thy estate being disarmed, thow wer then forced to have recourse to mercenarye suddarts, which how far they ar gud and avaiable we have above spokken. And albeit they wer never of sa great gudnes and fidelitie, yet wer they not sufficient to defend the aga[n]st a pouerfull enmeye and thy rebellious subiect. 20

For this cause a new prence *cumming* to any new monarche and conquests traneth vp his pepill in armes, of the which many *examples* may be adduced furth from sondrye histryeis. Bot quhen a prence conquesches a new estate which he adjoyneth as a new member to his ald lordschippis, then it wer very expedient to draw the armes from theme and disarme theme F. 177 a. all except these that / hes bene thy favorers in the first purchasing of the same, and with tyme be litill and litill dispoylze theme also, and mak theme through laik of exercise effeminat and sa weakned that thow may Introduce in there 30 places thy awen subiects and pepill of thy ald dominion to assist the therefter and defend the.

Our ancestours of florence, especiallye these that for these tymes wer reputed maist wyse, war accustomed to say that it wer expedient to hald the tone² of pistoya with factions³ and the cytie of pisa with fortresses; and for this cause nurished in thes lands that wer subiect vnto theme querrells and dissen- 37

¹ irritate.² cytie.³ partialytes.

sions amangs the inhabitants for the mair easie possession of these places: which thing might posseble appeire to bene wyslie done In these dayes quhils as Italye was balanced be the differences of these dyvers partyeis. Bot at this tyme I wald be very laith to set doune sic bygane proceedinges for precepts, be reason that I beliuie yat diuisions never brought any gud successs *with* theme; yea, it wer a thing to fall out infallablye that these cyteis that *with* factions ar devyded at the first approche of the enmeye suld be maid subiect or destroyed, because¹ the weakest part wald alwayes leane to the 10 strong enmeye whils the other culd not had theme in obedience.

The venetiens, moved in my Iudgment be thir considerations, entertained the factions of the guelfs and gibelins in there tounes of there territorye. And notwithstanding that they never suffered that there querrells suld come to any ruffulle of armes, nottheles they intertened this humeur amangs them, to the end that there subiects and pepill, being busyed in thir factions, broyles, and differences, suld not have laseur to think vpon rebellion. Bot it fell out far otherwyse beyond there purposed proiect: for being overcome at vaila 20 castell, the factious partie that was maist pouerful becam mair baldest, and turned theme out of all there dominioun that they had there. And sic forme / of devyses discovereth bot the weaknes of a prence and the feblenes of his estate: for these and such lyke partialytes and diuisions ar not permisseble vnder a galiard prence quha hes blood at his nayles, considerding they ar not profitable nor helpfull bot in tyme of peace, by meanes wharoff his subiects may be mair easelie governed, and yet sa sone as warres sal brek vp, the litill assurance of sic advyses and deceate wil be sone 30 discovered.

Without doubt prences do inlarge there estate and extend there fame quhills as they surmonts all the difficulteis and impediments that occurreth to there attempts and proiects; and sua fortoun whils she inhanseth a new prence, quha ought to be mair valiant and verteous then a hereditarye, engendreth enmeyes and adversarye enterpryses on euery syde, to the 37

¹ MS. be case.

end that, hee having mater therbye to shaw his pouar and vertew, he might pretend to a mair higher estate be the leddars whair*with* his enmeyes hes furneshed him. And *yair*for many ar off that mynde that a wyse forseing prence suld *with* a certene slight and subtelitie foster some inimitie and faction aganst him, by the overthrow quharoff his greatnes may be the mair enlarged.

And there hes bene some prences of the new sort quha hes found mair faith and comoditie in these men quha in the begining of there attempts wer suspected then in these quha 10 at the begining wer maist to be trusted into. For pandolphus petruccius, the prince of sienna, governed his estate mair be these quha wer first suspected be him then be any other. Bot [it] is not possible to discourse larglye of this mater as it is requeseit, be reasoun the change *yairoff* and diuersitie is according to the subiect. And it sal suffice to shaw yow that these men quha at the begining of the establishing of an estate wer adversaries, and opposite to the receptioun and admission of a prence, incace these men, I say, be of sic qualetie and conditioun that they neid of some stey and some 20 person to leane vnto, then easelie sal sic a prence draw theme to his partie. Yea, suche *persouns* of theme selfs salbe the mair therto inclyned, and as it wer mair faithfullye constrained

F. 178 a. to. serve the *prence*, / as they sall discerne and acknowledge it to be maiste necessaire that by loyal obedience they might abolish the sin[i]strie opinioun that he may conceave of theme ; and be the same reasoun the prence sal draw mair gane furth of theme then commoditie of the other sort quha, bot serving him *with* overmuch securetie and cairlesnes, falleth oftentymes in negligence and oversight of his affairs. And seing we haue 30 entred sa far in this subiect, I will not leave this new prence vnremembred, quha having attened to his new prencedome by the minds and favour of the pepill, to deiplye consider the cases and motifes of these that hes *yairin* so favored him. And if it be not that by a naturell affectioun they have bene Induced sa to have done, bot rather by a miscontenment and disconceate of the precedent government or governour, he sal *with* great difficultie entertene there love and freindschip, be 38

reason that it sal be als impossible for him to plesse theme then it was for the formar.

Sua that discoursing and conferring thir considerations *with* the examples that ar past and ar present, we se¹ this namlye to be the cause, that it salbe mair easie for a new prence to Insinuat him self in the favour of these that wer affectioned to there first prence, and maintene him in there gudwill quha wer contrair to his election at the first, then in these quha only did favour him for the dispossessing and hatred of the former.

10

It hes bene the custome of some prences quha for the mair secure keiping of there estate haue erected up citatedlls, builded fortresses, supponing therby to hald in brydill these quha might haue ather counsell or courage to attempt aganst theme, and to serve for a place of refuge to avoyde the first furie of the revolting pepill. I can not weill now *with* great reason blame this forme of proceding, / being a practic of sa long contenance, *nochtwithstanding* the lord nicolas vitelli hes in our dayes dimolished tua fortresses in the toune of castello, onlye and of na other intentionn bot to asseure his estate.²⁰ And guidobaldo, duk of vrbin, having recovered his dukdome² from the which he was chased by cesar borgia, did schave as it wer euen from the grond and fondations the strongest places of that contrie, being of opinioun that he wer *without* theme *with* mair difficultie to losse agane his estate. The bentiuolians practised the lyke efter there returne to bologna. And sua for thir causes, fortresses and castells ar helpfull or hurtfull according to the tyme, and gif they serve for thy advantage In ane part, they ar als disadvantageable in an other. Vpon which discourse this distinctioun may be maid:³⁰ that that prence quha hes mair feare of the pepill then of strangers suld build holdes and cytadells, bot he agane that redoubteth mair the stranger then the subiect hes not neid to do so. The castell of milan that duik francish forze did build sal, as it hes done, mak mair trouble to him and his successours then any disordour or revolting of that estate. Quhairfor the best fortress that can be is to be weill beloved³⁷

¹ we sal fore se that the causes of these things to be.

² estate.

of thy subjects, considering that a strang hald will not save quhen the pepill is Inclyned to do the an euil turne, quha efter they have revolted and takken armes in hand will never want forren forces for there support. And In our tyme no man hes sene that sic fortresses has avayled any *person* except the contesß of furly efter the discease of her husband, cont Ierome, quha by the ayd of her castell avoyded the pepills fureur, abaid the succourß of milan, and recovered her estate. Bot sic was the condition of that tyme and fortoun that the pepill could not be supported by the strangers force. Bot efter a litill ¹⁰ her strong hald helped her nothing, quhen Cesar borgia did assault her, and the pepill her enmeie being conjoyned *wit* F. 179 a. the stranger overthrew her. Sa it had bene / mair for her saiftye to have recovered there favour then reposed in her fortresß. We having then considered all thir things, I will commend him quha dois erect cytadells, castells, and fortresses, and him also that is not intended *pairto*. Bot I will altogether disallow him quha, confyding in the same & purcessing the pepills hatred, will mak litill cont of the subiects¹ love and affection.

¹ pepills.

Caput 21.

Hou a prence suld governe him self for / to
purchesse respect and reputatioun.

Nathing bringeth a prence mair reputatioun¹ then the
achteving of glorious interpryses and the executioun of great
maters, geaving furth by the worthines of his actioun rare and
comendable examples. In our dayes we have ferdinand king
of arragon and now present king of spaine. This prence may
be called a new prence, be reason that being bot a weak king,
yet by fame, reputatioun, and by glorie, hes becumd the 10
grestest and maist potent king of christendome. Sua that
gif we consider his actions, we sal find theme to have bene
great, highe, mervellous, and extraordinarie. In the begining
of his reigne he did assalt the kingdome of granad, and vpon
this interpryse he hes established the fondatiouns of his great-
nes. For this first expeditioun he maid it as it wer ydill, and
bot any distrust to have bene empesched in the executioun
theroff ; and through the same he held in suspense the myndes
of the hole barrons of castilia ; quha having there thought
casten on the consideration of thir weres wer not intentiue to 20
Innovations ; and he in mene tyme purchessed baith reputa-
tion, autoritie, and impyre above theme quharto at the begining
they had no regard.

& he fand also a prettie inventioun to lift his armie and
to wage them vpon the charges of the² churche and moyens
of the pepill, and by these lang werres lay the gronds of these
Interpryses which thereafter did rander him glorious³ and
renoned.

28

¹ glorie.² roman.³ honorable.

F. 179 b. / And besyds all this, to the end that he might the better interpryse greater things vnder pretext of religioun, he determined ¹ to turne him to the execution of a devot crueltie be chasing and banneshing the mairans and half Jeues furth off his kingdome; nather was there euer an example mair miserable nor mair rare than this. And vnder the same mantill of deuotioun he Invaded ² africa touard his voyage and Interpryse of italye, and at last of all ³ he assaltd france; and so attempting alwyes great and mightie actions held in suspense and astonishment continuallye the myndes of his sugects [sic] 10 and pepill of the euent of his affairs. And in suche a sort his actions rease eache on of other that therby na lesour was geuen til any natioun or pepill to appone theme to his courses.

It avaletth also meikill for a prence to giue rare and admirable examples of his behaviour in the ciuil goverment, not vnlyke those which ar reported of bernard of Milan, quhen the occasioun sal offre, as quhen any hes committed some extraordnarye fact in a ciuil lyfe ather in gud or euill, and yairby to find out the subtelest and maist inventiue wayes baith of reuard and punishment of the which men may have succes lang efter 20 to report off. And above all things a prence suld cast his cair to engender ⁴ be all his action maters of fame, and glorie, and excellencye. And besyds a prence is mekill estemed in thes preceidings baith with his frends and faes, that is to say, that quhen he without all respect discovereth him self fordvard in the causes of his frends aganst an other, quhilk resolutioun salbe allwyes better thought off then to remane neutrall.

For gif thy tua puissant nighbours falleth at variance together and at blaues, ather they ar off that qualetie and conditioun that one of thame obtaining the victorie of the other 30 the victorious may ather hurt the or not. Now in quhat sumeuier of thir occurrences, caces, or euent, it war mair expedient thow suld declare thy self ather for the ane or for the other. For in the first cace, if thow do not discover thy self, thow sal be alwayes a pray vnto him that overcummeth, with the ioy, also plesour, and contentment off him that is vainqueshed. Nather sal thow have any reason or alledgence to be defended 37

¹ resolved.² assal[t]ed.³ finallye.⁴ giue.

F. 180 a. nor supported be him in thy calamitie. / Becaus he that winneth despyses suspected frendship, and off the which he hes na help in his adverseties ; and he quha is wone sal not nor *can* not receive the quhome thow waldst not support in his fortoun.

King antiochus passed in grecia at the request and suscitation of the atholians for to chase furth of that province the romans, wha sent ane ambassadour vnto the acheans, the freinds and confederats of the romane pepill, to the end to Induce theme to a newtralitie and Indifferencye in these warres. 10
 On the other *part* the romans persuaded theme to tak there partye. This mater being brought to be debated be the achen consell, and antiochus embassadour *persuading* theme not to favour the ane mair *then* the other, bot to [be] beholders of these weres, the romane embassadour ansuered in such sort as concerning that which hes bene spokken vnto yow, as a thing gud and proffitable for your estate not to intermedle your selfs in this werre. Be the contrair there is nathing mair pernicious and noysome to your estate then so to do if therunto 3e tak gud heid ; for if in sa far as 3e sal not be off 20
 the *partye* 3e may very weill assure your self that your province salbe the booting and portion of the conquerour to your great disgrace and destruction. And It *can* onlye falleth furth that he quha is na wyes thy freind sal be first to dispose the to indifferencye and newtralitie, and be the contrair he quho most interlye dois love the wilbe the first to entreate the to concur & to susteane his quarrell ; which things we se practised by thir irresolued and vnadvysed prences who, favouring the thrid way, supposes therby to avoyde and declyne all present danger ; bot so oft do they come to ruine as they condiscend 30
 to suche resolutions. Yet quhen a prence *with* courage discovers him self in the favour and faction of his *confederat*, and it sal sa happen that he with quhome thow is so foruwardlye conjoyned sal be conquerour, albeit he be sa pouerfull that thow remaneth subiect to his discretioun & to the mercye and courtesie off his plesour, he remaneth notheles therby bound and obleshed vnto the, and by that contract of frendship so far inched that it is not posseble nor credeble that men, 38

F. 180 b. / howsoever vnIust, dishonest, and vnreasonable that they ar, wald not *with* sic great spott of vngratitud violat and dis-sunder it, or *with* sic examples of vnthankfullnes oppress the. Morouer, there is na victorie sua happie altogether nor prosperous that therbye the vanqueshes is not to be bound vnto some reverent respect and spark of equitie and reason. Bot if it happen that the loss be on there syde for quhome thow hes declared thy self, the conquered will gladlye receave and embrace the, and giue sa far succourse vnto the as his pouer may extend vnto, and by the same moyen mak the companzon 10 of his fortune which may wel ryse agane and be amended.

In the secound cace, quhen they who makking warres together ar of such qualytie and condition that thow hes not offered vnto the causes of feire by the conquerour, then it wer the cheifest point of thy wisdom to adhere vnto the one of these two: be reasoun that thow salt occasion *pair* by the overthrow of the ane by the help of the other quha, gif he had bene wyse, wald have defended him: ¹ sua that he obteneing the victorie, he *nocht* theles submitts him self peaceblye to thy discretion, which he can not avoyde, be reason it 20 Is ² impossible that he sal not win being sua succoured by the; the consideration quharoff suld dryve a prence to this advyse, to wit, that he suld never enter in *confederacie* *with* a prence off mair might a[n]d pouar then him self to the endomaging of an other, gif he therto be not forced by necessetie; becaus that gif thy confederat *cummeth* to be victorious, he consequently becommeth maister of the also, and above all things prences suld be cairfull never to fall in the discretioun of others.

The Venetians confederat theme selfs *with* france aganst the 30 duik of milan, and it was in there libertie to have avoyded that ametrie of the which nathing other did aryse bot there ruine. Bot quhen these frendships and confederacyes can not be eshewed, as it intervened in the affairs of these of florence quhen the pape and the spanzard *with* there armyes did invade Lombardie, In such occurrences a prence suld embrace the *partye* for sic above mentioned reasons.

37

¹ by helping him quha suld defend the gif he be wyse.

² wer.

F. 181 a. & *yairfor* Let na prence assure himself to choose alwayes
 sure courses or consells but hasard or perrell, bot lat him rather
 be the contrair cast for these that ar doubtfull and hes maist
 adventur Ioynd with theme ; be reason sic is the dispositioun
 of all worldlye things that he quha wald maist cairfullye studie
 to eschew an inconvenient Incurrith oftentymes in another.¹
 Bot here consistith wisdome, to know the qualetie and nature
 of these dangers and to tak the least warst for the best.
 Besyds this, a prence suld travell to be reputed a lover of
 vertew and a entertainer of such as ar excellent in any scyence. 10
 Morouer, he suld love so his cytisens that they ² be Incouraged
 to hope that they sal leave peaceblye vnder him In the exercise
 of there treds and occupations, alsuell in marchandice and
 tillage, and in all other sorts of leving, to the end that this
 man through some conceate of feare forbear not to manure
 and beautifie ³ his possessions quhils as he is afreyed of the
 displacing him off the same, and another desist to oppen and
 Invent some tred [and] traffique for suspicion of imposts, trib-
 uts, and taxations that may be exacted for him ; bot rather by
 great rewards, gifts, priueleges, and preferments alluere theme 20
 vnto the beutifying off the cytie and amplefying of his estate.
 He suld also have his thoughts fixed on this, that at some
 convenient tyme of the yere he suld hald his pepill busyed in
 playes, feastes,⁴ and spectacles of recreatioun. And bycaus
 euerye cytie is devyded ather in crafts ⁵ or in quarters, he
 ought *yairfor* to have in reputation that vniuersalytie and
 conjoynd bodye, conveining and associating him self som-
 tymes with theme, geving him self ane example of humantie
 & of magnificence, provyding alwayes that he debase not him
 self sa far by sic popularitie as he may forgett the considera- 30
 tion of his soverane degre, bot to keip and retene firme
 alwayes that maieste that belangeth thertoe which never suld
 be contempple [*sic*] nor neglected. 33

¹ warser.² suld.³ encrease.⁴ lanquetts,⁵ arts or.

F. 181 b.

Caput 22.

Chapter 22.¹
off the secretaries of prences.

It is ane thing of no litill Importance to ane prince to have ane scharp Judgment in the election & chois of his servants, quhiche ar rather gud or evill, sufficient & vnsufficient, according to the wosdome of the prince. & The first coniectur that anie person makethe of his souveraine, & of his discretion, wit, & vnderstanding, is fowndet vpon sick persons quhiche he enter-tenethe and thair ar about him quho, incas̄s thay be wyß, 10 sufficient, & faithefull, he always man be reputit wyß as also be reason he had that wit to discerne there sufficiencye and to conteneu thame in that faithfulness.² Bot incas̄s thay be evill, no man gave gud Iudgement of the prince, becawß the first error that he committs & greatist is in sik ane evill election. And thay wer non that knew Antonus Venafro, secretar to Pandolpho Petrukci, Prince of Cienna, quho did not lykwys believe Pandolfus to be ane man Indewit *with* great wosdom quhilis he retenit suche ane man in his service. Now becawß thair ar thrie sortis of Braines of men, ane that wnderstandis 20 by itself, the secound that doithe by the admonition and Instruction of ane other, the thrid, that nather by him self nor others demonstration understandethe, that first is maist excellent, the secound, commendabill, bot the thrid, Invtill and wnprofitabill. In consideration quhair of it wes necessair that seing pandolphus wes not In the first degre 3it may be placet 26

¹ *This chapter written in a different hand.*

² know thame sufficient & as also to manteane thame & mak thame faithefull.

in the second, be reason ¹ at quhat tyme ane hathe the Iudgement to deserne the evill & gud that ane doethe, albeit of him self he be not of sik pragnancie nor Invention, nottheles wil be furnesit *with* that muche Iudgement to knaw quhat thingis ar weill & quhat things badlie ar don by his servant, Commending the former, correcting the last, in sik sort that the servant, not knowing the moyings to deceaue his maister, Is forcet *with* ane to remaine loyall and conteneu in his gudnes.

F. 182 a.

/ Wold thow then find the maner to cheiſſ wyslie ane servant, thow most follow this principall quhilk falethe nor deceavethe ¹⁰ never, quhilk is: quhen thow seis him mair Intentiue to his awin weill then vnto thyn, & in all his actionis having regaird to his awin gaine mair then vnto thy commoditie, mak thy count that this man so formit will do the never gud nor faitheful service, nether sowld thow trust him; becawſ that he that hes the handling of great mens affairs suld never hav regaird to him self, bot, forgetting his awin commoditie, give his wits & thogtis hollilie to the wtilitie & advantage of his maister.

And 3it, on the other pairt, that the prence may continew ² in sik gudnes & faithefulnes, it behovethe him to have cair ²⁰ of his servant, to provyd for him, obleising him by gifts & riches, be preferment in honors participant vnto him office & sik honorabill charges that the greatnes of his honors, riches, & advancement may fill vp his desirs frome prætending or searchin[g] anie farder by other meanis. And lykways the great chairges and honorabill offices that he sustenis may mak him feare the change of his maister, quhills he sall persave that he can not mentaine his estat *without* his princis standing. Quhillis as then the prince & the servants ar faschonit in this sort, the on may wery easilie confyd in the ³ ³⁰ other: quhair otherwais thay be disposed, then sal [it be] allways damnabill and pernicious ather for the on or for the other.

33

¹ that.

² manteane him self gud.

³ trust the.

Caput 23.

Hou flatterers ar to be escheued.

I will not lue vntouched that *part* and errour from the which prences *with* great difficultie can defend theme selfs, incace they be not of an excellent wisdome and scharpe Judgment, which is, concerning flatterers, of quhome all monuments and historyes ar replenished: becaus that men ar so pleased and rest in conceate with there awen doings, and in a maner sa dulls and deceaves theme selfs in there actions, that very hardlie can they save theme selfs from sic a pest 10 and verming sort. Yea, incace they wald keip theme thairfra, it wer to be feared that they fell not in contempt altogether, for be no other meanes may a man defend him fra flattrie then that siclyke affected persons vnderstand that thow will nowayes be displeasd albeit the treuth be tauld vnto the frelie.

F. 182 b. / And yet incace euerye man sa frelie and Indifferentlye sal speik vnto the, then thy estimation perrisches and the reverence dew to thy estate is d[i]minished. The prence, *yaifor*, that is wyse suld tak a thrid meane, In keiping about him a 20 number of wyse and grave men of right conscience, and to theme geve libertie and pouar to tel frelie that which concerns him *without* glosing or suppressing any thing of the veretie, and specciallye in such things quhairin he dois demand there advyse and consell, and no farder, and efter heving vnderstood there opinioun, then to deliberat be him self quhat advyse he will fallow: yea, so to behave him self with euerye one of theme in sic a sort, that they may al *yairefter* vnderstand yat how far there consells wer frelie geven so far wer the gevers 29

the mair agreeable, and that besyds thame he wald giue no eare to any others, and *yairefter* to fallow furth his resolutioun *with constancie*. Quho otherwyse proceideth in his turnes ather dois he by the subornings of flatterers hastelye orthraw him self,¹ or be thir varietie of opinions changes his determinations als oft, from which dois flaw his disgrace and diminished reputatioun. For the confirmation of this purpose I will Induce a recent example of maister peter luca, servant to maximilian, present empreur, quho, discoursing² off his maister,³ did say that the emperours natur was to tak counsell 10 of na bodye and yet off him self neuer to execut any thing : which procedings⁴ differeth altogether fra these things that we haue sustened afore. And the reasoun is, considdering that this empreur is a prence maist secreit, not communicating his actions nor affairs to any man liuing, nather yet demanding of any advyse or consell, bot quhills in the progres of these conceates men cam peace and peace to the discoverye off his fantasie at that tyme when he was resolved to putt his deliberations in executioun, these then quhome he had for consellers, forseing his proiect, did begin *yairefter* to dissuade 20 him frome the same and to deverte him : at quhose humeur he disallowed his former opinioun, and did mend and trimm over agane that which before he had forcasten and bethought vpon. Off the which this interruptioun off his consells fallowed, that that which one day was interprysed, on the other was

F. 183 a. dissaudded, devyded, & destr[o]yed, / so that none culd euer understand quhat he wald have had effectuat ather by consell or executioun ; sua that vpon his deliberations, platts, and proiects, na newe prence can build his courses. Notheles, he suld have this cair to seik alwyes his consellours advyse, 30 bot yet at sic tyme that when he is willing *yairtoe* and not quhen others. Yea, he suld be so deiplye fixt in this consideratioun that he suld carye the thoughts away from theme and courage that wald be ouer busie about to *consell* him in any thing quhairin he hes not demanded there advyse, and yet he suld be verye liberall, oppen, and na wyse precise in seiking 36

¹ alter his purpose.² speiking.³ in confid[ence].⁴ thing.

there consell, and in the serching of the same to here theme patientlye, and to find fault with such as dissemble wald proceed in there advyses, and wald be some fearful or flattring respects and considerations conceale the veretie.¹

And becaus sum dois esteme of suche a prence quho givis furthe amangst pepill of him self ane conceat² of wisdom, so lykways suld so be obleisid³ not be his awin Instinct of natur, or that his wittis, as we say, ar in his awin head, bot be the gud conseilis & advysis that ar gevin by thois that ar about him, thir men suirly ar begylit; becaus this rul is maist sure 10 quhilk is generallie gevin furthe, that ane prince that in him self is not wys can not be weil consoled, if alredie he hethe not castin him in the government and conseil of ane onlie quho alainerlie dothe governe as the maist vysit of his consiell: be this meanes he may be⁴ weil rulit & his estat weil governit, bot in my opinion *with* small contenance, be reason that that same consellier and governour sall cast furthe & expell him frome his estat. Bot if ane prince, unexperiencit in the cowrses of policie & be void of knowlege of the affairs of stat, dois apply his thoughts to tak mo than ane in conseil 20 of his affairs, 3e sal never find cohærent, correspondent, nor agreabill advysis; and 3it of him self he sall never be abill to agree⁵ thair di[s]agreing conseilis, for everie on of [these] that ar in his consiell sall luik to thair awin Increases & advantages, quiche nather he can correct nor have knaledge of.⁶ And it sall be werie hard to find otheris quho sal be mair honestly or betterly Inclynit, Becawß that sik sort of pepill, quho ar of thameself Inclynit to evill towardis the, *with* great difficultie can be dewetifull, gud, or loving, except thay be forceabillie compellit. And of this I Infer this conclusion, 30 that quhatsumever gud consailis or advysis procedit frome anie or dois aryß, that the sam resultethe of the wosdome of the prence and not frome gud consaill.

33

¹ *The remainder of this chapter written in a different hand.*

² opinioun.

³ reputit.

⁴ sumquhat.

⁵ nor disagrie in t[hair].

⁶ acknowledge.

F. 183 b.

Chapter 24.

Quhairfor the prences of italye hes lost /
there estates.

¹ These things before rehersed being wyslie practised and followed dois mak a new prence appere an ancient and of longar tyme and contenance, yea, suddenlye will mak him mair peaceble and asseured in his estate then gif he wer planted *yairin* by the successioun off his ancestours. For a new prence is in all his actions and operations mair remarqued and observed then he quho is a prence by heritage; and 10 quhen they ar knawen to be verteous, valiant, and worthye, they draw and allure vnto theme the harts of men, and randers theme mair obleshed *yairby* then be the onlye consideration of the succeeding ancient blood dois others. Bycaus men ar mair affected to things present then passed, and quhen they taist off the gudnes of things present they trulye ar contented, and reioyses in the enjoyng of the same but any desyre of innovation, exersing all there pouer for his defence, quhils as they se him sa accomplished as his witt and valence is *within* him self; and so *yairby* he acqueres double glorye for 20 having lyd the ground and beginings of a new prinedome, and having bea[u]tified, adorned, and fortifyed it *with* gud lawes, *with* gud armes, *with* gud freinds, and gud examples, as the other by the contrair purchesses him double shame that, being by successioun a soverane, lossis be his vnworthines and lital wisdome his heritable estate. 26

¹ These things before rehersed being prudentlye followed dois mak a new prence to be mair ancient, to appeire ane ancient, and mair suddenlye dois establishe him in his estate, yea, and.

And if any ¹ regard or consider the *prences* of italye quha hes lost there estate in our age, as the king of naples, the duk of milan, and others, men sal find in theme a commoun fault and defect as touching the armes and conduct of the weres, be the same reasons that we have before deduced.

F. 184 a. / Moreover, besydes all this, it sal be sene that some off them wer disfavored be there subiects and there pepill to be there ennemie, or gif they had the pepill there favorers, they have had litill foresight to strength or assure theme aganst the greter & nobler sort: which faults easelye occasion the 10 decadence and ruine ² of ane estate, and *without* the which na *prencedome* suffisant of it self and which mantanes an *armye* can come suddenlye to destruction.

philipp of Macedone, not he quha was father to alexander the great bot he quho was ouercome & vanquished by titus quint[u]s flaminus, had no great estate in regard of the roman puissance & the greatnes of that of grecia who assaltd & invaded him. Yet notwithstanding, being [a.] man weill experienced in the weres and a valiant warriour, and quho culd enterteine the humeur of the pepill and brydill the enterpryses 20 of the gretest, did I say, notheles maintene ³ for many yeres the wares aganst his armed enmeyeis; and albeit in the end he lossed the lordship of some cyties and possession theroff, yet his kingdome was saflye preserved.

Quharfor thir prences of our age in italye quha *with* lang conteneunance hes reuled & liued in peace and now delected fra there estate, lat theme not accuse there fortoun bot there awen negligence, sluggishnes,⁴ and cowardliness: quha in peaceable tymes never had foresight to provyde aganst a change (which is a comoun fault in al persons that cairles ar off the 30 tempest whils they ar caryed *with* the calme) fra that in mair adversar tymes, *without* cair off defence, by flying and not fighting did save theme selfs and lofs *yair* estate, trusting that the pepill, ouercume *with* the furie and insolent tyranie off the conquerour, & weryed *with* his procedings, wald recall thame bak agane: which resolution ⁵ and advyse is not alto- 36

¹ have.² falling.³ sustene.⁴ MS. slughshnes.⁵ proiect.

gether disallowable, provyding that ther be no other remedyeis; bot it is a euil consell to abandon, neglect, and leafe off better meanes for that conceate.¹ For a man suld not fall *wit*h that hope to find an other to tak him vp agane, and quhome posseblie thow sal not find; or incace that gif thow rencontre sic a chance, it sal not be *wit*h thy saiftye nor surtye altogether, F. 184 b. be reason that this sort of succouris / is abiect and vile, and which hes no grond vpon thy self, nor dependeth vpon thy valeur and manhoode; so *yat* these defenses ar onlye suir, gud, certane, and durable, which procedeth from thy self and io thy vertew.

¹ regaird.

Chapter 25.

How far fortoun hes pouar in mans affairs, and be
quhat meanes shee may be resisted.

I am not ignorant that this opinioun hes bene and is main-
tened be many, that the affairs of the warld ar in such wyes
governed and conducted by god and by fortoun that men with
there wisdom and foresight can not amend theme as things
aboundoned off all remeid : and for this cause they inferr this
conclusioun, that it wer great folye to brek or beate there
brains or imploy any travel heirin, bot to leave there action 10
and yssew *yairoff* to chanse and adventur.

In our tyme this opinion hes bene much belued, & be the
changes and vicissituds off all things, which hes bene and
daylye ar sene and remarked to occurr surpassing all foresight
and humane conjectur, trusted very much vnto. And quhils
as I enter sometymes in the consideratioun theroff, I enter
and condiscendeth as oft to almaist there opinioun. Not-
theles, to the end our frie will be not takken away & destroyed,
I am of this Iudgment, that it may [be] posseble that fortoun
dispose vpon the half *part* of our actions and the other or 20
litol les vnto our government and conduct. For I compair
fortoun to a violent flood,¹ rining from the montains *with*
impetuositie and ravishment, that whils as he is suilled and
debordered ouerfloueth all the plane, drovneth the nig[h]bour
banks, violentlye plucketh vp the treis, and turneth away
the houses, and forceablye caryeis and transporteth and
heapeth an *part* of earth til another ground, and so all pepill, 27

¹ floode, speatful.

giving place til his furie, flyeth far off having no meanes to withstand it.

Notwithstanding it be so, *yair* inlaiketh not sa far remedeis bot that men in calmer and vnstormyer tymes may mak gud provisioun to keip him in his naturel course *with* hight dykes and rampiers, in such sort that / quhen any tyme *yairefter* he beginneth agane to wax great and to ryse in speat, he may be bonded in his channell, or at the least, if he debord, [h]is vehemencye sal not be so hurtfull. The lyke falleth out *with* fortoun, quho then shaweth her pouar maist quhair shee finds 10 and espyes least vertew to resist her, and there turneth hir furie quhair shee knaweth na obstacles nor defenses ar maid to repreß her.

And now If ye consider italye, quha is the seat of sic mutable changes, and is she *yat* hes geven ye beginings to the alterations, 3e sal *perceave* her to be a waist feild, but banks, dykes, & ramp[i]ers, quha if she had bene fortifyed *with* convenient and requeseit vertew, as almaine, spane, and france ar, this Invndatioun and overflouing wald not have occasioned sic strange changes as it is subiect vnto. And this sall suffice 20 which I have spokken touching the *withstanding* of fortoun in generall. Bot now purposing to condiscend to mair *particuler* discourse of her pouar, I say that we behauld some prences to prosper this day and come to ruyne the morrow, and by such causes as nane can be ascryued ather to the change of his natur or goverment or any other his condition : which change, I think, floweth fra the same things which of before we have discoursed, to witt, that quhils a prence steys and propps all his hap and courses vpon fortoun, quha sa sone agane as she altereth als suddenlye dois he perish. And 30 I Iudge him to be a happye prence quhase consells in the conduct of his affairs ar correspondent vnto the tyme, and him vnhappye quhase procedings and advyses disagrethe fra the season.

For we sie that men dois *nocht* proceid not after a sort in these things that Induces theme to the end of there courses, which ar ather rychces or glorye : for some proceideth *yairto* slawlye and *with* respect, others *with* rashnes & vncircum- 38

spectioun ; some *with* violence, some *with* subteltie, some *with* patience, some be hir contrair ; and euerye ane of these men, *nochtwith*standing thir discordant moddes, may come to there auen end.

Morover, 3e sal find that of tua cald & respecting humeurs ane of theme to attane the but & scope of his desyrs & the
 F. 185 b. other not ; / and lykwyse other tua quha baith alyke sal have a prosperous success in there ends, being of contrarye conceate and complexions, the ane being *circumspect* the other vnadvysed : the causes quharoff procedeth of the qualetie and condition 10 of the tyme, quhilk is ather agreeable to there fascons and maner of procedings or ells disconformable. Of which consideration dois aryse *ȳat* which *ȳat* I sayd alreddie, that tua be different and contrarious courses conueneth to a end, and agane other tuo be conformable moddes enioyeth not the lyke effect.

And of this dependeth the vicissitud and variation of the end. For gif he w[h]a governeth his affairs by modestie and patience rencontres and meiteth with sic season and tymes 20 quhairin his vertewes ar requeset, he can not fail bot to prosper happelye in his actions ; bot if the tyme and things sal change, then dois he perish be reasoun he alters not his forme of proceeding. Yet not withstanding *ȳair* is na man to be found endeued *with* sic wisdome or sa *parfitly* accomplished that can applye him self to all sic diuersityes, be reasoun it is very difficill for ane to withdraw or devert his spreit fra his naturel inclinatioun ; as also it wer very hard to dissuade a man fra that maner of course which he alwyes fallowed, and to leave that way as euil which afore he found happie to the compassing of his actions. In consideration wharoff, the *person*¹ that is 30 cald & *circumspect* quhen tyme requyres him to be violent and vehement can not embrace that humeur, and so be his *circumspectioun* he cumeth to his ruyne, quha incace he had diuersefyed and changed his nature according to the season and occurrences, his guid fortoun had not decayed.

Pape Jule the 2 in all his actions proceded *with* vehemencye and violent hastines, and fand the state of *ȳe* tymes and the 37

¹ man.

season conformable to his maner of proceeding, which
 alwayes had there desyred and prosperous success.¹ Consider
 a litill his first enterpryses vpon the cytie of bologna quhils
 Johne bentioul the *prince* theroff liued. The venetians wer
 F. 186 a. not contented that he suld attempt to tak it, / and the kings
 of spaine and france had a treatie² together touching this
 expedition ; also yet notwithstanding he *with* the fearsnes
 of his courage went personally to that enterpryse : which
 violent actiuitie held in suspense the myndes of spaine and
 the venetians, these for feare, the other for the desyre he had 10
 to recover the kingdome of naples ; and of the other part the
 king of france became to be in his partye, quha, seing him sa
 reddelye armed and marching forduard, thought it expedient
 for the easier³ ouerthrowne of the venetians not to deny the
 pape the help of his forces, incace he otherwyse had manifestlye
 offended him. And so the pape by his promptenes and violent
 hastines compassed that which another pape culd never by
 his wor[*l*]dlye wisdome haue execut. For gif that he before
 his *departeur* furth of rome had abidden vpon ryte and advysed
 declaratioun and resolutioun of newe, as any other pape have 20
 done, he suld never have brought that state to his obedience :
 for then the king of france wald have forged⁴ a thousand
 excuses and the others terrefyed him *with* als many feares.
 I will not waid farder in his actions which wer al efter an
 tenour, and all succeding happelye lykwyse ; the schortnes of
 his lyfe suffered him not to feil a contrair fortoun : bot incace
 other tymes and occurences had fallen out which wald have
 reqyred slow advyse and circumspectioun, his ruine *yair*from
 some had rissing, bycaus he had never left off that faschon
 of proceeding, nor deverted fra ther meanes to which by 30
 nature he was enclyned. I conclud, *yair*for, that quhils as
 mens obstinacye and complexions aggreeth *with* the varietye
 of fortoun⁵ they ar happie, bot gif shee disagreeeth fra there
 complexion they come to destructioun. And I esteme it a
 far better thing⁶ to be hate and hastie in execution than
 cald and fearful ; be reason that fortoun is of the nature 36

¹ happie end.² negotiatioun.³ bettir, suer.⁴ found.⁵ fortoun varyeth & men remaine.⁶ advantagfull.

of wemen, which must be beaten and spurred to do the reason :
 and it is *commonlye* sene that shee suffers herself to be handled
 be these that ar hasardful and furthye ¹ then be these that ar
 F. 186 b. respecting. And for this caus it / is na mervell that she as a
 woman be inclyned towards yong men quha ar les respectful,
 mair fearles, and dois toward her *with* mair boldnes. 6

¹ rash.

Chapter 26.

an Exhortatioun for to delyver italye fra / of the
barbares subiection.

Having considered all these things that ar above discoursed, and revolving in my mynde if the tymes and seasoun occurreth now in italye which may honour and advance a new prence, or if the subiect be offered that might gar occasioun to a verteous and wyse prence to introduce a new forme of government, which might purchesß honour vnto sic a prence and proffit to al italye : and In my Iudgment sa many things dois 10 occur this day altogether for the comoditie and preferment [?] of a new prence that I am in doubt if euer tyme hes bene mair proper then this present.

For as we have above rehersed & did affirme yat it was necessar that the pepill of Israell behoued to be In subiection or moyses government, Vertew, or Worthines culd have appered, so it was also neidfull, or the greatnes and mightines of cyrus mynde might bene schawen, that the persiens suld bene ouerrun by the medees ; and lykwyse to mak famous and illustreit the excellencye of theseus it was 20 requeseit that the atheniens suld have bene dispersed and dis-sundered ; so at this present, that the vertew of an italien spreit might have it self excersered [*sic*], it was necessar that italye suld fall in suche extremetie and in sic miserable and slaviss condition as it is in this age, and to be vnder a greter servitud then the hebreus wer, mair subdeued then the persians, & mair dispersed then the atheniens, but conducteur, but ordeur, but government, beaten, ouerthrauen, dovetred, spoyled, 28

rent,¹ disrotted, and by all lamentable calametie oppressed. And albeit that some sponke of vertew and valeur hes bewrayed it self, some one person quhairby we might presumed that he was destinat of god for the delyverye and redemption of italye, nochtheles it hes bene sene yairefter that he in the highest course off his actions hes bene / forsaken of his fortoun, in such sort that sche remaneth as a bodye without lyfe, and exspecteth quhat person may aryse to heille her wonds and revenge her quarells, and might putt end to the spoyl, pillage, and sakkings of lombardie, to the exacti- 10
 ons and imposts of the realme of Naples and Tuscanye, and to applye medecins and saues to her auld cancred disease and yssew. And now we here her pouer furth her pr[a]yers to the almyghtie god, that he might send sone one that wald prease² to delyver her fra sic a barbarous inmanitie, insolencye, and subiectioun. Now may ze se her disposed to follow any displayed banner incace any person wald be awakned or entertein [?] him self to beare it. Bot at this present italye espyes nane other in quhase wisdom, manhoode, and government it might repose vpon for her delyverie mair then vpon 20
 your illustre hous of medices, which with hir great vertew & gud fortoun, favored of god and by his church, of the which it is the prence at this houer, might mak it self principal of this proiect and of her redemptioun: a thing which caryeis no difficultie with it incace ze propone before your eyes the worthy actions, exploytes, courses, and executions of sic valiant persons of quhome before we have maid mentioun. And albeit such personages wer rare, singuler, and admirable, notwithstanding they wer men and mortal, and euerye ane off theme having les occasioun then that which is now offered. 30
 And bycaus there interpryse was not so Iust, nor groned vpon sua gud reasons as yours ar on, nor yet wer sa easelye to be execut, nor had they god mair for their friend then yow haue, the Iustice³ of this purpose is great be reason that yat weir must be called Iust which is necessar. And these armes and battalls they ar reasonable and allouable quhair na better hope may be had bot in the same. Besyds this, behauld a fitt 37

¹ revesched.² interpr[ese].³ and right.

and tymlye disposition of all things, and quhair this aryses
 al difficultie is fallen away to attempt this conquest, provyding
 that 3e conforme your self to ther conduct and government
 of these quhome before I have rehersed. Morover, / 3e sal se
 causes¹ in some of theme that ar extraordinarie and but
 example, for god hes conducted theme: the sees hes bene
 oppen,² the clud hes convoyed theme, pr[a]yers poured water
 furth, of stains the heavens hes rayned manna. All thir things
 ar mett *with* and supplied be your greatnes. That which
 resteth³ is quhat suld be attempted by your self; god will 10
 not do all things, referring some things to our fre will quhilk
 he takketh not from vs, nather yet *pat* pairt of that prayse
 that dependeth vpon vs.

It is not to be mervelled if nane of thir fornamed Italiens
 culd effectuat that which might be done and is expected be
 your Illustre and maist honorable house; and iff in sa many
 changes and revolutions of italye, and in sic dyvers tranes
 and subtelytes of weir, it hes ay for the maist pairt appered
 that militarye discipline was extinguesched and brought to
 nothing, considering that these auld and ancient forme[s] and 20
 lawes of weires aggreid not *with* these tymes, nather is there any
 man hithertills that had skill or knowlege to Introduce new
 constitutions yet cummed in sight.⁴

And *pair* is na thing that advances a mans honour that
 newly⁵ cummeth to any reputation then dois nu lawes and
 the establishing of new ordnances mad by him self: which
 things being so weill and solidlye groned, they have in
 theme a greatnes & dignetie that maks the possessour
 admirable and reverenced. And In italye na aspyring prence
 sal want subiect and inlaik mater to introduce sic consti- 30
 tutions. There is vertew and valiancye in the members
 sufficient enugh sua that they wer als much in the heid &
 chiftane. And *pat* it is so, consider a litill the combatts
 and scarmouches of a few sort, and *pair*en 3e sal se hou far *pat*
 italye is superiour in force, agilitie of bodye, and dexteritie
 of spreit & courage above any other nation. Bot quhen the 36

¹ occasions.² moyses pryer.³ falloweth.⁴ appered.⁵ latlye.

mater cumes to a ¹ battell and a armie, it sickeneth [?] and quyeth all manhiede to the adversare : which thing procedeth from the weaknes of the heides and litill courage of commanders, be reason that theise that hes experience of the wars ar not obedient and euerye ane . . .

[*End of MS.*]

¹ the tryell of.

A TRVE REPORTARIE

(From Waldegrave's Print and the Warrender Papers)

[A.1.]



A TRVE REPORTARIE
**OF THE MOST TRI-
VMPHANT, AND ROYAL ACCOM-
plishment of the Baptisme of the**
most Excellent, right High, and
mightie Prince,
FREDERIK HENRY; By the grace of
God, Prince of SCOTLAND.
Solemnized the 30. day of August. 1594.

[Scoto-Danish Arms.]

Printed by R. Walde-graue, Printer to the K. Maiestie.
Cum Priuilegio Regali.



[WALDEGRAVE

A TRVE REPORTARIE OF THE
BAPTISME OF THE PRINCE
of Scotland ¹

[P. 1.]
[A.] 2.



HE Noble and most potent Prince of Scotland, was borne in the Castell of Striuiling upon Tuesday, the 19. day of Februarie 1594. vpon which occasion the Kingis Maiestie, sent for the Nobles of his Land, and to all the capitall Burrows thereof, to haue their aduise, how he should 10

proceed for the due solemnization of his Royall Baptisme, and what Princes he should send to: When they were all compeired with great diligence and goodwill, hee proponed vnto them, that it was necessary, to direct out Ambassadors to France, England, Denmarke, the Lowe-Countries, the Duke of Brunfwicke his brother in lawe, and to the Duke of Magdelburgh, the Queenes Maiesties Grandfather, and to such other Princes as should be thoght expedient. Likewise, hee thought the Castell of Striuiling, the most / conuenient place for the residence of this most Noble 20 and Mightie Prince, in respect that hee was borne there: As also, it was necessary, that sufficient perparation might be made for the Ambassadors that should be invited to come, for honour of the Crowne and Countrie. And besides all this, because the Chappell Royall was ruinous, and too little, concluded, that the old chappell should be vtterlie rased, and a new erected in the same place, that shuld be more large, long 27

[P. 2.]

¹ The type of the original is black-letter. The punctuation of the original is preserved. Scoto-Danish Arms on Sig. A. 1. verso.

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and glorious, to entertaine the great number of strangers expected. These propositions at length considered, they all with a free voluntarie deliberation, granted vnto his Maiestie, the summe of an hundreth thousand pounds money of Scotland. Then was there Ambassadors elected, to passe in France, England, Denmarke, the Lowe Countries, and other places before mentioned, who were al dispatched with such expedition, and their Legacies took such wished effect: That first there came two famous men from the King of Denmark, the one CHRISTIANVS BERNEKOVV, the other, STENIO BILLE, these 10 came to Leyth the 16. of July, The next day after them, came ADAMVS CRVSIVS, Ambassadour for the Duke of Brunswick, and IOACHIMVS BASSEVITIVS, Ambassadour for the Duke of Magdelburgh, who is Grand-father to the noble Princesse ANNE, by the grace of God Queen of Scotland. Thirdly, the 3. day of August, there came Ambassadors from the States of Holland and Zeland, the Barron of Braderod, and the Treasurer of Zeland, called IACOBVS FALKIVS. /

[P. 3.]
[A.] 3.

There was also a Noble man directed from England, to wit, the Erle of Cumberland, who, euen when he had prepared 20 himselfe richlie, and honourable in all respects for his voyage to come into Scotland, and diuers Noble-men and Gentil-men of renowne, prepared and commanded for his honorable conuoy, It pleased God to visit him with sicknes: And in that respect another Noble man was chosen to supply his place, which was the Erle of Sussex, &c. And hee in consideration of his short, and vnexpected advertisement, made such diligence in his voyage, and magnificence for his owne persone and honourable convoy, as was thought rare and riche by all men: whereby it fell out, that betwixt the sicknes of the one Nobleman and the 30 hastie preparation of the other, the time was so farre spent, that the very prefixt daies of the Baptisme, were sundry times delaied. And because the Ambassadour of England was so long a comming: & the Ambassadors of Denmarke, Brunswicke and Magdelburgh, were feared to be hindered in their voyage by the Sea, by reason of the neere approching of 36

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[P. 4.]

Winter : They desired daily of the Kings Maiestie, during their remaining in Edinburgh, to haue some prefixed day to be nominate and certainly kept, that immediatly thereafter, they might be dispatched, which he granted at the last, although hee had diuers great impediments to the contrary. The first was, because the Chappell Royall and Castell of Striuling, was not fully compleit in all such necessaries, as was requisite, although he had the supply of the greatest number / of Artificers in the whol Cuntrie, conuened there, of all craftes for that seruice, and his Maiesties owne person 10 daily ouerseer, with large and liberall payment : but the chiefest cause, was the long absence of an Ambassadour from England, which his Maiestie greatly respected for many causes : And last of al, expecting, that some Ambassadour should haue come from France, which fel not out as was looked for. But when the Ambassadour was come from England to Edinburgh, foorthwith, his Maiestie dispatched one of the Gentlemen of his Hienes chalmer, to request him to repair towards Striuling the next day with all possible diligence, (which was the 28. day of August) because he wold haue had 20 the Baptisme administred the day following. But neither were the Propynes sent by the Queene of England, neither her Ambassadours owne cariages as then come : Therefore the Baptisme was delaied vntill the 30 day of August, as ye shall heare particularly hereafter.

But in the meane time, it is to be vnderstoode, that all these Noble Ambassadours before expressed, were honourable sustained vpon the Kings Maiesties owne proper costes, during the whole time of their residence in Scotland, saue onely the Ambassadour of England, whose whole expences, were de- 30 frayed by his Souerane the Queene of England. And because the rest of the Ambassadors were repaired to Striuling by his Maiesties direction, long before the comming of the English Ambassador, his Hienes bestowed the time with them in magnifique banketting, reuelling, & daily hunting with great honour. /

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[P. 5.]
[A.] 4.

The Kings Maiestie, purposing further to decore by magnificence this action, committed the charge thereof to the Lord of Lendores, and M. William Fowler, who by their trauells, diligence, and inuention, broght it to that perfection, which the shortnes of time and other considerations culd permit. So they hauing consulted together, concluded that those exercises, that wer to be vsed for decoration of that, solemnitie, were to be deuided both in Feeld pastimes, with Martiall and heroicall exploites, and in houshold, with rare shewes and singular inventions,

10

The Feeld to be vsed at two seuerall dayes: the first to be of three Turks, three Christian Knights of Malta, three Amazones, and three Mores. But by reason of the absence, or at the least, the vncertaine presence of the three last Gentlemen, who should haue sustained these personages, it was thought good, that the number of that mask shuld consist of Nyne Actors, nyne Pages, and nyne Lackies, which comming from sundry parts and at diuers times, together with the diuersitie of their apparell, should bring some noueltie to the behoulders.

The place most expedient for this action, was the Ualey, 20 neere the Castel, which being prepared for that purpose, both with Carier and Scaffold, after the comming of the Queenes Maiestie, with her honorable and gallant Ladies, together with the honorable Ambassadors, the field beeing beset by the braue Yonkers of Edinburgh with their hagbutes, during the whole time of that pastyme. /

[P. 6.]

Then three Christians entered the felde with sound of Trumpet, who were the King's maiesty, the Erll of Mar, and THOMAS ERSKINE, (gentleman of his Maiesties chalmer) who made vp this number.

30

A little after followed, three apparelled lyke Turkes, verie

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THE RELATIOUN OF THE PASTYME AND DEUYCES VSED
AT THE BAPTISME THE 29 OF [AUGUST, 1594].¹

The king purposing to decore by magnificence this actioun committed the charge tharof to the lord,² quaha be his³ industrie and inventioun and diligence brought it to [that]⁴ schew quhilk the schortneß of tyme and other considerations cul[d] permitt. So they having consulted togeather concluded [that] th[o]se exercises that wer to be vsed for the decoratioun of that solem[nitie] wer to be devyded baith in feild pastymes and in hous[hold],⁴ the feild to be used at tua dayes : the first 10 [to be] of [thrie] turks, thrie christians, knights of malta, thrie amazones, and thrie Moers ; bot be reasoun of the absence or at leist the uncertene presence of the thre last gentlemen quaha suld [have]⁴ susteaned these personages, it was thought gud that the number⁵ of that mask suld consist of nyne actours, nyne pages, and nyne laqueys, quhilk cumming fra soundry [parts]⁴ and by dyvers tymes, togeather *with* the diuersetie of thair appa[rell], suld bring some noveltie to the behaldours. The place maist expedient for this action was the valey, quhilk being prepared for that vsage baith in carrier 20 and In sca[ffold],⁴ efter the repairing of her *maiestie with* her honorabill ladye[s]⁴ togeather *with* the stranger embassadours, the thrie christians entred the feild *with* sou[n]d of trumpet quhilk was besett⁶ by the hargubusiers of *Edinburgh* at that tyme. The King *maiestie*, the erle mar, and thomas ersking, gentleman of his bed chalmer, maid vp this number. 26

¹ From the Warrender Papers, A. ff. 34-35. Printed in *The Warrender Papers*, ed. Dr Annie I. Cameron (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1932, vol. ii. pp. 258-262.

The text is in Fowler's hand. The original readings before correction by Fowler are given in the footnotes. The punctuation is editorial.

² abbot of Lendors and Mr William Fou[ler].

³ thair.

⁴ MS. defective.

⁵ bodye.

⁶ guarded.

WALDEGRAVE]

gorgeouslie attyred : and these wer the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Home, and Sir ROBERT KER of Cesfurde Knight.

Last of all, came in three Amazones in womens attyre, verie sumptuouslie clad, and these were, the Lord of Lendores, the Laird of Barclewch, and the Abbote of Holie-rood-house. So all these persons beeing present, and at their entrie, making their reverence to the Queenes Maiesty, Ambassadors and Ladies, having their Pages ryding vpon their led Horse, and on their left armes, bearing their maisters *imprese* or deuce.

The Kings Maiesties, was a Lyons heade with open eyes,¹⁰ which signifieth after a mistique & Hieroglyphique sence, Fortitude and Uigilancie : the wordes were, *Timeat & primus & ultimus orbis*. The second was a Dogs collar, al beset with iron pykes, the wordes were these, *Offendit, & defendit*. The third of that Christian armie, was a Windemil, with her spoakes vnmouing, and windes vnbloving on euerie side, with these words, *Ni sperat immeta*.

[P. 7.]
B. [1.]

The second faction did carie these : A Hart half in fire, & half in frost : on the one part Cupids torch, & on the other Iupiters thunder, with these words, *Hinc amor, inde²⁰ metus*. The other Page a Zodiack, /and in the same, the Moone farre opposite to the Sunne, with these wordes, *Quo remotior, lucidior*. That is to say, the farther, the fairer. The third of this pairtie, caried painted, four coach wheeles, the hindmost following the formost, & yet never ouertaking them, with these words, *Quo magis insequor*.

The last three Pages, bare in their Targes, these impreses following, A Crown, an eye, and a Portcullis : the Crowne betokening the power of God, the Eye his Prouidence, and the Portcullis his protection, with these wordes, which were³⁰ composed in Anagramme, of Walterus Scotus, the Laird of Bacleughs name, *Clausus tutus ero*. The second Page of this pairtie, caried on his targe, the Portraiture of an hand, holding an Eill by the tail, alluding to the vncertainty of persons, or of times, with these wordes : *Vt frustra, sic patienter*. The last was this, a fire in sight of the Sunne, burning and not perceaued, with this sentence, *Oblector lumine victus*.

[WARRENDER

A littill efter follou[ed] thrie apparelled lyke turks, weill cled and costlye, and these wer the Duik of Lennox, the lord home, and Sir Robart Ker. Last of all *cum* In the thrie amazones In wemens arrey, and these wer the abbot of halyrudhouß, the lard of baclugh, and the lord of Lendors. So al the persons being present and at thair entrye makking thair reverence to the queen, embassadours, and ladyes, having thair pages ryding vpon thair led horß and on thair left armes bering thair maisteris Imprese or devyse,

WALDEGRAVE]

And euerie Lackie, carying in his hand, his Maisters Launce. They began their pastyme by running at the Ring and Gloue : The laws wherof were these.

[P. 8.] First, that all the persons of this pastime, compeare masked, and in such order as they come into the Field, so to run out all their courses. Secondlie, that none vse anie other ring, but that which is put vp : and vse no other Launce, but that which they haue brought for themselues. Thirdlie, hee that twice touches the ring, or stirres it, winneth asmuch as if he caried away the Ring. Fourthlie, / he that lets his Launce 10 fall out of his hand, is depryued of all the rest of his courses. Fiftlie, that euerie one run with loose raines, and with asmuch speed, as his Horse hath. Sixtlie, that none after his race, in vptaking of his Horse, lay his Launce vpon his shoulder, vnder the pain of losse of that which he hath done in his course. Seuintlie, hee that carieth not his Launce vnder his arme, looseth his course. Eightlie, that none vntil his three courses be ended, change his Horse, if hee bee not hurt, or vpon some other consideration mooued to change him. These Laws being seen and approued by the Actors, the Queenes 20 Maiestie, signified vnto them, that he who did run best, shuld haue for his rewarde, a faire and a riche Ring of Diamonds : and hee also, who on that same side, had best Fortune in running, he shuld be acknowledged with another as fair as the first. the prooffe hereof, being made, the victorie fel to the Duke of Lennox, who bringing it to his side & partie, had the praise and prise adiudged to himself. Thus the first dayes pastime was ended, with great contentment to the beholders, and commendation of the persons enterprysers.

The second dayes pastime was extended, by reason, that 30 the artisans were employed in other businesse, who should haue followed foorth that invention giuen them : And seeing the grace of that exercyse, consisted in Embosserie, and the craftsmen apt for the same, otherwise and necessarily busied, it was left off : Which, if it had bene brought to effect, this Countrie had not sene, nor practised / a more rarer : for what 36

[P. 9.]
[B. 2.]

[WARRENDER

and there lacqueys carying in thair hands thair masters lances, they began thair pastyme be rinni[n]g at the ring, the lawes quharof wer these: first, that all the persons of this pastyme compeir masked and in quhat ordour they cum in the feild, so to rin out all there courses; secundlie, that nane vse ane other ring bot that quhilk is putt vp and vse na other lance bot that quhilk they haue brought for theme selfs; thridlye, he that twyse toucheß ring or tents it winns alsmeikill as gif he had caryed away the ring; fourtlye, he that lats his lance fall out of his hand is depryved of all the rest of 10 his courses; fyftlye, that euerye ane rin with losse rinȝes and with als meikill speid as his horß hes; saxlye, that nane after his race in vptakking of his horß ley his lance vpon his shoulders vnder the paine of the tinsell of that that he hes done in his course; sevintlye, he that caryes not his lance vnder his arme loseth his course; auchtlye, that nane quhil his thrie courses ar ended chainge his horß gif he be not hurt or vpon some other consideratioun moved to chainge him. The laues being sene be the actours and approved, the queenes ma^lestie notefyed to thame that quhat syd of thame ran best 20 suld have for his revaird a fair and a richte ring of dyamonds,¹ and he also quho in that same syde had best fo[r]tioun suld be alknouledged with ane other als fair as the first. The proofe being geven, the victorie fell to the duik of lennox, quha bringing it to his syd and partye had the prayse and pryce adjudged to him self. Thus [the] first dayes pastyme being ended with great contentment to² the beholders and commendatioun of the *persones* enterprysers, the second dayes pastyme was exceused be reasoun that the workmen wer employed in vther busines quha suld have falloued furth that Invention 30 thame; and seing the grace of that exercise consisted in embosserye, and the craftsmen apt for the same otherwyse and necessarlye busyed, it was left aff, quhilk gif it had bene brought to effect, this cuntre³ had not sene nor practised a mair braver: for quhat be the braverye and strange apparell of 35

¹ rubeis.² of.³ yle.

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by the brauery and strange apparell of the persons themselves, and by the diuers shapes of the Beasts, that should haue beene born and broght ther in sight, had bene commendable and wonderfull: by reason that such beasts, as Lyon, Elephant, Hart, Unicorne, and the Griphon, together with the Camel, Hyde, Crocadile, and Dragon (carying their riders) had caried also with it by the newnes of that inuention, great contentment and commendation of that exercise. But I say, some arising lets impeshed this inuention: & al things wer cast of, that might haue farther decored this solemnity, 10 through other vrgent occasions.

And when all the Ambassadors were conuened together, and all necessary materialls readie, the Chappell Royall of the Castel of Striuling was richelie hung, with costly tapestries: And at the North-east end of the same, a royall seat of Estate, prepared for the Kings maiestie: And on his right hand, was set a faire wyde Chaire, with the dew ornaments pertaining therto, ouer which, was set the Armes of the King of France.

Next therunto, was a princely trauers of Crimson Taffeta, for the Ambassador of England, & ouer his head, the Armes 20 of England: on the desk before him, lay a Cushion of red veluot: Ther stood attending on him, two Gentlemen Ushers, appointed by the Queene of England, for that present seruice.

Next vnto him, sate M. Robert Bowes, Ambassador ordinary for the Queene of England: On the deske before him, was laid a cloth of purple veluote, and a Cushion sutable thereunto.

[P. 10.] Then sat the Ambassador of the noble Prince, Henricus Iulius, Duke of Brunswick, and before him on the desk, was laid a cloth of green veluote, with a cushen of the same: and 30 ouer his head, the Arms of his Prince.

Next vnto him, sate the Ambassadors of the Lowe Countries, with a long faire cloth, spred on the desk before them of blew veluote, and two Cushions sutable therunto, and ouer their heades the Armes of their Countries.

On the Kings left hand, was placed nearest his Maiestie, 36

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the *persons* theme selfs, and be the dyvers schapes of the beastes that suld haue borne and brought thame in, the sight had bene commendable and wonderfull, be reason that sic beastes as lyon, elephant, hart, vnicorne, and the gryphon,¹ together with the hydre, crocodile, and dragon, carying there ryders had caryed also *with* it by the newnes of the inventioun some contentment and commendatioun of that exercise. Bot, as I say, some arrysing letts empesched this conceate, and al other things wer cast aff that might haue forder decored this solemnnytie through some other vrgent occasions. IO

¹ aegyle.

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the two Ambassadors of Denmark, with a large broad cloth spread on the deske before them of purple veluot, and the Armes of Denmarke ouer their heades.

Next vnto them, sate the Ambassadour of the noble Prince Vdalricus, Duke of Magdelburgh, with his Princes Armes ouer his heade.

In the midst of the Chappell Royall within the partition, where the Kings Maiestie, the Ambassadors, and Prince with his conuoy were placed, there was a newe pulpite erected: The same was richely hung with cloth of gold: All the paue-
ment within this partition, was Prince-like laide with fine tapestrie,

Under the Pulpit was another deske, wherein sate in the midst, M. Daud Cuninghame, Bishop of Abirdene, M. Daud Lindesay, Minister of Leyth, and Iohn Duncanson, one of the ordinary ministers to the Kings Maiestie: Before whome was set a table, couered with yealowe veluote.

[P. 11.]

[B. 3.]

And when all things were in readines, as was requisite. There was placed a hundreth Hagbutters (being onely the yonkers of Edinburgh, brauely apparrelled) in order, betwixt
the Princes vtter chalmer doore, and the entry to the Chappell Royall, on both the sides of the passage.

Then the Kings Maiestie, with his Nobles and Counsellors attending on him, entered the Chappell, and there sate downe in his Royall seat of Estate.

All the Ambassadors likewise were sent for, and conuoyed to the Princes Chalmer of presence where the Prince was lying on his bed of Estate, richly decored, and wrought with brodered work, containing the story of Hercules and his trauels.

This bed was erected on a platforme, very artificially, with
a foot pace of three degrees ascending to it: The degrees being couered with tapestrie, all wrought with golde, and a large cloth of Lawne, couering both the bed and the degrees which reached forth a great space ouer the flore.

Then the old Countesse of Mar, with reuerence past to the bed, she took vp the Prince, and deliuered him to the Duke
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of Lennox, who presently rendered him likewise to the Ambassador of England, to be borne to the Chappell Royall.

The Maister of the Ceremonies, addressing himselfe to a table in the saide Chalmer, curiouslie ordered, whereon stood those ornaments of honor, which were to be borne to the Chappell before the Prince, with due reuerence deliuered them to certaine noble men, according to the order appointed by his Maiestie for the bearing thereof. /

P. 12.] In lyke manner, the Princes Robe-royall, being of purple Uelnote, very richelie set with pearl, was deliuered to the 10 Duke of Lennox, who put the same about the prince: the train wherof, was born up by the Lord Sinclair, & the Lord Vrquhart. Then they remoued themselues to the vtter chalmer, where, ther was a fair high Pale made four-square, of Crimson Ueluote attending: which was laid on with rich pasments, and fringed with gold. This Pale was sustained by four Worshipful Barons, The Laird of Bacleugh, the Constable of Dundie, Sir Robert Ker of Cefurd Knight, & the Laird of Traquhair. Under the which Pale were the Ambassadors of England, Robert Erll of Sussex, carying the Prince in 20 his armes, & M. Robert Bowes, ordinary Ambassador for England, assisting him. Next to them, was the Duke of Lennox. About the Pale, were the Ambassadors of Denmarke, Magdelburgh, Brunswick, and the Estates. There followed, the old Countesse of Mar, Mistres Bowes, diuerse Ladies of Honor, with the Mistres Nurse.

Then the Trumpets sounding melodiously before the Prince and his conuoy, went forwarde: LYON King of Armes, and the Heralds his brethren with their coat-armors, in goodly order following. 30

P. 13.] Next followed the Princes Honors, borne by these Noble
B. 4.] men: The Lorde Sempill carying a Lavar of water, the Lord Seton, a fair Basen: The Lord Leuingston a Towell, and the Lorde Home a low Crowne competent for a Duke, rich / lie set with Diamonds, Saphires, Rubies, and Emerauldes: who approaching neere the Pulpit, where these Honors were 36

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receaued from them, by the maister of the Ceremonies, and by him placed on the Table before the pulpite: the Noble men retyring back to their appointed places.

Lastlie, the Pale was caried in before the pulpite, where the Ambassador of England rendered the Prince to the Duke of Lennox, who immediatlie deliuered him to the olde Countesse of Mar, and she consequentlie to the Mistres Nurse. And all the Ambassadors were then set, in such order of places, as the demonstration of their Armories, gaue notice.

10

Without the partition, were ornate fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the Gentlemen of England, Denmarke, Almaine, Flanders, and Scotland. And as all men wer thus competentlie placed, and vniversall silence made, entered M. Patrik Galloway, one of his Maiesties ordinarie Preachers into the Pulpite, who learnedlie and godlie, entreated vpon the text of the 21 of Genesis. Which being done, the Bishop of Aberdene, stood vp in his seate, and taught vpon the Sacrament of Baptisme, firste, in the vulgare tongue, and next in the Latine, to the end, all men might generallie vnderstand. This done, the Provost, and Prebends of the Chappell Royall, did sing the 21. Psalme of Dauid, according to the art of Musique, to the great delectation of the noble Auditorie.

[P. 14.] They they proceeded to the action. The King / arose, and came towards the Pulpit. The Ambassadors followed in their order. The Barons that carried the Pale about the Prince, mooued towards the Pulpit: The Duke of Lennox, receaued the Prince from the Countesse of Mar, and deliuered him to the handes of the Erl of Sussex, Ambassadour for England: Where he was named by all their consents, FREDERIK HENRIE, HENRIE FREDERIK, and so baptised. In the name of the Father, Sonne, and holie Ghost, by the said names.

This being done, Lyon King of Armes, with a loud voice, reportes these names thryse ouer: & then after him, the

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rest of his brethren Heraldes, with Trumpets sounding, confirmed the same.

Then the Kings Maiestie, Ambassadors, and all remouing to their places: the English Ambassadour alone, withdrawing himself on the one side was mette and attended on, by two Groomes, who humblie on their knees, the one presenting a large rich Basen, the other a sutable Lavar, repleat with sweet water, wherewith the Ambassador washed: a Gentleman Sewer, with humble reuerence, presenting him a fair Towall, wherewith he dried his hands, and so forthwith returned to his ro place.

This beeing done, the Bishop ascended to the Pulpite, where, after that hee had deliuered in verse, a certaine praise and commendation of the Prince, then hee converted the rest of his Latine Oration, in prose to the Ambassadors, euery one in particular, beginning at the Ambassadour of / England, and so continuing with the rest: Wherein he made mention of the Chronology of e[a]ch of these Princes: & recited the proximitie, and neernesse of blood that they had with Scotland. Concluding his Oration, with exhortation & thanksgiuing to 20 God for that good occasion, and prosperous assemblie.

[P. 15.]
C. [1.]

In conclusion, the blessing beeing giuen, Lyon King of Armes, cryed with a loud voice, God saue FREDERIK HENRIE, and HENRIE FREDERIK, by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. The rest of the Heraldes, proclaymed the same at an open window of the Chappell Royall, with sound of Trumpet.

Then the King, the Prince, the Ambassadors, the Nobles, and Ladies of Honor, retyred forth of the Chappell, in such order as they entered, and repayred towards the Kings Hal, During their passage, the Cannons of the Castel roared, 30 that therewith the earth trembled, and other smaller shot made their harmonie after their kynde.

In the Kings Hall, the Duke of Lennox receaued the Prince from the Ambassadour of England, and presented him to the Kings Maiesty, who addubbed him Knight. Hee was touched with the Spur by the Erll of Mar: Thereafter the Kings 36

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Majestie presented a Ducall crowne on his head, & then was proclaimed by Lyon King of Armes, The right Excellent, High, and Magnanime, FREDERIK HENRIE, HENRIE FREDERIK, by the grace of God, Knight & Barron of Renfrew : Lord of the Yles, Erll of Carrike, Duke of Rosay, Prince and great Steward of Scotland. /

[P, 16.] These words were repeated by the Heralds with a loud voice, at an open Window of the Hal.

Then the Prince was caried by the Ambassador of England, to his owne Chalmer of presence : where, the most rich, and rare propynes wer there presented.

Also, there were certain Barons and Gentlemen addubbed Knights, whose names doe follow in order as they were proclaimed. And first their oath.

The Oath of a Knight.

- 1 I Shall fortifie and defend the true Christian Religion, & Christs holy Evangel, now presently preched within this Realm, to the vttermost of my power.
- 2 I shal be leil & true to my soverane Lord the Kings Majestie, To all orders of Chievalry, and to the noble office of 20 Armes.
- 3 I shall fortifie and defend justice at my power, and that without favour or feed.
- 4 I shall never flie from my soverane Lord, the Kings Majestie, nor from his Hienes Lieuetenants in time of mellay, and battell.
- 5 I shall defend my natiue Realme, from all Allieners and strangers.
- 6 I shal defend the just action & quarrel of al Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendles Widowes, of Orphantes, and of 30 Maidens of good fame.
- 7 I shal do diligence, whersoever I heare there is any Murtherers, Traytors, or maisterfull Reavers, that oppresseth the Kings Lieges, and poore people, to bring them to the Lawe at my power.

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[P. 17.] 8 I shal maintain & vphold the noble estate of Che/ualrie,
[C.] 2. with Horse, harnisse, and other Knightly abillzements :
And shall helpe and succour them of the same order at
my power if they haue neede.

9 I shall enquire and seeke to haue the knowledge & vnder-
standing of all the Articles and points contained in the
book of Chieualry.

All these premisses to obserue, keepe, and fulfill :
I oblesse me, so helpe me my God, by my owne hand,
so help me God, &c. 10

Sir William Stewart of Houstoun, Knight.

Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, Knight.

Sir Iohn Boswell of Balmowtow, Knight.

Sir Iames Schaw of Salquhy, Knight.

Sir Iohn Murray of Ethilstoun, Knight.

Sir William Menteith of Kerse, Knight.

Sir Alexander Fraser of Fraserburgh, Knight.

Sir Iohn Lindesay of Dunrod, Knight.

Sir George Leuingston of Ogilface, Knight.

Sir Iames Forester of Torwood-head, Knight. 20

Sir Andrew Balfoure of Strathour, Knight.

Sir Walter Dundas of ouer Newlistoun, Knight.

Sir Iohn Boswell of Glasemont, Knight.

Sir George Elphingstoun of Blythwood, Knight.

Sir William Leuingston of Darnechester, Knight.

Sir Dauid Meldrum of New-hall, Knight.

These names wer proclaimed vpon the Tarrase of the forefront
of the Castell, with sound of trumpets, and great quantity of
diuers especes of gold and money, cast ouer amongst the
people. 30

[P. 18.] These things beeing accomplished, the King / and Queenes
Maiesties, with the Ambassadors, addressed themselues to
the banket in the great Hal, about eight of the clock at night. 33

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Then came Lyon King of Armes, with his brethren the Herauldes, and entered the Hal before the King and Queenes meate, the Trumpets sounding melodiouslie before them: with these Noble men, bearing office for the present.

The Erll of Mar,	{	Great Maister—housholde. }
The Lord Fleming,	{	Great Maister—Vsher. }

The Erll of Montroze,	{	Caruer. }	} For the Kings M.
The Erll of Glencarne,	{	Copper. }	
The Erll of Orkenay,	{	Sewar. }	

The Lord Seton,	{	Caruer. }	} For the Queenes M.	. 10
The Lord Hume,	{	Copper. }		
The Lord Sempill	{	Sewar. }		

This delicate banket beeing ordered with great abundance, the King, Queene, and Ambassadors, were placed al at one Table, being formed of three partes, after a Geometrical figure, in such sort, that every one might haue a full sight of the other.

The King & Queens Maiesties, were placed in the midst of the table, and on the Kings right hand were set the English Ambassadors, the Erle of Sussex, and M. Robert Bowes, 20 next them sat the Ambassadors from the Duke of Brunswicke, and the / Ambassadors from the Duke of Magdelburgh.

[P. 19.]
[C.] 3.

On the Kings left hand, next to the Queenes Maiestie, sate the Ambassadors of Denmarke, and Ambassadors from the States of Holland and Zeland: Betwixt every one of their seats, was left a good space.

On the East and west side of the Hal, was placed two very long Tables, where were set certain Noble men, Ladies of honour, and Counsellors of Scotland, and with them, the Noble men and Gentil-men of England, Denmark, Almaine 30 and Flanders. And betwixt every Noble-man and Gentil-man stranger, was placed a Lady of honour, or Gentil-woman. 32

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Nowe, beeing thus in a very honourable and comely order set, and after a while, hauing well refreshed themselues with the first seruice, which was very sumptuous, there came into the sight of them all, a Black-Moore, drawing (as it seemed to the beholders) a triumphall Chariot (and before it, the melodious noyse of trumpets and Howboyes) which Chariot entered the Hall, the motion of the whole frame (which was twelue foote long, and seuen foot broad) was so artificial within it selfe, that it appeared to be drawn in, onely by the strength of a Moore, which was very richly attyred, his traces 10 were great chaines of pure gold.

Upon this Chariot, was finely and artificially deuised, a sumptuous couered Table, decked with all sortes of exquisite delicates and dainties, of patisserie, frutages, and confections.

[P. 20.] About the table, were placed six Gallant dames, / who represented a silent Comedie, three of them clothed in Argentyne Saten, and three in Crimson Saten : All these six garments, were enriched with Togue and Tinsal, of pure gold and siluer, euery one of them hauing a Crowne or Garland on their heades, 20 very richely decked with Fethers, pearles, and Jewels vpon their loose haire, in Antica forma.

In the first front stood dame Ceres, with a sickle in her right hand, and a handfull of Corne in the other, and vpon the outmost part of her thigh, was written this sentence, *Fundent vberes omnia Campi*, which is to say, the plenteous Fields shall affoord all things.

Ouer against Ceres, stood Fæcunditie, with some bushes of Chesbolls, which vnder an hieroglyphik sence, representeth broodines with this deuise, *Fælix prole diuum*, and on the other 30 side of her habite, *Crescant in mille*. The first importing that this Cuntry is blessed by the Childe of the goddes, and the second, alluding to the King and Queenes Maiesties, that their generations may grow into thousandes.

Next on the other side, was placed Faith, hauing in her hands a Basen, and in the same two hands ioynd together, 36

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So the day folloing the banquet being ordered and the prenceſſ together *with* the embassadours placed at the table formed of thrie *partis* of octoagon, there cam into the sight of thame all a blak more drawing as it semed to the behalders a tabernacle ful of patisserye, frutages, and confections, and in the sydis thairoff wer placed sax wemen ¹ quhilk represented a silent comedie : for in the first front stode ceres *with* a hooke in her right hand and a handfull of cornes in the other, and vpon the utmaist pairt of her thie was this sentence *Fundent vberes omnia campi*, quhilk is to say the plenteous feilds sal afford all things. Against her stode fecundete with some busses of chesbolles, quhilk under ane hieroglyphicque sence represents bredeneſſ, *with* this devyse, *Fœlix prole diuum*, and on the other syde of her habit, *Crescant in mille* ; the first importinge that this cuntrye is blisſed by the chyld of the gods, and the secund alluding to the king and queene that thair generatioun may grov into thousands. Followed on the other syde faith, having in her hands a basing and in the same tua hands ioyned togeath[er] with this sentence, *boni alumna coniugii*, the fosteresſ and nurice of a blisſed marriage. And fornent her stode concord with a golden tasſ in the left hand and the horne of abondance in the right, *with* this sentence also, *pleno beant te numina simu*, the heuenlye pouers dois blisſ the with a ful bossome. The last places wer occupied be Liberalitie, quho having in her right hand tua crownes and in her left tua septers *with* this devyse, *Me comite plura quam dabis, accipies*, that is to say, having me thy fallower, thow sal receaue mair then thow sal giue. And the other uas perseverance, having in her right hand a staff and on her left shoulder a silver ancar *with* this devyse, *nec dubiae res mutabunt, nec secundae*, nather doubtfull nor mair prosperous thingis sal chaigne your state.

So this tabernacle, quhilk suld haue bene drawn in by a lyon it self, yet becauſſ his presence might brought some feare to the nerrest it was thoght gud the more suld supplie that

¹ nymphs.

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with this sentence, *Boni alumna coniugij*, The fortresse and nurse of a blessed mariage.

Ouer against Faith, stood Concorde, with a golden Tasse in her left hand, and the horn of abundance in her right hand with this sentence, *Pleno beant te numina Sinu*. The heuenly powers do blesse thee with a full bosome. /

[P. 21.]

[C.] 4.

The next place was occupied by Liberalitie, who hauing in her right hand two Crownes and in her left, two Scepters, with this deuise, *Me comite plura quam dabis accipies*. That is to say, hauing me thy follower, thou shalt receiue more than 10 thou shalt giue.

And the last was Perseverance, hauing in her right hand a staffe, and on her left shoulder an Anchor, with this deuise, *Nec dubiæ res mutabunt, nec secunda*, Neither doubtfull, nor more prosperous things shall change your state.

This Chariot which should haue bene drawn in by a Lyon, (but because his presence might haue brought some feare, to the neerest, or that the sight of the lights and torches might haue commoued his tamenes) It was thoght meet, that the Moore should supply that roome: And so, he in outwarde 20 shewe, preassed to draw that forward, which by a secreet convoy, was brought to the Princes Table, and the whole desert, was deliuered by Ceres, Foecunditie, Faith, Concord, Liberalitie, and Perseverance, to the Erles, Lords, and Barons that were Sewers.

Presently after the returning of the Chariot, entered a most sumpteous, artificially, and wel proportioned ship, the length of her Keele, was 18. foot, and her bredth 8. foot: from her bottome to her highest flagge, was 40. foot: the Sea shee stode vpon, was 24 foot long, with bredth 30 convenient: her motion was so artificially devised within her self, that none could perceiue what brought her in.

[P. 22.]

The Sea vnder her was liuely counterfeit, with / al coulours: On her foresterne was placed Neptunus, hauing in his hand his Trident, & on his head a Crowne, his apparell was all of Indian cloth of silver and silk, which bare this inscription, 36

[WARRENDER

rovme, and so he in outward shaw preasing to draw that forduart quhilk by some secreit convoy and vnperceaved was brought to the prences table, and the hail desert delyvered by ceres, fecundite, faith, concord, liberalite, and *perseverance*, to the erle of orkney as seuer for the king, to the ¹ for the queen, and to the lard of bacugh as seuar for the q[u]ee[n] of englands embassadour, and to the ¹ for the rest.

Thus the tabernacle emptyed, and the *persons* interchanging thair places ² and adressing there faces to the prences as they ¹⁰ wer withdrawen retered to the end of the great hall. And then a litil efter cam fordward a ship be the lyk hiddin and vnperceaved convoy, bot thro a litill over fondnesß of the pilot, quha committing sacriledg and cleithin *himself* in the gods golden apparel, being of claith of gold, mad Neptun over naked to cleid him self, [was] over sone discovered, quha being in love with his awen wor[k]manship fered the beholders suld bot ³ late re[m]arked his ha[n]dywark.

Now since I haue entred in discors of her, It salle not be *pertinent* to this subiect to enter mair amplye in the same, the ²⁰ invention being the kings.

¹ Blank.

² placed in the same be. There are numerous corrections in the margin and in the text.

³ not.

WALDEGRAVE]

Iunxi atque reduxi, which in sence importeth, that as he ioyned them, so he reduced their Maiesties.

Then Thetis with her Mace, goddesse of the sea with this deuise, *Nunquam abero & tutum semper te littore sistam*, which signifieth, that by her presence, she alwaies shall be carefull to bring them into a safe shore and harborow.

Then Triton with his wilke Trumpet, was next to her with this deuise, *Velis, votis, ventis*, by Sayles, by Uowes, by Windes.

Round about the Ship, were all the Marine people, as Syrenes, (aboute the middle as women, & vnder as fishes :) and these 10 were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia, who accommodating their gestures to the voice of the Musitions, repeated this verse, *Vnus eris nobis cantandus semper in orbe*. And all the same was decored with the riches of the seas, as Pearls, Corals, Shelles, and Mettalls, very rare and excellent.

The bulke of this Ship was curiouslie painted, and her Galleries, wherevpon stood the most part of the Banket in Christalline glasse, gilt with Gold and Azure. Her Mastes were redde, her takling and cordage, was silk of the same coulour, with golden Pulleis. Her ordinance was 36. peeces 20 of Brasse, brauelie mounted, and her Anchors Siluer-gylt. All her Sayles were double of white Taffata. And in her fore-sayle, a Ship / Compas, regarding the North Star, with this sentence, *Quascunque per vndas*. Which is to say, through quhatsoeuer seas, or waues, the Kings Maiestie intendeth his course, and proiect of anie arrysing action, Neptune as God of the Sea, shal be fauorable to his proceedings.

[P. 23.]
D. [1].

On the Main-saile, was painted the Armories of Scotland and Denmark, with this deuice, competent in the person of the Prince of Scotland. *En quæ divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes*. 30 That is to say, Beholde, (O Prince) what doth make these kingdomes seuerally blessed, ioyntly (O Prince of hope) thou holdes, and hast together.

Her tops were al armed with Taffataes of his Maiesties Collours, Golde, and Geules : and all her Flaggs and streamers sutable to the same.

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Her Marriners were in number six, apparelled al in changeable Spanish Taffataes, and her Pilote in cloth of gold, he alone stood at the helme, who only mooued and gouerned the whole frame, both the Ship and her burden, very artificially.

The Musitions within the same, were 14. all apparelled in Taffataes of his Maiesties colors, besides Arion with his Harp.

Being thus prepared, at the sound of Trumpets, she approached, and at the next sound of Tritons wilk Trumpet, together with the Masters whistle, she made sayle till shee came to the Table, discharging the ordinance in her Sterne 10 by the way: But because this deuise caried some morall meaning with it, it shal not be impertinent to this purpose, to discover what is meant and propyned thereby. /

[P. 24.] The Kings Maiestie, hauing vndertaken in such a desperate time, to sayle to Norway, and like a newe Iason, to bring his Queene our gracious Lady to this Kingdome, being detained and stopped by the conspiracies of Witches, and such deuillish Dragons, thought it very meet, to followe foorth this his owne invention, that as Neptunus (speaking poetically, and by such fictions, as the like Interludes and actions are accus- 20 tomed to be decored withall) ioyned the King to the Queene.

So after this Coniunction, hee brought their Maiesties as happely hither: and now at this her blessed deliury, did bring such things as the Sea affords, to decore this festiual time withal: which immediatly were deliuered to the Sewers, forth of the Galleries of this Ship, out of Christalline glasse, very curiously painted with Gold and Azure, all sortes of Fishes: as Hearinges, Whytings, Flookes, Oysters, Buckies, Lampets, Partans, Lapstars, Crabs, Spout-fish, Clammes: with other infinit things made of Sugar, and most viuely repre- 30 sented in their owne shape. And whiles the Ship was vnloading: Arion sitting vpon the Galey-nose which resembled the forme of a Dolphine fish, played vpon his Harp: Then began her Musike in greene holyne Howboyes in fiue partes. After that, followed Uiolls with voices in plaine counterpointe, to the nature of these Hexameter Verses.

36

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Vndique convenient, quot Reges nomine Christi
 Gaudent, hucque suas maturent cogere vires.
 Viribus hos, O Rex, opibusque antejueris omnes /
 [P. 25.] Quisque suam jam posse velit tibi cedere fortem.
 [D. 2.] Regna, viros, aurum, quæ te fecere potentem.
 Omnia conjugij decorant hæc pignora chari :
 ANNA precor foelix multos feliciter annos,
 Vive, resume novas, atque annuus anni
 Instar eat, redeatque ; novo tibi partus ab ortu.
 Cresce Puer, sacri mens numinis imbibat imbres,
 Semper vterque parens de te nova gaudia captet.
 Scotia, quæ quondam multis tenebrosa vocataes
 Lumina Magna nitent in te superantia coelum,
 Lux Verbi, & Rex, & Princeps diademata Regni.

10

After which, ensued a stil noyse of Recorders and Flutes ;
 and for the fourth, a generall consort of the best Instruments.

So this Enterlude, drawing neere to an end, in the verie
 last courses, was discouered this sentence likewise. *Submissus*
adorat Oceanus, inferring, that the Occean Sea, by offering the
 shapes of her treasure humblie adored and honoured the 20
 sitters. And when in this time, all the banquet was done, after
 thanks being giuen, there was sung with most delicate dulce
 voices, and sweet harmonie in 7. partes, the 128. Psalmes, with
 14. voices. And that being done, at the sound of Tritons
 wilk Trumpet, and the Pilotes whistle, she wayed anchor,
 made saile, and with noise of Howboyes and Trumpets, retyred,
 and then discharged the rest of her ordinance, to the great
 admiration of the beholders.

After all which Pastime and sport, with merry and ioyfull
 [P. 26.] repast, the King and Queenes Maie / sties, after other offices 30
 of honour and respect, the place being prepared for the Reuels,
 and the Persons appointed for the same, discharging them-
 selues sufficiently. Their Maiesties, and Ambassadors, went
 to another Hal, most richly and magnificently hung with
 riche Tapistrie, where for the collation, a most rare, sumpteous, 35

[WALDEGRAVE

and Prince-like desart of Suger was prepared, which being ended, after taking of leaue, and goodnights, they departed about three of the clock in the morning, to their nights rest.

The daies ensewing, so long as leasure might serue, was bestowed by the Ambassadors, in banketting of Noble men and Gentilmen of their acquaintance, and the King in the meane time was sollicite and carefull of honourable and magnifike rewardes, to be bestowed on either of them, which was also Princelie performed, to their great contentments.

And as they were come to Edinburgh, they were all banketted ¹⁰ at some time, seuerally, and at other times together, by diuers Noble men of Scotland, with great honour : Last of all, one Ambassadors banketted another, for commemoration of that Ioyfull meeting and good successe.

Then the King and Queenes Maiesties came to Edinburgh, where they were invited by the Ambassadors of Denmarke, vnto a Banket within their Shippe, which lay at anchor in the Riuer of Forth : Shee was so great, that shee could not enter the Harborow.

[P. 27.] The Banket was very sumptuous, and the / Ambassadors ²⁰
[D. 3.] so Ioyous of their finall dispatch, behaued themselues to their Maiesties on a kindly maner, according to the ordinary custom of their Cuntry, by propining of drink vnto them in name of their Princes, which was louingly accepted and requited : In commemoration whereof, the whole Artillerie of that great Uessel were shot in great number.

The three great Ships of the Estates, lying in the same Road neere by, made correspondance and resonance to the number of six score gret shot, and thus concluded their *Bien alle*.

Then the Castel of Edinburgh, for performance of the Kings ³⁰ honour, as they perceaued the ships to lose, and to hoise vp sayle : The Captaine of the Castell saluted euery Ship, as they shewed themselues in readines by order, with a number of great Cannon shotte. And so I conclude.

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